

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, ETC.

On the night of the 22nd of October I was at home. I knew about the meeting at the Technical University in Budapest, but I could not attend.

On the morning of the 23rd I went to my office as usual. An assistant professor of the Technical University came to my office and told me about what took place at the meeting of the students the previous day. I called together five young colleagues at the office and requested the assistant professor to repeat for them what he had told me. We decided to call a meeting of the DISZ organization in our office. They all came immediately, willingly, and the assistant professor renewed his account of the meeting the previous day. We decided to take part in the silent demonstration and march to the Bem Statue, which was scheduled for five o'clock that afternoon.

A trade union meeting was planned for that afternoon, but the DISZ group decided to skip the meeting and to participate in the demonstration instead.

We contacted the other drafting offices and found that they too were coming.

We were the first ones to decide to take part in the demonstration, but it seemed that the other offices found out about the details of the students' meeting about the time we did. We also learned that in some of the offices the personnel decided to take part in the demonstration jointly. On hearing this, we decided to go to the manager of our office and get his consent to let the whole office participate in it. He agreed, and the whole office decided to take part in the silent demonstration in support of the Poles.

The radio announced that the Ministry of the Interior had banned the demonstration.

We got in touch, by telephone, with the other planning offices and decided to take part in the demonstration despite the fact that the Minister had banned it. We were almost certain that this would be the attitude of the students of the Technical University also. We sent a colleague to the University to check on what was going on and what would be decided, and to have him maintain constant contact with us by phone. We also contacted other planning offices and it was decided where we should meet and from where to start in the demonstration.

There was not much work done in the office that day. Everyone was excited. I do not know from where, but we got [red-white-green] ribbons for our buttonholes.

At one p.m. the radio announced that the Minister of the Interior had given permission after all for the demonstration to take place.

At 2:30 our office lined up. One of the section chiefs made a speech and stressed the importance of keeping this demonstration a silent demonstration.

We marched to Bem Square with great enthusiasm, and waited for the Technical University students to appear, for they were the ones who were really staging this demonstration. They were late in appearing. We found out later that this was due to the fact that they were not coming directly but marched through the city in order to attract more attention.

There were many people there. We sang the Hungarian national anthem, somebody recited a patriotic poem by Petofi, the so-called "Talora Magyar", a poem well-known from the 1848 Hungarian revolution.

The Palfy barracks were also on Bem Square and all the soldiers were in the windows looking on with interest. Somebody from the crowd began to shout, "Put flags on the barracks." Some of the soldiers disappeared and came back with Hungarian flags without the Communist emblem on them. The crowd cheered this, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was also on the Square, followed suit.

Ten minutes later we heard singing and an officers' school marched up. The companies consisted of civilians and officers intermittently. The crowd began to cheer the Hungarian soldiers, and they in return cheered the Hungarian workers.

After another ten minutes or so, during which the national anthem was again sung and the Petofi poem recited again, word went through the crowd that the students of the Technical University were coming.

There was dead silence. The students, marching in order, slowly, as if in a funeral march. The first line brought the wreath, which was later placed on the Bem Statue.

I do not know how many people were there, but in my estimation it must have been several thousand. The students of the Budapest Universities and other colleges, etc., also took part in this silent demonstration.

Peter Veres made a speech in the name of the Writers' Association and read the demands of that association.

An actor (I do not know his name) recited the Petofi poem. Hungarian and Polish flags and the Kossuth emblem were placed on the Bem Statue. Somebody read the 14 points of the Budapest Technical University students (their demands).

After that, we made an about face and went over to the other side of the Danube, to the Parliament. I also went with them, but turned off to get my supper, after which I went back to Parliament Square.

Before the Parliament there was a huge crowd. The feeling was very elated. The majority of the demonstrators were the students of the Budapest Technical University. Here again their demands were read, the national anthem was sung, and the Petofi poem was recited.

The crowd demanded Imre Nagy. There was always a delay. We were told that he was coming, that he was already in his car, that he was on his way, etc.

Minister Erdei tried to address the crowd, but he received boos and cat-calls, and was not allowed to speak.

We knew that Gero was scheduled to make a speech at 8:00 p.m.

All at once the lights went out, which caused great indignation among the crowd. Everybody yelled that this was a provocation. I do not know whose idea it was, but what happened next was one of the most unforgettable sights I ever experienced. Somebody twisted his Szabad Nep into a torch, lit it, and in a matter of seconds the whole crowd followed suit. With the subscription to newspapers being almost compulsory, everybody had a newspaper in his pocket. The whole square was brilliantly lit up. The crowd soon ran out of newspapers, but a few torches were made out of rags dipped in oil. This was probably the work of some of the chauffeurs or motor-cycle owners. Later on the lights were turned on.

All at once an officer of an armored division came into the crowd very excited, yelling, "They are shooting the crowd in front of the radio building. Come there quickly." Nobody believed him, they almost beat him up, thinking that this was a provocation to get the crowd to disperse from in front of the Parliament. Yells immediately went up, "Stick together, stick together."

Later a truck came with young people on it. They showed us the empty shells of tear gas guns and tried to get us to go to the radio building, saying that we were needed there.

This again was suspected of being a pretext for getting the crowd to disperse. Again the shouts went up, "Stick together."

After two or three hours of waiting, Imre Nagy finally showed up. He received many cheers and great applause, but his speech had nothing in it.

We knew that Gero had already made his speech. Even before his speech, when we were coming over from Buda, shouts of "Down with Gero" were made by the demonstrators.

In his speech Gero used very strong terms condemning the demonstrators, branding them as fascists, etc. We saw that Gero had no intention of following the New Course or of making concessions, and wanted to restore the old times. We were informed of Gero's speech immediately. Word spread through the crowd of what he had said.

In his speech Imre Nagy tried to calm us, telling us to go home and that the government would consider our demands and start negotiations, and so on.

The general impression was that it had been a waste of time to wait for Nagy. We booed him for his speech. But I realized that Imre Nagy was at that time still a private person with no power of office.

Nobody expected the demonstration to turn into a revolution as it did.

To ask what I felt or what others felt at the time of the demonstration is in my opinion a stupid question. If somebody was afraid then, he will not admit it now.

At that time, nobody suspected that these demonstrations in their final outcome would be world-shaking events.

When Imre Nagy finished his speech and the crowd took up the cry "Let's go to radio", then I realized that there would be trouble. I knew that such a wild crowd could not be controlled, and that the government would not let them come near the radio building.

That was the first time I realized that the avalanche could not be stopped.

We were very naive and very young, and the older people were also naive. We hoped to cause a change in the government, and that a new government would make concessions in the direction of the national line, but we did not dream of severing ourselves from the Soviet Union. Nobody could have hoped for that at that time.

We thought that we would get the old Hungarian emblem, national uniforms for the army, a revision of the trade agreements with Russia, etc.

"If the government had had a bit of sense, it would have disarmed the revolution. The politicians in power at that time were so stupid that they should be put on show for their stupidity. That the revolution broke out and took the course it did was caused 80 per cent by the government itself. Every measure the government took was at least one hour late, when the measure was no longer of any use.

About 40 per cent of the demonstrators were young students, 20 per cent young workers, and 40 per cent others.

Concerning organization and leadership of the demonstration, I can state the following: I know from a reliable person that the Military Department of the Technical University issued instructions before the demonstration telling the students how it should be staged. This in a sense shows a certain central leadership. Also, the students of the Technical University lithographed their demands and these demands were distributed by students at the railroad stations to commuters, and were thrown on trucks going to the suburbs of Budapest, where the industrial workers lived.

I do not know the details of what the instructions were, that is, the instructions issued by the Military Department of the University. But I am certain that these instructions did not include the use of arms or fighting, etc. It must have been only how to effectively organize the demonstration itself.

About 30 per cent of the demonstrators joined the demonstration spontaneously when they saw the students approaching.

If the radio had not called the attention of the population to the demonstration, by announcing that it had been banned by the Minister of the Interior, not ten per cent of Hungary's population would have heard about it.

(B) I was not present at the radio building when the fighting began. A group of demonstrators went to the radio wanting to demand that Gero's speech be removed from the program. I heard many versions of what happened there, but I do not know exactly how the whole thing took place.

I, however, know from reliable sources that the first casualty was a Hungarian officer who received a wound in his stomach when he went to rescue a woman who was wounded in front of the building. This officer died.

I think that the fighting began when the soldiers who were in the crowd returned the shots of the AVH. The crowd immediately stopped cars and trucks, sending them to bring arms and munitions. These were brought in front of the National Museum and everybody could receive a pistol or a sub-machine gun, whatever he liked.

By this time there were also workers from Csepel and Ujpest among the demonstrators, and they finally occupied the radio building. This was done with the aid of Hungarian tanks. By that time the studio itself was useless, broadcasts were being made from the central military bomb shelter in Buda (szikla barlang).

I marched with the crowd from the Parliament to the radio studios. By the time I got there the fighting was already going on. After midnight, I felt very tired and sleepy, and for my part I went home, although I realized that great things were happening.

When I came near the Marget bridge, I saw a large column of soldiers coming in trucks. The crowd was shouting, "Don't shoot at Hungarians." The soldiers promised not to do so, although I think they did not know what was happening in Budapest. They were just brought in from somewhere outside the city.

An interesting thing happened there, to which I was a witness. A truck was parked in a side street near the main street on which the army trucks were coming. Some of the crowd went to the chauffeur of this civilian truck and persuaded him to drive into the center of the road, blocking the way for the army. He did so. The army caravan had to stop and the crowd swarmed over to the army trucks, arguing with the soldiers and persuading them not to fight against Hungarians. The soldiers promised they wouldn't. They said, "Don't worry, we won't shoot."

That night was the first time I saw a copy of the "Szabad Ifjusag". Its headline was "The Streets Are Ours".

It was interesting to see a blue policeman near the bridge. The poor man was very much puzzled and didn't know what to do. The crowd was giving him political indoctrination, but he was a very puzzled man, and didn't know what to do about the whole thing, which he somehow thought was irregular.

acquired
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police

The slogans were, besides "Down with Gero", also "Russkies go home". I heard the term freedom fighter for the first time next day.

