

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

A. Respondent thinks that the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 are these: virtually all Hungarians hate the Communist way of life and the Communist ideology. The Communist system has been kept alive only by the armed might of a foreign power. Communism in Hungary is not the rule of a minority, but the rule of just a handful of traitors - power actually is in the hands of the Soviet army. 3. "Americans should correct the mistaken view that the Hungarian revolution was a fight of another faction or another shade of Communism, against Stalinism. The Hungarian revolution was a truly anti-Communist uprising!"

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

A. On the 23rd of October, respondent worked as usual from 2 to 10 P.M. in the sawmill where he was employed as an unskilled worker. The workers spoke among themselves happily about the students' preparations for demonstrating. All workers hated the regime, but they came from the country and knew very little of Budapest events. What little they knew they spoke of very excitedly and happily, however, not quite openly yet.

The real news came at 9 P.M. It was this, STUDENTS TOPPLE THE STALIN STATUE! Still, workers passed on news very cautiously, not openly. About 10 P.M., he went home by bus. As they were heading for down-town Budapest, the conductor announced that they would go only up to Orczy Ter (which is at the border of the actual city of Budapest and the outskirts, the suburbs and the green belt.) People on the bus were surprised. The excited talk which ~~had~~ had been going on among the passengers now became even feverish, and noticeably cheerful and happy.

They now learned that all traffic was stopped down-town, but respondent iterates that these people came from the peripheries of town and were not well informed yet.

As they approached the last stop, they heard the noise of rifle fire and the clatter of machine guns.

People referred to news items which told about "silent demonstrations". They remarked, "What is a loud demonstration? like if this is a silent one?" and people laughed happily.

"There is apparently some change goin on," said some one else and such remarks came from all over the bus.

Respondent saw the streets full of people in groups everywhere, particularly in front of the houses in the doorways.

He walked over to Nagy Korut and there he found a group of people who were systematically destroying street lights. They threw stones with a great deal of skill and destroyed the lights this way. Respondent joined them and he thinks

that they did a very thorough job. It occurred to him that the people might like the streets to be in darkness for any fighting that might occur. ~~He~~ They heard that people were shot at at the radio station. As he walked down the streets, he saw many people in the streets and he saw one car burning and he was told that this car belonged to the film industry which had sent someone to take pictures, but the people didn't want to be seen. That is why they overturned the car and set it on fire.

He also saw more cars and trucks with the Hungarian national colors without the Communist emblem. The people on these trucks shouted to others that on the following day they would strike. By then, it was late, about 11 P.M. and people showed no signs of wanting to go home.

He saw one group on the corner of Kiraly Utcá and Korut which, like many others, was talking about the events and a man showed a hole in his coat which had been made by a bullet. The essence of the conversations was thus: people felt that the system had to be changed, that the Russians should go home and Communism should not prevail.

They heard about Imre Nagy's declaration of a state of siege and they were then against him as well. "Enough of all of this dirty deal!" was the most often repeated slogan. Respondent did not hear even one dissenting opinion.

Respondent got on a street-car where students and young workers were distributing leaflets which said that the people should strike until the Russian army leaves. People were very interested in these leaflets and literally tore them from each others' hands. Several people in the street-car read the leaflets aloud and people talked quite openly. This all took place about midnight. Then respondent went home to the fifth district.

Speaking of the morning of the 24th, respondent remarks that Communist Party headquarters were located in the fifth district quite close to his house. In the morning, he saw the streets full of Russian tanks and soldiers. He even saw Russian navy uniforms. At the same time, he



heard rumors that AVO members were dressed as sailors. All of this military might was set up particularly around the Party headquarters.

Respondent then went to one of friend's home and stayed there throughout the revolution so as to evade the AVO if they looked for him at home. They could hear noises which more and more assumed the proportions of real battle noises. Gun fire, the banging of mortars, etc. He did not think of going to work and he didn't see any one else go, either.

deposed

The big apartment house where he was now staying with his friend's family housed many workers, real proletarian families who had been placed there in the stead of families involved ~~in~~ in the deportations in Hungary. None of those there gave any sign of even thinking of going to work. All these workers spoke bitterly against Communism.

A friend of theirs who came to visit lived across the street from an AVO building. The AVO was so afraid of the people that they blocked the streets completely. They stood with cocked sub-machine guns in the doorways and windows. When the thirteen year old boy of one of the tenants casually went to a window, he was shot from across the street by one of the AVO men. He was shot in the neck and severely wounded. Such stories reached the hundreds.

In the evening, the government news agency announced over the radio that rebel groups should surrender one after the other.

On the 25th, sometime between ten and eleven, he saw two Hungarian trucks full of soldiers shouting, "Russians, go home!" and he saw a crowd with national flags moving toward the Parliament. He followed them. He heard shooting coming from the direction of Parliament, the clatter of machine guns. He started walking faster and many people coming from the Parliament were telling each other excitedly that the AVO were massacring people. AVO men standing in the windows of the Ministry of Agriculture fired into the

unarmed crowd. They shot several hundred of them. Now he started running toward Parliament and there he saw about 300 wounded and dead lying in the square. Trucks and cars arrived to take the wounded to hospitals. He helped to carry two wounded to a pick-up truck and went with them to a near-by hospital. One man was severely wounded and was in a coma. The woman's leg was hurt and she cried silently. When they arrived at the hospital, many people from the hospital ran to them and carried the wounded up stairs.

Respondent asked, "Do you need any help?" The people answered, "For the time being, we can take care of the situation."

Respondent went back to Parliament Square and heard more details. A huge crowd demonstrated for the 16 demands in the morning. The Russian tanks were standing there. The commander of the Russian tanks was talking in a friendly manner with the surrounding people and as the demonstration went on, AVO men standing in the windows opened fire. They shot this Russian officer and hundreds of people. Then the guns of this Russian tank crew were turned against the window of the Ministry of Agriculture and they in turn shot the AVO men. Immediately, hundreds fled from the square and others went back to help the wounded. Respondent notes that thousands would have died if this Russian tank crew had not shot the AVO men.

Now, respondent decided not to go home to his room. It was at this point that he decided not to return to his own home, but rather to stay only with the family of his friend already mentioned. As he walked back there, he saw people becoming brotherly toward each other. All strangers were friends and they discussed events.

After lunch with a friend, they went to ~~the~~ town, looking around and thinking quite seriously of joining one of the rebel bands. As they progressed, they learned that the AVO was no longer in the streets. They all withdrew to their own buildings. They were safe only when they were surrounded by Russian tanks.

In the evening, his friend recognized an acquaintance among an armed group. He asked whether they were bound and learned that they were out to liberate the Freedom Fighters from an AVO building where they were being held in Izabella Street. Respondent and his friend decided to join the group. They were given rifles and when they arrived at the AVO building, a group of Freedom Fighters already had the building under fire. The AVO fired back and there were several wounded. Two ambulances came and they also were fired upon by the AVO. The FF now blew up the entrance to the building and invaded it.

While the fighting was going on, respondent also fired at windows where he thought the AVO were. He talked with other FF who were part of this attack and they compared their reasons for fighting. As they talked, respondent told the FF with whom he was lying on the ground firing away that he had been in various prisons and concentration camps for seven and a half years. When the actual storming of the building was about to take place, his companions suggested that he go home and not take part because if they were captured by the AVO, his presence might prejudice the revolution. They told him of an announcement made by the radio on the previous day that among three rebels captured, one was a political prisoner and another was unemployed. The FF was so anxious not to have their reputation endangered by the participation of political prisoners that they dissuaded him from further fighting and he also reports that during these talks, the conviction that the FF would win providing no Russian troops arrived was shared by everyone to whom he talked.

Although he accepted the advice of his comrades, he still stayed there although he did not storm the building with them. He saw the prisoners freed. He remembers that they had been badly beaten apparently by the AVO.

He went back to the friend with whom he was staying and didn't tell him the story because he still had the fear that the AVO might suppress the revolution and he didn't want to compromise his friends.



On the 26th, respondent took part in a desperate demonstration in front of the American legation building. The demonstrators asked for UN help in making the Russians go home and that free Hungarian elections be held under UN supervision.

The days between the 27th and the 3rd went like this: In the house where he was staying, there also lived three members of the secret police. One of them, who respondent considers to be quite decent, reported to the FF during the early days and he was told that his case would be reviewed and if he was needed to help, he would be notified. The other two AVO members continued to live in the house, but they remained hidden most of the time. These two shared living quarters.

One day, a team of civilian guards came and wanted to take one of these AVOs to the building of the FF. That particular AVO was not at home so they suggested that his wife go with them to tell the FF about her husband. In turn, the woman suggested that they take the other AVO and so they did. They found short wave radios in the possession of both of these AVO men. When their papers clearly showed that they were radio people, they were all released. They were given papers by the civilian guards saying that they would be recalled to police headquarters if they were needed. For the time being, they were okay.

In three days, respondent took part in organizing a democratic-Catholic organization which had been dissolved years ago. He said it was amazing to see how many people registered to be active members. At the same time, he saw other old democratic organizations which had been forbidden during the Communist regime.

Respondent was in the Parliament building twice on matters pertaining to the reorganization of this Catholic group. He attended many conferences and helped reorganize the organization of former political prisoners and of the Christian Youth Organization. Many democratic organizations went to the Parliament building to ask for permission to resume their activities.

Respondent also took steps to initiate a paper for their group and he attended a large conference of Catholic parties and organizations which wanted to coordinate their efforts and fuse the efforts of similar organizations.

He remarks that some older people were clumsy in their approach to coordination and were not so ready to work out common platforms as were the younger people. But everything was carried out in the spirit of democracy and brotherly understanding.

He adds that ~~in~~ on one of his trips to Parliament, he saw Istvan Dobi walking out and around quite aimlessly and greeting everybody in a most friendly manner and engaging in conversation with anyone who wanted to talk with him.

Respondent says that Monday was a particularly happy day. Everything seemed to shape up nicely. Everyone felt that it would be quite appropriate to resume work on Monday, the 5th. Students offered their free services to clean up the city of the debris left from the fighting. The people had the feeling that they were ~~moving toward the great future democracy;~~ moving toward a great future democracy.

On November 4th, at dawn, they heard guns and heavy firing. Then came Imre Nagy's speech on the radio and finally, an unspeakable embitterment filled respondent and his friends. Yet, they had one hope, "The West can't let us down." This was their conviction. In this, they found comfort.

Yet they looked forward realistically to what was in store for them in the next few days. They cleaned up the air-raid shelter and took beds for the children to the shelter so that they would be protected in case the fighting reached their neighborhood.

Amazingly enough, the telephone service remained intact. Telephone conversations with friends brought the serious consideration of resuming the fight. But they reached no decision. All day, they stayed in the base and they saw very few people in the streets.

In the next three or four days, an amazing and heroic picture unfolded in the city of Budapest. The battle-line changed constantly and the Kadar regime was in power in the areas which were surrounded by Russian tanks. When the tanks moved away, back went the rebels. Then it was free area again.



The hatred toward Kadar was beyond imagining. They hated him even more than Rakosi had been hated. It was during these days that respondent listened to the radio along with the two AVO people in their building. He tells us that both AVO men cursed the West for not extending aid to the Imre Nagy regime. And for not liberating Hungary by this means.

But people didn't give up hope easily and he tells us about an incident which, among others, took place on the 7th or 8th. While FF and Russian tanks were engaged in fighting, a truck full of bread was going to the Rokus hospital. Because of the heavy fighting, the truck could not get to the hospital.

The FF handed out rifles to everyone who happened to be in the streets in that area and respondent was one of them. They were asked by the FF to keep the street under fire so that the Russian tank was diverted and the truck got through. This was achieved by the valiant truck driver who speeded up  $\frac{1}{2}$  his truck and drove through to the entrance of the hospital. There he was allowed to enter with the much needed bread.

On the 8th or the 9th, he and several friends decided that they would make and distribute leaflets. They printed the famous poem of Gyula Illyes about tyranny. They also decided to print Russian language leaflets requesting the Russian soldiers not to fire at Hungarians, but to understand what the struggle was about. They, however, could find no Russian type (Cyrillic). In other leaflets, they reproduced the demands setting forth that the Russians withdraw and that the Hungarians do not resume work until Russians withdrew. At long last, they managed to get Cyrillic type and they printed and distributed Russian leaflets.

Respondent says that the distribution of both the Russian and the Hungarian leaflets took place in the traditional secret manner. They were very cautious and gave bunches of leaflets only to those who were identified by secret signs, but no names or whereabouts were disclosed.

A great many leaflets were pasted on walls during the night.

On the 10th, he saw a policeman and a civilian reading one of the leaflets and he heard the policeman remark: "I told you it's not over yet." They smiled and left.

Respondent now decided it would be better for him to remain in hiding because more and more of his acquaintances were caught by AVO and they disappeared.

On the 17th, he and a friend decided to flee to the West. They found a truck going to a small town close to the Western border and the driver was ready and willing to take refugees with him without asking any money. Thus, they departed and were captured by Russians in a nearby city, but were released upon making some explanation and showing some papers. Most of them had some false papers. Those who had none were helped out by people who were more successful in identifying themselves.

