

DATES 7/17-18-22

71-K
W-M

I. PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. Respondent's Code Number is 71-K
2. Age is 29
3. Male
4. Divorced
5. Presbyterian
6. Born in small village of ~~xxxx~~ Zala.
7. Spent most of his life in Budapest
8. Before the Revolution ~~x~~ he lived in Komlo.
9. Respondent was abroad in Poland for six months in 1943 in service and in 1942 for three months, in Italy, training as a pilot in the Hungarian Air Force. He served in the Hungarian military services from 1940 to 1945, all of this in the Air Force. Part of this time he was in the vocational school of the Air Force, from 1940 to 1942. He became a lieutenant.

In 1951 respondent was made a private in the reserve of the Hungarian People's Army, and assigned to the Signal Corps, for 6-1/2 months re-training. The retraining emphasis was political re-education.
10. Respondent's education consisted of: vocational high school of the Hungarian Air Force (emergency graduate, 1942) - from 1940 to 1952 he attended an Adult Education class, at night, in general machine industry.

were
11. Respondent's occupations were as follows: From 1945 to 1947, radio mechanic in a radio repair shop; in 1947, this shop was nationalized and became part of a ~~xxxx~~ larger state enterprise. He kept working in the same capacity as before, until 1949. From that year until 1952, respondent he worked in ~~xxx~~ Ganz, in a ~~x~~ high voltage equipment manufacturing state enterprise, as a mechanic, and from 1952 to 1955 in the same enterprise as a technician. In 1955 he was sentenced to corrective labor in coal mines, first as a miner until the Revolution ~~xxxxxx~~ out, ~~xxxxxxx~~ broke
12. Both of the respondent's parents are living. Father is 76, and mother, 74. They live in Budapest.
13. Respondent has three married ~~x~~ sisters, one is 42, another 41, and the ~~xxxx~~ third, 39. All live in Budapest. He also has one brother, 32 years old, who is in Canada.

- daughters,
14. Respondent has two/~~xxxx~~ aged 5-1/2 and 8.
 15. These children lived with his mother, but they were taken away and respondent does not know where they are now. The Communist authorities were the ones who took them away, from his mother.
 16. Respondent left Hungary on November 28, 1956.
 17. He arrived in the United States on Dec. 5, 1956.
 18. Respondent ~~xxxx~~ has been in New York since he came to the United States, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ except for a brief time when he visited Washington, D.C., in Cleveland and Columbus, both in Ohio.
 19. Respondent's immediate plans are to work as a tool maker, if he can find such a job, to be back in his own field as a mechanic, and a technician, if he can receive a scholarship so he can study for x it (the latter ?) at a school.
 20. Respondent was interviewed by the C.I.C. in Vienna, the interview lasting for 3 days. In the United States, he was again interviewed, this one lasting one day.
 21. Respondent neither speaks nor writes any foreign language.

II MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM UP QUESTION

Asked what he thought would be the most important thing for Americans to know about events in Hungary, during the autumn of 1956, the respondent said:

"The aim of the revolution was the creation of a free country, independent of every other country, in the world --- the Revolution was neither planned nor carried out by Fascists, ~~xx~~ but by students and workers, whose only political allegiance was their desire for freedom for their country. - The revolution caused the disintegration of the Communist regime and the party, and started a similar process in Soviet Russia. - The American foreign policy missed the psychological moment when Communism could have been crushed without possibly causing a third World War, when that policy did not support the Hungarian Revolution. Had it done so, the other nations in Communist bondage would also have revolted, and the entire Soviet empire would have gone to pieces."

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

A. "From October 22 until October 25th noon, I worked in the coal mine as usual - During the night of Oct. 23 to 24, I was on a night shift until 10 A.M. My replacement in the shift, a good friend of mine, was another one who had been ~~sentence~~ sentenced to corrective forced labor, came to me and I saw that he was beaming. (smiling)

"The Kolkhoz Box was on during the night, and I awoke hearing the following announcement:

"Armed fascist groups attacked the building of the radio station, but the attackers were captured and disarmed."

(Interviewers note: "~~Kolko~~ Box ~~xx~~ was a ~~xxx~~ favorite phrase of the workers describing the type of loud speaker, installed in practically all plants, in this case in the rooms of the miners' hostels. These loud speakers were also termed 'chicken hatchers' by the miners")

"My friend, (my replacement), also told us there had been no program on the radio since 1 ~~XXXX~~ A.M. and that the '~~XXXX~~ Seminary' was not on this particular morning. Kolkhoz
the air

(Interviewer's note: "Kolkhoz ~~XXXXXX~~ Seminary" was described by the respondent as a cultural program on every morning)

"As my friend spoke, the group of about 1/2 50 miners, all of whom but my friend and I, being free and not forced labor miners, listened very intently and were most astonished, and received the news with grave doubts."

"Although my friend was beaming, I myself was in doubt about the whole thing, and told him : 'You have talked enough about this. You are full of baloney!'"

people asked again and again, "Did you hear this announcement correctly? Did you misunderstand it?"

"As we went^{up} to the Administration Building, I saw the Polshe(vist) leaders whispering. Heading for the shower bath room in the building, we said to each other:

"There must be something to this."

11 The old shower room attendant told usx that itw was true that the Budapest radio had been attacked that morning, but that it was now again on the air - (the loud speakers in the Administration Building were playing because the management hooked to it their own phonograph)

[illegible]

(Interviewer's Note: Our respondent lived with some 150 other men in a bachelor's barracks, so called, with each room havin' six men)

Respondent also explains that other bachelor's barracks also had six or more men to a room, some of these having larger rooms)

Respondent continued:

"I ~~didn't~~ didn't go to bed as usual, but started to write a letter to my parents and children.

(Interviewer's Note: Respondent explains that all the bachelor's barracks were built during the Communist era and the entire town and settlement of ~~Kolkhozes~~ were also thus built, and that rooms were made large enough for six persons, for the reason that this could keep persons under better control.)

"I wrote that I was going home on vacation on Oct. 26. As I was writing, a room mate of mine, also a night shift worker and ~~xxxxxx~~ and on corrective forced work, came and said:

"I have just come from the bar, and heard people saying that the radio had been attacked last night."

"It was about 10 A.M. when the ~~Kolkhoz~~ Komlo radio - called the Ventriloquist Sacred Heart ~~xxxxxx~~ radio - went on the air and played marches. This friend of mine named ~~xxxxxx~~ Less said "Turn it off" -

"I said: "No, let's see if there is anything" - after playing four or five more records, the radio started announcing sentences given by the Municipal Court of G or P for absences from work called sabotage because plan fulfilling (production ~~xxx~~ schedules ?) was hampered allegedly - and other sentences were given for "anti-regime agitation" .

"I said 'I won't listen to this crap'. I went to bed and slept to 1 P.M.

"Then I went to the dining hall, where I talked with friends, but no one knew anything for sure. Some six of us decided to go to town to learn more, and three of us went to ~~xxxxxx~~ Pecs to find out what was going on.

"As we left the bachelor's barracks, we met the barracks manager at the desk (he was a big bolshevik). He asked: in a sarcastic tone:

"Well, where do you go, gentlemen?" - (It was very conspicuous that he spoke to us, and also that he called us gentlemen, for usually he did not ask such questions)

* I replied, "Going to town" - He then said:

All I can suggest to you ~~is~~/not go to town, because it will not be wise"

"Never mind" I snapped back, and we left.

In town we were surprised to find that ~~people~~ policemen patrolled the streets in groups of three, and carried rifles.

(Interviewer's Note: Respondent explained that police usually went ~~xx~~ around one by one, and carried only revolvers.)

"We saw loud speakers being installed on the balcony of the Baloney House (respondent explained to interviewer this was the nick-name for the City Hall).

"There was a depressed and conspicuous quiet all over town, with people walking by in a sort of suppressed and suspicious mood.

Joe,
"I went to the Administration Building to meet my replacement, and to go home with him. At the entrance of the building, I saw a watchman with a rifle.

(Interviewer's Note: Respondent explained that the watchman usually carried only a club)

He asked us ~~if we were~~ ^{we were} going to work. We replied no.

"Well, then you had better go home" the watchman said.

"Why?" we asked.

"Because you must not assemble ~~xxxxxxx~~ in the Administration Building" he replied.

We went home ~~xxx~~ with Joe. ~~At~~ The Budapest radio was off the air.

I went to work at 9 P.M. as usual, and saw the bolshevik gentlemen carrying pistols, and so were the mining technicians. Instead of giving orders as usual, they addressed their respective groups, saying that the work was important and must go on, and that workmen would not be allowed to leave the mines until their quotas of production or other work had been met. These quotas were not usually announced but now the actual amounts were made clear.

(Note: this is the mine night shift Oct. 24-25)

"I noted that in the mine itself, as far down as we went, that all supervisors had pistols on their belts.

"About one or two A.M. I was called to the telephone in the store room.

(End of Disk 1 B)

It was Joe, my replacement, who called and said the Revolution had broken out in ~~Budapest~~ Pest.

(Interviewer's Note: Budapest is usually called "Pest" by Hungarians)

Joe suggested that I escape by a conveyor belt and get out of the mine.

(The respondent explained to the interviewer that this method suggested was used from time to time by the miners when they wanted some days off---they put their arms or legs near the belt and suffered a slight wound, purposely, and thus were taken off work, and had a little free time to themselves.)

"I told Joe that I did not feel like doing as he suggested, but I would try, anyhow. My foreman happened to be a good, old operator "dirty reactionary" operator, of ethnic (?) German & origin .

He asked whether it was my prostitute who had called. But I told him the truth and ~~xxxx~~ said I did not feel like working.

"He told me to sit down, but I kept asking if I could go. Then he said, "Let me get out also".

"While we were pondering on how we could achieve this, a technician came and saw me sitting. I thought immediately of the unpleasant consequences, but the foreman was clever enough to say quickly to the technician, ~~xxx~~ could we get permission to go out?

"Why?" asked the technician.

"The foreman replied promptly that I had contracted food poisoning after cooking some mushrooms & I had picked in the woods, had been vomiting, and was in such a bad shape that he, the foreman, felt he should accompany me out of the mine and home.

"While the technician didn't believe our story, however, he gave us permission to leave the mine and to go to the doctor on duty above. The doctor gave me some medicine, and also necessary papers so I could go to the hospital and obtain use of a stomach pump.

"We promised the technician to do all this, but instead we went to my room at the barracks, since the foreman's commuting train to his town would not leave until the morning. We found the door locked, an unusual thing.

"Joe, who was with us, called out to let us in, and after we identified ourselves, we were let in, and found some ten of the miners sitting on the bed or table, with a number taking down news from the radio. Most of them were scared stiff when they saw the foreman. Two of the miners, however, knew him and that he was on their side, so they said:

"The conversation may go on."

This meant that in the general conversations of the miners about their supervisors that previously he had been rated as one of those who could be trusted by the miners. (Interviewer's remarks from respondent) at the meeting

"We decided to strike and not report for the morning shift, and hence to go out and persuade our fellow miners on that shift not to work.

~~xxx~~ "We also heard from those at the meeting that according to the radio, workers councils were being formed ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in the city, and we decided to form our own council in the mine, when we called the strike.

(Interviewer's note: the following disk -2B - will refer to Oct. 25)

"Some 10 men in our barracks did not report for work in the morning shift at 5 A.M.

At 8 A.M. the manager of the mine came to our room, and asked about the meeting the evening before, and why I had come back from work. He threatened that if the afternoon shift did not report for work, we would be taken away. (the two of us)

(Interviewers note: To be "taken away" means in Hungary to be arrested by the ADO)

"I told the manager that workers are on strike in ~~Rudapest~~ Pest, and we would do the same here, because the Russians are shooting the Hungarians.

'Pop,

I told him 'You're time is up.' 'Be ashamed of yourself. If you were a good Hungarian, you would strike yourself.'

"Don't be smart-aleck with me" x retorted the manager, and left. We laughed out loud.

"The manager called a meeting of the confidence men (detectives ?), and also sent a woman employee from room to room calling them.

Meanwhile Leslie arrived from the mine shift, and we told him that Joe and others had gone on strike. We then decided to go to other barracks, and through friends there that we trusted, to try to make it a ~~general~~ general strike.

"We then went to the other barracks, and were received with enthusiasm by most of the miners to whom we talked.

"Returning to ~~the~~ our own barracks, we found them locked, and also learned that the cards, stamped in the mine, and approving food and meals for the miners, were not being honored in the dining hall.

~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

We vented our emphatic disapproval of this., and made clear to
End Disk 2 A

the management that we would get the food that our previous work in the mine entitled us to.

"I then made the following speech:

"Fellow citizens, we should go on strike. People all over the country are going on strike. He who goes down the mine to work is a traitor.

"There was loud cheering by the crowd, which cried out against the manager and the bolsheviks, who were nearby, but who remained silent.

"We then went to the Administration Hall to persuade the older miners and others not to work. Many turned back, and only about half of them went into the mine. It was then about 12.30 or 1 P.M. There were no debates whatsoever (arguments ?)

Interviewer asked the respondent if any debates ensued, and he ~~replied~~ replied none whatsoever. (This may refer ~~to~~ to arguments either between the miners, or between them and the management (p)

("We heard that the ^{management} ~~management~~ of the mine had formed a "Workers Council, and that all members were trusted Communists")

"Our dismay and fury grew even worse. We decided during the strike to meet at Rakosi Square, at which decision, a young man yelled, What, Rakosi Square -let's call it "Youth Square!" --from now on!"

"This is how we renamed Rakosi Square. We took off the street sign there.

"Three of us went ahead, ~~we~~ followed by three others. Arriving at the square, we took down the three signs there.

(Interviewer's remark: Respondent says it was then about 2 P.M.)

"We saw a number of small groups of eight or ten persons each gathering at several points in the Square. In our own group of 25 people or so, some suggested we should take up (tear down?) the ~~XXXXXX~~ Fall Ujsag poster. ~~XXXXXX~~

(Interviewer's note: These are large posters used by the Communist authorities and placed on billboards, walls, and other public places)

"Others suggested we tear down the Red Star on the Administration Building at the mine.

"At this moment, a tall man approached us and said we had better go home. Upon challenging his right to do this, it dawned on us that he might be an AVO ~~XXXXXX~~ stool pigeon.

"He showed us his I.D. card, whereupon we shouted, "Is that what you are, you scoundrel?!" and people started swinging at ~~xxx~~ him., and beat him up, really bad.

"Meanwhile, the crowd around us grew larger. Also, from a number of windows looking over the crowd, some voices assailed us as "Eudapest bums". We yelled back, while we discussed drawing up our demands in writing.

"About 6 or 6.30 P.M., two Russian jeep squad cars came along, and some little Boy Scouts jumped out.

(Interviewers note: In the language of the miners, policemen were called Boy Scouts)

"Some three plain clothesmen were with the policemen, and started to assail us verbally, and calling on the crowd to disperse. Nobody moved or said anything. The police started pushing us around, and we spoke up:

"Don't push me!" adding some choice insults. "you whore ?

"One of the policemen threw a ~~grenade~~ ~~xxxxx~~ at us, and one of us threw it back. It exploded among the policemen, one of whom drew his gun and fired at the crowd. One man fell, who had been waiting for the bus, as our group was assembled near a bus stop.

"The crowd grew wild, and began throwing stones and broken bottles at the police.

Interviewers note:

Parks in Hungary are usually fenced in

"We didn't heed their warnings, but went to the church square and demolished the so-called Red Corner. This had a gypsum statue of a miner, and pictures of Bolshevik famous persons such as Rakosi and Stalin and of Molnar. This miner was some particularly big horse prick of a miner, some outstanding Stachanovite. Some time ago he had received a Kossuth for his working like hell.

"We went to the Council Hall, and there four of our group got into an argument with policemen, and they were left behind, as we ~~were~~ continued on. We did not know this, and learnt the next day that those four were taken to the police (jail ?)

"The students suggested that we go to the school building and tear down the Red Star. We did so, and the students were very much pleased.

"Open the doors, they locked us in!"

"We proceeded to the Youth Square, and found a crowd there, asking questions and expressing their opinions. By then it was close to midnight and the people promised that they would return the next morning.

" (Interviewers Note: For clarification, this is now the night of the 25th to the 26th of October)

"We went home and set a guard at the door of our barracks. We learned from our room mates that only a minor number of the shift had reported for work. Then I went to bed.

Cont'd. " --- by low fences, with green bottles, becken, among the material used. ~~x~~ Bottles are stuck neck down into the ground.)

"The policeman who had fired the shot was seized by our group, and I took away his ~~revolver~~ revolver. This was the first weapon we had.

end of Disk 2 F

"The policeman managed to get away, and all of their group jumped into their Russian type jeep, and left in a hurry.

"An ambulance arrived shortly and took the wounded man to the hospital. After the squad cars left, the crowd grew fast to around 300 to 400 persons. Soon shouts rose to go downtown. Some one found a Hungarian flag. Singing the national anthem and the ~~Rossini song~~ Kossuth song ~~xxxxx~~, we all marched down the street.

Meanwhile, the crowd had become very enthusiastic, and as we marched we felt this to be a city wide feeling. We yelled to people we passed, to put flags in their windows, and also:

"Put candles in your windows, because our sons are dying in Budapest!"

"

When we approached the buildings of the mines, the crowd kept swelling. We sighted policemen dug in, with machine guns set up, near the Executive Building.

"As we reached within 100 yards of the trench, the police started shooting, aiming at the road ~~in~~ ahead of the advancing people. The crowd was frightened, and dispersed, only about 50 of us sticking together and marching on.

"As we got close to the police, a heated debate arose ~~h~~ between us and them. They called on us to go home. We replied:

"It is ~~x~~ our right to be here!" Be ashamed, you rotten peasants!, shooting at Hungarians!"

The police yelled back that we should be careful what words we used at them, but our group kept on with ~~xx~~ our abusive language, such as:

"When you came to Kumlau you were rotten manure smelling peasants, shut up, you don't know anything!" You went barefoot until they gave you a uniform."

The argument continued and we began to ~~xxx~~ throw stones at the police. At this, the police took their arms and ran into their headquarters.

We were very much encouraged by these developments, and started to destroy the bulletin boards, first tearing down the Red Star on their tops, and then smashing the boards to pieces.

and others

(Interviewers note: These boards contain names of miners/who exceed their production quota, ~~xxx~~ or who achieve other desirable results, from the Communist point of view.)

"At 5.30 A.M. a girl came to wake me up. She was one of the two girls who had been with us the day before. She said that the four boys who had stopped to argue with the police in front of the Council Hall had been arrested by the police, and that we should do something about it.

"I dressed, and went to the various barracks, ^{that since} stating four of ~~us~~ our group were under arrest, ~~and that~~ we should go demonstrating at 7 A.M.

"(Interviewers note: This is October 26)

"

end of disk 3 A

"We convened at about 7 A.M., ~~xxxxxx222~~ some 100 to 120 of us, and we left for the Police headquarters to demand the release of the four boys. As we arrived at the Party Headquarters Building, we were stopped by soldiers. The young lieutenant in charge challenged us:

" 'Where are you guys going?'"

We replied that we wanted to see the police, and the lieutenant ~~asked~~ asked why?

"To rescue better Hungarians than you fellows are" we replied.

"An argument then arose over the curfew order, which ended in the police leaders saying that as law enforcement officers they had no time to argue with a bunch of bums. When we attempted to continue the discussion, the police officer said:

"I'll order my men to fire at you!"

"With as much brains as you have, you might be able to do just that" one of us replied.

"We then told the police that ~~xxx~~ they in Pest were with us, hence we cried:

"Would you shoot at us?"

Others of us added: 'You might even shoot at your own mother!'"

and "You guys are talking, you can't even write your own names! "

and "We, the working people, are clothing you guys, you wouldn't know what to put on if we didn't supply you with uniforms! " "

The soldiers were just ducking, ~~xxxxxxx~~ (evasive ?) and did not say a word.

The girl who was with us didn't mince words.

Finally, I said:

"I'd like to see the man who fires the first shot!"

the girl with us,
I looked at Martha and saw encouragement and determination in her eyes.

going
We started/~~xxxxxxxx~~, the crowd behind e watching on. We pushed the lieutenant but did not strike him. The soldiers(police) had the barrels of their machine guns pointed at us, but did not fire , All this happened in a deadly silence.

As we reached the square, the towns party secretary arrived also, holding his hands and shouting:

" ' Stop, Comrades! ' "

" 'There's just not any of those here! ' " , I replied, and kept going.

The party secretary than asked us were we were going, and we said to the police to rescue our friends jailed there. The crowd meanwhile kept ~~xxx~~ gathering around, near the secretary.

"Eut, gentlemen" cried the party secretary, in polite tones. "Don't be so nervous. Select a few delegates who will go to ~~xxx~~ the Party Headquarters.' "

At this point, we made our first mistake.

"We won't select delegates' " , I replied, "unless you remove the soldiers and police from the square."

"As we stood there arguing, a ~~xxxx~~ MUSZ ~~xx~~ Unit came along marching to work.

"MUSZ"

(Interviewers note: ~~xxxxxx~~/is a ~~power~~ military branch of the Hungarian armed forces--literally translated it means labor service, and it is usually called by the press "labor battalions" They are under military command, but have no arms, but shovels, pick axes, etc. and do heavy, menial work)

"While the party secretary kept arguing, we went to the ~~xxxx~~ ^{MUSZ} soldiers and urged them not to go to work, saying that they were used for strike-breakers, and suggested that they return to their barracks, and tell the others not to work, but to join us in striking.

Apparently that was all the encouragement ~~xxxx~~ they needed, They said:

"We will res refuse to work. We won't work"

"They turned around. The officer in charge, now powerfu powerless, ran after them.

"We then turned our attention again to the party secretary, and he gave in to our demands to withdraw (the soldiers and police ?) from the street. We named four delegates: Martha, myself, and two miners who were about 40 years old"

(Interviewers note: These two miners were free ones, not in the forced labor category)

"Tatai , 12

~~xxxxxxx~~ the party secretary x wouldn't give up. He returned from the balcony, and ordered:

"Bring them in." "

He entered his office, followed by us and the sub-machine gunners.

(polite)
Inside the office, the party secretary's/tone of voice changed.

" 'What are your demands?' " he asked.~~xxxx~~

" 'Release the four men, and hand over the murderer to the crowd for popular verdict.' "

" 'What else?' " he then asked.

"Six hours working time a day.' " 30% raise, or 40% price cut. ' "

"We suggested price cuts as an alternative to pay raises, since the party secretary had said that pay raises might cause inflation."

"We further demanded no Faith Clothes every year and a half, but every year instead.

(Interviewer's note: Respondent explained that working clothes furnished the miners as above were termed "faith clothes")

"We also demanded that the ~~xxxxxxx~~ uranium mines be put into Hungarian hands, the abolishing of the AVO, and the present forces of law and order to be dissolved, and the setting up of a guard consisting of miners. -- We also asked for a new Workers Council elected by secret ballot, by all miners. Also, we demanded the abolishment of party and union functionaries, and the/union to be independent of the party.
miners

"During ~~thisxxxxxxx~~ these remarks, both the party secretary and several of our delegation put down the above demands on paper. When we were through talking, ~~Tokoyx~~ Tatai, ~~xxx~~ (party secretary) ~~xx~~ said that he agreed with some of these demands, but not of others. He said that in any event, he would guarantee that the four prisoners would be released.

The ~~xxx~~ party secretary motioned to the police, and turning to us, he said:

"O.K., if the crowd disperses." "

"I replied to him:

"I do not believe you." "

The party secretary then offered ~~me~~ the telephone , and said,

" 'Talk to him yourself ' "

I took up the phone and talked to the ~~xx~~ police chief, repeating the conditions.

"The four delegates then entered the Party Headquarters Building. There we saw plainclothes guards with small caliber target rifles. They accompanied us to the second floor. The party secretary who was with us then said we should wait there.

At once, a door opened~~xx~~ and three Communists came out, carrying sub machine guns. They pointed the guns at us and said:

"Step to~~x~~ the wall!"

end of disk 3 B

"We were more than surprised. I told them:

" 'Don't fool around! ' "

The sub-machine gunners replied:

" 'Don't talk too much! ' "

We stepped to the wall.

" ' Turn around! ' "

"We had to lean against the wall with our arms raised, in the customary manner in such a situation. The party secretary went to the balcony and said:(to the group outside)

" 'We are engaged in negotiations with the delegates' & You guys may go home now, you need not ~~hi~~ hold up traffic."

"The ~~xxxx~~ excitement of the crowd grew. They shouted statements such as:

" 'We won't leave until we learn the results of the negotiations!& ' "

"The crowd kept gradually growing. The party secretary returned, and went to his office. Meanwhile, we stood in the corridor with raised hands, leaning against the wall, and wondering what would ~~fall~~ happen.

"Suddenly we heard the crowd yell:

" ' Release the murderer! ' "

"First, I didn't understand what it was all about. Then we heard further shouts:

" ' Release the four boys. Release & our four friends! ' "

The party & secretary went again to the balcony, and tried to quiet the crowd. In essence, he said to the assemblage,

" 'We don't know who he is.' "

More yells by the crowd made it clear that the above agitation by the ~~xxxx~~ crowd referred to the shooting of a bystander by the police the day before, and that the latter had died of his wounds.

"Martha said:

"Tatai,
~~Exocypis~~ the party secretary, retorted:

Ux1D1Qx7xwx999xth9x2x1x1x

"Tatai was thoroughly angered.
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He said:

Then he suggested we go to the balcony and get the crowd to disperse. We went to the balcony, and I addressed the crowd:

I hoped that the crowd would understand that they should not go home, but at the same time I ~~did not want to~~ leave ~~without~~ without arguments that I did not tell them the conditions. ~~without should be with~~ Total

" 'Free the four men! xxx Extradite the murderer!'"

XXXXXXXXXX

"The biggest stumbling block in the negotiations was in regard to our demand for a ~~x~~ Workers Council. ~~Total~~^{Inter}~~ix~~ wanted the members of such a council appointed, and we wanted them elected, and by secret ballot.

"Let's telephone Imre Nagy ~~xx~~ and let's ask him." ~~xxxxxxTatai~~
 finally said.

14 We tried to reach the prime minister, but he was not in his office. In his place, ~~Kagratz~~ Hegedus ~~ix~~ was reached. I told him of our demands, and that we would not stop the strike, until they were met.

" Hegedus might have told him that he (Hegedus) wished to speak to me again, because Tatai answered: 'O.K., I'm giving him the receiver.' "

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I became mad and said:

Now, Tatai started bargaining with us.

"There's no use looking at them" I replied, "Either you accept them or you don't!"

"In that case" I said, "let us at least mention them over the radio."

"But not once only" we replied, "at least ^{every} half an hour, all day."

To this, Tatai agreed.

