

The underlying deep reason for the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution is the psychological structure of the Hungarian nation. At this point, he doesn't want to go into the description of the Hungarian soul, all he wants to emphasize is its nationalistic, almost chauvinistic coloring.

The country had undergone many crises and people felt a ~~kn~~ tremendous urge to finally live in freedom.

After the Second World War, into which Hungary's government whirled along the nation without demanding its consent, the Russians moved in. This horrible ~~stain~~ stain on the nation's self-respect kept "fertilizing" the nation's hatred toward the Russians. After receiving a mere inkling of what real democracy meant (1945-'48), events followed which "cho~~ck~~ed" the nation's desire for freedom. And each family brought its sacrifice - voluntarily or unvoluntarily - in each family there was at least one member who simply could not take it. Imprisonments and deportations were the consequences of this "not being able to take it".

And yet, on the afternoon of the 23rd of October, nobody suspected that an armed Revolution was in the making. A general thaw was evident, and serious hopes were attached to the Hungarian party following Tito's line or maybe that of Gomulka - both, compared to previous Hungarian policies, would have meant a step ahead toward freedom.

The incubation period started after the 20th Congress - people dared voice their ~~x~~ discontent because after each sentence they could affix: "We are saying all this in the spirit of the 20th Congress." Nobody knew concretely where the road of the 20th Congress was leading, but everybody learned <sup>q</sup> quickly that one could quote it, when pointing out the flaws of the Hungarian system. First, everyday events were brought to the center of attention: "why aren't traffic ~~condi~~ conditions improved, in the spirit of the 20th Congress?" - "Why isn't plumbing improved in the spirit of the 20th Congress?" As one could clearly see from the mentioned examples the criticisms were made half jokingly and yet everybody knew (those who were criticized and those who did the criticizing) that the underlying discontent was deadly serious. And, gradually, this discontent, which became louder every day, was addressed against the measures and directives taken by the Party and its institutions. The Petöfi Circle became the official forum for the voicing of dissatisfaction. And this official forum scared the official govern<sup>h</sup>ment. With the replacement of Rákosi, an increasing insecurity became noticeable in the internal apparatus of the state - the most hard hit, in this respect, were the Ministry of Interior and of <sup>D</sup> defense. The political leaders completely lost their assurance: from one minute to the other, the traitor Rajk became a martyr and "God himself" (Rákosi) was ~~replaced~~ replaced. Thus, nobody knew when his turn would come, nobody knew that the attitude:

"Long live Rákosi" might not be synonymous with his long imprisonment. No individual and no institute had the courage to oppose the deluge of criticism. This openly admitted cowardice increased, as a reaction, the courage of the people. Fear was dissolved. And it was in this atmosphere, where fear had no more place, that the demonstration of the 23rd of October occurred. And, due to the past events, courage had taken such deep roots that people dared express their feelings 100 percent. And the demonstration started by the youth showed the direction in which the voicing of opinion echoed from street to street and - for centuries to come.

The turning point could definitely be traced back to Stalin's death, to his being named a robber of the post office (postarablónak való kinevezés) and to the fight against Stalinism.

This fight against Stalinism with all its repercussions <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ brought to the attention of the Hungarian public by the writers. This is their part in the Revolution.

The first break which occurred in the policy of the "strong hand" the attempt in 1953, to check the activities of the AVH and try to provide a legal basis for their past actions. During the course of these investigations, many AVH officers were asked to resign. This shook the faith of the remaining ones in the stability of the system. Somehow they felt suspended in mid-air - didn't dare take any drastic actions because they were afraid of being

held responsible for them. Thus, within the AVH the disintegration process started. The number of the AVH personnel was reduced from day to day (Respondent, as an outstanding sportsman, had many friends in different government agencies who kept him well informed). Actually, many arrests occurred within the AVH. This way the perspectives of the leaders were made completely insecure. They didn't dare take any actions because they never knew when the Party would reverse its policy and punish its executive organ simply for having obeyed orders.

Antal Pál, the chief of the financial division of the Ministry of the Interior, with the rank of major, told Respondent personally that a couple of months before the Revolution, a Party meeting was held within the Ministry of the Interior where AVH officers voiced opinions which were heard during the Revolution, namely: Hungary's independence should be established, Western contacts be built up, and traveling opportunities be given to the majority of passport applicants. The voices heard during the course of this Party meeting, were strongly anti-Russian. The influence of the events of Poznan were clearly noticeable.

And it was the chief of the police himself, Kopácsy, who told Pirocs that if permission to demonstrate were not granted to the students, he will <sup>refuse to</sup> not carry out this order <sup>and</sup> ~~but~~ within the territory of Budapest (the territory over which ~~he~~ his own jurisdiction extended), grant permission. (Kopácsy who sided with the Revolution



completely, is now under arrest.)

The demonstration, the aim of which was the expression of sympathy for the Polish nation, centered around the statue of Bem. And that's where a turning point came: three young people were "armed" with three national flags from which the hated Soviet coat of arms was cut out. The next logical step was Stalin's statue. Many AVH soldiers assisted in deep silence at its destruction. The crowd - mainly students and young workers - demanded that the Sixteen points be broadcast. Within the radio building, about 150- 200 AVH men were present. When the leaders of the radio failed to come to an understanding with the surrounding crowd, <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ military ~~cross~~ country car was pushed to the entrance of the building to stop the people from assaulting it. Meanwhile, from the radio building, desperate calls were going to the Ministry of the Interior, <sup>to</sup> the Ministry of Defense and to the Central Committee of the Party for help. Meanwhile, the crowd removed the car which was in its way and penetrated into the entrance hall. As the entrance hall was not too wide, the strength of the penetrating crowd was necessarily divided and the building could actually be defended by a row of AVH soldiers who were lined up, single file, on the staircase. When the first AVH soldier was hit on the head, the rest fired into the air and tear-gas and smoke bombs were fired into the crowd. In the general scuffle, someone was wounded. And that was all the crowd needed: "Blood" - within two minutes,

Budapest knew that the AVH was shooting into the ~~a~~ unarmed crowd - paradoxically, the news spread before the actual ~~happening~~ happening took place.

