

a short time with his mother and step-father in New Jersey, after that lived in Bard College for two months. Arrived in New York in March.

19. Immediate plans: To continue his studies and, at the same time, to find a job where he can support himself.

20. Respondent has not been interviewed by any Western organization after leaving Hungary with the exception of the routine interviews by Austrian police, American counselor, and immigration officials.

21. Foreign languages: Studied English for two years and is able to make himself understood. Studied German for three years and speaks well.

Subject is a 21 year old electronics technician with intellectual background. Intelligent. A nervous chain-smoker. Not very talkative; his answers were rapid and curt. Sometimes 5 or 6 questions were necessary where one would have sufficed with other subjects. Seems to be involved in the Federation of Freedom Fighters and is strongly opposed to previous exile politicians and organizations. A bit too sophisticated.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARMUP QUESTIONS

To enable Americans to understand the significance of the Hungarian revolution in October, 1956 they must be given an over-all picture of events and conditions in Hungary since 1945. They must be told of the political conditions in Hungary from 1945 to the outbreak of the revolution, and also of the low standard of living, the low wages, the political terror, and the dissatisfaction of everyone. If the Americans understand the background of the revolution, then they will be able to realize its importance.

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

A. On October 22, one day before the revolution, I did not experience anything unusual. The papers that day wrote that Mafesz had been organized. This was the new organization of the Hungarian students. It was to replace the Disz. The Mafesz was to hold a meeting the next day, but I didn't expect anything unusual to happen.

On October 23 I went to work as usual. About 3p.m., in the factory, we heard rumors that large scale demonstrations were going on in Budapest, especially in the vicinity of the Hungarian National Theatre. We heard that posters were being plastered on walls demanding that Rakosi be brought to justice.

Several of us decided to go down to the city to see what was going on, but we could not leave the factory until 5p.m. after we had finished our work. We went down to the corner of Rakoczi Street and the Ring. A large crowd had gathered there and some people were talking to the crowd. Budapest street-car conductors were giving speeches and reciting poems of Petofi. Several army trucks were also there, but the soldiers were with the demonstrators and not against them. Freshly published copies of the "Szabad Ifjusag" were distributed among the demonstrators. Bundles of these papers were thrown from the windows of the "Szabad Nep" offices. The "Szabad Ifjusag" was printed in the same printing shop as the "Szabad Nep". The "Szabad Ifjusag" listed the demands of the Hungarian university students. It contained the original twelve demands which were later increased to sixteen.

After 6p.m. somebody in the crowd shouted that everyone should go to Parliament Square where a large demonstration was going on. We knew that Gero was to speak over the radio that evening, but the crowd shouted "Don't listen to Gero!"

Several thousand people started from the National Theatre in the direction of Parliament Square. Flags appeared from nowhere, and we marched with flags. But the Communist crest had been cut out of the flags.

We arrived at Parliament Square about 7:30. There was a very large crowd there. The lights had not been turned on and the crowd was burning newspaper torches. Later the lights were put on. The crowd demanded that Imre Nagy

come and address them. We had to wait a very long time before he appeared. Meanwhile, the actor, Imre Sinkovics, recited the patriotic poems of Petofi. Army trucks appeared equipped with amplifiers. Someone, I believe Peter Veres, addressed the crowd.

I did not stay on to listen to Imre Nagy's speech because, after 9p.m., a truck load of youngsters came to the Square and told us that the AVO was throwing tear-gas into the crowd in front of the radio building. At first we did not believe this, but soon we decided to investigate. We boarded the trucks that could be found in the vicinity. There were fifty or sixty people to a truck and clinging to the vehicle. On our way toward the studio building we saw that trees had been up-rooted by tanks on the main streets of Budapest. We were able to go as far as Rakoczi Road. There all traffic stopped. We heard sounds of shooting in the distance. Excited people were rushing left and right.