It is interesting to relate what I heard from a reliable eye-witness. He also took up arms when arms were distributed near the radio building. He fought that night. After the fighting at the radio building ended, these armed civilians loafed around for a time on the streets. There was no sign of the AVG anywhere.

My friend went to the Stalin statue, later went home. None of the armed civilians knew what to do.

Next day word went around that the civilians who had received arms should report to the Kilian barracks (Maria Teresa barracks) on Ulloi Road. Many of them appeared, but the army did not let the civilians into the barracks, because that would cause too much confusion. It was agreed that the civilian freedom fighters would set up their headquarters in the Corvin building, across the street from the barracks, and that they would occupy the buildings in the vicinity of the barracks proper. They were welcomed by the families living there, slept there and were fed by the families. So the Corvin building was the headquarters of the civilian freedom fighters, and across the street the barracks was the headquarters of the army freedom fighters.

That morning nothing happened for a time, but then my friend saw a car approaching on the road. The freedom fighters stopped the car; blue policemen were inside. They were suspicious. The freedom fighters dragged out the policemen from the car and, on examining them more closely they found that the occupants of the car were AVH men who had donned blue uniforms over their regular AVH uniforms. What happened to them I do not exactly know.

Another interesting thing that happened at the Kilian barracks was the following: A caravan of army officers and men in two-three busses and several trucks approached the Kilian barracks. They stopped, some distance from the building, got out, and under cover approached the barracks. The crowd surrounded them and started to argue with the major in command and with the political officer. It was of no use, although it was evident that the major was wavering in his determination. When the crowd saw that there would be fighting, everybody went for cover but continued to watch for what was taking place.

When the major and his troop were refused entrance into the building, he ordered his men to shoot. It was interesting to see that all the soldiers fired into the air. The people in the barracks also noticed this, and a white-flagged group came out of the barrack gates and stopped half way across the street. The major went up to them. What they talked about my friend did not hear, but at the end the major gave over his sub-machine gun to the officers from the barracks. There was one shot. The political officer had been shot from behind, and all the soldiers rushed into the barracks and embraced the soldiers there.

This was the first attack against the Kilian barracks, and the government realized that it could not depend on the Hungarian soldiers.

By that time the Russian tanks were already in the city. They were grouped on the Nagyavarad Square, at the end of the Ulloi Road. From there in groups of 4-5 tanks they shuttled to the Kilian barracks and back, shooting out their ammunition and always returning for more.

The soldiers in the barracks did not have anti-tank artillery, but the civilians and the children came to their aid. The Molotov cocktails were already in very effective use. The Russians did not dare to go into the side streets, for those were very dangerous for them.

Even on the wider main streets the children out-tricked them. They placed a bomb of explosives on the street, attaching two ropes to it. When the tank came, noticing the bomb or mine, it wanted to avoid it. But with the aid of the ropes the children from the two sides of the street and from the cover of cellars always pulled the mine directly into the path of the tank.

Another thing the civilians, mostly children, did was: They let the tank go by, shooting its gasoline tank with small arms, and when the tank went further, losing much gasoline, they threw a cocktail onto the tank, destroying it completely.

The freedom fighters were very mobile in contrast to the cumbersome Russian tanks. The Russians did not have infantry.

There was great enthusiasm from the very beginning because everybody saw that the Russian army could do nothing against us if the Hungarian army was on our side. Everybody realized that great things were taking place, and events in Budapest would have great effect abroad. Everybody sat beside his radio and watched intently what the foreign broadcasts said, what the official statements, announcements, and so on were.

We were chiefly concerned about what was taking place in CSR, Romania, and Poland. We realized that alone we could do nothing but if they joined us we had much better hope.

The majority of the people did not realize this in their elation over the initial success of the revolution.

Naturally there was fear when we learned that the government had called the Russians to help, but this was overshadowed by the great resentment and anger against the government for taking such a step.

The peasants did not fight, but they did what they were supposed to. They brought food to Budapest and refused to accept money for it. The participants in the fighting were primarily the students, second the half-proletarians from the eighth district

of Budapest, known as "franzstadt", and finally the industrial workers. The franzstadt group got out of the fighting when it saw that things were becoming dangerous. It must be admitted that their district suffered heavy damages from the fighting.

The above ranking does not include the army freedom fighters, among whom all classes were represented.

Something more about the events of that week, when the Russians were out of the city.

On the morning of the 24th I went to my office as usual. Nobody worked, everybody was discussing the events of the previous day.

(I am a bit mixed up now about the actual dates.)

Next day was the day on which the fighting in front of the Parliament building occurred. That morning I stood in line for bread near my office because quite unexpectedly bread was obtainable there. I went back to the office and we were there together until noon. The bridges had been closed in the meantime. I could go across to Pest only by putting on a white coat (the kind we used in our office, and which is also used in hospitals) and saying to the guards at the bridge that I was a hospital employee. I went over to Pest to Marko Street, where my girl friend was living. This was quite near to the Parliament.

I must repeat that I was not an eye-witness, only an ear-witness to what took place in front of the Parliament, but I got a first-hand account from reliable persons who were there.

When I went to Marko Street I saw that the Ministry of Defense was entirely surrounded by Russian tanks.

In the fighting which was going on inside the city two Russian tanks surrendered, the Russians in the tanks embraced the civilian population (freedom fighters) and these tanks led the demonstration of people toward Parliament Square. Who was then in the tanks and who operated them I do not know, but the Russian tanks were covered with Hungarian flags. They went through Alkomany Street toward Parliament Square, which is about twice the size of Union Square. People followed the tanks into the Square, and it was half full of people. The AVH men from the surrounding buildings overlooking the square and the Russian tanks guarding the Parliament started to machine-gun the crowd. The crowd suffered very heavy losses. People were standing close to each other, and every bullet caused damage. Several hundred casualties (dead) occurred. Parliament Square is quite close to Marko Street, where my girl friend lives. I saw the Russian tanks which were guarding the Ministry of Defense close in on Parliament Square. I heard the firing, and like everybody else I fled in the opposite direction.

The most important thing in all this was that the Russian tanks without Russian infantry were unable to control the insurgents. The Russians suffered very heavy losses. Whether for tactical reasons or because they had to, they evacuated Budapest, but dug themselves in around the city.

A new cabinet was formed under Imre Nagy.

To maintain order the insurgents organized provincial police. The government began to establish bourgeois democracy. In the next days at least ten new newspapers appeared. All the parties began to organize, negotiations were in progress concerning the forming of a coalition, new elections were planned, etc.

At that time we wanted the UN to send observers to Hungary and the government to start negotiations with the Soviets to withdraw their troops.

Imre Nagy stressed the fact that on the basis of equality he wanted to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union and an independent, free, democratic Hungary. At this time the national guards of the insurgents liquidated the still-resisting AVO groups in the capital.

The rural population, that is, the peasants, were pouring large amounts of food into the capital, and were refusing to accept money for it.

At the airfield, a Hungarian delegation was always there waiting to greet the UN delegation. Regrettably, no one came.

Finally the radio announced that more Russian troops were being moved into Hungary.

(C) Between the fighting -- that is, in the week when the Russians were out, -- I worked with the Information Service of the Technical University. We had trucks and loudspeakers going around the town broadcasting news and information about food supplies to the public.

When the Russians went out I hoped that they were really going out. Everyone was so optimistic at that time.

I learned of the Russian re-invasion from the radio. My primary reaction was fear. I begged my friend to start immediately on a motor bike Westward. He wasn't willing to come.

I stayed in Budapest until the end of November. I left Hungary on the 24th. Until then I was trying to make myself as inconspicuous as possible. I had to wait to have an acceptable pretext for going officially near the border.

I am reluctant to discuss the details of my escape to the West.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF WESTERN HELP DURING THE REVOLUTION

Everybody was expecting aid from the West, but no one was certain what this help would be or should be like. There was much talk of a UN force coming into Hungary. We also hoped that Austria would give up its neutrality. We hoped that UN sanctions would prove effective.

But there was really only one realistic hope: and that was that Warsaw, Prague, Bucharest, and the other satellite capitals would follow our example. Regrettably, they did not. Had they done so our victory and theirs also would have been almost certain, and Moscow would have had to retreat.

At first all our hopes were turned toward the West. But these gradually dwindled when the Russians came and took over. My attitude toward the United Nations can be summed up briefly in these three words: they are powerless.

Yes, I did have contact with people from the West during the revolution. I knew a girl from the British Legation. She was very optimistic and confident in the United Nations. She encouraged us, saying that everything would be all right, and she also said that the Red Cross was going to help everyone and also assist people in going West, should that be necessary.

My second contact with Westerners was when I saw a long motorcade of Western diplomats, more than 30 cars, bedecked with their respective flags. The cars contained diplomatic personnel and their families. They were going to Austria in the week between the fighting. Everybody waved to them and cheered them, and the general feeling was that it was a fortunate thing to have had them here to witness the events which took place.

V. (A)

My father was a commercial agent (salesman). He died on the Russian front during the war. We were not rich people. We lived the life of the petit bourgeoisie.

My parents were divorced. My mother also worked in a Budapest department store. She also worked before the war and during the war, as long as they let her do so because of racial discrimination. During the war she was deported and died.

I do not know how much she earned -- it's not important, I was a child of 14 then.

The questions concerning the earnings of parents and family members I consider stupid. No one will be able to answer them exactly, due to the great differences in the purchasing power of the pengo and later the forint.

Neither I nor my family nor my in-laws had property.

Both of my parents completed the gymnasium in Hungary, which is much higher than the high school graduation here in America. Generally this is accepted as the equivalent of at least two years of college.

(B) The question concerning social classes should be divided into two parts. From 1945 to 1948 or the beginning of 1949 every class existed. The nationalization of industries and enterprises which came into full strength about that time changed greatly the social structure.

I consider the intelligentsia a separate social class.

The capitalists as a social class ceased, but they were able to maintain a much higher standard of living for a comparatively long time even after the nationalization of industries, etc.

I had no contact whatsoever with the peasantry, and very little contact with the industrial workers. I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia. I also had contact with the capitalistic class, as my uncle, with whom I lived after my parents died during the war, was an industrialist, well-to-do. His enterprise was nationalized in 1948.

Peasantry: As I said, I did not have very much contact with them. I consider them to be good-hearted, cordial people, who like the soil very much, are strongly nationalistic and work very hard with a low standard of living.

