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MAJOR SALIANCE AND WARM\_UP QUESTION:

"All strata of Hungarian society stood up to throw off the yoke of Communist and Soviet oppression. There was no social, religious, political or other differences between various groups in the Hungarian nation. The only exception was the Communists, and actually, only part of the Communists, because a great many of them also took part in the Revolution. The initiative ~~was~~ was, in the beginning, in the hands of the Hungarian Youth, but later their enthusiasm and their fervor affected the older part of the population - workers and intellectuals alike - and they decently and often heroically helped youth to fight for Hungarian Freedom."

CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

"I performed my normal duties in the Goldberger Plant whose physician I was. I worked until 4:00 P.M. Before I left, I heard over the telephone that students of the Technical University of Budapest spread leaflets containing demands of the Hungarian people.

"I also heard over the the phone on Apponyi Square, typewritten leaflets were distributed with several points of popular demands.

"It was about 5:00 P.M. that I arrived at the hospital of the National Ambulance Service to be on duty in this part-time job of mine. My assignment was, as it had been in the last year, mainly Directing Service" could also be called "Disposal Service" or, "Dispatching Service" - received reports of emergency cases, and with the various ambulance services sent them out as was thought best, and gave orders and ~~checked~~ checked on the team as to how their job was performed. I worked until 8:00 P.M. and then I went and talked with my family.

"Next morning ( Oct. 23rd) at the Goldberger Plant office as head physician of the diagnosis department, it was about one or two P.M. that I received a telephone call from friends that orderly crowds of youth were marching and that the great demonstration of which we heard had actually got underway. Other calls told me that more and more people had joined the marchers and that it looked as if the entire crowd would become demonstrators. I was also told that large crowds read the typewritten slips which people placed on the trees, and shop windows, and that these contained as much as twelve and fourteen or sixteen demands. I felt elated, and said "my friends, is something going to happen?".... I also heard that many good typists in the plant were busy typing all kinds of leaflets.

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"Later I received news that a great demonstration on the ~~Kapocsk~~ Square was going on.

"Then, I went over to the headquarters of the National Ambulance Service and assumed my work there, as usual. It was about eight P.M. that I went for home.

" It was a little after nine, I think, that the telephone rang and the wife of one of my good friends- an Hungarian singer- called me up telling me that her husband had gone to the radio station to be tape-recorded and that now he was trapped by a skirmish that surrounded the bldg. of the radio station. She told me that a tremendous demonstration had started in front of the radio bldg. and it was serious - with even shooting involved. She asked me to take advantage of



"Next morning (Oct. 24th) I learned that we had some 30 seriously wounded and that we placed them in the various hospitals. I didn't have to report to work, so I went out to take a good walk on the Korut, because I heard that the Russian Helikon bookshop was completely stripped by people and I wanted to see that. It was about 8:30 that I saw the first Russian tanks. I thought first that they came from their Cegled camp. I was pondering what this entire business will look like in a few more days, because I went by in the morning at the headquarters of the National Ambulance Service, and as I dropped in for a few minutes my boss, the director of the National Ambulance Service, Dr. Cravec, was just briefing my colleagues and he wanted me to be with them during the briefing. Well, he said that as soon as we get to it we should prepare the emergency operating rooms in the basement of our building because we have to figure that the fight will become more serious. He said that he talked to the Ministry of Interior and the ADO who told him that the fight would go on because the ADO officers received orders that they would have to change to civilian clothes and would have to take a fight in this fashion with the crowds which resist police orders. He also confided that the AVH group of the Ministry of Interior had carried weapons and ammunition with ambulances which were identical with out one and a half ton and three ton ambulances, the only difference being these bore no signs of the National Ambulance Service on them. As I was pondering while working to see the Helikon bookshop burning, I saw one of our ambulances running by and stopped the driver and received a report that ~~five fire trucks came to save the building from spreading the fire. As I stood there, I saw 8 or 9 Russian tanks coming from the Andrassy Ut (Andrassy Ave.). A large crowd was watching very quietly what was going on and as those tanks turned toward Kiraly St. they opened fire on the peaceful crowd. We ran into the house 92 Nagykorut. There were four wounded dragged to that house and fortunately I had my First Aid case with me and I called ambulances. Two of the wounded died within minutes. The tanks passed by, cutting through the pile of books burning in the front of the Helikon bookshop which people had set on fire. The people around me said 'They are shooting at the Hungarians again,' but they were defiant and you could sense no real desperation or fright, only defiance and fury. As the ambulances came, they took the wounded to headquarters and I decided to keep still out in the city. Crowds were milling in the streets in spite of the radio warnings that sounded quite frequently.~~ to attend to a wounded who was reported to lie in front of the Royal Hotel on Nagykorut."

"Five fire trucks came to save the building from spreading the fire. As I stood there, I saw 8 or 9 Russian tanks coming from the Andrassy Ut (Andrassy Ave.). A large crowd was watching very quietly what was going on and as those tanks turned toward Kiraly St. they opened fire on the peaceful crowd. We ran into the house 92 Nagykorut. There were four wounded dragged to that house and fortunately I had my First Aid case with me and I called ambulances. Two of the wounded died within minutes. The tanks passed by, cutting through the pile of books burning in the front of the Helikon bookshop which people had set on fire. The people around me said 'They are shooting at the Hungarians again,' but they were defiant and you could sense no real desperation or fright, only defiance and fury. As the ambulances came, they took the wounded to headquarters and I decided to keep still out in the city. Crowds were milling in the streets in spite of the radio warnings that sounded quite frequently."

"Not far from the Western Railroad terminal, I saw some five or six tanks and two or three anti-tank guns, and saw the commander swinging his pistol and heard him cursing the Hungarian people and saw him spitting around. He

repeated again and again 'Fuck your mother!' in Russian and was apparently very upset because of the defiance of the people."

"I saw a large group of unarmed workers who came in from the suburbs by truck, and I really started wondering what would become of this. I went home at about 11 a.m. By about 11:30 I saw from the window of my home that a Hungarian artillery unit came in trucks and they were stopped by the immense crowd at the Ferdinand Bridge. The crowd was swelling every second because workers kept coming to the city and they filed out from buses and trucks. Now I saw something very amazing. This artillery unit, which might have consisted of two or three batteries, and ~~it~~ which was armed with infantry weapons, apparently to restore order, well, this artillery unit saw the elated crowd and people talked with them and under the impact of all of this I saw them give away or put down their rifles and ammunition or throwing them into the crowd to cheering people. Many of these soldiers joined the crowd and others didn't. Many of the civilians climbed onto the trucks and the trucks dispersed."

"The situation at the National Ambulance Service might have become pretty bad because I heard a radio warning and was alerted that we had to be in a state of extreme emergency and all physicians not able to go to their own offices were ordered to report at various stations. I stayed at home until 4 p.m. and watched the crowds milling in the streets. At about 2 p.m. I saw some 50 or 60 Russian tanks coming from the direction of Vac."

"At 4 p.m. I went to the ambulance headquarters. On the way I was not able to cross the street at the Festi Hirlap building because the AVH opened fire from top of the AVH building and the Ministry of Defense ~~building~~ building and I had to look for cover. I arrived only with difficulties at our headquarters building. When I arrived, I received reports, one after the other, from many various points of the city that immediate help was wanted. We alarmed and mobilized all our parked ambulances and braved the fire. Soon we suffered our first own ~~casualties~~ casualties. Not much later four ambulances were shot and one of the doctors was the first wounded of our own. She was soon followed by many others. Meanwhile, we set into operation our emergency operating rooms in the basement."

"I was kept extremely busy. I directed the traffic by our own telephone network. It was about 10 p.m. when ~~Oravecz~~ Oravecz called a conference and five or six of his immediate staff participated. We said that we can't force our own people into fire because the consequences are disastrous. Oravecz, however, said there was no concrete case that ambulances were ~~being~~ fired at on purpose. I argued with him, bringing up the case of one of our own doctors."

"After the conference was over, one of our colleagues reported that his ambulance was also fired at and complained that he had the feeling that something might happen to him. His widowed mother had hardly let him go, she wanted to keep him at home by all means. I told him that he need not go out and I would send a volunteer, but he didn't want to accept this help."

"It was about 11:45 p.m. when our first own death was reported. The doctor just mentioned happened to have his turn and he was willing to go. I asked him, 'Would you still want to go?' He replied 'It's not far from here, at the Abbazia Cafe. There were two wounded reported and I want to go.' I was worried because of him. I watched the clock. I figured he had to return within 20 or at the very most within 30 minutes. But the ambulance still didn't show up. Now I started watching the minutes. At 12:30 I couldn't wait any longer. I tried to contact the hospital to which he was supposed to deliver the wounded and received the report that he was still not there. Now I decided to see him. I picked two volunteers and went through the Jokai St. I didn't want to go through the Nagykörut because that was full of Russian tanks. At the Abbazia Cafe I saw our ambulance. I stopped. I realized that it had been destroyed by an anti-tank gun. I saw the following picture: there were two wounded put in the ambulance, they were dead. The nurse was dead. The driver was wounded and lay in a coma. Three or three and a half yards from the ambulance was lying my colleague, dead. His body was pierced by sub-machine gun ~~bullets~~ bullets. He looked as if he had been sawed apart. It was against rules to carry ~~dead~~ dead in our ambulance. We carried his body into our own ambulance and the ~~wounded~~ wounded driver as well. Just then a Hungarian policeman yelled from the Abbazia Cafe 'Don't fool around here very long because you'll meet the same fate as these!' 'What happened to them?' he replied. 'A Russian soldier shot the doctor with a sub-machine gun and a Russian anti-tank gun, alarmed by this fire, destroyed the ambulance.' Now we left. I gave orders to the driver to drive slow and with the headlights on. After some 20 or 30 yards we got into machine gun fire coming from the same direction where our other ambulance was destroyed. Two rear tires were punctured by the bullets. I ordered the driver to go on without air in our tires."

"It was about 2 a.m. that I went to Oraveca and I asked him 'Do you believe or not that they fire at ambulances?!!' He tried to talk me out of it again and said that it was compulsory to go out to every case reported. I grew angry and told him that he should go himself."

"We responded to calls that night by telling those who called that they should go to nearby doctors because we couldn't force our people to expose themselves to fire. At 6:30 in the morning, we put duty on a voluntary basis. It was not only amazing, but also touching, to see how readily our people volunteered to go out, exposing themselves to the gravest dangers. There were a great many calls because cases which we did not take care of at night were not all taken care of by nearby doctors and we had to find a way for helping those out. Since all our ambulances were out on calls, doctors were busy in the operating rooms, there was one call that I answered myself. Two wounded were reported in Horvath St. As we gave first aid to one of the wounded and looked for the other I saw large crowds converging on the Parliament Building. We had to

look for the other wounded in the building and found that they had carried him to a fourth floor apartment, where a family took care of him. Some 30 or 40 minutes passed while we were searching for this wounded. I wanted to bring him through the Hollan Street, but we got into a ~~huge~~ huge crowd and were forced to stop. I went to the Alkotmany Street corner. There I saw Russian tanks standing idly by. I saw the hugest crowd coming from the direction of the Klize Cafe. The driver managed somehow to get out of the Hollan Street. He suggested that we go via Akademia Street. Meanwhile, we saw that the crowds completely filled up the Parliament Square."

"All of a sudden we heard a clatter of machine guns and my driver, my nurse and I ran over right away to the side of the Ministry of Agriculture, because it was that direction that we heard the shots coming from. It was there that we saw that the firing came from the windows of the upper floors of the Ministry of Agriculture. The tremendous chaos developed as a result of the shooting, and the crowd started backing toward the Ministry of Agriculture. We also saw firing coming from the roof of the building in which the Klize Cafe was. As the frightened crowd tried to back out from the square it was fired on from two directions. Now my driver and my nurse grabbed our first aid kits. We started giving first aid under the archway of the Building of Agriculture. It was there that we gave first aid to the first wounded we could reach or who were brought to us by people who saw us attending to the wounded. Very soon the first ambulance, which was apparently sent out for this very purpose, arrived. Soon came several ambulances. They all lined up on the side of the Ministry of Agriculture. Not only regular ambulances, but also buses came which were equipped to carry the wounded. Very soon eight or nine of our ambulances and three of our buses arrived there. I took over command over them. Between the Parliament Building and the building of the Ministry of Agriculture is the huge statue of Rakoczi. It is standing on a huge pedestal. I had the impression that most of the wounded lay around that statue. Since there was still some shooting, I picked that spot also for the reason that it could serve as a kind of cover. In fact, although in Ambulance Service uniforms, in white gowns of doctors, we drew fire ourselves. This is one of the reasons why I took up our first aid positions right at the statue, so we could be covered from fire. Of course, I mean the side facing toward the Parliament, because there was no fire coming from the Parliament Building. It was from there that I directed all the first aid work. By directing, I mean that I spotted or received reports that my colleagues spotted a particularly heavy wounded and we carried them to the pedestal of that statue and there we gave them first aid."

"I was profoundly shocked, but did not emotionally collapse or lose my head, because after all I had received quite a bit of fire as a pilot in the Hungarian Air Force as well as a doctor in front line service. I was more impressed by the really self-sacrificing work of my men than by the tremendous

massacre."

"When firing died out completely, we were able to go to any place in the square and to pick out the ones in most dire need. We told those wounded who were able to walk to go to the ambulances stationed on both sides of the Ministry of Agriculture. The ones who could move were very eager to get out of the Parliament Square, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ many were driven by tanks which converged upon the square from the various side streets, and which were ~~driving~~ driving people out of the square. These were Russian tanks. I didn't see any of these Russian tanks open fire. They just drove the crowds out of the square. These tanks didn't care about the bodies which lay around and squashed many of them as they drove through the square. My men told me that they squashed several of the wounded who were lying around to death. I personally didn't see such cases because all of my attention was helping the wounded."

"I heard only from my men and saw only a little part of the beginning of the story, according to which, tanks coming from various directions drove about 40 or 50 or so people into the Danube, in the most literal sense of the word, and several of these people lost their lives in the river. Motorboats, which were supposed to act as life savers on the Danube, rescued several of these people, but I understand that there were some who drowned."

"I worked there without interruption until after 4 p.m. The entire shooting started sometime a little before 11 o'clock and you can imagine how much we had to do, that we finished only after 4 o'clock. To tell you about details, what I actually did, was, aside from directing the work, I did only those emergency operations, or, I couldn't call them operations, emergency surgery work that was not the bandaging itself. The bandaging was done by the nurses. I applied many small emergency instruments, for instance, stop excessive bleeding from broken arteries and so on. My men bandaged the wounds and carried them to the ambulances and the ambulances took them to various hospitals."

"We suffered several casualties ourselves. I mean the Ambulance Service, but none of them was fatal. Indeed, the ADO must have spotted our men, because they were all clad in white uniforms and wore the Red Cross bandages, and even the volunteers who did only auxiliary work wore white gowns and Red Cross bandages. And still they fired at these people, too. The ADO just didn't care."

"It was sometime after 4 o'clock that I decided to go home, because there were no more so seriously wounded that the nurses could not have taken care of. I went back to the headquarters building in the Marko Street and took over in one of the operating rooms to carry out very urgent operations on the wounded, on those wounded who were delivered to our own operating rooms and not to other hospitals. I worked in the operating room until long after midnight."



"It was long after midnight that I took one and a half hours rest by coming up from the operating room and drinking a few ~~small~~ cups of demitasse and talking with my colleagues. At the dawn of the new day (Oct. 26th) I went around in our emergency hospital at our headquarters building and checked on the heavily wounded and separated the dead from the alive (in fact we had several who died even after ~~the~~ operations.)"

"From then on I worked with no interruption, never leaving our headquarters building for any considerable time, certainly not for going home. Well, I worked there for several days. It was only by telephone that I kept in touch with my daughter and brother-in-law and my aged father. (There were only doctors and other people in positions of great public interest whose telephones worked uninterrupted throughout the revolution.)"

"Asked about the number of casualties in the Parliament Square massacre, respondent answers: "We recorded only the heavily wounded. (By the way, it might be interesting for you to know that we thought of later consequences and we never asked people to identify themselves and they could tell us any name whatever they cared to.) We had a little over 900 wounded who were hospitalized. Many of them very seriously wounded, and about 3 to 400 who needed no hospitalization but were wounded. This number of the slightly wounded might have been much larger, because our reports may not have been complete. We have no accurate knowledge of the number of dead. We had absolutely nothing to do with the dead except for those who died in our own premises, but not the ones who died on the spot. But statistical experience shows that in the case of such a skirmish, or massacre, or even blood bath, I might say, the usual percentage of dead is about 12 to 15 of the wounded who need hospitalization. Since however this refers rather to battle conditions, not to such an outright massacre as this one was, and since one has to figure that many died under the treads of the advancing tanks, I would certainly take at least the upper figure and I would estimate that somewhere about 150 to 160 might have died on the Parliament Square. Figuring the likely number of the seriously wounded who died as a consequence of the wounds inflicted on Parliament Square, I would say that 10 or 20 more may be reckoned with. This I would set the approximate number at 125 or so, perhaps one may say between 150 and 175 is the most likely number of the dead."

Respondent now tells in great detail a few very interesting episodes in his next few days of work, but the main thing about it is that he didn't go any more to the Goldberger plant, since the workers were striking and since he was needed every second at the headquarters of the National Ambulance Service, and there he kept directing ~~traffic~~ transportation service and kept operating in the operating room."

Speaking of the night from Nov. 3 to Nov. 4, respondent mentions that "as usual there were some scattered shootings in the various parts of the city, but there were only a few lightly wounded and those were easily taken care of. Whenever, there was a station of ours nearby, we directed the station to take care of those cases, and if an emergency arose, we ourselves dispatched an ambulance. It was after midnight that we received a report that an impending maternity case has to be taken care of. Since it was just a few minutes after I handed over service, and since I was an obstetrician, too, I decided to go out myself and to help the poor woman. This maternity case was reported from the area of the

has to be taken care of. Since it was just a few minutes after I handed over service, and since I was an obstetrician, too, I decided to go out myself and help the poor woman. This maternity case was reported from the area of the Vienna highway. I decided to go to see her myself because the last phase of labor was reported and I thought I'd better take equipment with me because she very likely would deliver the child while we are transporting her. As we went out to her we saw a considerable number of Russian tanks stationed on the left side of the Vienna highway. (Interviewer's note: Vienna Highway so-called, but actually one of the wide avenues in the city, certainly rather on the outskirts of the city, and on several occasions we saw light signals and particularly signal flares of the Russians. We didn't think much of those flares and as we passed the ~~the~~ checking point (passenger checking point not military checking point) of the Vienna highway, there were Russian and Hungarian uniforms and soldiers standing together, but they did not mean to stop us. We picked up the maternity case and left on our way back. This was quarter of one o'clock. We hadn't ever quite reached the traffic checking point when military fire was started from both sides. Machine guns, sub-machine guns and so on. The fire went from one side of the highway to the other and back. We stopped and took out the woman on a stretcher and took her in a ditch on the side of the highway. We put out the headlights of the ambulance and there in complete darkness I had to help the woman deliver the child. Thank God, everything went smoothly. It was only after completion of the birth and ~~immediately~~ after everything was finished, the ~~first~~ infantry fire stopped. As we were about to leave, some Russian officers came to us with lamps in their hands. They asked us to go and see their wounded and to take care of them and deliver them in hospitals. I objected and told him that our hands were full with this maternity case. I suggested to them to put their own vehicles at our disposal and we would take care of the delivery with help of their own ambulances to the Margit hospital, just as we delivered this woman to the same place. The Russian officers didn't believe me and they took their lamps and looked at the woman and the baby and looked over the ambulance, and it was then it turned out that the ambulance was so badly damaged in this brief firing that we couldn't use it, and so I was very glad when they brought their own ambulances and I was able to put in our woman in one of those. Some of the wounded were already bandaged and we helped with the others - none of them were seriously wounded and we told them that we would deliver them. As we passed the traffic checking point, and might have gone a few hundred yards, a group of Hungarian freedom fighters tried to stop us, telling us that ~~they~~ they had wounded - but the Russian driver wouldn't listen, and he drove on.