I joined the crowd which was singing the Hungarian National anthem. We turned from Rakoczi Road into Szentkiraly Street. We were able to go only two blocks, because at the corner of Szentkiraly and Brody Sandor streets access to the studio buildings was blocked by AVH men and Blue policemen lined up. Dense fumes of the tear-gas shells was still in the air. The sub-machine guns of the AVH men and the Blue police were pointed at the crowd. We were forced to stop. Someone from the rear began throwing bricks and stones at the police. They answered by throwing several volleys of shots in the air. The crowd became panicky and everyone fled for cover. A young university student of 23 or 24 was killed. He may have been shot from the back. There were AVH men stationed on the top floors of the buildings near-by. They two began to shoot when the AVH and the policemen began ~~kaxkax~~ on the street started firing in the ~~ax~~ air. I sought cover in the gate-way of 16 Szentkiraly St. The body of the young university student was brought under this same gate-way. Someone covered his body with an Hungarian flag. There was a press reporter near-by who took several pictures with the aid of flashlights.

The sight of this boy who was killed not far from me effected me so much that I decided I had had enough and decided to go home. The street-cars were not running, so I had to walk the entire distance along the Ring. Everywhere along the Ring people were tearing down the Red Stars. Crowds were building barricades. I saw two Hungarian tanks stationed near the Margaret Bridge. Everyone was excited but no one seemed to know what was going on. Crowds were coming out of the opera and were complaining that the busses were not running. When we told them what happened at Parliament Square and near the

radio buildings they did not want to believe us.

I ~~went~~ went back home to the Svabhegy. The whole night long we heard the sounds of shooting from PEST.

I joined the demonstrations, at first, from mere curiosity. But the general enthusiasm was contagious. I, too, became enthusiastic when I saw that people were voicing their opinions freely. I don't think anyone, at that time, feared the consequences. We probably did not think about this at all. At the start of the demonstrations on October 23 I felt that I was witnessing an important world event, but I did not think the demonstrations would end in a revolution.

At the start of the revolution we wanted changes in the government and a new Communist government in which the Stalinists would not be included. We also wanted the government to comply with the demands of the university students. I don't think that at that time we would have been satisfied with any concessions from the government.

The average age of the demonstrators was from 20 to 40. Both sexes were represented. A great majority of the women were university students. All classes of the Budapest population were equally represented. From 6th grade students and industrial ~~workers~~ apprentices to grandfathers, everyone was there.

About the organization and leadership of the demonstrations, I know only what was published in the papers. I do not know how the university students organized the demonstrations, but it must be admitted that they were well organized.

B. When the AVH and the police started to use tear-gas and fire hoses on the crowd in front of the radio building, it was evident that the crowd would want to retaliate. I do not know where the crowd received the arms from. Allegedly, the first arms were obtained from the nearest police stations. Later the army supplied the arms. Sub-machine guns were brought from the Lamp Factory in Kobanya where they were being manufactured. But I know this only from hearsay.

Everyone who was able to obtain arms took part in the fighting. There was no organization at all among the Freedom Fighters (I think that I heard this term "Freedom Fighter" for the first time on the Radio Free Europe broadcast.) Small groups were formed voluntarily with no commanding officers ~~and~~ or military discipline. I did not take part in the fighting at the very outbreak, only later on. I don't think anyone thought about the consequences, about dying or being wounded. We were confident that we would be able to over-power the Hungarian AVH. When the Russian got involved in the fighting we decided to fight against them as well.

At that time we thought that the Russian troops had been called in by Imre Nagy.

On the morning of October 24 I wanted to go to work as usual, but the street cars were not running. A crowd gathered at the LAST station of the street-car near our home. Several of us decided to go in to the city and investigate what was going on. The radio was still in the hands of the government and that morning it was announced that nobody should leave his home or be out on the streets.

We crossed the Danube over the Franz Joseph bridge. When we reached Calvin Square we saw a large group of young people marching toward the radio studios. They were armed with pistols, sports rifles, and one or two of them had hand-grenades. Their average age was about 20 to 24.

On the main streets near the radio building the street-cars were overturned to form barricades. On the corner of Brody St. near the museum rifles were being distributed. Everyone got three bullets to a rifle. Those who had arms attempted to go nearer to the radio studio buildings under the cover of doorways. They fired their few shots and then returned, because they had no more bullets.

Hungarian tanks and armed cars came out of Brody Street toward the museum. When they approached the crowd dispersed.