On November 19th, he and his friend crossed the border masquerading as lumberjacks, after a most hectic two days in the border regions trying to evade detection and after having been harassed by border guards.

A. Before the demonstrations, respondent thought that relaxation in government policy would have to follow because the entire nation was alert and unrelenting in its demands for more freedom.

First, he heard over the radio about demonstrations to be staged. The radio even announced the areas and the instances in which they were permitted, and those in which they were not permitted. Permission was granted by the Ministry of the Interior.

The first news of the demonstrations reached respondent at his place of work when he heard of the students' toppling Stalin's statue. "On the 26th of October, I was in front of the Parliament building and I saw people hurrying and running to the American Legation. They clamored for more interest on the part of the West. They clamored for Western help. I had the feeling that I had to take part in helping the West to see that it was practically all Hungarians who want freedom. The larger the crowd became, the more I felt that the West could reach the realization that we were not fighting for peanuts, but for the greatest ideals held by the West."

He joined this demonstration alone.

The mother of the friend with whom respondent stayed during the revolution tried to dissuade him and his friend from participating in the demonstrations. "Watch yourselves, you may get hurt or even shot."

But respondent found no reason for being afraid. The AVO had shown itself only during the first two days. From then on, the AVO withdrew to their own "bases". On the other hand, respondent thought of personal consequences. He figured that he might be jailed again if he were caught, and the revolution was not successful.

Respondent felt elated throughout the demonstrations. "At long last, I could open my mouth," said he.

Respondent wanted, from the beginning, the government to transform itself completely and to declare neutrality, and demand the immediate withdrawal of the Russian occupation forces, and then to hold free elections. What he expected to be actually realized was much less than this. He thought the Nagy government would stay in power and the same system would continue, but with relaxed controls and the AVO's might curtailed.

The demonstrators were "the population of Budapest", respondent insists. They were not only students. Men had a slight majority, but there were really all age groups and both sexes amply represented. There was no leadership among the demonstrators. There were some who made suggestions, but it could have been anyone. Some people shouted louder and others listened to these. When some silly slogan was shouted, it was silenced by "voice vote".

B. The fighting - The demonstrations turned into fighting, respondent holds, because Gero spoke a venomous language about the demands for freedom, and because the AVO opened fire at demonstrators.

The revolutionary slogans came up during the night of the 23rd. "Down with Gero" - "Russkie, go home!"



Respondent cannot recall when the term "Freedom Fighter" was first applied to those who participated in the national uprising. He maintains that the term "felkelo", which is a little closer to insurgent or rebel, was used more.

When asked who fought, respondent answered that in the beginning, the fighters were mostly college students, but later they were joined by workers, particularly young workers, and they held out a little longer. Respondent emphasized that many older people, age 40 and 50, also took part. "There would have been many more freedom fighters if we had had more weapons at our disposal." It is possible that more people died unarmed while demonstrating or building barricades than while armed and fighting. I don't see any distinction between who fought and who didn't because it seemed that people came from all walks of life, but perhaps people of the middle-class held back somewhat. Mainly because they didn't want to make it appear that the revolution was their cause and not the cause of the entire nation."

The fighters got their arms from the soldiers who handed them over and from the weapons rooms of the barracks. Allegedly there was an arsenal in the Kilian barracks destined for use under the terms of the Warsaw agreement if Hungarian forces were committed in that connection. They found a large supply of arms at this depot.

The organization of FF worked out rather spontaneously - this word best describes everything. People didn't seek leadership, but it had to be assumed in certain situations. In other situations, it was assumed by another person. Everything seemed to move by itself.

As to his own feelings, respondent speaks of anger and hatred toward the henchmen of the regime. Fear and thought of consequences were driven into the background. by the inner urge to abolish the inner system of terror.

In the first few days, respondent didn't believe that the revolution could win. "After I fought, I saw myself captured and I tried to build up my defense for when AVO would ask me why and how."

Respondent recalls, "But I had the feeling that I had no choice and I had to fight it out."

After the revolution succeeded and freedom was regained, respondent didn't think it could lose out again to the tyranny of Communism. It couldn't lose because the free world could not let the FF down, he hoped.

In spite of his expectations, respondent feels he was not surprised at the government's calling in Russian troops. ~~He knew well enough the diabolic nature of Gero's mind.~~ He knew well enough the diabolic nature of Gero's mind. He thought the entire leadership with Gero was capable of doing anything to maintain their power.

C. The re-invasion - Respondent told in detail of his part in the activities. When the Red army had begun its retreat, respondent thought that it was genuine. He heard that the Soviet withdrawal had been halted two or three days before November 4th's invasion. He heard the news over the radio where it was announced that Russian units were going into Hungary. He began planning his escape when he learned that several of his friends had been arrested by the AVO.

D. Conclusion - Respondent feels, "The Hungarian people regained national consciousness for decades or even for centuries to come. The revolution made it impossible for any form of Communism to exist in Hungary. Communism lost its last foot hold. Without the revolution, perhaps a Gomulka-type government could have been installed as eye-wash, but not now."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF AID FROM THE WEST

A. Respondent expected from the West, "TO prevent the Russians from crushing the Hungarian revolution."

He expected the West to reach this goal diplomatically. He feels that the Russians would have retreated if the West had taken a firm stand, and had they not done so, arms should have been shipped to Hungary.

B. Whether regime warnings that the West was ready to attack or the radio gave him the idea that the West would help, he said that it was neither. "Reality persuaded me that the Western world must see that it could never have a better opportunity to annihilate the power which is menacing it, the power of Soviet Russia."

"I didn't believe that in the 20th century, countries devoted to democracy would tolerate the subjugation of a country completely against this subjugation and for freedom and democracy."

C. Respondent had no contact with any foreigners during this time.



## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's father was part-owner of a grocery wholesale firm before the war. After the war, he was ~~not~~ allowed to take part in the management of a much smaller grocery store, to which the former firm was reduced. Even this was taken away in 1948 and in 1950, his father and mother were deported. They were released in 1953 and from then on, his father had been an unskilled worker. He worked for an industrial firm that makes toys. His father's income before the war amounted to more than 1,000 pengo a month which was certainly good money.

After the period of inflation, his father's income was somewhere around 1,000 forints. From 1953 on, his father never earned more than 500 forints a month. Before the war, his father owned about 1,300 acres of good land, half of an apartment house and of five stories and another of four stories. His land was taken away without any compensation in 1945 and his real estate was canceled after 1948.

His father is a commercial high school graduate and his mother has two years of college.

B. Social classes - In an attempt to name the ~~social~~ social classes in Hungary, respondent describes them as first, the Communist leadership which consists of government leaders, Party functionaries, and AVO officers; also plant committee officials, that is uzemi bizottsag officials. Secondly, upper middle-class or lower upper-crust and respondent lists the following: industrial management, outstanding athletes recognized by the system, actors, artists, scientists, authors, and economic experts recognized by the regime. Thirdly, the intelligentsia; fourth workers; fifth, peasants; sixth, prisoners.

Respondent definitely feels that there is such a social class as prisoners.

Speaking of contact with each of these groups, respondent says that, "as a prisoner, I was with this social class for 7½ years, was with them body and soul."

For over three and-a-half years, he was with minors who were supposed to be particularly fond of the regime, but who were not at all.

After he was released from prison, he worked as an unskilled laborer and manifold intercourse with workers. At the same time, he had much contact with acquaintances in other social classes except for the upper crust. These acquaintances were made in a peculiar way in prison. As people walked in, they still belonged to their actual class and developed "prison class" status only as time went on. Even members of the upper crust came in considerable numbers to prisons and concentration camps in which respondent spent some time.

Speaking of his attitudes towards these groups, he said that the upper crust clings desperately to its power; it's power-mad. The political upper crust can be characterized by an old English term, "moral insanity". Respondent feels that most of them are not very talented.

Artists, actors, athletes are a type of fellow traveler. Sooner or later, most of them lose their positions anyway, if they are not completely subservient to Communism.

The intelligentsia, respondent feels, is intimidated and not much can be expected of them.

The workers don't have much to lose and they bravely face the regime. Peasantry feels the same way, but because of its social and economic structure, and psychological structure, it is more reserved.

Prisoners are like workers says respondent from experience. They are even more so. Since they can't lose much, most of them are desperate, and may be counted upon if another uprising takes place.

Respondent feels that he belongs with the prisoners.

He has no doubt that the workers and even more the prisoners were hardest hit by Communism. Part of the intelligentsia, but the ones who remained were pleasantly surprised by the fact that they were not exterminated.

He says almost literally, the peasantry situation no doubt deteriorated, but not to such an extent as that of the workers. The workers were the ones who expected the most of the regime and who received the least.

C. Class opinions - Before the revolution, there were strong social differences and antagonisms. With the exception of the two upper crusts, social and political, everyone thought of the others as being the beneficiaries of the system. Of course, they didn't think this of the prisoners.

In the revolution, these differences were washed away. It is highly significant, "that in the revolution, people in the street found out that everybody hated the system and that they could count on each other.

According to an obsolete principle, every situation must be good for somebody. Based upon this truism, all social classes suspected the others and realized only during the revolution that this situation in Hungary was an exception. It did injustice to everyone except the unscrupulous or the very few fortunate indispensable artists and athletes, etc. And even this non-political part of the upper-crust hated the regime thoroughly."

E. Social advancement - The chances for an individual to get ahead in Communist Hungary are these! "The recipe was this: Join the Party or the secret police and forget about every moral consideration and you will get a good position. When persons or principles within the Party change, you change also."

Respondent e21- tells us about indispensable expert knowledge being used as long as they don't find a replacement. But the moment they find a good Party member who knows even half as much, the original expert is kicked out and replaced. The bourgeois could not get ahead if it did not become a completely subservient Communist.

In 1945, many young elements joined the Communist Party, especially many young Jewish people. By 1953, a large percentage of them was removed from leading positions which they had obtained



quite easily in the first few years.

The new course, according to respondent, had this effect on the social mobility: most prisoners, from constant beatings and kicking around, became simply slave workers. That was the only significant social change he could think of.

As to what kind of individual got ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent suggested that "unprincipled, unscrupulous opportunists Machiavelian pushers who adapt to all changes in Communist ideology and Party structure are those who get ahead. The type who had gained experience in cruel oppression under the Nazi regime or acquired a new one under the Communists."

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communist effects - Respondent emphasizes that Communism had only a limited effect on family life. To a certain degree, it had a disintegrating effect which went hand in hand with the loosening of principles in the sexual moral code. Concretely, it looked like this: "Contrary to general Hungarian custom, the women, in general, had to work. Both parents usually expended all their energies in the long hours of hurried work and they had neither time nor inclination for devoting much time to their young children. At the same time, it must be noted that the efforts of Communism to induce children and women to inform on family members failed completely."

B. Rearing children - According to respondent, the rearing of children changed particularly because parents haven't much time for their children as mentioned above. They have to be taken care of after work. It seems that Communism is bent on taking the children out of the family sphere. It begins in the nursery. In spite of this basically hampering circumstance, he thinks in most families, the parents love their children as before and are anxious to have them under good influences and to save them from bad influences. At the same time, they have to protect their children and in many families, children are taught duplicity. They are taught to accept the schools' teachings without objection, but to realize, at home, that these are lies. Parents tell the children what they consider right and wrong, but at the same time, the child is taught not to reveal at school that which he has been taught at home. This contributes greatly to the failure of Communist indoctrination.

But, of course, not everything is up to the parents. For instance, the Kim ir Sen school of the Korean students in Budapest. They sided with the revolution. Nobody could contend that they had learned such things from their parents.

Respondent feels that parental influence in the last ten years has been lessened in every way. However, no real blanket statement can be made. He mentions interesting examples of disobedience, but does not attribute them necessarily to Communism. He knows of examples where

the Communist Party Secretary suggested to his boy that he become an AVO member. The boy refused with disgust. He also knows of cases where the good old peasant folks told their boys not to become AVO officers and they didn't give a darn what their folks thought and became AVO men anyway. Such instances as these are exceptionally rare.

Parental influence on the whole has lessened because the energies of parents are taxed to the utmost in their jobs. Generally speaking, the present-day parent has less time and energy than the parent of pre-Communist Hungary.

The school system also contributed to this new freedom by giving ideas to students that they should "bravely face" their parents and turn against them, "valiantly".

While this procedure was not an out and out success, still Communism did succeed in lessening parental influence on the whole. However, these changes are not the same for all social classes. For instance, peasants are less effected.

The role of the grade and high schools is just about the same.

C. Sex patterns - As for marriage and changes of the last ten years, respondent explains that divorce increased "to an incredible extent". Conjugal faithfulness decreased and a much smaller per centage of girls remained virgins until marriage.

"Since in many or most cases, the mother is not at home, she therefore wields less influence on the life of the family, thus there is much less family life. Both parents spend their days away from each other and from their loved ones". In spite of all this, families are strong and the family affection is deep.

Boys and girls become acquainted most often in school and on jobs. Not only during actual working hours, but at parties which are a part of the "cultural program". There are many dances arranged at the various hotels. Some are called "five o'clock teas" and some are called "night dances". Anyone may dance with anyone. It's purely



individual choice.