And from this minute on, the ~~army~~ <sup>trucks</sup> of the ~~skafu~~ TEFU played a tremendous part: in a couple of ~~xxx~~ minutes, they were loaded with workers of Csepel who rushed to the factory and opened the arsenals. The trucks came back, as quick as lightening, with the newly born Freedom Fighters. Self-appointed couriers ran to the crowds surrounding the statue of Stalin and told them what was happening at the radio building. Stalin was forgotten in a couple of minutes - everybody ran to the radio.

The common aim was: independent, neutral Hungary and the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

And nobody opposed it - the voice of the AVH was not heard <sup>any more</sup> <sub>1</sub> within a couple of seconds - and nobody was neutral. Those tens of thousands of people who were milling around in the streets of Budapest meant a positive help, from the viewpoint of the armed fighting. They helped the Revolution, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the simple fact of being in the streets.

The Revolution was 100 percent anti-Communist but around November 2nd and 3rd, when the armed fighting came to an end, the general feeling was that, in the future general elections, the Communist Party could also participate. (Without having the chance of receiving more than the maximum of 5 percent of the votes.) During

the Revolution, no rightist tendencies were noticeable, a pure democratic spirit prevailed.

The Revolution itself did not tolerate Fascists. How things would have shaped up after the restoration of order, is another question. He personally feels that conditions similar to 1946, would have been the outcome.

He would like to emphasize the fact that the Revolution did not tolerate reactionaries, in the old sense of the word. If by <sup>t</sup> <sup>y</sup> ~~reac~~tionar~~is~~ is meant a person who stands for the restitution of the great estates and factories to their former owners, then, he repeats, these type of elements did not participate in the Hungarian Revolution. According to him, the land reform of <sup>1945,</sup> ~~1946,~~ was justified. During the course of history, the great estates were always given to those Hungarian and Austrian aristocrats who fought against the Hungarian people. Thus, the great estates in Hungary were in the hands of those who did not represent the interests of the nation, on the contrary.

(At this <sup>point in the</sup> interview, I noticed such a deep hatred in the eyes of my Respondent, that I almost involuntarily asked whether he had a personal grievance directed against the aristocracy. He hesitated for a long while and then finally told me his story: he is the illegitimate son of Count [REDACTED] and of a Baroness from a family of [REDACTED]. His father did not marry ~~z~~ his mother and she came up to Budapest from Transylvania to give

birth to her son . The infant was adopted by a Jewish family and the child was brought up in the Jewish religion. When, in 1940, the Nuremberg laws were introduced in Hungary, his foster-parents told him his life story and, with the help of his real mother, who<sup>s</sup> he met for the first time at the age of 14, his illegitimacy was proved in court. He never again wanted to see his real mother, nor his father whom he had never met, but<sup>has</sup> deeply loved and respect<sup>ed</sup>s his foster-parents and he feels that anti-Semitism would be removed, if each Christian<sup>s</sup> lived, even for a short period of time, in a Jewish home.

As a Jew, he was taken into a forced labor camp. But he ~~was~~ succeed<sup>ed</sup>/in proving that he was actually Christian and so he was released. As a Christian, he was drafted by the army and there succeeded to prove that he actually was a Jew ~~and~~ and his place was in a forced labor camp. And so he managed to escape and went to a farm in Jaszbereny and waited for the Russians to come in and liberate the country and him personally. They did come and captured him - being very blond, they accused him of being a German spy. So, the commanding officer told his Uk<sup>r</sup>ainian soldier to shoot him. The latter ~~was~~ took him to a haystack about five hundred meters away~~s~~, shot in the air and told him: "Scram." He did.

In 1950, as an outstanding sportsman, he was drafted into the sport division of the Ministry of Defense. He is a motor-



cycle racer and won his first national championship in 1951; at that time he was promoted to sergeant but could not become an officer because his parents were considered unreliable from a political viewpoint. (His foster father had been a capitalist during the Horthy regime.) And from then on he won each year at least two Hungarian championships and was a member of the selected motor-cycle team. He could not participate in international championships abroad, only in those which were held in Hungary - actually until 1953, due to the fact that his foster-parents were living in deportation, he could not even participate in championships held in other People's Democracies. In '53, their deportations were discontinued and he was allowed to go to Czechoslovakia; from that minute on he participated in all the races held in the People's Democracies, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, but could not go to Western countries. In August of '56, a decree was issued according to which those who had lived in deportations were allowed to move back to Budapest, and the political situation loosened to that extent that even he was allowed to go, on October 14th, to Vienna with the Hungarian football team; as a simple spectator. In connection with Respondent's sports career, see section of same interview entitled: The fate of the outstanding sportsmen in Hungary.

Coming back to the starting point, Respondent emphasized that he never forgave his real parents for not having handled the

situation they were in with human decency. And he ~~xxx~~ attributes it to the fact that they were both aristocrats and figured that they were above reproach. Actually, his real mother was very embarrassed when, upon the urging of his foster parents, she consented to go to court, acknowledge her guilt and thus save the child she never cared for. He remembers her sitting in the court room so elegantly dressed, and so distant. And he also remembers his Jewish foster mother's anxiety, praying to her Jewish Gods to save the Christian child with which she was entrusted.

He was deeply disappointed and terribly hurt. And yet, when years later he met a woman who reminded him of his real mother - the stranger - he married her although ~~h~~ she was ten years older than he was and he never really loved her. Actually, it was more curiosity <sup>a</sup> than anything else. That unknown woman - his wife, resembled the other unknown woman<sup>a</sup> in his life - his mother. Knowing one he wanted to ~~h~~ find out about the other. The marriage was a failure and ended in divorce.

