

May I start by correcting some misconceptions. The Revolution was not unexpected, the Rajk funeral revealed such emotional tensions amidst the 100,000 who came to witness the funeral that we all knew that only a spark was needed. Antal Apro said the eulogies amidst the murmurs of the masses, who were outspoken in finding it incongruous that the murderer should be his own judge. In the rear, very distinctly one could hear: "It is not for Apro to say those things, we had more than enough self-criticism."

The opera by Kodaly entitled Miklos Zrinyi, which was prohibited to be performed until the last year, was finally permitted to be presented on August 20, 1956. This performance also became a major demonstration, where thousands of students assembled, showing their feelings. The enthusiasm in literary and artistic circles was immense. One had to ask people to reserve copies of Irodalmi Ujsag, (the Literary Gazette,) and Uj Hang, the literary paper of DISZ. The party resolution in March 1956, in the wake of the February Twentieth Congress, ~~was~~ tipped of the Revolution in Hungary.

The Communists were hard pressed by their own numbers, and they had to revert to the very embarrassing and unusual practice of suppressing entire issues of periodicals. The April and May numbers of Uj Hang (The New Voice) have never appeared. According to Communist practices, an issue was never prohibited, but I found out that they refused to let these issues be distributed, and instead promised a double number for the following month, blaming it all on technical difficulties. When in the fall of 1955

Ilya Ehrenburg's ^{The Big} ~~Thaw~~ was published to the tune of 4000 copies in Tibor Tardos's translation, each and every copy disappeared before one could buy them. During the famed meetings of the literary circle in the spring of '56, the question was naturally put, what happened to these 4000 volumes, it was made understood that the book ran into technical troubles and publication will have to be postponed until the second volume came out, at which time they would issue it jointly. Finally, on the ~~KNEK~~ insistent demands in the Petofi Circle meetings, ~~KNEK~~ a mimeographed copy was issued with the obvious intention of keeping the book ~~KE~~ out of the hands of the broad masses. During the summer of '56, the 4000 volumes were suddenly "found" and the book Otepel finally found its way to the readers.

A good case history of the developments during these years is the story of Peter Veress, the peasant poet. By most Hungarians, Veress was considered an honest man, generally speaking, who was searching for a new way. He had his ups and downs and I, myself, heard him speak in the early 'forties at Turul meetings, and his books reflected a compromise with Nazistic theories from time to time. After the war, he took the position of War Minister as the representative and chief of the National Peasant Party, but he soon retired and lived quietly until 1952, when he accepted the job ~~KE~~ of president of the Writers' Association. After Stalin's death, he led the opposition against the excesses. In 1956, he published

The Old Peasant's Memories, a story in the magazine Csillag (The Star). In this article he envisioned Hungary's future as a peasant society living in his beloved concept of garden-Hungary. After the 23rd of October, he took a very good attitude and I was impressed with his message of the 23rd, which he read. During the end of November, he was jailed for two weeks by Kadar. Both he and Kodaly were put under pressure to support Kadar, but they remained silent. Since that time, ~~MS~~ of course, the writers were all bulldozed into signing the protest against the United Nations Committee memorandum on Hungary.

In April '56, Veress wrote another article, entitled Oldsters and the Youth, discussing the appearance of a third generation; the first one he sees as the pre-war generation which feuded with the second generation, the generation of 1945, which was extremely pro-Soviet. The third generation is growing up now and is fed up with both of its elders. Veress thought this fine, though he felt they can use the advice of their elders. The big debate generated involved everyone, including Dery, Aczel, Hay, and others. This, by the way, has been Aczel's only revolutionary activity. The Petofi Circle debates were at first very cautious and they aimed against social realism in the arts primarily. From a few hundred participants in the beginning, the meetings had swollen to many thousands by September, and the artistic debates grew into hot economic and social-political ones. These meetings were not anti-Communist at all, they were simply pro-reform. On one occasion,

Paul Fekete, who was just released from jail for political activities, came straight to a meeting of the Circle from the ~~XXXX~~ jail cell. He spoke there and he was immediately after the meeting arrested again. This sort of thing, of course, was sensational and others, like Dery, reported on their own experiences with the police, ^{ON} house arrest, ^{etc.} accusing the regime. Thereafter the Petofi Circle meetings were prohibited. I attended the September meeting of the Petofi Circle: a few unknown speakers spoke, then a university professor, and, as always, Dery and the other writers were present. They spoke of the open letter of Imre Nagy to the Communist Party Central Committee. In this letter, Nagy admitted that perhaps he was splitting the Party, but he stood by his plans for reform. He referred to the order to investigate the collectivization procedure in every collective and demanded that this order should have practical application, aside from being a piece of paper.

During the course of the debates, the Polish demands of recent days were approved and it was brought out that the East Berlin rising was also justified. Mrs. Rajk also attended this meeting. During the Revolution, however, she was lecturing in East Germany. Mild implications were also heard from the speakers, like, if Rakosi was kicked out, it was incongruous that Gero should still hold his job. The typewritten poems of Istvan Sinka were distributed at the meeting. He never wrote anything and his wife was a weaver. He attempted suicide last spring, but was saved,

and these five poems were distributed, ~~one~~ about a poet with the rope around his neck. During the Revolution he remained passive.