Industrial workers: In general there is a moderate right-wing tendency among them. They can be very easily influenced, are not realistic as a class. This all has historic reasons. The many years of intentional stupification in both directions and their low standard of living were also conducive to this.

Intelligentsia: Strongly democratic, based on national traditions and with a general love for freedom. They are very talented.

The capitalists: If it is possible to state an average, they are very enlightened, educated, and intelligent.

The aristocracy: It is a good thing they do not exist any more.

Concerning the reaction of the different classes to Communism, all classes disliked, hated Communism, with the exception of about five percent of the peasantry, 30 percent of the industrial workers. Concerning the intelligentsia, well, it is difficult to say how they really felt. There were many of them who talked the Party line but no one really knows how sincere they were. But subsequent events proved that none of them liked Communism. That is, the great majority.

The reasons for these reactions in the peasantry were the love of the land. Among the industrial workers, low wages and low standard of living; among the intelligentsia the craving for freedom, the fact that they were not understood or appreciated, and the mere hopelessness of their situation.

These reactions did change. The stronger the terror was, the more the regime was hated.

In my opinion the capitalists were hit the hardest by the Communist regime. This is evident, they lost everything they had.

In my opinion the people in Hungary are 100 per cent class conscious. People do think of themselves as belonging to their class. Whether this has changed since 1945 ... well, I just do not know exactly what you mean under this question, but I think no.

Concerning the degree of class consciousness, I think that the intelligentsia keeps together the most, that is, help each other. The bourgeoisie had become united in their struggles against oppression.

Those previously considered capitalists since the nationalization of industry and the abolition of the capitalistic class can now be considered as members of the intelligentsia.

Concerning the attitude of the different classes to each other: The industrial workers did not have as high regard for the intelligentsia as the peasants. The industrial workers were sorry for the peasants, but did not care much about them otherwise. These questions are very abstract and I have little experience in this respect.

I do not know how the intelligentsia in general felt about the other classes, but I can tell you my attitude toward them: The industrial workers were closer to me than the peasantry. I appreciated them, but I did not like their disinterest in culture and education, and their low standard of living. I did not despise them or look down upon them because of this, but I would have liked it otherwise. I positively did not like their strong tendency toward the right.

Peasants: I had very little contact with them. My opinion is they are very decent people; if they are not harmed they will not harm others. They are satisfied with very little and work extremely hard.

There has been change in the general attitude of the classes toward one another. The degree to which the intelligentsia was appreciated was constantly increasing.

The degree to which the various classes participated in the revolt is the following: First, the intelligentsia, after that the workers, and last of all the peasantry. But this is just for the civilians. All classes were represented in the army.

I did not see peasants actually fighting, but on the other hand I do not know what the situation was outside Budapest.

The students and the worker troops fought until the very end. In the first phase of the fighting the participation of the industrial workers was less than later. The leading role was always played by the students.

The chances of getting ahead in Hungary:

We must distinguish here between the period up to 1949 and after then. Till the end of 1948 or the beginning of 1949 we had a bourgeois democracy and everybody could acquire any kind of position on the basis of his talent. It was possible to study, everybody was admitted to the schools.

There were certain advantages in belonging to the Party even at that time. The tendency toward dictatorship was already evident. Key positions in government and in administration were all filled with Communists from the very beginning. But for the time being everybody had a more or less equal chance with the exception of the ex-Fascists whom they tried to isolate. But there was a positive advantage in belonging to the Communist Party at that time.

Later, after the 1948 elections, we were progressing more rapidly toward Communist dictatorship. Economic tightening, nationalization of industries and enterprises made it more difficult to get ahead.

Simultaneously, numerus clausus was introduced. That meant that only workers and peasants were admitted to the universities and schools of higher education. The children of the intelligentsia were admitted only in very small numbers.

This policy against the intelligentsia blocked the way to economic advancement. There followed a general deterioration of the economic situation. The incompetence of the economic leadership, the lack of understanding on their part, the Russian colonial policy, blocked the way to economic advancement.

After 1948 talent and know-how played a minimal role in advancement. The importance was placed on Party membership. A talented, gifted non-member was not able to get ahead. The only exception was among the prominent sportsmen, first-rate artists, and first-rate scientists.

Concerning changes in social mobility, I have already answered this question above. A change is evident after 1949. During the last three years the intelligentsia was better appreciated because they were needed for the economic reconstruction program. From the beginning of 1956 they were fully appreciated.

Concerning what kind of man is most likely to get ahead: The man "who has no stomach" (one who can swallow everything). The egotistical person, the ambitious person, the one without character.

As in other societies, also in Hungary there are people who get more from society than they deserve. These are the: industrial--worker--aristocracy and the peasant-aristocracy. Also the reliable higher government official, the AVH and top military officers.

VI. FAMILY LIFE

Yes, Communism did affect family life. The standard of living was low. There was a struggle for the everyday bread. This had a negative effect on family life. No matter how many children there were in the family, the mother also had to work. Practically from the very moment of its birth, the child was educated by the state.

Financial hardship, the dispersal of the family sooner or later undermined the harmony of family life.

But on the other hand, the fear and insecurity joined them closer together.

My opinion is that these effects on family life were undesirable, and that Communism affected the family life of all classes alike.

Yes, Communism has changed the way children are brought up. The influence of the parents has become entirely uncertain.

In the schools, from kindergarten on, the children were exposed to constant Communist influence. The parents, who are working all day, attempt to counter-balance this influence at home. The result is that the poor child is completely confused. At home he experiences the exact opposite of what he has been told all day at school.

This is the same with girls and boys alike, and in all age groups.

(2) Yes, during the last ten years children have been inclined to obey their parents to a lesser degree than previously. This applies to all fields. This is self-evident. I refuse to discuss this in detail.

Yes, the changes are the same in all social classes, all children of all classes go to the same schools.

There is no difference in this respect among grade school or high school children nor does the degree of education of the parent come into consideration.

(C) Courtship, marriage, and so on.

Courtship: I can tell about this only as far as the bourgeoisie is concerned. Economic and financial considerations have changed the pattern of courtship -- fewer gifts, less frequent entertainment, and the demands of the younger people have also lessened.

Concerning the spiritual, not material, aspects of courtship, there are no changes.

Marriage: Marriage is a hopeless problem. Both of them are working and it is so difficult to provide a home. Despite this, the number of marriages has increased. This must be due to the instinctive turning to one thing -- to belong to someone in this era of oppression, and also to the desire to simplify the small delights of life. And there also is the slogan, "Two can live cheaper than one if both are working."

Divorces have been made more difficult in recent years than they were before the war. Although immediately after the war the Communists, in order to win popularity, loosened up the divorce laws. Immediately before the revolution, the new era abolished some of the restrictions introduced by the Rakosi regime in order to curb divorces.

There is no change in the way young people meet and get to know each other. Pre-marital sexual intercourse is general, the number of illegitimate children is dangerously high. This latter is the result of the draconic laws introduced by Minister of Welfare Ratko, very severely punishing abortions. Prophylactics were available at all times. This so-called "family protection law" was a curse under those economic conditions. Children were born one after another, and the parents did not have anything to give them to eat.

Before the revolution the question of abortions had also changed. You could have an abortion performed at any hospital or sanatorium not only on medical but also on social and economic indications.

The effects of war on sex, etc.: The effects of war are the same everywhere, the same in Japan as in Hungary. The loosening of sexual life is a natural consequence of war.

Yes, there was secret prostitution in Budapest at the time when prostitution was officially abolished, but prostitutes were available at all times for the foreigners living in the fashionable hotels. This was official.

I do not know whether there was any open discussion in newspapers etc. about sexual problems, and I do not know what the official government policy in this field was.

Concerning the Communists and their sexual life, I think that they are human beings like everyone else, and have the same instincts. (He considered the question ridiculous.)

Yes, Communism did affect friendship. Everybody kept the company

only of his most intimate friends. You had to be careful, and always on guard with respect to everyone else.

Most of the people joined the Communist Party not out of conviction, but because of economic necessity and also because of advantages. This was evident in the person's family circle and also to his friends, in most cases. Therefore Communism did not affect friendship to such an extent.

If a good friend should join the Communist Party, this would have no effect on our friendship unless it became evident that the person was taking the Party line seriously. If a person joined the Communist Party from conviction, he would isolate himself from about 90 percent of his previous circle.

In such a case, it would be impossible to continue the friendship and not bring politics into it.

Criminality has dropped under Communism. Control and the police are more effective, and with the increase in the degree of their effectiveness it was more and more difficult to commit common crimes. On the other hand, the public did not know much about crimes and criminality. The papers did not write about them, a man could be murdered in the next house, and maybe you would not hear about it at all.

The number of crimes against property (that is, theft, robbery, embezzlement, misappropriation of funds, etc.) increased especially with respect to government property. Crimes against "public" property were very strictly punished, more strictly than crimes committed against the property of private individuals. Police were efficient. This was due to the fact that the blue police had a very large staff of plainclothesmen.

Alcoholism: People drink much more than previously, especially rum.

Under hooliganism I mean juvenile delinquency. I don't think there is more or less juvenile delinquency than anywhere else in the West. In my opinion this is the result of war.

Under hooliganism, I also mean loafing in crowds, gangs, and so on. I don't think that this question has been exaggerated. I do not know for certain.

The cause of this is the war, the tense atmosphere, the "modern age". The children have a much greater opportunity for all kinds of silly things.

Hooliganism has not much to do with social classes and social

origin. It is a question of inclination which can occur in any class.

How old are the hooligans? This is a dumb question. If we are talking about juvenile delinquents, their age is already expressed in the term.

Under hooliganism I mean only criminality.

It is a stupid question to ask what the parents do. They probably weep. I don't know details or facts, but I think nobody is very happy if their children act in this way.

VII. RELIGION

Communism did have an effect on religious life. People in general turned more inwards. They were religious in their hearts, with less outward expression.

Communism does not prohibit religion. Churches were open as before. The churches probably have less property and money.

I was too young to notice what the situation concerning religion was before the war. I cannot make a comparison, but in general the churches were always crowded after the war.

At one time it was said that people going to church were watched. I do not know whether this is true or not, but it is true that exaggerated religious feeling was a handicap.