I continued on my way in the direction of Rakoczi Street. There was fierce shooting here. There were many people wounded and several were ~~xxx~~ lying dead on the street. Shop windows were broken, but no one touched wares on display.

I continued my way in the direction of the St. Rokus Hospital. Ambulances were constantly bringing the wounded for treatment. The dead were taken to the morgue in the rear of the hospital.

I went home, and for two days, stayed there. We sat constantly beside the radio listening to domestic and foreign broadcasts.

C. On October 27 I, with three friends, decided to go in to the city. What we saw in Pest reminded us very much of the 1945 siege. We saw destroyed buildings, burned out tanks, over turned street-cars, destroyed Russian armored cars, etc.

We saw a large group of demonstrators marching with black flags and black arm-bands. It was really a funeral march

to observe the heroes who had fallen during the fighting. But it was also a political demonstration because sad ~~patriotic~~ patriotic poems and songs would often change to fierce political slogans against the government and the Russians.

The demonstrators marched through Vaci Street in the direction of Andrassy Road. When they reached the Ring they turned in the direction of the Nyugati Railroad station. Here we met six Russian tanks which almost ran into the crowd. About 100 meters from the railroad station we were stopped by more Russian tanks and armored cars. They began firing in to the air. The shooting lasted about fifteen minutes, but no one was wounded.

When we scattered into side streets we heard that a demonstration was taking place in front of Parliament. Everyone went there. This was between 9 and ten a.m.

A large crowd had gathered in front of the Parliament Building on Parliament Square. The crowd was shouting and demanding that Istvan Dobi come and explain the conduct of the AVH and of the Russians.

Russian tanks were lined up near the Parliament Building. Among the demonstrators there were students who knew how to speak Russian. A student standing near me spoke to a Russian officer who was in command of one of the tanks. He explained to this Russian that we were not fascists and that we were not counter-revolutionists. We only wanted freedom and that the Russians should leave. He listened to us and looked sympathetic. But he told us that he had his orders, and if he was told to shoot, then he would have to shoot.

Word passed among the crowd that Istvan Dobi, the chairman of the Presidium would speak in about ten minutes. But before he could begin his speech, fierce shooting started from the roof of the Supreme Court building on the other side of the Square. As it turned out, the top floors of all the buildings facing the Square were filled with AVH men. Without any apparent reason the AVH men on top of the Supreme Court building began firing at the crowd. A general panic ensued. People sought cover under Russian tanks and trucks, and behind the pillars of the Parliament building.

When the AVH began to fire the Russians also fired at them. I saw at least two or three cases where Hungarian civilians manned the guns from Russian armored cars and tanks, because the Russians were hesitating about what to do. When the shooting started the Russians began to shout at the AVH men on the roofs of the buildings. They probably did not know who ~~was~~ was shooting at them.

The shooting lasted from 11a.m. until about 1P.m. During this time I changed my hiding places several times, and finally sought refuge in a bush. I saw about eight or nine hundred people who had been killed there on the Square. There were men and women, young and old alike,

We were finally able to run to cover of a building on one side of the Square. From here everyone ran home as quickly as possible. Everyone who witnessed this scene on Parliament Square on October 27 probably promised never again to go near a place where there is shooting.

When I went home and told my family and friends what happened, they refused to believe me.

On October 28 my friends and I went to look around in the vicinity of the Southern Railway Station in Buda. The crowd was pushing railway cars from the station into the streets to build barricades. On Szana Square I met a friend who had a gun and an arm-band with the words "National Guard" printed on it. With two other friends we decided to join the National Guard. We were directed to a building on Szana Square. We were told to wait in a room because Uncle Szabo was in conference. Uncle Szabo was the commander of the National Guard in this district in Budapest. He was a truck driver who must have had some military experience. He was able to maintain discipline and was a good strategist.

While we were waiting for the Commander to see us, trucks were being loaded with volunteers who wanted to go to Maria Nostra prison to free the political prisoners. When I saw that the volunteers were given rifles and ammunition in exchange for their personal identification cards, I decided not to wait for Uncle Szabo, but to stand in line and get a gun, also. I handed over my identification card and received a rifle with three or four bullets. We boarded the trucks and started off in the direction of the Maria Nostra prison.