On November 23rd, the Artist Council^{sent}/representatives to Kadar, with a statement signed by every artist in Hungary from Kodaly on down, declaring that the demands of the Revolution will be kept up in spite of the end of the military operations. But people can be coerced in many ways and these efforts, too, failed.

Part II of Interview on Revolution. Personal Activities.

I am an actor by profession, but after eight years in Russian camps, no one was very eager to give me a job in my field upon my return. They delayed giving me my license with a variety of excuses and finally I was earning my living as a prompter, to stay near the theatre world. So I was trying various contacts and one such was Zelk, the Communist writer, who wanted to start a magazine entitled Elet es Irodalom, a magazine that has been since started by the new regime, but not as Zelk envisioned it. For this magazine he asked me to write about my experiences in Soviet work camps. I met him through doing translations from Russian, a sideline I used to supplement my earnings. I took two stories to him on the 22nd of October and I was to meet him again on the 23rd at the ^{WRITERS'} Reuters Association offices. I was late and tried to call, but the telephone lines were all busy. On the streets

I saw groups milling everywhere. I did not before this hear of the developments in Szeged of the previous day and I only ^{Now} saw the 16 points for the first time ~~now~~. I ran all the way to the Writers' Association, where I was shown the 16 points and ^A friend of mine greeted me, saying, this is a revolution! This friend, by the way, who was a Jew, went all day from one meeting place to the next, from the Petofi statue to the Bem statue, and I went with him, until at 5 o'clock I had to go to the theater to work.

At the time Darvas, the husband of Klari Tolnai, the actress, was acting in a play. Later he was tortured and he died, because he had his picture taken with a Soviet tank that was manned by revolutionaries. Before the play started, Tolnai read a poem by Ady, and afterwards the actors gave the full performance, in spite of the revolution raging outside. By the time we came out of the theater, the Stalin statue was missing.

I then went to the radio station, because I heard that things were happening there. I saw a young boy jump out of the AVH corridor with big tears in his uniform, saying he was not a murderer. Women standing around consoled him, but soon an AVH-guard closed in around him with bayonets flashing and they finally retired into the building. Soon three tanks showed up from the Piliscsaba unit. One was stationed at the entrance of the radio, one ^{on} the corner, and one in the street. They came, they said, to restore order. But the soldiers manning them seemed determined to remain

neutral. The major in charge of the tanks went into the building and was killed. The AVH claimed that someone shot in from the outside through the fence, killing him. The Ké people were convinced, however, that the AVH shot him. As another major arrived to take command, he was informed by the mob of the death of his friend and at this time to enforce order or their will. The AVH fired in the air. The soldiers on the outside started returning the fire, and soon the major gave orders to return the fire from regular military defense positions. The army was fighting the AVH. Later, after midnight, the tanks too fired into the buildings. In the course of the evening the army ~~W~~ ran out of ammunition, but the mass of people gave the ammunition to them which they took from the ambulance the AVH tried to smuggle into the building. Meanwhile the civilians, too, were getting hold of arms, either from soldiers or policemen, police stations and arms repair plants. The first shot very definitely was fired at ten minutes after ten p.m., killing the major. And as subsequently some soldiers took revenge, the fight was on. Soon civilians were also armed and soon thereafter I saw a woman fall near me and I, as an ex-field first-aid man, started bandaging people in the gates ~~of the buildings~~ ^{ENTRANCES} standing in the Museum gardens. As we ran out of the first-aid kits, the soldiers ~~had~~ ^{GAVE US} I went to get more bandages from a nearby pharmacy. The store was closed, but with the help

of the superintendent of the building, we broke in and got all the bandages we needed. By this time we could not return to the gardens, for Russian tanks started encircling the area. I saw two armored cars and a tank with the commander of the tank standing up visible to his waist. I asked him in Russian ~~what his plans or his purpose was~~ what his plans or his purpose was and he cursed me soundly in Russian. Later someone fired on the tank from a window, but the tank fired in return into the mob. I quickly jumped into the Museum garden and spent the night there. When daylight broke, the AVH soldiers and police were all checking people and I was obviously suspicious, being unwashed, unkempt, and in muddy shoes. Still, they let me go and I went home. ~~Next~~ Next morning I returned to the radio and saw a ring of Soviet tanks sealing off the area. Inside the fight was still on. The Russians did not fire. When the radio was finally taken, Soviet tanks were lined up outside and we were inside. By the 28th or 29th, Hungarian tanks replaced the Russians.

As things quieted down, I went to the Bakacs Square hospital and volunteered to work as a nurse or first-aid man. The same morning a Russian was brought in with an eye wound. I talked to him for some time and a student overheard me. He invited me to go to the student meeting that evening. We transferred out ^R man to the eye clinic, but he was soon arrested and though he begged

to let go, the Soviet army took him away under arms. He seemed to have no desire to leave.