He <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ married again and his present wife doesn't resemble anybody he ever knew. They are relatively happy, have two children (he had one child from his previous marriage) but, for some strange reason, he cannot stop being interested in women. And, as unbelievable as this may sound, he is more interested in them psychologically, than he is physically. As a motorcyclist racer,


he has no difficulties getting them. He has difficulties keeping them off. And yet, he ~~is~~ is not looking for sexual satisfaction, he is looking to find the answer; how can a woman leave her baby, give him to strangers and simply forget about him?

And, as long as he is confessing, he added smilingly, he may just as well tell me that since he has been in Vienna (five months) he has not cheated his wife who was forced to stay behind in Hungary. Although he knows perfectly well that she'll never believe this, he simply cannot ~~add~~ added to her grievances of having been obliged to stay behind, one more.

Being a refugee, gives one ~~a~~ multiple problems, doesn't it? Newer and ~~newer~~ newer problems are cropping up everyday and beyond the fate of Hungary and the fate of the Hungarian nation, we stand, humans, with our petty, all too human, sometimes dirty little problems. Being an emigré, made a faithful husband out of me who didn't know what faithfulness was, while in Hungary. I feel only now how the Revolution interfered with my personal life. I am not complaining, I'm simply noticing its terrific impact. Definitely it is a turning point in Hungary's history but it is also a turning point in every Hungarian's life, whether he stayed home or left it.

This is the lesson the West should learn. But, <sup>one</sup> should not be irresponsible, one should not throw around big words because some people - whether great or small - might take them seriously and

thus be affected for life.)

On October 23rd, he took his family (mother, wife, and two children) home but he couldn't stay with them, he had to roam around in the streets of Buda. Friends from the neighborhood recognized him and they started to talk about what to do the next morning. They decided to leave their homes very early in the morning, meet and go together to the Széna Square. There they noticed that many military trucks were driving toward the center of the city. At that time, hundreds of people were assembled at the Széna Square and the general verdict was that the cars were taking ammunition to the AVO's fighting in Pest. It was decided by general consent, that this action should be stopped. They barricaded the streets with barrels gotten from a nearby garage and disarmed the first truck which was obliged to stop. The soldiers, about 25-30, handed their arms over galdly. This is how the fighting group of the Széna Square was formed, and within the first couple of hours, they had a commander: Uncle Szabó (Szabó bácsi). He was about 65 years old, a peasant with a great moustache and honesty and decency radiated from him. Later on, in the course of the fighting, he <sup>gave</sup> ~~made~~ proof of ~~an~~ unbelievable courage. The group was formed mainly of young workers and young students. And amazingly, from the first minute, many 13 and 14 year old boys and girls<sup>s</sup> (!) joined. Their particular group ~~the~~ participated in 



armed fighting on October 25, against Russian units. The greater part of the ammunition was brought from the Hűvösvölgy barracks. When <sup>a kind</sup> ~~some of type~~ of armistice <sup>was in effect</sup> occurred (around the 26th of October) his group and the Russians <sup>eyed each other in silent hostility.</sup> ~~looked each other steadily in the eye.~~ (farkasszemet néztek). Scuffles took place with AVH units ordered to liquidate the group of the Széna Square. These minor fightings always ended with the liquidation of the AVH. At this ~~point~~ point, Respondent wants to emphasize that only the scum of the population - and each Revolution has its scum - lynched so to speak the AVH officers. The Freedom fighters only liquidated them in their fighting.

On October 28th, when Russian troops started to ~~xxx~~ withdraw, Respondent and a small group of Freedom Fighters, detached from the greater group of the Széna Square, occupied the Party building of the Mechvalt Square, at the corner of the Károly Keleti Street and of the Margit Körút. From this minute on, that's where Respondent moved his headquarters and from then on he received personal instructions from József Dudás to organize the National Committee of the Political Prisoners (Politikai Foglyok Országos Szövetsége). He carried out the orders.

Various groups of political prisoners started to organize themselves, but due to the lack of proper leadership, the attempt did not meet with success. (See the failure of the meeting held at the Urania.) Later, an organization of the ex-political prisoners

was set up also in <sup>Pest (the left bank)</sup> ~~Budapest~~ (Bencze Street) but due to the lack of proper offices, its functioning was greatly hindered. As the Party ~~in~~ building of the Mechvalt Square, <sup>[in Buda, right bank]</sup> had many floors and was beautifully equipped, the organization took place under favorable circumstances. In the work, Dr. Zoltán Batyka and Béla Harsányi (presently in New York City) had <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ lion's share. Their goal was: bring under a common banner those people who had fought against Bolshevism and were considered most reliable from the viewpoint of the Revolution.

One member of the executive committee (Eduard Kapun~~g~~ - ~~pre~~presently also in America) had been the leader of the youth organization of the Arrow Cross Party before 1944. As this came to light, on the basis of his own "confession", his name did not figure any more in any political action, because much thought was given to the fact not to have the Revolution ~~not~~ appear as a counter-revolution, <sup>political</sup>

Leaflets were also printed in which ex/<sup>political</sup>prisoners were asked to register. ~~But~~ also in those leaflets it was emphasized (in the wording~~s~~ and the typography) that those political prisoners who had Arrow Cross past not only are not welcome but will be, at the time when their screening will take place, ~~publically~~ ousted from the organization.

In the same building, the organization of the <sup>national</sup> committee of the Freedom Fighters (Szabadságharcosok Országos Szövetsége) took place also. Its chief organizer was L \_\_\_\_\_, presently

in Vienna. The aim: the unification of those who fought with arms for Hungary's independence.

Respondent interrupted all contacts with the group of the Széna Square, partly because he <sup>was</sup> busy organizing the aforementioned national committee of the ex-political prisoners, and partly because he was elected in the Revolutionary Council of the Second District. The president of the Council was at the time <sup>the direction</sup> ~~conduct~~ <sup>of</sup> the ~~conduct~~ <sup>of</sup> the affairs was taken over by Dr. Zoltán Kovács. Respondent's job consisted in housing assignments, distribution of food and the distribution of Red Cross packages to the different Revolutionary Councils functioning in the district.