When we arrived at the Margit hospital, it was hospital personnel who helped the Russian driver to carry in their wounded. When the ambulance was cleared of the wounded, I suddenly had an idea, and jumped into the driver's seat and drove back to the freedom fighters - to the boys who tried to stop us with their wounded, and in fact I found six wounded there, put them on the ambulance and took them back to the hospital. The Russian driver was cursing when we arrived. He suggested that

all of us .....our mother, but was at last resigned to our having made the trick, took his ambulance and went back.

While I delivered the boys, our own ambulance was repaired and it took us back to the headquarters of the National Ambulance Service Headquarters. This was about two p.m. and I decided to take a little rest myself, although all the more since the entire city was quiet.

"I was awakened a few minutes after three a.m., and I was ordered to see Gravez at once. He gave me orders to see to it that the Szobi Street Hospital which was a trachoma hospital be evacuated at once, and to be ready to become an emergency hospital for wounded. It was certainly before three forty-five that he told me that a Russian attack was imminent against the freedom fighters of Budapest. He told me to take over the Szobi St. hospital of contagious eye diseases as head physician and I should evacuate the patients to other eye-departments in other hospitals and that I should transform that hospital into a first-aid and surgical hospital. He told me explicitly that he had received this information from the Ministry of Interior. He gave me detailed briefing and told me what equipment I would get and among others I would get 18 ambulances. I received complete equipment for operating rooms - other equipment which had been stored at our storage room and we loaded these things on trucks and managed to get over to the Szobi St hospital before the actual shooting started. The Szobi St. hospital had not been alerted as to what was in store for them. I informed the director as to the orders I had received; he was bitter about it, but we had to carry out the orders. We transported to the patients of this hospital and to the ey-departments of the various hospitals. There were only seventy some patients and we managed to find a place for them. My men carried the equipment we took to the hospital and we saw to it that the entire building and every piece of equipment was disinfected; there was still no shooting. I attended to every phase of the operation personally. (by shooting I mean, shooting in our area)

"It was shortly before seven o'clock that I wanted to take some material again from the National Headquarters over to Szobi St. hospital that we saw the first Russian tank column. These tanks came by the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Avenue. The hatches of the tanks were open and the soldiers didn't fire but they looked intently around. We managed to dodge them and to get back to Szobi St. hospital and there we concluded the rearrangements and transformation and stood ready to receive the wounded. There was one thing I didn't like in the hospital and that was the situation with the electricity - the electric lines leading to the hospital. The situation was that the main line came from the neighboring building of the Hotel Britannia. It happened that that hotel had always been a much-liked place of revolutionary and occupational airforces. In the counter-revolution of 1919 it was used by the Gestapo and the Russian NKVD used it, too. In fact, it was a notorious building - all the more since after the NKVD ...it up it was much more like a place of the AVO officers. Now I figure that the Russian NKVD are something similar to that of the AVO itself may want to use it again, and anything may happen to our main power line. I wanted

to be cautious and careful and so I ordered generators so that we could generate electricity ourselves. Fortunately, I was given the generators. These generators were able to supply a sufficient electricity not only for lighting but also for our giant ex-ray and other equipment, but when I checked the generators I found out that most of the brushes of the carbon - carbon brushes were missing - this fact, of course made the generators useless. It was due to the heroic spirit and the atmosphere of the revolution that saved our electric power supply. You have to know that by then (am) the battle in the city was on - it was not an extended one but it was sporadic, but it was in a great many sections of the city. We received more and more reports since by then our telephone mechanics connected with us the network - the special network of the National Ambulance Service - and the reports were about more and more of the wounded. Now, this is what I mean about the heroic spirit of the revolution: I called up the director of the engineering department of the Goldberger Plant with the request to find, even with the help of couriers, to find somehow the two best trained and most ingenious generator mechanics of the plant, and to send them over to me so that they could repair the generators of the hospital. It was about eight a.m. when I talked to the director of that department, and by quarter of nine, both mechanics I requested came - both of them from far points of the city - one of them came from UJPEST and the other from CSPK; they came on motorcycles and reported that they were ready to do anything they could. They not only left their families and their safety in outskirts of Budapest but they stayed for much more than the repair of the generators - they stayed there for the entire period while the fight was going on in town so that they could repair anything that went wrong and they became part of my team at the hospital - in fact, they stayed there for two full weeks.

( "You see, precaution was justified because it happened on the 7th that a Russian tank severed the main power line that led from the Hotel Britannia to our bldg. and we were left without power supply..so we had to get everything from our generators).

"After all the equipment and its functions was secured in the hospital, I had to go up about securing food supplies. We received the first wounded a few minutes after nine o'clock. These were eighteen Hungarian freedom fighters who had all been severely wounded in a fight in the neighborhood of the ~~market~~ Lanchid (chain-bridge) All of them were severely wounded. Much as I wanted to go about organizing the food supply of the hospital, I had to go to the operating room to take care of these very seriously wounded - operating took all my time. ~~Unfortunately~~ Unfortunately my assistant manager of the hospital was not too well equipped to organize things, and so even during operations I was asked, on a great many occasions, to give directives and to make major decisions. I certainly can't blame my colleague because then the battle started raging not far from us and he had not had much practice in these things. Later on, he changed and it was only in the beginning it was so difficult

to work with him. It was not only the crackling of rifle fire and the ~~clatter~~ clatter of machine guns but there were tremendous intonations that we even thought we received aerial bombardment. From then on our ambulances came every five minutes and at least every ten minutes with new wounded. Our eighteen ambulances were in full operation. This tedious work lasted well into the afternoon, and I couldn't take time either for eating or for drinking, nor could I smoke a cigarette.

Fortunately the news spread around in the neighborhood that the Szobi St. Hospital was transformed into an emergency surgery hospital and more and more colleagues came voluntarily to help us. In the early afternoon, I had a complete crew of doctors and nurses, and all worked as dedicated persons. In fact, later, we received too many offers to help for nothing, and there were doctors and nurses whom I used for giving only first-aid right in the corridors and in the lobby of the hospital, until those wounded could be operated on. It was very fortunate that I had so many dedicated help because they brought back a tremendous number of wounded and every bit of help was needed.

There was much fighting going on in various blocks in Nagykorut, but the Szobi St. which was a side street of Nagykorut, was left alone. Not far from us was the Post Office Building of Podmaniczky St. It was about noon that a tremendous battle raged around that building because freedom fighters attacked the Russian tanks which were posted around that building. When the raging battle quieted somewhat down - about one p.m., we received the first wounded from this battle, and it was then that we received the first Russian wounded. There were two Russian tanks annihilated in that area, and there were many Russian soldiers shot to death or wounded in the armored cars. Of course we operated on the Russian soldiers just as on the Hungarians and we took just as good care of them as of the Hungarians, but the Russians were very well informed where our hospitals lay because they came regularly. Committees of officers came quite regularly to our hospital to see who the Russian wounded are and to take them over to their own hospitals. They came in always with cocked pistols, and were utterly distrustful. It was only on one occasion that they did not insist on taking every Russian soldier with them immediately, and that was the case of a soldier whose face had been badly destroyed and who told me that he wanted me to make a plastic surgery because he knew well that the Russian doctors wouldn't do it for him - they would leave him a cripple. I promised him to do so and meant to do the operation that night, but when the Russian officers came and demanded that we report every Russian soldier we had to report him, too, and they wanted to take him with them just as the others; he, however, resisted and threatened suicide. The Russian officer backed down and said that if I conducted the surgery - the plastic surgery - he would leave him to my care and to take him with them only when they came next time. This is how it happened.

"Not only the Russian soldiers were not left in our hospital but the Hungarian wounded were delivered to regular hospital as well, because our functioned only as an emergency hospital and was not geared to nursing the wounded - only to giving them first-aid and to operate on them and to keep them as long as they could not be delivered to other hospitals. Our four storey building was destined to undertake only the first and most necessary steps in saving the life of the wounded - further care was left to other regular hospitals. We always inquired at various hospitals whether "there was quiet" in their area and if "there was quiet" we sent as many of the wounded as they could take.

"In the night from the 4th - 5th of November, we received reports that the entire highest floor of Surgical Hospital No. 2 had to be evacuated because Russian tanks destroyed it. Later, we received report that the Rokus Hospital was very badly damaged by Russian tanks and artillery and that most of its facade was completely destroyed. Under normal circumstances, these and similar news ought to have scared at least a few of our volunteer staff away but this was not the case. They all stayed on their job and kept working day and night.

"Food supply was the greatest problem. I organized it the way we received warm, cooked food from the Akacfa Hospital; and cold food such as bread and bacon and salami and raw cabbages and green peppers etc. if there were any - from the storage room of the Ambulance Headquarters. As pretty much fighting was going on not only on the 4th, but on subsequent days - particularly on both the Kiskorut and the Nagykorut and in various other segments of the city, we made a dedicated and really heroically unafraid group of food-supply transporters who went again and again to the Akacfa St. which was not very close. They organized the transportation in a way that they sent scouts in advance, and those reported what way they could dodge the fighting groups and deliver food with relatively little risk. It was due to the effort of these untiring resourceful people who really had guts and heart that our food supply was never exhausted.

"By the night from the 4th- 5th of November, most of the fighting groups for the freedom fighters knew that the Szobi St. Hospital had become an emergency surgical hospital, and it was not only our 18 ambulances which delivered the wounded but also the so-called Voluntary Ambulance Service of the various fighting groups. Corvin Block had for instance, such and so did the Mabi Hospital located at the Páterfi Sandor Street, and some other groups. Thus we received wounded from them as well as from our own 18 ambulances.

"In the morning of the 6th of Nov. I received an unexpected telephone call from one of the employees of the Soroksari Ut ( Soroksari Ave.) Food Processing Plant. (this man happened to be the husband of my former secretary at the Goldenberger Plant) to the effect that there is a tremendous amount of canned food piled up in the storage rooms of their plant and organizations such as hospitals or the Ambulance Service could take as much of them as necessary. The only trouble was that the plant was hardly accessible because of the fight that was raging in various parts of the city, and not far from the plant as well. Still the ambulances could move around relatively free and perhaps we could venture to go there and perhaps could come back unharmed and take food with us. I immediately reported this to my superiors and received permission to go out.

Dodging all the points where fights were on, I ran out myself to the plant, as soon as I got the written permission. Fortunately enough I was able to take as much canned food with us as we could carry. Right behind this food processing plant was the Herz salami factory. I learned that the Russians captured this factory and were transporting the salami away. I was in uniform so I thought might be successful in pleading with the Russians that they should let us have some of the salami. It turned out that I was granted permission to take loads of salami with us. The amount I was able to get hold of was so great that we could supply not only our own hospital and the Ambulance Headquarters but a good number of hospitals as well.

characterized by

"The first six days I spent as director of that hospital were with superhuman efforts of our staff of doctors and nurses, and other employees as I had mentioned already the group in charge of food supply. After the first six days our life and work became somewhat more normal, and I kept working there until the 18th.

"It was on the 18th of November that I learned from my daughter that AVH people came to my home looking for me. Thinking of my past experiences with AVH I thought that this was no joke, and I had to make up my mind to leave the country. In order to prepare for leaving the country, I decided that the Goldenberger Plant would be a better place for me so that if anything happened to me I could easily escape. From that plant, while here in the heart of the city, it would be difficult for me. I went to my superiors and asked permission to leave the Szobi

Hospital in charge of my assistant and go back to the Goldberger factory to get the physician's office back into operation.

"Back at the Goldberger officer, I reorganized my staff of nurses and put things in good shape and in the meantime I prepared everything for my escape from the country.

"By the 28th, I received reports that the AVH was interested in me, and this confirmed my worst expectations. I saw that I could hesitate no longer, nor could I have more time for preparations, so I took off on the 28th and managed to get across the Austrian border the next day."

A. The demonstrations: Respondent had no time to participate in the demonstrations.

He told us quite elaborately in the story he just related that he had extensive knowledge of the demonstrations.

Asked about his expectations during the demonstrations respondent says that he identified himself with the demands set forth in the leaflets.

He was anxious to see the entire Communist government go and a democratic government become the leadership. He was not ready to compromise - certainly not, he says, because he actually wanted to see a complete democratic regime and a complete independence of the country.

Before the fighting started, he had very little hope that anything could be realized by the demands; in fact, he was surprised to learn that the Minister of the Interior gave permission to hold demonstrations. He was flabbergasted, he says, that he learned of the fact that large crowds joined the demonstrating students and still the AVO did not fire at them.

Speaking of the outcome, respondent says that he expected the government to issue orders to the AVO to disperse the crowds.

Speaking of the demonstrators, respondent says, first they consisted of youth - later however, first the pedestrians who happened to be in the streets joined them, and then later allsorts of people from the houses, nearby buildings and later as the news spread, all types - people from all walks of life joined them.



Respondent thinks that women were among the most enthusiastic in the demonstrating crowds. Older people first were restrained and cautious and did not participate in demonstrations, but as the demonstrations unfolded they could not help letting go and they joined them.

Respondent thinks that there were two categories who did not participate in the demonstrations - those were first of all the Communists, and secondly the timid and the overly cautious.

Leadership in the demonstrations was first provided by students - later by other intellectuals and in particular by capable leaders of the workers.

Asked how the leaders were chosen in the demonstrations, respondent answers that such a question is mistaken because these were not organized demonstrations and whoever was the person with leadership qualities and with good ideas and initiative, imagination naturally voiced people's demands and people accepted him.

#### B. The Fighting:

Although respondent didn't fight himself, he saw several fights pretty well and he elaborately described when speaking of these events of Oct. 25th, and that he saw other action and told me about some in detail.

During none of these fights did he feel any fear. Not even the massacre on the Parliament Square, or when his ambulance when he was in it was shot at. But afterwards, he says, he imagined what and how easily it could have happened to him and certainly filled him with awe.

Speaking of the expected outcome of the revolution during the fights, respondent says that after the first victorious days, he was full of hope and when freedom was actually regained, he felt as if he were in a dreamland. The wonderful success filled him with unspeakable joy, but when he saw and heard in radio reports what fantastic reinforcements came in from Soviet Russia, he lost all his hope.

Respondent was not surprised at all when the government called for the help of Russian troops, because he expected nothing better of that government.

Asked how the demonstrations turned into fighting, respondent says it is hard to tell because there was no organization behind the demonstrations. After the first shot of the AVO was fired, respondent says that people were molded into a large family and where all were filled with the same desire, and everybody sought and easily found the part which he had to play in order to cooperate with the whole. He found it tremendously amazing with what primitive weapons people were ready to take a fight against the "enemy". People saw no other goal respondent says but to shake off the yoke of the "enemy", and he explains that by "enemy" people meant Soviet and Communist oppression alike.

Respondent doesn't clearly recall but he's under the impression that he first ~~heard~~ heard the term "freedom fighter" on the 26th of October.

Asked who fought, respondent says that the revolution before Nov. 4th was to a greater extent the enterprise of youth. After Nov. the 4th, he says that youth was joined by age - a great many workers who did not first fight in the revolution before Nov. 4th.

Respondent says that the revolutionaries first got arms from the members of the Armed Forces and the Blue Police (regular police). Many of these forces handed over their weapons to the freedom fighters. Many of the arms depots were put at the disposal of the freedom fighters in many places - the soldiers themselves who sympathized with the freedom fighters opened those arm depots. In other places, they didn't open them but got word to the students how they could seize those munition and arms depots. Respondent refers to his statement made in the story where he witnessed soldiers handed over their arms at the Ferdinand bridge.

Asked about the organization of the freedom fighters, respondent says that only local groups had any leadership. There was no central leadership whatsoever. He recalls ~~an event~~ an event which took place during the night of the 5th-6th of November. Three wounded were brought to his hospital from the Corvin block, and in his conversation with those very intelligent people he learned about how that group was organized and heard also of the organization of other groups. One of these wounded had been the leader of one of the groups that had attacked Party headquarters on the Issa Kalman Square.

C. The Reinvasion:

When respondent heard that the Russians were retreating, but retreating only to the outskirts of Budapest - this mere fact that such a tremendous force would be stationed on the outskirts of Budapest made a very disquieting impression upon him. Knowing their communist mentality respondent said that he had very bad surmises. He was strengthened in his beliefs when on the 2nd or 3rd of November they tried to help a French Journalist to leave Hungary by plane. They took him to the Budaors airport and they saw an immense number of Russian tanks assembled - mostly ground but some even in the airfield, and the Russians didn't permit the French newspaperman who had been wounded to leave the country, and it was then that they went over to the Matyasfold airfield and attempted the same. There they also saw a great number of Russian tanks but there they were more fortunate and received permission for the French newspaperman to fly out of the country.

Respondent comes again to the word "retreat" of the Russians and he takes exception to this term. He says that we could actually not speak of any "retreat" on their part because they meant only to withdraw to the outskirts of Budapest. He also brings up that in the days when Russian tanks were supposed to be withdrawn on the outskirts of Budapest he saw several which were left in the city, although with Hungarian flags and he also saw the crew for some of them and he is not sure what to think of those.

Asked what he first heard that Soviet withdrawal had been halted, respondent refers to his former statement that he doesn't think that there was any withdrawal in motion. Hence it could not be halted at all.

Respondent told us already in his story that he saw Russian troops returning at 8. a.m. of Nov. 4th, and he also told us that he met Russian troops in the night from Nov. 3rd - Nov. 4th.

Respondent told us ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in detail in his story how he spent the time between the Red Army's return and his escape.

He began planning his escape at the time when he heard he was looked for by the AVO and that was Nov. 18th - 19th.

D. Conclusion: Asked whether Hungary has gained because of the revolution, respondent says: "In spite of the tremendous bloodiness; in spite of the tremendous sacrifices of the Hungarian people, I think we have to concede that it was a most glorious part of Hungarian history which will give added strength to the Hungarian people - to know they were capable of such a fantastic achievement, and this will help them in being equal to other great tasks

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in being equal to other great tasks. The good reputation Hungary has won in the eyes of the world will also help the Hungarian people in the future, he thinks. Thus, moral success is undeniable but material and physical losses are tremendous. Hungary has gained also because the Hungarian people were brought closer to each other. In fact, the revolution and its oppression became a tremendous ~~xxxx~~ uniting force. It was also a great gain for people to realize that the entire Hungarian nation was against Communism, and that Communism turned out to be a failure. Hungarians certainly became proud and content to know that the mentality of the Hungarian people was not ready to swallow Communism."

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EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

Asked what he expected from the West, he said:

"Indeed I expected a great deal of help from the West. Above all, I expected all out moral support from the West but beyond that arms and first of all the dispatch of a UN committee to Hungary to be on the spot and to see what is going on and to influence the Russians in their actions by its mere presence. But I also expected arms...."