That evening I went to the university meeting, where nothing happened. Big debates, the MEFESZ being organized, etc. I went home, slept through the 25th and when I woke I heard of the butchery on Parliament Square. I went around to the theater that day and to the university in the afternoon. While there, I met a student who just returned from Moscow University. We started talking that we ought to ~~do~~ do something in order to show our aims ^{(to THE RUSSIANS;} we went to town and everywhere we found sympathy for our side, so we tried rally opinion for us.

On Boráros Square everything was quiet. On Soroksari Square we saw a Hungarian tank. We asked him which side he was on. He laughed -- he just wanted to find out what was going on in Budapest. He told us that fighting was in Tokol going on with Soviet forces. As we talked to the tank crew, we noticed a Soviet tank moving across the Danube bridge towards us. The Hungarian tank disappeared. As the Soviet tank approached, a Hungarian officer emerged out of it. The mass of people surrounded him in a friendly way. The officer remained speechless. Then he commented something in Russian to his tank crew and demanded way for the tank in Hungarian. When the mass would not disperse, he quietly gave a fire command which I heard distinctly, but the tank did not fire. The Hungarian popped up again and again ~~he~~ commanded fire, but nothing happened.

At this point, when he emerged out of the tank, he inquired of our conversation with the Hungarian tank crew which just left. Thereupon some people jumped on the tank, grabbed him, and I am sure lynched him -- I don't know what really happened to him. I now started talking in Russian to the rest of the tank crew, still sitting in the tank. They told me that the commander was our countryman. He was made commander of the tank that day. I asked them why they did not fire when commanded. They told me they were not s.o.b.'s like our own kind. They assured that unless we fire, they will not fire either. At this point I offered them a cigarette and they accepted. We talked of myself and the people I met in Siberia. The people standing around the tank grew impatient and started shouting, get hold of the tank. They got hold of some liquor, which they quickly offered to the Russians. The Russians decided that there seemed no command to get out of the tank and all they knew they were supposed to stay there until further orders. Soon, however, we got them out of the tank with the help of liquor, with two of them sitting on the top of the tank, thoughtfully resting against their machine guns. I sent a boy to warn against having freedom fighters attack the Russians at this time. The Russians did not talk much, but they were not unfriendly. I talked to them rather frankly, pointing out the changes ~~EMXX~~ everywhere and urging them to participate in these historic events. I did not notice that some boys, armed with guns and rifles,

sneaked up to the tank behind us, pushing the Russians right off and taking the tank. The four Russian boys started crying, what now?! When the Hungarian flag was hoisted, three more Soviet tanks came across the river, firing at us, but the mass dispersed in seconds. The Russian boys went into hiding and disappeared.

On Calvin Square I saw three Russian tanks, anti-aircraft artillery machine guns standing there. As a rule, we learned to distinguish between tanks that fired right off, others that only returned fire when shot at (these were decorated with the Hungarian colors, so that freedom fighters will not attack them) and three, in theory at least, ^{tanks} who came over to our side. A Soviet captain was in charge there and he was talking to an old man, saying that it was hard for him to understand that all of us were "Fascist" and if this were true, how sad this is for the Hungarian Communist Party. I joined the conversation and said that we were not Fascists and just as to prove my point a ~~truck~~ ^{truck rolled} by with overalled boys right out of the factory. I pointed them out and made sure he understood they were workers. I told him that strikes in Hungary are like strikes elsewhere and reminded him that earlier they had strikes even in the USSR and they also had them in the very recent past. In the end I asked him, do you know what great times we are living in? His answer to this question was illuminating, laconic, and on the defensive. He simply said: "I am a Communist." I pointed out that we were not anti-Communists. After all, Imre Nagy was a trusted Communist himself. Then I begged him to distinguish

between the great and holy Russia and the Bolshevik imperialists who are ruling it. Thereupon he asked me, are you a Fascist? I assured him I was a democrat and I told him I respected him for being a Communist, but I told him that many of the people's enemies were among the Communists. He asked me to name one and I referred to Joseph Stalin, who admittedly abused the Communist Party. He then told me that I was politically immature. He suggested I should let the politicians take care of politics. I challenged him: "Why don't you fire?" I told him that he should organize worker troops, but I had no answer to my question. So I asked him how long he has been in Hungary. "Four months." "Is life better here?" "In some places." He then turned to me and said, "let us ~~leave~~ STOP this conversation, I have a family at home." And bringing in this human element, he left.

These were the non-firers and they ran the risk of getting interned, or even ^{at the} ~~in~~ worse fate. Seventeen Soviet soldiers were shot in East Berlin for not taking a more sanguine role. The MVD is always ready to revenge itself.