As long as we are at the chapter of organization, leadership, guidance, ~~sk~~ he wants to point out that, during the Revolution, there was no central guidance, although a great part was played by the government and Imre Nagy, parts of similar significance were also played by the leadership of the Corvin Theater and of the Széna Square. (Locally, different enterprises were guided by Workers' Councils.) The fact is that the ~~mix~~ military leaders of the various barracks and of the Revolutionary Councils did not know whose instructions to carry out: those of the Ministry of Defense, those of Uncle Szabó, or of József Dudás, whom the Freedom Fighters themselves considered their highest commander.

As far as Respondent himself was concerned, his military activities

were restricted to giving advice to Uncle Szabó with reference to the division of his units. (Uncle Szabó himself did not organize - this job was brilliantly taken over by <sup>Ekrem Kemal,</sup> ~~Károly~~ his deputy. The latter was 34 years old, of Armenian descent, and had come, before 1944, from Yugoslavia to Hungary; he learned Hungarian and, during the Revolution, became the spiritual leader of the group of the Széna Square. The latter statement does not mean at all that Ekrem would not have taken his lion's share in the armed fighting - he demonstrated just as much physical <sup>courage</sup> as Uncle ~~Szabó~~ Szabó did. Out of many many incidents which were all proof of Ekrem's outstanding qualities, Respondent will relate one.

On October 26, Ekrem went alone to <sup>discuss</sup> ~~conduct discussions~~ with Colonel Kővágo, the chief commander of the Bem barracks, about the commander supplying the Freedom Fighters with the necessary arms. Ekrem stated that his boys have surrounded the barracks and if in ten minutes the commander does not grant permission to the Freedom Fighters to empty the arsenals of the barracks, he'll have his boys attack them. The commander obeyed.

After November 4th, Ekrem received a wound in the thigh. First he was hidden by a physician on the Hidegkuti Street but later, when his presence endang<sup>er</sup>ed the physician's safety, he was ~~px~~ taken to the János Hospital (at the beginning of December). At this time,



many Freedom Fighters were hidden in the various hospitals of Budapest - they were admitted under false names and registered as wounded in the streets (utcai sebesült). But soon the Kádár government found out about the different manipulations going on in hospitals and ordered several raids. Ekrem had to leave the hospital, stayed with his friends for a couple of nights and then on January 1st, went home where he was promptly arrested. Respondent does not know what Ekrem's profession in private life had been - during the Revolution, no screening and no kader activities were going on. With the sixth sense developed during the last decade, people knew exactly whom to trust and whom to mistrust.

Within the group of the Széna Square, decisions were made in the following way: Uncle Szabó, Ekrem, Respondent and two or three other Freedom Fighters met for a couple of minutes and talked over how to react to a particular situation. The main problem of the group was furnished by the presence of the children. We tried to protect them as much as possible against - themselves; not knowing what death meant, ~~their~~ their heroism was stupendous. At the same time, with their irresponsibility, they endangered everybody's situation.

During the first days of November, conferences were held in order to bring under the same leadership the different army and police units and groups of Freedom Fighters participating with arms in the Revolution. In these meetings representatives of the different

military Revolutionary Councils of the garrisons of Buda, of the group of the Széna Square (János Szabó), of the Revolutionary Council of the Second District (Dr. Zoltán Kovács) and of the military Revolutionary Council of the Second District (Tibor Seifert) took part.

The main goal was the ~~installation~~ <sup>establishment</sup> of order and the problems discussed were centering around the unification of the different armed groups. It should be noted that <sup>the</sup> area discussed was mostly the center of Buda (the ~~first~~ first, twelfth, and second ~~districts~~ districts). In principle everybody agreed, nevertheless, the military commanders of the garrison troops received and carried out instructions from the Ministry of Defense. And in the Ministry a great ~~chaos~~ <sup>chaos</sup> was prevalent. The Revolutionary Committees and Councils and the Freedom Fighters did not, as a rule, trust the Ministry of Defense, because many officers who had repeatedly given proof of their Stalinist mentality, had not been removed; such a case was that of Lt.-General Jánza and of Major-General Kána. (The latter became the leader of the Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Defense although he was a known Stalinist; his accepting a position in a Revolutionary Council only meant his paralyzing its activities.)

It is a known fact that Lt.-General Jánza and Major-General Kána are still in responsible positions in the Ministry of Defense; this only proved that those Freedom Fighters who did not trust

the instructions received from the Ministry were right. Generally, those leaders were acknowledged who fought in the midst of Freedom Fighters and in whose case the Revolution was ~~not~~ literally a ~~matter~~ matter of life and death (see the case ~~the case~~ of József Dudás.).

The future plans of many of the Freedom Fighters were to occupy positions in the new army and new police and thus assure the continuation of the freedom for which they fought.

Their political conceptions: <sup>establishment of</sup> ~~the installation~~ a democratic republic - there was no ~~royalist~~ royalist and no adherent of a People's democracy amidst their rows. And, during the Revolution, there were no social classes in Hungary - they were ~~not~~ only Hungarians. The Revolution was indeed the most beautiful period of the thousand-year history of the Magyars.

Why didn't the other satellites revolt? One could just as well ask why didn't they have their Rakosi and why didn't they have their War of Independence in 1848.

And yet it should be stated that Korean students (about 100-150) sided with the Revolution and many of them took part in the armed fighting. And it is also true that many Russian soldiers sided with the Revolution although, they are very nationalistically inclined and they all prefer a Russian Communism to an American intervention in their internal affairs.

With the exception of one week (October 28-November 4<sup>th</sup>) it was

the Soviet Union which directed Hungarian politics. That's why when the Soviet leadership was at a loss as to what action to take, its Hungarian organs: the Party and the AVH found themselves in a no-man's land, in a vacuum.