After leaving VIPEST we were stopped by the police. They requested papers from us. We did not have any. They sent us back to Budapest to get the proper papers. I do not know on whose side these police were. Everywhere along the highway soldiers in uniforms and Blue police stopped vehicles and asked for their papers. There was such confusion and disorder that it was impossible to say which guard was on whose side.

We turned back to Budapest and I was assigned to check vehicles on one of the main streets of Buda. At 5p.m. I went



back to the headquarters to report. I was told to go with five other civilian boys up the Svabhegy and occupy the villas where Gero, Reval, and Rakosi had lived. We took a truck and went up to Svabhegy. We were warned that the villas may be occupied by AVH men. We stormed the villas which were surrounded by a High wall. But we found no one inside. These villas were furnished with great luxury. Persian rugs, silver ware, valuable paintings, china, and other items were there. We tried to collect these and put them all in one place which we locked. We did not find any documents or papers there. Those had been carefully removed.

On October 29 I went down to headquarters to report for instructions. I left the four boys in charge of the villa. At headquarters the National Guard was busy rounding up ex-AVH men. We got the addresses of the AVH men from the population. Most of them offered no resistance. These AVH men were later transported to somewhere else.

On the night of October 29 I was stationed near Szena Square checking vehicles. Just before midnight ~~to to~~ two Hungarian tanks came with National Guardsmen clinging to its sides. They told me that they were going to capture the AVH headquarters on Maros Street. I decided to go with them.

The AVH men inside the AVH barracks on Maros Street were given an ultimatum to surrender before 2 a.m. Otherwise we would shoot at the buildings with our tanks.

The AVH men surrendered just before 2 am. They were told to line up in the yard of the building. We ~~was~~ searched them for arms. They were told if anyone brought arms from the building he would be shot on the spot. The simple AVH men who had been recruited for service were discharged without any delay. Uncle Szabo appeared and he directed the transportation of the AVH officers and non-commissioned officers to headquarters. About three truck loads of AVH men and officers were taken away.

The captured Avh officers and men were taken to the Police Academy on Boszormenyi Road. Many ~~of~~ them were in civilian clothes, but those AVH men and officers who nothing to fear did not change their clothes. A large number of them wore blue uniforms, that is police uniforms.

With thirty other National Guardsmen, I remained in the barracks of the AVH until morning. We found ~~at~~ a large quantity of arms and ammunition in the building. The AVH men could have resisted for five or six days. A large room, 15 by 10 meters was filled with the most modern small arms and sub-machine guns. All of us equiped ourselves with sub-machine guns, pistols, hand-grenades and raincoats. The next

morning Uncle Szabo moved his headquarters from Szena Square into the barracks wh had taken from the AVH.

On October 31 I was sent with twenty soldiers ~~fr~~ of the Signal Corps. ~~and~~ back to the villas on Svabhegy. I commanded only the five civilians, but this was not really command; everyone did what he wanted. The highest in rank took over the "command" of the soldiers.

I think it was the next day when we were warned by civilians that there was a very mysterious house next to the Normafa Restaurant on the Svabhegy. We decided to investigate. The civilians had told us that mysterious cars appeared always at night, and that no one was ever seen inside the building.

In this villa we found a man about 45 years old who said that he was a PENSIONED electrician. But in one of the drawers we found his true papers which said he was an AVH non-commissioned officer, who had received decorations for services to the democracy. A closer investigation of the building revealed a secret celler in which there were four prison cells. The cells were each equipped with one small cot and two buckets. There were very heavy steel doors on the cells. The cells were empty, but in one we found fresh blood stains. We started to question this AVH non-commissioned officer, whose name was, according to his personal documents, Denes Barabas. After some prodding with the butt of our rifle, he admitted that the fresh bloodstains came from three university students who had been executed in the villa the previous night. He refused to confess anything else.

In the building we found Russian documents and Russian passports without photographs. We took all the documents and our prisoner back to headquarters. I do not know what he confessed there, but two days later he managed to ~~escape~~ escape from there when he was being transferred to another prison. It was our impression that this was one of the many secret buildings ~~an~~ occupied in Budapest by the ~~NKVD~~ Russian secret police.