Respondent formed his expectations on the basis of "foreign radio broadcasts" The news all seemed to tend to confirm what he hoped was not without foundation.

Respondent briefly ~~met~~ met German, Austrian and English newspapermen at Ambulance Headquarters during the revolution. The German newsman gave him very great encouragement. He said this strengthened his belief that the West would help. When I probed respondent he answers that the German newsman had told him explicitly that help from the West would be forthcoming. ..help even in form of arms. Respondent also recalls a conversation with the French newsman on either the 1st or 2nd and he says that that newsman was quite objective and he did not hold out the hope for effective Western help.

## SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

### A. Family background:

Respondent's father was a construction engineer. After 1945, his father retired because by then he was very old. Before the war, he was not only a construction engineer but he owned a construction firm and that meant a tremendous income. Respondent puts it between 300,000 and 400,000 pengos. And he adds that this income did not come solely from his construction firm but also from his very considerable acreage (estates) and his several apartment houses. The land reform took most of his holdings in land, and gradually his apartment houses were taken away also; the last ~~possession~~ <sup>possession</sup> of his was ~~seized~~ <sup>seized</sup> in 1949. Thus his income sank to about 6, or 7,000 forints. His income was of course cut so that by 1945, respondent had to support his father because he lost his income completely.

When respondent is asked about his property, he is embarrassed and is very reluctant to answer the questions and I had to plead with him. Even pleading helps very little and I have to persuade him by bringing up that our project would greatly profit from having at least one person who had a great richness behind him. Only his appreciation for our project convinces him that he should say something about his property.

Before the war, respondent had two apartment houses, both were four-floors in size. He had a vineyard of 25 acres, and a farm of 600 acres. This was his initial property and in ten years he inherited a great deal, and acquired some himself and then he owned Hungary's largest pharmacy which employed over twenty people; the acreage of his land increased to 1800 acres, and he owned one more apartment house- a family house and a villa at Lake Balaton. He also owned by then 80 acres of vineyard.

After 1945, all these possessions were gradually taken away from him and respondent gave up the last piece of property in 1950. Only his villa at Lake Balaton was not taken away from him, and also a small family home in Szeged. In 1952, even that small family home was seized by the government. In 1955, even his doctor's office was taken away by the government.

Respondent's father had the diploma of a construction engineer, and his mother graduated from a commercial high school and then she studied one or two years of college.

B. Social Classes:

Respondent is aware of the following social classes in Hungary: the upper ten thousand of Communist aristocracy; the intellectuals; the working class; and the peasantry. But within peasantry, respondent clearly sees two layers - one the ones who for personal gains are somehow allied with the Communist Party and those who are actually hard-working, poor peasants. Within the working class he again sees two layers - there was a thin layer who belonged to some exceptional branch, who were very well paid - for instance, the workers who worked on the construction of the new subways, and that most of them are actually exploited and are very poor workers. Before he closes his explanation on the social classes in Hungary, respondent says that the AVG certainly belonged to the Communist aristocracy.

Asked about contact with these groups, respondent says that as a physician he came into contact with all of these groups. When he had jobs in towns in the province, he had quite a bit of contact with peasantry and, as a matter of course, he had a lot of contact with workers at the Goldberger Plant - among others.

His attitudes toward these groups could be expressed in the following words:

"With the exception of Communist Aristocracy, all of these groups were decent, hard-working Hungarians...people who had much affection for their country, who hated oppression from the bottom of their hearts. I liked them as people and I think pretty highly of them."

Respondent feels that he belongs to the intellectuals.

Respondent considers all those people intellectuals who completed at least humanistic or industrial vocational high schools, and preferably those who are college graduates.

Respondent thinks that the intellectuals were hardest hit by Communism. He reasons that before Communism at least, that class of Hungarian society had a decent living, and had an opportunity to receive and retain a good level of intellectual education and enjoy it; but now, he says, even this class was pushed down by Communism to the pretty low level mainly economic level of the other classes. He likes the fact that class differences were greatly disappearing but he would have liked to see the general tendency upward not downward.

Respondent wishes to remark, that although a member of the intellectuals himself, he belonged to the privileged because he was considered an expert in his field who was indispensable, and he says that indispensable people are so recognized as privileged in every social stratum of society.

Asked how the different classes felt about each other, respondent says that as compared to the past there was a tremendous upsurge in developing differences that characterized the past were rapidly disappearing. People saw each other much more as people than ever before. People were <sup>no more</sup> looked down upon because they were merchants, or because they were small tradesmen, nor did the small tradesmen look down upon the peasants anymore. The sharp dividing lines; the walls which were so artificially erected against classes were more or less destroyed, he says.

Since respondent was a member of the historic aristocracy of Hungary his actual name ~~was~~ was Count of..... I asked him what his experience was and how this aristocracy was transformed during the regime and how its members behaved and how they were treated by other social classes. Respondent gives a detailed answer with several complete examples to highlight their conditions and they may be summarized as follows:

He does not feel capable of giving a percentage wise breakdown; he can only point to ~~three~~ <sup>four</sup> different groups in aristocracy - which shouldn't be called groups, but three different attitudes of various members of the aristocracy, and as a ~~result~~ <sup>result</sup> maybe mention the ones who fled abroad. The ones remaining in Hungary fall into ~~three~~ <sup>four</sup> groups, according to respondent: (1) ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> civilians who became useful members of the working class, or of the middle-class; (2) the group of ingenious people with great initiative; (3) the break-down cases who didn't have the nerves to endure and (4) the traitors. The first group is self-explanatory; the second group is characterized by respondent who says it consisted of only a few former aristocrats who had initiative to start new businesses, although in the framework of the state because they received no commission to have a private ~~business~~ business, and he mentions really amazing examples of ingenious innovations; the third group is self-explanatory and the fourth contains those who sold themselves to Nazism, and to Communism.

C. Social Advancement: Respondent says those individuals could get ahead who either became Communists or at least were clever enough to act as though they were Communists, and to speak very cleverly as if they were Communists. Even these people had to be very foxy, but the ones who did not join the Communist Party or play as if they were Communists needed the utmost of cunning to become a person in a higher position. He says, of talent, if it was not coupled with cunning, it had to be



an indispensable talent and thoroughly exploited by the Communists. If a talent happened to be their man they did everything they could to skyrocket him into high position, but if the talent was not a Communist, they sought to replace him the moment he was no longer indispensable. ~~xxxxxxxx~~

As asked about the role of class origin, he says that class origin was awfully important. Once high-class origin was forgiven only in a case where a person was not only a Communist Party member but had to do outstanding things for Communism; then he did not become a trusted member of Communist aristocracy but they used him as a member of their society whom they tolerated and whose name they used as a means of propaganda to say that a former aristocrat was completely converted into a Communist.

Respondent mentions some favorable changes after 1953 when Imre Nagy took over. This meant relaxation in practically every field.

Speaking about him as a person, respondent says, that the..... could get ahead - the completely unprincipled, the morally irresponsible people who had no backbone whatsoever. Neither people who had a bit of independent will nor those who had a bit of independent brain could get ahead in Hungary.

D. Favored Groups:

Respondent says of course that the Communists were the favored group in Hungary, and within the number of Communists, it was the leaders and AVO who were the most favored.

Asked about other favored groups, respondent says that he ought to mention those scientists, professors and artists, writers who acquired Communist Party membership because they were especially favored, and even some among them who did not become Party members but ~~xxxxxxxx~~ were kind of fellow-travelers.



It is only tact that prevents me from asking respondent about the three types of families, because it is so obvious what he would answer. The story he told in detail and I ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ recorded in digested form, speaks for itself.

Asked about the three types of families, respondent says that the one that comes closest to describing a typical Hungarian family is the third one in the case of which life went on much as before.

Asked how children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent says that decent, conscientious parents had it twice as hard as before because they had to teach children, not only what they usually taught them, but also to keep in secret that they teach them the truth about Communism. Respondent says and describes extensively how educated families and humble ones alike strived to see that their children were not blinded by Communist indoctrination to truth, to goodness and to beauty. How they tried and succeeded to instil lofty ideas and ideals in their children. It seems to him that at least the majority, if not most, Hungarian families, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ acted in this fashion. The influence of religion, he adds, was essential in such a family education.

#### B. Sex patterns.

Asked about changes in the ways young people courted each other, respondent said that before Communism the mere fact, the basic fact that a person could not introduce himself to a girl, or a girl could not introduce herself to a young man, but that they had to find a third person who made them acquainted with each other was the greatest single deterrent to lowering the level of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ sex morals, and this was done away with completely under Communism, he explains.

Still talking about this point, respondent mentions that changes in sex education in public schools did a great deal of damage and he mentions, above all, the book written by Magda Ligeti, and he, emphasizing that he doesn't speak as a prude person, but as a physician who looks at sex, not with the eyes of a priest, emphasizing this, he describes the book by Magda Ligeti as the most scandalous trash. "That was a book written by a low Communist doctor, a woman who wrote this book for children ~~xx~~ 12 years old and even younger, and among other trash, she, for instance, advocates masturbation for children and describes it as something wholesome and details the technique of it for her readers. And she describes masturbation in both sexes with the same approval. She alleges that virginity is something completely outmoded and refers to herself, who, at the age of 12, took away her virginity with the help of a candle, and she describes the technique of masturbation with the help of candlesticks in detail. Not conservative parents alone, but we physicians were disgusted and dismayed and aroused by her book. I would say that she as a doctor advocated things of which she knew well that they would be detrimental to

youth. She advocated things which undermined, not only one's wholesome sexual desires and sexual life, but the individuality, the personality, of that person as well. She did these things as a dedicated Communist to destroy the stamina of Hungarian youth. Take, for instance, the fact that she tells children to masturbate several times a day if they wish it, because there is nothing harmful in that, and to incite them even more, she says that parents try to dissuade children from masturbation because they are envious of their children enjoying something already at an early age which they want to enjoy by themselves. She also advocated sexual intercourse in children the very moment when the penis of a boy erects, she says he can well go ahead and put it, and she describes how, into the vagina of a girls."

Still speaking of the same point, respondent says that "the demoralization of Hungarian youth went on, not only with the help of books, but also with the help of youth camps in which boys and girls had adjacent camps and at night sexual intercourse was frequent. A great many pregnancies resulted from such camps and it was in these years that the slogan 'It is a duty for a woman to bear a child and it is a glory for a girl' was announced and expounded."

Probed how much officially and how frequently this slogan was announced, respondent says that even in one of the hospitals he worked, this slogan was written on the wall in the maternity ward in four different places, and it was there in the lobby as well. The slogan appeared on the walls upon the order of the party secretary in that hospital, he says, and he recalls that he had great difficulty in removing them in January, 1952. He says that this same sign appeared in many other places, of course, among others in doctors' offices of the Oti. (State Medical Service.) "All of what I told you here was a systematic undermining of the health of wholesome family life!", respondent concludes.

Asked about how marriages came about as compared with the past, respondent says that the ~~mandatory~~ compulsory medical examination that was necessary in the decades prior to Communism and which served to safeguard the health of families was done away with by the Communists. Thus, he explains, another obstacle to precipitate marriages was removed. This was one great change, he explains, and the other one was the fact that most couples to be married started sexual life prior to their ~~actual~~ wedding.

Coming back to speak of Magda Ligeti's book again, respondent says he should add to his ~~former~~ previous remarks that this book was made a compulsory reading in all schools in the subject matter of hygiene upward from the age of 10, and when public opinion was so aroused, that it demanded the withdrawal of this book, the government was even in a totalitarian state pressured into withdrawing it, first from being part of a subject matter and later it was completely withdrawn from circulation. As a last step, he says, the circulation of that book was prohibited by court order. But the damage it did in the three years of circulation (from 1951 to 1954) is certainly tremendous, he remarks.

Speaking of the topic of changes in sexual morality, respondent says: "The atmosphere that can be characterized by the slogan I quoted above ... 'It is a glory for an unwed girl to bear a child'...was supposed to result in a rapid increase of the population. Under Anna Ratko, who pushed herself into the position of the minister of health (who knew as much about health as a pair of boots) (Interviewer's note: A Hungarian saying, the lack of knowledge) who previously had been a humble worker in a textile factory, was responsible for a law that was designed to make abortions completely impossible by imposing as heavy ~~punish~~ punishments for an abortion as 15 year jail terms. Later, however, the regime found out that the number of the so-called 'Ratko children' became so tremendous that the nurseries and schools had difficulty in finding room for them, and so the regime decided that they ~~was~~ should permit abortions ~~again~~. Thus the pendulum swung into the other direction and now, not only medically justified ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ abortions were conducted, but ~~xx~~ unscrupulous abortions became an every day matter. This law permitting abortions was at least in part, ~~xxx~~ designed to increase the state treasury, but permission for a permit for abortion had to be bought for 250 forints at the council houses.

The role of parents in courtship, engagement and marriage was very greatly diminished as compared to the past, respondent says. In the past, particularly the parents of a girl, had very much to say whom she should marry and particularly, whom she should not marry, but now, respondent says, this was greatly cut.

Respondent says the appearance was that there was no prostitution under Communism because it was outlawed brothels, but he says they had to abolish only only one type of brothel because another type had already been abolished in 1931 - the type that has not existed since 1931 was that of a house, an institution where the girls were employed, and the enterprise belonged to another person, or a family or a company or something (the red-light district\*) This type of house was abolished in 1931, and since then the prostitutes were made independent ~~xxxxxxxx~~ and they used these brothels only as a kind of a meeting place with their customers. Now, the Communists abolished even these, but respondent says that was very harmful because thus the prostitutes who up until ~~then~~ had to undergo medical examinations twice a week and if they were found having ~~VA~~ or another contagious disease, they were ~~xxxxxx~~ cured in hospitals with ~~xxx~~ no charge. The Communists wanted to see the prostitutes "normal" persons - which meant they wanted the workers ~~xx~~ and that people to work as any other people at some kind of protective work/ For instance, the Communists directed a prostitute to become a ~~xxxxxxx~~ taxi-driver and others to become police-women, because they thought under military discipline they would form into very useful citizens. Respondent ~~xxxx~~

says that these things resulted in worse effects than the Communists could imagine, because such cab-drivers performed their business now in the taxi cabs and such policemen practiced their profession corrupting many a policeman. Many of such later became prostitute outlaws again and left their regular jobs. Communists then tried to impose very heavy penalties on them, several years in jail, for instance.

Respondent thinks that the sexual morality of convinced Communists is different from that of the average Hungarian because they are much more apt to have no moral principles whatsoever, in any field of life. Naturally, the same refers to sexual life, he says. He says the principle is party line, and as that changes, so changes their entire outlook on ~~his~~ life and so changes morality and sexual morality. At least it changes in appearance, although, actually, he says, they will live as they think and as they can afford as enjoyably as they can. They enjoy sexual life in form of extra-marital relations, or what have you. They don't have any moral laws against that. At least not if they do it in secret, because party line may be against it and then they have to do everything secretly.

C. Friendship with Communists.

Respondent says that if a friend of his joined the Communist Party and became a minor functionary, he would keep up the friendship with him if he knew that that friend of his was not a sincere Communist, but joined the party through compelling circumstances, mostly those of an economic nature. But, he adds, even in such a case, he would grow somewhat reserved toward that friend and he would watch him for a good while to see whether he changes in his attitude as well as in his party affiliations, at least outwardly. If however, that friend becomes a zealous party member, respondent would shun every contact with him and would feel very sorry for that friend and would consider it a human tragedy.

Speaking of concrete examples, respondent says that among his ~~brothers-in-law~~ ~~xxx~~ in-laws, one brother-in-law broke up friendship for ever with another brother-in-law because the other was forced to join the party. Respondent explains: "I knew that brother-in-law very well, and I knew that he would not change his attitude an iota, but the other brother-in-law did not trust him, because he didn't know him as well, so he severed every friendly tie with him. Bigotry and the lack of adaptability prevented that brother-in-law from keeping up their friendship, or at least their friendly relations." Respondent says that he knows of a great many such cases.

Respondent says that in his experience, it seems to him that it's the non-Communist party who breaks up the friendship.

Respondent says that one can continue friendship, keeping politics out of it, if both friends are adherents of a democratic party. However, it is not the case with adherents of totalitarian parties, he says. Totalitarian parties demand and possess the entire personality, his entire attitude, and thus a sincere adherent of a totalitarian party cannot keep up friendship with adherents of democratic parties.

D. Homo-sexuals ~~xxxxxxxx~~ under Communism.

Respondent says that homo-sexuality spread under Communism, but it was still not significant in Hungary. Before Communism, he says, homo-sexuals were forbidden to have any contact with youth and they had to check at the police every week. In other words, they were under police surveillance. They were not punished as long as they practiced homo-sexuality among themselves, but for the corruption of youth they were. Now, under Communism, he says, homo-sexuals were persecuted much more severely because just the act of homo-sexuality was considered a crime. Nevertheless, he says, it spread under Communism, mainly because of over-crowded prisons and because of the generally unhappy character of life under Communism. There were homo-sexuals even in the upper ten thousandth of Communist party leadership and he brings up Zoltan Vas, one of the highest leaders of Communism as a typical homo-sexual who was known to have helped a great many homo-sexuals to get out of prison. This was possible because, under Communism, whenever a high ranking leader visited a prison, he had the right to free prisoners, and thus Zoltan Vas used such visits for freeing homo-sexual prisoners "in order to increase circulation among homo-sexuals." Respondent describes in detail how homo-sexuals are made in prisons, and he says that he had to deal with this problem when he was a political prisoner himself, and had the job of a prison physician and ~~xxxxxx~~ received the assignment of working out a plan how homo-sexuality could be curbed in prisons. He says that he suggested separation of homo-sexuals and never keeping two in one cell. But, he says, that would have involved too much trouble for prison authorities, and so they usually preferred to put homo-sexuals into one cell. The real sad ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~sexuality, xxxxxxxxxx~~ thing about homo-sexuality in prison, he says, is the fact that many other people who were completely sound in body and mind, were used as "pitchers" (a prison term, he explains, used for the passive partner of an active homo-sexual) and thus many of them are perverted. Still, in conclusion, he reiterates his statement to the effect that percentagewise, homo-sexuality was still negligible in Hungary.

E. Juvenile Delinquency.

Respondent says that Communists were eager to term juvenile delinquency a great many cases of political resistance attitude. They were anxious to improve their statistics and to show that there were not so many political offenses, particularly not committed by youth. Thus, they published news about actual criminal activities committed by youth and not the political ones and in their statistics they forged statistical data so as to brand a lot of political prisoners as criminal offenders. At the same time, he admits, there was juvenile delinquency on a larger scale than there had been under the previous regime, and he ascribes this fact to two factors, great want and the lack of good family ~~education~~ upbringing and the lack of school discipline and the lack of moral education in schools.

Respondent doesn't know what the word ~~hooligan~~ 'hooligan' means.

Speaking of Jampoc, respondent says that they were a very special kind of Hungarian youth. They comprised actually a small group which he is inclined to term a kind of 'sect.' They were bumptious fellows, he says, who excelled by over-bearing behavior and particularly by wearing flashy clothes. These were usually emotionally, at least somewhat, unbalanced persons, ~~whom~~ for whom their peculiar kind of behavior and dances and dress was an escape, respondent says. These young men lived in a make-believe world of cheap western motion pictures and in the atmosphere represented in the popular wild west pulp type books and thoroughly hated the Communist world that surrounded them. Since they had their own unwritten laws of behavior and of moral conduct, respondent says a great many of them belonged to the juvenile delinquents, but probably not as many as the Communists wanted the world to believe.