The Hungarian Revolution was definitely useful for the West. It saved many many millions of dollars with the sacrifice of the ~~its~~ lives of 30,000 young Hungarians. Hungary's total loss is 300,000 people - 200,000 left, 70,000 were deported and 30,000 died. This loss, compared to the total number of Hungarians, is tremendous: out of this 300,000, 150,000 represent a real value from mankind's point of view and the rest are simply humans. Nothing more and nothing less.

Many of them are in ~~the~~ Vienna (30,000) and in order to get hold of a couple of pennies, sell their blood. How much Hungarian blood does the world want? Wasn't it enough that it flowed in the streets of Budapest? ~~Does~~ Does it also have to be sold for "commercial" purposes to the hospitals of Austria? The Russians did not cheat Hungary. Actually, they never promised anything. But America did and a great power should have a great conscience and great remorse - everything is so great in America - why do they have small remorse if they had any at all? Does Eisenhower only want to clean his own yard? Doesn't he mind that the roads leading to him are cluttered with dirt? Doesn't the judgment of later



centuries matter at all? Isn't the great general of our times afraid of sliding in such a mud that later centuries will not find it worthwhile to unbury him? America has societies to prevent cruelty against the animals. A society should be founded which should ~~xxxx~~ prevent cruelty against those subjugated nations to whom Radio Free Europe and Voice of America are beaming their enticing broadcasts.

~~300,000~~ 30,000 people are in Austria. For how long? 70,000 people are deported to Russia <sup>or</sup> and are in different labor camps in Hungary. For how long? He doesn't even state that they are the best of what humanity could produce - all he says is that they are humans. Some of them might have even been Communists and some of them members of the Arrow Cross Party, etc. But all of them wanted a better and freer life. And this desire should be honored by that power which advocates standing for the basic human rights of freedom.

200,000 people left Hungary; it was a great blood transfusion given to the West. Probably about 50,000 left Hungary because they had to leave. But the rest - 150,000 - did not leave because they were so satisfied with domestic conditions and because they were told that an awful fate <sup>was</sup> waiting for them in Western countries.

The one who exchanges his homeland, exchanges his soul. Even those who had been extremely unhappy in Hungary left it with a heavy heart. But this heart is not becoming any lighter since. Yes

he doesn't mind admitting that he expected a pat on the shoulder, not for what he did for his own nation, but what he did for the Western world. In other words, he expected applause for a beautiful performance he and his countrymen put up for the West. And the West sat in comfortable boxes, enjoyed the fireworks<sup>s</sup> but - forgot to applaud.

Do you know why I am x telling you all this, he suddenly asked me - because you have a soft face. And do you know why I couldn't talk to my country women, in the name of whom I'm so revolted? They have hard faces. The last decade made them hard. All I should find out now is whether you had a hard face when you left and whether America ~~it~~ softened it. If it did, there is much to be said for American life. Maybe it will achieve ~~the~~ the same results <sup>to</sup> as those of my countrymen who were lucky enough to have been accepted by it. In that case, 30,000 Hungarians have the possibility to become human again. That is a big price to pay by the nation but it is more than <sup>to</sup> nothing. In that case, America is good if ~~for~~ <sup>to</sup> nobody else but <sup>to</sup> its own citizens. That is more than <sup>to</sup> what could be said about the other countries of the world. In that case, all one should <sup>do</sup> /is prearrange for one's birth. If I only believed in <sup>being</sup> /born again, I would definitely arrange to be an American citizen, have a wife with soft features, children with soft features and not give a damn about ~~else's~~ <sup>other people's</sup> features becoming harder every minute.

But maybe we should talk about Hungarian personalities instead of talking about Hungarians, generally, and ourselves, he continued.

I would like to say that during the week of October 28th and November 4th, Imre Nagy matured politically more ~~than~~ during the last 20 years of his career and, ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~morning~~ of November 4th, Imre Nagy, probably to his own greatest surprise, became a great Hungarian and there was no trace left in him of Communism, or even National Communism - he ~~undressed~~ <sup>shed</sup> all those clothes, his background and surrounding forced him to put on during the years, he remained naked and he realized that, deprived of all the artificialities, his surrounding and his own mentality have, in the course of the years, attached to him, he was nothing more than a Hungarian. And this must have been the greatest moment in Imre Nagy's life. Respondent added that ever since he heard Imre Nagy's radio broadcast, he was convinced that, in the midst of the great tragedy of the nation, Imre Nagy, personally, was happy: he found himself, he found peace within himself.

Let's not talk about writers like Aczel, Lukács, and the rest. They only executed what the ~~state~~ nation dictated them to do - they did not ~~precede~~ <sup>precede</sup> the nation ~~with~~ <sup>by</sup> one single step.

Let's stop for a ~~moment~~ <sup>moment</sup> and examine the case of ~~the~~ Anna Kéthly, a personal acquaintance of his. He respects her for having had the ~~state~~ strength to carry out what her principles dictated her to

do. But she lacks flexibility and she superimposes the interests of her party to those of <sup>the</sup> Hungarianism - no matter what happens in Hungarian history, her eyes were directed at the reactions of her Party. This attitude is wrong. If the Revolution had been permitted to stay victorious, a time would have come to play politics. But this way, party politics should be pushed aside and only the interests of <sup>the</sup> Hungarianism be represented.

About Béla Király he prefers not to say anything.

And now, he said, let's turn our eyes back to the aftermath of the Revolution.

After the Russians conquered the last fortresses of resistance, a horrible standstill occurred. People were dazed and the realization of what happened came slowly. Many conclusions were drawn about the Russians and about the West, but maybe the most important one was, from the point of view of the social classes, that the Hungarian proletarian will never, never, become a Communist!

After two weeks, leaders of various Revolutionary groups who refused to believe that the Russian intervention meant the end of the Hungarian Revolution and of all those beautiful (in this case, beautiful is synonymous with humanitarian) ideas it had stood for, started to organize the active resistance. Groups of 15-20 young people were formed who, during the nights, in small groups of two-three were supposed to liquidate the members of the special police of the Kádár regime, who, with the support of Russian patrols, had



the assignment of liquidating the remaining Freedom Fighters.