From here on until November 4 I remained constantly on Svabhegy patrolling the vicinity for AVH officers or Russians. Nothing of special interest occurred.

We heard over the radio that the Russians had withdrawn from Budapest. We suspected that they were leaving only the capital and not the country. We were informed that ~~was~~ 300 ~~main~~ tanks were stationed outside of Budapest. Allegedly they could not go on because they had no fuel.

I first heard about the return of the Russians to Budapest on the morning of November 4. I was awakened by the sound of shooting. This was about 4 a.m. I heard Imre Nagy's speech over the radio. We telephoned for instructions from headquarters. The twenty soldiers were immediately sent to Obuda. I was told to go with the four boys under my command to the Farkasret Cemetery. We began building barricades to block the way of the Russians if they attempted to go from Budaors to the Svabhegy.

No Russians came, but we met fleeing Hungarian soldiers who said that all resistance was in vain. The families who lived in the neighborhood also began begging us to take our arms and go away because we may provoke the wrath of the Russians against the civilian population living there. We decided to take our small arms and return to the headquarters in Maros Street. This was in the afternoon of November 4.

From headquarters we were directed to a school on Attila St. There we had machine guns and a mine thrower. We exploded a Russian ambulance on the street near our building, but it must have contained ammunition because it burned an exceedingly long time.

After six p.m. about fifteen Russian tanks appeared and surrounded the building. They began firing at us. We were forced to seek cover in the air-raid shelter of the building. We were afraid that Russian infantry would come in the wake of the Russian tanks and find us. Therefore we hid our arms and the soldiers took off their uniforms and dressed in civilian clothes.

About 5 a.m. the Russians disappeared. Then the Russian artillery stationed in Kelenfold began to fire at our buildings. They were scoring the post-office and other government buildings nearby. One or two shells struck our school building also. We had to evacuate our building, and with a family which had been bombed out in Pest, I went home. The family consisted of a language instructor, his wife and 5 year old child. My parents gave them one of the rooms of our villa.

On November 7 and 9, ~~xxxxxxx~~ with a group of thirty boys, we staged raids on the Russians in the barracks in Budaors, and in the Karoly barracks. We caused much panic among the Russians and set fire to three of their trucks. Before dawn we retreated and hid our arms in masoleums of the cemetery.

By November 12 we realised that the Russians had won. My parents were greatly concerned because many people had seen me with arms in my possession. Therefore, on November 12 I and the family who had been evacuated from Pést started off on foot ~~xxx~~ toward Austria. We carried only small knapsacks which were practically empty. On the way we were questioned about where we were going. We answered that we were going to Budaors for bread. We went on foot as far as BIATORBAGY. There we were fortunate in getting a train for Komarom. We had to change trains in Komarom. Ten minutes later ~~xxxxxx~~ another train departed in the direction of Gyor. The train did not stop in Gyor because the conductors informed us that Russian and Hungarian troops were fighting in the vicinity of the railway station. One station before the border we got off the train and started by foot in the direction of the border. We had to walk about five hours until we came to Austrian territory. We were not challenged by anyone on the way. We saw one tank, but only from a distance. The Russians were firing rockets to light up the territory along the border, but they did not see us.

It is very difficult to say ~~xxx~~ what Hungary, on the whole, has gained by the revolution. I do not know what the situation at home is now. Judging by what the local papers are writing about the conditions in Hungary I think that the people at home must be having an exceedingly hard time.

OF  
IV. EXPECTATIONS ~~KNOW~~ HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. After the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution I expected ~~that the West~~ the West to send help immediately. I thought that United Nations troops would come to help maintain order in Hungary. If the United Nations had sent troops or a police force into Hungary the Russians would have had to withdraw from the country immediately.

I based my hopes and expectations on what the foreign radios, especially Radio Free Europe, had been saying all along. Radio Free Europe had made such statements as "Hold out only two days longer." We hoped that effective assistance would be forthcoming. We did not know then that the United Nations was not worth anything.

I did not want the West to send us arms. Enough people have died as it is. What the United Nations should have sent was troops. Their presence would have stopped all fighting in Hungary and the Russians would have had to withdraw.