"I then telephoned the Radio Station, informed them of the result of the negotiations, and that they would soon receive the text of our demands. I then went to the balcony, and spoke to the crowd, saying that we were going to the Radio Station to announce our demands.

"We took the paper which Martha had scribbled while we conducted the negotiations, to which we added:

" 'He who is a Hungarian sides with us. We want to live free in a free country!' "

"We signed this: 'Hungarian Revolutionary Youth'.

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"The crowd now ~~re~~ returned to Youth Square, but three of us, Joe, Martha, and I, stayed. ~~WHEREXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"Passing the Party Headquarters building, three plainclothesmen grabbed me. Martha and Joe ran away. A these AVO people jumped from a corner quickly, and were armed, I was powerless to resist them.

and
"They searched me, /found the revolver which I had obtained from the police ~~the~~ day before.

~~the~~
"I was dragged to the AVO building, where I was given a terrible beating, and lost consciousness for a while.

the finally regained consciousness,
"It was only /next morning (Oct. 27) that I ~~wake~~ /about 4 A.M., and found myself on the market place. I was a bloody mess.

"In a ~~a~~ few minutes my head cleared, and I remembered what had happened. I went to the barracks, and gave the alarm to our group. The boys decided to go ~~back~~ demonstrating.

"By 5.30 A.M. some 60 to 100 of us had assembled. We started to demonstrate on the Main Square around 6 A.M. We demanded extradition (giving up) of the murderers --meaning those who had fired into the crowd the previous day.

"As an answer to our demands, men at the ~~the~~ Police Headquarters fired at us again. We ran to hide behind a building.

"A truck came along, and one of us cried:

" ' Let's seize it and go ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ to the soldiers' barracks to get arms! ' "

Mecsekjanosi.
"We seized the truck, and proceeded to /~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~is~~ . There were about 40 of us.

"As we arrived, the sentry shouted at us:

" ' You must not enter! ' "

" ' Call your commander to come out ' " I cried.

"The lieutenant came out, a handsome young man. I said to him:

" ' Fellow citizen, lieutenant, be greeted in the name of the Revolution

"He looked, baffled, stammered, and asked what we wanted?

"Arms, arms, only, fellow citizen, lieutenant!"

" ' That shouldn't cause any great difficulty " the lieutenant replied, then continued, "Come in, some ten of you. ' "

He handed over to us the rifles of the guard at the gate, and asked for a receipt, which he wrote out. after I had promised to sign it.

"When he wrote the receipt, I took his pistol from his holster. He didnt stir. As we left through the entrance, I grabbed the rifle from the sentry.

"We now had 16 rifles, and went back to the barracks.

xx "I said to the lieutenant;

"Line up your men here." "

The lieutenant at first objected, but then gave in. As the soldiers lined up in the yard of barracks, I ordered my men to cock their rifles and face the soldiers. I said:

" 'Don't move, x or we'll shoot!"

"Just then, a lieutenant-colonel stepped out of the building. I pointed my revolver at him, saying:

"How lucky that you are here! xxxx Step right here! ' "

"He obeyed.

"Following my arms orders, we then disarmed the officers, and obtained arms from the depot, which were put in four trucks which meanwhile had arrived from the town, placing one light machine gun on each truck. Then I announced:

"The officers ready to take an oath for the Revolution, step forward!"

"All but two of the officers --the commanding officer and the political officer--stepped forward. I went to the two who had refused, tore their insignia off, and announced that they were dishonorably discharged from the army.--and ordered them to leave immediately,"which they did."

"While all this went on, I observed that most of the soldiers were x smiling."

"I ordered all the confidence men present to step forward, and had them taken to the guard house. When he returned, I then said that everyone should now take the oath for the Revolution, which I read:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

end of disk 5A

"I take an oath on God, ^{and} on the Hungarian flag, that I will be faithful to the Revolution, its fighters, and temporary commanders. I will perfectly carry out the orders of the Revolutionary leaders, so help me God. If I break my oath, the curse of the Hungarian people should ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ smite me, and the earth should not receive my body, and Heaven should not receive my soul! "

(Interviewers note: The form of the ~~xxx~~ oath is a traditional Hungarian form, going back to the 13th century with the difference that the oaths of the older times were even more elaborate.)

Rxx

71-L
JP

III/21

"This was the first cath of the Revolution in our area, and my men took it at the same time as the soldiers did.

"My en then went through the barracks, taking the radios, bandages, equipment, etc. Then I directed that the enlisted men be dismissed, and be armed ~~again~~ act as a guard again. The officers cooperated with us, and asked for news:

"We told them that the Revolution had been successful in ~~xxxxxx~~ Komlo and also in ~~xxxx~~ Pecs. ~~Ex~~ The officers asked why we needed arms. I answered that we hoped to seize the uranium mines at ~~Kovagoszollok~~ Kovagoszollok, ~~20~~, and wanted to be ready in case of another Russian attack.

"We boarded the four trucks, and had gone about three miles when we encountered several ~~xxxxxx~~ Vippons. ~~xxxxxx~~ (Respondent said these are Russian brand cars that look like an oversized jeep).

"The men in these cars began firing at us. We dismounted, and fired back. Both sides took to the woods, and the fighting continued for some time.

"I said to my ~~xxxxxx~~ men, "I'll go to ~~xxxxxx~~ Komlo and try to get people there to join us. You guys hold out here."

"I was confident they could keep fighting, because we had obtained so much ammunition."

"I found my way to ~~Komlo~~ Komlo. ~~xx~~ where I met a good friend of mine. After I had told him of the fight our men were having with the vipon crews, he informed me that some 50 of his group, many in the Communist guard in that town, were plotting to take over the town, having infiltrated the guard. This was to be about 10 o'clock, when they ~~xx~~ went on duty.

"I went to a barracks, not mine, and found some 50 men, who volunteered. By 10 ~~xx~~ o'clock, we were at the rear entrance of the Party Headquarters building, and were let into the building by our accomplices who had infiltrated the guard. At the same time, our friends who were ~~xx~~ on guard at the entrance, made the imprints, and we got into the assembly hall, where the Communist guard members were sleeping, and we shot at the ceiling. / 0

"The Communist guard ran for the ~~xxxx~~ doors, and we let them go. +

"We then went to the Police building, overpowered the two sentries at the door, and immediately were fired on by men rushing out ~~xxxxxx~~ of the building. We returned the fire, while several of our men dropped wounded.

"In a few minutes, our opponents saw the fight was hopeless, and surrendered. We disarmed them. We gave orders not to go upstairs as we knew ~~soldiers~~ soldiers were ~~xx~~ up there.

"I went with 15 men to the Council Hall (respondent says it was then about 10.30 ~~xxxx~~ P.M.) We found only an old janitor there.

We then went to the Radio building, and the two policemen stationed there surrendered, being caught by surprise and overwhelmed.

"We went to the post office, and finding four policemen there resisting us, we shot all four. We then gave orders that the radio station should again be connected up and be on the air. We wished to announce that the ~~Revolution had~~ Revolution had ~~be~~ overcome all resistance in ~~the~~ ~~Komlo~~ Komlo and was successful. Also, we wanted the people to be invited to come to the Council Hall and elect the ~~Revolutionary~~ Revolutionary Council. (Respondent said it was now 11.30 P.M.)

"We then had an announcement made over the radio calling on the military and AVO men in the building to leave the building without their arms, and assemble in the yard, within five minutes, or we would blow up the place, which we had mined.

"After four minutes, soldiers and a few policemen came out of the building, holding up their arms. At the end, five plainclothes men ~~xxxxxx~~ -AVO men--came out, and were disarmed also. They were put under arrest, the soldiers being allowed to go to their ~~xx~~ barracks.

"In order to set up ~~under~~ a new force of law and order in the town, three of our group then chose from over a hundred citizens who volunteered, about 60 persons, chosen partly because we already knew some and partly because of the sincerity and determination of their appearance and desire to serve.

"Bandi and his men ~~xxxxxx/~~ occupied the Police Building immediately, and sent cut patrols ~~xxxxxx~~ Pobjeda cars ~~xxx~~ to collect arms from Communist leaders, mining technicians, and party functionaries.

"At the same time, ~~Bandi~~ ^X Bandi ~~Bandi~~ ^X also sent out patrols to arrest the party secretary, council chairman. (respondent said it was now about midnight) during the 27th to the 28th of October.

"A huge crowd ~~was~~ assembled -- it was now about 1 or 1.30 A.M. on the 28th October--we opened up the doors of the Assembly Hall of the Council House, letting the crowd in.

"I asked the assemblage what kinds of occupations they were in. Every place of work and institution had two council members, and the rest of the people four members. The various groups met and elected their delegates, who then stood up and introduced themselves, so they could be approved by the entire crowd. A few delegates were objected to, and others had to be selected.

(Interviewers note: Respondent said one delegate was rejected because he had been a constabulary in the Horthy regime ~~xxx~~ and another was turned down because he had been a Communist party member until 1950.)

"When I myself said I had been an officer in the Hungarian armed forces, I was asked to give an account of it in considerable detail.

(Interviewers note: Respondent said that following the questioning of him, ~~that~~ he was elected a delegate from the Revolutionary youth)

" (Time at this point 3.30 A.M., said respondent)

"The crowd decided to adjourn the meeting until 10 A.M. the next day. Some 36 ~~de~~ delegates had been elected, with two left open for peasant groups from nearby villages which belonged to the ~~Komlosz~~ Komlo administrative district.

"I then went to the Council Chamber and asked about ^{D lines/ were} the ~~lines~~, and was told these ~~went~~ went to higher authorities, ~~including military ones, and also to the Ministry of Defense.~~ ^{also K lines direct to higher} military commanders and to the Ministry of Defense.

"Now I asked for the ^{names of the} managers of local shops of ~~kozert~~ KOZERT ~~(these are state stores so often mentioned in the chapter on Economic Life)~~-Interviewers note) ~~xxx~~

"I telephoned these managers and ordered them to assemble at the Council House immediately, in order to discuss the problem of adequate ~~xxx~~ food supplies.

"Meanwhile, to get fuel for our trucks, I took over the four gasoline stati^on stations in the town, directing them to supply fuel only to vehicles which had our written orders for same.

"My eyes hurt very much since I had had no sleep for the past three nights.

"When the store managers arrived, we found lard, flour, and potatoes were in short supply. I called the slaughter house in ~~large~~ Pecs and ordered five carloads of lard. I called up ~~xxxxxx~~ Szekszard and ordered flour from one of the ~~large~~ large mills there. Both of these sources asked only for transportation facilities. ~~xxx~~

"I called on the ~~XXXX~~ TEFU ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in Komlo

end of disk
6A

(Interviewers note: ~~XXXX~~ TEFU is the state owned trucking co. enterprise)

I ordered the ~~XXXX~~ TEFU of Komlo~~XXXX~~ to put their trucks at our disposal, sending them riflemen to accompany the trucks.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"I cut out the coat of arms of the People's Republic from the round seal of the council, and used that for the papers (as a seal ?)

"With other members of the Council, it was decided to send five carloads of coal, and two of food, to Budapest, the food to be collected from farm communities ~~XXXX~~ in the area.

"We decided to send trucks to Sacred Heart ~~XXXX~~ Kolkhoz ~~XXXX~~ and ask for food.

(Interviewers note: the above term is used to mean any kolkhoz~~XXXX~~ in the same way people in the United States designate ~~XXXX~~ some legal figure as John Doe)

~~XXXX~~ "Gabi ~~XXXX~~ and ~~XXXX~~ Ocsi ~~XXXX~~ were in charge of this mission.

(Interviewers note: Both above names are Hungarian nicknames of ~~XXXX~~ first names

Gabi
"I asked ~~XXXX~~ to buy, with money of my own that I gave him, ~~XXXX~~ four ~~XXXX~~ geese, 40 pounds of flour, and 20 pounds of flour, and to get this to my aging mother in Budapest. I asked him to do this in addition to the voluntary collection that was being made for old people in Budapest.

"With 50 ~~XXXX~~ riflemen on trucks, we then left at 8 A.M. and attacked the group of the AVG that was still fighting in the woods. The AVG were taken by surprise, and withdrew in the direction of ~~XXXX~~ Anna Akna.

"Our friends in the woods who had been fighting the AVG did not recognize us at first, and we had a hard time of it until we were correctly identified.

"We went back to town to the council house, and on the way it was the first time I had heard Radio Free Europe broadcasting messages on the ~~XXXX~~ boxes (ordinarily, these loud speakers would broadcast only messages received from the government radio at Budapest ordinances, and local announcements --Interviewers Note)

"I found the Council members on the balcony of the Council Hall and a large crowd in the square, the largest one yet assembled, around 10,000 people.

end of disk 6 B

"I pleaded and argued with the Committee members until finally they agreed that 25% of the miners should return to work for maintenance purposes. I told ~~the~~ mine manager of this, and we agreed that members of the National Civilian Guard should receive the average miner's wage per day. The maintenance workers were to receive rescue workers emergency wages.

"I ordered that curfew rules be revoked, and that cinemas could reopen.

"We made out our travel orders, and arranged to call ~~at~~ Komlo from each larger place that we passed en route, so that ~~at~~ Komlo could keep track of our whereabouts.

"I had a good supper at the Beke ~~xx~~ Hotel, (Beke means peace and not war), then our delegation left at about 10 P.M. with ~~the~~ ~~xxxx~~ Popjeda ~~xx~~, the former Communist Council chairman.

"Before our delegation left, we removed the license plate from our car, and pasted red, white, and green strips on the windshield, (in order to make clear we were not Communist authorities, since the ~~Parkside XXXXXX~~
car in which we were riding was usually the one used by such author-
ities in their duties.)

"The main point of discussion was whether a Trans-Danubian authority should be organized, and finally it was decided to send two delegates from the meeting to confer with Imre Nagy ~~in~~ to ascertain his plans and prospects. If this meeting was not satisfactory, we decided that we then would form an independent government.

Kaposvar

"Attila Sziget:
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx/then gave me command of the ~~Kaposvar~~ Air Force. I immediately conferred with the commander and his adjutant, and was told there were on hand 250 jet planes at the Dunafoldvar Szekszard, ~~at~~ and at ~~D~~ Dombóvár. These were the most strategic and dangerous places, because the Russian forces were ~~concentrated~~ concentrated at these points.

"

He promised me that he would keep nine reconnaissance planes in the air all the time and the minute the Russian tanks started moving he would order they be bombarded. - I received 200 rifles from the Gyor County Revolutionary Council for our needs in ~~Komlo~~ Komló

"

"As we arrived from Gyor, ~~it~~ it was about 1 A.M. as we entered the Council House. (Oct. 30) - Martha was on telephone duty there, and she reported that political prisoners at Beta burned a straw sack on the prison roof to let the people of that area know they were still confined.

"Martha also reported that Russian officials had stopped in, asking for food, and for railroad cars in which to ship their troops home to Russia.

"I went to the Civilian Guard and with 20 men went to Beta, where we demanded of the sentries there, that in the name of the Revolution, they should surrender. They looked surprised, and were overwhelmed by our sub-machine gunners. Three of us then drove into the prison yard, using our ~~23~~ car, which had all markings removed, so as not to attract attention, since regular officials also used such a car.

Pobjeda

"At the headquarters building, we disarmed the sentries there, entered the building and pushing open the door, found the officials assembled there.

end of Disk 7A

"I pointed my revolver at them and ordered them to the wall, informing them that the Revolution was victorious, had them disarmed, and then asked what their meeting was about. Seeing us in such force, they stopped evasive answers, and asserted they were discussing a revision of the prisoners' sentences.

"I then ordered the commandant to telephone the head of the guards, and also sent five of our men with the master sergeant in charge of the arms depot to take over the arms there. Meanwhile, the commandment obeyed our order to have the various guards bring their weapons to us.

"Wanting to see for myself about the disarming of the guards, and also the arms depot mission, I ordered another master sergeant to take me to the depot, and found in an ante-room of the depot, a ~~one~~ one of our Freedom Fighters with a machine gun, while some 20 guards, who he had discovered asleep there, had been awakened and their arms taken. The depot ante room was also the place where the guards staid when not at their outlying posts.

"After checking up on these various missions, I returned to the prison office. There I said to the commandant:

"Captain, I now take over your command."

"I then addressed the rest of the prison officials, and said,

" 'Search your ~~xxxxxxx~~ conscience, ~~gentlemen~~ gentlemen. Those of you who treated the prisoners badly, take your hats and leave immediately, since I do not want you beaten by the prisoners who hate you."

"Four rose quickly and walked out. I then addressed the commandant again

"Captain, come with me to see the prisoners, " ~~x~~

Meanwhile, our men were loading the confiscated arms on the trucks, and nearby, behind barbed wire fences, the prisoners, beginning to realized what was happening, were wildly yelling.

"Be quiet!" I ordered. " within half an hour, your sentences will be re-appraised, and you can go in peace." -that is, all but those with more serious offenses, we meant.

Komlo,

I then telephoned ~~xxxxxx~~, and requested that two lawyers be brought to the prison~~xxxx~~ to study the sentences of the prisoners.

"We then returned home, taking the prison arms supply with us. As I entered my office, I found a thoughtful surprise gift there, a couch, on which I ~~x~~ went to sleep ~~x~~, it being then about 7 A.M.

"Around 10 .M. one of the Council members woke me up with the report that Russian officials were there, asking for food, and for either railroad cars or fuel to transport their troops home. The railroad officials had told them that cars could not be furnished unless payment was made in advance.

"

end of disk 7 B

"The railroad officials suggested to the Russians that if they had insufficient money, they might return home the way they had come into Hungary. The Russians pleaded for at least food, ~~as~~ as their troops had to pick turnips from the fields, to eat, but our people told them that the turnips did not belong to the Russians either.

"After suggesting ~~xx xxxxxxxxxx~~ that we might exchange our food for some of the Russians' arms, I decided to negotiate directly with the Russian leaders. These told me they could ~~xxxx~~ give us some of their sub and regular machine guns, and I asked that these be delivered at Dombovar, ~~xxx~~ and the barter be made there.

(interviewers note: respondent said arms were needed more at Dombovar than at ~~xxxxxx~~ Komlo and referred to an earlier request from the Revolutionary Council at Dombovar for arms.,) ~~xx~~ even before they had started for Gyor.)

"I then was informed that resistance at ~~xx~~ Kovagoszollos ~~xxx~~ ceased, and that the Russians asked for safe conduct passes for themselves and families.

The " ~~xx~~ Kovagoszollos miners asked us for reinforcements in case the Russians again attacked. I sent two platoons of Freedom fighters."

Responding to another communication from Kovagoszollos that they needed aid for their wounded, I telephoned the School for Nurses at ~~Baksa~~ Pecs, ~~xxx~~ and asked that doctors be sent to Kovagoszollos. ~~xx2xx~~

"Regarding a report I had received from the Revolutionary Council of Miners, about a meeting they where they had decided that the Civilian Guard could eat at the dining room of the Mine Management, I called the Management, and directed them to comply with the miners' ~~xxxx~~ request.

"I received a call from the Revolutionary Council of Budapest, thanking us for the food sent ~~xxx~~ and asking if they could send coal to ~~xxxxxx~~ them. Istvan ~~xx~~ Hospital. rather than food, since the hospitals there had enough of the latter.

Budapest "The assistant chairman of the Revolutionary Council who handled this call replied that it was completely up to the Revolutionary Council of the 9th district how they disposed of our shipments.

"About two or three P.M. I received a report that a crowd had attacked the Management Building of the mines. Seizing my ~~xxxxxx~~ revolver, I hurried to the building, where I saw some 30 people of the crowd beating a man, and the rest pounding on the door of the ~~xxxxxx~~ building.

"Fellow citizens, I cried, "No lynching. What on earth have you in mind ?

The people replied the man was from the AVO and would not give him up to me.

"Give way, " I yelled, drawing my revolver. " ~~They~~ The crowd backed up, and I took the man aside, and ordered three Civilian Guard members to drive him ~~away~~ away in a truck standing ~~near~~ nearby, but was told that the driver of the truck was in the Mine Management building under siege from the crowd. But I found a man who volunteered to drive the truck, taking the beaten up alleged AVO man to the hospital, after which he was then to be taken to the police for ~~investigation~~ investigation. During this these minutes, I was told that this man had fired on the people.

"I then managed to get to the Mine Management Building & door, and addressed the unruly crowd.

"Fellow citizens, quiet!", I cried. "The Revolution isn't over yet, and we cannot do all we want. ~~xxxxxx~~ If polite words aren't enough, we have other means at our disposal. -- Now, everybody step back ten yards!

"The people ~~xxx~~ did so very reluctantly, so that I had to push some of them, meanwhile yelling at them rather roughly.

"One of them replied, "We can understand you if you speak ^{the right way,} properly. We do not want you ~~to~~ scream at us."

"Who started screaming, I, or you people?" I cried.

Now the crowd drew back more fully. The entrance door of the building opened, and five or six Freedom Fighters Civilian Guardsmen stepped out and stood behind me.

"Somebody yelled, "Tear off the coat of arms of the People's Republic!"

"I ordered the firemen to remove the coat of arms, believing that mob psychology was such that this would satisfy their excitement.

(go home, I told the crowd, and
"Now/if you become so unruly again, one of us will have to slap you in the face!"

"One of them replied to this:

" 'We aren't so bad that we would need to be slapped in the face!' "

~~xxxxxxx~~

" 'We'll see! ' " I answered.

Returning to the Council House, I found a lunch that a woman had brought for me. After eating, I took a half hour's rest. Then I went to the police to see who were under arrest. I found AVO members, police officers, and just then, a woman member of the AVO was brought in.

We were told the others had
"I was told that the others had been hurt by the people in charge of the jail, but that this woman was unhurt. ~~The others~~ pointed to this woman (put their finger on her) and denied having ever beaten anybody.

We took the woman to the office and asked her questions. She said she was innocent, and that the others were guilty of ~~evolutionary~~ torturing prisoners. I confronted them with each other, and with the woman. They fell into an argument, accusing each other of specific torturing incidents, during which ~~xxxxxxxslappedxxxxxxx~~ they slapped each other in the face ~~xxxx~~ when some accused others of serious crimes.

"While trying to deny ~~their~~ they had tortured anybody, they reminded me of how well they had treated me when I had been brought there for some incident six or eight ~~xxxx~~ months before. I answered that it was good that they had found nothing wrong with me, but how could they account for the tortures they had inflicted on so many innocent people?

"As they continued to quarrel and accuse each other, they began to beat each other, and I made it a point not to interfere, and to permit none of our members to do so either, for, God forgive me, I thought this mutual assault on each other was most appropriate and deserved!"

"I finally broke up the fight, by ordering them to be returned to their cells.

"I called the platoon leaders of the Civilian Guard and an assistant commander was elected, ~~xxxxxxx~~ a mining engineer, who had been a reserve officer, a captain before the Communist regime.

"Now, I was so exhausted that I decided to stay with some acquaintances and get a good rest.

(it was now about 7 or 8 P.M. -respondent said)

"There were only about ~~7~~ seven or eight members of the "evolutionary Council who were really dedicated persons, sacrificing their days and nights to the work. Others were of ~~xxxx~~ varying but generally little help,

"As I rose next morning early (respondent said this was Oct. 31) I saw some 40 or 50 crates of ammunition, and a number of land mines in front of the ~~21~~ Police Building. I asked Civilian Guardsmen where they had obtained these, and was told this was part of the barter agreement they had made with the Russians, ~~xxxxxx~~

"They listed what had been obtained, - eight or ten Tent machine guns --some 80 sub-machine guns and 100 to 150 land mines. (Later we learned that these mines had been made useless by ~~x~~ Russians by having their firing mechanism removed) the

"I checked matters at the Police Station and found ~~xxxxx~~ everything functioning well. It was really a miracle what private initiative was achieving in these days.

"The mining ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as assistant to me in my x capacity as Commander of the Forces of Law and Order handled ~~xx~~ things in an excellent manner. He and his staff even launched an investigation of AVO personnel files. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

"At about 8 A.M. a report came in to the effect that the state attorney of our town ~~xxxxx~~ had been captured, and we were asked to bring him in.

"As we were about to leave on this mission, a man arrived from ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{Pecs} and he presented his credentials as one being in charge of the release of prisoners. I told him to go to ~~xxxxxx~~ Beta, ^{30x} then proceeded on the task of bringing in the captured state's attorney.

"This attorney caused us trouble by giving up two of his revolvers reluctantly, and after he had denied having any other, being found with a third ~~xx~~ in his back pocket after we searched him.

"This was the only time I manhandled a prisoner during the Revolution. I called names to his whore mother and swung at him in rage.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

"Some of our members returned from Budapest, where they had transported a mercy ~~xxx~~ shipment. They reported they had received a ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ³³ Pobjeda from the 9th District of that city. The two leaders, having accomplished their mission, ~~xxx~~ drove around ~~x~~ our area to see what was going on. I was ~~xxxxx~~ mad, thinking they should have ~~xxxxxxxx~~ (first) reported, but after all, it was a revolution.

"I went to Beta, ~~xxx~~, and inquired how things were going. I was told the release of prisoners was going on very slowly, because the prison guard officers were continually raising objections, and engaging in hair-splitting. Taking matters into my hands, and after a brief but objective ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ investigation, found not more than

18 or 20 serious criminal cases of the 3500 prisoners. I selected ~~xxxx~~ ⁽⁵ ten of the prisoners to write discharge letters, and ~~they~~ all left with such documents for identification (and verification?) purposes in case of being challenged. Most prisoners left for home immediately, but some 150 of them staid ~~to form~~ a Civilian Guard unit of their own. ~~For a while~~

"The next three days (Nov. 1,2,3) life went on in orderly fashion. Only two criminal offenses were committed in our area, ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ burglaries in grocery stores at night time.

"In one of these two cases, the burglars were captured and imprisoned.

"At about 11 or 11.30 P.M., Nov. 3rd, I received a call from ~~xxxxx~~ Gyor asking us to prepare the alarm system and get ready for a fight. They asserted that a Russian attack was expected. I called Dombóvár ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ Pécs and ~~xxxxxx~~ Kaposvár to find out what was happening in these places, but no ~~xxxxxx~~ trouble was present. I told them to prepare for attacks that might come any moment.

"I went to the ~~xxxxxx~~ Vocational School for Mining Technicians, and asked for their assistance in filling gasoline bottles. All boys volunteered gladly and they hurried over to the ~~xxxxxx~~ Council House. We brought a barrel of gasoline to the Council House, collected empty bottles of the liquor state enterprise, and the boys settled down to work.

"I gave instructions to the Civilian Guard to dig trenches alongside the highway leading to ~~xxxxxx~~ Pécs.

"(The story to be told in the following sentences refers to Nov. 4 - Interviewers note)

again "At 7 A.M. I called the ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{Pécs} ~~xxxxxx~~ Revolutionary Council. The person I talked to pleaded with me not to telephone ~~xxxxxx~~ Pécs because the Russians were already in the city.