By the 26th of October, we ~~found~~ felt the need for some organization and the university propaganda headquarters was set up. There were three groups later, headquarters in the Faculty of Philosophy: one, the Revolutionary National Committee, two, Hungarian Youth and Students Division, and three, the Revolutionary Youth Party which had its propaganda division. By the 29th, the

propaganda division proved so good that the other two organizations also wanted to share it. So it was split up among the three organizations. We wanted to start our newspaper on the 5th of November and we wanted to assure that the Russian propaganda reaches everywhere. Four of us are now out here in the West, one boy I know is in Switzerland, but our small group of eight people was very little known -- even in the propaganda division. Our chief was a Soviet major of Armenian descent who has for a long time planned to desert from the Soviet army and he wanted to emigrate to the United States, where he had relatives. During the first days of the Revolution he escaped from his unit and he wanted a chance to do something. One of the students brought him to the University and he was aflame with news of the Revolution. He assured us that within a month the Revolution would be on everywhere in the Soviet empire. A bit idealistic. The main aim our organization had was to convince the Russians, to let them know the truth and to do this with knowledge and seriousness. We wanted them to understand us and not necessarily to desert their units. Ideologically speaking this meant making our enemies friendly. It also meant protecting the Russians from the mob's attacks. This meant preventing ~~EBB~~ Soviet families ^{from} being spat at, preventing the burning of books, the prevention of hurting Russian nationalism. These were our aims.

Our practical task aimed at putting these ideas into practice. We had to get hold of typewriters, which we did. We assured the cooperation and help of a printer who could print the Cyrillic alphabet. At first he refused to cooperate, for he wanted to go on strike also, but in the end we convinced him that he was serving his country better by working than by striking.

We also got hold of a loudspeaker car, which was an unfortunate move, as it turned out. This played Russian songs in areas occupied or populated by Russians, and then it gave a talk on the real Socialism. The only Russian record we had was Katiusha and thus armed we went to the Stalin Road where a tank noticed us and fired at us. We avoided the first one only to run into the aim of the next, who quietly shot the truck out from under us. ~~NNNN~~ Then we took our loudspeakers into windows, but they shot these out with rifles. We then thought of handbills, but these were not much use either, because the Russians never looked on the ground, they would not have picked anything up, and they did not accept anything from somebody else in front^t of their comrades. The radio proved our best personal contact with them. We wished we had one transmitter to broadcast on the wavelength of the tank receivers, but we had to rely on Radio Rakoczi of Stalintown and on Radio Arpad of Győr. On Radio Free Kossuth for a few days we broadcasted towards Russia and we could at times use Radio Roka in Pesterzsébet

and Radio Rajk, which was located on a truck moving back and forth. This was a small military transmitter, which ~~WENT~~ went off the air last, somewhere around Dunapentele. (Stalintown.) Of course, we still had to get the approval of the station managers, and since there were political fights even while the street fights were going on, if one of the stations disapproved of the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Party or disagreed with any of our views, they did not broadcast our propaganda. On October 30 we discovered an army transmitter helplessly stranded on a street corner, without ammunition or batteries, amidst two tanks. It also had no gasoline. The soldiers watching us told us that if we got Maleter's o.k., the transmitter would be ours. The ~~one~~ one thing that was harder than impossible was to get hold of Maleter. We could not reach him, but we were sent on to Dudas. The soldiers told us that they had commands to stay where they were and although they much wanted to leave and go home, they did not. As it turned out, Dudas was an impossible person who was not of much use for anything, except being a little dictator. General Kiraly, on the other hand, was an opportunist who wisely remained in a hospital over the better part of the Revolution and his post-revolutionary activities in the West only confirm my suspicions. The story about Kadar is that ~~whatever~~ whatever he did he was motivated by revenge against Gero. To mention some of the others in passing, I always thought that Anna Kethly is an honest woman.

We wished we had some posters, but we could not arrange for the printing job. The content of our propaganda in our other channels was strongly pro-Communist, studded with quotes from Lenin, but: we emphasized that ^{WE} ~~the~~ are for an independent, free and national Hungary and that we fight for the real Socialism. We emphasized that after 14 years of serving the Party, we will not accept the anti-Communist stigma which was pinned on us. We emphasized that the West was mistaken and that the Soviets must start their process of thinking with Marx and Lenin. Marx thought of capitalist developments as more and more extreme, and this is what the new Leninists got hold of. We assured them that we have to add nationalism in Hungary to our socialism, else a small nation like ours gets the last among the big ones -- after all, they saw ^{fact} the ~~fact~~ of their own intervention. Under Czar Nicholas I, Russian prisoner soldiers suppressed the Hungarian revolution, and we warned them against becoming ~~the~~ ^{their} 20th Century counterparts. "Don't you ~~also~~ also be our executioners." "See, this is the Revolution of the workers and of youth." We explained to them that we were dissatisfied with our standards, even though ^{they} ~~we~~ may have been better than Russian standards. We ended by urging them not to fight us, for perhaps our revolution will eventually liberate them also. "Russian soldiers, don't fight. But if you have the courage, come over to ~~us~~ our side!"