## VII. RELIGION

### A. The role of religion.

Respondent says that the well known fact that religion was oppressed in Communist Hungary is no exaggeration. They who regularly went to church were marked persons, so-called 'clerical deviationists.' The teaching of religion was, of course, abolished in schools and so on. The religious press was completely annihilated. All in all, he says, the Communist trend was certainly toward outlawing religion, although they never got that far. But in respondent's experience, the more religion was oppressed, the more it flourished in people's souls. He says "Churches in the suburbs and on the outskirts of Budapest were never so much frequented as in the years of Communist oppression." "And religion was never so much alive in so many families as it was under this oppression."

Asked which religion was hardest hit, respondent says that it is very hard to make a difference, because actually they tried to hit every religion as much as they could. It is due rather to the sheer majority in numbers that the Catholic religion was in the foreground of their fight against religion, he concludes.

Respondent says that religion was to a certain extent a bulwark against Communism. He says that it was a bulwark mainly in its striving to keep up high moral standards of the population and to direct their attention toward spiritual values as opposed to over-all materialism preached by Communism. Communism had a completely different set of values, respondent says, party life was good, and everything opposed to it was bad, and religion taught children a different set of values, the one we know in our moral world.

### B. Personal religious life.

Respondent thinks that religion is an important factor in his life.

He thinks that it is just as important a factor in his life as in that of his parents.

He thinks that he is just about as religious as the average person in Hungary.

Respondent says that he was a quite regular church goer but that he did not observe Friday fasting because he said that it was a great thing to have meat and if they happened to have meat on Fridays he was eager to eat it and let his family members do the same.

He emphasizes that in prayers, he much prefers to pray in his own words. He receives the sacraments of Penance and Communion about three or four times a year.

C. The role of churches.

Respondent is all for a complete separation of church and state.

Respondent suggests that in a free and independent Hungary, religion become a subject matter in all schools again, and he also suggests that the churches should be free to have schools of their own.

Respondent is very much against censorship of any kind, and particularly against censorship of churches.

He is equally against any political role of churches.

D. The Jewish minority.

Respondent says that the Jewish religion was branded contrary to Communism just as the Christian religions were.

He says that not only Catholic bishops and priests and Protestant bishops and ~~ministers~~ ministers were persecuted if they spoke out boldly or acted very effectively, but the same was true of Jewish rabbis. Respondent points to one of his acquaintances, a rabbi who is now in New York City and who was ~~dragged~~ dragged around by the AVG on ~~several occasions~~ several occasions in several prisons.

Asked how the Communist rule affected the Jews in Hungary, respondent says: "Jewry, as any other social group, consisted of many different layers, and those behaved very differently. There were Jews who denied their own creed and became loyal Communists and thus severed themselves from the Jewish church. Those persons sold themselves to Communism. But such could be found in every church. But there was another group, with clear brains and a clear conscience and a stronger backbone, who condemned Communism and its appearances in Hungary very strongly. Respondent says he talked to many a Jew of this kind, university professors among them. The most unfortunate case is that of the third group, he explains, who became very active Communists. There were too many AVO ~~and~~ members and officers and all kinds of Communist leaders who either were or had been previously, previously had been, Jews, he says. This actually thin layer who were zealous, dedicated Communists, he explains, was the worst group for the Jews and for the other segments of the population, because the anti-Semites tried to take advantage of this very regrettable fact and they did take advantage indeed, he explains. Anti-Semitic elements pointed to the Communist leaders in party headquarters and in the AVG and they

cried out saying 'The Jews are revenging their blood now.' Of course, stupid people and the uninformed people were inclined to believe these charges and to generalize cruelly. The largest group, that of decent patriotic Jews, condemned very much the zealous Communists and saw clearly that it is not only an individual tragedy for those persons to sell themselves to Communism, but that it very gravely hurts the vital interest of Hungarian Jewry, because ignorant people are inclined to generalize, particularly if they are anti-Semites to fan the fire of bitterness and hatred.

"I talked, for instance, to Professor Jeno Erdelyi, a Zionist leader, a person who did very much for his country, not only as an outstanding medical professor, but also as a Hungarian patriot, and as a man. In our several conversations with Professor Erdelyi in which we touched on the problems of Hungarian Jews, he told me that this group of zealous Communists who emanated from the ranks of the Jews are actually creating a new Hungarian anti-Semitism and he is very much afraid of it. The misdeeds of persons like Gabor Peter are unfortunately blamed, not only on that person and not only on Communism, but also on Hungarian Jews, he told me. Fortunately, he was right only to an extent, because we all witnessed during the revolution that whenever there were anti-Semitic notions voiced, there were many other sober elements who silenced such irresponsible people."

"I think that so far as a person can know Hungarian Jewry I can, not only because a great many of my colleagues were Jews, several good friends among them, not only because I was a pupil of a Jewish school for ~~years~~ three years, but also because I saved the lives of hundreds of Jews during the Nazi terror regime, acting as physician of the ~~Swedish~~ Royal Swedish Embassy."

Asked whether the attitude of Jews underwent changes during the last ten years, respondent answers that it changed an awful lot, particularly the views of those who were idealist Communists, of whom there were a great many, he thinks, in 1945. "Jews on the whole are quite quick to change." Respondent continues: "So far as generalization is possible, you might say this was the prime reason for the fact that there were so many idealist Communists, or rather ~~Swedish~~ Socialists, in the ranks of the Jews in 1945. Now I am referring only to the idealist Communists, not to those who joined for their livelihood. Most Jews were always the more interested in new directions in literature, in art, in science. Look at new fields of science as they open, you will find either Jews among those who open it or you will find them among those who swarm there. They are an extraordinarily alert group of people who are very seldom among the conservatives. This is how, as I say, it is understandable that there were so many ~~idealists~~ idealist Communists among them. All of these idealists changed their attitudes as they realized what Communism in

every day life looks like. Most of those revised their stance."

"Acting as an officially appointed physician for refugees, I visited many refugee camps and accompanied refugee trains to western countries. I had the impression that there were Jews more than twice as many as their nationwide proportion of the population was. In fact, I am still under the impression that there were 10 percent of these refugees who were Jews. This fact clearly proves that as of 1956, most of the Jews were against Communism."

Coming back again to the question of what the motives of Jewish Communists were, whether there is any other group aside from those respondent already mentioned, he says that there was a very small group among Jews who were in fact revengful because of the tremendous sufferings the Jewish people went through during the Nazi regime. But, he says, this was a small minority and you will find such a small minority in any group of the population whose motives are of a low character.

Asked how Jews behaved during the revolution, he says there just wasn't any difference between Jews and Christians or any other group of the Hungarian population, the only exception being the AVO and high ranking Communist leaders. All the rest of the population was one in its will to oust the Communist regime and to oust the Russian occupation forces. Respondent says that many Jews sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the Hungarian nation in the revolution and when I asked him for personal examples, he says that he had some personal acquaintances among those who died, and he mentions one of his best associates in his Szobi hospital - a Jewish woman doctor who worked next to him with super-human devotion and affection for the wounded, that was really admirable. Respondent also brings up the two mechanics about whom he told us in the story of his activities during the revolution, two mechanics who volunteered to bring carbon brushes from the Goldberger plant to his hospital in the Szobi St. He says these mechanics were also Jews. They risked their lives, he says, on more occasions later and proved heroic members of his crew. Respondent also brings up that among others he knew four boys, one of them a former good acquaintance of his, whom he hid in the hospital and later in the Goldberger plant because the AVO were searching for them because they had been freedom fighters in the revolution. One of them was a Jew and the others were Christians, but they all fought together. These boys later fled to the west, he adds. Respondent still brings up other examples. He says that quite a number of his colleagues in the National Ambulance Service were Jews and they did a self-sacrificing and dedicated work for the wounded and he says the doctor who was killed at the Abbazia Cafe, about whom he told us in detail, was also a Jew and he was the first fatality of the Ambulance Service. And so was the first

wounded, a woman doctor. Respondent summarizes that it would be not only unjust, but something based on frightened ignorance, to say that the Jews did not take part in the revolution in a similiar proportion to the other parts of the population.

Respondent says that he thinks it's completely unfounded to say that Jews would not like an independent Hungary. All his Jewish friends and acquaintances were very eager to see and quite a few of them fought for an independent Hungary.

Asked whether Jews would not be afraid of pogroms, respondent says that no Jew in his sound mind would have any reason to be afraid of pogroms in Hungary. There might be a few bigots and zealots, who always think of Jews in terms of fighting for their lives against enemies who are in their eyes the entire population around them, but he says that is a very small minority, one that is completely negligible.

## VIII. The Hungarian Youth

### A. Definition.

Respondent classifies people from 15 to 25 as Hungarian youth. This group of young people became larger in the revolution and you might say that during ~~the revolution~~ the revolution, boys and even girls in some cases from 10 on up to 28 belonged to the Hungarian youth which so bravely fought in the revolution, at least at auxiliaries.

### B. The part of youth.

According to respondent, Hungarian youth played the leading role in the revolution. He says that they acted as they did because they detested Communism and knew that it was basically wrong and wanted to do away with it.

He thinks that it was youth who took the lead, because youth is always more elastic, and the older generation could be intimidated more because they were more cautious. Youth is always more elastic, has much more initiative and much more drive in any action, respondent says.

The older generation, respondent says, admired Hungarian youth with great amazement and great affection.

Hungarian youth also had a good opinion of the old people because the old people were all with the revolution, at least with their feelings, and so many of them helped a great deal, respondent explains.

### C. Educational system.

Respondent's attitude toward education is very negative, he says, since the entire system has political ~~overtones~~ overtones it is no more the right thing, and he thinks that a complete overhaul would have to be carried out after Communism was abolished. Political education is particularly dangerous and objectionable in the first few years of schooling. He says the true, the good and the beautiful which ought to be the real values, were done away with, and adherence to party line became the major objective of education.

Respondent says that his experience in medical education was that the ones who were great Marxists were supposed to become good doctors and were favored through and through.

Asked about his personal experiences through his daughter, respondent says that he ought to reiterate what he said about educating children on the one hand in a very narrow political term, and on the other hand they teach them not freedom but license in the moral field. He also says that the workload of studying material became much heavier in the upper grades, particularly in high school. The worse thing about education was,

respondent continues, not the individual child, who was actually judged according to his performances, not even according to his political performances, but it was his entire background. Thus, if his parents were classified as unfavorable, the child had to suffer a great deal. It was never the child alone who was the subject and target of education, it was he as well as his parents and his entire family and the past of that certain family.

Asked about restriction upon vocation choice, respondent says that they lie in this field as well as in others. The Reds claim, he says, that they have talent examining institutes and that those decide who should be admitted to what department of college or university, but, he says, these institutes are engaged in many other types of work, but certainly not in work of objectively analyzing a person's ~~talent~~ talent, he adds.

Respondent has a very low opinion of vocational high schools. He says that in the apprentice schools of the former regimes, there was more taught than in vocational high schools of nowadays. Probes, however, cleared the misunderstanding. He didn't mean to speak of apprentice schools, but the equivalent of vocational high schools that existed prior to the Communist regime. Asked about education in medical schools, respondent says that it was much below the standard of the medical schools in the eras preceding Communism. He says that in his experience, the newly trained medical students were very poor, both in their theoretic and in their practical knowledge. They lacked profound knowledge as well as practical know-how, he claims.

Speaking of the professors politically, respondent says they were very different, according to individual, and they could be divided into a group which was immune to Communism but wise enough to behave in a way that left them in their positions. There was another group of professors who pretended to be Communists but were actually not, and there was a third group of pushers, who were apple-polishers and political zealots. But this latter group was very small, he says.

Speaking of their competency, respondent says that the competence of the older professors is beyond question, but most of the ones who became big shots as a favor of the regime are very sub-standard.

#### D. Indoctrination.

The reaction of Hungarian youth to indoctrination was, respondent says, that they were bored to death in classes of Marxism, they clearly realized what the tricks of the indoctrination were. They discussed things among themselves, even very small children, and decided what they accepted and what they didn't. They were particularly disgusted with hearing so many lies in Communist ideology and at times they laughed about those and at times they were angry.

Respondent thinks that indoctrination failed because the Hungarian people and Hungarian youth in it are mature and like to think with their own heads.

He also says that the basic fact that Hungarian families were, in most cases, very closely knit, and that the family hearth played such an important role, that they discussed things freely in the family and with the great unchangeable truths of life in view, was very greatly instrumental in saving children from the pitfalls of Communist education.

Respondent says that there was only a very small layer of Hungarian youth which had accepted Communism in the beginning. Later they were sobered up by reality, he said. Asked who these were, respondent says they were children of parents who, according to their talents and their ambitions, ought to have been higher ~~rank~~ in the social structure of Hungary.

These stopped sympathizing, he says, after they recognized how mistaken they were and this was the gradual process.



IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

Privations, starvations were a particularly important source of major dissatisfactions, respondent says. The general sinking of the living standard, and, of course, the terror, he says, the insecurity of life and the lack of freedom even to speak or to worship. "The Divine light power of the ADO and of the Communist party as acting through the ADO was unbearable."

Asked about major annoyances, respondent says that the constant injustices, small and big, annoyed people more than anything. Another reason was the fact that they were not allowed to own, particularly peasants were very much annoyed by the fact they were not permitted to own land and even livestock, according to how much devotion they put into their work.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

### A. The standard of living.

Respondent says that he got along financially exceptionally well during the last years in Hungary. His income was particularly extraordinarily high during the years while he worked for the Construction Enterprise of the subway system as a physician. He says that he had food, clothing and housing as good as a y decent Hungarian could have had during these years, and he in fact owned a car of his own and his former possessions were taken away only gradually. But even after his former possessions were seized, he still had a very sizeable income.

He says that his car was a luxury item in Hungary and the upkeep of his own family home. And, as a matter of course, he says, his villa at Lake Balaton.

He found it most difficult to keep his car in good shape and always have enough fuel for it, because gasoline was rationed and even doctors had it somewhat difficult in obtaining the necessary amount.

His standard of living changed a great deal, he feels, since 1945. k

When asked what in particular is missed, he starts laughing as says that ~~ix~~ it would take too much time to enumerate everything if he tried to compare his extraordinarily high standard of living prior to 1945 when he moved around in foreign countries in his own car. He emphasizes again that his living standard was still very high and he had more difficulty hiding from the ADO that he still had a very high living standard than in not satisfying his many desires. He brings up an example how people were watched who spent too freely. He says that he went to a luxury restaurant two days in a row and the second day he was cautioned by the manager of that restaurant, who happened to be an old acquaintance, that he should not appear very soon again because the AVO officers who saw him on both days had already inquired about him, asking how it was possible he had so much money to spend.

Respondent's living standard and that of his family was the highest in 1948 and 1949 and ~~the lowest~~ from '52 to '53 when his living standard started shrinking to the lowest spot which was in 1956.

Speaking of a family that was better off than any other, respondent says it was certainly that of the party secretary of his plant. That man lived such a high life, he says, as a particularly well-off aristocrat in previous eras. He had cars of the plant at his disposal and had a car of his own and he lived in a luxury building on the Rozsadam. (Interviewer's note: Considered the most luxurious residential area of Budapest.) He had more than one domestic help, he says. His wife worked

only up until about 1947 and from then on she played a great lady, he says.

Respondent says that the sinking of living standard is due to the bankruptcy of an economic life. That in turn is due to a basically wrong economic policy, an exploitation of the working class and the investment of tremendous sums in mistaken or wrong projects. The Communist regime, he said, has tried to make almost overnight an industrial country out of an agrarian country. In agriculture, as well as in industry, private initiative was killed off completely and he thinks that under such circumstances it is a wonder that Hungary could get along economically even as well as it did.

B. Income.

In 1956 respondent earned 4200 forints per month.

Respondent says that all in all, approximately 30 to 32 per cent of his income was deducted for peace loans and five-year-plan loans and all kinds of other things.

Respondent says that he received sizeable premiums on two occasions. On one occasion he claims he ought to have received several hundred thousand forints but he received only 24 thousand for innovation. One innovation of his concerned part of the operation of the construction of the new subways and with the help of his innovation, the state saved several million forints and he ought to have received according to standing regulations several hundred thousand. But at long last he received on 24 thousand. Another suggestion of his, which became an innovation in the operation of this subway construction system, saved many millions of forints, he says, and he ought to have received perhaps even a million forints, he claims, but he actually received only 32,000 forints.

Asked about secondary income, respondent says that most of the time he held two jobs, like before the revolution he worked at the Goldberger plant and for the National Ambulance Service, and when he worked before for the subway construction enterprise, at the same time he also worked on the maternity ward of one of the hospitals. Most Hungarian physicians, he says, held two and some, quite a few, even three jobs at once. He also had a private practice most of the time, and in 1950, he says, he had as many patients as can be described by the fact that usually there were ten to 12 people in his waiting room. But by 1953 and 1954 he had only two or three people in his waiting room, most of the time. Private practice was systematically ruined in his case, as well as in the case of the doctors generally speaking, he says.

Only respondent worked and received an income in his family.

He had no wage increases over the last five years. In fact, he says, his wages were cut.

C. Prices.

Respondent's family bought food at state stores.

Respondent and his family bought clothing and other necessities in state stores and he himself had his clothes usually tailor-made.

He says that the availability of consumer goods was very often lacking because of late deliveries or other snarls.

It was pretty difficult to get fairly standard spare parts.

Leather goods, he says, were particularly in short supply. So were many kinds of textiles, particularly flannel goods.

Respondent laughs when asked whether there was a black market. Of course, he says, ever since 1945, and even during the Nazi regime there was plenty of black market.

He thinks that the black market was pretty well organized.

He says that there were tremendous differences in the quality of goods in the open market and in the black market, and he says that prices differed as much as from 100 to 200 per cent.

He says that legal outlets often refused to sell goods unless buyers paid a higher price and that a great many retailers were imprisoned because of this practice.

Black market selling was punished with two and three year prison terms, he says.

D. Working conditions.

Asked to describe what he actually did, respondent says that he prefers to describe his activities at the construction enterprise of the new subway system, because he was employed there for the longest period.

He was in charge of organizing the entire health plan of this subway construction enterprise. This was such a special field, he says, that it might fill a great many pages to describe it in any detail. He was a member of the ~~inter-ministry~~ Inter-ministry commission. He was supposed to work five hours a day and usually he worked eight to ten to twelve hours. It even happened that he worked for 18 hours a day, because his working time increased as the obligations in connection with it increased as the company grew bigger. Even after he went home, he says, he constantly received calls asking for his decisions. All in all, he says effectively, he was on duty almost 24 hours a day. This was mainly because he had to organize and to train a special staff of

physicians for treating all the diseases and complications which occurred in workers who worked in high pressure chambers, as the subway was constructed. After he managed to train 8 physicians, his working time again became 10 and later 8 hours a day. It was only then that he again worked part time as an obstetrician.

Asked whether his working conditions changed when he worked in part as a plant physician of the Goldberger plant and as a head physician of the ~~the~~ Ambulance Service, he says that his working conditions became even harder. He worked eight to ten hours at the Goldberger plant and usually also eight hours or so, not every day, but most days, at the Ambulance Service.

Respondent says that he worked for the subway construction enterprise because he had had a very special training as a physician treating special diseases connected with working in high pressure chambers.