Extra-marital relations have less obstacles to overcome than before. Divorced women are particularly willing to "carry on" in extra-marital liaisons. However, immorality is still immorality in the minds of the vast majority of the people and it is condemned.

However, condemnation has become less severe. Up until the last few years, abortions were strictly forbidden by law. On the other hand, the Communist courts declared paternity on the basis of only the slightest evidence. These two factors prompted many girls to be unafraid and also account for the increased number of illegitimate children. It was only in the last few years that abortions were permitted. Each case was investigated and judged individually and it was only during the last few years that the use of contraceptives was suggested.

Licensed prostitution was abolished in 1948. From then on, only secret prostitution was possible, but there was a considerable amount of this.

Respondent feels that there was no particular preference on the part of the Communists for any particular sex pattern.

There was a book published which may be considered as indicative of Communist views on ethical~~x/d~~. The title was "Communist Ethics" by Geza Losonczy. On the other hand, one may consider that motion pictures express the overall attitude of those who are responsible for film production. Respondent says that the films were above reproach in dealing with matters of sex. Cautiously respondent arrives at this conclusion from his own experience: "It seems that Communists did not favor immoral life for working men and women because they probably wanted them to conserve their energies for work. A friend of mine commented that the Communists would probably advocate taking the pleasure from sexual intercourse so that ~~x/d~~ fewer people would participate in this activity." Then the people could utilize all their energy for work production."

~~D. --Friendship-with-Communists--~~

When respondent was asked whether he felt that Communists were more or less inhibited about sexual matters, he is indignant and asks, "How on earth could one tell?"

D. Friendship with Communists - If respondent had a good friend who became a Party functionary, he felt, "I'd spit in his eye!" This would break up their friendship for good. He continues, "If I could stand life in prison for 7½ years, then anyone can stand being an unskilled worker if he were kicked out of his job for not becoming a Communist."

Respondent actually knew of such cases with the results he already predicted. No real friendship could be continued by keeping politics out of it because politics in a Communist country touch everyone's life.

When probed, respondent admits knowing of cases where friendships continued and the Communist was not considered a traitor by his friend.

E. Crimes and alcoholism -- Crime increased by about 10-20%, respondent feels. estimates - "But what had been virtually unknown until 1945 in Hungary, rapes, was now committed in disturbingly great numbers by juveniles and their elders. This was due solely to Russian influence. People never even had the idea before, with the exception of a few completely pathological cases. The idea itself originated with the Russians who invaded Hungary in 1945, looting and raping. Those wholesale rapes gave morally infirm, but otherwise normal persons, the idea."

The crime rate among women went up slightly because, in many instance, Communists lured farm girls with great promises of education- higher education in Budapest and were later ashamed to return to their villages when the promised schools were closed down. They then remained in Budapest and became street-walkers.

Juvenile delinquency increased greatly. This was due to the fact that compulsory education ceased at the age of 14, but the minimum working age was 16. During

this two year time lapse, they had no where to go and didn't want to continue studies, neither wanted to nor could work and just loafed and finally became delinquents.

Another highly contributory factor was the general misery felt by all.

When asked whether the government is adequately helping to overcome this situation and how the police force effects results for non-political crimes, respondent becomes highly excited and says, "There just isn't any comparison with the previous Hungarian police. The entire system is concerned with political crimes and this interest consumes most of their energies and their personnel is not trained to deal with criminal cases. Only political crimes hold the center of attention. Even the sentences administered were more lenient than during the previous regime. Most all of the criminals with whom respondent was in prison preferred the former regime because their treatment was then more humane."

Alcoholism has certainly increased and is still on the rise, Rum is particularly favored because, until recently, it was cheap. Many women consumed this also, even though, before Communism, hard liquor was unknown for women.

Practically speaking, the "Jampec" were urban youth who liked extravagant clothing and wild, modern dancing. They had a different outlook on life than most people because they were very easy going and jazz seemed to be the only art-form which interested them. They wore zoot-suit hats and loud scarves. Most of them were workers in city areas. Most of the Jampecs were the sons of workers and only a few were sons of intelligentsia. Very few were students. Not all of them were young as some were about 30. They may have been easy-going in life, but they were valiant in death. Respondent explained that although they were not to his liking, he admires them because, during the revolution, they fought like men.



## VII. RELIGION

A. Communist effect - Respondent assessed the effect of Communism on religious life as, "In certain respects, Communism weakened the churches, but in others, it strengthened them. It may be surprising to hear this, but the fact is when Communism confiscated all church property, churches emerged spiritually and intellectually stronger. Churches also became stronger because they were for the people and against Communism and the people appreciated this consolation and love. Large crowds were attracted to church. They found spiritual and intellectual refuge there. At the same time, from the very first, Communists wrote and preached their doctrines, they painted terrible pictures of priests and undeniably, some of this propaganda stuck. Many young people remained unattracted by the church."

### Catholic

The faith hardest hit is the Communist church, respondent said because of three main reasons: its ideology is totally opposed to Communism that the Communists had to take up a fight, Papal encyclicals condemned Communism page after page; secondly, its priests proved the most unyielding because they could afford to be so since they had no wives or children to think of as did the Protestant clergy. Catholic priests were more unafraid. Thirdly, the Catholic is a world faith with more ties to outside countries than say the Calvinists and the Lutherans which are the two main Protestant religions in Hungary,

Protestants had their heroic priests, too. They suffered a great deal for their faith and their uncompromising stand. On the whole, Protestantism became less significant and some fellow-travelers assumed leading roles. Many of the faithful held out more resolutely than their preachers.

About the same holds true for Judaism. However, respondent emphasizes that most Jews are not religious and the religious Jews care nothing for politics.

B. Personal religious life - Respondent thinks that religion plays an important role in his life. He thinks

it is more important in his own life than in that of his parents. At the same time, he has difficulty in estimating whether he is more religious than the average person in Hungary. Finally, he determines that he is about the same as the average in his religiousness. He regularly continues to attend weekly services and relates that his 7½ years imprisonment stemmed from his Catholic activities in public life. ~~During the~~ After the revolution, he devoted most of his time and energy to serving the cause of Catholic organizations, in the few free days allotted them.

C. Church function - Respondent votes for complete independence between church and state. Churches may have their own schools, he thinks, for those who prefer this. There should be religious instruction in schools, but it should not be compulsory. In this connection, he brings up an interesting fact: in the few days of freedom, free Hungarian educational authorities decided that religious instruction should be restored to schools and should not be compulsory and contrary to Communist practice, those wishing religious training for their children would not have to register with the authorities, but rather those who do NOT wish such education for their children. Respondent advocates this method of practice, in a free Hungary.

Respondent feels that the church should most emphatically NOT take any part in politics. Churches should take stands only in matters of ideology.

D. Jewish minority - Respondent thinks that the Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism to about the same degree as others. Jewish schools were eliminated. The solidarity of Jews helped them somewhat and meant some advantage. However, this was not too significant. Zionism was prohibited. This was declared to be a Fascist organization. Its members were persecuted and quite a few of them were imprisoned.

The attitude of Jews toward Communism in Hungary is typified, "There were three levels in Jewry distinguished as bourgeois, small bourgeois, and the orthodox Jews.



There was no doubt that the bourgeois were against Communism, body and soul, but the vast majority of Communist Jews were recruited from the small bourgeois. Russian troops saved their lives from the Nazi concentration camps and ghettos and made possible their release from hiding with kind-hearted Hungarians. The majority of these Jews felt gratitude toward their liberators and a disproportionately high number of them joined the Communist Party. These same Jews would have joined the ranks of any other liberating force, respondent thinks, because it was not so much the Communist ideology that captured their imagination as it was the feeling that here was a force which had saved them and which probably would give them a decent chance to advance in life.

The orthodox Jews, who are very religious, are completely disinterested in politics and there were either none or only very few Communists among them. Respondent saw this group represented in prison and their number in prison far exceeded their per centage place in the population of the nation.

The attitudes of many Jews underwent many changes during the last few years. Many Jews were antagonized by Communism when gross nationalism took place. Others felt antagonized because their personal freedoms were curtailed to an extent which they could not bear.

"The Jews who held high leadership posts and were in the AVO of Communism fought against the revolution, but the great masses of Jews, either within or without the Party, turned against Communism. Particularly when they noticed that the revolution had no anti-Semitic undertones."

"Part of the Jews were afraid as long as the Communist press managed to fool them with tales of anti-Semitism in a free world," is respondent's answer to whether the Jews feared a free Hungary.

Interviewer's amazed probes are answered as follows:  
"In the Communist press, Nazism was called Fascism and at the same time, all those strongly opposed to Communism



were also branded Fascists. Among others, the United States was mentioned as a Fascist country again and again. Many humble, not well-informed Jews of the small bourgeois believed this nonsense until radio broadcasts and correspondence with relatives in the U.S. corrected this highly mistaken impression.

Still another reason for their fear was the latent anti-Semitic feeling to be found in Hungarians. This however proved to be nothing more than ill-feeling toward Jews because of their disproportionate participation in the apparatus of Communist power. This ill-feeling never erupted in any form of violence during the revolution when there was so much opportunity for it."

### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. The age group of 16 to 26 comprises youth in Hungary,

B. Generally speaking, it is true that the youth took the lead in the revolution, but the main fact to be recognized is that youth started the revolution. For the six months preceding the revolution, youth's role is characterized by, "Communist Party youths who joined the Communist or fellow-traveler older authors in criticizing the government were not so much afraid of retaliations as the old 'class enemies'. These felt to be within the confines of power and their disillusionment and hatred of Communism prompted them to air their critical views. They were joined by other youths who had never been Communists in any sense, but who saw that it was possible to open their mouths. They had quite a part in the ferment that, to some extent, prepared the revolution."

Youth started the demonstrations and held out consistently. This was true of the fighting as well. Respondent feels that the youth took the lead rather than the older people since, "Youth was raised within the framework of the 'people's democracy' and was less afraid of the apparatus of power than the older generation which was happy not to have been liquidated. At the same time, youth was more dissatisfied because it expected more from life. Youth was harder to please. They listened more carefully to Communist promises and was somewhat more surprised to discover lies at every turn. The older generation expected nothing more than lies from the Communists. Youth never stopped to think of consequences if their revolution failed."

During the revolution, the older people were very proud of the youth. To many, the behavior of the young people was a pleasant surprise. Respondent feels unqualified to answer what youth thought of the older people.

C. Educational system - Respondent's general opinion about education is that, in some fields, particularly the sciences such as mathematics or chemistry, the standard

was not lowered a bit. However, in humanities, it worsened considerably.

Restrictions in vocational choice were based mainly upon origin and then according to the need within various fields at any given moment. The quality of education deteriorated in general, but not in every respect. Respondent estimates that only a very small per centage of the professors were real Communists. While this fact is true, still a larger number are Communists because they are intimidated.

Competence differs according to fields and individuals. Respondent could not make an overall statement, he insisted.

E. Indoctrination of youth.-- It was the common experience of youth that the Communists tried to win them over with a very thorough ideological training. Indeed, they devoted much time and effort to this.

Respondent feels that the Communists failed, nevertheless, because, "Youth recognized that a Communist education is one of stupid confusion. The Youth's feelings of truth and justice were brutally hurt by Communist practices. A great many, probably the majority, saw the numerous contradictions in Communist doctrine in basic matters as well as in details. There was no basis for belief since everyday practices of life refuted everything taught in Communist doctrines.

Children saw their working parents squeezed dry by the constantly increased norms and prices while the wage standard remained constant. Children saw the lives of all those around them shortened by the excessively strenuous labor they were forced to perform for the state which took from them, but made no return to them.

They also saw people sent to concentration camps without even the formality of a trial. They saw brutal prison terms meted out without appropriate cause. The constantly changing leaders - as well as big wheels - also influenced youth in its idea that something basic was wrong. Most youths rejected Communism all of the time. A minority accepted it at first and then later rejected it all the more violently.



XIX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Respondent's main dissatisfactions were, above all, terror. He tells a story to emphasize his point. ~~One night, St. Peter noticed a-~~ One night, St. Peter noticed that an ink spot had covered the name of John Q. Citizen of Hungary, in his big book. This man should have died some time ago, had it not been for this ink blot. St. Peter reported this to the lord and the lord said, "You must tell Death to go down immediately and get this man because his hour came up long ago." At this point, it was already midnight and Death demurred because he had lots of other things to take care of. Nevertheless, he went and arrived at John Q.'s home about 2 A.M.. He knocked at the door.

John Q. opened his eyes at the sound of the knock, looked at the clock and saw that it was 2 in the morning. Then he was frightened and walked trembling to the door. He asked, "Who is there?" "IT IS DEATH!" came the reply. "Oh, thank heaven," said John, "I was afraid it was the secret police!"

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The other major dissatisfactions besides terror was misery, profound misery such as could be seen everywhere. Another reason was a moral reason. The Communists trampled upon religious feelings and the national consciousness of the Hungarian people. They did this in their daily dictates and they challenged the Hungarians.

B. Annoyances other than major political dicta which bothered the people were such things as work-weeks longer than the customary 48 hours. He noticed that the miners with whom he worked had to work on three consecutive Sundays in a month.