"Next I called ~~xxxxxx~~ Kovágoszóllós. I was told that Russians had not yet been sighted.

"I called ~~xxxxxx~~ Dombóvár --no Russians there either.

"I called ~~xxxxxx~~ Kaposvár. They reported that the Russians had taken over the air field ~~xx~~ at around 3 A.M.

"I ~~w~~ jumped into a car with my assistant and we proceeded to a high spot to look around. Some 60 to 80 yards from the road was located an old, abandoned building, large enough to hold some 300 to 400 men.

"As we entered the place, we found in the corners some 20,000 pounds of potatoes. We ~~was~~ decided to move part of our forces here, figuring we could not hold the town. Then we returned to ~~xxxxxx~~ Komló.

"My assistant then led some 500 of our men to the old building we had visited.

"About 4 or 5 P.M. a motorcycle messenger hastened in, reporting that Dombóvár unit (of Freedom Fighters?) had left there to dig in near ~~xxxxxx~~ Mecsekjanosi, ~~xxx~~ about four miles from ~~xxxxxx~~ Komló.

"I proceeded with the motorcycle messenger to this unit ~~&~~ to find out why they had left Dombóvár, and was told that the people of that city had objected to a battle being fought in or close to the place.

"I put down my arms and trench coat, and went with this messenger to Dombóvár. ~~xxxxxx~~. Despite the great confusion around, we managed to get to the town. I saw some 40 to 50 trucks moving about in the streets, and observed an armored unit near the railroad station. ~~xxxx~~ A resident told me that there had been no resistance, but that the Russians nevertheless machine gunned all buildings on the main street and at the railroad ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ station. This man asserted that six or seven railroad employees had been killed.

"We returned to ~~Komlo~~ Komlo. Upon arrival, I learnt that the Russians ~~xxxxx~~ had attacked with five tanks, from the direction of ~~Pecs~~ Pecs, but were ~~xxxxxx~~ repulsed by our people.

"Another report said the AVO had attacked our Civilian Guard at ~~xxxxx~~ Anna Akna.

"I asked the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Management of Mines for dynamite and detonating devices. There were five roads entering ~~Komlo~~ Komlo. Two came from ~~Pecs~~ Pecs, two from Dombóvár, ~~xx~~ and ~~xx~~ Pecs-
ekjanosi and one from ~~xxxxxx~~ W

"I ordered all these roads mined at the larger bridges.

"The Russians did not attack until noon, Nov. 5. Five tanks and two armored cars speeded through our lines up to the Square of Youth in town. They stopped, hoisted white cloths, and got out of ~~their~~ their vehicles. I had not seen them in, ~~xxxxxx~~ only heard their rumbling noise and learned events later. I was terribly worried that they might be shot at from the Vocational High School of the Miners.

"I ran out of the Police Building, where a bicyclist, arriving, told me the Russians were standing together in the Square, holding white flags.

"Taking a ~~Pobjeda~~ Pobjeda car, with two youths with machine guns, and a third in the car, I headed for the Russians, seated in front without a weapon, and with a white ~~flag~~ handkerchief on the (radio) antennae of the car.

"Stopping some 30 yards from the Russians, we got out and ~~adca~~ advanced some 15 to 20 yards. My companions retired a little distance (staid back) and I was approached by three Russian officers, accompanied by a woman in civilian clothes. One of the officers had a revolver, and the other two had sub-machine guns.

"When they were ~~x~~ about three yards from me, I motioned to them to stop, which they did. I asked if they spoke Hungarian. The woman replied, No, but that she was an interpreter. I asked her to suggest to the Russians that they put down their arms., and that I was not ready to talk as long as they carried arms.

"The Russians were quite reluctant to do this, and ^I turned around and went back. While I was fearing for my life, and making about eight or ten steps, the woman interpreter called to me that the Russians were ready to put down their arms.

"The Russians now advanced, and introduced themselves. The commander's name was Colonel ~~xx~~ Morozov. He was ~~xxxxxx~~ asserted he was ~~xx~~ the commander of the Soviet troops in ~~Pecs~~ Pecs.

"I asked him what he wanted. He replied:

" 'There is nothing preventing you from doing so, I replied, if you give over all your ammunition.' "When you leave town, you may have it back. ' "

"In that case, " I said, "We would have nothing to continue discussing."

"K The colonel agreed to this, but said the responsibility was ours.

[illegible]

"The colonel replied that his troops never attacked any country, but came only to restore order.

"I told him we did not ask for any such restoration of order, that cost the lives of thousands of innocent people, and we had order anyway, and needed no one to restore it. Everybody should clean his own house, I added.

"I turned around and the three of us got into our car. I saw the Russians xx were doing the same, but was surprised to note that, after taking the white flag off their tanks, they did not turn around, but backed up to the last (farthest out) houses in town."

"We hurried to the Vocational School of the Miners and told ~~them~~ the boys about the Russian tanks. The boys took hold of their gasoline bottles, and rushed to the windows. Some carried hand grenades.

"We went to a bridge in the country over which the highway ran, and established ourselves on it with machine guns. At once, we saw the Russians proceeding along the road, firing their machine guns at both sides of the street. E.M. 5111

"As k first tank reached the Vocational School location, a shower of gasoline bottles were thrown at the ~~xxx~~ tanks, but unfortunately none hit the tanks. We then started firing our machine guns. The tank stopped and turned around, and the other tanks followed suit, all leaving in the direction of ~~xxxxxx~~ Pecs.

"As they arrived at the bridge which was undermined, the first tank fell over, ~~and then~~ as the bridge blew up. The others left the road, and overran the positions of the Civilian Guard, without firing a shot. They disappeared in the direction of ~~xxxxxx~~ Peccs.

"At 4 A.M. next day (Nov. 6) both this position and that at ~~at~~^{Vecsekjanosi} were attacked. The battle raged until 2 P.M. Then, the Russians withdrew.

XX
XX

"During the night, from the 7th to the 8th of November, the Russians attacked both positions with about 50 tanks. Between three and four P.M., the Russians managed to break through the Pecs highway position, and our unit there withdrew to the hills.

"The tanks sped quickly towards town. I sent trucks to Mecsekjanosi to transfer troops from there to Mecsekpoloske. That place was now to serve as a retreat point, for our withdrawal to the hills as guerillas.

"Ten or twelve tanks proceeded as far as the buildings of the Mine Management.

(Interviewers note: respondent said here that the boys at the Mine's Vocational School had left, part returning home, and the others joining our units in the country)

"The Russians got out of the lead tank, which had white flags. As we met them, they said we should surrender and give up the town. I asked them:

"What happens to us?" Are we to receive safe conduct passes?"

"The commander said, No, we would not. "We would have to be treated as prisoners of war."

"I rejected the Russian's demands. They got back into their tanks, and started firing point-blank around, trying once more to force their way into town.

"We had spilled a barrel of gasoline over the asphalt road, and one phosphorus bullet hit it. The gasoline caught fire, which spread over the road. The asphalt caught fire, and a pillar of flame and smoke rose up around.

"The Russians pulled back their tanks. Once again they hoisted a white flag on their tanks, and came to negotiate with us.

"This time they said they would give us safe conduct passes, but request we turn over our arms to their men. I refused to comply with this demand, but suggested that our present positions be kept, and that we would leave our arms in our positions and they could get them half an hour later, and if they were attacked half an hour later, they could do as they saw fit, and might have our arms after half an hour.

"Finally, we achieved an agreement.

"I rounded up the Civilian Guard, and we left town. We proceeded to the Assembly point near ~~xxxx~~ ^{Mecsekpoloske} there being some 200 of us. - But now disintegration began. Most fighters lost hope, and went home. Some 400 or 500 fighters ~~xxx~~ who had assembled there, decided to retreat to the hills, where we had a night's rest.

"Next morning (Nov. 9) we were quite perplexed as to whether to keep fighting or not. By the afternoon, however, we decided to wage guerilla warfare from the woods.

"With a well-armed platoon, I went to ~~xxxx~~ ^{Mecsekpoloske} to ask for food. I learned from ~~the~~ Catholic priests there that the village was guarded by two Russian tanks, one at each end of the village. I found that the soldiers occasionally got out of their tanks. As regards obtaining food, I was told there ~~xx~~ were two persons not to approach-- the party secretary and the council chairman.

"I asked the priest to tell peasants ~~xx~~ of our plan to return to the village between eight to ten o'clock that night.

"Some 40 of us returned to ~~xxxx~~ ^{Mecsekpoloske} that night. I divided the men into two groups. We managed to get four dogs, tied the gasoline bottles and hand grenades on them, and from the cover of the woods, sent the dogs towards the tanks. I had set the timing mechanism on the grenades.

"When the dogs reached the tanks, the hand grenades ~~w~~ exploded, igniting the gasoline bottles which also went off.

"The Russians jumped out of the tanks, and we shot them, ~~off~~.

"While we were carrying out these attacks on both sides of the village, --that is, against both tanks--another group seized the party secretary and the council ~~xxx~~ chairman. We collected food, and returned to the woods.

(All this happened from the 9th to the 10th of Nov.)

"Meanwhile, I learned, another of our groups had captured a Russian truck filled with flour, sugar, and bread. The bread and sugar were taken, the flour destroyed, and the truck was sent back (freed ?)

"During the next few days, we were constantly on the move in the hills, and met the unit that had been overrun by the Russian tanks. They said ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{Pecs} college students they had met, were now fighting with them from the hill positions.

The following few days we had only a few clashes, minor ones with the enemy.

"Between the 18th and the 20th of November, we had a major battle with the Russians. We destroyed 24 tanks and six armored cars.

"The battle started at 9 or 10 P.M. and lasted until 3 or 4 P.M. the next day. After this battle was over, we were attacked from the air.

"Our wounded were carried quite regularly to the ~~san~~ sanatorium of miners in the vicinity, and the seriously wounded were transported to Austria by bomb carrying truck drivers.

"But food, ammunition, and bandage and medicine supplies were running out, although the ~~people~~ people in the surrounding area kept us supplied with food. Not only were supplies running out, but also the patience and endurance of the boys and men. ~~blacks~~

"Our number dwindled day by day. Morale sank lower and lower, as we felt that the West had let us down, despite our once high hopes, and our desperate struggle.

"The 200 Freedom Fighters still remaining with us decided on Nov. 27 that we cease fighting, and leave in small groups for Austria.

"We split into groups of ten to fifteen members. On our way to Austria, we kept out of cities, but were not afraid of villages. Some groups went by train, and others by trucks.

"The group I was in managed to get into Austria in one day. So on Nov. 28th we were in a free country, although a foreign one...

"

A. The Demonstrations.

Tales of respondent's actions, thoughts, and expectations before the demonstrations started are to be found elaborately in the account preceding this chapter.

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Asked what he felt about the demonstrations, and what personal consequences might result from them, respondent,

"I felt that I must do what I did, there was no hesitatin in mind. If the people in Budapest fought so bravely for our freedom, I was determined that we should do the same. - I didn't fear at all during the demonstrations. I didn't think of what the consequences might be. I just didn't care.

"Asked what he wanted the government to do, respondent said"

"I wanted the Russian troops should withdraw, that secret ballot elections be held, that Communist influence ~~cease~~ in economic life cease.

"Asked what concessions he would have accepted, here is his reply:

"No concessions at all. As to the withdrawal of Russian troops, as to domestic policies, I perhaps would have accepted a Titoist kind of state, reluctantly and with ~~big~~ disgust, but I think I would have accepted it.

Asked what he thought the probable outcome of the fighting would be, before the action started, respondent answered:

"I thought that after the first man died, the fighting would ~~then~~ begin, but felt that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ from that time on we would not be satisfied with just concessions.

what kind of people

"Asked ~~who~~ the demonstrators were, respondent described them as follows:

"Their ages were between 20 and 35, most of them being ~~xxxxxx~~ under 26, and there were more men than women. The women were cautious and played ~~xxxx~~ little role in the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ demonstrations until they found out ~~what~~ what it would be like in its development. In our town, the intelligentsia and the bourgeois did not participate, because they had a lot to lose--their desks and their ~~quietly~~ flowing life. Mainly, the demonstrators were those who had nothing to lose.

" Regarding the organization and leadership of the demonstrations, respondent explained:

"It is very hard to define. Some people won the confidence of the crowd in ~~in~~ moments particularly by their determined actions

I think it was very important that the leaders should be in the front row, and appear unafraid.

"Our demonstrations were absolutely spontaneous ~~xxxx~~ so long as no ~~xxxx~~ bloc flowed. When blood was spilled, the feeling in the crowd of ~~aging~~ rage and revenge took the place of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ spontaneity. That moment was ~~xxxx~~ decisive in turning people against the regime.

B. The Fighting

Asked what his own feelings were, respondent ~~xxxx~~ described them as follows:

Indescribable

"Fear and an ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ desire to be free. I knew from the beginning of Russian attacks on the 14th of November that our fight was lost.

Earlier, I considered it quite natural that I participate in the fight and thought of no consequences logical

Later, I was aware that I had my life at stake, and this restored my mental balance.

did not think of the consequences.

"I wanted to die whether in battle or on the gallows. This is how I reconciled myself to the idea of death.

"Asked what he thought would be outcome of the Revolution, he replied:

"I thought it would end with our victory, as the ~~fixx~~ first few days seemed to indicate --and I still say that the Revolution was victorious. What we lost was the war against an Eastern big power because we were left alone without any allies.

Regarding his reaction to the government's call for Russian troops, he the respondent said:

"I was astonished. I still don't believe that it was the government. - There could have been individuals who did it, but not the government itself. - Besides it is worthwhile to consider this--how many of the people in the Government were Hungarian, and how many were Russians? "

Asked how the demonstrations turned into fighting, respondent said:

"Fighting begins when people of good will are prevented ~~fixxxxx~~ or discouraged from following a conservative path. The first shot sends the crowd into a rage, because they feel that justice must be done to the innocent victims. - ~~ax~~ Fighting could have been avoided if the guilty political system had realized the consequences, if it had with- ~~drawn~~ ~~unjustly~~ drawn, if it had handed over the government to the sober, reliable part of the people.--or if it at least had tried to reach a compromise solution instead of using force. In the beginning, such solutions could have been found."

Regarding the time when revolutionary slogans appeared, the respondent replied:

"Right at the first assembling of the people. Repressed people feel the air of freedom. -

Asked when the term, "Freedom Fighter" -first was heard, respondent said:

"I ~~xxxxxxx~~ saw this term first in the Hungarian Review during the fighting, but I became really familiar with it when I fled to the West. Mostly we used such words as "Insurgent", "Revolutionaries,"

~~and~~ ~~0~~ ~~and~~ We ~~xxxx~~ had no time in those days to think much of how to say things.

Concerning who fought in which periods, respondent answered:

"In the first phase, 40% were people between 16 and 24, some ~~xxxx~~ 50% between 24 and 30, and 20% women between the ages of 17 and 25. Also, there were about 10% who were men up to 50. In the second phase, some 30% were under 25 years old, 40% from there to 35, 25% women, and about 5% older men. Of course, all of this is just an estimate.

Regarding the sources of arms used by the fighters, respondent referred us to his formal statement on the fighting, previously given.

(Interviewers Note: This, and possibly other questions, have also, been well answered in the above running account of the fighting, which is why the respondent was encouraged to elaborate as his story went along)

Asked how the fighters were organized, whether there were any leaders, etc., respondent said:

"When platoons were ~~xxx~~ organized, they elected their own leaders, who changed quite often during the fighting. For instance, a platoon launched an attack, but after a few minutes ~~xxxxxx~~ had to retreat. One took over the leadership without any quarrel, and this time the task was ~~axx~~ accomplished. Nobody talked about it after the change, but found it quite natural that the other fellow was the leader from then on.

At this point, I asked the respondent ~~why~~ whether they had secret ballots, and he answered:

"We had open votes because we had no time for writing out secret ballots, but if we had been victorious be sure we would have had secret ballots in our regime (government?). Of course, we had majority decisions, and the nominating was open to all."

C. The Re-Invasion

(Interviewers note: There is ^a very elaborate account in the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ respondent's story of his activities between the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion)

Asked what he thought would happen when the Red Army had begun its retreat, respondent said:

"I never believed that it was a genuine withdrawal, not for one moment. I think the Russians lie and cheat a great deal. I believe the Russians only have an hour after their death, and I was proven right innumerable times. Neither the words, contracts, or signed treaties ~~x~~ of the Russians can be trusted. I thought the withdrawal was simply part of their strategy, they wanted to rearrange their forces, and also the morale of their troops in Hungary was insufficient to encourage them to fight. --certainly not to fight ~~xx~~ effectively, because they knew the Hungarian people too well."

Regarding when he first heard that the Soviet withdrawal had been countermanded, respondent answered:

"They never started an actual withdrawal. They simply ceased combat activities. It was actually a cease fire."

Asked when he first saw Soviet troops returning, he replied:

"I didn't see any returning troops. I did not see such, because they never started their retreat. What I saw were such troops which were engaged in combat."

Regarding the major activities of the respondent from the time of the ? to the time of his escape 5.8

(Interviewers note: Four paragraphs above I explain why I do not give any answer of the respondent, please consult that (that the story of respondent answers many of these questions jp))

Asked when he began planning his escape, ~~and~~ respondent answered on the 27th of November.

D. Conclusion.

Regarding the question whether on the whole, Hungary has gained because of the Revolution, respondent said:

"Hungary did not lose anything, aside from the loss in blood, which is a terrific loss indeed. Hungary won, even if the victory does not yet ~~exist~~ exist in fact. Hungary proved to the Western World that it is a living nation, and not such a small weak one as some thought, and that this nation cannot be destroyed. The Hungarian nation ~~established~~ established its right to a place in the sun among the other nations of the world. The ~~concrete~~ concrete result in Hungary was that the system of compulsory delivery of crops has been abolished. - The Revolution welded the people together, and the layer of fear that was smeared on them during the ten years of toil preceding the Revolution cracked and ~~fell off~~ fell off. It is much easier to bear oppression if one knows that he is one with the rest of the nation. In the few days of freedom, people were so indescribably happy that they flaked off completely can remember those days, and that gives them strength. There is nothing more dangerous for tyranny than to let the people in bondage breathe the air of complete freedom, even if for a very limited ~~time~~ period of time."

"

At any rate: the Hungarians were not disappointed in the Russians because they behaved as it could be expected that a Russian would behave. The disappointment was much greater as regards the so-called "free" Western world. We in ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~KOMLO~~ Komlo ~~XXXXXX~~ expected the 100% support of the Western World. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Regarding ~~indefinite~~ whether ~~United Nations~~ he wanted arms and other aid from the United Nations, respondent said:

"In speaking of Western help, we must not mention the United Nations at the same time because the U.N. is a world wide organization, and by the free Western nations we mean only a few countries. It is true the U.N. should have intervened, but when it was so prompt in making a decision to do something about Suez crisis, but apparently had another measuring stick of justice for Hungary, something is basically wrong.

"From the Western nations, we expected only one thing --the fulfillment of their basic duties, which were not only to aid Hungary, but also its prime duty to its own people, since action at that time would have helped to remove the sword of Damocles hanging from a thread over their own peoples --that is, the danger of the spread of Communism, and also of World War III!" (eventually)

E, Basis for Expectations.

Asked on what basis he formed his expectations, respondent answered:

"On the basis of my own reasoning. The Hungarian broadcasts of foreign stations were also critically received by sober(thinking) people. The Communist propaganda that the West is always war-mongering can be refuted by a Communist saying: "If it is necessary, we will defend our peace with arms." - Hence, Western attack would have not been necessary to launch a war. The real criterion is when the Communists are themselves ready to attack. This preparation for war by the Communist bloc (of nations) was pushed back, retarded, by the Hungarian Revolution.

C. Contacts with Foreigners

Asked whether he came into contact with any foreigners, between Oct. 23rd and the time of his escape (around Nov. 27) respondent said:

"I met two French newspaper men after Nov. 4, in the hills. They were fired on by our fighters. They ~~came~~ came to complain, and asked for information. We said we were ~~"Mecsek"~~ "Mecsek" guerillas.

(Interviewers note: ~~Mecsek~~ ^{Mecsek} is the mountain area in which the respondent and his Freedom Fighters were operating after they withdrew from ~~Komlo~~ ^{Komlo} and from other places in the vicinity)

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Family Background.

Regarding this, and father's occupation, etc., respondent answered:

"My father was a postal employee and thus a civil servant. His income was mediocre, but this did not affect me, since I did not live at home. My father was very nervous, and he chased us five children again and again away, with some of us being home only irregularly. I was six years old when I went to the next door neighbor, with whom I lived most of the time, although my mother and brothers and sisters used to help me - one reason being I was the youngest child. I felt bad about this, and from 8 years on, worked during summer vacations to earn at least my tuition fee--jobs being, shoe shine boy, distributor of commercial leaflets, poster erector.

*As whether his parents or himself owned any property, ~~his parents~~ respondent answered that none owned any.

*Concerning the parents' education, respondent replied:

"My father was a high school graduate, and also attended a special course in mail industry (postal service). Mother had a diploma in elementary school teaching, but never taught.

D. Social Classes.

Asked what social classes there are in Hungary, respondent answered:

"Right now it is hard to speak of social classes in our country, but the people nevertheless can be divided into two groups: one, the that serves the social order in a subservient way, and shares in the wealth and power --that is, it is well off; the other is at odds with the existing system, and lives only from day to day on a subsistence level, doing hard labor at barely sufficient pay. Workers, peasants and small (lower paid?) employees belong to this group. Among these, the usual social barriers are ~~removed~~ set aside by common suffering, worry, and fear, and thus a classless society has developed. This classless society did not fall apart in the Revolution, but was welded together even more strongly than before."

"Regarding what contact the respondent actually had with each of these groups, he said:

"Speaking of workers and miners, I was one of them myself, for ten years. As a technician, I belonged to the intelligentsia for about two years.

(A technician in Hungary belonged only half-way to the intelligentsia and half-way to the workers --interviewers note)

Asked about his own attitudes towards these groups, respondent said:

"The ~~intelligentsia~~ intelligentsia, which I would term the former middle class,

(continued)

"...works with much ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ concentration on its job, but is hesitant to speak up -- the workers are the exact opposite of this. They consider work a necessary evil because they do not ~~receive~~ receive just wages, but they speak up and complain without hesitation, generally speaking. - The peasants remain sober (conservative) as before. -- The Communist aristocracy is beyond description. hard-working) ~~x~~ - words are too poor to express ~~xxxx~~ what I feel here.

4 Asked to what class the respondent feels he belongs, he replied promptly:

"I am a worker and I belong to them body and soul."

Concerning which class was hardest hit by Communism, respondent said:

"Communism hit all classes equally hard, but if pedagogues may be spoken of as a separate class, they were hardest hit. First, they had to teach youth the opposite of their beliefs --for example, they had to teach the history of their nation falsely, and instead of the usual frankness with the students, they had to lie, hence youth sooner or later would find out about it, as events have proven, ~~but~~ they really did. - Secondly, the educators were hit financially because they were underpaid to the point of struggling to get enough to exist.

"Regarding the attitudes of classes to each other, respondent said they expressed few views ~~xx~~ about each other, their attention and remarks being concentrated on the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ subservient supporters of the oppressive regime --be sure, they had opinions ~~xx~~ about those!..."

4 Asked about ~~xx~~ changes in these attitudes over a period of time, respondent replied:

"There was no change-- perhaps the hatred and dislike of the subservient supporters of the regime became even harsher.

4 Asked for the reasons for these attitudes, respondent said:

"Obviously, ~~xxxx~~ people saw that if one prostituted his honor and his Hungarian patriotism, his living conditions improved much more so than the situation of one industrious and ingenuous.

C. Social Advancement.

Regarding what opportunities there were or are in Communist Hungary to advance, respondent replied:

"He had to deceive himself by becoming subservient to a regime with which he might disagree in the beginning, and might be led only by self-interest to belong to, but later, in order to leave the door open to safeguard his future, he would become entirely ~~xxxxxx~~ subservient to such regime, at the price of his own innate and ~~developed~~ profound feelings. profoundly developed feelings.

Continued. "These people have either no backbone or no real convictions." Or, their dictatorial inclinations are coupled with sadistic ones. Such people may be talented. Stalin, Radosi, and ~~Gero~~ Gero and Molotoff are very capable people, indeed.

(Interviewers note:

~~xxx~~ of class origin, respondent answered 10.5

"It is not as large as it is thought of in the West, ~~xxx~~ because regardless from what social class a person came, if he prostituted himself and/his nation, betrayed

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was
" ..he ~~is~~ accepted by the oppressive social system. Moreover, the higher his class origin, the more appreciated and accepted a member of the oppressive social class he is destined to become, because the names of such people and their Communist roles are good tools to deceive the plain people of the free countries. This is why such persons are the most guilty of all. They have the intelligence to realize they are not serving a just cause, but they exchange private Capitalism, & so often spoken of by them, for a state capitalism worse than anything else because it is combined with such terrorism.

Regarding changes in social mobility, from 1945 to the present, respondent said:

"Up to 1948 some advancement according to efficiency on the job was possible. Later, this was retarded because of the desire of those in power to glorify Stalin and his ideas.

(Interviewers note: respondent said that when the new course was adopted (repudiation of the late Stalin's policies ? jp) one result was a more vigorous demand by people for removal of demagogic, incompetent persons, and such ~~xxxxx~~ removal was started on a modest scale, and I think this was the reason for Imre Nagy's dismissal by Moscow)

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on dis!

"Speaking about him as a person, this is what respondent thinks of people who get ahead in Communist Hungary:

"A weak character ready to prostitute himself, to betray his principles, and to kill even his ~~xxx~~ own mother if he has to, for some addition to his income, or to his personal security."

When respondent was asked what groups in Hungary were particularly favored, and which got more than they deserved, he answered:

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VI FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communistic Effects.

When respondent was asked to discuss family life, he said he found this for himself, by marrying and becoming the father of two girls, then continued:

"Family life was the only place where one felt in safety and satisfaction, even though it meant many problems of money and other necessities. It had a spiritual atmosphere which restored one's religious balance, and made one forget the plight our people were in. In our family, we constituted a sort of democratic circle of bosom friends rather than a family in the usual formal sense of the word.

Asked about other families, respondent replied:

"I knew little about the inner doings of other families, because I felt it to be the same as probing into other people's business or their private lives.

When respondent was asked about three different ~~x~~ patterns of family life, and which is closest to that of his own family, he said:

"Perhaps, the first with the exception that the children did not feel separated from their parents.

"Asked, which one of these comes closest to describing the typical family, he ~~xxxxxxxx~~ answered:

"Perhaps the second, but I have to add that the divorce rate has never been higher than it is under the Communist regime. Hence, the first time is not infrequent either, particularly with Communists. Generally, speaking, the new Communist leaders became intimately acquainted with their secretaries or other women in the office; and these leaders, who spoke so forcibly of how one could degrade ~~one~~ oneself by being a small bourgeois, did not think their worker or peasant wives worthy enough, but desired women of higher education and who would fit better into the ~~higher~~ loftier social ranks in which

Communist leaders were entitled to move.