I do not know any details of actual interference.

They did use religion for political purposes. For example, the Mindszenty trial.

The Catholic religion was the hardest hit, because the Communists considered it their greatest enemy.

The Catholics were hit the hardest and they opposed Communism mostly not openly but with allegoric references in sermons, but very often they were outspoken in their attacks on and criticism of the Communist regime.

I do not know what effect Communism had on the Protestant Church.

Concerning the Jewish religion: All religions were oppressed, and persecuted, without exception.

I refuse to discuss my religious beliefs.

In my opinion people are more religious than before.

The Church should be entirely separated from the state, and entirely free to do its own work. It should interfere very little in politics.

Concerning religious schools, that should be settled by what one likes -- freedom to choose to send the children to the state schools or to parochial or church schools.

I think that the churches can form the opinion concerning such matters as moral codes, movies, and so on, but the censorship of these should not be left to the churches.

Concerning the Jews in Hungary, their schools were taken away just like the other church schools; exaggerated religiousness on their part was just as bad a point as in the case of people belonging to other religions. Religion is religion, and Communism does not tolerate the belief in God.

What the situation of the Jews was like before the war and during the war -- these are facts which everybody knows and therefore I am not willing to discuss them.

After the war: Since the Jews, because of their occupations and their class position, belonged mostly to the intelligentsia, to the bourgeoisie and the capitalists, they were affected the most by Communism.

I did experience anti-Semitism in Austria. My experience was the following: The Jewish church was able to provide more material assistance to the Jewish refugees, which might have evoked the envy of others. As there was in Austria an opportunity to express their opinion after the oppression of talk and criticism in Hungary, some people -- a very few -- used this opportunity to express their dislike of the Jews.

It must not be forgotten that the Jews who remained alive at the time of the Russian occupation in Hungary in 1944-45 owe the Russians their lives. At the beginning there was sympathy for the Russians. Later the Jews realized that even though their lives might not be in danger any more, economically Communism means the same kind of oppression for them that Fascism did.

During the past ten years the Jews came to hate the Communists more and more.

It is a regrettable fact that there were many Jews in the Party leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party, but on a percentage basis the number of Jews in the Communist Party was lower than the percentage of other religious denominations.

The Hungarian intelligentsia had a considerable percentage of Jews even at the time of the revolution. Since the intelligentsia played the leading role in the revolution, in this way the participation of the Jews in the revolution was also great.

To my knowledge, some of the underground Zionist groups in Hungary came out into the open during the revolution and fought together in groups.

Jews are not afraid of an independent Hungary. They fear only Fascism. If the new independent Hungary would be Fascist, then certainly Jews would be opposed to it.

VIII. HUNGARIAN YOUTH

Hungarian youth would include people from 13 to 30.

In my opinion the Hungarian youth led the revolution and played a leading role before the revolution, during the demonstrations, and in the fighting.

Why?

Should this be explained? By its very nature youth desires freedom and independence. The Communist regime laid great emphasis on the stupification of the youth, against which the Hungarian youth openly or subconsciously resisted. The youth was the group which can be organized the best into a collective living-together, and youth has the greatest abundance of energy.

The older people looked upon the Hungarian youth with admiration and concern. They admired their heroic accomplishments.

The youth did not pay much attention to the views and opinions of the older people. During the revolution some of the young fighters were not home for weeks, and it must be remembered that none of them ever saw cowboy movies, and detective films, nor could they read about such things during the past ten years. What the Hungarian youth accomplished was not done from a desire for adventure, but it was due to suppressed sentiments which exploded. This was the driving force behind the revolution.

[VIII-C: I do not wish to answer the last part of the question, as we have already discussed it.]

The level of education has considerably declined during the past ten years. Despite this fact, the Hungarian students were compelled to devote most of their time to their studies, and had very little time for recreation or amusement. They were overburdened with a lot of superfluous subjects and classes. For example at the university: gymnastics, Marxism, Russian language, military science, etc.

Restrictions on vocational choice: If somebody wanted, for example, to be a doctor, it was a 90 per cent bet that he would end up at the school of agricultural science. How the choice was made I do not know. There was complete confusion in this field.

Concerning the teachers and professors: At the universities there was one politically reliable professor or assistant professor in

each department. In the nomination of many a professor political orientation and not scientific qualifications or knowledge was the primary consideration.

Many of the pre-war staff were still employed, but their general level declined. The niveau of the universities was much lower because many worker and peasant students had to be admitted, and these did not have the qualifications required for university studies.

Youth organizations: The purpose of the DISZ was propaganda. In general the primary purpose of every Communist organization is to occupy as much as possible the free time of the members, not to leave them time to think. They want to mesmerize their political views and slogans into the members.

Membership in the DISZ was compulsory to anyone who attended school. The Communists did place much emphasis on organizing the younger children. There was no difference among the children according to age or sex. The groups were of both sexes.

The activities of the youngest age group was generally the same as of the youngest group of boy scouts. Otherwise the DISZ groups functioned more or less as political clubs (very poorly and superficially because of the lack of interest of the members). The opinion of the members was diversified. It is hard to generalize.

If somebody disregarded the DISZ, there were disadvantages attached to this. For example, difficulty in advancement in studies, promotion in the office, etc. (The age ceiling in the DISZ was 26.)

There was much griping, etc. in the DISZ, especially in the time just before the revolution. Before that open opposition was entirely suppressed.

It is true that sports are very important in Hungary. I myself went in for sailing. The advantage to this was that I could sail practically without cost on Lake Ballaton. Sports in general are more popular than before, and much cheaper than before the war.

The Communists did use sports for political purposes; it took the attention of the people from political questions and, on the other hand, there was the M.H.K. movement, which served primarily military purposes.

It is entirely true that the Communists devoted much time and effort to the indoctrination of their youth.

Why they failed? Well, I myself experienced the great difference between what the Communists taught and what was in practice. (By

this I am not accepting Communist ideology to be right and correct, but even so.) Dictatorship and oppression can never be more popular to the Hungarian or any other youth than freedom and liberty.

In 1947-48 Communism was very popular among the young people. The practical interference of Communism into everyday life was not felt so strongly at that time. That was only the beginning. The youth will always accept ideals and fight for them until they become convinced that the ideals are false. The Communists' doctrines of liberty and equality are ideal and acceptable, but not in the way they put it into practice.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE.

In my opinion the major dissatisfactions were the following:

- 1) The constant decline in the standard of living.
- 2) Soviet Communist colonial policy.
- 3) Complete spiritual oppression.
- 4) Primitive political manifestations being compulsory.
- 5) Being sealed off hermetically from the Western world.
- 6) Confinement to place of residence and work.
- 7) The sanctions of dictatorship.

Question B is foolish, I answered this already just now.

The Communists have abolished Hungarian national holidays. They introduced entirely Russian uniforms in the armed forces. They falsified history and placed Hungarian works of literature on index.

My feelings about this, this is also a stupid question.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. As I am unmarried, or rather divorced, I could get along somehow on my engineer's salary. But I could afford to buy a new suit only once a year. I rented a room; I ate my lunch - as everybody else who worked - in the office, this was not too expensive.

Concerning luxuries. Do you mean attainable or unattainable luxuries? An attainable luxury was to spend 2 weeks on Lake Balaton in the summer. An unattainable luxury was a small apartment of my own.

The housing problem caused me the most difficulty.

After 1945, I was living with my uncle, who - as I said before - was a well-to-do man, for a time even after the nationalization of industries and enterprises. So this was exceptional and should not be considered as a basis for comparison.

Yes, I can recall a family which lived very well indeed. The father was a small craftsman, in which trade I am unwilling to tell you. For his family he could provide a pre-war bourgeoisie way of living - everything with the exception of foreign travel, jewels, etc. This family was able to live as it did because the father was a very skillful man in his trade. He was not nationalized and worked with one or two employees.

The standard of living in Hungary was the result of the following factors: Russian economic policy, inexperienced top economic leadership, the complete copying of Soviet means and ways without any criticism. The lesser leaders and officials in economic life were chosen not on the basis of what they knew, but on the basis of their party membership and political reliability. Another important factor was that the emphasis was laid on heavy industry and production was geared to satisfy war aims. Also our foreign policy and foreign trade were absolutely bad.

My income immediately before the revolution was 1800 forints per month. This was my salary, working as a civil engineer in a government planning office. Deductions for trade union fees and plan loan installment payments, etc., totalled 18% of my salary. My premiums and extra pay were insignificant.

In 1950 my monthly pay was 490 forints, in 1952 it was 1,250 ft., in 1954 it rose to 1,600 forints, and finally in 1956 I reached the salary of 1,900 forints per month.

These raises included some general raises as well. But mostly

they were due to the fact that they increased as I was progressing in my studies. I attended night classes and worked by day.

C-1. I don't know. I think there was no difference in prices (state store prices, market, commission stores, etc.)

Everything was always obtainable, only there was a difference in price. Of course this does not apply to such things as oranges, etc. Such things were never to be had. The quantity of goods changed, but their quality did not.

There was always trouble with the distribution of goods. This was because of the large-scale bureaucracy in economic life and because of the state monopoly systems in distribution.

There was black market trading to a minimal extent, but I do not know much about this.

Bottle-necks and tie-ups did occur in distribution due to inefficiency and bureaucracy. In general, however, commodities were always obtainable and everywhere.

It was difficult to get standard spare parts. There was always trouble with such things.

There was no spoilage of food.

There was no shortage of goods; perhaps some commodities were so high-priced that they were not to be had for this reason. Shop windows were always full, but there was no money to buy things.

I have talked about the availability of goods above.

I can tell you very little about the black market and about under-the-counter sales. But there was always "protectionism" (pull, influence) in trade.

I do not know how the black market was organized, about the quality of goods on the black market, or about black market prices.

About the under-the-counter sales: Sometimes it happened that the retail outlets "linked" goods. Something that was much in demand could be had only if the customer also bought something which he did not want, but which the stores were stocked up in.

I do not know how dangerous black-marketing was, I believe it was prosecuted.

D. I was employed as a civil engineer by a government planning office (drafting office?). I worked 45 hours a week. I slept 7 hours a day, but sometimes only 2. It took me only ten minutes to walk to work.