Another annoying occurrence was the impossibility for people to change their jobs if they felt like it. Only the most favorable circumstances ever permitted anyone to seek a new job.

He also recalls that the Communist foreman was always pressuring them to hurry, hurry. They were already doing their utmost and still they were pushed. This procedure

was particularly irksome when it was practiced upon them by some Communist who had risen from their own ranks.

The stupidity of the newspapers' lies was also very annoying to people.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The standard of living - respondent's family subsisted during the last few years, "with the help of our relatives who live abroad." This was true about clothing and food. His people had a nice home until they were deported and then their home was confiscated with all its furnishings. After '53, they were released and they rented a room, one room for an exorbitant 400 forints a month from very nice, decent people who were very good to them. The landlord and two other persons lived in the kitchen.

It was a luxury for respondent while in Hungary, "to dine and have a good time in a restaurant once in a while, to change his shirt every day",---"to smoke a cigarette and leave a good sized butt, to go to a night-club". None of these things were within his reach.

Home was a particularly sore point with respondent and his family. There was no comparison with their standard of living before 1945 and during the Communist regime. Naturally, their living standard was much higher before respondent's capture in 1948. Their standard did however, improve slightly since 1953. Even in prison, he found that he received less brutality and a little more food.

Respondent cites a friend who was an artist as an example of one who was better off than others at this time. The painter was married and had two children. They lived in a two room and kitchen apartment. His annual income was an unimaginably high sum, somewhere around 60,000 forints. This, however, was characteristic in Communist Hungary because artists, in general, were very well paid. This family had a good time and especially, fine vacations and they sent their two children to various parts of the country to enjoy fine vacations. They had no difficulty in getting to places.



The factor which accounts for the Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years, are here listed: 1) goods of the country went to Russia at very low prices, 2) the terror apparatus of the police state cost a good deal 3) the stupidity of the economic doctrinaire leadership 4) unreasonable building programs like the subway or Stalinvaros 5) kolkhoz economy 6) too large an overhead for the Party and bureaucracy 7) too many people stealing and cheating.

B. Income - Respondent earned 1,200 forints a month. 50 forints were deducted for union fees and 4% tax for being childless and 8% old-age insurance. He received no premiums or other extra pay. He had no secondary source of income.

Both his parents worked. During the brief time in which respondent was free after he was released from prison, he received no wage increase.

C. Respondent disclaims any knowledge of retail prices in Hungary before the revolution because in his short time of freedom, he did not recall old prices. He and his parents did experience the fact that the quality of clothing became worse and worse each year. He attributes this to both economizing trends in the government and to the abnormally high norms which made people hasty in their work which caused a lot of waste.

Respondent has knowledge of a great many troubles in distribution of goods. In many instances, there would be a superfluity of an item in a certain place and in another place, there was a marked shortage. This statement also refers to standard spare parts. Sometimes they could be had and sometimes not.

Respondent believes that there was much spoilage of food even in prisons where there was usually a tremendous shortage.

As far as the shortage of commodities goes, if one had the money, one could find the article. Consequently, he thinks that some goods were simply too expensive for regular purchasing.

Respondent doesn't know of black-marketing. At least, he thinks there was very little of it, and only for as long as there was rationing. He doesn't know of an organized black market at all.

He knows that before 1953, many black-marketeers were put into concentration camps where he met a great many of them. He also knows that the authorities were anxious to apprehend people who carried on black-market slaughtering of pigs, cattle, etc. They got sentences of 6 months, one year, two years, etc.

D. Working conditions - The working day looked like this: from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M. without interruption or from 2 P.M. until 10 P.M. again without interruption. He and one of his companions lifted huge timbers onto a small cart. They pushed it a few yards to a platform, rolled the timbers onto the platform and there a primitive conveyor belt carried it to a large saw. After the timber was cut into pieces, respondent and his co-worker stacked the newly cut lumber. He worked eight hours a day, six days a week. He traveled about an hour a day on the bus which cost about three forints a day. He had this job because he was not permitted to seek one more intellectual and he was forbidden to finish his studies after he got out of prison. H

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He thinks that his wages were proportionately all right although it was very hard work. He would much rather have continued his studies.

His relations with co-workers were excellent. They helped him and talked politics quite openly with him. They cursed the regime constantly. His relations with superiors were also very good. The manager of this saw-mill was a friend of his and he was a good boss to everyone because he was truly democratic and nothing in common with Communism.

He considers his superiors to have been competent. Under the circumstances, he was satisfied with his job.

His fellow-workers worked hard and took pains to perform their duties properly.

Superiors didn't praise the workers for something well-done. Even the bosses and superiors hated this business where there was no personality-and-no individuality.

Speaking briefly about the health and vacation programs, respondent says that he had the impression that in 1948, before he went to jail, there were more workers participating in a vacation program than in 1956 when he got out of jail, but he stresses that this was only an impression.

Workers often blamed the doctors for not certifying that they were indeed sick since the doctor had to keep within a given quota. This limited the doctor's allotment. At the same time, it was of great help to the poor that everyone had health and hospital insurance free.

E. Agriculture - Respondent would not have preferred living in the country while still in Hungary. He was less conspicuous in the big city to the Communist authorities.

Respondent maintains that the agricultural workers had a better diet than city workers. He says that such people had a generally higher standard of living whose children worked in town, but who still reaped harvests from their farms, small though they were.

Politically, some of the villages had fairly decent people as Communists. However, most of them were not and so people in large cities had a better time of it. They could hide.

When collectivization was first introduced into Hungary, respondent thought that the effects on the country would be disastrous because he knew that Soviet Russia, an overwhelmingly agricultural country, did not have enough to eat, ergo, they must have had a bad agricultural and economical system.



Respondent's opinion of collectivization as it had been practiced in Hungary is still the worst possible. He thinks that well-to-do and less well off peasants objected equally to this system. He had heard that in 1953, after Imre Nagy had announced liberalization moves, many collectives were dissolved and many more between '53 and '56. Respondent is convinced that most members of these collectives never wanted to enter such a kolkhoz agreement, but were forced to subscribe to the idea of collective farms.

If respondent were an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, he would choose to work on a private farm and second choice would be a state farm.

Respondent would like to see Hungarian agriculture in private hands in independent Hungary. He would not hand back the large agriculture holdings to former owners but he would compensate them to a considerable degree.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948 - Respondent was interested in politics before 1948. Not too much before the war, but during the war, he became highly interested and as a young man, he pinned all of his hopes upon American troops entering Hungary and liberating her from Nazi oppression. After the war, he became more interested. He was looking at all angles which might enable Hungary to shake off the yoke of Russian occupation.

Neither he nor any member of his family was a member of any political party, but they sympathized with all non-Communist parties. His overall political views can be expressed in one sentence, "I expected as did all those I knew and loved that a peace treaty would be promulgated and immediately thereafter, the Russian forces would be withdrawn!"

Respondent always hated the Communist Party before 1948. He thinks that Bela Kun was a criminal of the first degree, a mass murderer. The Communist Party of 1918 and 1919 contained some criminals and some well-meaning idealists. Before and during the war, he had no sympathy for the Communist Party, but he had no hatred toward it. He didn't accept Communism, "I didn't accept Communism, but I would not have engaged in a crusade against it." - Since 1948, he hated the Communists in an ever increasing measure.

B. CP after 1948 - Generally speaking, the Communist Party, particularly its leadership is a crime syndicate. As for rank-and-file members, he distinguishes, there are three main groups. The first group includes power-mad sadists like AVO members and allied people. Secondly, people with a great inferiority complex who long for power. Thirdly, yellow opportunists who are unprincipled and would do almost anything for a better life. The fourth group which respondent has not yet met, but ~~w/~~~~h/~~~~h/~~ which he supposes must be there, must contain people like Imre Nagy who are erring idealists. Respondent had no real personal contact with any Communists other than his guards in prison.

Respondent holds that Communist Party policies changed after Stalin's death when Imre Nagy was in the government; relaxations and liberalizations followed. However, almost everything changed again later for the worst. In 1955, there again came a bit of improvement and after the 20th Party congress, came great changes. But this was quite slow.

It was after the 20th Party congress that Rajk was rehabilitated and it was then that many social democrats were also rehabilitated. A somewhat more liberal atmosphere was observed in all areas of life.

Respondent is quick to give his opinions as to why changes occurred. After the great dictator's death, a wrangle, a factional fight, on the highest level in Moscow unfolded. Respondent is aware of differences within the Party. He says there are Stalinists and some who are more national Communists, but he doesn't think that, with the exception of Imre Nagy, the more sensible and decent faction has many members.

He relates about Party morale in the last 8 or 10 years, that, "More and more Party members were disappointed. I know because I talked to so many of them who ended up in jail. There were more and more absentees from Party meetings and most members who once believed became disillusioned and ~~dis~~-uninterested. The ones who were only opportunists were uninterested from the beginning." Party morale at its best can be described as the authority of a boss of a gang and it was even worse. I know this from experience in talking with Party members who were locked up for one thing or another. I even met quite a few Party functionaries in prison and their stories clearly showed what I just explained."

Discussing now the top Party leaders, respondent says that the top leaders don't have personal convictions, they don't believe in their ideology. He makes an allowance for those who are Imre Nagy who is no more a Communist than any good socialist because they became disillusioned with Communism. The few true believers raised their voices when it came to malpractices in the Party and they ended up in jail. Their motives decry them as evil, diabolic people who do anything for gain in power and material wealth. With the exception of



a few utterly shrewd people, most of them are primitive, stupid, little creatures with a feeling of importance and an insatiable longing for power.

Comparing these top leaders with the rank-and-file members, respondent says that many simple members joined only to protect what they had and they are now doing the same - trying to protect what they have now and they fear a change. Leaders, however, are in the Party for unlimited gain in power and material wealth.

When Hungary becomes independent, respondent thinks that the top leaders should be tried in court.

C. Opposition - As to opposition to the Party before the revolution, respondent states, "Ask the several hundreds of thousands who were in prison because of such behavior!" When one complained, it was labelled "conspiracy" and so were conversations which contained such references as "if the regime changes"..."

People who had traveled in the West and compared life there with life in Hungary or who took Hungarian papers with them to the West, were considered to be spying. So was anyone who complained to a foreigner. One of my cell-mates had done nothing more than spend an hour talking with a girl at a youth conference in 1949 in Budapest. But of course, not all those who complained were caught. Bitter complaint was then an everyday matter in Hungary and it probably is now, too, says respondent - Slowdowns also occurred. I witnessed more than one. In one case, some prison mates put small hard shells into the oil mechanism of engines in the mine. Others cut the rubber conveyor. There were many prison mates who had been sentenced for just such actions.

For instance, in 1951, a 17 year old boy set fire to the Russian library at his school. But the matter of having one's daily bread forced most people to avoid acts of sabotage and these acts were not very ef

effective, on the whole. But suppose they were effective. If production is small, AVO has enough to live on; it is no threat to the regime. I would dissuade people from committing acts of sabotage!"

Asked about who complained openly and caused the slow-downs, respondent says that the prisoners came from all walks of life, but perhaps not too many from the intelligentsia because he thinks they were more timid. The workers were probably the most courageous.

Respondent reports that opposition behavior of any kind occurred when the situation was poorest. "Whenever they beat us particularly badly, the opposition became tougher."

Respondent first heard about the activities of the intellectuals in preparing more and more intellectual resistance sometime last summer. He heard ~~of~~ that the Petofi circle was striving for liberalization and that they wanted to wring more freedom from the hands of the government. It was after one of the critical meetings of the Petofi circle, perhaps in August, when the courageous talk of the members became known. Even before the Petofi meetings, a weekly magazine called Irodalmi Usag made it clear that more and more people in intellectual circles with the power of making their views known, wrote courageously for freedom against government leaders and particularly against their policy.

People learned, mainly from Irodalmi Usag, that something was in the air which amounted to a ferment.

Respondent thinks that the intellectuals didn't come up with new ideas, they only formulated part of the feelings and convictions that everyone held, but didn't dare voice.

Respondent liked the courageous approach of the intellectuals, but since most people in the Petofi circle were Communists or at least people acknowledged by Communism to be within their fold, he considered this as an inner affair of the Communists. He thought later that they were signals for the possibility of a revolution.

Respondent likes them and likes intellectuals, in general, he considers himself to be one and he thinks highly of those who were courageous enough to stand up against dictatorship.

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As to why those intellectuals did rise against the regime, respondent answered, "They were never genuine Communists and at this point, they saw an opportunity to speak out against it and they took advantage of it."



## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret police - Respondent typifies the secret police, "Brutal, cruel savages. The mafia longing for infinite power and for immeasurable material gains were the force behind them. There were only a few of them who had been forced into the ranks of the AVH." This he thinks is particularly true of the green AVO, that is, the border guard AVO because they were people who had been drafted and there was never a sizable group of well-meaning people among them, but there were extremely few among the real AVO.

Respondent has an easy time in answering whether he had any personal experience with the AVH men. "In 1948, I was arrested and spent two weeks at the Andrassy ut AVO. Later, I was taken back for another week of questioning. In May, 1950, our concentration camp was taken over by AVO from blue police and we were under the whip of the AVO until September 1953. Then again in the summer of 1954, I spent two months in one of the AVO institutes of investigation.