-- Another reason for the many divorces among people is the ~~extreme~~ think ~~xxx~~ extremely difficult financial situation, making a living, which influences more than a few people, those of weaker character to switch to a new mate among those who have more money and social standing and security.

Regarding how children were ~~xxxxx~~ brought up during the last ten years, respondent answered:

"One must admit with regret that, generally speaking, parents reared their children poorly, because the hard economic conditions forced both parents to work, leaving their children in nursery schools, kindergartens, etc. Such care and education depended upon the moral or immoral attitudes of these educators concerned.

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Asked whether some families were affected more than others, in this way, respondent answered:

"Yes, family life of young couples was more affected by these conditions, than that of older ones, because they had more children who were quite young, and also their income was smaller.

Asked regarding his own family in this respect, respondent said

"The circumstances I spoke of, which were caused by Communism, destroyed it."

Asked about such families as were ~~not~~ able to hold on to the old ways, respondent replied:

"I know of some, but most of them were older than 45 years of age. Their mature age and their more considerate (prudent, careful, friendly ?) outlook on life enabled them to continue their old ways, that is, they were less affected by the demoralization of a Communist society. tolerant

"

B. Sex Patterns.

Regarding changes in ways young people court, and in marriage, respondent said:

"I may start by saying the Communists believe it is a glory for an unwed girl to have a child, and a duty for a married woman. - Up to 1954 or 1955, when this had gone so far that state orphanages became too small to hold the large number of illegitimate children, this slogan was officially in force. An early rumor was that children were sold to and bought by the state. But I know from personal experience that according to Communist law and justice, only such people conducted immoral life ~~xxx~~ as were mixed up with more than just their husband or wife. This was the argument of the court in my divorce suit.

Asked what has happened to marriage in Communist Hungary, respondent answered:

so easy to line up acquaintances and
"It ~~x~~ became ~~xxxxxx~~ engage in sexual relations regardless of the law or considerations of approaching marriage. The period of engagement was usually less than six months."

~~xxxxx~~

Here are respondent's views on changes in sexual morality.

"Great moral disintegration began under the Communist regime. One reason it seemed to me was that people had so little hope for the future, they sought pleasures of the moment."

Concerning the role of parents in courtship and engagement, respondent replied:

"This role was small. The opinions of parents is not only unsought, but the young ~~xxx~~ people do not tolerate parents mingling in their affairs. Quite often engaged people know little of each other, neither do the respective parents. For example, parents and others may fear to make objections to their daughter marrying a man, because of the possibility ~~x~~ he is a secret AVO informer, hence if turned down by the family might take ~~xxx~~ revenge on them.

Asked for the reasons for all of these changes, respondent answered:

"Materialist, irreligious upbringing of the children, disregarding the church and its advice and principles.

" Asked if there was any prostitution under Communism, respondent said:

"There was no publically sanctioned prostitution, but all the more secret or private kinds. Some girl friends pooled their financial resources, and rented a room where they received their customers, taking turns. -- I knew of a married couple whose home was used for this purpose. The housewife withdrew to the kitchen during the times the girls entertained their customers.- Former prostitutes ~~xxx~~ (or formerly, prostitutes) had to be employed, and police checked ~~xxxxxxxjohxxxxxxxhixxxxxxxx~~ regularly whether or not they were actually ~~x~~ engaged in jobs, and did not tolerate unemployed people, but ~~ix~~ this is as far as ~~x~~ serious checking went.

to see

X Regarding the differences in sexual morality between convinced Communists and others, respondent said:

"A persuaded or big-talking Communist is much more lax than ~~thaxxx~~ most people. His entire life has a ~~materialistic~~ materialistic outlook that denies the existence of a soul.

C. Friendship with Commies.

Regarding friends that the respondent had before 1948 but some time ~~thereafter~~ thereafter he joined the Communist party and became a minor functionary, and asked what would happen to ~~his~~ his ~~friendships~~ friendships, respondent answered:

"They would be much influenced. It was ~~not~~ ^{neither} necessary ~~and honorable~~ ^{nor a duty} to join the Communist party, ~~because only~~ ^{because only} such persons became Communists who were either persuaded, or were anxious to preserve their positions. - Friendly relations would cease suddenly, because whoever joins the party without conviction is a ~~dishonest~~ dishonest person, and if he was able to ~~sell him~~ ^{sell him} self and his ~~soul~~ soul down the river, he would be able to do the same to his friend. - I cannot consider such a person a good ~~friend~~ friend and one may assume that his future friendship is dictated only by self-interest."

"Asked whether he actually knew of such cases, respondent said:

"I had a classmate in the aviation, in the navigation course. We were like brothers. In 1946 he joined the Communist Party. After six months he became an AVO man, and informed on me. His name is ~~xxx~~ Miklos Maisburger - (Interviewers note: Asked whether he would want the name of this man to appear in any publication, respondent X answered Yes, not ~~because~~ for the sake of revenge, but because it would warn others against him.) This man, before the Revolution was a ~~xxx~~ lieutenant-colonel, and the commander of the central department of the AVO."

Regarding whether one can continue such a friendship, keeping politics out of it, respondent answered:

~~There is no~~ It is possible, but Communism cannot be called political ideas - Communism is a way of life that one has to live and not simply profess. Speaking of good friendship, a basic requirement is that friends mutually respect each others' ideas. But a person who becomes a Communist must give full allegiance to that cause, make it divine, so to speak, and ~~xxx~~ anything divine or all-embracing of an earthly nature is not in harmony with natural human attitudes.

X D. Juvenile Delinquency

Respondent gave his views on this, as follows:

"Most of these youths are burglars or who commit crimes ~~against~~ against collective property, working usually in organized groups. - One reason for all this is that youth ~~xxx~~ had become accustomed to an easier life. - The many dances, the freely distributed liquor on May 1, April 1, and such things contributed to a more easy going and less responsible outlook on life by youth. - If miners ~~xxxxxxx~~ fulfilled the norm of "days of big production" they received a pint of rum, and two pints when tunnels met in the mine. Such things certainly contributed to the drinking of youth --and drinking widely was ~~xxx~~ responsible for much of youthful bad behavior.

" Asked about young [REDACTED] in paragraph of Chapter 6, page 7, interview of [REDACTED], respondent said: [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

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12A

Concerning causes of ~~subject's~~ ^{Jampect} behavior, respondent replied:

* Regarding the social class to which Jampeces belonged, respondent said all of them were workers. They were from 16 to 28 years of age, and were found chiefly in cities of large size, and few are found in small places.

VII RELIGION

A. The role of religion.

"Religion" said the respondent, "played a large role. Even people who had not been active in churches ~~xxxxxx~~ or religious matters before the Communist regime, came to realize the importance of religion in Communist society. The attacks of Communism on religion, the denial of the existence of a soul, produced a reaction against this by the people, who realized more profoundly than ever before the need for the comforts and help of religious belief and faith and the reality of soul. Churches were pillars of strength/in developing love of also one's nation and allegiance to the Hungarian people."

X As to which religious faith was hardest hit, respondent replied: "This is difficult to say since all churches were against Communism. regarding which church or religious denomination was the biggest bulwark against Communism, respondent referred this to his statement above.

B. Personal Religious Life

Asked whether religion is an important factor in his life, respondent answered:

"Religion as such is no important factor in my life because everybody follows the religious faith in which he is born. I do have a faith in the one God."

As regards the importance of religion in his life as compared to it in the life of his parents, respondent said:

"Religion is a much less important factor in my life, because my folks, particularly my mother, and all of my brothers and sisters, are devout people."

X Asked whether he is more or less religious than the average person in Hungary, respondent answered:

"If this means whether I believe in the life of the soul as opposed to the lack of faith of materialism, I am more religious than most Hungarians." -- I mean this because I believe more in God and his personal influence in one's life than do most Hungarians, in spite of their belonging to a church, and going there frequently. (added comment following interviewer's questions)

Concerning concrete aspects of his religious life, respondent said:

"I go to church every Sunday, sometimes also on a weekday, --not only of one religious faith--I go there for a few minutes of silence and prayer.

C. The role of churches.

Regarding the relation of church and state, respondent said:

"Complete separation of church and state!! --since ^{the churches'} ~~xxxxx~~ influence is good and their teachings truthful they need no state control." also the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ government should be under the control of individual citizens and the people generally, ~~and xxxxxxxx~~ rather than of ~~xxxxxx~~ churches or other ~~xxx~~ organizations."

"Asked whether the churches should have a responsibility for the setting of moral codes and standards, in such things as movies, plays, etc., respondent answered:

"From strictly moral point of view, I consider x churches should have some influence here x since this makes for a healthier and stronger civilization. Morality is very important to all.

"However, I do not believe in censorship because it is against the principles of pure democracy, which also must be held in high esteem. Also, if churches help in producing individuals with high moral principles, there will be less and less persons who produce immoral books or plays, and also less and less people interested in reading or attending such books or plays."

Concerning whether churches should take an active political role in an independent Hungary, respondent said with emphasis:

"No!!! The function of churches is not politics, but ^{inspiring and} teaching people to live Godly and moral lives. Politicians should attend church services to be influenced for the better/by what they hear and see." 15.7
in their characters

XXX D. The Jewish Minority.

Asked whether the Jewish religion was hurt by Communism, respondent replied:

"Yes, just like the others, with ^{some} rabbis in/jail ^{the AVO} just as ^{some} priests and ministers were. I suggest that interviewing refugees will ~~xxxxxxxx~~ uncover much information on this. I have the impression that the proportion of Jews in the refugee totals is greater than their ratio to the whole Hungarian population."

Asked whether Communist rule affected the Hungarian Jews, respondent answered:

"Perhaps no one was hit so mercilessly by Communism as Jewry. It is a known fact that the highest ~~xxx~~ percentage of industry, commerce, banks, etc. was in the hands of the Jews--consequently they were the hardest hit by Communism (and its taking over private business)"

As to what ~~they~~ the attitude of Jews was towards Communism, respondent said:

"A certain percentage of Jews hailed Communism as a liberator. Most of these were narrow minded people ~~xxxx~~who

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12 B

thirsted for revenge for the cruelties suffered by them during the merciless Nazi era, and who were blinded to the ~~xxxx~~ fact that they were ^{now} supporters of a system which in the end choked them!

As regards any changes in the attitudes of Jews during the last ten years, respondent said:

"You bet! They were shocked to find what the new regime really was like and to eat their words of the past."
in some cases *had*

Concerning the question of how many Jews were Communists, and what their motives were, respondent answered:

"I do not know of any statistics on this, and what I ~~w~~ might say would be just a guess."

(Interviewers note: when asked further on this point, respondent continued - "As a commander of Freedom Fighters, and also a resident of an area, and worker in the mines, I did not find many Jews in these various activities in my area, hence could not make any statements on their national distribution or politics.")

As regards attitudes and activities of Jews during the Revolution respondent said:

"In my unit, among the fighters were eight Jews, and two of these died a hero's death --this in a mining area where the percentage of Jews was very low. In the ~~Kakakakxxx~~ area Mecsek area one day, a Jewish ~~for~~ Freedom Fighter was bantering humorous remarks with his squad leader, an older miner who was ethnic German origin, and the latter remarked, Moritz 46, I will believe in ~~real democracy~~ *when* ~~when your blood is that~~ we have real democracy in Hungary ~~if~~ your blood will be mixed with mine." - Two or three days later this squad attacked a ~~xx~~ Russian tank and the entire squad was wiped out. Indeed, their blood mingled. - I don't believe in rumors. I heard rumors pro and con, but it so often turns out that you can't believe anything."

When respondent is told that some Jews do not want an independent Hungary, here is his reaction:

"Why wouldn't they want an independent Hungary? -"

When respondent is told that this might be so because of the Jews' fear of programs, respondent said:

"I can only say that the sober, assimilated Jews want an independent Hungary just as much as any Christian, and that it is to their interest to create a new, strong, independent ~~xxxxxx~~ Hungary. But if some Jews do not want this, it is not because of any fear of ~~xxxxxx~~ programs because these never again can occur in Hungary, but rather because some such Jews might be afraid to be called to answer ~~xxx~~ serious charges., as would also be the case in regard to some Christians as well. In short Jews in an independent Hungary, could expect as much justice as if they were Christians."

A. Definition.

B. The part of Youth.

"Their's was the decisive role."

"Youth realized with shocked feelings that it was being misled, and turned against the ones responsible for this."

"There is always less initiative in the older generation. They are more considerate (~~prudent~~ prudent, thoughtful, cautious, analytical suspicious, conservative, hesitant) They think twice before they act. - Youth is more explosive, and in Revolutions, swiftness of action is the main thing. Youth was not more dissatisfied, but more disillusioned. - ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Youth stood to lose the privileges the regime had given them to gain their allegiance, and these privileges were not negligible." - ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

[illegible]

"They considered them equal, but would not have tolerated their demanding privileges because of their age."

Generally speaking, this is the respondent's views on education in Hungary: "The teaching of subjects is good, on an appreciably high ~~text~~ level."

"Elementary schools require more than in my time. A first grade student not only has to know the numbers up to 100, but must also add and multiply up to that figure. and subtract and divide up to 20." - ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The new teaching methods impose less strain on children. - The machine industry's vocational high school is very good. ~~XXXXXX~~ Standards are high, and are enforced strictly.

Continued "...But the end results, the marks, do not always reflect accurately one's actual knowledge and efficiency.

end disk 13 A

"... The marks are influenced by party allegiance and political role - Marxist ideology is the main subject, disguised as Economics - the faculty is just about the same as before the change in regime - this vocational high school produced very efficient, in some cases, in fact, outstanding internationally known people, because the teachers were ~~the~~ elite in their fields. However, the director of the school usually would not be from the field taught -- in this case, engineering. In the case of the vocational high school I ~~visited~~ (attended ~~at~~) the director of the school was a shoemaker during the years I was a student there."

"Asked as to the restrictions on ^{choice} ~~choice~~ of a vocation, and the basis on which they are made, respondent replied:

"There were no restrictions, but as we were in a planned economy, the ministries each year decided on how many students could attend the vocational schools. In some years no ~~new~~ admissions were allowed, except in construction training. Each student could choose any vocation he desired. If he did not work at least three months at his chosen work after leaving school, he was charged with vagrancy and gold brickin.

X "Training of industrial students (apprentice training) ^{depreciated} ~~depreciated~~ greatly. These were trained to be narrow minded specialists in ^{just one} ~~just one~~ small field. Before Communism, a man had to be much more versatile.

"The teachers of industrial students (apprentices) were usually hard core Communists - small people with good, practical knowledge in their field - but with big ambitions to excel as ~~&~~ instructors and inspirers in Communist ideology, because this seemed to them to ~~give~~ provide a better chance to get ahead than to teach effectively."

Concerning his opinions about the teachers, respondent referred to his statement above, and continues:

"In grade schools, as well as in vocational high schools I feel that only two or three percent of the faculties consisted of persuaded Communists -- on the other hand, I think that 60 to 70% of the teachers in the ~~vocational schools~~ in apprentice schools were persuaded bolsheviks (bolsheviks)

Asked about the teachers' competence, respondent replied that the competence of teachers in their own fields was flawless in all these three types of schools.

~~End of Interview~~ ~~End of Interview~~

D. Indoctrination.

Regarding youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination, respondent answered:

"The Revolution broke out - that was youth's reaction! "

Asked why indoctrination failed, respondent said:

"Because youth felt it was being misled and constantly lied to. While educators preached constantly about the better and glorious future which was allegedly ~~hi~~ being built for them - the youth -- the young people experienced in their family life nothing but privations, suffering, and resignation (hopelessness). Youth was shocked into realizing how hypocritical its leaders were.

Concerning the question whether youth was ever sympathetic to Communism, respondent answered:

"Of course, there were some who accepted ~~Communism~~ Communistic ideas --after all, youth includes many kinds of people and beliefs. As in other age groups, there are in youth some who are gullible and will believe anything, and some who are compromisers, also some who are narrow minded and believe in Communism for a while (these latter are easy to convince ~~at~~ ~~then~~ of their mistake) ---however, in our Hungarian youth there were few who believed in Communism long enough so that they became informers against their ~~fellow~~ fellow co-workers or companions, or classmates young. The largest ~~number~~ number of Communist youth was found in the years of 1948 and 1949, but disillusion followed after these years. ~~when~~

when the Communists presented a program and promises

The work of the ~~Butterxxxixxxxix~~ Petofi Circle was greatly responsible for enlightening youth, and the entire ~~X~~ Petofi Circle was after all the work of youth. Youth cannot long tolerate captivity of ~~the~~ the mind and will revolt against this situation in one way or another.

IX MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Asked what the main discontents were as they showed up in daily life, respondent said:

"Wages that were too low -- frequent shortages of certain foods -- Hungary's exploitation by the Soviets -- the quite apparent fact that industrial products and excellent farm crops, livestock, and other goods were shipped in large quantities to Soviet Russia -- there was a saying in Hungarian which is a perfect rhyme, meaning (interviewers note: "what the drought did not take away, the trailers did" -- that is, the trailers (boats or barges?) ~~brought~~ brought these products to the Soviet Union via the Black Sea.)

"When trains leave for Russia, the smokestacks of the locomotives reply, when people ask, "What are you carrying?" -- "I-ron-and-~~xx~~ Wheat". When the train returns to Hungary, and people ask, (the same question) the smokestacks answer, "Dog-Fix (or Dog-Tricks?)

(Interviewers note: this pun in Hungarian rhymes perfectly. The dog word above ~~xxf~~ is an expression of utter ~~disg~~ disgust, and also means -nothing.)

B. Asked apart from political matters people have been complaining about, in Communist Hungary, respondent replied:

"They complained most about the norm rearrangements", and the forced subscriptions to peace loans, - agitators going from house to house on Sundays - ~~xxxxxx~~ compulsory newspaper subscriptions - compulsory union membership "

X THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living.

Regarding the way he and his family got along in his last years in Hungary, respondent answered that in those years he was serving his sentence of corrective labor, and he had a hard time finding money for decent clothing after the deductions which he had to give to his divorced wife, and also gifts he was desirous of making to his little daughters. His housing and food were provided as part of his job at the mines, that is, in the miners' barracks where he lived.

end of 13P

exactly

"It was not a dream come true to live with other people, separated from one's wife by divorce, as well as by a sentence of corrective labor, as well as to be parted from one's beloved children!

Respondent considered that to have a motorcycle was a luxury - going on a vacation with one's family -- owning or renting a house for one's family alone (one-family house).

Asked to compare his ^{recent} living standard with that of 1945, respondent replied: that everything became much worse, that nothing has been gained.

Regarding what years his living standard was the highest, respondent said it was between 1952 and 1955, while he was a technician.

Asked about some family he knew personally, which lived much better than others, respondent said:

"The engineers in the plant where I worked lived so much better than the foremen or workers or even the technicians, and this was particularly so when not only the engineer, but also his wife worked--two incomes coming in. Engineers, whose wives worked as typists, etc., usually had a carefree life."

Concerning the Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years, respondent replied:

"Not much was produced, because of the planned economy, the lack of private initiative the people had had formerly when working on their own, for themselves, - had people received at least better and more just wages, they certainly would have worked with more ambition. Also, if their suggestions had been invited, and adopted, production would have risen considerably. --even so, what was produced was taken to a great extent to the Soviet Union.

B. Income

In regard to the respondent's ^{monthly} earnings in 1956, he answered 1,200 florints.

Deductions for union dues, loans, etc., ^{he said,} were 180 florints per month, and 20% of my gross income because I was on corrective labor, and had to pay this ~~monthly~~ penalty.

Respondent said he never received any premium or extra pay, but when we produced the norm, or when we dug and two tunnels met in the mine, we received a pint of rum, or compensatory time.

Asked whether respondent had a secondary source of income, respondent said:

~~XXXXXX~~ "I worked some times as a handy man in my spare time, and received about 150 to 200 florints extra income this way.

Asked whether other members of the household had any income, respondent said:

"Since becoming sentenced to corrective labor in the mine, I had been divorced ~~from~~ from my wife, hence I had no household. However, before that, my wife worked in an office of the factory where I had a job, and she received about ~~xxx~~ 1,200 florints a month. But at that time, while I was foreman and technician, I earned about 3,000 florints a month, up to 5,000 a month, depending on the production. (fulfillment of the plan), and also because I worked a large amount of overtime.

Regarding any raise in pay in the last five years, respondent answered none.

C. Prices.

In regard to prices, respondent said his family bought food in state stores, and had no time to go to open markets, (private ones ?) hence he could offer no opinion on varying prices and qualities. The same refers to clothing and other necessities.

~~XXXXXX~~ Regarding the black market, respondent said his wife used to buy lemons, spices, and other things from foreign countries, on this market, but he himself had no experience with it.

Regarding work shifts, respondent said that on the morning one, he had to get up at 4 A.M., ate breakfast which consisted of a pint of coffee and two slices of bread at the miners' barracks -also we got about an ounce of raw bacon or salami. At 5 A.M. I had to report all dressed up with miners equipment in the Management Building. There we received our work assignments, then we had time to smoke a bit, and at 5.30 descended into the mine--first having been searched for matches, cigarettes, lighters, etc. as a precaution since there was always some gas in the mine.

"Then we had a ride in the mine train of about two miles, to the elevator, where we descended about 800 yards. --At 6 A.M. we sat down for about half an hour, ate a sandwich perhaps, and ~~talked~~ talked over the news of the Radio Free Europe.

"Then we took off all our clothes except the rubber boots, for the mines were very hot in temperature. I worked usually with a mechanical hammer and chisel. I built supporters and rails and moved coal. Three men in our team made an average of 60,000 pounds in each shift. The norm (quota ?) was somewhat less than this. We did this in a temperature of over 100 degrees Fahrenheit. - We quit working at about 1.30 or 1.45 P.M. and rested a while to dry up our perspiration.

"We dressed up and left at 2 P.M. We arrived at the Management about 2.45 or 3 P.M. There we reported the quantity of coal we had produced, handing over the control tickets attesting to this. Then we took a thorough x shower because we were so black with coal dust. It was about 3.45 to 4 P.M. when we finally got home. I usually slept six hours."

Asked why he ~~xxxxxxxx~~ was assigned to his particular tasks, respondent answered:

"I was sentenced to two years of correctional forced labor. I certainly would have preferred to be a machine industry technician as I had been before. A foreman after all is much better off than a miner.

Regarding his relations with his co-workers, respondent said:

"We were friendly and on good terms with each other. This is understandable, as miners are ^(sc) dependent on each other. As regards the miners who were not of the forced corrective labor group, I found them quite primitive ~~people~~ (simple, plain ?) people, who were very nervous on the job, and this made them quite disagreeable. What they disliked most was their superiors. I was glad I was not among them. --Outside the mine, these people were like young children, but inside they were like wild animals. There was probably not more than 30% of the work that proceeded without constant swearing and cursing.

"The older miners were well trained and experienced, ~~even~~ and able to cope with emergencies such as a breakage, collapse, or even a small landslide. The new miners did not sufficiently take care to safeguard the construction (supports of the roof ?) and most of them were very conceited people.

Continued "...The new miners, young miners, treated the car pushers not as comrades, but as servants." - (interviewers note: by referring to old and new miners, respondent explains that the old ones means the professional career ones, whereas the new ones are those recently recruited for work in the Communist mining expansion program)

X Asked about his relations with his superiors, respondent said:

"The relations were strained and tense. Most master miners were no good, they were lice, bums, and were interested in the plan, in overproduction, and yelled threats of sabotage at their subordinates. Most of these master miners were in one way or another attached to the Communist Party, were not well trained, and their efficiency was low.

"My master miner happened to be an old-timer, and he treated me all ~~right~~ right. In fact, we were like brothers. - But the others could not force (bully, rush) me either. If they tried and yelled at me, I would say something like this: 'They can take the Truman lamp off our heads, but no one will be desirous of taking the shovel out of my hand. If they put me into a ~~les~~ kokos 28, I will be at least in the fresh air, and not in constant danger of ~~lixxxix~~ injury. Fuck your whore mother, leave me alone. Don't bitch that the coal amount is too small. Take a shovel yourself. What I am I, a summer Santa Claus? Have I just stepped out of the kitchen wall paper?!" - Nobody could scare me, because I knew there was no other correctional labor worse than this, and anyway I would rather suffer the consequences of my speech rather than let them humiliate me."

(Interviewers Note)- Regarding the Truman lamp, it was during the administration of President Truman that the lamps used now ~~in the~~ ~~mines~~ were introduced in the mines, and the miners and others knew they had come from American models, hence the name 'Truman' given them.)

Asked whether he was ~~see~~ satisfied with his job, respondent said:

"No !!!"

Regarding his opinion of his fellow workers, respondent said they could and did work hard, and referred to his previous statement above regarding their characteristics and viewpoints.

-Concerning the Hungarian health, vacation, and compensation programs, respondent answered:

"All these were ~~xxxx~~ very good, except the ~~xxxxxxx~~ retirement programs. In a Free Hungary, they should be retained and further developed.

Continued "... This was something that the Communists had done efficiently. They did this by mistake, and will continue it so long as they do not find out it is good for the people -- about retirement, the pension is too low."

E. Agriculture

Asked whether he would have preferred to live in town or in the country, respondent said:

"As far from ~~kolkhozes~~ ^{kolkhozes} as possible. My industrial training and experience, and the nature of the job, tied me to town. Also, in villages there is little chance to satisfy my cultural demands. One ~~xxx~~ movie and one theatre performance a month are not enough for me. I like to be with better educated people than myself, so as to develop my abilities, but this is difficult in a village.

Regarding the question whether the farm workers or ~~kolkhoz~~ workers in the towns/ respondent said promptly that the farm ones had the best. had the best diet,

Respondent thinks the same about the general standard of living.

In regard to who had an easier time politically, the village or town resident, respondent said those in the villages. The one in town moved about in larger crowds, and could be forced more easily to listen to political lectures, and if one tried to evade this, he was reported, and nabbed, (picked up, arrested,) sooner or later.

Regarding his opinions ~~xxx~~ ^{farm} on the effect of/collectivism on the country when it was first introduced, respondent said:

"I thought that good results would be forthcoming, because one large piece of land can be cultivated more efficiently than many small ones. -provided it is done on a voluntary basis, but sound minded and able bodied people resist force and compulsory methods."

6a Concerning his present opinion of ^{farm} collectivism, respondent replied

"It is good for nothing, together with those who made it. It led to the ruin of Hungarian ~~xxxix~~ agriculture, and of Hungary as a whole, to 100% wasteful management of resources, ~~txxx~~ Management by officials forces the farmers to take all they can cut of the soil, but not returning anything. The horticulture and vineyards of Hungary were ~~ruin~~

world-famous ruined. Hungary today cannot export first-grade fruit as it had done in the past."