C. From October 23 until my arrival in Austria I had met no one from the West.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. Before the war my father was the manager of a lumber industry concern. After the war my father became the manager of a national enterprise which conducted plumbing and electrical installation work on new buildings.

My father owned a five room villa in Buda. This villa was taken away from us in 1948. We were allowed to remain there, but had to pay rent.

Both of my parents and also my step-mother are gymnasium graduates. My father also completed a lumber industry course at a German university. I do not know which school he attended.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. Before 1945 the intelligentsia played a leading role in Hungary. Now this leading role has been taken over by the workers.

I have had contact with all classes except the peasantry.

My opinion of the industrial workers is a very good one. The majority of the industrial workers are very diligent and intelligent. As a class, they are united and have a common opinion.

The Hungarian intelligentsia is more divided. Under the Communists intelligentsia was at a great disadvantage. Its members attempted to remain as inconspicuous as possible.

I am unable to form an opinion about the Hungarian peasants because I have had practically no contact with them.

In the last years under Communism it was impossible to recognize the members of different classes by their appearances alone. There was practically no difference in their way of dressing, or living. In general, the industrial workers and the intelligentsia have become practically united.

I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia.

Probably, the Hungarian industrial workers were the hardest hit by Communism because of their extremely low wages, and long working hours. They lived much worse than before.

C. I am unable to tell you the general opinion of each class of the other. I can tell you only my own opinion. It is my impression that the intelligentsia, in general, had a very good

opinion of the industrial workers. There were no barriers between the two classes. I think that the industrial workers, especially the older ones, had a very high regard for the intelligentsia. ~~They~~ They recognised that the intelligentsia knew more than they did.

The great union of industrial workers and working peasants about which the papers wrote so much existed only in theory. I think the industrial workers did not like to go to the country. The general standard of living in the country was much lower.

E. The most important criteria for getting ahead in Communist Hungary was origin. The first question asked when one wanted a job was "Who was your father?" The second question was "Are you a Party member?" In order to get a good job, that is, a job in which the salary was about 1800 or 2000 forints, you had to have very good contact. This meant either personal contact or contact through some athletic organization, or through the Party. One had to accept the political doctrines of the Communist Party. If one did not approve entirely and completely of the Party's policy, at least seemingly, then there was no chance at all of getting ahead. Talent and experience played a very subordinate role. I don't think there was any change in this respect during the entire Communist regime, before the revolution.

To succeed a person had to be a good Party member. He had to have contact and pull. He had to at least make believe that he was a good Party member.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. In general, the economic conditions, under Communism, caused much financial trouble within the family, and were the source of constant worry. Both husband and wife were compelled to work. Divorces were numerous.

Within my own family there was nervous tension caused by financial worries. We had to work more in order to be able to exist on the barest essentials. Our family life was not as peaceful and close as it would have been under the previous regime.

B. From the earliest ages children were educated according to Soviet methods. They were taught to view everything from the Russian Communist view. They were brought up to accept a more simple and much more primitive form of life as natural.

It was more difficult to indoctrinate the teen-agers and adolescents. They still had, perhaps hazy, recollections of life under the previous regime. They were also able to understand better what parents told them about life before and during the war. The Communists did not succeed in indoctrinating the vast majority of the teen-agers. This was evident in the fact that in the revolution everyone from 14 years and older participated in the fighting.

I did not notice any change in the obedience or disobedience of the children under Communism as compared to their conduct before and during the war.

C. Probably the only change in courtship was that the young man was unable to appear so well dressed as before. Recreations and amusements were very expensive. Judging from what the older generation said about their courtship, courtships under Communism were considerably **LESS** expensive.

People entered marriage with considerably less money in their pockets than before. Both husband and wife were compelled to work. There was no real home or family life as before.

Extra-marital sexual relations were frequent. I do not know anything about the number of illegitimate children.

Officially no prostitution was tolerated. But there was secret prostitution, especially in Budapest.

I do not know what the official view was of the Communist Party or of the Hungarian government on sexual matters. I never heard nor read anything about it. But, I think, in



general, that Party members have less inhibitions concerning their sexual relations. Their morals are looser than those people who are not Communists by conviction. I don't think that the Party was very much concerned with the sexual conduct of its members. All it wanted of its members is that they should not steal government property and they should not criticize the Party or its policy.