"During all of this time, I found that everything I had heard of Soviet Cheka, of GPU, of NKVD, and of the Hungarian AVO in Hungarian- propaganda type articles and books, or heard of from rumors, is completely true and more so than I ever read or heard. Although I had been an enemy of the Communists, I had not been able to believe all that-I-had of these allegations until I passed through the doors of Andrassy ut. At that ill-reputed building, I was able to experience all sorts and forms of unwarranted cruelty. I saw all AVO people laugh at the principles which they preached concerning human values, about 'humanism', about socialist ideas, and so on. It's really true that there are hundreds and hundreds of persons beaten to death and others driven to suicide. There were scores of people of whom I knew whose kidneys were crippled from beatings. There were scores of women of whom I knew who were tortured until they became lunatics. Everything else which sounds like only propaganda is really true, but I should add, that although it was only rarely, I found a few well-meaning AVH people, even among the torturers, but their number is utterly insignificant."

As for friends who had been arrested, he says, "Four of my very best friends fell into the hands of the AVO as I did. I made friends with hundreds and hundreds of prisoners during my 7½ years in prisons and concentration camps, but I may safely say that there were at the very least, 200 of them who became very close personal friends of mine. All in all, I have had quite a few friends who were imprisoned for political reasons and I don't care to mention the number of those who were deported during the mass deportation from Budapest to other parts of Hungary."

Asked about AVH men who wanted to leave their organization, respondent offers, "There were several AVO men who told us they wanted to be discharged, but they were afraid they would end up in the same place that we were. They said they couldn't stand this terrible atmosphere of the concentration camp any longer. Among my prison mates, there was one former AVO man who had given bread to a prisoner while he was a member of the AVO. There was also another one who changed his AVO uniform for the uniform of a prisoner because he had smuggled a letter, while an AVO guard, to a prisoner. These AVO men thought that they were watched and kept under surveillance. One of the AVO guard commanders whom I knew also became a prisoner while I was still there."

When Hungary becomes independent, respondent thinks all members of the AVH should be tried by a court.

Respondent has a much milder criticism of the regular police: he thinks that, with the exception of about 5% or at the most, 10% of the officers of the regular police, they are not for the regime. At the same time, he is unprepared to assess how much the regular police have been affected by Communism. While he feels that he has ample experience with AVO, he maintains that the information on the nucleus blue police is all second hand since it was received from prison mates. When he was in prison with criminals, he heard them say that they had had a better lot under the former regime. In terms of food, of conversation, of allowances, and even in terms of sentences allotted, they thought they were better off, formerly. He thinks that the regular police are not in it with the ones preceding Communism.



During the revolution, the regular police would never have fired at Freedom Fighters. Instead, they handed over their arms to the FF. In the days of freedom and victory, these police men served well and even helped in finding the whereabouts of the AVO and hunting them down. Respondent has first hand experience in this matter. Also, he heard that there were policemen fighting on the side of the revolution.

B. The courts - Respondent is eager to have noted that the courts were not half as bad as the AVO, but at the same time, "even in non-political cases, political aspects were decided". This may be said, in general, about all cases; there were special areas in which the courts were particularly eager to hand down severe sentences. Such an area was the one covering "offenses against state property". All these offenses were considered great crimes against the state. At first, three to four month sentences were given, later, two to three years, then in 1956, they discovered that it was a mistake to do so.

According to fellow prisoners of respondent, Hungarian courts before 1945 had been absolutely independent except for the very brief period of Nazi occupation from October 1944. These prisoners claimed that Hungarian courts, during the Horthy year, had practiced democracy as democracy was not practiced in any other corner of Hungarian life. At this point, interviewer probed and discovered that the cases in point were criminal cases.

Respondent paints a gloomy picture of the "people's courts" of 1945-47. He says they were complete failures. "The purely criminal cases of such as murder and looting were tried by these people's courts and thus such criminal cases became exalted and glorified as political cases. At the same time, it is true that quite often innocent people were sentenced to severe punishment and real villains went unpunished. His attitude toward "war criminals" is the same as his feelings toward political crimes because they were both handled in people's courts.



C. Hungarian army - As we speak of the role played by the army during the revolution, it is brought to light that the army sided with the revolution from the beginning. Some of them handed over their weapons and left, but later came back; others were prevented from doing so by the officers of those units. Respondent heard and saw this. All units did not behave in the same manner, but respondent feels that he hasn't enough factual information. The same is true about geographical areas, but he adds that army units were not composed according to areas, it was only recruitment which was conducted according to various areas of the country. Soldiers were placed in units without regard to their home area.

Part of the officers didn't side with the revolution and sabotaged all efforts to do so of the patriotic soldiers. Such a one was General Janza. Respondent feels there was no difference in the behavior of soldiers which could be attributed to class origin, none whatsoever. Some units fought on the side of the revolutionaries and some didn't in the first few days because of lack of information. There were units which were misled by Communist lies, but when they found out what the truth was, there was no question about their loyalty. Respondent was not surprised by the army's actions because he knew how generally hated the regime was.

D. Russian troops - When respondent heard that some people think Hungarian attitude toward Russians is due to the events of 1848, he says, resolutely, "It just doesn't ring true. There were enough events in 1945, such as wholesale looting and raping and wanton destruction to make the Hungarians hostile to the Russian army. There were so many persons and military units which either were preparing to fight or did fight against the Germans who were captured by the Russian army and sent to Siberia. There were Jewish slave labor units which were captured by the Russians and sent back to Russia. One Jewish class-mate of mine died in Siberia. Don't you think that this alone is enough to make the Russian army hated?"

Nothing good was expected of the Russians even before they actually entered Hungary, but not much evil was anticipated either. Respondent had some actual experience with the Russian army in 1945. First of all, he was captured by them as a civilian and he fled, but was not recaptured. Drunken soldiers wanted to shoot him on the street as a spy and ended by giving him a quart of wine. Russian soldiers broke all of his ~~XX~~ linguaphone records - "a lot of dirty propaganda!" they said. Respondent had a very poor opinion of Russian soldiers in 1945. He was ready to admit, however, that, generally speaking, Russian soldiers had some human warmth. For instance, they were kind hearted to children in many cases and to some other people in trouble, but no rule can be established by this.

His attitude toward the Russian army in Hungary changed somewhat during the revolution because he experienced that some of them didn't want to fight against the revolutionaries. He himself saw six tanks going over to the side of the revolutionaries and he heard the same thing from friends.

He had no personal acquaintance with Russian soldiers. He heard that many of them had friendly relations with the Hungarian population and were fraternizing. Respondent had no knowledge of Russian soldiers toward various basic questions, among others, toward the Hungarian people. But after November 4th, he heard himself, Russian soldiers looking for "Germanski fascista" and several friends told respondent of hearing Russian soldiers asking about the Danube -- "Is this the Suez Canal?"

One of respondent's friends was married to a nurse who worked in a hospital and on the first day of the fighting she said there were 20 Soviet soldiers in the hospital as the result of self-inflicted injuries.

As mentioned before, respondent saw six Russian tanks manned by Hungarians so he assumes they were helping the Hungarians. He didn't see, but heard from reliable friends that Russian tanks were sold for wine and the Soviet soldiers ~~fled~~ fled for Austria, when the mass exodus took place. He heard of cases where Soviet soldiers

refused to obey their superiors, of cases where they deserted and of such where Russian soldiers fought with the Hungarians. Respondent heard first hand reports of Russian soldiers firing at the AVO in front of the Parliament.

About individual brutalities committed during the revolution, respondent says, "I heard from reliable friends that at the Grasham Palace which was not a palace, but just another apartment house in Budapest, many rapes were committed by Russian soldiers after November 4th. I also heard first hand reports from reliable friends that a great many wounded were killed in Pecs and a good friend of mine was among those so killed."

E. The bureaucracy - Respondent didn't have much contact with the bureaucracy because he wasn't free long enough. Based upon what little information he has, he thinks that the competence and ability of leaders of bureaucracy are no good. He thinks this is He bases this opinion upon the fact that the regime so badly complicated matters and involved everything in red tape. Respondent was never in trouble with bureaucracy, never threatened for tardiness on the job and so on. Respondent never felt that a functionary made a point of being hard on him. However, he heard of countless cases from friends and prison mates where this was true. As to functionaries looking out for people's interests, he said, "I knew of such functionaries, quite a few of them. I became acquainted with them in jail when they were prison-mates of mine."

At the same time, he tells of others who pretended to be this way. He tells a joke: at one Party meeting, the Party secretary encouraged all participants to ask questions and nobody concurred for quite some time. The Party secretary then urged the people to go ahead and ask questions or raise objections to what they had heard from him. At long last, Grun stood up and said, "I have only three questions: Where is some meat, where are some textiles, and where are some shoes?" Then the Party secretary jumped up and shouted, "Here is the enemy of the people, destroy him!!!" and the meeting was adjourned abruptly. At the next meeting, the Party



secretary again sought questions from the floor. At long last, this time Kohn stood up: "Comrade Secretary, I have only ~~the~~ one question to ask - where is Grun?"

Asked whether there was a way of getting around some of the regulations, respondent says that he knows of a great many cases where such things were done. He experienced quite a bit in concentration camps, particularly in 1948, he saw many people set free because they bribed the authorities. When the AVO took over the concentration camps, things became much harder. AVO was not ~~so~~ easy to bribe. He mentions one case in which the cousin of Bata, who was Minister of Defense, was released from prison when they found out who his relative was. But respondent emphasized that bribes were much easier to execute in economic areas, in political areas, it was much harder and in many instances, completely impossible. If an official was caught accepting a bribe, one who was considered indispensable, nothing or little was done to him, but if he wasn't indispensable, he was jailed.

G. Competence of officials - Asked about the competence of the secret police, he said that until 1953, one could safely say that the secret policemen were bullies. They had nothing else to recommend them, they based all their successes on blind brute force. Beating was their main, if not their sole, method of investigation up until 1953. In 1953, no one was hired any more and competency improved.

Respondent has no first hand knowledge of army leadership. What he heard is bad. Asked about Russian army leadership - respondent said, "Judging by their performance in Hungary, they are ill-prepared and stupid. Take for instance, their employing armored cars against the Freedom fighters. They were the most inadequate way of combatting the FF because FF threw Molotov cocktails - into the armored cars and destroyed them easily." About-

About the competency of the public administration, respondent thinks that bureaucracy keeps the hands of those in administration completely tied.

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XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROBLEMS FOR HUNGARY

He doesn't desire war between the Soviet Union and the United States, nor does he think that the people of Hungary do, but he still thinks the people wish that America would do everything in its power to help the dissolution of the power of the Soviet Union.

He thinks that international pressure under the USSR, short of war, through the United Nations could have done wonders during the Hungarian Revolution, and if the US took a firm stand, it still could work wonders. He doesn't believe that <sup>will be</sup> internal changes within the Soviet Union, other than those changes in course of a revolution, which would completely transform the Soviet Union to a free and democratic number of countries.

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B. HOPES IN PROSPECT.

Trying to summarize what he hoped for before the Revolution, said he hoped that the Russians would be forced back by the United Nations to their own country- that is to say, the Soviet Union. Many other Hungarians shared his idea; others figured because of the existing and irconcilable conflict between Communism and Democracy would break out, Hungarians- respondent said- never thought that could come to terms because they never thought that fire and water could easily mix without destroying each other.

When asked whether he had changed his hopes and estimates during the last ten years, he ~~says~~ says: "In the first few years after the War, all of my hope was that after conclusion of the peace treaty, the Russian forces would withdraw because it so specified in the peace treaty and in war time agreements. When this hope did not realize, I hoped, together with other Hungarians, that the UN would see, as it did, and that it maintained, that human rights are trampled upon in Hungary. And so we hoped the UN would force ~~the~~ the Soviet Union to withdraw. All that happened was that the United Nations did not admit Hungary to be a member nation. Just imagine I felt in the present when I learned that Hungary was to be admitted as a member nation. The appearance was, that the UN now, recognized that Hungary is after all a free country, and that democracy was in power. The Communist press heralded that for many years, the UN was for many years was unjust to the Hungarian communists, but that at long last, it had to see that Hungary was a democracy and had to be admitted. From then on, it



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seemed to me that the West did not actually believe in its ideals. When Hungary was admitted to the UN, they - the Communist press - proclaimed that now it comes clear that Hungary obtains human rights for everybody. You can imagine how I felt with my human rights secured, and the rights of so many, of tens of thousands, in the same situation. There was still another change in my hopes and estimates before the Revolution. I hoped less that the Russians could arise against their own oppressors until I saw them in the Hungarian Revolution, and knew that the Russian soldiers were with us one way, or another."

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

B. The economic system.

According to respondent, the emphasis in an independent Hungary should be on the agriculture, and the agricultural industry. Perhaps also on tourist trade, he adds. He thinks garden products that is to say products in this country are known as "produce" should be particularly emphasized.