When an anti-tank gun was captured of a brand new model,

the freedom fighters did not know how to handle it and two Russian prisoners volunteered to show us. They were captured in the last fights on the 28th and we asked them why they fought. One was a Ukrainian and he was fighting for free Ukraina, he explained. The other one was a Russian and he was fighting for a greater Russia. Thus our propaganda centered on Russians home: "Your boys saved the world from Nazism and now it's time to save Communism." The two stayed in the Killian barracks and would not come out at all. The international legal articles on giving political asylum were published in the Nepszava on November 2, but two days later, on November 4, they were both killed by the Russians.

Actually, very very few did change sides during the Revolution beside these two boys. The most remarkable developments along these lines took place alongside the Western Railroad Terminal. Ten Soviet tanks were stationed there from October 26 to 28. For the two days they had no food, but apparently they had orders to remain there. In the end they came over to our side. Their first reaction, once they realized that their supplies ran out, was to rob the neighborhood stores. This, of course, involved the risk of getting lynched by the Hungarians. Obviously, they should use their arms. But who against, if the population is friendly? I was quickly summoned and started negotiations: we assured them, if they don't shoot they will be jailed by the Red Army for cooperating with us. So after some hesitation, they ~~agreed that we should feed them and the neighborhood supplied food and plenty of drink. He had to be very cautious not to overplay~~

agreed that we should feed them and the neighborhood supplied food and plenty of drink. We had to be very cautious not to overplay our hand and to go slowly. We left them alone for periods of time and ~~XXXXXXXX~~ started talking again; after much discussion, they decided that they could not ^{give} ~~use~~ us their tanks, but in the end they put up the Kossuth emblem, the sign of the Hungarian Revolution, and a Hungarian flag. They crossed out and painted over their tank numbers and drove up to ^{Mayakowski} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Street. In the key points by this time the Soviet tanks were replaced by Hungarian ones. The ten tanks then drove out to Csepel Island and from there withdrew to Dunapentele. According to some reports, a few of them managed to break through to Yugoslavia.

Six tanks stationed at the Gellert Hotel, manned mainly by Ukrainians, also made a deal. They simply exchanged crews. They put Hungarians in the Russian tanks and put the Ukrainians into Hungarian tanks. Three of these tanks fought at Szena Square and three went to Pest. These boys, too, were ~~in~~ seeing the end of the Soviet system and a typical comment was: "The entire system is rotting, but the decay is most advanced here, in Hungary."

In the Dob Street, a group of tanks was driving along when the last one stopped at the theatre, while the rest continued. This one then turned around and wanted to go to the Western Terminal. He then ran up a parallel street with the other tanks and from the next crossing fired at the others. He shot out two tanks of

the unit he previously advanced with. And the reason for this action was that the crew was completely drunk and they were shouting: "This is the end of communism." But it was impossible to talk to them. One of the tanks attacked burned out completely and one of its crew jumped out and volunteered to join the Revolution if the Hungarians did not shoot him. Soviet soldiers ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ prisoners were kept in two school buildings, one in the Mester Street and another group in the Tuzolto Street.

At the Astoria Hotel, one tank ran out of gas and ammunition, and its crew claimed they did not want to fight. So they were taken prisoners. Had the Russians been organized better, such developments would not have taken place and we would not have had these opportunities at converting the tank crews. However, the Russian command was so disorganized that these tanks were left on a spot for days, completely forgotten, without food, ammunition, or fuel, thus they had to fend for themselves.

After November 4, the Russians who came over or were captured got very scared. Some decided to attack the Hungarians and put up a good front, ~~XX~~ others tried to escape to the West and they were begging for civilian clothes. Finally, on the fifth, the area ^h where the Russians were kept was surrounded by Soviet forces and the kids who acted as guards quietly disappeared. They were all aged 15 or 16 and I told them to take off and go home. They were afraid

and did not know what ~~MS~~ to do, a group of them went to Csepel, the rest was ^{ere} arrested.

There was a tank on Vamhaz Korut; its commander was a Carpatho-Ruthenian. He belonged to an armored unit from Beregszasz. He was at home on the 20th, and on the 21st he was called back to his unit -- on the 22 he was alerted in the evening and in the evening of the 23rd he ~~MS~~ received the news of a Fascist rising in Hungary. After conversations with him, he declared willing to come over, but not without his tank. He added: "I have a family." His attitude on the Revolution was that: "This was for us a peaceful manoeuvre and if we ~~MS~~ were shot at we fired back."