I would have liked to be a mechanical engineer, but I was admitted only to the general engineering school. I chose my job; there is a shortage of engineers also in Hungary.

I was on very good terms with all my colleagues, and also with my superiors. I respected their knowledge, I wasn't frightened by them, and some of them were very competent. In general I was satisfied with my job and my work. My fellow-workers were very good at their work, and the superiors expressed their praise of good work every time. This was not official praise or prizes for production quotas, and so on.

The worker vacation program of the Hungarian government was extremely good. This is one of the good things of the bad regime. Social security was compulsory in general, but it wasn't -- that is, the medical care -- conscientious. It is basically a sound idea, but must be better organized. I do not know much about the pension system or how it operated.

E. I do not know much about country life, as I have always lived in the city. I prefer to live in the city. I believe that in the city the general standard of living is higher, and that politically the situation there was safer. In the country there was always trouble because of the collectivization program. When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary I thought it would have a very detrimental effect. I can never imagine the Hungarian peasant giving up his inbred way of living.

The present collectivized farm system in my opinion is very bad. It could have been accomplished only on the basis of voluntary cooperation. As it is it is good neither for the government nor for the people.

In my opinion all the peasants, regardless of how much land they had, objected to collectivization in the same degree.

I did hear about the collectives being dissolved. Everybody heard about this and talked about it. The reason for this was the virtual bankruptcy of the collectives and the lack of interest on the part of the members.

If I were an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary I would prefer to work on a private farm.

I would like to see Hungary under the agricultural system that prevailed after the land reform. That is, before the Communist

collectivization program started. In my opinion, only intensive small farms should exist in Hungary, with extensive irrigation on a cooperative basis.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

Politics always interested me, but before and during the war I was only a child and do not remember much about politics at that time.

I never was a member of any political party, but I sympathized with the bourgeois radical party (the Supka party). The program of this party is expressed in its name.

As I have no family and I was too young to remember the times before the war, I cannot tell you anything about the political views of my immediate family.

My views on the Communist Party before 1948 were the same as they are today. My attitude toward the Communist Party before the war I cannot state, because at that time I was a child. My views since 1948 have not changed.

B. I have already told you my views.

In my opinion Communist Party members could be classified as follows: members by conviction (idealistic Communists); careerists; petit bourgeois members who are afraid of losing their jobs; and finally, primitive people who can be easily influenced.

I had no actual contact with Communists. I knew no Communist members. I have also stated why people become Party members and what their attitudes were toward the party.

Party policies did change during the last eight years, constantly. It would take too long to describe the actual changes, and people here know them just as well as they do at home.

In general, the line of Party policy always was influenced by every-day foreign and domestic political and economic exigencies. Even if this meant a rejection or contradiction of what the Party said just two weeks ago.

My views on these changes I have already stated above. This is not a separate question.

These changes were due to instructions from Moscow.

Yes, I was aware that there were factions inside the Party and that there was strife within the Party.

It is a stupid question to ask whether Party members were satisfied or not with the way the Party was going. If they were not

satisfied, they had to keep their mouths shut anyhow. Otherwise this is something about which it is not possible to generalize. There may have been some members who liked it, and there were those who didn't. That is all there is to it.

There is no opposite question. One who does not accept the Party line is just kicked out. It was always stressed that they wanted debates, constructive criticism, etc.. In reality all this was only theoretic. In reality, what the Party said was sacrosanct, and had to be observed.

By the top leaders of the Communist Party do you mean the leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party?

Their task was to execute the instructions of Moscow. Their aim: to create a social system such as would be desirable for the political aims of the Soviet Union. It was the duty of the Party leadership to regulate everything within the country (by this I mean both political and economic factors), in compliance with the demands and interests of the Soviet Union.

Rakosi and his cabinet were the followers of Moscow unconditionally. Their only aim was to keep themselves in power and to create and preserve Communism in Hungary. In general, all top Hungarian Communists were the puppets of the Moscow regime. It is possible that there may have been one or two idealistic Communists among them, but they too became intoxicated with their sense of power. Otherwise, they were just the same human beings as anyone else.

I have discussed the motives of the Communist leaders and of the rank and file above. But it is a mistake to take these people under examination as if they were some new species of animal. They are the same kind of humans, they too have mothers and fathers, and so on.

C. There was opposition to Communism. Was there ever any dictatorship under which there was no opposition? If so, then it would not be a dictatorship.

Opposition in general was passive. Everybody opposed the regime who did not like it. This was evident, and people talked about it, unless some stool pigeon or some suspicious person were there.

This was not really resistance, only passivity. Explicit strikes were quite out of the question. Everybody had to pen up his thoughts within himself.

It is stupid to ask when opposition was greater or less. This always depended on the degree of oppression. When oppression was greater, opposition was greater, and vice versa. This is only natural.

According to my knowledge, there were no such evident signs of opposition as could be noticed. There was general dissatisfaction, and there was hatred for the regime. Of course there were the conspiracies. These did show opposition. I do not remember when and what kind of groups were arrested and tried for conspiracy, but almost every two years the secret police uncovered something that was much palyed up in the papers. This is the best evidence of resistance. There was the Ferenc Nagy conspiracy, there was the Grosz case, etc. Just before the revolution a conspiracy of ex-cadets was uncovered.

Until 1948 the most important conspiracies were those of Ferenc Nagy, Salata, and Mindszenty.

Oh yes, I know much about the activities of the intellectuals and about the intellectual ferment.

I was present at the discussions of the Petofi Circle. I know much about this; I shall try to condense it into the following:

I know everything about the intellectual ferment from its very beginning. I subscribed for the Muvelt Nep, and to Irodalmi Ujsag. I had contact with such circles, and I was a witness to their activities from the very beginning.

After the death of Stalin the new regime began a program of de-Stalinization and of social democratization. In this way they attempted to place the blame for all the faults of the past on Stalin and his dictatorship, and shed responsibility for the past. They wanted to start with the "clear water" policy, and in this way to create a healthier atmosphere in order to climb out of the general economic and political crisis.

On the instructions of the party an avalanche started. A series of debates were held to uncover the mistakes of the past and to find means of remedying them.

The first criticism appeared in Szabad Neps; inspired by this article in Szabad Nep the other papers also published articles on this subject, one after another. The tone and content of these articles constantly became stronger and stronger. It ended by criticisizing not only the past but also the present regime.

The leadership of these debates was taken over by the new Muvelt Nep and Irodalmi Ujsag. (In my opinion this is where the revolution really started.) The voice of these articles was so new and their content so sensational and interesting that people queued up in front of the newstands to buy a copy on the day they were published.

The criticism contained in these articles was not only on the

philosophic and geo-political level, but these articles also criticized some of the present economic and political leaders and demanded their dismissal. This continued for one or two months, and in the course of this the Petofi Circle was formed.

The Petofi Circle was organized by the central leadership of the DISZ and functioned under its auspices.

The meetings and debates were held at the University of Science; its literary debates in the premises of the officers club.

To my knowledge, five meetings were held in all. The first one was the debate on history, attended by university professors and so on. It dealt intensively with the falsification of history under the Stalin regime.

The second meeting, or debate, was on Party ideology, and the third was the literary debate.

I was not present at the first two, and didn't even know about them. That was at the beginning.

I was present at the third meeting, which was held at the officers club with over 5,000 persons attending. All could not be admitted to the hall, so microphones were rigged up with people standing in the yard and on the street.

The meeting began at 6:30 p.m. and lasted until 3:30 the next morning. I was there until 2:30, when I went home.

The debate was opened by the chairman of the Petofi Circle, who was a member of the top leadership of the DISZ. His name was Kincses. In his speech he brought to light the problems of the press. He requested the persons taking part in the debate to express their views openly, without inhibitions or fear, and to my extreme surprise, they accepted his advice.

I regret very much that I did not make notes on what was said at this debate. I have forgotten most of it, but the highlights are the following:

Tibor Deri made a most interesting speech. In his criticism he dealt with the faults of writers in general, and also criticized the unjust acts of the still-existing dictatorship. He said something which I will never forget: These were approximately his exact words: "All of us are now sitting on a train; until now the train has been standing still, now it has slowly begun to move. I warn the passengers on this train to get off if they do not like to go fast, because this train will constantly gain in speed, and if they attempt to get off later, they may break their necks."

This was two months before the outbreak of the revolution. Deri criticized three people: Revai, Darvas, who was then the Minister for Culture and Education, and someone else, I do not now remember who. His criticism was very sharp.

The next speaker was a newspaper writer by the name of Peter Tardos, who also criticized the present leaders. He said that the Stalinists are still occupying the key posts.

The next speaker was Tibor Merai, a newspaper writer and author. He was the Szabad Nep correspondent in Korea in 1950. In his speech he openly admitted that until now he had lied very much. He was brought up and learned newspaper writing in an atmosphere where the primary purpose was to win publicity for the policy of the Party, whether it was true or not. He said, "I was so blinded that I began to believe my own lies. When I went to a factory or some other place for a report, I put on my pink glasses and saw only what was good, and shut my eyes to faults and mistakes. I lied. In Korea I met a Yugoslav war correspondent, a very nice chap, but I was so blinded by hate against the Yugoslavs that I refused to shake hands with him. I admit now that all this was a mistake, I solemnly promise that I will lie no more, and I sincerely hope that I will be able to make good what wrong I have done."

At the end of this speech he recited Petofi's poem about the free press.

The audience applauded with great enthusiasm.

(During all this a very characteristic incident occurred: Photo-reporters were everywhere in the room, in the hallway, on the street, in the yard, and were photographing the crowd. Somebody sent up to the chairman of the meeting a note demanding that the photographers stop taking shots. The chairman read the request, through the microphone, and demanded that the photographers stop their work. The reaction of the crowd was: "Let them take all the shots they want, we are not afraid of them.")

The editor of Szabad Fold also spoke up, speaking along the old Party line. He was booed and silenced.

Zoltan Vas also spoke up, and said, among other things: "Finally we shall come to a stage where nobody will fear in the morning should someone knock on the door that it is the AVO, but it may be the milkman." He nevertheless attempted to defend the economic policy of the government, but this did not appeal to the crowd.

Sandor Nogradi, the chief of the Party press section, also spoke, conceding to the general tenor. He was not so sharp in his criticism, but comparatively mild.