Respondent says that he had excellent relations with his co-workers.

Speaking of his superiors, he says that his worst superior was the minister of health, because he was not an expert in that field at all, but played very important and tried to establish himself as a very great authority. But, he says, he usually had very good and relaxed relations with his immediate superiors.

Speaking of the competence of his immediate superiors, he says that they were engineers who had been trained prior to the Communist era and they were absolutely unquestionable masters of their field. They were great authorities in their field, he says. Speaking of his superior at the ambulance service, whose name was Gravec, he says that his competence was very low, but he was a Communist and this was why he held a high position.

Much as he had to work, he says that he was actually satisfied with his jobs, in fact, he was very much satisfied with them, because they satisfied his actual interest and were in the field of his special training.

He thinks that his fellow workers at the subway construction enterprise were very good after they received the special training and the same is true about his colleagues at the ambulance service and also of his colleagues at the maternity wards at which he worked. All these physicians, he adds, had received their training before the Communist regime and they were skilled and conscientious. He found faults only with the "recently trained" physicians, who had much less knowledge and skill.

He happened to have superiors who praised his work and acknowledged his special merits, he says. But his only real Communist boss, Oravocz, had the attitude of a real Communist and he never knew such a thing as personal good relations and never was thoughtful enough to praise his co-workers.

Speaking of the vacation, health and compensation programs, he says that the program was very praiseworthy and that the vacation program became better and better every year. Health program was really excellent, he says. Coming to speak of old age pensions, he says that was only a starvation wage or pension and that was the only sore point in this program.

#### E. Agriculture.

Respondent preferred to live in a large city. With his specialized field, he says, he was much better off there than somewhere in the country.

He says that agricultural workers had a better diet than city workers.

He says the same about the general standard of living.

He says that, even politically, people in the country had it much better because the system of secret police informants was much tighter organized in the city.

When collectivization was first introduced into Hungary, respondent expected only bad results.

His current opinion is that collectivization got the country on the brink of economic disaster. He thinks that well-to-do peasants objected more to collectivization than the less well off peasants.

He heard that collectives were dissolved in 1953, after a history making speech of Imre Nagy. He says that this was a well-known fact and there is no point in his telling from whom he heard it. He said that peasants were eager to dissolve collectives and start again individual farming, because they hoped that freedom would reign from then on, and that they could enjoy the fruits of their own labor.

Asked what agricultural system he would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent ~~gives~~ gives a very detailed, but somewhat vague, answer. In an attempt to summarize this, I think I can make the following conclusions of what he tries to say. He thinks that ~~smaller~~ agricultural holdings, farms, smaller than 40, 50 or 60 acres, are out of question. He thinks that any smaller farms are completely unprofitable and are a terrific waste of man-power and amount to a tremendous economic loss. He thinks that farms should as a rule not be smaller than about 40 to 50 acres, and most of them should be ~~mixxxxxxxx~~ from 50 to 100 acres. Such farms should be the basis for a new peasantry way of life. At the same time, he also favors larger holdings, up to 1500 to 2,000 acres. He thinks that people who had such farms or lands bought from their ~~kegaxixxxxx~~ legally justified

income, should be given back the fruit of their honest work. If people inherited such an amount, or even larger, only a broken percentage of their inherited land should be given back to them, and that broken percentage should come about by the imposition of very heavy progressive taxation, inheritance taxes. Respondent also thinks that state farms, very large ones up to tens of thousands of acres, should be established, functioning as model farms, and he expects a very large profit from such. Basic in his ideas are two considerations. First of all, that no individual farms smaller than about 40 to 50 acres should exist. Second, that ways should be found that agricultural workers, hired hands as well as seasonal workers or day workers should receive very good wages and should be independent citizens. That is to say, not hired hands as large estates had them in Hungary, living in houses provided by the landlord ~~and, economically speaking,~~ and, economically speaking, at his tender mercy. He thinks that agricultural workers should be as independent and should be as well protected as industrial workers, whether they work on small farms or large estates. It also appears to be basis in his ideas that individual owners should not own estates larger than about 2,000 acres. (Interviewer's note: Consistent as respondent seems in most points, on this point he seems not to have settled things in his own mind. He tends to favor very large estates, and rather in the hands of the state, than small farms in the hands of individuals, although he emphasizes again and again that he is completely sold on the free enterprise system.)

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

### A. Before 1948.

Speaking of his interest and participation before the war, respondent says that he did not actively participate in political life was was interested, as he thinks most common citizens were at that time. He says that he was very much opposed to the aggressive policies of Nazi Germany. He hated the Nazi system as such and that he bitterly denounced their imperialistic policies. He hated to see how low the otherwise cultured German people sank under Nazi rule and how they pursued a policy of inhuman ideas and practices. This was the main reason, he says, that he became a physician of the Royal Swedish Embassy, and recognizing that Hungarian Jewry became more and more underdogs in a terrific struggle of world dimensions, he was eager to help as many of them as possible. Hundreds of Jewish families, he recalls, were put under the protection of Sweden through the activities of the Swedish Embassy, and he, as a physician, was in charge of handing over documents extending this protection of Sweden to hundreds of Jewish families, and was responsible for seeing that even families which were already on trains bound for concentration camps in Germany went back to their homes unmolested. He saw to it that their health was protected.

Still speaking of his political attitude during the war years, respondent says that he sympathized most with the Social Democratic Party, although he was not a card carrying member of that party, he felt closest to them. In foreign policy, he sympathized with the attempts of ~~Kirkay~~ Premier Kallay, who was anxious to quit the Nazi-German alliance and join the western allies.

Speaking of his political attitude after the war, respondent says that in the beginning he sympathized most with the Social Democratic party, but, as he saw the elements in that party who wished to collabrate closely with the Communists getting the upper hand, his sympathies went to the small holders party. Later however, he was disappointed seeing that the small holders party became impotent and by 1947 he voted for the peasant party.

He says that his father's ~~sax~~ sympathies were just about the same as his.

Respondent remembered his experiences with Communism in 1918 and 1919 as a young child, and as a child he saw ~~the~~ terror as the main characteristic of that regime. He had first hand knowledge as a child of awful acts of terror, of massacres, committed day after day by Communists. His experiences were sufficient for him, he says, to detest Communism and



anything closely connected with it.

Before the war, respondent kept detesting the Communist party. He knew that it was outlawed and he thought that it was natural that so few people belonged to it and he thought with awe and dismay of the moment when these would assume power, with the help of the Soviet Union.

During the war years, respondent says, he certainly hated Hitlerism, but he thought that Communism was even worse, and the same went for the Hungarian Communist party.

Since 1948, respondent says, everything that was only a feeling before about Communism became stark reality in his mind and he saw his worst expectations and fears completely justified.

B. Communist party after 1948.

Speaking of who the Communist party members were, respondent says that he would like to go back to 1945, why people joined the Communist party. He says that ~~approximately~~ a number of workers and even, although smaller number, of intelligentsia joined the Communist party because they sincerely expected something good of it. Some people hoped that the social changes that were so necessary in Hungary, would be brought about by the Communists and others just saw something new in it and they knew well that Hungary needed great reforms and they expected a much better new era from this new system. Another large group, he says, were the ones who joined because they hoped that their living would be secured this way. Many people recognized, he says, that the protection of the Communist party would be the safest thing for them to assume.

Asked about his actual contacts with CP members, respondent says that as a head physician of the subway construction enterprise, he met a great many party members. Fortunately, he adds, he was not forced to have any closer contact with them politically speaking.

In his experience, most party members, particularly the ones who joined the party for securing a living and those who sought something new in it and expected great and good reforms from it, realized more clearly as time passed how the Communist party was ruled by lies and tricks of all sorts, and monstrous mistakes. He says party members confidentially talked over these findings among themselves and as a result of such confidential conversations, they grew completely disappointed with the part line. Only the persuaded Communists, or rather, part of the persuaded Communists, and most of the unscrupulous careerists remained untouched.



There are others with tremendous inferior complexes who seek compensation for these in sadism. Such was, for instance, Gabor Peter. He has well as others had the complex of gnose. One must not overlook respondent goes on, that there are real fanatics among these top leaders--one of these is Erno Gero. He doesn't behave like a neophyte aristocrat. He certainly does not. This man relentlessly pursues the policies of Communism without seeking any personal gains. He is a blinded, dedicated fanatic.

Speaking of the difference between the motives of rank and file members and those of the leadership, respondent says that by 1955-56 most rank and file members were motivated by the need for daily bread for themselves and for their families, much more than by anything. Besides, he says, rank and file members were completely subordinated to the actual leadership and they saw no way of getting through the barriers imposed upon them by their leaders. The top leaders are motivated by all kinds of pathological complexes and the relation between the two is that of complete subordination. Neither Communist organization nor Communist personality know coordination, respondent concludes.

Top Hungarian Communists should be tried in a Hungarian Court which however derives its powers not only from the authorization received from the Hungarian people but also from the tenets of international law. On the basis of international law, he says their behaviour and all of their deeds should be judged on the basis of laws existing during their regime. Their own laws should condemn them, he suggests.

### C. Opposition:

Respondent says that "quiet sabotage" was mostly prevalent in the attitude of the Hungarian people as an answer to Communist oppression. There were some outright sabotage acts but they were seldom committed.

Respondent thinks particularly much of the cases of the opposition which were not planned at all, but were cases of nervous collapse in which the person acted on the natural impulse he had and forgot about every consideration. People lost self-control in a great many cases and slapped their bosses in their faces or knocked out Party superiors, etc. Respondent emphasizes that in such cases it was not the person who actually received those slaps in the face, but rather the system. He says that he met a great many prisoners who were jailed because of such positive acts.

Loud complaining changed respondent says according to the general atmosphere prevalent. He thinks that political jokes of which there were hundreds and hundreds, he says, were the most prevalent form of mental opposition. Respondent quotes several typical examples of such "murderous" political jokes. (Interviewer's note; It is only because I am under strict orders to cut material as much as possible that I do not quote any of these political jokes)

After giving illustrations, respondent says that such political jokes were recognized as dangerous weapons against Communism by Communist leaders themselves, and this is why people were sentenced to four or five years in jail for the simple telling of such jokes.

Respondent says that opposition behaviour particularly such mental opposition as he spoke of, was particularly prevalent in the middle class. Certainly, in the beginning - in the 50's however, workers took over and they discussed things unafraid even in street cars and in buses, in a bitterly complaining manner. Opposition behaviour was responsible, he concludes, more than anything for the Hungarian society becoming something we may call classless society. People shared these jokes, namely, he says, and became one in spirit. Opposition behaviour had waves, tides and ebbs, respondent says, but it never was reduced to zero.

Respondent says that he heard of the activities of the intellectuals and he thinks that they are triggered the revolution. In the intellectual sense, at least. He mentions the Petofi Circle as the greatest name among intellectual opponents of Communism, and he says that it enjoyed a great reputation and people expected much of it. He goes back in time and says that intellectual opposition was very strong and on a very high level in the Catholic weekly Uj Ember in the first few years after 1945, and Uj Ember was liquidated by the Communists. Coming back and speaking of 1956, respondent mentions Irodalmi Ujsag tried to decimate the ideas that were forced in the Petofi Circle. He describes concrete examples - how unbelievably popular and sought after Irodalmi Ujsag was.

Speaking of the Petofi Circle, respondent says that it consisted mostly of writers and of sensible political thinkers. Their meetings were very popular because they dared to pronounce the desires and criticism of the nation. They became a kind of Parliament, he explains, representing the will of the nation. Practically everybody identified himself with the Petofi Circle. Respondent heard about the sessions of the Petofi Circle from friends, but he never managed find time to attend.

He thinks that those intellectuals of whom we speak mainly voiced the desires and demands of a nation but he says that they had some individual ways of doing so. They functioned almost as the summarizing

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Respondent thinks very highly of these intellectuals and he says they are greatly responsible for the great turn in Hungarian history, ~~which was highlighted by the revolution.~~ which was highlighted by the revolution.

Respondent says that those intellectuals stood up against the regime for the same reasons as every sound-minded Hungarian did, and he says that in the above paragraphs he described their attitude well enough.

#### THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The secret police. Speaking of AVO men, respondent says that persuaded fanatic Communists were only in the higher leadership of the AVO. Most of the AVO members could again be described in terms of hierarchy, maniacs and sadists and all kinds of schizos to be found among them "It would be impossible to organize a larger horde of unscrupulous individuals than were to be found in the AVO." Respondent says "practically speaking all of them were ~~psychic~~ ~~psychic~~ psychic, ruthless, relentless, beastiality and sadism was more characteristic of them than anything else. They enjoyed the greatest possible power on earth, and the greatest possible material advantages. Their last highest national leader named Pirov was also a ruthless sadist.

Respondent was arrested and imprisoned for political reasons on more than one occasion. The first time, he was arrested in 1945 on charges that were later proved to be false, and the motivation of his informer was professional jealousy and ~~psy~~ petty envy. It was a physician who lived in the same house. (apartment house) He was charged with collaboration with the German occupation army because there was ~~a~~ allegedly a German patrol that fired from the balcony of his apartment on the incoming Russian troops. Fortunately, he says, there were some eighty Jews who were among those whom he saved as physician of the Swedish Embassy who want to testify in his favor. He had saved those people, he says, during the Nazi Regime because he had declared that a certain apartment house had been transformed into an infirmary housing only very serious ill persons who were unfit for deportation. One among those organized these eighty people and the consequence of all the testimonies the charges were dropped.

Respondent describes in great detail what incredible suffering he went through until he got to the trial where charges were dropped. Mentioning several more or less known methods of AVO torture, respondent mentions one that I think that I should report because at least it has been unknown so far. He says that in one of the basement rooms of the AVO prison, there were two ~~hundred~~ hundred and eighty prisoners standing and sitting for over a month in about five to six inches of human manure that was in part intentionally poured in by AVO and in part produced by the prisoners. In another room, he says he saw people jammed in the same manner as Nazi's jammed Jews when they deported them in cattle cars. That special treatment was allotted to Nazi leaders and the reasoning behind was that they should suffer the same treatment they gave their victims.

Speaking of more AVO experiences, respondent says that he as a former Gount, a member of the particularly hated aristocracy was particularly liable to AVO arrests. On one occasion, he says, he was arrested because he was reported as having told a political joke. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ When he was arrested because of this political joke, he was immediately taken to Szuhakalle, a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ mining town in Borsod where he had to direct the rescue operations in a tremendous mine disaster. He contends that the arrest because of the political joke was much more of a pretense than the real reason. He thinks that the Communists needed him - an expert in subterranean health matters because of his years as head physician of the subway construction works - and they wanted him to serve as slave labor. On that occasion he was detained for three months and it was the Minister of Communications - Bebrics - who in turn freed him and ordered him to continue his work with the subway construction ~~works~~. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ projects.

Still speaking of his personal experiences with the AVO, respondent says that his longest arrest was 10 months, and he started the ten months in '55 and he was freed only in '56. The charges included a renewal of the charges made before because of political jokes, and now the main charges were that he didn't pay any taxes after his land holdings that had been confiscated by 1950. They asked for back taxes of five years, and they charged him non-compliance. More than that, they demanded him to pay back taxes for his pharmacy, and since he didn't comply they arrested him. By then he had signed for fifteen thousand forints of five-year -plan loan and ~~xx~~ the sum had been deducted from his salary, they still wanted him to pay immense amounts as back taxes. After ten months, he was discharged because at that time there was a wave of rehabilitations as a consequence of the retrial of Rajk, and he was proven innocent and his wife had meanwhile been proven guilty and she, -the AVO informant- was sentenced to a jail term.

Asked about AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH and who suffered remorse and so on, respondent says that he knew such. He completely mentions one case of a man who never had been a Communist and who wanted to get out of the AVH, but he says that he was a decent person who was ready to put down the true confession and he says that under AVO circumstances that was the greatest thing a prisoner could ever hope - AVH were hardly human beings even in interrogation, he says. He was one of the men who

managed to get out of that dread organization. He mentions another one who fled to the West in '49 and before he escaped he talked to respondent and told him how bad he felt about his having been ~~xxxx~~ in the framework of the AVO. Respondent mentions another example in which he talks to an AVO man who explained his terrible plight; how he tried to do good with the prisoners and at the same time ~~xxxxxx~~ tried to save his own skin so as not to be detected as being humane. As the most interesting example, he mentions a former grade-school class mate of his who tried great cunning to word the records of the AVO prisoners in a way that could help them to escape the worst.

In a free and independent Hungary, respondent says the same should happen to members of the AVH as he suggested be the lot of the Communist top leaders. The main thing he emphasizes is individual treatment and in completely objective and independent courts.

As to the regular police as compared with the AVH, respondent says that whereas the AVH consisted of former criminals, and all kinds of ~~xxxxxx~~ psychic cases, the regular police consisted of common people who went ~~xxxx~~ to earn a living, but he adds he heard in 1955 that in that year the AVH mixed up the ranks of its own members and of the regular police so as to hide the identity of the trained AVH men even more. This was also done because people were not afraid of the regular police whereas the AVO was tantamount in people's minds with the worst of terror. This is one thing respondent explains that unfortunately was not known during the revolution - that there were innocent regular police members in AVO uniforms, and vice versa. There were AVO members among police officers of the regular police.

Respondent thinks that regular police on the whole is pretty competent particularly certain departments of it, like the department of crime detention and prevention and the economic department. He says that there were many police officers and policemen from the previous era who remained among the members of the regular police.

Asked about the role of the regular police during the revolution, he says that the main characteristic for the role was that whereas the AVO changed to civilian clothes because they had to hide and to sneak, members of the regular police remained in their uniforms throughout the revolution, and they remained on their posts. Respondent refers to several experiences of his during the revolution which all attest to the fact that the regular police on the whole was on the side of the revolution. Among



in

others he mentions a case which fifteen or twenty policemen handed over their weapons to students who were freedom fighters and respondent was an eye witness to this case.

B. The Courts:

Respondent says that the Hungarian penal code determined the fate of rich and poor alike and that courts were independent of government and everything else. Probed whether the same was true about civil suits, respondent says that if there was anything wrong that wasn't the fault of judges and justices but rather of lawyers. He recalls that one of his uncles was a superior court judge for a while and at last a supreme court justice. If there was any trouble in law suits of a poor peasant or worker the trouble was with the lawyers because there were very few who worked for nothing for a worker, or for very little, or if they did, very few of them actually did their level best for a little or a large sum.

Speaking of the People's Courts of 1945-47, respondent says that he is singularly favorable position to talk about it; he himself was one of their prisoners and for approximately for two months he was the prison doctor of the prison of Conti Street where the people had to stand trial in the People's Courts of Budapest who were held under arrest. He, himself was also under arrest and because he was a physician he was used as prison doctor; thus, he says, he saw things from the angle of a victim of such a court, although his case was killed finally (as he told us in the first part of this Chapter XII) He also saw it as a prison doctor who got around. He says that neither Janko or Tamas Major, chairmen of People's Courts, were just and objective. Tama Major had previously been an officer of the Court Martial of the Hungarian Army. Respondent happened to be present on one occasion. He said when the mother of this Tamas Major pleaded with her son in the prisons of Lasso Alfoldi, who was the head of all People's Courts to stop passing death sentences with the ease that he did, she referred to her having taught him the name of God and to pray and she pleaded with him most humbly to resign from his position or to stop dealing so inscrupulously with human lives. "He rejected the please of his mother most rudely and he said that he knew what he was doing. I witnessed his mother leaving, crying bitter tears over her son's attitude."