Our radio propaganda aimed at the Russians was in the hands of the radio shortwave committee. I went on the radio station on the 31st and I worked on it till November 4. At the time I was the only announcer on the station with a girl typist helping me, who knew a little Russian. Meanwhile I hoped to find a few more co-workers. I had to write two hours daily programs. I had a 25-minute program on domestic policy and ideological talk. We announced the asylum proposals for Soviet soldiers and we interviewed the Russian librarians of the Gorki Library, ^{and} then of course translated Imre Nagy's speeches, at least in part. ₁

Our most useful contacts with the rest of the country were through messengers. I know of three instances where Soviet troops

reached some sort of agreement with the revolutionaries: in Miskolc the Red Army units compromised with the Revolutionary Council, retiring to the Diosgyor steel mill to protect it. They stayed there unarmed and peaceful until, on November 15, they received an order to withdraw and they were relieved by MVD units. This led to some wider skirmishes as the army commander was angry and got in a fight with the MVD. Being passive during the Revolution and disagreeing with the MVD afterwards put him in a very bad light and apparently he had no choice but to withdraw into the Gómor mountains, where some of the Hungarian revolutionaries were active. I understand that the Hungarians wanted to command the Russians and vice versa, and once their ~~stolen~~ supplies were used up, their fate became unclear. They had no heavy arms, but they had the entire unit, up to and including the ^{company} commander, the lieutenant-colonel. Various reports were received on them since, probably none reliable. Meanwhile also for several days the Zahony bridge was blasted and train traffic stopped toward the Soviet Union.

From Győr we heard that passive units got after the Revolution in some sort of fighting with the new troops who came to replace them.

At Pápa field MVD units had to be sent against regular tank units who refused orders. Most ~~the units~~ ^{deserters} came from units stationed for over a year in Hungary, and one unit, which came over altogether, was in Hungary for five years.

The Armenian major who was running our section was last seen on November 8. Since the end of October, we were headquartered in the ex-AVH building on Izabella Street, in a three-storey well equipped building. We received a stupid command to start evacuating once the Russians betrayed us. On the 3rd, negotiations with the Russians were going on till 3 a.m. of the morning of the 4th, and at 4.30 a.m. the Soviets started their attack. So we had to go to headquarters to find all materials and destroy ~~them~~ them and then we started moving till 11 a.m. in trucks, taking food and everything else with us. We had to blast our own safes with hand grenades to destroy their contents. We were heartbroken, 16 of us, ~~X~~ at the propaganda section, because we ^{VERY} ~~were~~ much hoped to run off ^{the} our first issue of our newspaper to show our competition what we could do, but it did not come to that.

We received instructions not to oppose or resist, but the students with us started to fight anyway. All volunteered to get out of the city and ^{to} continue ^{the resistance.} How realistic this was was not yet clear. I myself saw the great danger of the new building, for there was no rear door to escape. There was a street in the rear to which we tunnelled through into a neighboring building. This was a narrow street, which, therefore, was defensible. This was near the Royal movie and by the 6th that was shot up and we were ^{rounded,} ~~surrendered.~~ At 7 p.m. we were told to surrender by Hungarian

and Russian troops and by 9 p.m. we were given the third ultimatum. They fired into our 8 building and we hid. Later, during a lull, we quietly walked out of the building. I was stopped and searched, but let go. We were to meet on the 8th with a group from our organization, many of whom decided to fight their way out to the West. There were two Koreans, two Russians, and some Hungarians in this group who by Salgotarjan were shot up and killed in an encounter.

After the end of our official function, I went a couple of times to the artists' organization, where we determined to continue as much of the Revolution as possible. We made some handbills that I was producing in my home, when one evening our house was searched. When I told the Russians that I studied at Moscow, I was let go. They considered me reliable and they never found the handbills. I know that the army was under the direct control of the MVD in Hungary, a fact I found out accidentally, since the several travel permits I noticed were all on MVD stationery, made out in army units' names.

The overall conclusions of my experiences are lengthy and I should like to discuss them together with Laszlo Nagy, who is the only other member of our team who could escape and is now living in Switzerland. There is also a minister who came out and the girl who helped me in the office. I think if there was an

opportunity, we should work through ^X all the material we have and prepare a complete study. Meanwhile, a preliminary conclusion of mine is that the Soviet Union still cannot rely on its army and this fact still holds true, unless, of course, the patriotism of the soldiers has been enflamed. The AVH had different goals and aims than the Soviet. The returned deportees were beaten by the former, ~~XX~~ but not by the latter. The Soviets rather prefer to cover up the entire Revolution and not necessarily to reestablish the old regime. The Revolution has been a major defeat ~~XXX~~ of Communist ideology, because it was not for capitalism, but against the exploitation of the new regime. Of course, now some ex-right-wingers, emigres in the West, want to profit by the heroism of the Hungarian people, but such profit accrues only to Kadar, who can point to the right-wing governments "behind the Revolution." I should very much like to urge that the dissatisfaction in the Red Army should be analyzed. I should also like to emphasize that an entirely new social and economic system was in the making during the Revolution, of which the Revolutionary Youth Party was a fine example. We had very firm social demands beside the 16 points of ideological demands, trying to ~~emajoin~~ join the best of all social trends. We borrowed some from the social revolutionaries in Russia and also some from the utopians: we believed that the land is that of the peasant and the factory belongs to the worker. ^{They} ~~WE~~ all should form cooperatives to produce and market their products. The workers'

councils should manage the plants and the central workers' councils should coordinate ~~the~~ production. Under our plans this would be tantamount to a workers' parliament in this state in which land could be owned up to 40 acres by one individual.