Asked whether in his opinion, who objected more strongly to collectivization, the well-to-do peasants, or the ones less well off, respondent said:

"It is difficult to draw such a line. The innate nature of peasants is to love the soil, and they strain and press to add more land to their holdings, and to resist losing even a grain of dust!

As regards his possibly having heard of any collective being dissolved, respondent replied:

"Yes, during the Revolution. But I do not like the phrase that these ~~old~~ collective "were dissolved"--rather ~~they preferred~~ the natural ~~process~~ disintegration process of kokoses began" and

~~peasants~~ peasants farming in a joint manner informed each other that they preferred to return to private farming ways once more." "

Asked what kind of an agricultural system he would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent answered:

"I leave it to the peasantry to decide, for neither I nor others ~~to~~ have the right to interfere with the economic structure of other social groups, nor to impose our will upon others."

XI THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948

interest and
Regarding his degree of/participation in political life during and before the war years, respondent said:

"I first became interested in political events in 1944, ~~xxxxx~~ when I was shocked into realizing that Hungary had been dragged into a war by its politicians, a war which was none of its business. -- In 1945 and 1946 I felt the Hungarian were closer than ever before to realizing their hope, ~~for democratic political life and social life, xxxxxxxx~~ of democratic

I recognized shortcomings even in that democracy already, and felt it was not the the kind of democracy we really desired - As far as participation is concerned, I did not do so.

Asked about membership in or sympathy with any political parties, here is the respondent's ~~xxxxx~~ remarks:

"I did not belong to any party, nor can I say that I ~~xxx~~ believed in any particular one. I was not in ~~xxxxxx~~ favor of parties because I detested party bickerings. Rather, I voted for the person and for the issue and not for the party. A party after all is also a form of collectivization. I do not tie myself down to any one party."

Regarding any party membership or loyalty on the part of members of his family, respondent replied: that their opinions were like his own.

Concerning his feelings about the Communist Party before 1948, respondent said:

"I saw in it a minority ~~xxxxxxx~~ party necessary ^{an opposition} as a party ~~of the~~ so that the leading parties would be spurred to do their best by the critical watching eyes of the opposition ones. "

Here is the respondent's views on Bela Kun and the Communist Party of 1918 and 1919:

"These people established in 1919 the ~~xxxxx~~ Council Republic and Tibor ~~xxxxx~~ Szamuely established somewhere "Blood Courts". They were defeated by the International Intervention Troops."

Here are the respondent's views on the Communist party before and during the war:

"The word "Communist" always had an adverse reaction in my mind. It always gave me a sort of picture of blood baths and terror."

~~xxxxx~~

Asked about changes in these attitudes since 1948, respondent said:

"This adverse feeling I spoke about increased. What we had heard about tortures and bloodshed in 1919 became now a reality of our everyday life, and experienced everything concretely within our country and immediate families. Things that seemed fantastic because they pictured incredible human deasement now appeared (became ?) true and tangible."

B. The Communist Party after 1948

Regarding his own attitudes towards party members, respondent makes this distinction:

"In 1945 large masses of the workers joined the Communist party. They could be called 90% persuaded Communists, with of course varying degrees of knowledge but with an emotional persuasion prevalent at least

At that time, membership did not necessarily mean advantages and privileges. - People ~~in~~ by 1948 had become shocked when they realized how far the Communists were willing to go, in relentlessly their aims. It was then, I think that the Communists and the Socialists joined forces. Persuaded Communists saw clearly how dictatorial and ruthless the methods of the Communistic party were. - In 1949 and 1950, so-called "old Communists" (who had been ~~minor~~ members when the party had been outlawed) and careerists and opportunists gained more and more influence. in Hungary

The more power they seized, the more frequent the party quarrels and struggles became. To get ahead in the party it was necessary to liquidate others, and this has been going on ever since.

As regards actual contacts with Communist party members, respondent replied:

"On my job, I knew many party members, ^{but} ~~only~~ few in the mines where Communists were located chiefly in the management staff, ~~onlyxxxxxxx~~ ~~percentagexxxxxxx~~ with only a small proportion being miners. The master miners had a moderate number in the party. The ones who are party members now are unprincipled opportunists being persons who see there is no way back because they have hurt the vital interests of the Hungarian people for which they will have to atone when Communism collapses. This is why they maintain the most wicked terror, so they can maintain their power. It is indeed a struggle of life and death for them. (Interviewers note: here I try to find out if respondent thinks some join the Communist party through fear. Here is respondent's reply:)

"While many have been hanged in the Communist regime, it has not been for either ~~xxxxxxx~~ not joining or not staying in the party. The worst that happens to one for leaving the party is that he has to work in a menial type of job, but at least his honor is saved, and he may look any one in the eye. Hence, people do not have to join the party through fear."

Asked about his opinion of what the party members think of the party, respondent answered:

"Communist party members are aware that their party's political attitude is wrong, that it is against the vital interests of the Hungarian people, but since they have been accomplices of the party in its actions of violence and terror under which the country is presently suffering, they have no way back despite the fact they know fully well that any day they might have to walk to the gallows to yield their posts to some one else in the party who is more skilful in following the party line." - They have the worst opinion of their party but do not dare to reveal this because as a minority in the party might be accused of deviation or heresy or schism. The punishment for such an attitude is torture or the rope!"

Questioned as to whether party policies had changed during the last eight years, respondent replied:

These policies changed not only during the last eight years, but also during the last ~~25~~ twenty-five. The party became increasingly clever in carrying out the same goals and with the same methods but under different ~~dig~~ disguises. If one closely reads the book, "Building Socialism in the Soviet Union", one of Stalin's works, he will be shocked, realizing that what he has here is the basic cliché of Communism, or the catechism of Communism on the basis of the economic exploitation and colonization of every country ~~which~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ bondage to Communism is being carried out. How tragic the similarity is, let me quote a few examples:

"After the Russian Revolution, Stalin fought ~~desperately~~ to leave small and middle sized trade and industrial enterprises in private hands. But just as these enterprises managed to survive the world economic crisis, (-to use their own the book's own phrase, : when they became feathery") - Stalin seized them and ordered their nationalization. - "What kinds of Communists were we if we seized only empty enterprises, ^{and} not everything a person has acquired by bloody sweat ?!" - Stalin might well say."

"These steps were taken in 1920 and 1921. The same happened in the so-called satellites : between 1945 and 1948 and 1949. ~~"If I could, I~~

"If I could, I would make this work of Stalin, ~~compulsory~~ compulsory reading for every politician in the world, and also because it is ~~like~~ ^{like} an account of the actual developments in the so-called satellites, so that the politicians could see how seriously Stalin's advice is carried out."

"Imre Nag wanted to establish national communism, which cannot rightly be called the regular Communism. If something is national, it cannot be the regular "Communist International".

if he were aware of

Asked ~~about~~ differences within the party, respondent said:

"Of course I am aware of such. These differences of opinion emerged when opportunists ~~wit~~ within the party became preponderant and won the upper hand. It will exist until the complete disintegration of the party comes about. During Stalin's reign, these differences ~~was~~ ^{did} not appear because this dictator mercilessly suppressed any opposing views."

Regarding what respondent thought of party morale, he said:

"One cannot logically speak of party spirit" (Interviewers note: Fortunately there is no way of dodging this problem in Hungarian - the word ~~Szellem~~ Szellem means spirit as well as morale) - "with ~~unscrupulous~~ unscrupulous yes men and pushers, and reeliners, what kind of party spirit can one talk about?!"
(Hungarian?)

Asked what the top leaders of the/Communist party are like, respondent answered:

full of egotistical personal interests
"Their aim is to consolidate their own personal power and position. They are ~~egotistic personally, and for their interests~~, for which they prostitute themselves and anything, no matter whether it is their conscience, their nation, or their country.

" Speaking of their motives, respondent said:

"Collectively speaking, they are anxious to be completely subservient to the Soviets because that is the only source of their strength. In fact, it is only with the help of the Soviets they can stay in power and keep alive at all."

"Personally speaking, their aims are just the same ^{as each other's, &} ~~(as the Soviets 2)~~ with one additional remark, perhaps, they want to get ahead of each other."

Respondent said the following on the Communist leaders' convictions:

"There is no sincere convinced Communist who remains so after he has seen just how the Communist program keeps working out. He must realize it is a failure. but so many party members are too cowardly to break with the movement."

Regarding the personal motives of the leading Communists, the respondent gave these opinions:

"Most of them seek only personal advantages, and are confirmed Communist criminals and wicked ~~xx~~ beyond belief!" A lesser number are more responsible, and try to do good, but not because of conviction but rather because if their position becomes uncertain or things go to the dogs, they can point with pride to the good or effective things they have done before the anti-Communists and thus save their existence as rats of human society.

"One cannot say that Communists are not efficient, since one has to be very efficient and shrewd and fexy ~~xx~~ when working and living with so many unscrupulous people so as to become a leader of such leaders, working with the utmost cunning. This type of efficiency is not like that of leaders in moral societies,

Asked about the difference in mt motives of rankd and file members, and the leaders, respondent said:

"Mutual distrust is the basis of the entire party. Every dictatorship, Communism, included, has a basis of existence only as long as it can move people against people.

end of 15B

"...The prime motive, -getting ahead - in party membership and leadership, is achieved through skill in denouncing other party members with arguments having some foundation. - Among the highest leaders, the ~~any~~ way to get ahead is to launch savage attacks against certain ~~x~~ layers or classes of society, or against smaller leaders of the party."

Regarding what should be done with the top Hungarian Communists when the nation becomes independent, respondent replied:

"The present leaders of the Communist party are directly or indirectly instrumental in the exploitation and destruction of the country. It is under conscience, ~~that~~ if they have any conscience at all, that the increasing terror of ~~the last~~ twelve years has been effected. The execution of ~~murderers~~ tens of thousands of people is on their consciences. For these crimes they will have to answer in regular courts. But these courts should not be lenient and merciful to them if they are found guilty."

C. Opposition.

Asked whether there was any opposition to the Communist government before the ~~Russia~~ Revolution, respondent answered:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ companies, groups, and

"Passive resistance by the people, was prevalent. This resistance was filled with such hatred for Communism and the Communists themselves, that the latter were completely excluded from non-communist groups and activities." (Interviewers note: by the use of the word company respondent means small, friendly groups of people, but not commercial or military ones) - "Communists were detested and socially outcast elements, and they themselves were aware of this, because if they ~~xxx~~ dropped in in a group or company of people, those present as soon as possible excused themselves and left. To show further their dislike ~~for~~ for the Communists who had dropped in, those leaving would shake hands with their fellow non-Communists, but give only a brief nod of the head to the Communists. "

"The greatest resistance ~~to the new~~ ^{was by} women in the market places and in covered food markets. They accused ~~the~~ regime of shortages of goods, and of high prices. When a Communist heard this, he had no reply except comment such as "the Comrade can think only in terms of kitchen politics"

"... At the same time the Communists did not think, ^{or}want to think, that kitchen politics is to a great extent decisive in making or breaking a regime! ...

"Workers resisted passively when they had to sign for peace loans, and actively when norms were rearranged. The period of time following the latter usually meant extremely busy "seasonal work" for the AVO. " (Interviewers note: respondent means here that too many people talked to much, and they were dragged away to AVO prisons)

"The peasants' passive resistance was demonstrated when crop deliveries were due. Every peasant had to reckon with the possibility of being classed as a kulak, with his being legally robbed of every ~~possession~~ possession, and of having to go on public charity." -(Interviewers note: respondent means by public charity -jails and prisons) "--~~work slowed down~~

"Work slow downs were out of the question, because this/^{social system}~~regime~~ is so well equipped with so many kinds of oppression that if people believe such ~~slowdowns~~ slowdowns were possible they are either crazy or mistaken."

Asked how he and others were of such anti-Communist behavior, respondent said:

"People knew that such actions were forms of resistance, which ~~em~~ came into being because the conscience of the individual protested against such a degree of oppression of individual freedom and conscience, and many a person felt it necessary to restore his self-respect and patriotic devotion by doing something against the regime. --They found such activities most efficient against the oppressive system.

Regarding whether people believed these anti-Communist acts were effective, respondent said:

"Much of what was called "kitchen politics" was so effective that the government was forced to put goods on the Hungarian markets that had been marked for delivery ~~to~~ to the Soviet Union. The fact that so many people refused to sign up for subscriptions to peace loans greatly ~~complicated~~ complicated and made very difficult the stabilization of the Communist economy.

Concerning the times when anti-Communist behavior occurred, respondent replied:

"There was no real difference as to times except that the oppression grew so unbearable that the degree of resistance also increased."

~~Continued~~

Continued ".... Communist society (interviewers note: society here means "regime") . -"had the great/difficulty with the intelligentsia
est

This is why it considered it a project of prime importance to wedge into the intelligentsia the so-called "Workers Categories" whose mission it was to serve as informers. Since they built in informers to a much greater extent, it was naturally much harder for them to resist actively, or even passively. The decisive factor in keeping the intelligentsia's resistance alive was religious devotion. This attempt to maintain the freedom of worship they were used to kept them strong against Communism, but for them and the people generally it was also a matter of great anguish.

" (Interviewers note: According to instructions, I have not yet mentioned opposition behavior of the ~~intelligentsia~~ intellectuals. It is only now, beginning with the next paragraph, that I go into this)

a Asked about the organized opposition of the intellectuals, respondent said: that he did not hear anything ~~about~~ about this prior to the Revolution."

Asked about the ~~Bakkerby-Gimokx50~~ Petofi Circle, he has this to say:

"I heard in 1955 in the fall of that year in ~~Bakkerby2~~ Komlo of the ~~Bakkerby50~~/Political School of ~~the DISZ~~ ~~in Komlo~~.
Petofi DISZ

In the beginning there were four or five debating groups, but soon interest in them waned, Doctors, lawyers, college professors, and such to be their lecturers, and people had to pay six ~~forints~~ forints for a ticket good for 14 lectures covering ten months time. The ~~Bakkerby50~~ Political School of the DISZ in Komlo ~~in Komlo~~ went out of existence during the first winter of its brief existence.

"The next time I heard about the ~~Bakkerby50~~ Petofi Circle of the DISZ was during the Revolution when I was in ~~Bakkerby50~~ Pecs and also when I was in ~~Bakkerby50~~ Gyor.

end of
16A

"On these two occasions, I heard of the Budapest ~~Bakkerby50~~ Petofi Circle of the Disz I was told that it was to a great extent the intellectual motor behind the Revolution."

"I also heard of the ~~Bakkerby50~~ Irodalmi Ujsag in the spring of 1956, but I ~~never~~ never saw an issue because the copies that reached ~~Bakkerby50~~ Komlo were locked up at the Party headquarters. I heard that Communist writers debated ~~argued~~ with each other in it, and put the Communist thesis in a different light. I did not attach much importance to it."

Asked about his knowledge of "intellectual ferment" because before the ~~Rakosi~~ Petofi Circle meetings, respondent answered that he had no knowledge whatsoever of this.

Regarding whether the intellectuals had anything new to say, or whether their role was something else, respondent answered:
the sense

"They greatly contributed in that people expressed their opinions more freely and courageously because ~~xx~~ they grew bold by reading sharp political debates (discussions ?) in the press. This created such an uncertain relationship between party members and party leaders ~~that they frequently did not know themselves what to answer regarding what party members asked~~ that the latter did not know themselves what to answer regarding what (or all of them ?)

non party members asked. It was well nigh ridiculous what they said because they parroted usually the contents of the editorials of the day's newspaper. ~~Exactly the same editorials contradicted themselves in subsequent issues of the newspaper.~~ These editorials contradicted themselves in subsequent issues of the newspaper."

"It is my conviction that Communism in Hungary first got into trouble by ~~Rakosi~~ Rajk and his burial with much ceremony."

Asked about his reaction to the Communists then, respondent said:
were at variance with themselves

"Frankly I did not think much of their rule because their spokesmen were people who ~~did not long before had served the regime without hesitation or mental reserve.~~ They were Communist writers and speakers who not long before had served the regime without hesitation or mental reserve. ~~Such people are not much appreciated by me who before aligning themselves with a political trend don't scrutinize it and don't analyze that trend.~~ Such people are not much appreciated by me who before aligning themselves with a political trend don't scrutinize it and don't analyze that trend."

X Regarding why these intellectuals stood up against the regime, respondent replied:

"Because they saw that passive resistance and hatred by the best the people was mounting, and this hit (affected ?) all people who were submissive to the regime. These Communist writers ~~found this approach for regaining the confidence of the people, and thus securing their future positions as political adventurers.~~ (Interviewers note: asked whether respondent means to make this a blanket statement, referring to all people in the ~~Rakosi~~ Petofi Circle he answered an emphatic No, and went on to explain): - "As a matter of course, I do not mean those who were not subservient to the former regime. Take, for instance, ~~Rakosi~~ Paul Jonas. I have the greatest affection and admiration for him, and for some others, who were like him. These people always opposed the Communist regime, and they tried to stir up those who were submissive to Communism to stand up against it. Fortunately for the country, the efforts of ~~Jonas~~ and of his associates met with success."

XII THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret Police.

Asked what sort of people the secret police were, respondent said:

"The most unscrupulous group in society who have no love for one's nation ~~or~~ or for one's fellow human beings. They do not care who they serve. For their services they receive big rewards, and find an outlet for their sadistic desires and inclinations.

Regarding whether he or his family had any personal experience with ADH men, respondent answered:

"I certainly had some experience. I already have mentioned previously that a certain former class mate of mine ~~xxxxxx~~, Miklos Maisburger, informed on me. In 1945 I was in an internment camp for three months and escaped from there. Why they put me there? Because I had been a member of the Hungarian Air Force during the war, and for no other apparent reason. - On another occasion, when I had ~~xx~~ contacts with the AVH people, was when I was practicing with gliders on the ~~xxxxx~~ Harmashatarhegy sport airport. It happened that the AVO made a thorough search of the buildings there, and in the attic they found ~~xxxx~~ hidden weapons. Honestly, I knew nothing about these weapons. But they took me and two others and beat us almost to death to try to make us confess, and when ~~we~~ they were not able to wring a confession out of me, they put me under police observation for a year. - On another occasion, they put a young boy into my room in the miners' barracks, and this fellow was particularly humble and could hardly read or write. He appeared to be a friendly character who was eager to learn from me as much as possible. Among other s, I helped him to learn how to write letters to his sweetheart. One day I happened to make a remark on Stalin's picture that hung over my bed, saying that it was so dirty it could stand a little rain from outside to be ~~xxxxxx~~ washed clean.

"Within the next few days, this boy disappeared, and I never saw him again. But I saw the AVO after some weeks, who questioned me at length regarding my attitude towards the Stalin picture. I escaped their rigorous questioning only by ~~lying xxxxxx~~ as boldly as they did in accusing this informer that his father had been a ~~xx~~ Nazi. God knows what his father had been, but ~~even~~ bad consequences came to him he deserved that much because he was a dirty, no good informer, and a professional, it seems.

(at least) lying

--- what experience I had with the AVO during the Revolution I have already described in detail."

"All leaders of the Personnel Department were actually members of the AVO. Every day two uniformed AVO men came to the chief of the Personnel Department of our plant to collect obtain reports. These AVO men stood at attention before the Personnel Chief and called him by his title, like military good form. ~~xxxx~~ Whenever the international situation becomes tense, it is not the manager of the enterprise who becomes the military commander of it, but rather the Personnel Chief. --ordinarily every man whose age enables him to be used in a military way, is registered in three ways:

"The Recruitment Office - The Police - and the Office of the Chief of the Personnel Department.

"The Personnel Chief was in charge of the Military Reserve Files, and his rating of men decided who were to be selected for ~~officersxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxx~~ drafting and who for officers' school. The Personnel Chief was the one who decided I should have retraining and reeducation. I had many contacts with this Chief, and thus I had some experience with the AVO."

Asked whether the respondent knows of any AVF men who wanted to leave that organization because they suffered remorse, respondent said:

"Unfortunately not. These people ~~xxx~~ no longer possess a conscience. It was not compulsory to join the AVO. Don't believe that stuff!"

Regarding what should be done with members of the AVF when Hungary becomes independent, respondent answered:

"Although they are unquestionably guilty, nevertheless democratic ideals require that they be given a fair trial like anybody else."

Asked to compare the AVF with the regular police, respondent makes this observation:

"They regular police were always anxious to keep themselves independent of the AVO and its jurisdiction, by restricting themselves strictly to civilian (individual ?) and ~~xxxxxxx~~ commercial cases. Most members of the regular police were anxious to keep on good terms with the ~~population~~ people."

Regarding whether Communism has affected the regular police, respondent answered:

"Not to a large extent; Communism did not pay the ~~xxxx~~ regular police well. These police were the only group in the state government ~~ix~~ who were corrupt. One could go a long way with them for a few cigarettes. There were few Communists among the police except as regards the officers and the detectives."

Concerning his opinion of the ability of the regular police, respondent said:

"Their efficiency is quite low, particularly that of the ~~xxx~~ detectives. They are not well trained. There are more demagogues, party pushers, and boot-lickers among the officers than there are of competent police leaders."

Asked about the role of the regular police during the Revolution, the respondent answered:

"In most cases they behaved well, but their officers forced them to resist the Freedom Fighters and this was against the actual feelings and convictions of the policemen. This is the reason why many of the police and some of the officers were accepted by the leaders of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ with confidence. - Consider Pecs: -All of the police Revolution except the chief sided with the Revolution."

"In many villages, the police patrol became the nucleus of the Civilian Guard. I had six to eight of them, including a sergeant first-class in the Civilian Guard of Komlo."

B. The Courts

Regarding the impartiality of the courts before 1945, respondent said:

"The courts were not impartial and unapproachable in every case. This varied according to areas and towns. It depended on the feelings of justice of the individual judges."

" Asked about the People's Courts of 1945 to 1947, respondent said:

"A law was enacted which conflicted with the democratic feelings of the masses and which with the idea of conciliation. These courts could best be called "Blood Courts" (Interviewers note: "Blood Courts" were so named in various turbulent periods of Hungarian history, which instead of serving justice, were bent on revenge and on exterminating a certain segment of the population. These were tools of the Austrian Hapsburg regime) - "In a free Hungary one must not tolerate the setting up of such courts, half of whose members are seeking revenge! - In 1945 such courts ~~had~~ conducted conspiracy trials not only against people who really were guilty but also against persons who represented the feelings of the people better than their judges. Such a judge for instance, was Vilmos Olti, who had been a leading Nazi before, and was an unscrupulous soldier of fortune."

C. The Army

Regarding the part played by the army during the Revolution, respondent had this to say:

"Speaking personally and quite critically, I would say most of the officers proved to be spineless people without character, who, at the outbreak of the revolution, and also during it, played the part of yes men who promised everything but did not do anything! for the Hungarian nation. Before the Russian attack, they disbanded their men and sent them home. ~~home.~~ In the army officers units These officers have no reason for existence! because they are yellow,

"...cunning people, ready to serve any regime so they can continue to exist as parasites on the working people. Their ~~milit~~ military competence is zero, with the exception of just a few."

Asked whether different army groups behave differently, and if so, how, the respondent answered:

"This depended in every case on the commanding officers. The enlisted men were with the people, and were of the people in their origin.
sympathetic

(Interviewers note: Respondent means from the ranks of the working people) "The men considered military duty as a necessary evil. The best proof of this was that ~~the~~ men would rather sign up for three years of mining work than for military duty."

Asked

About geographical differences, respondent said:

"I do not know of any."

Regarding whether there differences in the behavior of enlisted men, officers, and N,C,O,'s (non-commissioned officers ?), respondent said:

"I have already spoken of the officers. As regards the NJO's -non-commissioned officers -- I would say most of them were like the enlisted men. ~~They were like the enlisted men with the same attitude~~ Those who were well acquainted with ~~the Hungarian people~~ their men often spoke of their officers with dismay and hatred."

Asked about differences in the behavior of soldiers in the Revolution in regard to their class origin, respondent replied:

"Soldiers of intelligentsia or worker origin found it easier to join in the Revolution than those of peasant ~~origin~~ stock. Such soldiers were more obedient to their superiors, and had a harder time realizing that they might disobey orders if such conflicted with the real interests of the Hungarian people, - even though ~~the~~ these orders were carrying out Communist military regulations."

(Interviewers note: Amazing as it sounds, it is true that the basic Hungarian military regulations include a rule that soldiers should obey orders which are clearly conflicting with the vital interests of the Hungarian nation.)

Asked whether respondent was surprised by the army's actions during the Revolution, he said:

"I was not surprised. If one has prostituted his conscience for an easy life, and if that has become his way of life, he cannot be expected to become a fighter for a cause ~~in~~ which is based on faith and moral values. How could I have expected anything better of the ~~officers~~ Officers Peoples' Army?!"

"They became officers and NCO's because this was a way of easy living and of little work. This refers particularly to the officers, and less to the NCO's.

"A lieutenant of the People's Army could not have become more than a Private First Class in the Hungarian Army of the previous era."

"One could not speak of inhuman treatment in the army. The training was poorer and looser and without much group morale - The ~~file~~ officers and the NCO's were, generally speaking, worse in these respects if they were of peasant origin. (former swine herders, farm hands) because they ~~rapidly lost~~ soon lost their sense of proportion when they became persons of authority."

"Yes, the party members definitely did".

"We were required to attend political classes, and Szabad Nep half hours (interviewers note: Szabad Nep was the official Communist Party organ (publication ?) - "But neither of these had much effect. The monotonous lectures and readings provided a good situation for many of us to doze off ~~and sleep~~ rather than listen. ^{and} all the more because they were held in the woods, thus we combined the unpleasant with the useful. - (interviewers note: There is a Hungarian saying often used: - "To combine the pleasant with the useful" - this is what the respondent quotes in order to make a travesty of these political classes.)

"Not that I know of, certainly not in the units I served in, or heard of"

D. Russian Troops.

When respondent was told that some people feel the Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848, he replied:

[illegible]

"This is out of the question. The feelings of Hungarians towards the Russian army are based on the experience the Hungarians has had with them when the Russians were occupation forces, particularly in 1945.

Regarding whether the respondent and others expected from the Russians, before they entered Hungary, the treatment they got, or something else, he answered: -

" I was not surprised. I expected just what I ~~received~~ received from them. The people did not expect kindness or goodness, but some understanding for a much suffering population. People had a hard time realising that in the 20th Century ~~there~~ there could exist such a barbarian nation as the Russians. The experience was a good teacher in finding out just what the highly praised Soviet culture really was.