Should the Communist regime be overthrown, the respondent thinks that mammoth enterprises should undergo a plant socialization. That is to say, the workers in plants should become share-holders of that certain plant, and the former owner should have a large percentage of those shares. ~~factories~~ <sup>kolkhozes</sup> and state farms should be distributed and made into small farmers, he says. Former owners of the land, respondent suggests should be compensated to a certain degree. Respondents' general attitude to government ownership of industry, transportation, etc. is the following:

"I personally think that private enterprises would be the best, all the way through, but people, I am persuaded, would not favor returning to big enterprises, even though people do not hate ~~the~~ most of the former owners. This is why I think that plant socialization would be a solution. People will think that the plant belongs to them, and will work accordingly. As far as transportation is concerned, I think it would be better in private ownership, yet it has never been. Big time transportation, that is, so probably it would be very difficult to take it out of the hands of the state."

"The government's role in agriculture should be helping create the co-operatives and helping develop better knowledge for more prosperous production, and, more skillful distribution. The government shouldn't give any orders; only guidance."

Respondent doesn't think that the government should set a maximum limit on the amount of land that any one person may own, because the trend of development of land in Hungary has been toward breaking up larger holdings and establishing small ones in the last three decades, the respondent maintains. Free enterprise in agriculture as well as industry, he feels, gives much more incentive to people than to work in a kolkhoze which is.....

The respondent finds it very easy to choose between a government assuring personal freedoms and between one that guarantees only jobs for everyone.

I suffered seven and a half years slavery. How could I favor anything short of government freedom?

Respondent would be in favor of outlawing the Party, because he says that it is a crime syndicate and democracies should permit only Parties to function which don't want to abolish democracy.

C. International Position:

When respondent suggested that we talk about the position he would want Hungary to have if ideally, he says his answer is very easily conceived and worthy in this case: "It is United States of Europe". Respondent's desire for a United States of Europe answers all the questions of particular relations with various countries.

When respondent is asked about the possibility of some sort of Federation of Danubian states, he says: "I am certainly in favor of large union, that is to say of a United Europe, however, a small union would do something like something Louis Kasser (?) ~~ROSSA~~ <sup>ROSSA</sup> TH". At the same time, he doesn't think that it is possible; thinks it is rather difficult to form such a union of states. If there were any chance for doing so, he would include Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary Yugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Austria, but would set no limitation. If other countries would like to join it, he would have no objection.

According to respondent, the general feeling about this in Hungary is that Hungarians would accept any sort of solution which would free them from the yolk of ~~Soviet~~ Communism and from the yolk of the Soviet Union.

Respondent doesn't find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. He would like to see territorial adjustments effected by Plebescite, by majority vote, in certain smaller areas, so as to make democracy work so far as humanly possible. Respondent is gravely concerned with the problem of Hungarian minorities outside of Hungary. He thinks the perfect solution would be for them to have a United Europe. This whole question is very important to him, but at the same time, he emphasizes that the fight against Communism is even more important.



## THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

### A. World Events

Respondent heard, before the Revolution about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress, and he thought that this was the beginning of a disintegration within the Communist Party.

Respondent learned about Senator McCarthy and the other American activities Committees from papers. Communist papers allegedly said that McCarthy is a coming American dictator and that innocent people are blamed and persecuted by his committee. Respondent formed no opinion because of lack of information, but it seemed to him that perhaps the opposite is true because Communists usually lie.

Respondent knew the mere fact of Peron's fall. He was glad, he says, because there was one dictator less.

### B. Reading habits:

Before the war, and during the war, respondent read mainly Democratic newspapers, and to be well-informed and to have a chance to compare, he also read papers of the left wing and of the right wing. He read newspapers quite regularly. He read magazines of historical science, of art history, of poetry, and he favored mainly, Catholic magazines, particularly the ones which were edited with a broad vision and shunned no particular problems. He favored magazines of high intellectual standard, generally speaking. He read a great many books, particularly of historical topics, non-fiction history, poetry and once in a while he read fiction and high standard fiction as well, just for shallow entertainment. He says when asked what he thought about reading material available, he said that he saw nothing particular difficult about getting anything as it was all available. He mentions nothing about German influence, when probed. He mentioned the magazine SIGNAL, which was edited for Hungarians and perfectly contained. The picture material, which can be likened to that of LIFE magazine, which was unique at that time in Hungary.

Respondent said that during the last eight or ten years he read NEPHADSEREG and he also read SZABAD NEP and what he liked to read was IRODALMI UJSAG.

He placed not a bit of trust in the Communist papers but he trusted IRODALMI U JSAG more and more. Respondent maintains that in the Communist newspapers lies were so hopelessly mixed up with half-truths and truths that quite often one couldn't quite believe the opposite of lies, because they were entangled. When asked what part of the paper he could trust at all- the Communist papers - he suggested that not even the weather reports were accurate, but they, at least, tried to be reliable. Respondent used foreign radio stations for getting an idea of what happened. "Reading between the lines wasn't easy in an entanglement of lies.

Sometimes respondent read publications from the USSR, particularly the Soviet KULTURA and he read Soviet books because that was almost exclusively the material offered to them in prison. Respondent read some magazines, very scant, from America. He remembers the title of one of them. It is GOOD HOUSEKEEPING. The rest were also magazines for women. There were some other magazines sent to them but most of them never arrived. So far as illegal publications of the West are concerned, he read several leaflets. Respondent read several illegal publications while he was in Hungary before he went to prison and before his family was deported. Those books were hidden but when deportation came, they had no other chance but to destroy them except for a very few which they passed around, but after prison he never got to reading them as he was too busy. Since he spent most of the time in prison, he did not focus much attention on these illegal books. In prison, of course, he didn't even receive news of outside.

#### C. Word of Mouth:

Respondent reports that in prison they received any news they had by word of mouth. It was amazing, he reports, how much news he received. A great many details, of course, only major details relating to foreign policy matters. Fortunately, he says, this and other news were only about 50% true. About 50% he estimates, was due to misunderstanding, due to imagination and due to ill-will on the part of the AVOs..... Most prisoners shared the ~~xxxxxxx~~ news with each other. They tried to exclude only the stool-pigeons. The AVO planted not only stool-pigeons but employed all kinds of tricks to keep them guessing and to feed them news which could ease tension and which would prevent escapes and mutinies. Thus AVO spread through their diligence, again and again, news about Russian withdrawal, about Hungarian neutrality and other hopeful news so that the prisoners calmed down. The general attitude toward the news was, that about half was reliable and half was junk. Respondent thinks they made a great difference between people whom they think reliable and others whom they suspected as sources of news.

Respondent passed information himself to others, particularly news about foreign policy matters. He passed such news to prison mates excluding stool-pigeons, or who were stool-pigeon suspects. He passed them in prison cells and in prison yards. While they were in a concentration camp, they had an easier lot - and could spread the news among each other in the barracks.

#### F. Stages and Movies:

Respondent was shown stupid Russian films while he was working at slave labor in the mines. In the first few years they showed them more pictures than later. First, weekly, then bi-weekly, then monthly, and then bi-monthly. He, as well as the other prisoners, he reports

considered those films very stupid propoganda.

After seven and a half years in captivity, the respondent went about once or twice a week to some movie theatre. During that time he saw only two Russian films. They were Shakespeare films and they were very good, he thinks. Otherwise, he saw French and Italian films - a few Hungarian pictures, too. He liked, particularly, the Italian film - the title of which he cannot recall. It was about sulphur miners who crossed from Italy to France and were caught. There were loud sighs in the audience, he reports like "if our borders would be that tall mountains, they would never have caught us!"



XVI. EVENTS OF SILE HUNGARY

Respondent thinks that there is no gradual development in Russia which would lead to Democracy. All he can think of is democracy achieved by revolution. Even then, he thinks, the road to democracy will not be easy in Russia because leaders will be needed and those leaders again, are very likely not to favor democracy but become petty monarchs. In the final end, he has no doubt that democracy will win but he is afraid that the path leading to democracy will be torturous and steep.

He thinks that the people in Russia, generally speaking, hate the Communist regime. He offers ~~such~~ a break-up as follows: 30 % of the population hates the communist regime and has better ideas; 50% hate the Communist regime but see no alternative; 20 % are Communists.

If Russia had a really free election under ideal circumstances he results, he thinks, would be democracy.

He thinks that the leaders of the Soviet Union are power-mad savages and the greatest and the greatest vice-syndicate the world has ever known.

The Hungarian Communist leaders, he thinks are the same in lesser proportions, but even more disgusting. Comparing the two, he would say, that Moscow is comprised of big-time operators, and the puppet regime in Hungary are small-time operators of the same type.

B. Eastern Europe

Speaking of popularity of countries outside Hungary, respondent says that Poland is the most popular ~~country~~ <sup>COUNTRY</sup>, and Roumania is the least. And he explains, that in Poland the people are much liked and in Roumania it is the government which is very much disliked. He shares these feelings, he says.

Respondent had contact in prison with Czechoslovaks who had fled from Czechoslovakia, particularly Slovaks, and with Serbs and Croats who fled from Tito's Yugoslavia and were put in concentration camps and prisons.

He thinks that if free elections were held in countries ~~neighboring~~ adjacent to Hungary, the Democratic parties would win.

The respondent holds that the best standards of living are to be found in Czechoslovakia, and secondly in Germany. The worst, he thinks, in Roumania and the second worst in Bulgaria. He emphasizes that he has not much factual material to judge, but merely guesses.

C. Poland:

Respondent says that the developments since the autumn of 1956 in Poland show that relaxations are in power and that people are happy about the small concessions ~~which are being made~~ particularly now that they compare themselves with the Hungarian lot. He observed the Stalinit leaders deposed, although not all of them, and he thinks that all was speeded up by the Poznan revolt and that an outright revolution was avoided only because ~~Stalinit~~ Gomulka was appointed. but he estimates that the Gomulka government won't stay long in power. He, in other words, does not believe in the power of "gradualism" in the long run. His views have not changed very much in the last five or six months, he maintains.

Respondent says that the Polish developments had a great effect on Hungary before October, 1956, particularly the Poznan riots. People were greatly encouraged and enthusiastic about the well-liked Polish people standing up in their fight for freedom. However, there was great disappointment when the Polish Revolution didn't break out, while the Hungarians were bleeding so heavily.

Respondent feels that even before the Poznan events took place, there was a good deal of expression of freedom in Hungary. But people in Hungary, he feels, did not know much about these developments. Respondent received his information from Hungarian papers and by word-of-mouth.

When respondent is asked whether he would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take ~~some~~ a path along Polish lines, he had this to say: "When the revolution was on, I wanted no Polish-type compromises. Now as I think of the immeasurable suffering of the Hungarian people, and looking from here, I wouldn't reject a Gomulka type solution. Not even in retrospect."

D. Yugoslavia:

Respondent considers Tito the originator of National Communism, but his general view is that National Communism is a good deal better than Soviet Communism.

West

He thinks that Tito's relations with other European nations are deteriorating. His relations with Russia are characterized by constant changes, and unexpected terms. Now, after the Hungarian Revolution, its also deteriorating. He is hesitant to describe Tito's relations with the West and he wishes to emphasize that Tito by no means should be considered a reliable ally.

Asked about Tito's views about Hungary and the Hungarian Revolution, respondent answers: "When the revolution started, Tito was happy to see that Moscow's power is challenged by one member in its fold. When the Revolution was victorious, Tito was scared and was afraid that the same thing would take place in Yugoslavia and that he would be deposed. When again Soviet Russia conquered Hungary, he was unhappy to see that ruthless Soviet power remains intact and unchallenged."

Respondent doesn't think much of Tito in other countries. ~~xxxxxx~~

Respondent has factual information of Tito's lack of popularity, and he says that the Serbs and Croatians of Yugoslavia had bitter complaints in the prisons and concentration camps about Tito's Yugoslavia.

E. Asia and the Middle East:

Respondent thinks that the Communists gained control of China, because the people honor their realities and thought that the change would mean nothing except another war-lord, and respondent explains that the Russians are used to ruthless war-lords throughout decades and decades, perhaps even centuries.

It may be possible the Communist China is somewhat more independent ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ from Moscow than other communist countries, he says, because after all, six hundred million people are opposed to two hundred million people.

He thinks that the relations between England and India have improved since gaining independence. And he thinks this relationship may become much more friendly.

The respondent says that he has no well-formed opinion about the Anglo-French on the Suez canal and the Israeli invasion of Egypt. There are many pros and cons, he says, and feel discouraged about making any resolute comments, or any definite comments.

Respondent doesn't think that Egypt had the right to nationalize the canal, nor it had no right to act in such a manner, for after all, there was a contract of 99 years and the period has not passed yet.

He thinks that the events in Egypt have had a disastrous effect upon the events in Hungary during the autumn because the world's attention was divided and so was its sympathy, and whatever the Russians did they always camouflaged it by returning to the Egyptians acting along the same lines. He thinks the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was very very detrimental to the Hungarian cause - disastrously detrimental-in fact.



F. West Germany:

Respondent thinks that the living-standard in West Germany is high, and is still rising. He doesn't think the Germans are dangerous and may start another war. He thinks people should notice developments and changes and not think in terms of thirty, forty and more years ago. Asked what he thinks about West Germany ~~re-armament~~ re-armament, he says it is definitely much too slow. He thinks that Germany is still weaker than even Britain or France.

He doesn't know, but guesses, that the term of service in West Germany is two years.