At the basis of their actions was the following reasoning: on the one hand, they wanted to entertain hope in people's hearts, and on the other hand, they wanted to create fear amidst the supporters of the Kádár regime.

Besides, they were active along two more lines:

1) The so-called Red Cross "line", directed by György Sennig (presently in Austria), a graphic artist who, during World War II, had made excellent posters depicting the cruelty of the Americans and company. The offices of the Red Cross were located in the Lenin Institute (Szabadság Square); The chief of the Red Cross' milk and drug supply center was Dr. Fekete who had complete knowledge of illegal activities carried out under the direction of Sennig. The latter was in charge of supplying with food those factory workers who were still on strike. With skillful manipulations, it was achieved that the International Red Cross should not deal with the Hungarian Red Cross but with the Workers' Councils of Greater Budapest.

2) The Workers' Council of Greater Budapest was directed, from behind the scenes, by Dr. Zoltán Bányka.

The above outlined illegal activities functioned very well, under the given circumstances. Each night about two-five members of Kádár's special police disappeared and, sometimes, even Russians. Of course, it is also true that, along these lines, many individual

actions were taken.

On the 15th of November, Respondent resigned as a lieutenant of the People's army assigned to the sports division of the department of defense. He continued his work in the ~~xxx~~ so-called Red Cross center which assigned food to the workers who refused to take up work.

Around the middle of ~~the~~ December, some of his ex-colleagues from the Freedom Fighters group of the Széna looked him up - they had fled to the West during the first part of November - and proposed to support the movement he was engaged in with arms and asked for help for their work in Western countries which consisted in assembling in Italy some of the ex-Freedom Fighters and giving them adequate military training. Actually, one of the reasons they looked him up was to receive information about the background ~~of~~ of those fighters who had volunteered to undergo military training and, in due time, be parachuted to Hungary. Furthermore, they ~~had~~ collected data about the places Russian troops were station<sup>ed</sup> about the number of their armoured divisions and sold them to Western offices - the money acquired this way was turned over to public funds which were supposed to be used for illegal activities.

Respondent was extremely happy to receive the two young men (Peter            and Imre            - both are now arrested in Hungary), they had been in his fighting unit, while holding the fort at the

Margit Bridge. He gladly gave them the requested information. They came back to Hungary at the beginning of January and asked him to represent the Hungarian Freedom Fighters group of the Széna Square at the <sup>[first]</sup> founding meeting of the Revolutionary Council to be held in Strassburg. He refused - he preferred to conduct illegal activities in Hungary and, as crazy as this may sound today, he still had hope that in the very near future the United Nations would take appropriate steps to further Hungary's rightful claims.

One week after Péter [redacted] and Imre [redacted] left, a Western university student - he showed him his Swiss passport - visited Respondent and referred to Péter [redacted] and showed him a visiting card of Gergely Pongrácz on which, <sup>with</sup> ~~xxxx~~ Pongrácz's own handwriting it was written that Respondent should fully trust the bearer of the lines. In the afternoon of the day he had received the above mentioned visit, he noticed that he was being followed by a Tátraplán car. From then on, he did not go home anymore <sup>but</sup> ~~and~~ called his wife on the telephone. She told him that ~~ix~~ a letter arrived from Péter [redacted], sent from the prison of Markó Street (actually, this was a ~~is~~ form letter in which the inmate of a prison was allowed to ask for clean underwear) and that he had another visitor who told his wife that a great sum of money <sup>had</sup> arrived and Respondent should pick it up at such-and-such place. He did not go to the given address and called his wife again the next day when she told him that the visitor of the previous day came again and this time, brought him greetings from Péter [redacted], supposedly in

Vienna. From this minute on, Respondent knew that the visitor was an AVH man who had no knowledge of Respondent having ~~xx~~ received the post card written to him by [redacted] from the Marko' prison and thus wanted to ~~xxx~~ gain his confidence by referring to <sup>a</sup> friend who, Respondent knew all too well, was also engaged in illegal activities.

Never  
~~xxxx~~ again did he go home and during the days <sup>he</sup> was in the car ~~xx~~ of a good friend of his - an AVH officer - a great motorcycle racer fan. He told his wife to tell those people who eventually might look for him that he was touring in the provinces - trying out Pannonia motorcycles. (Actually, he used to do this type of work during previous years and the excuse, in the eyes of the AVH people who kept looking for him, was acceptable. They checked about him having been at different gas stations and the reports they got ~~xxx~~ were ~~xx~~ satisfying. The filling station operators were his friends and they knew what to answer when inquired about his whereabouts. Of course, they saw him, he was there on such-and-such a day at such-and-such an hour, filled his tank and left. This alibi was excellent. Meanwhile his AVH lieutenant friend applied for a passport in his name. It was approved. A ~~xxxxxxx~~ friend of his, [redacted], who knew about the predicament he was in, took him to the border on his own motorcycle and that's where they met Major Csáky, the Repatriation Commissioner who knew them well. Csáky immediately telephoned to Budapest but meanwhile he managed



to get a stamp on his passport and nonchalantly leave. As he found out later, the order ~~for~~<sup>for</sup> his arrest came ten minutes after his crossing the Austrian border.

(I do not know what the truth of this story is - see note on rating form. It does seem mixed-up, doesn't it? But that's how spying and stories about illegal activities are supposed to be. All I can say is that it took me hours to get as much information as I did receive and Respondent assured me each minute that he was telling me matters of life and death which he really should not do. After all his wife and children are still in Hungary. Of course, I did not insist and yet he was the one who, somehow, begged me to insist. Then he told me that the American military attaché of the Vienna legation would be the happiest man in the world if he had the information Respondent just gave me.