- (1) a) Most ~~XXXX~~ ^{is} remarkable perhaps/the fact that we wanted to use progressive taxes in order to limit agricultural holdings to 40 acres. We want to nationalize the big plants, the large department stores, the mines, but not the small artisans and tradesmen and craftsmen. These, however, would also keep up ~~XXXX~~ cooperative buying and selling. With one word, the small fellow should have protection against abuse of free competition by the overly strong. As far as Hungary's future was, we were hoping for a Danubian confederation of a Central European union.
- (1 b) Not all people agreed with us, but a variety of them did: we had some ex-Communists, Social Democrats, and even those who formerly suffered from apathy.
- (2) Of course, the government would be unified in one hand. We must have at least two parties in order to permit both control and opposition in government. But I should like to see a coalition government. It should be a coalition government in which opposition party ministers would also be represented.
- (2 a) As many as they want.
- (2 b) No.
- (3) Free expression should be assured and the only exceptions in this regard are that I do not approve of abusing the holy historic ideals of the Hungarian people. However, the government should be criticized freely as all political expression should be free. No room shall be given, however, to expressions of discrimination.

against any groups or minorities.

(3 c) No.

(3 d) Statements jeopardizing state security should be prohibited. By this I mean statements which are harming the interests of the entire population.

(4) Yes.

(4 a) Yes. This also.

(4 b) If the government does not express the popular will and does not satisfy the popular interests and wishes. Another necessary circumstance would be that such government could not possibly ^{be} replaced or changed peacefully. This, of course, limits the need for an armed uprising against totalitarian dictatorships.

(5) See Question 1.

(6) Yes, I do.

(6 b) None.

(6 c) Yes, in small amounts, if it does not lead to fortunes. We must protect the individual's initiative and permit him to reach his ^{ambitious} aims in material matters. All these ~~ambitious~~ people should have sufficient resources to fill their needs to live in comfort and even luxury, but the minimum guarantee of livelihood should also be assured.

(6 d) State bank, though I don't know anything about finance.

(6 e) No, I do not. The state should live off the taxes and not such ~~state~~ revenues.

(6 g) This is an unfortunate solution, but I do ~~not~~ prefer a free cooperative.

- (7) Yes, if this satisfies consumer demands.
- (8) We must have this, as this exists even in capitalistic states.
- (8 b) Such plans should represent the interests of the general ~~WELL~~ welfare of the nation, but this has not been the case.
- (8 d) This should be controlled by supply and demand, but planning should be also responsible on this score.
- (9) The state has a say in everything and in nothing. In a free democracy, the state cannot interfere in my private life, for it is none of its business how I live.
- (10) Of course there are such, as one citizen has also ~~his~~ obligations towards another.
- (10 a) Yes, this also is true.
- (11) Decidedly it has. The economic burdens have been lessened through insurance. The technique of education has developed a great deal. It was easier to study, although, I understand, it is now again made harder, for students don't get government aid as easily.
- (11 a) Yes, there is, of course.
- (11 b) Yes, but some are again better off.
- (11 c) Doctors working for the state are overburdened and underpaid. Under improved working conditions they would be more conscientious. Thus today private doctors are more conscientious and better.
- (11 d) It is much more developed.
- (11 e) I received adequate care.
- (12) Of course.
- (12 b) Yes.

- (12 c) There are some who don't have this chance -- people are perhaps not too interested in the theater, they go more easily to the movies.
- (12 d) Yes.
- (12 e) Yes, generally speaking.
- (13) They eat worse.
- (13 a) No, better than in 1946, but worse than in '48-'49.
- (14) They dress better now.
- (15) Yes.
- (15 a) Heavy industry is not as extreme as in Russia, it is only so in contrast with the West. In Russia, for instance, clothing is the biggest problem, for it is simply not available, regardless of whether one can afford to pay.
- (16) See above, Question 1.
- (16 d) Just like in Yugoslavia under Tito; the workers' council advertises a job in the papers, professional magazines, and other places and asks qualified applicants to apply. They then pick their factory manager.
- (17) As they are now, they are impossible. At present they are the heart of the exploitation system of the state. But they could be organized purely for the interests of the members of the cooperative, coordinating marketing and production. The cooperative is not a source of profit for the state.

- (17 c) They should all be disbanded.
- (17 e) They should be distributed.
- (17 f) In exceptional cases it should be 100 acres, generally it should be 40 acres.
- (17 g) Yes.
- (17 h) Yes.
- (17 i) Yes, up to 40, if he himself is working it.
- (17 j) Should be distributed or left over in care of a new cooperative, if such is voluntarily formed. If a man wants a tractor, for example, with 40 acres of land, he can afford one.
- (17 k) Yes.
- (17 l) During floods, disasters, etc., yes.
- (17 m) They should be distributed free of charge.
- (18) They should have nothing to say to each other, but should be completely independent of each other.
- (18 c) Since the Church would have no estates, they must get their salaries and maintenance from the state.
- (18 d) Only in religious education.
- (18 f) Denominational schools have good teachers, but the solution should be that the state teachers should be brought up to their level, ^{and} I would prefer the latter.
- (18 e) Yes, in secondary schools.
- (19) They should be permitted to operate, and function, but if there are no interested ^{members} ~~takers~~, there would be no party. I guess ~~there~~.

there would be one or two members of parliament who would be Communists. This is much better than to prohibit the party.