" Asked about his actual experiences with the Russian army in 1945, respondent said:

164 "The Russians displayed an utterly barbarian behavior. Rapes of girls and of women were commonplace the order of the day. Bestiality of some Russian soldiers defies description. There were six or eight of these soldiers who even raped a calf in Kobolcut. I saw them do this with my own eyes. - It is needless to mention the well-known fact about the ~~needless~~ ~~lootings~~ of the Russian soldiers. I suffered such a looting myself. - I ~~had~~ heard of cases where soldiers drank themselves to death, and I heard that from reliable people.

whether had ~~he~~ changed
Concerning/his attitude towards the Russian army in Hungary/since 1945, respondent said:

"Absolutely not!"

Asked how much he was able to learn about the Russian soldiers before, during, and after the Revolution, respondent replied: that he had contact with the Russian army only during the Revolution."

Concerning his experiences with the attitudes and actions of the Russian soldiers during the Revolution, respondent said:

"During the cease fire period they were very respectful and polite. We were able to make good arrangements with them."

Asked about contacts with Russian officers and men during the Revolution respondent said:

"Aside from fighting ~~with~~ the Russians, my negotiations and conversations with them have been described in the account I have ~~previously~~ previously given of the Revolutionary period, and of the aftermath. "

Regarding the attitude and behavior of the Russian troops during the revolution, respondent answered:

"During the second intervention, the Russians fought ruthlessly. They attacked mostly when they were drunk, and went ahead recklessly. If they were sober, they were quite inclined to withdraw when faced with any slight resistance or attack. If a small part of any unit started running, the entire unit would follow them in a wild rout."

Asked about differences between officers and enlisted men, respondent replied he knew nothing about this.

Concerning differences between younger and older men, respondent said:

"Older ones were more understanding and appeared more civilized."

In regard to differences between ~~the~~ different nationalities, respondent said:

"The Ukrainians I think adhered more to the rules and the principles of war. This was not true of the Mongolians and the Kirgiz."

Asked about the difference between the troops which had been stationed in Hungary for some time, and the new troops brought in about Nov. 4, respondent answered:

"Of course there was a great difference, the ~~one~~ described in the preceding sentences."

In regard to cases where Russian soldiers helped Hungarian soldiers, or refused to obey their officers, etc., respondent said that he had no personal knowledge of such, but he received first-hand reports of cases ~~in~~ Gyor. He was told by the chairman of the ~~Revolutionary~~ Revolutionary Council of Gyor, Attila Szigeti, that the Commander of Gyor ~~was~~ said publically that he would not ~~fight~~ ^{to} oppose the Hungarian Revolution, and when they (the Hungarian fighters) withdrew from Gyor he gave them a farewell celebration."

In regard to brutality of individual Soviet soldiers, respondent said he knew of no such cases.

E. Government Officials

Asked if he knew of government officials who would be willing to break rules if necessary to help people in trouble, respondent said he did not know of any.

F. Corruption

Asked about actual experiences of any way of getting around some of the regulations, respondent replied:

"I know of two cases where bribing was possible --one was with rank and file policemen who could be persuaded to ~~ign~~ ignore cases such as ~~misdemeanors~~ misdemeanors. --The other in the Housing Offices of the City Councils. In most of these offices one could use bribes if the latter were large enough."

G. Competence of Leaders.

This is what the respondent thinks of the competence of the various leaders:

Secret Police: "They are not well trained, except in torturing, which makes everybody speak."

Army Leadership: " The higher military leadership was well trained."

Russian Army Leadership: " These leaders ~~w~~ are very competent."

Bureaucracy: "About 50% of these people are competent, usually the old experience trained ones with brains, but the work is rather technical under the supervision of the new, so-called "worker-peasant categories"."

XIII ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years.

Here are respondent's estimate of the next few years:

"Hungary's prospects depends to a great extent on the unification of W East and West Germany, and on agreements to be made between the United States and the U.S.S.R."

Asked what would probably happen, respondent said:

"Perhaps a Central European Neutral Zone will come about which would mean pushing back ~~the~~ the Soviet to its ~~own~~ frontiers. If this cannot be worked out, war ~~is~~ is inevitable. old

In regard to his opinion on what may occur in Hungary, respondent said:

"If things don't change, utmost terror will take place in the foreseeable future. If, by chance, a Central European neutral zone comes about, an independent, free and democratic Hungary will be the result."

Asked what he expects of the West, respondent answered:

"I see more appeasement. The West does not realistically appraise its own strength and the weakness of the Soviets, and consequently it does not have a consistent foreign policy."

Here is what the respondent expects of Russian policy:

"A relentless drive for domination of the entire world."

Asked what his own hopes are, respondent replied:

"The unification of East and West Germany; and the giving up by the United States of its military bases in Europe would result in the liberation of Hungary. - A strong, well-armed German army could be a force for European peace, and would suffice to keep the Soviets down. The United States would lose ~~nothing~~ nothing by giving up its bases in Western Europe."

Regarding what compromise, short of independence, Hungary would be willing to accept, respondent said:

"The Hungarian people demonstrated clearly enough what they want, and will accept no compromise!"

Asked for his views on a Poland type solution, respondent said:

"Gomulka ? No! No! No! "I would rather wait three years for an ~~in~~ independent Hungary than accept immediately something lukewarm."

"... which can be changed ~~xx~~ for the worse at a moment's notice. Hungarian people are not content just to taste Freedom. They want it all."

Asked what the people of Hungary think of this, respondent replied:

"Probably the majority's opinion is identical with mine."

Regarding means by which these hopes can be realized, respondent said:

"A consistent, energetic foreign policy of the West would work wonders, and it will not endanger peace. I hope public opinion can exert a pressure on the United States and on the governments of other foreign countries."

Asked about a possible war between the United States and Russia, respondent answered:

"By no means - but at the same time I do not want to see the United States bow to ~~Demist~~ Soviet foreign policy designs, in order to avoid war. What one of the Soviet statesmen said could become a reality:
" ' Not our strength, but your cowardice will make it possible for us to rule over you. ' "

Asked whether he thinks such a war ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ could occur, respondent replied:
can ?

"I may predict that it is unavoidable unless the countries in bondage ~~xxxxxxx~~ (satellites) are liberated. Two such opposed philosophies cannot find common meeting ground. There is no middle road possible. One philosophy is based on realism, and the other on a falsely idealized materialism."

Here are respondent's views of means other than war:

"International pressure and economic blockade could go a long ways if countries of the free world would end diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, that country would be willing to enter any kind of agreement, and to grant concessions because the life interests of the Soviet Union forces it to maintain its embassies in the nations of the free world, ~~xxx~~ because these embassies are its headquarters (sources, channels) of military, economic, and political intelligence."

Asked about the possibility of internal changes in the Soviet Union, leading to a settlement in Eastern Europe, respondent replied:

"Maybe, but it is a long process. We cannot wait until then. All dictatorships are temporary only, but they may last even decades, as the Soviet dictatorship has already lasted four full decades."

B. Hopes in Retrospect

Asked what thought about the future and what he hoped for, before the Revolution, respondent replied:

"I took a very dim view of Hungary's future. Industrially and agriculturally, Hungary was ruined to such an extent, that many years of effort are necessary to restore it to its former strength. The more protracted ~~or~~ lengthy the courses (

and) of liberating the Eastern European nations become the greater the responsibility on the nations of the Free World. This is what I thought again and again, but I saw no stir on the part of the West to bring about liberation."

Asked what his hopes were during the last ten years, respondent answered:

of the West ~~miraculously~~ desperately
"I hoped sometimes the Free World/would realise how/it failed when at Yalta 80 million people were sold down the river. I hoped that the Free World would put economic and political pressure on the Soviet ~~the~~ Union and this would induce the Soviets to withdraw from occupied areas."

Regarding whether respondent's hopes and estimates changed during that time, he said:

"My opinions did not change, but I lost my hopes!"

XIV SOCIALX POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary

Regarding what kind of an independent Hungary the respondent would like to see, he answered:

"A democratic, political system like the Western democracies but not exactly the same, but a special ~~Eng~~ Hungarian type combining the Western systems along with some socialism."

Asked what kind of combination or ~~synt~~ synthesis he has in mind, respondent replied:

Democracy, in the sense of representation for the varying social strata, expressed through the secret ballot, with the participation of every political party, including the Communist party, because if there are some crazy people ~~who~~ who would vote for them, well, let them do it. That is their private affair.

B. Details on Economy

Asked whether he thinks Hungary should emphasize agriculture or industry, respondent answered:

"Agriculture should be emphasized above all, and everything should be done to improve it, since it is at least 100 years behind the development of agriculture in the West."

Regarding whether Hungary should lay stress most on heavy or light industry, respondent said:

"Hungary should emphasize light industry because we do not have enough iron or other resources, or coal, for much development of the heavy type. Light industry is so well developed and improved that it can well compete with that of the Western nations. We should produce only ~~to~~ what we can naturally and profitably engage in."

Asked what products in light industry he would ~~emphasize~~ favor, respondent answered:

"Precision instruments above all."

Asked which products he would abandon, ~~emphasize~~ respondent replied:

"Heavy steel industries, ^{should be} blast furnaces, reduced to a minimum, to take care only of production of locomotives and railroad cars, in which Hungary has made very good progress, and holds a foremost position in the world market."

should be done with
Regarding what/national enterprises if the Communist regime were
overthrown, respondent replied:

"The Revolution has spoken on this. On the 23rd of October, 1956,
its demands included statements that big mines, big banks, and ~~the~~
very large industries should continue to remain in the hands of the
public. These ~~would~~ would become the possession of the workers and
the profits would not be swallowed up by the state but the workers
through collective bargaining, wages, and at the end of the year
would receive dividends."

"Asked what should happen to the K kolkhozes and state farms
respondent replied:

"Inquiry should be made to find out which of the state farms had
existed prior to 1945, because on such farms useful ~~experiments~~
experiments had been conducted to develop more efficient methods for
use by the various branches of agriculture. These older state
farms should remain public. K Kolkhozes should be put on
a voluntary rather than a compulsory basis. While agriculture is more
profitable when conducted on a sizeable/basis, yet nothing can be
forced, ~~should be forced,~~ or large ~~that~~
and ~~on~~ none of the methods used
by the Communists in organizing and running the K kolkhozes
~~must~~ be used, in a free country.
must

" Regarding what the role of the state should be in agriculture,
respondent answered:

"This is a tough question. - Since the entire life of the nation is
based on the soil and agriculture, the state should have some influence
here, some guidance through persuasion but not orders. For example,
encouragement might be given to efforts to provide farmers with good
breeding stock, also first-class seed, and plants be available to farmers,

Asked whether the government should set a maximum limit to the amount
of land any one or his family may own, respondent answered:

"Under no circumstances should such a maximum be fixed. It is not the
business of the state to do this, but on the other hand, the state
should see that there is a minimum below which workers' wages cannot go.
but it should not fix any maximum regarding wages or positions.

for workers
This would discourage the natural development of people and their
abilities."

of two kinds presented him,
Asked what kind of government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, he replied:

"I would choose by all means the former one (Interviewers note: The one with personal freedom, and no guarantee of jobs) - "because it belongs to the main arteries of Hungarian life to possess personal freedom. This cannot be taken away from the Hungarian people, nor can it be bought."

Asked whether he would be in favor of outlawing the Communist party in an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"I have already spoken about this when you asked me about the form of government (Interviewers note: Cf. XIV, A) - "Yet I'm inclined to contradict myself when you ask me about this in an explicit manner. ~~Theoretically~~ Theoretically I would be against outlawing the Communist party, because that would be in conflict with the basic principles of democracy. Practically, however, I am inclined to favor outlawing the party, because I do not think it is compatible with democracy to have a system of ruthless dictatorship advocated. Both fascism and Communism are dictatorial systems, and this is just the point about which the West is so much mistaken. Western democracies permit too much. They are already beyond the limits of democracy. But our special democracy should be one that does not give democratic rights to either criminals or to political criminals. By the latter I mean those who are determined to do away with democracy. How can freedom allow people with it? In that case, freedom is against itself!"

Regarding whether respondent is in favor of outlawing the Communist fellow-traveller organizations, he answered:
their

"There is no objection to/trying to do something, they cannot do a xxxxxxn thing, anyway! I'll bet anything that they cannot find one single supporter in Hungary anymore."

C. International Position

In regard to what kind of an international position respondent would desire for an independent Hungary, he answered:

"In the spirit of Oct. 23rd (respondent refers to the demands) as set forth in the 14 points) I think of a neutrality like that of Austria as a first step. Secondly, we should try to find out whether we can build a United States of Europe, and if this was found to be impractical, then we should go ahead with the idea of a confederation of the central European states, just as King St. Stephen found out at the end of the tenth century that Hungary could survive only if it joined Christendom. A similar realization is necessary now to Hungary, to that the nation must join in a federation with others, especially the Danubian states, because our country can exist only in this fashion in Eastern Europe."

Asked what relations he would like to see with the ~~XXXXX~~ U.S.S.R.
respondent answered:

"This is a ~~diffxxx~~ difficult question because Hungarians have found the Soviets to have so little honor. But in the spirit of the policy of neutrality I think Hungary should have, then we might go as far as having economic relations with Russia. But this should be done on a basis of equality, and Russia should not be given any superior rights or position, which/that nation tries to propound ~~xxxxxxxrightxin~~ every possible way. (thought)
or recognized as superior in any way

Asked about cultural ties with the Soviet Union, respondent replied:

"There seems to me to be little that the Russians could contribute culturally to Hungary, except perhaps such things as their superiority in the ballet, and also the value of the works of some of their pre-revolutionary authors."

Asked about relations with other Eastern European countries, respondent replied:

"I would be for very close cultural and economic ties with all of these countries, but not for any military alliances. In neither the economic or cultural fields must Hungary isolate itself from either the West or the East. However, it should engage in no military alliances whatsoever.

" Asked about relations to other European countries, respondent said:

"We are ready to negotiate with these countries only on the basis of absolute equality, in cultural as well as political fields. Militarily we are not ready to join with anybody. That would conflict with our ideas of about neutrality."

Referring to respondent's advocacy above of a federation of Danubian states, interviewer asked him when he had first heard of such an idea. Respondent replied:

"I was about eleven years old when I first heard of this idea from the head of my class, who was a teacher of Hungarian and of history."
- (Interviewers note: Respondent said the topic came up in class and we continued talking ~~about~~ about it after class, as much as such a young child could understand. Since then I have frequently though thought of it, and am eager to learn more about it. ")

" Asked whether he thinks such a union is possible, respondent said

"It is possible if all the Danubian nations are ready to compromise particularly by relaxing their exaggerated national pride and stubbornness. "

Asked which states he would like to see included, respondent said:

"Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Poland."

"Regarding the general feeling about this in Hungary, respondent said:

"The Hungarians would definitely welcome it."

Asked whether he had many opportunities to discuss this topic with others, respondent answered: he talked about it

"We talked about it among ourselves quite a bit. (Interviewers note: Asked who he referred to, respondent said he discussed this with fellow workers in the plant, and the mines, where he had worked, and ~~only with those he trusted~~) - ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

whether he approved of
Regarding his views on Hungary's present boundaries, responded replied:

"No!, by no means!"

Asked whether he wants to see any territorial adjustment, respondent said:

"No, I want to see a basic reshuffling of people in our region ~~xxxxke~~ through plebiscites ~~nd~~ with the idea of unification, that is, the Hungarian minorities now in other countries, reunited with their fellow ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Hungarians, and the same for separated people of other nations; also, in the Carpathian region, cooperation between the nations ~~xxxx~~ there in various helpful ways. In further comment on Hungarian minorities, I think there must be a territorial reshuffling so no nation will have large blocs of other nationalities within it. There were two peace treaties made in which chauvinistic countries secured all kinds of rights, and the outcome was too tragic to speak of.
to nationalities

end of disk
19A

"...Nationalistic states are inclined to try to assimilate their nationalities(minority blocs) ✓.

Asked how important this question is to him, respondent answered:

"As I said before, unification is the only solution to the problems of our region. Narrow nationalism will be death to these countries."

XV THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World Events

Asked what he had heard ~~before the Revolution of Krushevs~~ before the Revolution of Krushevs secret speech to the 20th Party Congress, respondent said he had heard nothing.

Regarding what he knew of Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee, ~~xx~~ while he was still in Hungary, respondent replied:

"Of course I heard about these things according to Communist viewpoints which one of course did not accept. We heard there was such a committee and that it had ordered the deportation of certain persons such as Communists, and among others, the famous singer, Paul Robeson; and Charlie Chaplin was named among others."

Asked what he had heard of the fall of Peron, respondent said:

"Who's that guy?"

Regarding ~~what~~ what he knew about the private life of Rakosi prior to the Revolution, respondent replied:

such
"I didn't think he was an interesting personality that I should be asking ~~ab~~ or hearing about his private life."

B. Sources of Personal Information

Asked from what sources he drew his information about current events, in the last ten years, respondent answered:

"Unfortunately, from Radio Free Europe. Once I got a leaflet, and also of course I heard people talking about these things."

Regarding the most important of the above sources, respondent said it was people talking, since this had some foundation. (Interviewers note: Asked ~~whether~~ why he thought the conversation of people would be more factual or reliable than, for instance, Radio Free Europe, a respondent said: - "Definitely!" "

C. Word of Mouth.

Asked what kinds of news he got by word of mouth, respondent said:

"Political and economic news, which in Communist regime were very much interwoven."

Continued

" Even if various steps seemed to be purely of economic matters, one could find in them on occasion major political developments. Also the other way, political steps sometimes revealing important economic decisions that might follow.

Asked from what kinds of people he got his information, respondent said:

"Most ~~xxxx~~ news came from persons in the higher positions. (Interviewers Note: The Communists) - "They thought they were reliable (authoritative ?) but actually were not. Generally speaking, one was able to learn about the decisions of those so-called secret conferences ~~of the~~ from the leaderships in the plants, the cities, and the Communist organizations. If decisions of nation wide importance were made, people usually learned about these within one day, even though nothing was officially published."

~~xxxx~~ Regarding the reliability of the different sources of news, respondent has already covered this point some paragraphs back.

D. Reading Habits. Asked what he read before 1945, in the newspaper field, respondent said:

"I was not much of a newspaper reader because in those years I had little time to read such. I read to some extent Pesti Firlap (Interviewers Note: A fairly liberal bourgeois paper) Fuggetlenseg (Int. Note: A very widely read rightist -but not extreme right- paper)

"In the magazines, I read the Boy Scout magazine, Elet (interviewers Note: the most widely read small bourgeois magazine of good fiction and literature) -

Asked about books, respondent replied:

"High Hungarian literature (int.note: Classics) Books of historical topics, also books of travel in foreign lands."

Asked what kind of reading was available at that time, respondent replied with great emphasis, "Everything!" You could get anything you wanted!"

Regarding what Hungarian newspapers and magazines he read fairly regularly during the last eight or ten years, respondent answered:

"Only the Communist papers, since it was only Communist literature that was available. -

Regarding how regularly he read these, respondent said very regularly.

Asked how much trust he placed in these publications, respondent said:

"One couldn't trust them at all, but one was able to draw some conclusions from what one read in these papers, and from what one heard from the foreign radio stations. In fact, this method could result in a very reliable conclusions.

in

Regarding/what areas he particularly distrusted, his readings, respondent answered:

"Mainly those of an economic nature, and generally speaking, those of domestic issued issues. In foreign policy and world events I was able to hear news over Radio Free Europe and others, and this, along with what I heard and read in Hungary, enabled me to obtain actual facts."

Asked about news which he trusted at least partially, he said:

"One could not trust them even partially."

~~xxxx~~ I did not ask him whether he used newspapers to get information on what was happening, since he had already discussed this ~~xxxx~~ above.

Asked whether he or friends read publications from the U.S.S.R. or satellite countries, respondent said he did not, nor did ~~xxxx~~ friends or relatives.

end of disk
19P

Regarding what people read from the Soviet Union or satellites, respondent said ~~that~~ ~~"Soviet Szovjet Kultura"~~ was generally available but people didn't care to read it.

Asked about publications from the West, respondent replied:

"Sometimes I managed to get Hungarian language newspapers from Canada and some from the United States, but these were either workers' or Socialist type--and I also read a Canadian Communist Hungarian paper. These were publications that were admitted into Hungary. - But the dangerous thing for the Communists was that even in such papers, which they allowed to come into the country, because I could read in these papers how high the standard of living was in those countries, and this and other information there served as a sort of counter-~~prop~~-propaganda against Communism. - Take for instance, advertisements--from which one could obtain much information (~~on how people lived and what they read?~~) while one read all kinds of Socialist and Communist slogans and infuriated comments on leaders of the free nations, one could also read simple small ads there. For instance, ads told of apartments to let for certain sums, and the flat includes bathroom, telephone, so many rooms, etc., and if one compared this with another ad, help is wanted, and a locksmith would be wanted at high wages--~~xxxx~~ one could thus see clearly how workers lived."

Asked how available such papers were, respondent replied:

"~~All~~ Although these papers were allowed in Hungary, nevertheless I felt hesitant to let it be known I was reading them, or to pass them on to others."

forbidden
Regarding ~~xxxx~~/publications coming from the West, respondent said he saw only one leaflet and nothing else.

Concerning forbidden publications originating within Hungary, respondent answered:

"I had some ^{such} books which had been published before the Communistic regime began, and we were supposed to give up to the authorities, - I didn't, and I know that many people did not either."

Asked what kinds of books he had in this forbidden type, respondent replied:

"One was a publication that contained leather books, it was published between 1942 and 1944. It presented the real facts about Communism. There were pictures of the NAKED prisons and things of that sort."

Asked where he kept this book and things of that nature, respondent said he kept it on his shelf, and didn't care much.

Asked where he stored them when ordered to go to Komlo for correctional labor, respondent said that he took them to his mother, who lived with one of his brothers, who had many books himself, and the respondent's books were hid behind the rows of his brothers books. - "My brother always also had a number of forbidden books, among them books of high Hungarian literature, (Interviewers Note : fiction) - "Even works of high value, fiction only, were put on the index (forbidden literature) by the Communists - for instance, all of the works of Jozsef Nyiro. (Interviewers Note: - a very patriotic novelist who cannot be charged with being extreme right) - "Even such books were put on the Index, although there ~~was~~ ^{is} absolutely nothing in such books they could object to."

XVI EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

Regarding whether there are any chance for change from within by gradual liberalization ~~or~~ or through revolution in Soviet Russia, respondent said:

"There is no such thing as gradual liberalization there that would amount to a real change, but such change can be brought about by revolution. In this connection, the United Nations should have taken action during the Hungarian Revolution, for example, sending an international peace force, or being able to supervise free elections in Hungary, the entire bolshevist empire would have come into a state of dissolution. --One ~~x~~ heard many times reliable news, in Hungary, of riots in the Soviet Union. After Stalin's death, or ~~disorder~~ during and after the Hungarian Revolution, such riots were the order of the day. There is a ferment ~~in~~ in Russia. ~~It is~~ But the change in leaders, Krushchev instead of Molotov, and other such events, does not mean any real change. Their aim is always the same, the bolshevization of the entire world, and the predominance of Russians and of slavs in general.

In reference to the feelings of the Russian people regarding the Communist regime, respondent answered:

"It is true that a certain number of the Russian people have received benefit from Communism. Also there are many nationalities in the Soviet nation which have received some degree of independence, some ~~rights they didn't have before~~ cultural rights or ~~cultural~~ advantages they didn't have before, and generally speaking ~~a~~ the masses in the nation were raised from a deeper ~~in~~ abyss of poverty and ~~back~~ backwardness. - Although the level on which they now live is still unsatisfactory, still the masses have ~~now received~~ gained something.

^{BUT,}
"A people raised from barbarism and ~~ignorance~~ ignorance can be won over to Communism more easily than a civilized people can. If we compare the primitive peoples in the Soviet Union, with peoples there of a higher level of development, for instance, those of the Ukraine, the picture changes a great deal. The Ukrainian people have much national consciousness, fairly high degree of education, and great traditions. The Communist rulers will never be able to jam down the throats of the Ukrainians the Communist doctrine and way of life. - I believe there are great hostilities within the Soviet Union. The average Soviet citizen does not accept Communism. He may not dare ^{for what} he wants as courageously and openly as did the Hungarian nation. Their circumstances are so much different. Their area is so vast. If Hungary could not receive help in its limited territory and struggle, how can one expect that the Russian people with their vast spaces and scattered population, receive effective aid ⁱⁿ their struggle for freedom? can from the West

(take itself to the slaughter house.)
and it is understandable if a nation doesn't want to ~~face~~
~~disaster or much less~~. (Interviewers Note: - This phrase is
a common one--expose oneself to butchering.)

~~xxxxxxxx~~ (Since respondent seems to stop at this point in
his views, I help him with a question, "Does all of this make
you think of gradual liberalization or revolution?" and here is
his answer.) :

"All of this makes me come to the conclusion that I expect a
revolution within Soviet Russia only if there is a serious rev-
olution within Eastern Europe again, because the people in
Eastern Europe have much more initiative than those in Russia--
- another possibility of revolution in the Soviet Union might
come from a war between the East and the West.

Asked what the result of free elections in Russia would be,
respondent replied:

"My answer may seem ridiculous, but Ukraine would become ind-
ependent and leave the Soviets, but as regards the Asiatic
nationalities in the Soviet Union, there might be a vote of
50% or more in favor of staying with the Soviets.

are the aims of

Asked what/the top leaders of Russia, ~~xxxxxxx~~, respondent said

"Their aims are clearly revealed, and the West is gullible in
not recognizing them. These aims are ~~other~~ victory over the West,
and the entire world under Communism, combined with the domineering
~~the~~ ambitions of Slavism.

Regarding the Soviet leaders' dominant ~~xx~~ personal motives
~~perceptions of motives of personality~~, respondent
replied:

"Unlimited personal ambitions. They are unprincipled people in
every respect, although they are smart and capable."

Asked what differences there was between the Russian and the
Hungarian Communist leaders, respondent replied

The Russian leaders ~~are~~ perfectly ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ conscious
aims, whereas the Hungarian leaders are merely followers and servants of the
former, without any program particularly their own.

B. Eastern Europe.

This is respondent's rating of the popularity of the countries
there: "Eastern Germany, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria,
and ~~eZek~~ Czechoslovakia. The latter country completely for-
feited its honor during the Hungarian Revolution. The Czech
armed forces and railroads gave much support to the invading
Russians entering Hungary that the ~~Czechs~~ Czechoslovakia has ~~1~~
completely lost ~~xx~~ whatever popularity it had, not only in ~~Hungary~~
Hungary, but also in ~~the~~ the other satellite countries, for
instance, in Rumania. - From acquaintances arriving in Hungary
from Rumania, to help us during the Revolution, I heard that
students in Rumania ~~demonstrated~~ demonstrated in ~~favor~~ favor of the
Hungarians and the Revolution, and against the Czechs."