Still speaking of the People's Courts, respondent says that members of these were all kinds of people ; unfortunately there were too many unscrupulous people among them, he says, and he saw that the persons who were consciencious, loyals among them, were screened out later on all kinds of pretenses- mostly that they were reactionaries. Communist

influence, he says was decisive in these People's Courts from the very first moment but it became ~~it~~ even more preponderant later, even when the people's courts changed their names and became regular courts, the verdicts were taken in blue envelopes by Party functionaries from the Party Headquarters to these courts. It was the Communist Party leadership, he says, which determined what should happen to one or the other of the victims of the court. Courts handed out predetermined verdicts.

Asked about the "war criminals", respondent ~~says~~ that there was no doubt there were war criminals, and quite a few of them, and they had to be judged severely, but he says they were judged justly and severely at Nuremberg. The international lawyers, he said, who were there were well trained and conscientious people, who were well aware of their tremendous responsibility. But this was not the case in Hungary, he says, where too many of these people's courts were not so anxious to mete out justice in sentencing people to heavy prison terms, if necessary, to life ones, and to death, if really warranted, but they were too eager, he says, to liquidate people even if they were war criminals all right, but not deserving of the ultimate punishment. Had they been judged, he says, ~~by~~ ~~Nuremberg~~ at the international court at Nuremberg, he feels that very few of them would have ~~been~~ been sentenced to death.

C. The army.

Respondent says there were a great many groups in the army who sided with the revolution. He himself was eye witness to a case which he describes in the story in chapter 2. He says that he has first hand knowledge of the fact that troops deployed to protect and defend the building of ~~the~~ ~~Communist~~ Communist Party headquarters. He says that cadets of the military academy and soldiers of the ~~forces~~ forces were among them, refused to defend it. He says that he himself experienced how many soldiers of the Hungarian army helped the refugees when they fled to the west, even after the revolution was lost. They refused to take anything for their help, he says. On the whole, he says, most units of the Hungarian army remained passive, and a great many of them deserted and sided with the revolutionaries.

Asked about geographical differences, respondent says that troops in the south of Hungary were particularly immune to Communism, and their attitude was much better than of many somewhere else.

Speaking of differences in the behavior of soldiers and officers, he says that most officers were well worked over by party indoctrination but there were some even among them who sided with the revolution and even more who refused to do anything against it.

Respondent saw no difference in the behavior of soldiers that was related to class origin.

Respondent was very much surprised by the behavior of the army during the revolution, because he says that he knew how strict their training and their indoctrination was, and he knew well how well organized the political officers were in their ranks and all the organized informants. He saw that it was beyond his imagination that ~~privatexxxxx~~ enlisted men would dare to disarm their political officers and other officers who refused to let them go or who wanted them to fire at the revolutionaries. There were many such cases, he says, and the most surprising thing was that there were many such cases simultaneously in various parts of the country without any organization or directive from anywhere.

D. Russian troops.

When the events of 1848 are mentioned to respondent, he says that there is some trace in peoples' minds ~~still~~ left by those events. There is some little remainder of resentment, he says, but on the whole, Hungarians are not revengeful, he says, they are rather impulsive, but not revengeful. But, he says, the events of 1944 and 1945 could not be easily forgotten because the way the Russians conquered Hungary, the way they behaved after they started functioning as an occupation army, are still too lively in the memories of people. It is in those years, respondent says, that the Hungarian people formed an opinion of Russian soldiers and took a stand against them in their minds.

Respondent says that he didn't expect any good coming from the Russian army before they actually arrived in the country, but their actions surpassed even his imagination.

Asked about his personal experiences in 1945, respondent says that he had too many to tell about, because that could fill volumes. He had a great many experiences, both as an individual and as a physician, he says. At the time of the Budapest siege, Respondent says, he was head surgeon of an emergency hospital.



the Russian troops, putting them in military camps in the forests and not allowing them to go to populated areas. But even so, he says, there were many occasions on which Russian soldiers committed acts of savagery, when they managed to get a pass or when they were AWOL. Respondent says that contact with the Hungarian population was very little, but there were many members of the Russian army who had to change to civilian clothes and became so-called "expert advisors" of various industrial enterprises, and all kinds of institutions of public administration. The military advisors of the Hungarian army, the expert advisors of the AVO and police did not even have to change to civilian clothes, he says, although, he adds, they also had Hungarian uniforms, with Russian insignia, denoting them as advisors.

Respondent knows of cases in which children of such Russian advisors went to Hungarian schools.

Respondent heard of a few cases where Russian soldiers tried to fraternize with Hungarian girls, but, he says, he never heard and could not think that anything serious ever became of such relations.

Anyway, respondent says, practically speaking, only officers were permitted and had a chance to have any contact with the population to speak of. Enlisted men, as a rule, were kept behind barbed wires in their camps. But, respondent adds, Russian officers are not to be thought of as gentlemen, the difference between enlisted men and the officers of armies in the western world is not to be thought of as an analogy to Russian relations between officers and enlisted men. Officers are not much less primitive and barbaric, respondent says, than the enlisted men.

Respondent says the few girls who spoke to Russian soldiers were looked down upon by others.

Asked about his own personal experiences, with individual Russian soldiers during the time of the occupation before the revolution, respondent says that he talked with a few of the Russian soldiers on whom he operated.

Asked about their attitudes toward patriotism, respondent says that they were not only ~~patriotic~~ patriotic, but outright chauvinistic. They suffered a kind of national superiority complex, he says.

Respondent spoke to Russian soldiers who told him proudly that they were no party members and spoke very contemptuously of party members, and they spoke full of hatred for the secret police.



Still speaking of his contacts with Russian soldiers during the revolution, respondent said that the same about continuing their conquest into the west was told him by a Russian major whose leg he amputated. This major told him the same about their orders concerning destruction and further conquest in the west, beyond Hungary, and he even named ~~France~~ France and England. This major told him explicitly that he was very sorry that he was wounded and had no chance to see west Europe and the English Channel. Asked what his general experience was with Russian soldiers, independent of these particularly interesting conversations, respondent says that he met Russian soldiers both in the first and in the second phase of the revolution, who thought that they were in Egypt and fighting for the Suez canal. When such soldiers were told that they were in Budapest, respondent says, most of them had no notion whatsoever where Budapest was located and what kind of people were living there. Respondent happened to witness a case, he says, on Oct. 28th or 29th, when the crew of a Russian tank spoke to Hungarian civilians surrounding them and debated and when Hungarians reassured them that they were no fascists, but workers who fought for their freedom against oppression, they jumped out of the tank and hugged people and said they would not fight against them.

Asked about the differences between officers and enlisted men during the revolution, respondent says that the only difference he can think of is that he heard that Russian officers were anxious to prevent their crews from fraternizing with people and from accepting leaflets from them, but what he himself experienced was that both of them were equally rude and primitive and ignorant, and told the people ~~again~~ again and again, in the same manner, that they should fuck their mothers.

Asked about differences between younger and older men, respondent says he saw none.

Asked about differences in nationalities, respondent says that it was his impression Ukrainians, on the whole, were somewhat more humane and less savage, and less primitive.

He is under the impression that the fighting troops after November 4th were wilder and meaner than the ones fighting in the first phase of the revolution.

Respondent had no personal experiences of Soviet soldiers helping Hungarians.

Neither had he personal experiences that Soviet soldiers refused

to obey their superiors.

He treated a Russian soldier who deserted and that soldier asked him not to report him and to give him civilian clothes, so he could disappear.

Respondent saw no Soviet soldiers fighting on the side of the Hungarians, but he heard of such cases.

Respondent didn't witness Soviet soldiers fighting against the AVH.

The same is true about Soviet soldiers fighting each other.

Respondent had no personal experience, heard only, of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers during the revolution. Respondent says that he heard about a case of individual brutality from a colleague of his, whose wife and 16 year old daughter were raped by Russian soldiers in a building, most of which they destroyed before, because they alledged that they were shot at from that building.

E. Government officials.

Respondent says that he had personal experience with a few local government officials who were willing to forget the rules and help the people in trouble. He says that he found such even ~~somax~~ among AVO people. He says that these people were motivated by selfless motives, they just wanted to help people.

F. Corruption.

Respondent says that he knew of many cases of both friendly persuasion and friendly ~~intercession~~ intercession and of bribery. He mentions particularly that he had acquaintances who were very friendly terms with AVO officers and could do, practically speaking, almost anything with the help of very large sums of money. He explicitly wishes to name one person by name, of whom he knows very much that he was one of the greatest sadists, but could be bribed for very large sums. His name was Bandi Foldes. Respondent says that this man particularly excelled in the most terrible sadistic acts, tortures, such methods as destroying the uterus of any woman victim of his or destroying the testicles of men with his hard ~~xxx~~ ~~wikk~~ rubber sticks was the order of the day in his practice. He himself invented the torturing equipment. Respondent himself was beaten by this man in a most terrible way, but when one of his acquaintances, a party secretary, bribed this Bandi Foldes with 50 thousand forints, Foldes himself saw that charges were dropped and he himself put him in his car and took him home next day. But, respondent says, persons who could not afford such a bribe were tortured by him quite often, even to death. Respondent also



mentions that there were even judges who could be bribed and he himself had such a case, and he says, quite fortunately.

Asked what method was the most effective, respondent says "Money."

Respondent says that officials caught doing this were sentenced to terms of 10, 15 and 20 years. He mentions that this Bandi Foldes was apparently also caught, because he was also sentenced to 15 years, but after one and a half years in prison he was sent out to some very important mission abroad and after he returned he did not have to serve the remaining part of his sentence, in fact, he was transferred to the ministry of interior where he continued his infamous practices, he concludes.

G. Competence of leaders.

Speaking of the effectiveness of the secret police, respondent says that their various departments were different. He points to the economic department and says that the most intelligent and educated people were assigned to that department, people with excellent education in the economic field. Their assignment was to seize all kind of private properties, even if ~~no laws or regulations were applicable to that case.~~ It was particularly important for them to seize as much actual gold as possible. He says that effectiveness was really admirable. He doesn't have such a good opinion of the political department of the AVO. He says that bestiality and sadism and other psychic phenomena were their main characteristics. Border guard secret police were somewhat better trained. Speaking of the effectiveness of army leadership, respondent says that military training has been adopted completely as copied from Russian military training. He says that accordingly, Hungarian army leadership is using combat methods which are ~~destined to waste men, materials, and,~~ generally speaking, he says, they are not well trained.

He says of Russian army leadership that it is very well trained. That is to say the highest leadership is, but the intermediaries are good fighters with natural cunning but with barbaric and ruthless methods.

Speaking of bureaucracy, public administration officials, respondent says that it was very ineffective and he brings up examples from agriculture and says that in most cases Communists used twice, three and even four times as many administrators for managing the same estate as were necessary in previous times.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years.

Respondent says: "I think Hungary's expectations are very, very dull. Since the revolution was beaten and the Russian occupation and the Communist leadership took over once more, will result in the most ruthless oppression, as it has resulted already. People who can think even a bit with their own heads will be liquidated one after the other. The skin of the nation will be exterminated unless an unexpected turn of events on the world scene will come about. My soul is bleeding when I think of how the best elements of the new Hungarian intelligentsia will be exterminated."

Respondent thinks that the people in Hungary expect just about the same. They can think of no other weapon but passive resistance.

Respondent expects the worst from the regime of Kadar, even if Kadar himself would be relieved. He says the situation will not change essentially, but he thinks the backbone of the Hungarian people will not be broken. They will put up a passive resistance, not unworthy of the revolution.

Respondent doesn't expect any effective move from the west. He thinks that they will make too many ~~unsuccessful~~ conciliatory moves.

Asked what his hopes, if any, are, respondent answered that he has no actual hopes, the only avenue that could lead out of disaster would be to force the Russians to withdraw. He says Russians do not answer any pleas, they know only one language, that of force, force, however, not only by military methods, but by economic, political and diplomatic methods.

Asked about a Poland type solution, respondent says that in part it was wholesome, it was sensible, it was sensible particularly because it did not result in bloodshed, which ~~he~~ would have been a good thing to have avoided in Hungary, too. But at the same time, he adds, I cannot see how Hungarians could have gone the way Poland did, because Hungarians are so much more impulsive. He adds that he thinks it's very questionable whether or not the Poles would have achieved as much success without the Hungarian revolution. Thus he thinks disastrous as the after effects are, the Hungarian revolution was unavoidable. He also emphasizes that a Poland type solution is only a temporary, an expedient method, not a solution.

He thinks that people in Hungary would be happy if they saw any easing up of the terrible oppression, whether Poland type or any other type of expediency.

Respondent himself thinks that a tremendous political, economic and diplomatic pressure should be exerted on Soviet Russia so as to force its hand.

Asked about a war between the USSR and the United States, respondent says that he is afraid that soviet Russia will force a showdown the moment it feels that it has superior military force over the United States. He says that such a terrible world disaster will unfortunately ~~be~~ be the only 100 per cent solution for the danger that Soviet Russia means to the entire world.

Respondent says he by no means desires a war between the two countries, but he is very much afraid that it is unavoidable because Soviet Russia won't sit back until it realizes its goal to conquer the entire world.

Probed about the likelihood of such a war, respondent reiterates his former statement that Soviet Russia is bent on world domination and that this fact will force a world war upon the world, whether the United States wants to have it or not.

Respondent hopes that international pressure could induce the Soviet Union ~~to~~ to withdraw from occupied countries only if that ~~an~~ pressure is tremendous. He does not think that arbitration can ~~move~~ move the Soviet Union, only the most biting sanctions can force it to this or that.

B. Hopes in retrospect.

Respondent says that in the last ten years ~~his~~ his hope was that the United States would not let Hungary down and when he saw that Hungary was abandoned by the United States he hoped that America would recognize the disastrous effects of such a policy and would give Hungary a helping hand to rid itself of Russian oppression. When he started losing hope in this, he hoped that a world situation would develop in which it would become of great interest to the United States to see Hungary liberated.

Asked about changes in his hopes, respondent says that he grew more and more disappointed with the United States, which professes to stand for freedom, but speaks of it much more than it does something about it. After every international conference, he says, he grew again disappointed, because he hoped at the conference

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table issues would come up which would make the United States realize what a deadly enemy of it the Soviet Union is and that it should do everything to see the subjugated countries free.

#### XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

##### A. Independent Hungary.

Respondent would like to see a "wholesome democratic, but completely democratic free country."

##### B. Details on economy.

Respondent thinks that Hungary is predominantly an agricultural country and the foremost in the nation's economic policy should be an up-to-date development of its agricultural resources.

Industry should be only secondary. It should be developed, but not heavy industry, rather, industries that have their raw materials in Hungary, like aluminum industry. And the same is true about atomic energy industry, because Hungary has an immense natural resource of uranium ore.

Speaking of national enterprises, respondent says heavy industry may remain in the hands of the state if the state is democratic and the people express their will through their representatives. Respondent would like to see light industry in the hands of the individuals and companies anyway, on the basis of the free enterprise system. He would particularly favor a solution in which the workers of one plant become the shareholders of that certain plant and thus have double interest in the success of their own plant.

Speaking of caucuses and state farms, respondent refers to his statement made above (Interviewer's note: The end of ~~xxxxxx~~ subchapter E of Chapter 10.)

Respondent says that the maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own should be set by the government only in the beginning, when a free and independent Hungary's foundations are laid and a new distribution of the land takes place. Later on, he says, there should be no maximum set, but progressive taxation ~~xxxxxx~~ should be instrumental in regulating affairs.

Respondent is all out for the free type of government.

Respondent favors the outlawing of the Communist party because, he says, those who are not for ~~xxxxxx~~ freedom enjoy a chance for undermining freedom. They advocate the loss of freedom, so they should have it, namely, the loss of it.

##### C. International position.

Respondent would like to see first of all a United States of Europe and until this is possible, he wants to see Hungary free and

independent. He wants to see Hungary free and independent and neutral, as Austria is. But he thinks that the only actual solution would be a United States.

As long as the United States of Europe cannot be realized, respondent suggests that a neutral Hungary have profitable trade relations and also cultural relations with the USSR.

The same is said about relations with eastern European states.

He would like to see even closer relations with the west European countries.

The same is true ~~in~~ to an even higher degree about relations with the United States of America. In fact, he would like to have a military alliance with the United States of America if that could be done, but he thinks that would be incompatible with a neutral ~~situation~~ country.

Respondent heard of a federation of Danubian states back in the thirties and forties. It was a matter not too seldom spoken of in Hungary, he says.

Respondent thinks that such a federation would be incomparably less effective than a United States of Europe and he thinks it would be only an intermediary solution if it could be brought about at all, because he thinks it would be easier to form a United States of Europe than to form such a Danubian federation.

He would like to see all central European countries included which are democratic and not communistic in any sense of the word.

Respondent ~~doesn't~~ doesn't consider Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. He would like to see territorial adjustment on the basis of plebiscite conducted by secret ballots supervised by a police force of the United Nations.

Respondent says that this whole question is tremendously important for him.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World events.

Respondent heard of Khrushchev's secret speech the 20th Party Congress. He heard of it even before the revolution and knew that great changes were brewing. He knew that Khrushchev was against Stalin, but he wondered whether all of this would result in changes favorable to Hungary.

He heard of this from the radio as well as from friends. Respondent heard of Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee. He heard from foreign and Hungarian radio and from friends and he had very mixed feelings, because he understood that McCarthy's methods were not very democratic.

All respondent knows about Peron was that he was one of the South American dictators, and he doesn't even know whether he resigned was executed or not.

Asked about Rakosi's private life, respondent says that the construction enterprise of the subway system built the air raid shelter of Rakosi's villa and that this air raid shelter was connected with the entire subway system, which was designed to connect the main buildings of the party and of the most important establishments of the military and the state apparatus and the police system and was actually not intended to become a subway system at all, that was only an eye wash, he says, only pretended.

B. Sources of personal information.

Respondent drew most of his information about what was happening from foreign radios. As a secondary source of information, he mentions the confidential whispers among trusted friends, particularly such friends as were on trips abroad or in contact with foreign diplomats.

The most important of these sources was the news coming from foreign diplomats stationed in Hungary.

Next in importance came the foreign radio stations.

C. Word of mouth.

Respondent heard mainly news of foreign policy by word of mouth.

He heard it from friends who had contact with foreign diplomats and in part from foreign diplomats themselves, because he also had a contact with at least one diplomat at the British Legation.

He thinks that this source of information was by far the most reliable.

D. Reading habits.

Before and during the war, respondent quite regularly read several newspapers. He compared them and these papers ranged from the ~~far left~~ extreme left to the extreme right, with emphasis on independent liberal papers. Speaking of magazines, respondent read first of all, scientific magazines ~~in his own field~~ in his own field as well as the field of radio and photography. Secondary interest in the field of magazines was ~~in~~ nationwide news magazines.

Speaking of books, respondent says that he was reading not only Hungarian classics and good Hungarian modern novelists and those who wrote about political problems of Hungary, but also outstanding novels by foreign authors who are supposed to be among the greatest, such as Conant.

Asked about the availability of reading material, respondent says that there were some books on the list of prohibited books, but he found what he wanted to read anyway. Probed as to what, for instance, was prohibited, respondent mentions the book written by Henry Ford about the organized Jewry of the world, and he says that this book was prohibited until Nazi times and then it was not again available because the few copies still in circulation were too rapidly sold. He says the Nazis put many more books on the prohibited list, but that people didn't care and kept on reading whatever they wanted.