I was not there at the end, but I heard that when the meeting broke up the audience marched out into the streets singing old socialist songs.

old
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Revolution
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class

Next day a resolution passed by the Party was published denouncing the entire meeting and the participants in the debate. Everybody pricked up their ears at what had happened.

In my opinion the purpose of the intellectuals was to introduce decisive reforms and changes under the slogan of socialistic democracy. I consider the Petofi Circle and the intellectuals as realistic people, especially Deri, who, as I said before, two months before the revolution prophesied its outbreak.

Why did the intellectuals turn against the regime? This is a stupid question. I have told you 26 times already that the intellectuals -- that is, the intelligentsia -- was entirely oppressed, its outlooks were very bleak, and they were not at all appreciated.

The writers? It is a basic preliminary condition for them to be able to write what they want and in the way they want to. Writers and artists cannot be directed.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

What sort of people were the secret police? In every society there are people who are inclined toward extremes. It is a matter of indifference to them under what flag they operate, green or red. They sell themselves to the regime, which insures for them a possibility to gratify their sadistic inclinations and their urge for power. They are mostly people who have no talents, no innate ability to be able to work in any other kind of civilian occupation. From such people any dictatorial regime can get as many officers as it wants.

I do not know anybody who ever worked for the AVH. I have never been arrested or imprisoned. I know of no one who wanted to leave the AVH, etc. This also applies to the members of my family.

Why did people join the AVH? I've already discussed that.

In Hungary everybody knew about the methods and cruelties of the AVH. I do not know of any concrete cases. There was talk of such things during the entire time I was in Hungary. This was widespread.

I haven't the slightest idea how many people have been executed in Hungary since 1945. It is entirely true that Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear. This is no exaggeration.

There were informers in every factory, shop, office, school, etc. Mostly it was evident who could be suspected of this, and in front of whom one had to be careful. Most of the stool pigeons and informers were prompted by a desire to get ahead. This system was widespread, and stool pigeons could be found everywhere. I despise, hate, and also feared the informers. I had no consideration for them whatsoever, not even if they were blackmailed into working for the AVH.

If a person could keep his mouth shut in Hungary, he was very likely to avoid trouble with the AVH.

I do not know of any cases where AVH men got rid of their uniforms and fought on the side of the insurgents. I do not believe that this was so.

When and if Hungary is independent, I think that the AVH men should not be treated collectively, but distinctions should be made among them and everyone should be made to answer for what he did personally. We must not forget that 50 per cent of the AVH were recruited in the course of compulsory military service.

The blue police hated and envied the AVH. In my opinion, the Hungarian blue police worked very effectively. The blue police force was probably better than in the pre-war and war periods. It is true, however, that in the very first months of the post-war regime many shady characters infiltrated the police force, but later these were ousted.

During the revolution the blue police conducted themselves very decently. There were some who fought on the side of the revolutionaries, but I do not know details. I myself saw some blue policemen fighting with the revolutionaries, and I heard about it from others.

B. The courts. I had no experience whatsoever with the courts, and I am too young to remember what the courts were like before and during the war. I do not believe what the Communists say about "class justice" in the courts of the previous regime.

The people's courts tried the war criminals. I consider the war criminals to be actually guilty, and the sentences imposed upon them by the people's courts were just.

My uncle was deported during the deportations in 1951 or 1952. They notified him at 5:00 AM that a truck would come for him and his belongings two hours later. He was taken to the railroad station and transported to a small village. There he was housed in the house of a kulak family. His only crime was that he previously had been a textile wholesale merchant. His experiences were terrible. Unaccustomed to physical work, both he and his wife had to do heavy farm work, such as hoeing plants and harvesting. Later, when the deportations ceased, he was permitted to leave this village.

I have never performed military service, nor have I been a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union.

C. The role of the Hungarian army in the revolution. I have heard much about this, and I can give you an example of what they did and how they fought.

In the second phase of the revolution, when the Russians were coming in, I saw two Hungarian anti-aircraft guns mounted on the road in the outer district of Kobanya (a suburb of Budapest). The guns were mounted strategically, in such a way that they had control over the highway. A column of 20 Russian tanks was advancing. The Hungarian artillery personnel which manned the guns shot them out, beginning at both ends, one after the other, and the Russians were powerless to do anything against them.

I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the Hungarian soldiers on the basis of class, rank, or origin.

The conduct of the Hungarian army during the revolution surprised not only me, but everyone else as well. No one ever dared to dream that the Hungarian army would turn against the regime. At the very outbreak of the revolution the army immediately took sides with the insurgents, so there was no time for speculation on what the conduct of the army would be. At the very outbreak of the revolution the role of the army had already been decided.

I can tell you nothing about what army life was like during the Communist regime, nor can I compare it with army life during the war and before it. I was too young then, and I was not drafted for military service in this regime.

D. My opinion of the Russian soldier in general is that he is a human being like everyone else. In the Russian army there are peasants and there are professors, dumb and smart alike. Since the over-all percentage of the intelligentsia in the Soviet Union is comparatively smaller than in other countries, therefore the percentage of primitive people in the Soviet army has to be larger than elsewhere.

It is stupid to say that the feelings about the Russian army are due to the conduct of the Russian army in 1848. The unpopularity of the Russian army in general is based on the fact that it is the stronghold of the regime. Everything else, like the raping of women, and so on, is just a detail question.

Concerning the sentiments in 1945, various people reacted variously. Those who had anything to fear, or who had a guilty conscience, were afraid that the Russians would come in. On the other hand, the Jews are indebted to them for saving their lives. In general, people did hope for the Russians to come in, because it meant the end of the war.

My experience with the Russian army in 1945? "Not everything is Russian that stinks, and not everything is gold that glitters."

Yes, my attitude toward the Russians has changed since 1945. The original troops which came into Budapest first were replaced by occupation troops. These were elite troops. They conducted themselves much better than the previous fighting units. This was the opinion of others too. Otherwise, in Budapest we did not see much of them after a time, because they were stationed mostly outside the city.

I did not have any personal contact with the Russians as individuals, nor did I hear anything about this from others. Therefore, I cannot tell you anything about this.

The children of Russian army personnel did not attend the same schools as the Hungarian children, they had schools of their own.

There may have been courtship between Russian soldiers and Hungarian girls, and also between Russian WAACs and Hungarian men, but I do not know of any marriages.

I do not know about the attitude of the Russian soldiers, as I had no contact with them whatever, that is, contact before the revolution.

Concerning the conduct of the Russians during the revolution, I did not have any contact with them then either, but I have heard about them from reliable sources. Many of them came over to the revolutionists. During the two revolutions, that is, during that one week in which the Russians were out of Budapest, the Russian troops were virtually starving. Their supply lines were cut, and they were forced to sell their arms and munitions for food. I have heard of instances where Russians sold sub-machine guns and even tanks for food.

There were many who deserted. They fought very reluctantly, and were very much afraid. They didn't dare to stick their heads out of the tanks.

I do not know of any difference in the conduct of the Soviet officers or men, or younger soldiers in comparison to older ones, and of differences based on national origin.

Yes, I have heard of instances where Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, as for example in the fighting in front of the Parliament. I also have heard of cases where Soviet soldiers refused to obey their superiors, deserted, fought against the AVH, and even against each other.

For example, near the Marget bridge, some of the Russians broke into a tavern and began to drink. A Russian patrol came along and believed that Hungarians were inside. They started shooting, and the fire was returned by the soldiers inside the building. When everyone inside the tavern had been killed, the Russians went in and found that they had shot down their own men.

I do not know of any cases of personal brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the Revolution.

E. The question about bureaucracy is not a good one. The Party and the trade unions should not be included, because under bureaucracy we mean bureaucracy mostly in civil service and in business management.

Under bureaucracy in Hungary is meant the over-complication and inefficiency, especially in public administration.

I did have experiences with the trade unions and with the Party secretary.

My experience with the Party secretary of our office is the following: The first Party secretary was a simple, primitive man, who caused much trouble, but later he was replaced by an engineer. In general the construction planning offices had intelligent Party secretaries. Such Party secretaries were not so blinded and did not "wear blinkers" as other Party secretaries usually did.

The trade union representative did not play an important role. The trade unions in general are 100 percent under Party control and did not have much influence.

In general, people were inclined to avoid the Party secretary and the trade union representative if possible.

A general opinion cannot be given, concerning their efficiency. There were some very stupid, very ill-willed Party secretaries, but on the other hand there were some intelligent ones, etc.

I never had any trouble with any of these officials, and did not ever feel that some of them had been especially hard on me.

The Party secretary of our planning office was a good colleague, a decent person. Despite the fact that he was a Party secretary the whole office liked and respected him. When we heard about the silent demonstration to be held in front of the Bem statue the Party secretary was the man who decided that the entire office should go.

This Party secretary very often criticized the Party line, etc., but always in the presence of friends who were reliable.

My opinion of self-criticism is a very poor one. It is one of the shameful aspects of Party functioning.

Concerning the circumvention of laws and regulations:

The rule that laws are made to be circumvented also applies for Hungary. I did have experience in this respect. For example, I know that the small tradesmen who were allowed to employ only one person always managed somehow to employ more than one. It was hard to find a small tradesman (tailor, shoemaker) who did not have more than one employee, although this was not officially allowed.

Protectionism prevailed in all fields, especially in commercial

and public administration. Bribes were used sometimes, especially in the case of the housing authorities.

If the officials were caught red-handed, they probably were discharged and imprisoned.

G. The efficiency of the apparatus of power:

The top leaders such as Rakosi, Gero, Vas, etc., were intelligent people. Lower echelons -- well, their intelligence is questionable. I do not know about the efficiency of the secret police, army leadership, Russian leadership. The question about the efficiency of the bureaucracy, that is, of its individual members, is a stupid one. You cannot generalize.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

I hope for the best, but I actually believe that everything will remain as before.

I came away from Hungary after the revolution, and do not know what the situation is now. I do not expect any changes in Soviet policy in connection with Hungary. The old Stalin line will continue. This opportunity has been missed by everyone. In my opinion, the most complete terror is necessary to restore life to "normal". For example, I just cannot imagine how classes will start in the schools and universities where half of the class may have been killed or have fled.