In an attempt to compare the German and Russian occupation forces in Hungary, respondent has an easy answer to the following three questions. He says the Russian Occupation Forces were much more distasteful to him personally, and he found the Germans much more disciplined, both officers and enlisted men. He has no shadow of a doubt that the Russian Occupation Forces were much more unpopular in Hungary.

G. Western Europe:

The respondent thinks the British Labor Party is a good, decent Party and represents good policies. First of all it is not comparable to Communism, he says. Speaking of Socialist parties in general, he says, the less Marxist they are, the better.

Respondent expresses his impressions of the living standards in various countries by setting up the following sequence: First, West Germany and England; Second, Italy; third, Greece; fourth, Egypt; fifth, Soviet Russia.

H. United States:

When respondent is asked what surprised him particularly about the United States, he says, during his first few months here: "The United States is richer than I thought. It seems that every worker lives like a rich man. It also struck me that freedom is not only possible, but is practiced to a degree which is beyond my expectation. I expected of course, freedom and everywhere security, but not to such a degree. It bothers me that speaking to Americans that most of them cannot realize how low, thoroughly low, <sup>communists</sup> most of them are. I was also surprised finding so many American girls virtuous. It also, surprised me, and more than this, it bothers me, to see that the Hungarian Communists publish their dirty papers.

Respondent thinks that the best t e US can do for Eastern Europe is to prepare for another uprising and then to extend help to them through the UN, so that the Soviet Union can disintegrate; meanwhile, hethinks, that every pressure on earth should be exercised that Hungary comply with at least a few of the points of the peace treaty, add of other commitments of the Hungarian<sup>puppet</sup> government, and above all, the United States should press for withdrawal of the Russian troops, for Hungary as security. in United Nations resolutions. Although mentioning only Hungary, the respondent thinks that what would be done for Hungary would be a wedge driven toward the party of the Soviet Union, and could split up the entire process.

Respondent doesn't thin that severing of diplomatic relations would not be good, with the Hungarian government, but every pressure should be exercised that their ruthles ness be curbed.

The people of Hungary would naturally like to see Western visitors. Respondent says , of course, all kinds of Western visitors - tourists, journalists, etd. etc. business people; and everybody. Respondent doesn't think such visitors ought to be briefed about Hungary before they leave, because if they just look around they can notice everything. And, above all, "Hungarian people are unafraid to walk up to them and tell them what they think."

Respondent thinks that the people at home would like to receive Western books and periodicals. It would be very kind of them - scientific and popular magazines, as well, but he thinks it is futile to talk about this desire upon the part of the people, because the Communists won't permit anything be sent. However, he said, colleges and universities should be preferred if one sends material, printed material, to them.

Respondent thinks that the Hungarian people would be particularly interested if they thought tha the publications, or visitors, were in connection with Hungarian exiles.

Asked why he thought the Marshall plan was launched in 1948, respondent answers: " For assisting Europe's recovery from the ravages of war". He tell sa that Hungarian papers were bad about this ingenious move of the US, and this proved that it was effective. He heardHe heard, in prison, the AVO men speak out against the plan, and he learned that it had very good results in Western Europe, and he wished that something of that sort could have been done for Hungary, hopes, evermore that a plan similar to the Marshall Plan could be extended to Hungary after liberation.

America fought in Korea, respondent says, because it was attacked. It's forces were attacked by North Koreans, and, at the same time, it was also anxious to save the North Koreans - not the freedom of the North Koreans, but the freedom of the South Koreans. When asked if he thought America had any other reason for fighting in Korea, respondent answers that he heard something about a "wolfram" <sup>ore</sup> which is very necessary for producing jet fuels, and this wolfram ore is supposed to be found abundantly in South Korea, and that the Americans were particularly anxious to save South Korea because of this wolfram ore deposit of South Korea.

J. About the United Nations:

Respondent thinks that the the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary in the last months of 1956 decisively. He says that a shocking disappointment was caused in Hungary by the fact that the United Nations was very effective, prompt and competent in handling the Suez difficulties; at the same time, it was completely ineffective and was only viewing the Hungarian situation and didn't do anything effective about it.

When asked what the UN should have done during the autumn and winter of 1956, respondent answers without hesitation "The General Secretary, and together with him, a fact-finding Committee, should have immediately entered Hungary - when the hostilities started, or at the very least, when Imre Nagy proclaimed neutrality; in spite of such a committee being in Hungary, the Russians still would have attacked - which is very unlikely - the same action should have been taken as was in Korea because the situation would have been exactly the same.

Respondent thinks the chances for UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future are zero - are equal to zero,



Attitudes Towards Selected Personalities:

A. Respondent thinks that the greatest Hungarian is Cardinal Mindszenty. His unselfish dedication to "His unselfish dedication to the service of his faith and his country make him a respected hero and a great statesman."

B. Persons of Importance:

1. László Nagy respondent thinks is a decent fellow who, actually, isn't a communist at all, in fact he thinks that never at heart was he a real communist.

Respondent doesn't think anything of László Rajki: he says that he was no good.

Erno Gero is a savage criminal.

Janos Kadar is a stupid fanatic.

Respondent thinks that Eisenhower is a great statesman but "I expected much more from his re-election and I am afraid that he got now, so far, to advocate freedom at any price, which will prove disastrous."

Secretary General Hammarskjöld should have come to Hungary immediately when the Revolution began. Respondent expresses deep disappointment with him.

Secretary Dulles is a good statesman, respondent thinks, not courageous enough, perhaps, but he is understanding and his sympathy toward Hungary is valued. ~~Mack~~ is a good politician, respondent thinks, but committed an error when he ordered the British Army and Airforce to attack Suez.

Eden is

At the same time, respondent says, it is true that once committed into action, the British and French forces should not have been withdrawn. It was a mistake, tragic enough, to launch an attack, but it was an equally tragic one not to win it.

President Truman was much too lenient, he says, and naive and appeasing toward the Russians. After his election, he should have led the US as the leading Nation on the earth. He seemed to have the imagination, or at least part of it, but it didn't go far enough. Perhaps he felt hampered by many of his associates as well. (correction): (He was under the influence of his associates as well).

- a. Mikoyan was just the same as the rest of the Russian vice-syndicate.
- b. Nehru was okay until the Hungarian Revolution, but then his hesitation and his too great leniency toward Moscow prevented the UN resolution from becoming effective, or being passed.
- c. Respondent says about Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that he didn't take full advantage of the American help in the deadly struggle between Nationalist China and Communist China, and didn't wipe out corruption well enough, nor early enough, in his government.
- d. Ferenc Nagy was a well meaning statesman, but without the greatness his role required, and so he committed tragic errors.
- e. Roosevelt was a well meaning idealist, but was disastrously naive. "He should have fought with the communists without becoming too friendly with them and without trusting them at all. If you want to catch a wild beast with the help of a bloodhound you may do so; but, you must know that it is a bloodhound with which you are cooperating"
- f. Chancellor Adenauer is a serious statesman and one has to look upon him with great appreciation, respondent thinks.
- g. "Stalin is the most vicious man in mankind's history. He did evil for evil's sake."
- h. "I thought first that Malenkov was for relaxations. Later it turned out that he advocated only economic relaxations, not political changes. I wonder who of the Russian leaders is for actual, political relaxations which would amount to something."
- i. Generalissimo Franco is a dictator, and I hate all dictators because they curtail human freedom, but at the same time I must recognize he saved Spain from even worse, because even among bad things there are worse things."
- j. "Evan was first leader of the Labor Party of England, but in the Hungarian matters he was against the Communists."
- k. "Khrushchev is an unscrupulous criminal"  
dictator
- l. "Tito is an ~~example~~ of the real bad type. All dictators are bad but he belongs to the worst."

m. "Feron is also a dictator whom I hate, and I think that he is a maniac who, among other things, wanted his wife to be canonized by the Catholic Church, and then he turned against the church itself with his brutal policies."

n. "Molotov is one of the worst in the Russian crime-syndicate and he is one of the shrewdest, because he is able to use always the same text against the West, and the West always believes him."

o. "Ollenbauer is a talented politician, who, however, should feel the weight of the responsibility of his position much more, and should not be so conciliatory toward Communism and the Soviet Union as he is."

p. "Churchill was a statesman with broad vision whom among other things wanted to attack through the Balkans and this way, save Hungary from Soviet domination."



## ATTITUDES TOWARDS EXILES AND EXILES' ACTIVITIES

A. Escapees:

Respondent thinks that the people who escaped from Hungary are the ones who managed to. Many more Hungarians would have liked to escape, but they just didn't manage to do. They either lacked information on how to escape, or didn't have any means, or were hampered by other events. There were two motives, he says, which persuaded people to flee. One was that they were afraid of retaliations and others, who had no special reason to be afraid of retaliations, liked the few days of real democratic freedom too much, to look for slavery again."

Many stayed behind, respondent thinks, because they didn't manage to escape, and others who could have escaped were held back by family ties. Either there were two old people in their families or too young ones to take care of - or sick, and they didn't feel free enough to leave them - their loved ones - behind.

Respondent feels that the ones who stayed behind, shouldered the more difficult task and he has admiration and appreciation for them. He mentions a special example of a friend who participated in the revolution just like he, himself, did, and who stayed behind because he had three small children to take care of; he didn't feel free to risk the lives of his three children on an adventurous trip through the Austrian border. Another example, was a married couple with two little girls, who turned back near the border when they heard that many people lay dead near the boundary line. They didn't want to risk the lives of their little girls.

Respondent's opinion is that people in Hungary think about those who left that they are lucky, and at the same time, they think, that the ones who escaped have a mission to fulfill in spreading the truth about Communism, so that the world will become aware in time of the danger which is threatening all of the world.

come

Assuming that they had a chance to the West, respondent holds that a very, very small percentage - perhaps not even more than one percent would stay behind. Their leaving Hungary would be for no longer time than until Communism collapses.

### B. Exile Organizations

Hungarian National Council: "I heard that Bela Varga is its chairman and that Ferenc Nagy joined it. We learned that Bela Varga organized the exile -Hungarian politicians into some workable unit.

I heard of the International Peasant Union, that it is the comprehensive organization of the peasant parties. Adherence of -ajk, (?) the famous Croatian Peasant Leader are also participating in it.

Magr. Bela Varga is a Catholic priest and a politician of the Small Holders party who was for sometime the speaker for the House of Representatives of Hungary.

Ferenc Nagy was the Hungarian Prime Minister before the Communist coup de tate. He went to Switzerland first, and there, he resigned. He is a politician of a Small Holders Party and formerly he was a newspaper man. "According to my opinion, he was not energetic enough".

Tibor Eckhardt was the leader of the Small Holder's Party, prior to the leadership of Ferenc Nagy. He fled from Hungary in the forties. The Hungarian papers of the right -wing attacked him at that time, but according to basic democratic procedures, they published his declaration. "I fear that the sober thinking Anglo-American thinking members of the Hungarian government of those years trusted Tibor Eckhardt. I think he was a well-meaning statesman."

Paul Auer is " a first rate expert of international law. At the time of the trial of those who counterfeited French money in Hungary, he represented the French state in the trial. He was Hungary's ambassador in Paris, and he resigned in protest when the Communist coup d'etat took place. He is a statesman of high calibre and has a broad, world-wide vision. That's what I heard about him."

Imre Kovacs: "is one of the leading members of the peasant party. I had known him, that is to say his name, from the beginning of the forties. He wrote and spoke quite effectively about the problems of the Hungarian peasantry. Later he fled from Hungary."

Socialist

Imre Szelig " is a ~~socialist~~ politician. According to my prison mates, he is one of the most decent and patriotic leaders of Hungarian political life."

Charles Peyer " was the leader of the Socialist Party in Hungary between the two World Wars. After his suffering in the prison camp of Mauthausen, he never returned to lead the Party again. He was kicked out of the Party later upon Communist pressure. Appreciation of his value as a political leader suffered somewhat when the Communists accused him from having received money from the previous government. As far as I'm concerned, I thought very highly of him."

Miklos Kallay " was a clever politician and statesman. He was Hungarian Premier until March, 1944. Later he fled to the Turkish Embassy where the Germans captured him. He was a persuaded friend of England and America, and if his attempts failed that was not his mistake. If the Western powers had been prepared to send airborne divisions to Hungary, or to land on the Balkan Peninsula to open a second front against the Germans, Premier Kallay might have stayed in his office."

Zoltan Pfeiffer " was a politician of the small-holders party, and later at the time of the 1947 elections, he founded a party himself, but the mandate of his representatives were later not recognized by the Communists."

Istvan Berankovics " was the chief editor of ~~the newspaper~~ after the death of Sendor . he was a politician of the Christian Democratic Party. He had fine success at the elections of 1947, but later communist trickery killed his party."

Magr. Josef Kozi-Horvath " is a politician, a priest, who fought valiantly against the Nazi power and later returned to fight against the Communists. My opinion is that he is a politician of great integrity ~~and~~ but of not too great a concept."



Bela Fabian is a liberal democratic politician. He fought the Communists from 1919 on and was always for pure democracy. A decent, reliable, consistent, statesmanlike political leader."