- (19 d) No. ~~W~~ Those guilty of something should be punished. The rest should be left alone.
- (19 e) Nothing.
- (19 f) The rank and file should be investigated. The guilty should be punished by regular courts to jail terms.
- (19 g) They should be left alone, though investigated. But during the Revolution they gave lots of arms to us.
- (20) This would take several days; the literature, arts, and other contributions cannot be forgotten. The Russians are proud for holding the Mongols back for three centuries -- we held up barbarians similarly, including the Russians. The 1848 revolution had no particular significance, it was a minor phase of that turbulent year.
- (21) Perhaps.
- (21 a) Very.
- (21 b)c) Very much.
- (21 d) No.
- (21 e) Not now, but some were visible in the past. We who just came to the West find some old emigres who are veritable museum pieces.
- (21 f) See above.
- (22) Nine.
- (22 f) They were very significant.

- (22 h) It was an incorrect policy. We needed a more passive policy.
- (22 i) It was healthier.
- (23) To some extent they are ~~important~~ of importance.
- (23 b) Only those areas which are primarily populated by Hungarians -- like the Czech border rectification of 1938. Also an area in the Bacska in Southern Hungary, which has a distinctly Hungarian population. In Transylvania the Hungarians should have an independent canton. And they do prefer confederation instead of living in a strictly Rumanian state.
- (23 d) There are some distinctions between all peoples. We are perhaps different from others, but not necessarily in opposition to others.
- (24) A Central European confederation.
- (25) I like them.
- (25 a) There are so many types among them.
- (25 b) Permit me not to have to answer this question, it is not too intelligent.
- (25 c) ~~THE~~ There are six million party members of which two million perhaps believe it, the rest would like to forget it.
- (25 f) Living with them for a decade, I myself am quite Russianized. I like to drink Russian tea, I like Russian songs, I like Russian humor. I am very happy in Russian company and I most appreciate their spontaneity in sharing anything they own with their comrades. This I think is a wonderful and peculiar trait, which perhaps grew out of the hardships of their lives. The average Russian

would never hesitate to share his last few cigarettes with his comrades, he would not even think of not sharing them, although he would not know whether he would have access to any more later on. So I am fond of the Russians.

- (26)a) It dealt with 19th-century problems, which have been superseded and which are now ~~more~~^{un} realistic, as are the solutions. Some economic laws are well set up, but the conclusions are wrong in general. The value of labor and other economic principles, however, I think are correct.
- (26 c) He was a careerist, ~~and~~ an unprinciples louse. Besides this, he was a Sunday philosopher.
- (26 d) Some more of the same.
- (26 e) A miniature Stalin.
- (26 f) They are not marxists at all.
- (26 g) Judging them now I would say they did not develop ~~with~~ with the times -- they are without roots, though they helped in the past and they outlined some plans for ^{the} development of the country.
- (26 h) Perhaps.
- (26 i) Never.
- (26 j) To approve of popular rule.
- (27)a) Yes, there were.
- (27 c) It is realistic and corresponds to the possibilities.
- (27 d) Yes, he is.
- (27 e) I don't think they can be reconciled.
- (28) Gomulka-type developments.

- (28 a) Same.
- (28 b) Yes, I think so.
- (29)a) a: good; b: bad; c: bad; d: good; e: bad;
f: can be bad or good; h: bad; i: good; j: bad;
k: bad; m: good; n: good.
- (30) I hope the Revolutionary Youth Party.
- (31) All except "g" below their merits, and some of "g" above their merits.
- (32) They were all worse off now.
- (33) Today they are all in the same boat, except a small ruling clique.
- (34) I was concerned about the possible strong American economic influence.
- (35) A very few who depend on it.
- (36) ~~Not~~ Not really.

Characterization of Respondent.

The "B" interviews with Respondent reveal a great deal and as such not much can be added. There is little doubt that Respondent represents a sober and progressive section of the younger generation who, through their familiarity with both worlds, are open-minded and thus willing to adopt the good features of both. There was surprisingly little bias in Respondent considering the many difficulties which he had to surmount. He seems to

have a practical approach, which tries to put his ideals to practical application. His political activities during the Revolution, his political interests in the emigration, reveal a man who is ready with practical ideas. To the interviewer, Respondent very much gave the impression that he considered himself a typical representative of the third generation of which he spoke in describing Veress's article. This generation lost its old animosities and bitternesses and is prepared to build Hungary on a new road, objectively adopting the better aspects of any social or economic-political system.