"I heard of Bucharest students who condemned the Russians and Czechs because they so ruthlessly oppressed the Hungarians."

"Free elections would result in total failure for the Communists in every country except Czechoslovakia. There the Communist party would win.

C. Poland

"I think Gomulka's rule means a genuine change, however, I do not think the Polish people want to live under such a regime long, since they are 100% against Communism, as witnessed in the ~~Polish~~/riots
in Poznan

" Asked whether Gomulka's policies are a step in the right ~~wirt~~ direction, ~~respondent~~ and that this gradual improvement will find the right ~~wirt~~ solution in the end, respondent said.

[illegible]

Asked whether his opinion changed in the last few months, on this question, respondent said:

"No, it did not. "

Asked whether the Polish developments on Hungary before Oct., 1956, respondent answered:

"Yes, they did, particularly the Posnan riots. We took notice of this, ~~thxxxxthxxxx~~ it electrified us and gave us strength because we saw another people besides ourselves who ~~xx~~ were willing to stand up for their rights against oppression, and shed their blood for this. This was true despite the slight but noticeable increase in terror in Poland following the riots, as if the Soviets wanted to discourage other satellites from demonstrations and demands."

Regarding the Polish events during and after Oct. 1956, respondent answered:

"During the Revolution one could hear often the brotherhood of the Polish and Hungarian peoples and the fact of their half-won freedom. People voiced hopes that the Poles could join us in our mutual fight for freedom. But it seems that common sense led the Polish in a different direction, and they thought that helping us might not be the right course of action for them. The reason for this, I think, is that the Poles noted that the Hungarians in their revolution did not ~~xxx~~ receive help from the West., and they feared they also would be let down."

Asked whether he knew of any change in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise, respondent answers, "

"Not exactly that, but we heard there were groups of different views within the Polish Communist Party, and the Communist press noted this by criticising the opposition ones against the official Communist line (the latter being the new name after x the term Stalinism went out of fashion after Khrushchev's speech against ~~xxx~~ against it.)"

Concerning respondent's views on whether he would have preferred the Hungarian Revolution taking a course along the one followed in Poland, he said:

"If I believed that the little the Polish gained in more freedom would be followed by greater gains, I might be in favor of our having ourselves followed such a course-- but first, I do not think the Polish gains are permanent, ~~and not~~ really genuine, and second, the Communist regime of Hungary had committed such grave offenses against the people that revolution was a natural consequence."

D. Yugoslavia

Asked whether Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe, respondent replied:

"Yes, because the peoples and governments watched Tito's course with interest, because he had been the first of the Eastern European leaders to stand up against the Soviets and ~~assert~~ a different brand of Communism, called National Communism, most- unorthodox, but anyway this opened up new vistas to Communists and non-Communists in the satellites."

Continued ".... While Marx and Engels and Lenin and Stalin and all the Marxists and Communist leaders ~~emph~~ emphasized that Communism is an international in character, Tito stood fast in National Communism being possible, thus he started satellite statesmen thinking something like that might be good\$ for them too."

This is respondent's attitude towards "National Communism":

"It's ~~absolutely~~ absolutely bad. It is true it does not exploit its people for the Soviet Union, only for itself. But it is remarkable to notice that Tito's government, in spite of sizeable help from the West, has still not managed to achieve a living standard, at least as high as the low one of Hungary. It seems that Tito and his lieutenants do the exploiting themselves and try to live --as the Communists like to say --"on capitalist levels." - Of course, one wonders how they can ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ keep their country in the poverty that it is (be content to keep it ?)

13

Asked about his views on Tito's relations with other Eastern European ~~nations~~ nations, respondent answered:

"If ~~these~~ these nations, whose relations to each other are now regulated by Moscow, were free to express their views and pursue their own ideas, they would act towards Tito in a most frigid manner, since the sober, thoughtful, responsible elements in ~~the~~ these countries all detest him, and his entire system."

In reference to the relations between Tito and the Soviets, respondent said:

"I think Tito is the most ingenuous turncoat in Eastern Europe, or in all Europe. The West makes a grave mistake in not realizing this. For sufficient money, Tito could be bought and ~~shelved aside and led~~ and security and fine living to resign, and Yugoslavia thus made again a part of the free world. But the West is too stupid to recognize this, and too stingy and short sighted to carry out this bold program. - The Soviet, on the other hand, is eager to help Yugoslavia and entice it into ~~its~~ its own hands. Thus Tito is constantly wavering, and I fear that in case of war, Tito would join the Soviet bloc because, in case the West won, he would have to hold free elections in Yugoslavia, and that would mean the end of his regime."

When is asked his views on the relations of Tito to the west, he said:

"I have just discussed this, but will add that the West should recognize he is a turncoat who can be talked to, and act accordingly."

This is

This is respondent's views regarding Tito's position vis-a-vis Hungary and the Hungarian Revolution:

Because

"~~Stalinist Titoism~~/the rehabilitation of Rajk gave a very decisive push to Hungarian events that led to the outbreak of the Revolution, but on the other hand Tito behaved lukewarm and very indifferent and wavering during the conflict, and afterwards he handed over Imre Nagy to the Russians. (Interviewer note: On this point, I tell respondent again that we are not interested in the facts, but rather in his own views, and respondent to make an overall picture says he understands this, and appreciates our point.)

Asked about his attitude towards Titoism and Titoists in the satellite nations, respondent answered:

"Their's was a good idea at that time, but the progress of events in the world since then makes Titoism no solution today. Four years ago Titoism had some reason, but now it would be retrogressive to try to do the same. Events have moved fast in Eastern Europe since then.

Asked about Tito's popularity and the reason for his interpretation respondent said:

"He is absolutely unpopular, ~~he~~ because he is a Communist and a dictator."

Regarding his sources of information, respondent said:

"Unlikely as it may sound, there were quite a few Hungarians who fled from Tito to Hungary, and I spoke to several of such people, asking them to compare the two countries. They said they saw no difference between the two regimes except that Tito's did not openly belong to Moscow."

Regarding internal conditions in Yugoslavia, respondent said:

Hungarian

"Labor conditions were deplorable. There were labor brigades working in Yugoslavia and when the breach came between Tito and Moscow came, about, the Hungarians had to come back to Hungary. I talked to several and they said the standard of living in Yugoslavia was even lower than in Hungary. These boys worked on a Hungarian collective labor contract and the Yugoslavian people were amazed to see how high the living standards of these boys were. Their wages were about twice or more higher than the average Yugoslavian working man."

E. The Middle East.

Here are respondent's views of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt

"This attack ~~xxxx~~ was the first stab in the back that led to our revolution being crushed."

his opinion of

Asked about the Israeli invasion of Egypt, respondent said:

"This was not too significant because it was part of a larger action that was concocted behind the scenes. This, and the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt were part of a strategy of the West which should not have done when Hungary was fighting for its freedom, and also because the election campaign of Eisenhower contained slogans for the liberation of the captive countries. The invasion therefore gave the impression that the free nations all doing it were acting against their own basic ideas of freedom. (Interviewer's note: Asked whether he thought the USA was aware of the British-French plans for invading Egypt, respondent answered: -"Definitely! It is the USA that actually directs the foreign policy of the West, and this step was a big mistake because the USA tied its own hands by this decision")"

Asked whether ~~Egypt~~ Egypt had a right to nationalize the Suez Canal, respondent said:

"Yes, it had, since it is on Egyptian soil. As a member of a freedom loving nation, I am against colonialism which denies nations the power over their own soil and people."

Regarding West Germany's living standards, respondent said:

"For the time being, it is the highest in Europe, one reason being both the West and the East are eager to help the Germans so as to win them as ~~pe~~ friends, and West Germany is very anxious to take advantage of this, and is ~~a~~ clever about it."

When respondent is told the Germans might start another war, he remarked:

"The Germans are not dangerous, and need rights and conditions for establishing a free country and a prosperous ^{one}. If Germany has the basic rights of a nation, it will not be dangerous. The real danger here comes from the Soviet Union, where so many nations are oppressed by it."

Asked what he thought of the rearmament of West Germany, respondent replied:

"It is necessary"

Regarding whether the West German army is stronger or weaker than that of Britain, respondent said

"I have little knowledge of this, but believe the West German army is stronger, because it is fired by the ambition to free East Germany from Russian hands, and to stand up against Communism, the big danger."

End Disk 21 B

Continued "...The British soldier doesn't know what he is fighting for because he usually is fighting in the Dominions and colonies for the big capitalists, and not ~~really~~ really for the interests of his nation. ~~He~~ He does not know that the real danger and battle is in Europe with the Soviet Union; both the East and West German people know this very well, and they have no dominions and colonies to waste their energies. A well armed German army is stronger because its morale is ~~so~~ so much better than that of the British army.

Asked to compare the German and French armies, respondent said:

"The French are not people who could muster a good fighting force, The Germans are stronger."

Regarding the term of service in the West German army, respondent ~~and~~ said he believed it to be three years.

Asked which occupation force in Hungary was more distasteful to him personally, he said:

"Just the same, both of them--makes little difference whether one nation takes away a nation's liberty with machine guns, or with political maneuvering."

Asked which one of the two armies he found the more disciplined, respondent answered the German army was much better in this respect."

Regarding which of the two occupation forces was less popular in Hungary, respondent said the Russian army was much less popular."

G. Western Europe.

Regarding his ~~view~~ views on Nato, respondent replied:

"Nato is very good and necessary since a united West European army is most more efficient than separate forces, and also this had to be done since Russia was uniting all forces it had into one army.

Regarding how Nato compares with the Warsaw pact, respondent said:

"The first is made up of voluntarily cooperating free nations and patriotic soldiers, while the Warsaw pact represents armed forces of nations forced by Russia to act together, with soldiers completely against the ~~the~~ Communist regimes running their countries.

In regard to the British Labor Party, respondent replied:

"I don't know much about it."

Here are the impressions of the respondent as on the living standards of ~~the~~ various ~~European~~ countries: Great Britain first, then Egypt, Greece, Soviet Union, Italy, in order.

H. The United States.

Asked what he was particularly surprised by during his first few months here, respondent said:-

222 (Interviewers note: Respondent is very reluctant to start his remarks, and his suppressed smile betrays ~~ix~~ his having ideas which he is reluctant to express. I finally convince him to give his views)

"Above all, I was painfully surprised by the tremendous lack of political interest and knowledge on the part of the average American. The people seem to be little informed on (matters of foreign concern?) and the government to suffer from lack of preparation. The government has an official policy (line) and if events occur that deviate from its expectations, it is in dire need of counsel. In regard to the Hungarian Revolution, the American government was completely unprepared to act to meet this situation, ~~and this was the reason that~~ why we were let down. - The other thing that surprised me was the general level of education in the USA is ~~extreme~~ extremely low & certainly ~~xxxxxxx~~ much lower than one would expect Americans to have.

[in which the satellite nations rise in a revolution, and this was the reason ~~th~~ why it was not able to stand up to this situation]

Asked what the United States should do for the peoples and nations of Eastern Europe, respondent replied:

"The United States should start pursuing a determined and well defined clear line of policy."

(Interviewers note: I am perfectly aware of the insufficiency of the above remark, but I think that psychologically it might be of some value that ~~he~~ ^{if} confronted with the question, respondent is hesitating to engage in specifications, but confines himself to ~~a~~ one remark on the basis of a generality)~

Regarding his opinion of what the American foreign policy is, respondent said:

"It is absolutely weak, and poor."

Asked what the policy should be towards the present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, and so on, respondent answered:

"The United States should focus its attention even more on the areas of eastern Asia. The Eastern European peoples are convinced how dangerous for them the policies of the Soviet Union are, and how tragic the consequences of Communism are. This is, however, not the case with nations in Asia and Africa, and therefore the United States should be eager to seize the initiative in those areas. Soviet ~~prop~~ propaganda is very dangerously ~~making~~ making headway in Asia."

(Interviewers note: Seeing that respondent is reluctant to give more definite answers, but points rather to Asia, I dodged this point, and proceeded. I can do this all the more, since in other sections ~~xxx~~ of this interview, the respondent speaks up quite clearly on these matters. Perhaps this is why he does not here express his views)

Whether the USA should give aid to the present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia and others, respondent says he thinks these ~~governments~~ should receive aid from the USA with the definite goal (understanding?) that they should try to become more independent of the Soviet Union than they have so far.

Asked whether this should be the case concerning Hungary, respondent answered:

"I do not acknowledge the Kadar government at all, and I think the United States should not acknowledge it either. However, as a consequence of the pressure put upon Hungary by the United Nations, there should be a change in the government, and Imre Nagy or a similar leader should ~~seize power~~ seize power, the United States should go out in its efforts to help Hungary ~~as~~ even if it remained a half-way satellite.

"But the Kadar government is no government for ~~Hungary~~ Hungary at all. Nor has it a place in the United Nations. No diplomatic relations should be maintained with it."

Asked whether the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors, "respondent answered:

"The Hungarian people would like to see visitors, but not such who be guided around by the Kadar government to places where they like them to go, and guided by government representatives. The Hungarian people would rather welcome ~~xxx~~ visitors who would go around by themselves completely independent and would ~~mix~~ mingle with them.

Asked whether these visitors should be tourists, trade union delegations, journalists, etc., respondent said: they should be all kinds of people, but not politicians (government officials?) because the Hungarians are so disappointed in the West.

Regarding what such ~~x~~ visitors should be told about Hungary, before they start their trip, respondent replied:

"They should be told that they should not expect the ^{Hungarian} ~~to~~ people ~~will~~ talk openly to them, because the people will fear reprisals. The visitors also need to be told that their guides will all be trained members of the AVO, and hence the visitors should dodge them as much as possible, and reveal to them ~~as~~ little ~~x~~ or nothing about their Hungarian contacts. The visitors should not ~~try~~ to get a realistic picture

^{expect} of Hungarian conditions so long as they are in the guidance of AVO agents. In such company, they will become ~~acquainted~~ acquainted with the living standards only of the more prosperous or prominent of the nation, for Hungary even has laws concerning this. Hungarian laws and rulings prescribe in what kinds of hotels and restaurants people from abroad may be housed and fed and entertained. A western visitor, for example, may not be given rooms ~~in~~ even in Hotel New York or in Hotel Gellert or on the Margaret Island."

Asked whether the people in Hungary would like to receive Western books and articles, respondent said:

"Definitely! Particularly books dealing with economic matters, and with industry."

Asked where such books should be sent, respondent said:
"Such should be sent to private addresses."

(Interviewer's note: here I ask whether respondent thinks that receiving such publications might be detrimental to addressees. He answered: "No! It depends who will be written on the envelope as sender." It is important that only private names appear as senders and not something like "Free Europe Committee.")

Asked whether it would make any difference whether Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications, respondent replied:

"People in Hungary are naturally most interested in what Hungarians do, but they welcome anything from well-meaning Americans."

Regarding his opinions of the goals and functions of the Marshall Plan, respondent said:

"Of course, it was launched to help Europe to recover from damage done by World War II, with the purpose of using economic and political means of improving conditions in Europe and in Eastern Europe in the society or economic and social structure being then developed."

"The people in Hungary expected eagerly to receive aid from the Marshall plan, and they were bitterly disappointed when the Hungarian government did not allow them to obtain any part of that tremendous aid. This was very detrimental to the country because it was forced to receive aid from the Soviet Union with strings attached that actually led to exploitation of the country."

Asked about his opinion of the Korea war, respondent has this to say:

"In my opinion the Korea war was actually nothing else but a large scale maneuver in the line of preparation for a IIIrd World War if it should come. The Soviet, as well as the United States, tried out their weapons and their techniques in it."

Asked whether American had any other reason for fighting in Korea, respondent says:

"It certainly had other aims, and if it had focused its attention more, and if it not lost sight of them, the Korean war would not have ended with such a disgraceful end for America as it actually did. The Korean war ended in a virtual defeat for the United States, and the Soviet Union exploited this fact in a tremendous ~~war~~ propoganda campaign in all of the countries of the Soviet bloc. America would have gained tremendously had it won the Korea war."

First of all because it would have gained control over an area which provided good military bases. Secondly, it would have been a tremendous moral victory because all people would have looked up to America as to a liberator of small peoples. As it ended, however, it resulted in a tremendous moral loss for America's prestige, because oppressed peoples do not trust America - as a matter of course, this became even worse after the Hungarian revolution too - in which America did not extend any aid."

Asked whether the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last month in 1956, respondent said:

"Definitely! Only the UN could have affected this situation!"

Asked about his general opinion on the UN's action, respondent answers: "It is like a council of old women." (Interviewer's note: "Council of old women" denotes in Hungarian a kind of gossip club which does not take any actions and which is good for only talking and usually without any effect.)

Asked what the UN ought to have done, respondent says: "The United Nations have two measuring sticks for apportioning out - one for the small nations and one for the large ones. If the UN would actually live up to its lofty ideals and to the beautifully sounding goals and to its wonderful program, it certainly would deserve the admiration and the adherence of the people's of the world. If the UN acted like its principles are laid down, not even the Soviet Union would have the guts and the power to resist its will as it did in the case of the Hungarian revolution. Disregarding the protest of the Soviet Union, the UN ought to have sent out an observation team to Hungary immediately, when events took a turn that it was apparent that the uprising is that of a United Hungarian Nation. As a second step, upon the obviously forthcoming report of this fact-finding committee, United Nations police force ought to have occupied Hungary in order to supervise the developments. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops should have been forced by diplomatic pressure, first of all, and secondly by the deployment of UN police force. This would have been the right course to follow, but as long as the UN are only a debating society, what can the world expect of them?!"

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HLR

XVI/107 (23a)

This is what respondent thinks of the chances of effective UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future:

"I have to say openly that the only hope is that if the USA strongly influences the decisions of the UN. The debate on the Hungarian problem suffered a tremendous delay because of the disarmament talks in London, and it apparent that the US did not want to force the hand of the Soviets, fearing that these disarmament talks would collapse as ingloriously as the talks in London ended, the free world ought to awaken to the realization that the Soviet Union must be forced to carry out the orders of the UN."

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. The greatest living Hungarian: Respondent said " I think that the greatest living Hungarian is Sandor Kiss. I say this because his views are 98% identical with those of the entirety of the Hungarian nation, and he belongs to the people who have the clearest views in the fight for the interest of the Hungarian nation. He clearly sees what the situation of the Hungarian nation is today, and he also foresees what the situation of a free and independent Hungary should be in a new Eastern Europe. He has a world-wide horizon, and is a clean character - certainly a Puritan without the excesses of the Puritans."

B. Imre Nagy: " Although a communist, he realized how untenable and how disastrous the situation of Hungary was, and he was anxious to make good all the mistakes he committed in the past. He has, undeniably, great merits in the Hungarian revolution, yet I think if free elections were held in Hungary he would not be elected to be a member of the government."

Cardinal Mindszenty: " I don't intend to say anything about him."
(Interviewer's note: I tried to persuade respondent to utter his opinion on Cardinal Mindszenty and told him it would be valued even more since most people show a tremendous admiration for the Cardinal and we are certainly interested in any dissenting opinion on him, or any other person or subject. He argued that his father knew him too well when he was a rector of parish and that he himself knew him when respondent was a child. On this point, I argued with him that we are particularly interested in anyone's opinion who knew somebody personally. At long last, he volunteered:) - "In my eyes, he is not such greatness as he is usually considered. The reputation of his greatness was greatly increased by the propaganda of the Catholic Church and the Vatican, and it looked as if they wanted to make a 20th Century saint of him, keeping in mind that he meant an awful lot as a martyr in case the Communists would execute him. The Communists were smarter and they did not. The Communists refused to help the Catholic Church to win such a tremendous asset. It is undeniable that Mindszenty did an awful lot for the cause of the freedom of the Hungarian nation, but I do not think he is of greatness that has much to say of Hungarian politics and I hope he won't influence the shaping of the Hungarian future too much..and I say this all the more, as it is one of my principles that a Priest should not play with politics at all."

Laszlo Rajk: "He certainly deserved the lot that actually became his. He certainly deserved the prison which he built up himself. He deserved all the torture he suffered from those tormentors and from those tormenting devices which he instituted and installed himself. He was liquidated by the same people with whom he did those horrendous crimes. He is anything but a character - he is certainly not a person with a backbone. He can be characterized much rather as political adventurer."

Erno Gero: "The darkest of all Moscowites agents."

Janos Kadar: " I think the same as I said above refers to him as well, and besides no consistency at all, whereas Erno Gero still has some backbone in his actions."

General Bela Kiraly: " I think he is the greatest Hungarian military leader of the present day - a great Hungarian who is ready to sacrifice all of his personal interests for the interests of the nation. Unfortunately, he does not have any great political prospectives. He is a humble and straightforward military man, and a great Hungarian but not a politician."

Anna Kethly: " I reject her completely. I have a very low opinion of her. She is a Marxist and insisted in the actions of the Social Democratic Party in handing over the country after the 1947 elections to the Communists."

2. President Eisenhower: "I always had great respect for admiration for him, and great respect but after seeing how he behaved during the Hungarian revolution, I don't think any more that he is a consistent, straightforward person, because on the occasion of the elections- the Presidential elections- he sounded the note about the liberation of the countries oppressed by the Soviet Union, and I think he used it only as a propaganda device because he didn't do anything to come to the aid of the Hungarian revolution through the UN. A man with a spotless character should certainly be consistent, and this is not what I found with President Eisenhower."

Secretary-General Hammarskjöld: " He is too weak, because he cannot accomplish that the measuring-stick be the same for all nations within the UN. He committed a very great mistake when he did not go to Hungary when the revolution, or at least later, when the UN actually requested the Kadar government be admitted to Hungary - he ought to have gone, at least, then. But now, when the UN debate will come up on Hungary, and he will be invited to go, he certainly should not go because now he cannot see what actually going on until the apparatus is established real enough in Hungary."

Dulles: "His foreign policy is confused and is weak. He might think that his foreign policy is good enough for the USA but I say it is by far not good enough in this tremendous struggle between two powers of the world, and between two philosophies such as democracy and communism. There is no more a struggle between the interests of one nation as pitted against those of another nation, but this is life and death struggle involving the entire world. They ought to realize the horrendous importance of this struggle, and arrive at the right conclusions."

Eden: "The former Prime Minister did not conduct the right kind of policy in foreign affairs. It was certainly not in the interests of his people. England ought to have abandoned its colonizing policies. It should substitute for it a real policy of the country itself - that would be in the interest - in the real future interest of the British people."

Truman: "I wish the old man would have been in the Presidential office during the Hungarian revolution. He certainly knew that the language - the only language the Communists ~~understand~~ understand is that one of stemming the tide with resolute action, as he showed in Korea."

3. Mikoyan: "He is the shrewdest of the gang in Moscow, and I would not be surprised if he would come out on top at the very end."

Nehru: "He thinks that with his neutralist policies, he serves the interest of the Indian people but in the end it will turn out that through this attitude of us which I would term cowardice, he actually betrayed his people."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: "I wish that he were a good leader as he is not because the interests he serves by keeping at least a very small part of China free could serve and should serve a very good purpose, but as I understand, he is too much of a dictator."

Ferenc Nagy: "He tried his level best to stem the tide of Communism, but he was outwitted and he was outnumbered by the sheer force of the Soviet occupation in Hungary. I am afraid that he did not keep abreast of the situation in Hungary well enough and that he did and does not pursue the right policy here in exile."

Roosevelt: "He divided the world in camps with the help of Stalin. All the troubles of the world - I mean troubles on the line of foreign policy - originate with his war-time agreements with Stalin. He might have been good in his domestic policies he was a tremendous failure."

Chancellor Adenauer: "At long last, the German people found a good leader, in him, and now, it will turn out the militarist by nature."

Stalin: "He started as burglar of a post-office, and he ended up as the ruler of the greatest slave-empire of history."

Malenkow: "Malenkow is not any better than the rest of them. But the free world should watch and see whether his exile within the Soviet Union actually is because they would like to liquidate him or perhaps they just shelve him for configuration of political forces where he can be vitalized and utilized again."

71-M
HLR

XVII/111

Geberakussuni Franco: "A Fascist dictator"

Berman: "I don't know who he is."

Khrushchev: "He is another fox of a Communist leader who can make suckers out of most people with whom he deals."

Tito: "I have already spoken about him in another chapter."

Peron: "Who the hell is he?"

Molotov: He's the greatest expert of foreign policy presently living. This is why he is so utterly dangerous."

Ollenhauer: "I have no idea who he is."

were

Churchill: "If he ~~is~~ still ~~on~~ the rudder, ~~many~~ many things would not have gone so bad with the policies of England."

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of escapees: Here are respondent's views of escapees:

"Unfortunately, the first group of refugees who left Hungary were the ones who feared the revolution, who had good reason to fear the freedom fighters, that they would bring them into courts and they would have to answer for their crimes. I think not only of AVO people, but also of Party secretaries and other higher Party functionaries, the managers who set the norms in plants, and other blood-suckers of the Communist system. (Interviewer's note: On this point I asked respondent why such people didn't go back after the Kadar regime took over, and he answers:) "Many of them, of course, went back, but some stayed outside of Hungary because they were too small in the Communist machinery to white-wash themselves why they fled instead of fighting against the revolution."

"In the second wave of refugees again there were several groups of people. One group were those who sought more advantageous financial and economic position in the West, a better and larger piece of bread and butter, in other words. Another group was that of people who had relatives in the West and wanted to join them because they hoped for a better life, particularly a life without fear."

"A third group consisted of the real freedom fighters, people, I mean, who risked their skin during the fight for a free Hungary. People who did this with weapons in their hands as well as in the political arena."

"A fourth group are just generally plain people who simply feared Soviet reprisals against the entire nation and left for fear."

"If I have to speak of what social classes these belonged, I am reluctant to do so because I am principally against every division of the people, and certainly against dividing them into classes. But still, if I have to do so, I might say that the real working class - I mean working not only with physical labor, but also with brains - the people who were wage earners, who could not earn as much money by their decent and hard work, that they could have taken well care of their families, I think that this real working class was the one that fled to the West."

"Speaking of age groups, I would say that many more young people fled than old."

And here are respondent's views on those who stayed behind:

"I am moved when I have to speak of those who stayed behind. I have to lift my hat and bow before them because they are the real heroes. A great many of the real revolutionaries stayed behind, and it is those whom I mean when I say I bow before them. Because most of them stayed behind because their family circumstances did not make it easy for them to flee, and many just stayed behind because they wanted to stay with the nation, with the soil, and they wanted to fight it out with the oppressors. Others stayed behind because they figured that they had not much to fear because they did not actively participate in the revolution. At the same time I am quite confident that many of those would resist Communism passively, if not otherwise, as those who actively participated in the revolution. As a matter of course, there is also a group which consists of those who are supporters of the Communist regime, and who hope advantages from the era that followed the revolution. In general, I may say that the Hungarian people are usually reluctant to leave their homes, and even more to leave their countries, because there are thousands of strings with which they are attached to them."