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During our conversations, which took place in different coffee houses and restaurants of Vienna, Respondent kept pointing out AVH men who were assigned to follow his steps. I must admit that they did look like detectives in American films - that's why I did not believe for a minute that they were really detectives. But as luckily I did not meet many during the course of my short (?) life, I had to accept Respondent's superior know-

ledge in this particular field.)

In connection with the AVH, Respondent stated that he had concrete knowledge about them being provided with at least two false identification cards. This happened during the month of December. This measure was a concrete proof, in his opinion, of the ~~insecurity~~ insecurity of the Kadar clique: they were preparing themselves to flee at the slightest revolutionary movement. Another proof of the fear prevalent in Hungarian governmental circles is the decree, according to which Party membership is kept in secret.

#### The Fate of The Outstanding Sportsmen in Hungary.

When I was about four years old, my parents enrolled me in a sport school. There I learned fencing, wrestling, and athletics. I was the best gymnast in the <sup>elementary</sup> ~~primary~~ school and I was ~~selected~~ selected as the best in skiing, gymnastics, and fencing in secondary school. I was also individual champion in all three sport ~~branches~~ branches.

After graduation, in 1946-'47, I boxed at the Frenencváros Sport Club and in 1949, I began motorcycle racing. I won third place in my first race and this result increased my desire for further racing.

In May, 1950, I was drafted into the army, and after six weeks, transferred to the sports section of the Defense Department (Honved Sportegyesület). In November of that same year, I was

transferred to the sports division of the Defense Department (Honvéd Sportszázad). Here courses were given in military training and also in sport training. The former, which used up one-two hours daily, consisted of basic training in terrain study and battle strategy. They could not place too much emphasis on this because, we, the ~~sky~~ athletes, did not take the military leaders seriously. They could not punish us, <sup>because then</sup> ~~or~~ we would have lost out on our daily practice which, naturally, would have affected the results of the competitions. Therefore, the training consisted mainly in athletics, rather in sports. They acquainted us with different sport branches and the rules of the various athletic games, how to wind up the sport season for the competitors and also how to prepare athletes for the new season; We were ~~taught~~ taught what the problems of civilian and military sporting practices were. But the greater part of the training consisted mainly in practicing different sport branches: we fenced, ~~swam~~ swam, did acrobatics, played football, boxed and/or wrestled; we learned how to broadjump properly, throw the discus, lift weights; in other words, we received a general training in sports.

Our allowances were fair. I, for example, received 1,800 forints pay. Added to this was the so-called "calory" money (money for extra food) which for the motorcyclists was 40 ~~for~~ forints, and the bonus for the outstanding athletes, for which the OTSB [National Sports Committee of Physical Education] (Országos Testnevelési Sportbizottság) provided 200 forints monthly

installments. This was my pay in 1956.

In the sport division, a course took about six months. One had to take about ~~a~~ four courses in order to become a sport coach. The courses were set up in the following way: In '49-'50, the members of the sport division were divided into two groups each of which was supposed to take a different course. After one year, when both classes had gone through the basic course, they were placed into one unit and the training continued in this form. This united group stayed together most of the time. There were some who left, though, and some were eliminated from further training (due mostly to lack of good results in competition), and, naturally, others were brought in in their place. Generally, the new recruits were mixed into our unit and they worked hard to catch up with the training.

Returning to the previous discussion about pay - the OTSB gave 200 forints per month to Hungarian national champions. (Wrestlers and boxers would get about 300-400 forints and motorcyclists and swimmers about 200 forints.) The money itself didn't mean too much, but if one succeeded, as a national champion, in being sent abroad, one could make about 10,000 to 15,000 forints extra. We took watches with us to the "People's Democracies" which we had obtained in the West and traded these for articles worth bringing back to Hungary. From Rumania we brought pepper and from Czechoslovakia shoes. I'm not ashamed to say that we ~~did~~ smuggled



because we all had families to support. If one wanted an extra dish of food, or one extra article of clothing, then one simply had to engage in smuggling, whether one was an athlete, a director of a firm, an army officer or a government official. It was not our fault that we were forced into this. It was under these circumstances that we had to compete in sports. It did become our chief occupation and we had to struggle hard to maintain our position of "outstanding sportsmen". Often, in various important motor cycle races, we took the curves faster <sup>a</sup> than we should have, took more risks than necessary, under normal circumstances, because we constantly had in mind that if we did not achieve satisfactory results, we would be kicked out of the <sup>division</sup> sport ~~division~~ and thus ~~lose~~ lose our livelihood - our chance to travel and smuggle. I am not exaggerating when I ~~it~~ say that we risked our lives in many, many instances. Of course, motorcycle racing is not a life insurance but <sup>re</sup> ~~there~~ is a great difference ~~difference~~ ~~between~~ between risking one's life for a couple of extra pennies, or for sport's sake.

In 1953-54, it became necessary ~~to~~ to put in effect some changes in connection with the sport division, due to the many criticisms and attacks ~~from~~ from the West. The sport division was called a professional institution and thus all the outstanding Hungarian sportsmen were labelled as professionals. Our leaders tried to

solve this predicament by making soldiers of the athletes - assigning<sup>to</sup> each of us various military ranks - and placing them into various schools, not as students but as athletes, of course. The Stalin Military Political Academy (Sztálin Katonai Politikai Akadémia), The Petöfi Political Institute (Petöfi Politikai Intézet), the Central Officers' Home (Központi Tiszti Ház) were such places. I, along with Gurics, wrestler, Tichy, football player, Machofs, football player, Baranyai, gymnast, Fehér, <sup>boxer</sup> fencer, etc., were assigned to the Stalin Academy. We only went to these places to pick up our salary, but if we were unable to go in person, someone delivered the pay to us, or it came by mail. In other words, everything remained the same, but we received our pay from another source.

During my athletic career, I won eight national Hungarian championships. As a result of this, I received the title "Hungarian People's Honored Athlete". I was permitted to attend all sports events free of charge, but other than this there were no advantages connected with the title. It had no political significance whatsoever.