Asked about what newspapers he read in the last 10 years, respondent says that he was anxious to avoid being bored by the nonsensical lies of the Communists and so, he read the official Party paper Szabad Nep only when he was forced to attend SzabadNep "half hours," then he read only part of the paper, mostly the editorial, and listened to the news comments of foreign radio stations and all he had to do was, he says, bravely criticize those commentaries and that was just the thing they wanted him to do. That was his way for ~~avoiding~~ avoiding being forced to read the entire paper.

Respondent says he put no trust whatsoever in the papers. He particularly distrusted news in the political field, but he says even news about criminal actions were distorted in a way to be useful for the aims of the "Peoples' Democracies."

He found nothing more available than classified ads and he laughs heartily as he says this.

Respondent says that the entire paper was so full of lies that he



didn't even try to read between the lines. As he says this, he again laughs.

Asked about publications from the USSR or other satellites, he says that he was forced to buy three or four books from the Soviet Union. The title of one of them was "The Just Man," and respondent laughs as he recalls that his daughter told him that if there is one just man in the Soviet Union, this might be the one.

Respondent received only very few newspapers coming from the west and they had to hide those, he says.

Legal publications coming from the west were Communist in nature, or at least fellow travelers, he says, and he was not interested in reading them.

Speaking of illegal publications, respondent says that he had quite a number in his own library.

He had those books from before and for awhile he hid them in crates and boxes and, but later he didn't care to hide them too carefully..

He lent them to others, and as a matter of course, he said they talked among themselves about such books.

Respondent said that many people hid these books carelessly; others didn't care to hide them; many of these were caught and those books were confiscated and many others were scared to deliver the books and he said that most of them delivered only part of the books which were close to their hearts.

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia: Speaking of possibilities of changes in Soviet Russia respondent says if there are any changes in Soviet Russia those will come about only through slow evolution and not by re-volution. He doesn't believe that liberalization would be the policy of the government but he says that he sees some very faint hope for people pressing for changes that the government cannot resist.

Respondent thinks that the feelings of the most Russians are opposed to the Communist regime. He mentions that there are Russians who dared to talk to him about ~~the~~ condemning Communism and at the same time, he mentions that there are others who dare not talk to him at all, - and he doesn't know whether they were in favor of Communism, or not.

If Russia had a free election, respondent thinks that Communism would be done away with for good.

Speaking of the top leaders of Russia, respondent says that the highest leadership of the Soviet Union probably consists of persons like the highest leadership of Hungary - the difference between the two is that the Soviet Union has many more criminals and perverts organized in one group as the leaders of the Soviet Union, and Hungary has only a handful, actually, to speak of.

B. Western Europe: This is the sequence of popularity that respondent thinks courtiers have among Hungarians: Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. He says that these countries are more popular in Hungary which resist Communism.

He says that likes concern people and dislikes concern governments rather than people, but to an extent even people because Hungarians compare their situation under heavy Soviet occupation where they were compelled to resist and still dared to do with a Bulgaria where there is no Russian soldier and people do not resist Communist oppression.

Even so respondent says that he has no doubt that under UN supervision free elections would result in the termination of Communist rule in every Soviet-ruled and Communist-dominated country.

Speaking of living standard, respondent established the following sequence. East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.

8. Poland:

Respondent says that the changes in Poland are certainly in the direction of a democratic development; he says, that there are undeniable improvements and he is glad about them, but he thinks them insufficient.

Respondent is afraid that the Russians will again take the Poles into trusting them and will not keep any of their promises. He thinks that even the modest measure of freedom they have won so far will be taken from them sooner or later.

Respondent thinks that events in Poland had a great effect on Hungarian events- even before Oct. '56.

He says that the example of the Poles was animating for the Hungarians and even actually supplied the spark for the explosion.

He thinks that the example of the Polish remained an encouraging force during the revolution although Hungarians were disappointed to see that the Polish did not rise after the Hungarians rose in the revolution. But he adds that this ~~disillusionment~~ disillusionment was not too bad or too strong because the opinion of the people was divided up first all. Secondly, the Hungarians were concerned with little more than their own immediate goals and problems.

Respondent heard very little before the revolution of the Poznan riots and he cannot decide whether he heard anything before but it seems to him he did.

But he thinks that only the Poznan made these developments generally known in Hungary.

In retrospect and theoretically speaking, respondent would have liked the Hungarian revolution to precede along the lines of the Polish revolution, but he says that things had to come as they did and even though, he said he does not believe in parliamentarism. He reiterates that the developments in Poland could not have gone this far had the Hungarians not fought for their freedom with arms in their hands.

D. Yugoslavia: Respondent thinks that Tito and Yugoslavia were very influential in Eastern Europe.

He thinks that Tito was the founder of national communism but he adds that national communism is of very dubious nature. He says that Tito is not trustworthy at all and that the West commits a very grave mistake if it trusts him.

Respondent says it is very difficult to speak of national communism because there is only one communism, and anything deviating from it is no communism anymore; however, she feels that Tito's system is still communism and that Tito is not independent from Soviet Russia at all.

Tito's relations to East European nations, he said, are determined by his relations to Russia.

Speaking of his relations with Soviet Russia, respondent says he would like to see cleared because Tito is so very foxy and the Soviet leaders are no better and he would like to see who outwits the other party.

Respondent thinks that Tito has some secret agreements with the West or at least hopes, or otherwise he says all the billions of dollars that go to him, would be senseless.

Speaking of Tito's position in Hungary and with the Hungarian revolution, respondent says that first he looked undecided; then he was in favor of the Hungarian revolution and at last he turned against it again.

Respondent says that Tito could have done something good for other countries as well but that their actions would have been expedient and certainly not a solution.

Respondent thinks that in Yugoslavia in spite of the fact that Tito is a dictator and not any better than the other Communist dictators, he thinks that freedoms are not better in Yugoslavia than other places.

E. The Middle East: Respondent says that the timing of the Anglo-French invasion was disastrous. It's wisdom and it's ethics could certainly be debated, but the one point is very clear; they should not have committed their forces into action in the Suez Canal zone at the time of the Hungarian Revolution. He thinks that it was a disastrous mistake of the West.

Respondent has a similar opinion of the Israeli invasion.

Respondent thinks that Egypt had no right to nationalize the canal.

Respondent thinks that the 2nd Soviet attack is to a great extent due to the encouragement they received from the aggressive action of the English and the French in Egypt; therefore the Anglo-French had disastrous effects on the development in Hungary.

F. Western Germany: Respondent thinks that living standards is the highest in Germany in West Germany.

Told that some people think that the Germans might start another war, respondent says:

"I don't think they have a policy of revenge again. I even think that they will find conciliation with the French. Asked about West Germany Armament respondent says that Germany should be made as strong as possible and the sooner the better so that it could become a very strong bastion against Communism in Central Europe.

Asked of the West Germany military strength, respondent says that he is very much dissatisfied because he thinks that the West Germany Army is little more than nothing- it is utterly weak.

He thinks that it is much weaker than the British Army and even weaker than that of France.

G. Western Europe: Speaking of the NATO, respondent says that the idea perfect, but that they carry no real weight. NATO is too weak to act effectively against the tremendous force of Soviet Russia. He says that the statutes of NATO are of a character which are not military enough, and therefore can never become effective.

Respondent thinks that NATO cannot be easily compared with the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact, he says, is a very strict military pact - NATO is more of a political nature.

Respondent thinks highly of the British Labor Party and says that its ideology is superior to that of a Communist, or a Communist-tinted Labor Party.

Respondent has a good opinion of the West European Socialist Parties but he says that there are a few among them which cooperate with the Communists and those should be considered tantamount with Communism. There should be a very clear dividing line between those which are independent and actually democratic and those which are a forefront for Communism.

Asked how most European Socialist Parties cooperate with the Communists, respondent says, for a while most of them did but now only a very few do.

This is respondent's listing for the following countries according to living standards: Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, Egypt, ~~Sixix~~ ~~Maxix~~ Greece and the Soviet Union.

H. The United States: Respondent was particularly surprised by the material wealth which surpassed even his knowledge and imagination. He was also greatly surprised by the mentality of the average American. He was surprised by the aimlessness, the heartlessness of the average American and his terrific preoccupation with business (Interviewer's note: "Business" was quoted in this sentence from the English and this word is very generally misunderstood by Hungarians) quoted in the sense of mercenary business - the business of merchants. It is due to very poor, cheap dictionaries that 99% of Hungarians who know a little English and 90% who know much English but who are not perfect in the language think that the word "business" indicates nothing more than mercantilism, and to them is tantamount to a mercenary spirit and practice. In their erroneous ideas, this word is only ~~Geschäft~~ ~~nd~~ ~~not~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~secondary~~, or perhaps primary sense, at least in the broader sense which might be expressed by the the word beschäftigung)

Respondent says that the USA should display a very great amount of good will and should help a great deal the ~~the~~ East European countries, mainly "by seriously and circumspectly preparing for their eventual liberation" Until they are liberated the USA should help them economically as much as is possible.

Respondent says that all East European Countries should receive loans from the US government. He says the same should happen to Hungary. He says that diplomatic relations with Hungary are of paramount importance, and should, by no means, be broken off.

Respondent says that his opinion changed since he arrived in the USA, because when he left Hungary he still wished that the USA send arms to the freedom fighters because then he said he still thought that a revolution could win; but, now, he sees that it is only in a basically changed world situation that America would be ready to change its policy concerning actually moves like sending arms to freedom fighters.

~~He thinks that Hungarians would be very happy to see Western visitors~~  
~~because they are the first people who are~~

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He thinks that Hungarians would be very happy to see Western visitors because then the West could see even clearer just what the Soviet government and oppression looks like.

Respondent says that all kinds of visitors would be welcome and could do a great deal of good for Hungary, but he thinks that the most important visitors are diplomats, newspaper men, writers, labor leaders and everybody else, but in the sequence of the listing he just gave.

Respondent says that Western visitors should be asked to open their eyes and to go on their own without being guided and that they should speak freely and utter their opinions on everything ~~Communistic~~ they see in Hungary or want to say about the West.

Respondent suggests that the people who inform the American visitors should also be native Americans.

Respondent says that Hungarians would be very happy to receive publications from the West but these publications should not contain any bombastic propaganda.

Such publications should be sent above all to scientific institutions and to scientists and to libraries.

Respondent is afraid of sending publications to private people because they might be persecuted because of Western ties and they could become suspects of being employed by some intelligence agency.

He says that exiles should have a much more important role in these matters as well as in all matters concerning Hungary.

Respondent describes the Marshall Plan in words that could come from an American. He says that it was a catastrophe that the Communist government did not permit the Marshall Plan in Hungary.

He thinks that the USA had honest, selfless purposes, or if those purposes were selfish they were certainly enlightened self-interest moves because they served the good of the West European countries more than that of the USA; certainly not its immediate aims - only its long range aspirations.

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Respondent is persuaded that the United States fought actually for the freedom of South Korea and he thinks that America had no other reason.

I. The United Nations: Respondent is deeply persuaded that the UN could have changed the outcome of the Hungarian revolution even by sending in not more than a fact-finding committee - an observation team. As a matter of course, he says, they could have helped the Hungarian freedom fighters make the revolution victorious by sending arms to them, if only a few thousand small type portable bazookas would have done the trick, let alone any police force like the one sent to Egypt.

"It is is poppy-cock to suggest that a third world war would have broken out. Two things might have happened if Hungary had received arms. Most likely the fight would have been localized to Hungary and almost as likely it would have spread to the other East European countries and might have resulted in the quick dissolution of the entire Soviet bloc. In fact that would have been quite likely!"

Speaking of the UN in general, respondent says that they are completely inefficient and ineffective. They amount to little more than a good-will club that delivers nice speeches and is satisfied with itself.

Respondent has no hope whatsoever that the UN will do something effective for Hungary in the foreseeable future.



KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. The Greatest Living Hungarian: Respondent names Bela Kiraly as the greatest living Hungarian.

B. Imre Nagy: "I am biased towards him because I know that he grew from Communist roots; much as people praise him, I do not think that he is our man. He might be an expedient in a critical situation but not the right man for the right place."

C. Cardinal Mindszenty: "He made a grave mistake when after his liberation he delivered a speech in which he demanded the restoration of church estates and said similar nonsense which was more than premature. I think this mistake is due to the brainwashing he went through in AVO captivity." (Interviewer's note: respondent referred to his radio speech delivered on the third of Nov. about which it is a wide spread belief among Hungarian refugees that it advocated the return of church property. This speech of course can be read in the Free Europe publication "The Revolt in Hungary")

C. Laszle Rajk: "A Communist who would have created conditions that would have been similar to those created by Tito in Yugoslavia or by Gamulko in Poland, but this of course would not have been the real solution for Hungary. He is not the right type of statesman the Hungarians need."

D. Erno Gere: "He is the most puritan among Communist leaders and in fact he meant much for Hungary as far as construction and practical reconstruction of the country is concerned; essentially, he is not better than the others."

E. Janos Kadar: "A very primitive person; he is zero as a politician, and zero as a Hungarian. He is only a name and amounts to nothing."

F. Respondent already spoke of General Bela Kiraly when he called him the greatest living Hungarian.

G. Anna Kethly: "As an old socialist she has great merits and she is a great patriot but her old age makes her rather clumsy and I don't think she can be counted very much."

2. A. President Eisenhower: He maybe good enough for the USA but I don't think that he is a statesman great enough for leadership of the entire world. He certainly showed this when he did not fully embrace the cause of Hungary's fight for independence. He doesn't know well enough what Hungary's freedom would have meant for the world.

B. Secretary General Hammarskjöld: "I think he had a good heart and understood the situation, but he had perhaps the right imagina-

B. Secretary-General Hammarskjold: "I think he had a good heart and understood the situation in Hungary but he had neither the right imagination nor the courage to do something and was as inefficient as his organization."

C. Dulles: "One of the greatest statesman of the United States, he was aware of the importance of the Hungarian cause but unfortunately he was not able to do more."

D. Eden: "He belongs to the very clever politicians. He was removed because he wanted to change British policies."

E. Truman: "He made many mistakes as the successor of Roosevelt, and he did not have the courage to finish the Korean war in the same imaginative manner as he started ~~it~~ American participation in it."

3. Mikevan: "A no-good Communist whom I condemn."

Nehru: "He is a well-wisher and a fellow-traveler of the Soviet."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: "China would not have been lost to the Communists had Kai-shek received sufficient aid from the West. Unfortunately they let him down."

Ferenc Nagy: "A well-intentioned small man who shouldered too great tasks."

Roosevelt: "He is the man who sold us to the Soviet Union."

Chancellor Adenauer: "a smart politician who knows how to cut back enough money for the reconstruction of his country and for raising the living standard of the German people."

Stalin: "He remained what he was when he started his career - a burglar of a postoffice. He was the most ruthless dictator."

Malenkov: "Another top Communist leader - probably not much better than the others, but it is true that it was under his regime that the first relaxations came."

Generallissime Franco: "A Spanish and a Communist leader who defeated the Spanish Communists in a fierce fight. I wish he had established democracy instead of dictatorship, but if I have to choose, I rather see Spain under his leadership than under Moscow's."

Bevan: "Leader of the British Labor Party who for a while functioned quite well as head of the British Cabinet but then the conservatives did a way with him." (Interviewer's note: respondent apparently confuses him with Atlee)

Khrushchev: / Respondent spit symbolically and he says: "This goes for Khrushchev and for the entire Behoved gang. (Interviewer's note: Behoved is a Yiddish word which respondent uses quite often in the meaning of "no damn good")

Tit: "Respondent refers to his statements made above (Interviewer's note: Chapter D, of Chapter XVI)

Peron: Respondent again refers to his statement made above (Sub-chapter A of Chapter XV) which is not much more than zero knowledge.

Molotov: "Another Communist bum who is foxy enough to deceive the United States. What a tragic comical ~~situation~~ situation!...."

Ollenhauer: "The West German socialist leader who, thank God, was defeated by Adenauer at the recent elections."

Churchill: "The old British leader who is one of the greatest statesman, it is too bad that he has become too old. I wish he had been followed by Roosevelt when he suggested that the Allies open a second-front on the Balkans that might have saved Hungary from Soviet domination."

## ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of escapees: Respondent sees the following groups as those who fled from Hungary after the revolution:

- (1) A great many of those who fought in the revolution;
- (2) those who had planned even before to flee the "Soviet Paradise" because their lives were full of fear and of want; (I myself had tried twice before the revolution and I didn't manage it, but this time I managed to leave the entire Communist gang behind);
- (3) Those who were frightened by the return of the Red Army and although they did not play any significant role in the revolution, they feared reprisals especially that of deportation of youth;
- (4) those who expected to enjoy many advantages which were extended to the Hungarian refugees and who fled without being actually forced to flee by anything other than rosy expectations. (Still speaking of the escapees, respondent says that most of them were students and young workers, but he says that there were people from all other social classes, and he says that those of the population who were disproportionately represented among the refugees were college students and Jews.)

Asked about the reason for leaving that the main reason was fear. Fear of persecutions and as a secondary reason, he mentions that people were also afraid of misery which would have been in store for them had they stayed in Hungary, and he says in this connection we should bear in mind that it is also the feeling of justice which is deeply hurt by too low wages; it is not only the fear of deprivations.

Speaking of the people who stayed behind, respondent says: "they were mainly the common people who said 'What would happen to the Hungarian nation if all the eight and a half million fled? We will stay and hope that they won't kill us!' Most of those who stayed were of this type, but there were others who were naive and carefree and said that they didn't do anything in the revolution, hence nothing could happen to them. Again others hoped that the situation would change very soon and they wanted to stay back to fight again if necessary. These deserve the greatest respect. Of course, there were also the Party members who hoped that they would be compensated now for the bad days they had during the revolution when they were afraid of receiving the same treatment from the revolutionaries as they had given them before. And still there was one more group - not Communists - but who were simply afraid of the uncertainties and tribulations of an escapade. There were even such patriots who said and actually proved by their behaviour that they would rather die than leave their nation and their sacred ground behind." (Interviewer's notes: Since it is respondent who had by far the most extensive experience with refugees as a physician accompanying trains to the West and visiting refugee camps in Austria and Germany, I think it is all right to let him speak more extensively on this matter)

Asked about his opinion of the ones who stayed behind, respondent says that the non-Communists who stayed behind did very well if they were not among those who are liquidated by the AVO because they can do a great deal of good for the nation and even help those who are persecuted.

Asked for an example of a person respondent knew, he says one of his friends wanted to escape but his wife was afraid of the uncertainties and the dangers of the way that led to freedom and she was particularly worried about their little children. This is why they stayed behind.

Respondent thinks that people who stayed back in Hungary think that those who fled did very well and a great many of them wish they had done the same because freedom is an inestimably valuable. Respondent also adds that people in Hungary expect very much from those who managed to escape because they want them to prepare well for the great period of reconstruction that will follow eventual liberation.

Respondent thinks that only a very few people would have stayed in Hungary if they all had had ideal circumstances to flee to. He is reluctant to give a percentage wise estimate but at long last, he suggested that about 40 % would have still remained in Hungary.

B. Exile Organizations; and individuals: Respondent knew of the Hungarian National Committee and several members of that organization. He mentions the following by name (exile politicians):  
Magr. Varga; Sulyok; Haan, Pfeiffer; Barenkovics; Ference Nagy.