As for an example of a person respondent knew who had decided to remain in Hungary, even though he had an opportunity to escape, respondent says:

"Attila Szigeti is such a person. (Interviewer's note: Szigeti was the head of the revolutionary council of Gyor, and he was one of the few leading figures in the revolution because he was a great organizer, far beyond the city, or even county, boundaries of Gyor. He called a Trans-Danubian conference and he accomplished a great deal during the revolution.)

Asked why he thinks that Attila Szigeti stayed behind, respondent says:

"It was above all his ~~naivete~~ naivete that prompted him to stay at home. He naively believed that negotiations between Hungarian freedom fighters and Russian occupation troops could lead to an agreement, and that at least partial rights of freedom could be secured for the Hungarian people. He went up to the Western border, and it was there he turned back and decided he was needed in Budapest, and he went to Kadar to offer his opinion and his suggestions."

Asked what, in his opinion, people in Hungary think about those who left, he answers:

"This is too broad a question and it has to be decided into several segments. 'Refugees' embraces too large a group of people and I certainly cannot put them all into one group. People back in Hungary certainly think of the freedom fighters who left that they had to leave, and in fact they demanded that they leave. But people back in Hungary think

not very highly of those who left Hungary without any serious reason. I mean, people who did not actively participate in the revolution. People in Hungary think that those people are too selfish to leave and they would be lost forever for the cause of the Hungarian people - I mean, for the cause of Hungarian freedom."

Asked what percentage would have stayed in Hungary, assuming that they all had a chance to come to the West, respondent answers:
" 80% of the population would have left Hungary, even though most of our Hungarians would have liked salvation of their country very much. Even today if the borders were thrown open, about the same percentage of the country would leave Hungary."

B. Exile organizations and individuals.

Asked which organizations, or individuals, the respondent knew about, he said: "I knew of the Hungarian National Council, of the American Hungarian Society and of the Canadian American Society; I also knew of the MHBK; I knew that their program was to dedicate themselves to the support of the liberation of Hungary, and to aiding the Hungarians in a very possible way. At the same time, I must say they were able to do very little in these lines. As we could see during and after the revolution. The revolution confounded the exile politicians and otherwise leaders of the exiles in a great state of confusion, and this fact contributed to the bitter opinion most of the new Hungarian refugees had towards the old leaders. The politicians of the revolution were, in many instances, told by many of the politicians "work for us but not so poorly as the politicians are abroad now". Speaking of individuals, I knew of Ferenc Nagy, of Tibor Eckhardt, of Msgr. Varga, and that was about all of them."

Respondent didn't know anything of the ACEN (Assembly of Captive European Nations; he knew of the Hungarian Council was working and even that it had some existing representation in foreign countries - and hoped that back in Hungary they would do some good work; he knew of the MHBK - they were organized militarily and heard that they would receive arms when the war broke out (Interviewer's note: I asked whether he really remembers of this before the revolution, and respondent says "yes" because these organizations were often attacked in the Hungarian Communist Radio. Respondent doesn't know anything of the Liberal Democratic Union, or the Christian Democratic Union, nor of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Exile. The same refers to International Peasant Union. The same is true is true of the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe. He knew of the American Hungarian Federation. It was devoted above all to aiding Hungarians. He heard several attacks of the Hungarian Communist Radio on the periodical "Hatchar". Respondent heard nothing about the Hungarian High Schools which are Bauschlott, Lindenburg. ~~Hatchar~~

B. Individuals:

He heard about Msgr. Bela Varga only that he was a member of the Hungarian National Council.

Ferenc Nagy: "People blame Ferenc Nagy because they said that he took a large amount of embezzled money with him to Switzerland when he fled Hungary, and they heard that he bought a farm with that money, and he maintains that Ferenc Nagy is generally detested by people whom he knew.

"We also knew of Tibor Eckhardt and we disliked him utterly, and it was one of the reasons that the Hungarian National Council did not enjoy popularity, because we knew that Tibor Eckhardt was in it. He was briefly not considered an Hungarian politician at all."

Respondent knew nothing of Paul Auer.

Imre K. Vacs: "He was the only politician living in exile who, generally, shared the respect in Hungarian - toward whom people felt confident and who was expected to return."

Respondent knew nothing of Imre Selig.

Respondent knew of Charles Peyer only on the occasion of the 1947 elections, and heard, practically speaking, nothing of him later on.

When respondent is told that Charles Peyer was not at home anymore in 1947, he shrugs and apologizes that his remark in that case refers to the 1945 elections)

Respondent didn't know anything of Laszlo Taubinger. Miklos Kalley "I knew nothing of his exile back in Hungary. I thought that he tried his level best during the War to join forces with the Allies and it was not his fault that he didn't succeed."

Zoltan Pfeiffer: "Back in Hungary, I thought that he was a very decent and a very good politician, but here I changed my mind about him."

Istvan Barankovics: "In Hungary, he was generally recognized and thought of pretty well, and I couldn't help sharing this opinion."

Msgr. Joseph Kozi-Horvath: "I knew nothing of him."

Bela Fabian: "I didn't hear anything of him, and I didn't care."

General Zako: "I knew nothing of him."

General Ferenc Farkes de Kisbarnak: "While General de Kisbarnak was back in Hungary I knew of him and I knew that he was quite popular because people are aware of the fact that he was anti-Nazi, and he wanted to see Hungary

more democratic, but I don't know anything of his role in exile."

Otto of Hapsburg: "Of course, I knew about him - who he was - but I don't think it is worth while to utter an opinion about him. Briefly he is completely outfashioned and outdated."

Admiral Horthy: "It was hard for me to make up my mind because people were so divided in forming an opinion of him. How many people blamed him for the events of 1945 - others for the development that followed 1945, and I am reluctant to say a final word."

Asked what exiles who left Hungary before 1956 accomplished, respondent answered:

"Unfortunately not much. They helped people other nations who recognized the maturity of the Hungarian people - I mean political maturity - they helped people realize the actual situation of Hungary within the Soviet bloc, and in East Central Europe and they did all of this referring particularly to the unbelievably great results of the two elections of 1945 and 1947 which were past so clearly in favor of democracy, in spite of tremendous Russian pressure, and Communist manoeuvring."

Asked what he thought about the exiles during the revolution, respondent said:

"Yes, I did think of them as the Hungarian exiles being in some unity and they might have really given us some help - at least by becoming a factor in realizing political decisions, but perhaps they could have aided us with weapons as well. At the same time, I must remark that it would not have been very favorable to the ultimate outcome of the revolution. Much as we needed the weapons, because if they had extended such an armed help to us, why I don't think it would have been favorable for the further development of the situation in Hungary - they would have claimed special rights to take part in the administration of Hungary and in the entire building up of a new country. I am particularly afraid of the few extreme right politicians - that they would have returned and would have tried to win privileges in the political arena."

C. Redefections: Asked about the redefections, redefectors - respondent explained that it was about 1947 that the official propaganda line tried to win too many of the refugees back to Hungary, and when they returned they were interred for several months. Later they were released and permitted to resume work, but ~~there~~ having been in the West there was a spot on their evaluation sheets and the mere term "Western" was a word tantamount to being unreliable.

D. Exile Tasks:

Asked what the people would like to know about the exiles, respondent answered:

"People in Hungary would like to know whether the refugees have stood their places; whether they behaved like decent people; and contributed rather than failed the reputation the revolution of last Oct. had won in the eyes of the people of the world for Hungarians. They would like to know they fit into the social and way of life patterns of the Western World. They would like to know whether the exiles have a chance to develop their mental and otherwise faculties to become a good prospective replacement for the intellectuals and otherwise leaders of the nation, who are now being killed off and being replaced by no-good communists. By intellectuals, I mean, all people in leading positions in industry and agriculture, etc."

Asked what the people in Hungary should know of the Hungarian refugees, respondent says that it is just the same.

Asked what the exiles should do now, respondent answers:

"Above all, the state of terrible confusion and the disunity should be ended, and there should be found an organization which could unite the Hungarians and which could present them in some decent way. This organization should, of course, not have any party politics in it. Party politics is not for exiles. The main purpose of this organization should be to help the people to get along in learning as much abroad as possible in their respective fields as well as on the general cultural level. The way of life - the political and economic structure of the free world should be thoroughly studied by these exiles. The new, young, and promising Hungarians should find it easy here to learn how to guide the nation in the future and thus a good number of future statesmen should develop."

"It is very important for the new refugees not to join any of the presently existing political lines from before 1956, but to preserve the ideas and the entire spirit of 1956, and they should prepare with all of their strength to study and to learn very much, so that when the Hungarian people shall call for them after liberation, to assume responsibilities of economic positions and in the cultural, scientific fields, and possibly also in the political field, they be well-prepared to man those stations. (Of course, it is very important to remark that no political jobs will be filled without the approval - not only that, but the utter wish of the Hungarian people)."

Asked what he personally thinks he could do, respondent says:

"I can say three words " to learn, to learn, and to learn'".

Asked whether he would like to join an exile organization, respondent answers that he is in one -- namely the Freedom Fighters Federation, and he would like to join the Petofic Circle. The Petofic Circle's main job would be to keep in intellectual and spiritual contact with the people in Hungary because the great trouble of all exile organizations and all exile groups is usually they do not keep abreast of the intellectual and psychological development of their respective peoples in the old country."

Asked whether the members of this organization -- the Petofi Circle-- should be old refugees, new refugees, respondent answered:

"I want by all means that both the Freedom Fighters Association and the Petofi Circle should embrace not only new exiles, but also old exiles, so that they could also be made aware of the development of the Hungarian people in the last ten years--some of those exiles still live intellectually speaking in times of the Hapsburg regime; others in the Horthy era; and again, others in the atmosphere of 1945. Some of them even still think of "taking over" !..... Just imagine?"

Asked about his feelings about the various Hungarian Parties, respondent said: "The parties in 1945 mirrored the actual face of the Hungarian people."

Asked about political parties in exile, respondent said: "Party politics have a right to exist in exile!" Politics is the matter of the actual people of Hungary in every situation even they are oppressed, they should originate every political move!"

Asked about the political parties revived in Hungary during the revolution, he said: "My opinion was very critical, even when the revolution seemed to be victorious, it was no time to revive the political parties, because the fight with the Soviet troops was so imminent that every effort should have been directed at resisting them."

Asked whether the groups that went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary, respondent answered, "Anybody who wishes to return to Hungary should return when it is free and should do on the democratic line anything he thinks would be good for the Hungarian people."

E. Asked whether he would like to go back to Hungary and under what circumstances respondent answered: "I want to return to only a free, independent and neutral Hungary !"

Asked whether he would like his children to learn Hungarian as well as English in the USA, respondent answered: "Yes, I would strictly adhere to their learning also Hungarian."

AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio: Respondent says that he listened very much to foreign radio stations while he was in Hungary. He listened to Radio Free Europe, to the Voice of America, and, sometimes, to the Yugoslav-Hungarian newscasts, and to the BBC of London.

He found the reception of the BBC and the Voice of America best.

He says that all stations were jammed, but that Radio Free Europe was jammed particularly much.

He listened only to Hungarian language broadcasts.

Asked how often he listened, he says:

"There were periods in my life when I listened twice daily, but by the time I was on correctional labor at Komlo I had hardly a chance to listen, possibly once or sometimes twice a week." Asked whether it was in the miners' barracks, respondent says that there they did not usually dare to listen to the foreign broadcasts, but it was rather at the house of friends who lived out in town.

Asked whether he told others what he heard, respondent says:

"Naturally. As a matter of course I talked things over with friends. We analyzed those regularly."

Asked whether he also heard broadcasts second-hand, he says as a matter of course he heard, because that was the way they talked things over.

Asked about risks involved in listening, respondent explains that there was definitely a risk, but perhaps it was not so great as is usually thought of. It was dangerous with people who were under special observation of the AVO, he explains.

Respondent insists that the risks involved did not usually deter people from listening.

Asked about changes in this, respondent says that lately, that is to say, before the revolution, as control eased, the terror eased generally, people were not caught so often and if caught were not punished so severely because of listening.

Respondent expresses his reaction to the broadcasts in the following words:

"I believed that news on a 50 to 50 basis."

He explains that he did not find the newscasts reliable more than 50 %.

Respondent praises BBC because of its objectivity.

The basis on which he judged the accuracy of the broadcasts was comparing Hungarian ~~and~~ radio and newspaper reports with those he heard over foreign radios and with reality if he had a chance to observe reality.

Asked about his reflections to foreign broadcasts, not only in general, but on those of Radio Free Europe, particularly, respondent answers:

"I couldn't help finding the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe emotionally supercharged. One felt again and again that the speakers, or that at least many of the speakers, had feelings of hatred and revenge to such an extent that their objectivity was disturbed."

Asked about effects, respondent says that he doesn't think there were more effects, but that people could talk things over and compare their experiences.

Asked about effects during the revolution, respondent says:

"Unfortunately, they played quite a role during the revolution, mainly the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe were heard all Hungary during the revolution and I certainly wish they would not have broadcast those things and we had not listened to them! After the Russians, the greatest killer of the Hungarian people were those broadcasts which lacked foundation in reality." (Interviewers note: At this point I asked respondent whether he himself had heard such broadcasts and he says without hesitation, and with sparkling eyes, that he certainly did.)

"It happened in more than one case that Radio Free Europe reported fights in certain areas, or troop movements, and we changed our position, or reorganized our troops so as to meet the situation as reported over Radio Free Europe, and we found it quite different in most instances. At the same time, we received attack from a direction in which, according to Radio Free Europe, there was calm and nothing was astir. The constant encouraging note of Radio Free Europe was particularly responsible for a senseless continuation and blood-letting in the revolution. It was either on November 9th or the 10th or the 11th, on one of these three days, that I heard myself a broadcast of Radio Free Europe which was addressed, I don't remember exactly, but perhaps to General Bela Kiraly in person, and said that the Hungarian freedom fighters should hold out for a few more days. You can imagine what the people who were ready to sacrifice anything for freedom did under the impact of such an encouragement."

In spite of his criticism, respondent thinks that the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe should be continued into Hungary, but not in such a form as so far, he adds. They should rather have an informative character and should stick to reality very conscientiously.

Asked to offer suggestions, respondent says:

"First of all, foreign policy news should be broadcast. Secondly, news concerning the Hungarian exiles, particularly the new exiles, how they get along in foreign countries, how well they have achieved a success in schools and colleges and universities, and how systematically, and in what fields they prepare to meet the challenge of the era that is to follow the eventual liberation of Hungary."

Respondent favors straight news about political and economic events.

Asked about anti-Communist propoganda, he says:

~~"Instead of propogandizing, there should be good news commentators provided in the form that every week another exile politician should offer commentaries on the news of the previous week as he sees things."~~

"Instead of propogandizing, there should be good news commentators provided in the form that every week another ~~exile~~ politician should offer commentaries on the news of the previous week as he sees things."

(Interviewer's note: At this point I felt it necessary to ask ~~whether~~ what he meant by his foregoing remark, and he explained that he means statesmen and politicians of the free world, and not exile politicians should give those news commentaries every week, and there should be as many of them alternating as possible.)

Respondent is in favor also of programs about life in Western Europe and in the United States.

Asked about other suggestions, respondent says:

"Reliable reports received by Radio Free Europe on cruel acts of Communist officials and particularly AVO members, should be aired through Radio Free Europe, so that those people become somewhat concerned, seeing that all the world knows about their misdeeds. However, these should not contain any brutal or otherwise threats, because the only threat justified is that these people will have to face trials in courts of a free and independent Hungary."

Another point respondent suggests should be included in Radio Free Europe broadcasts is English language lessons, because, he reasons, a great many Hungarians would like to learn English and they have no chance to do so because they cannot attend courses or are afraid to do so.

Respondent also suggests that the same lessons should be given two consecutive days, so that the ones who are easy to understand and to learn things have a way to repeat things, while those who are not so gifted in language learning can also catch up with the more gifted ones by hearing the same lesson over twice. Respondent also adds that jamming might prevent people from enjoying one lesson one day, but we may hope that the next day there wouldn't be so much jamming at the same time. He says that he would like to offer English, German and French language lessons in this fashion. In conclusion, respondent wishes to say:

"Instead of speaking of the fat belly and fat head of Rakosi, or doing some other childish name calling in so-called Communist propaganda, Radio Free Europe would do well to give good news commentaries by leading authorities in America and in other free countries, and language lessons by experts, and news and explanations in the scientific field, in various scientific fields, that is. These are the broadcasts from which people really would profit, aside from the naturally quite necessary straight news."

B. FEP Leaflets: Respondent heard of the initials NEM, but he remembers particularly if it is mentioned as the National resistance movement. He heard about it particularly through Communist sources of radio and newspapers, which always lamented about it and suspected all kinds of people as being members of this national ~~resistance~~ resistance movement and passed out sentences under this pretext.

Respondent also heard about the 12 demands and he knew that they were spread by ~~balloons~~ balloons.

C. More about Free Europe Leaflets: Respondent saw only one Free Europe leaflet and that dealt somehow with the question of farmers or agriculture or some peasants, or something like that, he recalls. That was picked up by miners who lived in the area of Komlo and brought ~~them~~ it in and showed others.

Asked whether he passed this leaflet, respondent said 'No,' he had to hand it back to the one from whom he received it and this was a general pattern, that people wanted to have the leaflets back, so they could show them to others.

Respondent heard very much about leaflets, both while he was working in the plant and while he was working in the mine.

Of the risks involved, respondent says that there were risks, but that nobody was deterred from picking up leaflets. Passing leaflets was more dangerous than simply picking them up. Respondent saw no changes in the pattern of control over the leaflets.

Asked for his opinion, respondent suggests that leaflets should be spread, first of all, and most of all, over industrial areas, large cities, and that they should be spread more regularly, if they are spread at all.

Respondent had a very good impression of the leaflet he saw, and he thinks that the 12 demands played quite a part in the imagination of the people.

He knew of no leaflets during the revolution.

Respondent thinks that leaflets should be dropped later on into Hungary.

Respondent says that mainly, the most important world events, particularly those bearing on the Hungarian situation, should be written in the leaflets. For instance, the summary of the report of the five nations committee of the United Nations, or the ~~resolution~~ resolution that was passed by the General Assembly on the so-called Hungarian Question. He reasons that there are many places in which four or five or six families have only one radio and that leaflets could also play a role in keeping people informed.

D. Goals of Western Groups: Respondent thinks that the main goal is to strike those at the other camp because there are two vast camps which are basically different in their philosophy and in their way of life and in their ultimate aims. He also thinks that the free world is anxious to restore its reputation, which has suffered so many set-backs under a very skillful Communist propaganda.

Respondent sees no difference between the goals of the various groups.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

Asked what the most important things a child should be taught, respondent says:

"The love of God and fellow human beings and the sincere appreciation for work. If a person is well taught these three substantial points, he will ~~not~~ make a good member of society and a democratic member of society."

Asked how a child should be disciplined, respondent answers:

"By persuasion!"

Asked about punishment, he says:

"A child should be kept under discipline, so he can learn to discipline himself. The first and main method of disciplining is words, persuasive words, and if they do not reach their goal, then smaller punishments may come, including also ~~any kind of physical punishment~~ minor punishments, such as kneeling, standing in a corner, being slightly spanked, or not being permitted to take part in some amusement which the child would like to attend."

Asked about differences between boys and girls in the field of disciplining, respondent suggests that boys and girls should be handled the same way until they become four or five years old, and from then on the mother should make real ~~fix~~ friends with her daughters and they should have much more the relationship of an older and a younger friend than that of a stern parent and a small child. Boys, however, should be kept under a stricter discipline, including also punishments, if unavoidable. Father and boy should develop a relationship of an older friend and a younger friend only about the age of 13, 14, 15. Straight-forwardness and frankness should be very important as a characteristic to develop in the case of boys as well as girls.

Asked about a punishment he himself received from his parents, respondent says that he was quite often, indeed very often, punished by his father, who was utterly nervous and quite often he was punished for only very slight reasons and sometimes even by mistake and unjustly. He offers this one special instance:

"I had to do homework in geography and I had to show this assignment in school and I neglected doing it, and they sent a message home to my father, stating this fact. I was about 13 or 14 years old at that time, and father took the poker from the stove, heating stove, and, well, he really thrashed me out and it was a terrible beating. That was the end for me of the parental education I could take, because I received so little rearing from my father anyway and I certainly didn't want to have this type of child rearing."

really thrashed me out and it was a terrible beating. That was the end for me of the parental education I could take, because I received so little rearing from my father anyway and I certainly ~~wouldn't~~ didn't want to have this type of child rearing."

Asked whether it was usual for him to receive punishments from his father, respondent said yes, he was the one. It was respondent's experience that it was mostly the father, in families he knew, who punished the children who were older than six years.

Asked whether punishment depended upon the sex of the child, respondent says not in his experience. He thinks it depended much more on who was near when something wrong was done by children. There was no real difference, only in more advanced age of the children. He means around the age of 13, 14 or so, when girls were much more taken care of by mothers and the boys by fathers. It depended also upon the nature of the character of parents. In the one case the mother was more quick-tempered and in another the father. Or one was more strict than the other.

Asked about the differences in the kinds of punishment between social classes, respondent says that there was no difference as to whether the father or the mother punished the children, but he saw some difference in the kind of punishment, because he thinks the more educated parents, the more persuasion they used, and this made some difference.

Respondent saw no changes in the way the parents punished their children in the last 10 years.

Asked when parents stopped punishing their children, respondent says that boys were usually punished up to the age of 13 or 14 and girls up to the age of 8 or 10.

Speaking of other types of punishment, mainly scolding is mentioned by respondent, the abandonment took place, he thinks, at the age of 17 in the case of boys and at the age of 14 to 16 in the case of girls.

He sees a difference in this respect between social classes, because it seems to him that the humbler classes abandoned punishment at an earlier age, somewhere around 12, 13 or 14.

Communism

Asked about the changes/brought about, respondent says Communism actually forbade parents to punish their children and there were some changes, but usually the pattern remained the same. There were even a few cases, he estimates, in which parents refrained from strictly punishing their children because they were afraid that he would denounce them.

Asked about changes during the last 10 years in the way children are disciplined during their first eight years in school, respondent answers that there just wasn't any disciplining in school any more, and he wishes to add this:

"Generally speaking, there was no real education in the school, aside from teaching Communist ideology. And from strictly ~~teaching~~ teaching the various skills. At the same time, most parents didn't have the time and couldn't afford bothering much with their children in the way of teaching them. All of this resulted in the fact that the child usually awakened at the age of 12, 13, 14, that he was criminally neglected. He was shocked to experience and to realize that he was left pretty blank mentally and spiritually. This was one of the main reasons why the child turned against Communist society and blamed that for his having been left blank. This change usually occurred around the age when children started reading serious literature and he saw in literature how differently people behaved and thought and talked than he himself. This shocking realization usually drove children to an unquenchable thirst in acquiring more and more knowledge of life and of people and of almost everything they had a personal interest in. Many of the children grew so resentful against the society that neglected them that many of them became delinquents and others, including delinquents, hated the regime thoroughly. Thus Communism made a disastrous mistake when it taught that it can leave people with empty hearts and blank mind and soul and did not realize that people who are wholesome will thirst for knowledge."

Asked once more about the ways children were disciplined in the first 8 years in school, respondent explains that there were such punishments as writing a sentence like 'I won't talk during class' a hundred times, and such things as sending home a message to the parents that the child mis-behaved, or didn't study, but generally speaking, he explains, the Communist regime was anxious to have the children think of their teachers as pleasant people who do never punish them, so they could grow more attached to them than to their parents. The educators, the teachers,

were supposed to teach Communism in schools, and to make good Communists out of the children.

Asked what characteristics he values most in a friend, respondent answers:

"A friend should always be sincere and frank. He should tell the faults of his friend as well as the good things about him, so that the friend can learn from the reminders and improve himself. A good friend should be consistent in his political views, everybody has to have some political persuasion. He should also be educated and well polished, so that he can help his friend in this respect as well. He should have a good contact with every social strata of society."

Asked whether there have been any changes in friendship under Communism, respondent answers that unfortunately, a great many people who would have become good friends, if they had been under no duress and oppression, did not become, because there wasn't a chance for them to talk openly about their views. And so they just couldn't exchange their views.

Respondent is a gaunt, somewhat literary individual, and has a thin, bony face with very shiny brown eyes. His hair gives the impression of being somewhat unkempt, and his clothing is usually not very well-looking; in fact it gives the appearance of what a Marxist would call a "typical proletarian", of whom much fighting can be expected, because he is quick in his movements and his reaction to any noise or utterance is amazingly quick.

Talking to respondent, one gets right away, the feeling of utter tenseness. He is what you might call a high-strung person who is a chain-smoker and of whom I know exactly that he is much inclined to drink and it takes all of his efforts to deny his longing to himself. His tense feeling is well revealed in his voice which is quite often very excited, and even trembling.

Respondent is very out-spoken, and likes to call a spade a spade. He certainly wouldn't do that to someone whom he doesn't know, and it is very ~~much~~ important for me to emphasize that I have become friendly with him during the interview to an extent that he honored me with talking with me as to a person who is a close friend of his.

Respondent likes jokes very much and can laugh heartily about any good joke which either he himself says, or someone else. In his laughter, you also feel, and it is very easy to perceive a very tense feeling.

Respondent is awfully quick to change his opinion if he is persuaded, because his intellect seems to be high above the average and his factual knowledge way below what one would expect from a person of his intellect. Now, if he starts wandering in one direction, and he hears an argument that sounds convincing to him, he is quick to change his mind, and he's very quick to formulate the changed opinion. This I experienced, not so much during the interview, of course, but rather in conversations and debates in which I took place after I got acquainted with him through the interview.

His imagination is a flaming fire, and I'm afraid that he belongs to those, I hope, very few respondents whose word cannot always be taken by its face value, but one has to reckon with exaggerations, and even, in some cases even with gross exaggerations. This all the more since he is a very proud person, and filled with a sense of duty toward his nation and fellow human beings; and if he in one or the other instance did not live up completely to his own ideals because he has no chance, or lacked the guts in that certain instance, he hates to remember himself as of not having lived up to his ideals.

his

This is not to say, however, that guts are to be considered less than he tires to betray because persons whom I know him well attest also to the fact that he is an exceptionally courageous person who has initiative and who shrinks from no danger.

71-M
HLR

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(26b)

What has to be, in my humble judgment, scrutinized and not accepted easily, is his remarkable memory which pins down the fact even by the hour. I am afraid that there are facts which are the product of imagination rather than of reality.

Respondent is amazingly quick to learn and to seems to have a real hunger for knowledge, but appears to lack a persistent will power. I think he's great for actions, but no half-as great to keep persistently working on some project.

I have ample experience to attest to the fact that he easily wins the confidence of people, and he's quite popular .