General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak was the commander of the Academy and the Chief Scout of the Hungarian Boy Scout Assn. He was a great military leader and all AVO investigations he was one of the most suspected exile leaders about the AVO questioned us."

Otto of Habsburg "was the son of the last Hungarian king, and if Hungary were a kingdom he would be the only legally justified throne-pretender. I think that he is a decent person. Whether he is a king, or not, this is to be decided by the Hungarian people by democratic vote."

Admiral Horthy " he was Hungary's regent for a quarter of a century. Many good things are connected with his rule; however, the end result does not prove the value of his policies. He was not a dictator as claimed by his opponents. His regime was half-way in between dictatorship and democracy but unfortunately it was only half-way in between.

According to respondent, the exiles tried to call the attention of the world to the struggle of the Hungarians who have been freedom loving people ever since history began. Respondent feels he could not size up how much they accomplish because he thinks the task was immense as Hungary was so misunderstood during the second World War because of its very peculiar position in which it had not much choice, although in its heart it was always on the side of the West allies. The exiles had the task to prove to the world that the Hungarians are not as they have been known by so many Westerners, and it is highly questionable whether they ~~managed~~ managed to prove their point.

Respondent did think about the exiles during the Revolution and he thought they had a tremendous mission in the world to direct the world's attention to our country's plight and to enlist as much <sup>humanly</sup> moral, diplomatic and perhaps even military aid of the world as possible.

C. Redefectors:

When respondent is asked if he met any Hungarians who escaped to the West in 1945, but who returned to Hungary later on, he says: "I met a great many of them in prison. After prison and concentration camp, there were all kinds among them and they all went home because of emotional reasons; their affections for their families, and their homeland. The Communists made a tremendous redefection campaign because they were afraid ~~that~~ the exiles because after all Lenin was an exile and when he went back to Russia he started the turn of the revolution which led to Communism, and the Communists are afraid that something similar would happen against them. At the same time they liked to fill the prisons so as to have slave labor at their disposal. Redefectors are a good source for such man -power. The people thought about this campaign of the Communists, and some people still believed that the people who came home deserved their terrible lot because out in the free West they ought to have been smarter."

D. Exile Tasks:

The people in Hungary would like to know very much about the exiles, respondent feels. They would like to know "how we live, and whether the West gives us a chance to prepare for taking over after liberation, when we would join the ranks of those who stayed behind. Meanwhile we wonder what we can do in calling the attention of the world to the injustice and injuries done to the Hungarian people."

"I think the exiles should attempt to enlighten the public's opinion in the world about Communism and about the role of the Hungarian people. At the same time, we should all prepare to learn as much ~~about~~ as we can in the West so that we can give the great gift of the West, of the knowledge and skill of the West to the Hungarian people when we return."

"I think I personally could do pretty much by telling the American people, both orally and in writing what I went through in Hungary and what fantastic democratic achievement the Hungarian people gave mankind and world history through the Hungarian Revolution."

Respondent would like to join the Hungarian Freedom Fighter Assn. Federation which is a social and cultural organization..not a political one. This organization should be instrumental in opening the eyes of the world to the realities of Communist menace, and secondly they should help th Hungarians by intellectual means to find their place in the foreign countries to adjust themselves to the lives in these countries and to prepare themselves for their tasks after Hungary is free.

Respondent feels very strongly that everybody who is an Hungary and who is outside of Hungary should be invited to be a member of this organization.

Speaking of various Hungarian parties, respondent feels that he covered them with various statements before and speaking of the parties in exile, he says, they are too remote from Hungary and they should not play in politics here outside where they represent no one who could raise his voice for, or against, any of them.

Respondent not only knew of the revived parties, that is, parties revived during the Revolution, but he was very actively anxious to help them in their revival..or at least helping a few of them. He was in favor of such parties resuming their activities, either during or after the Revolution.

Respondent feels that the groups who went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revived parties but not inleading them. only after a year of active participation and they have become an integral part of life in Hungary again.

E. Plans for the future: When asked if he wants to go back to Hungary and if so under what circumstances, respondent answers: "I want to go back to Hungary in American military uniform, serving the American ~~xxxx~~ armed forces in liberating Hungary from the enslaved world.

Respondent wants his children to learn Hungarian as well as English in the United States.



AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio:

Respondent listened to the following foreign radio stations while he was in Hungary: Radio Free Europe, BBC, Voice of America.

Reception was better for some stations than for others but the relations changed again, and again. Stations were jammed very much, he says, particularly RFE.

Respondent usually listened to Hungarian language broadcasts, but sometimes also the German broadcasts, particularly to the ones of the BBC which were excellent. I think before the revolution, he listened often to German broadcasts over BBC.

Respondent listened to before he was jailed about every day to several stations and after he was released from prison, he listened about twice a week, particularly to RFE.

Respondent says that he told other what he heard often, and the people with whom he talked included practically every acquaintance of his except for stool-pigeons. He listened with friends, usually, to the radio of friends behind closed doors. The physical circumstances of listening included the watching of the bell, because if the bell rang, they turned the radio off.

He also heard western broadcasts at second hand; friends told him now and then about interesting news.

Respondent tells us that he certainly saw in prison and in concentration camp that there was risk involved in listening to broadcasts of foreign stations, particularly if there was great risk in passing the news to others. After the Spring of 1956, the danger greatly lessened.

Respondent's general attitude toward these broadcasts was that they were good on the whole, but had some serious shortcomings.

He thought that BBC was the most reliable of all and RFE the most interesting, but unfortunately he says the news of RFE was not always reliable and included some gross exaggerations. ~~There~~

The effect of this broadcasts was encouraging. Hungary needed encouragement again, and again. At the same time, he emphasizes that while people listened ~~to the news~~ to the news during the revolution those broadcasts did not play a larger role than to inform people, and he thinks this is what they should do.

When respondent is told that some people have said that Western broadcasts and the RFE in particular helped the Hungarian people by holding out promises of western help, respondent calls out that this allegation is untrue and that the Hungarian people rose by themselves.

Respondent suggests that the RFE continue to broadcast into Hungary and it should give true and objective pictures of the international situation, and it should always keep in mind "it is the only window to the free world for the Hungarian people, and should acquaint the Hungarians with everything of importance."

It should give straight news about political and economical events; it should give anti-communist propaganda; it should give programs about life in Western Europe, and in this connection, respondent mentions a very small, but according to him, a very important example. He relates that he had a picture of his sister who is living in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. with him in prison, and that it was a picture made in a Park by a Poughkeepsie Street, with his sister standing there. He said that people looked at the portion of the street as at a portion of a fairyland, and they enjoyed looking at it, again and again. He thinks that people in general would like to see such pictures sent to them through the face of the radio. Certainly they would like to listen to programs about life in the United States.

Respondent suggests that good political jokes and humorous programs in general should also be provided for people in Hungary, because this is something they value very much and get very little.

B. FEP leaflets: When respondent is asked if he ever heard the initials ~~REF~~ N.E.M., he has this to say: "It was in either '54, or '55, in the concentration camp that minors brought in a copy of the FEP leaflet containing it, and it was passed by about 200 people at least of whom I know. We all read it and learned it by heart. All we had to watch for were the stool-pigeons. Exactly the same is true about the Twelve Demands."

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C. About FEP leaflets:

Respondent has already covered the questions contained in this sub-section and he emphasizes again how much those two leaflets he told about, and a third one, he ~~hasn't~~ hasn't mentioned yet meant to them.

Whether there was any risk involved in picking up FEP leaflets could be well told " by my prison mates whom I knew well. There were not many, but one of them, for instance, was in prison for no other reason than picking up some 50 such leaflets. I don't think deterred people from picking up more, otherwise I should not have met some people later for the same reason in prison. I did have ample chance to observe changes in this respect."

Respondent thinks that the leaflets were clever. He considers them useful only in the emotional sense, but he emphasizes that they should not be underrated. "The spirit of those leaflets as was the same as in our revolution, and it have been a coincidence, but I may also jump to a conclusion that these leaflets influenced our thinking very significantly."

When asked about the role of the leaflets during the revolution, respondent has this emphatic statement: "We expected flown to us, not leaflets but bazookas in the revolution!"

Respondent is hesitating when asked if RFE should continue to drop leaflets to Hungary, because he says the demands are known; the revolution made that clear enough; inciting is not necessary, and would be even dangerous under certain circumstances so he actually cannot decided but he comes to the conclusion that information is still good, and perhaps cartoons in the leaflets might do some good and the people do enjoy some humour.

D. Goals of Western Groups:

Respondent thinks that Western group broadcasts and sent leaflets in Hungary because they wanted to influence the people against Communism, which at the same time is not necessary, he thinks, but he admits that people still like it. He thinks there is no difference between the goals of the various western groups, but he emphasizes that the approach of the BBC is by far the best.



### CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent thinks that the most important things that a child should be taught are: first of all, not to be informers; secondly, to be truthful in general. Religious instruction, cultural development and personality development should be the <sup>relative</sup> main things a child receives in his education, and their importance is expressed in their sequence, respondent suggests.

Speaking about how a child should be brought up, with particular regard to discipline, respondent answers that consistency is the main principle in education, and in discipline, particularly.

As to physical punishment, respondent suggests that we avoid physical punishment as much as humanly possible, but that we do not exclude it in serious cases. Girls should be punished physically even less than boys, as the child grows up, more and more should persuasion assume its role, and punishment less and less, particularly physical punishment. The moral dignity should be the greatest strength in a person, not the fear of punishment, he emphasizes.

Respondent volunteered this incidence when he was punished as a child: he was about nine, or ten, years old, he recalls, when it happened repeatedly that he wiped his hands in the towel without having cleaned them well enough with ~~water~~ water and soap. After he was reminded several times, in vain, his father slapped him in the face quite severely, and he recalls he thought that this was coming to him, and he remembered it and it gave him moral help to decided to do the right.

Respondent estimates that about 50% of the people whom he knew usually punished children who were six years or older, and 50% only scolded them. Girls were punished less, he recalls. He would <sup>not</sup> dare to estimate the differences in social classes as far as child punishment is concerned.

He says that there were changes in this during the last ten years, in so far as parental power over children diminished.

Respondent estimates that physical punishment was abandoned for boys at about the age of 15, 16, 17, and in some cases, not before 18. In girls, the upper limit was somewhere around 14, 15.



CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Subject: 19-M

Interviewer: Julius Nyikos

Respondent is about 5 feet, ~~xxxxxxx~~ 7 or 8 inches tall. He stands well and erect. His face is oval in shape, with an unusually light complexion for a Hungarian.

He has wavy and somewhat curly yellow hair, and has grayish blue eyes. He has a very deft and somewhat hurried walk.

Respondent's manners are polished, and suggests good breeding. He often laughs, and has a fine sense of humor. Even in complex situations, he seems to keep this sense of humor, which helps him a great deal.

Relaxed as he is in his manners, and cheerful in his conversation, it is apparent from the respondent's sometimes subtly trembling voice, and from his quick ~~xxxxxxxx~~ reflexes and reactions, to questions ~~andxxxx~~ remarks, and his intense smoking and sometimes trembling fingers with which he holds the cigarettes, that in his innermost being he is pretty tense.

I talked to several of his prison mates, and they described him as one of the ~~xxxx~~ pillars of strength that kept up the morale of the prisoners. When they saw things very dark, they could count on respondent to crack a joke, or make a witty remark that cheered them up. They always found him a good comrade who didn't fear for his life, and who, to a small extent (of course, only a small extent was possible) was respected even by the vicious guards.

At Bard College I heard him speak up in meetings of the student body. He usually made very individual remarks, as one who ~~x~~ thinks for himself, and very much to the point. These remarks were fearless and completely unbiased. - On one such occasion, I heard him ask very serious searching questions to General Kiraly.



In my many conversations with respondent, after the interview was concluded, I found him very well balanced in his thinking and his emotions, quite cheerful, witty, and at times sophisticated. But even if he is cheerful, nevertheless he is not very hopeful. His thinking has pessimistic overtones, but he is always ready to face realities, and is not ~~in~~ inclined to ~~make~~ paint things a different color, but leaves the facts as they are.

He has initiative, and a readiness to adjust himself to others, and to existing circumstances. Also he has great tolerance, and firm determination to fight for what he thinks is right.

Respondent is a person very nice to talk to, and very pleasant to work with.

He dislikes politicking, and would like to devote himself again to the study of fine arts, and to become a man of letters.

Whether it was General Kiraly, or a bus boy, I heard him talk in the same manner to ~~xxx~~ people in all walks of life, and with the same sincere interest. Thus I would say that he is a product of a society that is becoming increasingly classless. I base this information not only on the ~~xx~~ aforementioned facts, but also on his entire way of ~~xxxxx~~ thinking, which I came to know well during the many conversations I had with him after the interview was finished. A warm personal friendship developed as a result of the interview.

Respondent is a religious person without a trace of bigotry. Patriotic as he is, he can also be described as a cosmopolitan, who feels at home almost anywhere in the world, and is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ very much interested in world affairs.

If he had been able to speak good English, I would have recommended ~~him~~ that he be seriously taken into consideration as a possible interviewer, because he has all the necessary qualities for dealing with people, winning their confidence and reporting objectively about his observations, with straightforwardness and candor.

THE END