I expect that the West will continue to fight for the alleviation of oppression in Hungary, and will do everything short of war.

Concerning a compromise, anything and everything is better than Stalinism. I think that this will be the opinion of the people at home also. The most acceptable compromise would be a Yugoslav type of Communism. If there must be Communism, it must be of the the kind there is in Yugoslavia.

I have not the faintest idea of the means whereby these hopes can be realized. If the Americans don't know, how should I?

I do not believe that there will be further resistance in Hungary.

I do not desire a war between the USSR and the US. Neither do the people at home, in my opinion. Hungary would become a battlefield, and would be razed to the ground.

I do believe, however, that there will be another world war within the next ten years.

Concerning means other than war, international pressure and sanctions are necessary, but will not amount to anything.

I do hope for internal changes within the Soviet Union, but I do not consider this probable. Of course, this does not mean anything, no one considered the revolution probable in Hungary; nevertheless, it did occur.

During the past eight years I considered the future outlook for Hungary very bleak. So did others. There has been no change in this, except during the revolution.

G; Hungarian people would not be in favor of an atomic war, if it would.....

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. I want a bourgeois democracy, but under the condition that extremes both to the right and to the left would not be permitted. The economic policy of Hungary must be radically changed, intensive agriculture is necessary. Hungary's foreign policy must be one of complete neutrality, and of good relations with all countries on the basis of total equality. Private ownership must be ensured, but without large estates and without the private ownership of large factories, enterprises. That is, no large capitalism.

B. The emphasis should be based on intensive agriculture and light industry. This is in accordance with the economic possibilities of the country.

The heavy industry should be abandoned, the tool industry and the electrical industry should be expanded. Wheat can be purchased more cheaply from other countries.

Should the Communist regime be overthrown, the future of the "national enterprises" and government and state farms and co-operatives is a very complicated problem. The national enterprises for the most part should be leased to private businessmen, but the ownership of the enterprises should be retained. The great enterprises should stay under state management. The state retail and small trade enterprises should be abolished because these can operate and produce much more cheaply under private ownership.

The farm cooperatives and government farms should be dissolved and the land given back to the peasants.

I have already stated my views on the role government should play in the economic system.

Yes, in my opinion it is necessary that the government place a ceiling on agricultural property which can be owned by one person or family. In my opinion, this ceiling should be approximately 500 cadastral yokes. With intensive agriculture that much land would require so much labor that it simply would not be available.

The question about choosing between a dictatorship which insures everyone a living, etc., is not a realistic one. If there is freedom and I can criticize the government, how would it be possible not to insure conditions favorable for employment? Under the present conditions in Hungary I believe that in the immediate future there will be no unemployment, because of the economic lag of the country.

Government control over newspapers and radio is necessary simply to prevent extreme elements from making propaganda. Even if a Communist is able to speak over the radio in America, there is no reason why we should let them do so in Hungary.

Control is necessary. There is the Weimar example.

Communist writers should be barred only from radio and newspapers. Their books should not be banned. No one would buy them anyhow. Pornographic literature, to my knowledge, is prohibited by all civilized states.

I would not be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party in an independent Hungary. Its popularity would be insignificant as no where else in the world.

C. I would desire neutrality for Hungary like the neutrality of Austria; complete friendship with the Soviet Union on the basis of equality. This is necessary because they are our neighbors. The same with Eastern European states, the rest of Europe, and with the USA.

I do not desire military relations with any country, but cultural and economic relations with everyone.

Concerning the realistic future, I want neutrality or otherwise everything will remain as before.

The idea of a Danubian federation is not a good one. Hungary has already burned its fingers once in connection with the other Danube states. It is difficult to imagine a federation of the Eastern European countries. This would not be without hate and strife and intrigue. Nationalism is much more inbred in the people than to make it possible for the Slavs to live together with the Austrians or the Hungarians to live together with the Slavs in the framework of a federation. Maybe an Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but on a modern basis, would be something practical. It would be good to include Czechoslovakia in this, but it is hard to imagine; their industry is too developed, they would not be willing to participate on the basis of equality.

I do not desire to have Romania in a federation of this kind at all. Perhaps Yugoslavia, but I feel that in the case of a federation of this kind Hungary would be overwhelmed.

I do not know what the general feeling on these questions is in Hungary. These are my personal views.

Concerning territorial changes and boundaries, I do believe that the re-annexation of Transylvania is possible. That of the other territories, no. What the opinion on this is at home I do not know, but I do know that Transylvania does want to come back very

much. The reason for this is that economically it is much worse off than Hungary. In general, the hierarchy from the economic point of view is 1) CSR, 2) Hungary, 3) Poland, 4) probably Bulgaria, and 5) Romania and Albania. I think Yugoslavia is also before Hungary.

I am not concerned about the fate of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary. To me this is a question not of sentiment but basically an economic problem and necessity. Transylvania is very rich in natural resources which Hungary needs very badly. At the same time, the annexation of Transylvania would not affect Romania very deeply because Romania has an abundance of the same natural resources elsewhere.

XV. FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

I have told you about the Petofi Circle already.

At the discussion of the Petofi Circle one of the newspapermen demanded to know why Krushchev's speech was not made public in Hungary. I did not know the contents of this speech at that time.

Senator McCarthy received much abuse from the Communist press. They called it the revival of witch-hunting. I did not have a concrete opinion about him at that time. I was unable to weed out from the facts in the press what the real situation was.

I do not know where the news concerning the defection of Soviet troops during the revolution originated. It spread by word of mouth. We believed it.

We knew about the Austrian Peace Treaty, and approved of it. We hoped that then the Russian troops would have no excuse to stay in Hungary to guard the lines of communication, but regrettably the Warsaw Pact was formed immediately. We knew about this from the newspapers.

I know that Peron was a dictator somewhere in South America, it may have been either Brazil or Argentina. He was overthrown two or three years ago.

I have heard nothing about the Salk vaccine.

Concerning the private life of Rakosi, I knew that he had an ugly wife -- a prominent Russian Communist. They had no children. The Biro family was closely related to Rakosi. They were -- either the man or his wife -- the boss of the W.M. Factory in Budapest (steel works). We knew Rakosi's biography, but we knew very little about his private life. What we knew was spread by word of mouth.

B. Before the war I read child adventure stories, I was too young to read anything else, and I do not recall the reading habits of my parents.

During the last ten years I read more than before. This was due to the fact that during that time I had grown up. I preferred to read scientific works, classics, and anything of Western literature that we could get.

Subscribing to Szabad Nep was almost compulsory. Of the magazines I subscribed to Muvelt Nep, Irodalmi Ujsag, and also Beke es Szabadsag. I did not like the Russian type of modern novels.

There was a return to the classics in general, not only in literature, but also in music, drama, etc.

My reading habits were, I think, representative for my class. I do not know anything about the reading habits of workers or peasants.

What I read in the papers all depended on how much time I had and how interesting the article was. It paid to read Szabad Nep because many conclusions could be drawn from it.

Trust in what the papers wrote was lost completely during the dictatorship. I always attempted to draw my own conclusions and form my own opinions from what I read in the paper or heard over the radio. I always wanted to find out the truth.

I distrusted foreign policy news items. This was the best field for the distortion of facts.

There were statistical reports which I was ready to believe. I cannot cite any example.

I did not read any publications from the Soviet Union nor from other satellite countries, none from Yugoslavia. As far as I know, neither did my friends. I do not have any family.

Newspapers and publications from the Soviet Union and other satellite countries were available, but none from Yugoslavia.

I do not remember any Western publications which were officially allowed. I did not read any, perhaps others did. I do not know of any illegal publications from the West.

Yes, I did read books and publications which were on the index. I do not know exactly what was on the index and what was not, but probably a lot of what we read was on the index.

The works of literature which were placed on the index could be kept by anyone in his bookcase. The index did not mean that it was prohibited to keep these books. It meant only that you could not buy them, nor were they to be found in public libraries. But many of these books were in circulation among friends. There were some agents who made a living out of lending books which were on the index. These books were not only Hungarian works of literature, but perhaps also Western books as well.

C. In general, everybody always talked about politics among friends. It's hard to determine which were the exact sources of information. Everybody was always on the lookout for news, and made a note of anything they heard.

All news spread by word of mouth had some basis to it in fact. But this news was unreliable. Of course, there were persons who were more reliable than others.

Did I ever pass on news? Terrible. I did not make a living out of spreading news, but very likely I did tell my friends and colleagues if I heard anything interesting.

D. Everybody was interested in politics and news. All 24 hours of the day were spent in a political atmosphere. Everybody spoke about politics everywhere, but had to make a distinction of whom to talk to and what about.

We had to be very careful when speaking over the telephone, but it is interesting to note that during the revolution most of the phones were in operation and then we did not fear to talk openly by phone.

E. When I was in Hungary we drew most of our information from foreign radio broadcasts, from Hungarian newspapers, and the Hungarian radio. From these sources, foreign broadcasting was most important.

F. Yes, I did go to the movies often, especially during the last years. In the first years of the Communist regime (he means after 1949) there were many films, but only Russian and Iron Curtain things. Now, before the revolution, they began to import realistic Italian and French films. These were the ones which I liked most. I did not like the Russian films, because of their low level and stupid subjects.

I went to the theatre often. Never before were so many classical plays performed than during the last years. I did not see any social realistic plays, with the exception of one or two.

The two films which I liked best were an Italian film, "Rome, 11 O'clock" and "She Danced Through a Summer", a Swedish film.

The two plays which I liked most were Shaw's "Pygmalion" and Shakespeare's "Richard the Third".

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF SELECTED PERSONALITIES

I consider Zoltan Kodaly the greatest living Hungarian today. Why I cannot say, I just feel that way about him.

My opinions on:

Imre Nagy: I do not have a definite, formed opinion on him. I cannot tell you my opinion of a person whom I do not know.

Cardinal Mindszenty: One who does not know anything about politics should not get mixed up in it. Few people caused so much harm to the Hungarian revolution as Cardinal Mindszenty by his radio speech in which he demanded the return of the ecclesiastic estates.

Rajk: He deserved what he got. There is no basis for the case against him, it was only a question of power within the Party.