#### Hungarian Army Sport (Honvéd Sport)

The Hungarian<sup>ian</sup> military<sup>s</sup> sport section (Honvéd Sportegyesület) was formed from the Athletic Club of Kispest (Kispesti Tornaegylet) in 1949. First the football team Kispest was taken over - the players and the coaches and later the personnel of the football

grounds: and they were all enlisted into the army. At the time, this action was not taken forcibly, the people were lured into the unpopular People's Army through the means of financial remuneration. Large amounts of money were made available to the army for these purposes and the sportsmen "bought" received the ranks of officers. Thus the so-called sport division of the army was founded. For a sportsman to be assigned to the army's sport division ~~was~~ one or two national titles were necessary, or he had to be a very promising rising young<sup>g</sup> star. Military (20 percent) and sport (8 percent) courses were given to the recruited athletes from different sport clubs at the end of which they were assigned ranks with the <sup>COM</sup> ~~xxx~~mensurate salary according to the results they achieved in competitions. That was the way the problem of amateur and professionalism was resolved. The second goal the government wanted to achieve with the creation of the sport division of the army was to make the army popular in the eyes of the people by dressing their idols up in military uniforms.

Coming back to the above mentioned amateur - professional question, this indeed was a burning problem in the years '45-'49, as the athletes were unable to devote time to the necessary training as they were obliged to work hard (10-12 hours per day) in order to support their families. The supreme sport authority - the OSH [National Sports Bureau] (Országos Sporthivatal) and later its successor the OTSB (Országos Testnevelési Sportbizottság) made efforts to assure the livelihood

of the athletes and, at the same time, their amateurship, by assigning them through the intermediary of their clubs to different pseudo-employments. This, in practice, was extremely difficult to carry out, partly because the salaries were very low and, partly, because the co-workers of the athletes who were supposed to work but actually didn't, viewed the situation with envy.

Sportsmen wandered from one club to the other and this instability showed itself in the poor results - it was extremely difficult to have the members of one team belong to the same club and, as this elected sportsman belonged to various clubs, they did their training in different places - training which was not harmonized.

Thus the necessity to establish a central sport association which would take care of all the problems became evident. And, as at the same time, the need to make the Ministry of the Interior and the Army popular was strongly felt by government officials, the solution<sup>was</sup> obvious: create the Sport Divisions of the Army and of the Ministry of the Interior.

The Sport Division of the Ministry of Defense tried, as mentioned before, in 1940-'50- and '51, to recruit people by promising them high salaries and officers' ranks. Later, their methods became less subtle: if anybody was needed, he was drafted into the army and simply assigned to its sport division. Thus, the human material, was provided in two ways: those who were not



of military age were lured with the advantages an officer's rank meant financially and prestige-wise, and those who were of military age, were simply drafted and, in that case, did not receive more than their soldier's pay with which they could not even buy a daily package of cigarettes.

Both types of recruits had to take the obligatory military and mostly sport courses and after the termination of their so-called study, the question of promotion arose: in the case of those who were not of military age, ranks and salaries were assigned according to previous agreements and in the case of those who were of military age, promotions were given according to the meanwhile attained results.

After "graduation", the up-till-then<sup>n</sup> obligatory "barrack~~d~~ living" was lifted - the sportsmen could return to their homes, but had to present themselves daily for a four hour training period. The food given to the outstanding athletes was outstanding itself. For breakfast, they would receive coffee or cocoa, unlimited quantity of bread and butter~~s~~, jam, fruit, including citrus fruit; for the second meal - around ten o'clock in the morning - sour cream would be served with hot rolls; the lunch would consist of a substantial quantity of a very nourishing soup, of excellent meat with ~~the~~ salad, vegetables and potatoes, cookies, fruit and beer; at four o'clock they were given butter, milk, and

cookies and for dinner usually cold cuts and dessert.

In addition to the rosy sides of life, mentioned above, there was also a black side: the political officer. But pretty soon the athletes ~~that~~ realized that he was powerless - in case they attained the ~~next~~ desired results, nobody could hurt them and in case they didn't, a very kader given by the political officer didn't help anything at all. So, they started to ignore <sup>him, and</sup> later they found ~~was~~ that it was great fun ridiculing him. So, whenever he would start giving them <sup>a</sup> speech, they would shut him up by saying to leave them alone with that ballyhoo and serve his baloney to the people but spare them. ("Apuskám hagy<sup>ik</sup> é<sup>g</sup>t a súket, dumát, ne nekünk mesélj, hanem a népnek!"). One of their favorite past-times was to get the political officer completely drunk and then take him back to the barracks by dragging him in the streets and pointing out to the passers-by the political star on his uniform. The man in the streets cursed him, the ~~athletes~~ <sup>did</sup> athletes - it was terrific fun.

It should be noted that only the nucleus of the Sport Division was formed of "outstanding sportsmen", the rest were average sportsmen who did not receive salaries for their average accomplishments - the only advantage given to them was the free equipment.

In case "the outstanding <sup>ing</sup> sportsmen" were no longer able to maintain their excellent results during the course of competitions,

their salaries were immediately stopped and their passports revoked. The latter was a catastrophe, because a passport meant a smuggling possibility. Actually, the commander of the Central Officers' Home, a colonel, asked Respondent and, for that matter, any sportsman who participated in competitions abroad, to bring him different nylon articles which he could sell at a great profit at home. Every officer knew about these transactions - actually they were considered as <sup>an</sup> a homage rendered by the People's Democracy to its outstanding and "honored" ~~men~~ sportsmen. And, actually, each sports<sup>a</sup>man felt ashamed toward the government he represented, because it would not ~~a~~ devise a more honorable way to reward him for the services he, in turn, rendered to his nation.

As far as Respondent knows, there was not one "outstanding and honored" sports<sup>man</sup> of the People's democracy who did not take part actively in the Hungarian Revolution to overthrow the regime they unanimously hated and despised. They all resigned, ~~in~~ one group, on November 15, 1956.