He knew about them that they were not much more effective than some pious civic club.

Asked whether he had any contact with exile leaders since leaving Hungary, respondent says that he met Mr. Haan of the Hungarian National Council and that Mr. Haan helped him to find a job as the camp physician of the International Ladies Garment Union's summer camp in Penna.

Respondent knew of the National Hungarian Council and he described his opinion in several paragraphs just above.

Respondent never heard of the Assembly of Captive Nations.

He heard merely the name of the MHBK; he heard the name of the Liberal Democratic Union; he never heard of the Christian Democratic Union; he didn't hear of the three Trade Unions in exile; he only heard the name of the International Peasant Union; he didn't hear of.....  
He heard of the existence of Hungarian American Federation and knew that it consisted of old immigrants and they tried to help Hungarians.

Msgr. Bela Varga: respondent thinks him a mediocre politician with good will and not much more.

Ferenc Nagy: He thinks that he spoke too much and acted too little.

Tibor Eckhardt: He used to have a good opinion of that old exile statesman but now he thinks he has become too old.

Paul Auer: All respondent know of him is that he used to be one of the Ambassadors to Hungary but he wouldn't know well.

Imre Kovacs: He recalls that he was a leader of the peasant party and that he was a daring fighter for democracy with socialist inclinations.

Imre Selig: Respondent doesn't know him.

Charles Feyer: He thinks that he was a good socialist leader who never associated himself with the Communists, but when he became an exile he couldn't do much for Hungary either.

Lassle Taubinger: Respondent doesn't know who he is.

Nikoloz Kilay

Mikoloz Kilay: He thinks that Kilay was too undecided between left and right - between Germany and the Western Allies but he is of good opinion about his stubborn refusal to deal a deadly blow to Hungarian Jewry, in spite of tremendous German pressure.

Zoltan Pfeiffer: Respondent doesn't know enough of him to say anything worth while, he thinks.

Istvan Baronkovics: He used to appreciate him in his attempt to oppose Communism but he doesn't know of his later role.

Otto of Hapsburg: "A degenerate, idiot who thinks that he still can become the King of Hungary. Even back in 1952 when Communist power in Hungary was at its high point, he broadcast through the Spanish radio that he made an agreement with the Hungarian Socialists and that he would come back to reign over the Hungarian nation."

Admiral Horthy: Respondent sums up his opinion of him by saying that he was about two decades behind his assignment as the regent of Hungary.

Respondent thought in Hungary that the exiles were anxious to make the world realize that Hungary's freedom is the cause of the free world and not only of the Hungarians.

He thinks that they accomplish very little and this was only in part their fault, because the world didn't want to listen to them much, but they were also to blame, he says, because they did too much party bickering among themselves, instead of representing Hungarian interests.

He thinks that exile politicians should not play politics here but represent Hungarian interests.

He thought of the exiles during the revolution and hoped that they would persuade the great powers that Hungary should be helped. At the same time, he was also afraid that extreme right exile elements would also get back to Hungary and would stage another "white terror." (Interviewer's note: Respondent refers to the infamous first few months of the anti-Communist regime of Hungary in 1920, when irresponsible and unscrupulous extreme right soldiers of fortune and politicians had their way in Hungary.)

C. Redefectors.

Respondent didn't meet any redefectors but heard of some.

He heard that many of these redefectors regretted that they ever went back to the Communist regime and he heard of others that they had been AVO informants from the beginning and others turned informants, to save their own skins.

Respondent says the Communists started the defection campaign to prove that not everything is sweetness and light in the west. They used the report of such redefectors to their advantage, well editing and changing them to ~~misrepresent~~ suit their own purposes.

People generally speaking, he says, felt very sorry for those "fools" who believed the Communists and returned.

D. Exile tasks.

He thinks that the people in Hungary would like to know about the exiles, that they can make a living and can find their right places in the society of the foreign countries, and that they prepare to return after liberation to rebuild the country, with the knowledge of the free world.

Asked what they should know of the exiles, respondent says that they should know about them as much as possible, because they are keenly interested in how they get along and they would like

to see and hear of everything that sounds hopeful to them.

Asked what he thinks the exiles should know, respondent says that they should find their places in the societies in which they actually are, they should adjust themselves. They should band together in Hungarian exile organizations, they should spread the truth of Hungary among the peoples of the world. They should perfect their knowledge and their skill to become better citizens of a liberated Hungary.

He ~~personally~~ thinks that he personally should get back to his actual ~~work~~ profession again and should acquire as much experience in it as possible.

He himself would like to join an exile organization only after he has found a job in his own field. Then he would like to belong to a large organization which does not play party politics.

Asked about parties before 1948, respondent refers to his statement made above, (Interviewer's note: Or in sub-chapter A of Chapter II,) that there should be no party politics in exile.

He thinks that party politics were premature in the few free days following the victory of the revolution, because the nation ought to have girded itself to fight again with the returning Russian troops.

Speaking of groups that went into exile previously, respondent says that scientists, experts and highly skilled and trained people should have returned above all and not party politicians.

Coming back to speak again of the revived parties, respondent says that they should have grouped into fewer and more efficient parties and should not have been split up into so many groups ready to fight each other.

E. Plans for the future.

Respondent would like to go back to Hungary "to serve my beloved people because my life will be much more worth if I can serve them much more."

He wants his children to learn "the blessed Hungarian language" whether they are here in the United States or anywhere in the world, and he wants his children's children to do the same. But at the same time, he wants them to learn perfect English as well.



XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio.

Respondent listened to all radio stations which regularly relayed Hungarian language broadcasts in foreign countries of the free world.

Asked about reception, respondent says he had such a powerful radio set that he could listen to any of the foreign radio stations without difficulties.

He says that Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America were particularly eagerly jammed, but he says that they were never jammed on every band length (frequency) and they had to switch only from one wave length to the other and they could catch jam free spots. He just had to find the right band and he could hear everything clearly.

He listened only to Hungarian language broadcasts.

He found time almost every day, at least for a few minutes, to listen, and quite often he listened for hours, he says.

He told others what he heard and he says this was a daily affair, they always talked over with friends and with colleagues what the news was. Nurses and other employees included.

Respondent very seldom listened to foreign radio stations alone, there were at least members of his family present, and a great many of his friends were as well.

Speaking of the physical circumstances of listening, respondent says that the custodian of his building was organized by him and they had a secret bell which was sounded by the custodian whenever unknown people entered the building at night time, the usual time for listening.

Speaking of dangers, respondent says that the usual <sup>jail</sup> terms ranged from three to five years.

Speaking of whether this danger deterred people from listening, respondent says he doesn't think so, because Hungarians are not easily frightened.

Speaking of changes in the danger of listening, respondent says there were only waves but no significant changes.

Speaking of his evaluation of these broadcasts, respondent says that by far the most objective was the BBC of London, and that Radio Free Europe quite often broadcast unreliable reports.

He ~~was~~ judged their accuracy on the basis of his own experience, when he heard about things that were supposed to have taken place and he could see with his own naked eyes what reality was.

Speaking of the effects of these foreign radio broadcasts, respondent says that their effect was tremendous, both before and during the revolution, because they encouraged people by holding out hope to them.

Speaking of Radio Free Europe, respondent says that the amount of work of that was apparently behind Radio Free Europe broadcasts is really tremendous and admirable and deserves every appreciation. He mentions as a particularly well-liked program that of Balint Boda. He describes in great detail what the program of Balint Boda looked like and he says that his program was very, very popular. He also tells about tricks people played by marking the initials BB on streets and on walls, and even on the floor of the corridors of City Hall in Budapest.

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Asked for his suggestions, /respondent expressed his desire that Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts, he says that straight news is the most important. Secondly, news commentaries are welcome, he says; anti-Communist propaganda is also welcome, he says, particularly if it is witty; he also recommends programs about life in western Europe and programs about life in the United States.

Asked about other suggestions, respondent suggests whatever program it is, the planners should always keep in mind that every item of the program should be very brief. He says that scientific news is particularly welcome and such programs as speak of Hungary of the past, which is hidden from today's Hungarian youth.

#### B. FEP Leaflets.

Respondent cannot recall having heard the initials MKM.

But he recalls having heard of the 12 demands.

It seems to him that he heard of the 12 demands in the Free Europe radio broadcasts.

C. More about leaflets.

Respondent saw only one Free Europe Press leaflet, but he does not remember what it contained. He received that leaflet from somebody else but he says on the one occasion he saw leaflets right in the prison yard of the infamous large prison in Szeged. They of course had no chance of picking them up.

Respondent heard quite often of Free Europe leaflets.

Respondent says that he like to see leaflets, or at least to hear of them, and when there was a longer period without leaflets he certainly missed them.

He says that there was a very great danger connected with picking up leaflets, particularly in passing them. The danger, he says, did not deter people at all from picking them up and not even from passing them on, although passing them on was even more severely punished.

Respondent says that the AVO was so anxious to collect the leaflets before people could pick them up that it organized special teams for just this very purpose. Whenever they received reports that leaflets were falling.

Respondent saw no noticeable changes in this in the last 10 years, all the less since the leaflets were not dropped for ten years.

Respondent had a good opinion of these leaflets, the one he read and the others of which he heard made a good impression on him and he was interested in them. In fact, it annoyed him that he did not get more into his hands.

He considered them useful because he thought that they were encouraging people to hold out in hopeless situations.

Respondent doesn't know of any leaflets dropped during the revolution.

Respondent thinks that leaflets should be dropped in the future again to Hungary, but they should be painstakingly realistic, he says.

He suggests that these leaflets should contain particularly warnings of certain Communist leaders and AVO officers and henchmen should be warned that unless they stop, or at least lessen the degree of terror they exercise, they will have good reasons for having had ~~stress~~ nightmares.

Respondent thinks that such warnings would help.

D. Goals of western groups.

Respondent answers the question by saying: "Their goal apparently is to counteract the force of Communist propaganda, to drive Communism into a defending position and to ~~annihilate~~ annihilate it in the very end."

He thinks that all western groups operating in this field have identical goals.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Asked what children should be taught above all, respondent says: "They should be taught first of all the difference between good and bad, between things one may do and things one should do and things one shouldn't do. They should be taught affection and love for their families, for the nation, for their fellow men and, later, they should be taught to study very seriously and devotedly. They should also be taught clear, well-reasoning political thinking."

Speaking of disciplining children, respondent says that he thinks basic discipline is necessary. "I am not for letting the child grow up by itself and develop by itself as some modernistic ideas suggest. At the age when reasoning cannot be understood by a child and when he does not have the brain to see the difference between right and wrong and good and bad, he must be kept in discipline so that he can get used to behaving right. It is later, when his brain develops, reasoning will assume a more serious role and of course in an ever-increasing measure. But the tiny tots should receive some little spanking if they do not obey if they are told."

Respondent says: "The treatment allotted for boys and girls can by no means be the same. Girls should be handled much more delicately. More leniency and more affection are in place in the case of girls. Of course I could elaborate on this topic, because it brings out all the interesting psychological differences between boys and girls."

Asked about changes in treatment as a child grows older, respondent refers to his statement made two paragraphs above.

(Interviewer's note: It is intentionally that I include the references of respondent to his statements made before, because he has an excellent memory and he never misses pointing to former statements. In a few statements there was a period inbetween. This interview dragged out for a week and was held at odd hours, in the evening and at night, But in most cases I remembered myself that we had already spoken on that subject, but still I wanted to try out whether he repeated the same or told something different or something in addition. As was the case with most respondents. This respondent, however, has an unusually good memory and is unusually alert.)

Asked about any incident when he was punished as a child, respondent laughs impishly and says: "My folks had a good many reasons to spank me and my brother. We always deserved the punishments, but darn it,

we got an awful lot of them. We committed great mischiefs, and generally speaking, I have to concede, we were really mischievous, bad boys. My older brother was a very good sport and ingenious and inventive young boy who really enjoyed mischiefs and usually got me into them. In one instance, for example, we got severely punished because the following happened: My father bought four new light Arabian horses with a very light carriage. These Arabian horses were the kind which cannot walk slowly, if it starts out it runs right away. My older brother found out that it would be a new trick to tie a small four wheel wagon which I had to the rear axis of the carriage. He suggested that I get into that wagon and that he get into the driver's seat of the carriage and drive the four Arabian horses."

Asked how old they were when this happened, respondent said that he was six and his brother was eleven. He continued: "My brother started driving the four Arabian horses and we got on the highway at a speed that my little wagon flew more in the air swaying to the right and to the left than it ran on the ground." Respondent heartily laughs as he tells the story. "I held myself tight and as people saw us on the highway and in the streets they all yelled that the small child would fall out and that my brother should stop. We kept running at an ever increasing speed until we ~~passed~~ ran by the fire station and two firemen ran out who knew their way around horses. Those two firemen grabbed the bridles of the horses and stopped them. Just a few seconds later, my father and my uncle also arrived, driving another carriage behind us with which they meant to catch us, and I need not tell you what we received." Respondent laughs even heartier than before. In retrospect, apparently, he gets a big kick out of it. "My father had a swagger stick in his hand and my uncle a light and fancy horsewhip with which he drove the horses. Both the swagger stick and the staff of the fancy horsewhip are very elastic, thin bamboo, as you know, and my brother and I got a very thorough spanking with them. Although I wasn't sure why I should be spanked, since it was my brother, after all, who tied my little wagon to the carriage and who drove the horses, I thought that it was natural for my angry father and my angry uncle to spank us," respondent says, still laughing, and he keeps laughing as he goes on with the story: "The spanking certainly didn't help my brother very much, even if they had skinned him that would not have kept him back from committing more mischief, or perhaps these spankings prevented him from doing even more mischievous things, I don't know. Anyway, next time he was even more inventive and he prepared some small balls of cotton, ~~lighted them, and as they burned they began smoking~~ and he put them in the ears of the horses which were hitched to the wagon. But he was cautious, and first told me that I had better climb on a tree and I obeyed his suggestion and watched attentively to what followed next. He then went from horse to horse lighting the cotton balls with the help of a cigarette, and it is well known that cotton smolders very slowly. The second

The moment that the smoldering cotton started burning, the ears of the horses they started running so fast that they broke the carriage in pieces. Nothing remained at last but the two front wheels. My father and my uncle looked for us right away and when they found us they gave my older brother an even more thorough spanking and it was only my uncle who rescued me from a spanking, because my irate father accused me of not having report the plot in time to prevent disaster. But you may be sure I had no notion to inform on my brother, this 'innocent lamb.' Some mischievous behavior was not the exception but the rule and so were the spankings."

Respondent says that in most families among his acquaintances, children older than six were punished by their fathers.

Girls were punished more by their mothers, he says, but then he hesitates and says that most mothers rather threatened their children by telling them 'Just wait when your father comes home, he'll let you have it!'

Probed as to whether these were mere threats or actually fulfilled, respondent says it is his recollection that in most cases they were merely words.

It is respondent's impression that in most families it is the father, rather than the mother, who metes out the punishments. But he doesn't think there are any differences in this respect between social classes.

Respondent saw no changes in this during the last ten years. The only change he observed was that some parents refrained more from punishing their children because they were threatened by some teachers, even with the AVO, if they bodily punished their children.

Respondent says that physical punishment was abandoned in their family and in other families of friends and relatives, mostly at the age of five or six, in the case of girls, and about seven or eight in the case of boys, in most cases.

Punishment, in general, was abandoned for boys at the age of between 12 and 14 and for girls usually at the age of 11 or 12. The only kind of punishment he says that remains, even in later years, is censuring.

He thinks intellectuals abandoned corporal punishment at an earlier age than did classes with less education.

Asked about changes Communism brought about, respondent says that on the whole there were less punishments and earlier abandoned ones because it was in the air that even after it was no more officially

Asked about changes Communism brought about, respondent says that on the whole there were less punishments and earlier abandoned ones because it was in the air that even after it was no more officially emphasized, that parents may be punished if they hit their children.

Respondent says that before Communism, there was very strict discipline held in every grade school and that sticks were used to spank children who didn't behave, and to hit their palms. But under Communism, this was abolished and the teachers, particularly in farm areas, had terrible difficulty in trying to keep discipline without means to impose it. The means in their hands was a kind of disciplinary report card, in which they made remarks about the faults and mischiefs and bad things, omissions and so on, that a child committed and they sent that home to the parents, so that they would be informed. Parents were supposed to discipline the child, but not by corporal punishments, He says, so parents used persuasion and censuring.

Asked what characteristics he values most in a friend, respondent says: "Selflessness, honesty, truthfulness, faithfulness and straightforwardness."

Asked about changes in friendship under Communism, respondent says: "There were much fewer true friends than before, because fear separated people from each other. Friendships developed under much more difficult circumstances than before. A friend had to prove the sincerity of his friendship by deeds and under great difficulties. Hence, there were not many real friendships but those were certainly genuine that were existing. It was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ characteristic that during the revolution people became so friendly with each other and became really brothers and sisters, even to the point of self sacrifices, of which there were very many. This proved that people longed for friendships and when they were no more hampered by fear they were happy to share friendly feelings with everybody."



CHARACTER Description.

Respondent is one of the many types that may be called typically Hungarian. He is approximately five feet, five inches tall, and somewhat stockier than the well-built male of that height.

He makes the impression of a man who has been quite active in sports because his bearing and his walk are very elastic and energetic.

His hair and his eyes are brown, and his somewhat oily skin is considerably darker than that of the average American who is of North European descent. His eyes are radiating warm emotions and his somewhat coarse voice is sometimes subtly trembling with emotions. He speaks passionately and his fingers tremble sometimes when he puts his cigarettes down or when he extends them out.

Poise, breeding, warm friendliness and extremely straight -forward attitude appear to characterize him more than anything.

He has something in his appearance: soldierly-bearing (even sometimes clicking of heels when he introduces himself) combined with man-like charm and very good humour that reminds one of one type of Hungarian Army Officers and other members of the middle-class proud of their being Reserve Officers, a type which used to be respected in bygone years and liked by both superiors and subordinates and society people as well.

He is a type of man who talks to his employees in the lowest income bracket as informally, in fact almost brotherly or paternally (depending upon age) as to his superiors with whom he is on friendly terms - or to his high-class society friends.

His narration, as well as my personal experience with him (which has become quite ample since I got acquainted with him through the interview) makes it clear that he works feverishly, quickly and extremely carefully. Just as much as he is devoted to his duty he likes to enjoy life: home, food, beverages, cigarettes, cards, billiards and the sight of and the talk about women. He has a very warm affection toward his loved ones, and has no real animosity except quick though raging toward his enemies. In fact, raging anger of a few minutes which explodes into words rather into deeds is not unknown even toward his friends or family members.

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Character description continued. pg. 2

He talks vividly and the practical and concrete way of his thinking is clearly demonstrated in his description and accounts.

A weakness of his seems to be an inclination to hide his lack of knowledge and lack of information about certain subjects. He likes to appear always perfectly well-informed, aware of things and events, and having a general knowledge. Since he has an amazingly high degree of information and an amazingly extensive knowledge in a great many fields, it is sometimes embarrassingly hard to find out where reality ends and where exaggerations, so characteristic of most Hungarians, begin.

The aforementioned facts as well as his entire structure is best understood and characterized by stating that ~~although his intelligence is high above the average, his emotions seem to be preponderant in too many instances.~~ It is interesting to observe him when his thinking is more under control of his reason and when it is more under control of his emotions.

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