Gero: He is very insistent, using force if necessary. He is very intelligent, stubborn, has conviction certainly, but he has been blinded by his desire for power.

Kadar: He is an insignificant person, and even his present job as prime minister cannot change this. Probably he may not like what he is doing, but perhaps he does not want to be tortured again.

President Eisenhower: He is very sympathetic. He probably knows what he is doing, understands his business. I see that he is very popular here.

Hammerskjold: He is very likely a capable diplomat. I hoped very much to see him in Budapest. My opinion of him has not changed since.

Dulles: I am not now nor was I at home convinced of his abilities as a State Secretary.

Truman: He decided many world problems, but whether he was right or wrong only history can tell.

(Sorry, interviewer left Eden out.)

Mikoyan: No opinion.

Nehru: I like him. He is intelligent and a realist.

Chiang Kai-Shek: Insignificant.

"Who the hell wanted him back?"

Ferenc Nagy: We already talked about him.

Roosevelt: I like him. He is very sympathique.

Adenauer: He must be a capable man, and talented. They liked him very much in Germany.

Stalin: A hardened dictator. He is that type probably from his early youth.

Malenkov: An adventurer.

Franco: I know who he is but I have no opinion on him.

Bevan: You probably mean Bevin.

Krushchev: He must have brains.

Tito: Sympathique. He has character and is a very clever politician.

Peron: No opinion. We discussed him before.

Molotov: Significant minister for foreign affairs.

Ollena^uer: I know who he is, no opinion.

Churchill: Very respectable, and I have a very high regard for him.

XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

In general, the people who escaped were the youth, the population near the Austrian border, and those young families who were living further from the border but had sufficient daring to undertake the journey to Austria and to start life anew. And also people who had reason to be afraid because of their participation in the revolution and in other anti-Communist activities. The intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie came out to a greater extent than the other classes.

It is stupid to ask the reason why people left, and also my own reason for coming. The reasons are apparent.

Concerning those who stayed behind: Peasants came in large numbers only from the areas near the border. Peasant youth came in small numbers from areas farther from the border. The peasants far from the border (not the peasant youth) did not come because it meant leaving their land and also because of language difficulties and they did not want to leave that minimum of private property which they still owned (for example, if he had a miserable little house a peasant would not come away). This was naturally different in the border area, because practically all the peasants had relatives or friends living in Burgenland in Austria, which territory once belonged to Hungary.

Concerning the workers, they are a group which does not act quickly. They are slow. The youth, of course, is an exception in every group, and each social class is represented by them. I do not know how many worker families came out of Hungary, but I think not many.

The intellectuals who remained remained probably because there were many children in the family, or because they feared to leave behind what little they possessed. It is difficult to say the reason why people remained at home. There are very many who did not come as a matter of principle, saying "here you must live and here you must die."

Yes, I do have an acquaintance who refused to come although he had an opportunity to do so. He thought that life in exile would just not suit his personality. On the other hand, he was very patriotic.

I think that the people at home envied those who had the courage and possibility to come West.

Were it possible for everyone to come West, I believe that about three times as many people would come out as have now.

B. While in Hungary I heard very little about exile organizations and politicians. What little I did hear I heard from RFE.

The question concerning exile organizations is a difficult one. I personally do not wish to participate in or join any. I am not living in exile, I am an immigrant and wish to become an American. I did not have any contact with such organizations, nor with such individuals since leaving Hungary.

From the list of organizations the only one I know is the Hungarian National Council. Its purpose is to unite the Hungarians living abroad and to inform public opinion, especially the United Nations, on the situation in Hungary, to search for documentary evidence, and to make propaganda in the interests of Hungary.

I have also heard about the American Hungarian Federation. I know that they edit some kind of a newspaper. I read a copy of it in Camp Kilmer. I heard about it also in Hungary, but I do not know any details.

From the list of Hungarian politicians in exile, I have never heard of Imre Szelig, Laszlo Taubinger, Msgr. Kozi-Horvath, Bela Fabian, General Zako, nor about Ferenc Parkas de Kisbarnak.

I heard about Paul Auer.

Monsignor Bela Varga was the chairman of the Hungarian Parliament and a prominent leader of the Hungarian Smallholders Party.

Oh, of course I know about Ferenc Nagy, the one-time Prime Minister of Hungary.

Dr. Eckhardt is an old democratic politician, the one-time leader of the Smallholders Party before and during the war. He was sent out by the Horthy government during the war in order to have somebody represent the interests of Hungary should the Germans occupy the country.

Kallay I believe has already died.

Barankovics is a very fine person, and I like him.

Otto -- well, I don't like him.

Horthy. He died.

Enough can never be done for the people of Hungary. Either a person comes West with the intention of never wanting to return, or a person retains his nationality and considers himself only an exile. In this case he can never say that enough has been done.

What has been accomplished by the exiles I have already stated under the Hungarian National Council.

On my views concerning what they should have done: What they -- that is the Hungarian National Committee -- has done, only to a greater degree.

I did think about the exiles during the revolution when I heard about the demonstrations taking place everywhere. I was almost certain that these demonstrations were organized and led by the Hungarian exiles.

C. I did meet persons who went West after 1945 and later returned. The general attitude toward them was pity. Concerning their character, nothing can be said in general. It all depends on the individual.

Concerning the Communist redefection campaign, it was mere Communist propaganda. They thought that they might after all find someone who would come and then they would be able to say, "See, it isn't good there after all." Such propaganda would have been of value, especially at home. The opinion of others in Hungary on this question was the same as mine, I think.

D. I believe that the people in Hungary really do know what they would like to know. Normal postal communication has been restored and I, for my part, have told the people at home everything I wanted to and have also found out everything that I wanted to know.

The people at home should know the social and economic and moral conditions that exist here in the West, and under which we are living now.

In my opinion, the exiles should explain the Hungarian revolution and keep alive the sympathy of the free world toward Hungary. I believe this is all I could do, too.

I do not wish to join any exile organization.

I have already told you about my feelings concerning Hungarian political parties. I do not know anything about the political parties in exile.

We heard enough about the revival of the Hungarian political

parties during the revolution. I did not approve of this. This was not necessary as long as the Russians were still in the country.

It is difficult to say whether the Hungarian politicians in exile should have returned during the revolution. There are very few Hungarian politicians in exile who can expect sympathy and popularity at home. For example, who the hell would have wanted Ferenc Nagy back?

E.. Under Communist rule I do not wish to visit Hungary again, or to go back, but I do want to go back to a free Hungary, but only for a visit.

I do want my children to learn Hungarian also in America, should I have any.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION, ETC.

Yes, I did listen to Hungarian broadcasts over the foreign radio. I listened to BBC, Radio-Paris, VOA, and RFE. Reception for RFE and London and also VOA was best.

All stations were jammed, but I had a very good radio.

I listened to the Hungarian broadcasts regularly every night, mostly to RFE and VOA.

Yes, if there was anything interesting I always discussed it with my friends or acquaintances if they were reliable.

I listened on my own radio set, maybe sometimes in the presence of relatives. We had to be careful. We did discuss radio broadcasts, and sometimes I learned from friends something which I might have missed.

Yes, there was risk involved. We had to be careful in listening to the broadcasts and also in speaking about them. What exactly happened if someone was caught doing these things, I do not know, but in my opinion this danger did not prevent people from listening.

I do not know of any changes in connection with the punishment of people caught listening to foreign broadcasts or talking about them.

These broadcasts mean very much to the people behind the Iron Curtain. I liked best of all the broadcasts of the BBC. That was the most reliable. Their broadcasts attached the least commentary to the news in a way which could be considered propagandistic or biased. They were the least demagogic.

The order of the broadcasting stations from the point of view of reliability is: London, Paris, VOA, RFE. I formed this opinion from later events.

Well, the role of these broadcasts was informative and enlightening. Free Europe broadcasts had one degree more of sentiment mixed in them than the others.

During the revolution, RFE broadcasts were expressly overheated and inciting. But on the other hand, it served to inform us of what was happening.

The answer to Question A-5 is yes.

Free Europe should continue its broadcasts of news and cultural programs. The most useful in my opinion would be straight news about political and economic events and about life in the West.

B. I have never heard of the initials NEM. I don't know what they are.

I have not heard of the 12 Demands.

C. I have never seen Free Europe leaflets, but I have heard about them from friends. I do not remember much about them.

Yes, there was danger in picking up or keeping Free Europe leaflets, or talking about them. This would deter the people about 50 per cent.

I do not know of any changes in this respect -- that is, concerning punishment for having leaflets, etc.

As I have seen none of these leaflets, I cannot tell you my opinion of them. If they are not politically inciting but contain news, I have no objection to them. My opinion is that in Hungary the people will not believe extremist propaganda. They have enough political judgment to draw the right conclusions from news.

I do not know and cannot judge the effects of the leaflets, either prior to or during the revolution.

About continuing leaflets, I do not think it is necessary. You do not need to convince the Hungarian people that democracy is the desirable thing. Hungary has proved that Hungarian people know perhaps better than anybody else what democracy means, and for the purpose of information I consider radio a better medium.

D. I think that the motives of Western organizations are well-meant spreading of information, but also inciting. They cannot understand that propaganda is not necessary when one experiences at his own expense what Communism is. They are the ones who need propaganda.

I do not know what the objectives of the others are -- that is, is there any difference in their motives -- but it is certain that Free Europe was always the most extreme.

Subject is a 25 year old civil engineer, intelligent. At first, he was very distrustful; it took a good half day to gain his confidence. Even so, he insisted on being allowed to read the interview report after it was completed. (After consulting with Mr. Allina, I informed subject that a copy of the report would be at his disposal to be perused only in the office, as no material may be permitted to leave the office.)

Subject was available for only one day. He had no objections to working over-time at the hotel.

To avoid fatigue which might have influenced rapport, we took a one-hour walk at 5 P.M. and another one-hour break at 9 P.M. We worked until midnight, leaving sections XIX and XX for the next morning, because the subject was showing signs of fatigue.

Subject was irritated by some of the questions, as can be seen from his answers contained in this report. These questions, he was inclined to consider as an insult to his intelligence. His irritation had nothing to do with the length of the interview. (I think boredom and fatigue were eliminated by the well-timed breaks). His irritation shows in practically all sections with the exception of the general sections, I and IV.