D. If a close friend of mine were to join the Communist Party and become a Party Secretary, friendship would probably continue unless he became a Communist by conviction. If he became a Communist member by conviction then I would probably be the one to terminate the friendship. I do not think a friendship can exist under a mutual agreement not to mix politics into it. That would not be real friendship; that would be only an acquaintanceship.

E. I do not know whether the crime rate increased under Communism as compared to the crime rate of the past regime. But it is my belief that there is comparatively less crime in Hungary than there is in the United States. Especially juvenile delinquency is comparatively much lower there than in the U.S. It is true, however, that very many people were sentenced for crimes against government property, but public opinion did not condemn anyone for stealing from the government, or for embezzling government funds. I do not know whether the crime rate of women increased in Hungary during the Communist regime. But in school we were taught that juvenile delinquency had shown a considerable decline under Communism in comparison to the pre-war regime. I think that alcoholism increased considerably, especially among the younger people.

The government attempted to curb crimes against government property by introducing very severe punishments for such crimes. The word "Jampec" has several meanings. It may mean a hooligan or vagrant. It may also mean a person who dresses according to American style and dances to jazz or rock and roll music. A person may be called a Jampec because he wears his hair long, and because his fashion is along American styles.

I think that the whole problem of "Jampec" is a malignant exaggeration on the part of the Communists. The cause of the Jampec behavior was the mere fact that we liked to imitate foreign fashions and foreign way which were copied from the few Western visitors to Hungary, and also brought in to the country by Hungarian athletes and football players who were permitted to go out of the country and look around.

I think that the so-called jampecs belonged to all social classes and they were mostly young people between the ages of 16 to 30. I do not consider their conduct criminal.

The majority of the older people objected to the Jampecs styles and manners because they were unaccustomed to them. Old people are always inclined to be more conservative.

## VII. RELIGION

A. There was religious freedom in Hungary under Communism, but only on paper. It was not advisable to be religious or to be seen in church. It was incompatible with Communism, and with Party membership. It was a black mark on your cadre sheet. Under Communism religious classes were abolished in schools.

The Catholic Church was the hardest hit by Communism because the majority of Hungarians are Catholics. The Protestant Church was also hard hit by Communism because Communism is opposed to religion as such. Perhaps the only exception is the Jewish religion.

B. Religion does not play such an important role in my life as it does in the lives of my parents. I go to church very rarely, and say ~~an~~ a prayer very seldom. I think that the average Hungarian's attitude toward religion is the same as mine.

C. The purpose of the church to bring-up citizens with a strong moral background is a great advantage to the state. For this reason the church should be assisted in its work by the state. I think that ~~the~~ the churches should play a much greater role in education than before. All of the church school should be returned to the churches.

The churches should be allowed to voice their opinions in such matters as the censorship of books, films and plays. But their attitudes toward such questions should not be absolute.

I think that in a free Hungary the church should not take part in politics. Nothing good ever came from priests taking active roles in politics.

I don't think that the Jewish religion in Hungary has been hurt by Communism. This is probably because principles of the Orthodox Jewish religion agree basically with the principles of Communism.

I think that the majority of the Jews in Hungary lived very well under Communism, and were satisfied with the regime. I don't think their attitude toward Communism changed at all during the last ten years. They accepted Communism because that regime brought them liberty, but only for them. The majority of the Jews were active Communist Party members. They joined the Party because they wanted to get ahead ~~xxxx~~

and because they sympathized with Communism.

It is my impression that the Jews in Hungary were only silent observers of the demonstrations and the revolution. They did not express their opinions. I saw one or two Jews in the demonstrations, but I saw practically no Jews in the fighting. These demonstrators were mostly young Jews. But, I saw very many Jews when the refugees were pouring out of Hungary.

It is possible that the Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary. This can be attributed to the fact that they have gained much by Communism, and that, before the Communist regime during the war, there had been anti-Semitism in Hungary.

### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth we can include the young people from 17 to 23 years of age. At this age young people are inclined to be the most spirited and most enthusiastic. They are not yet tied down with family responsibilities, and they spend much more time in each others company than any other generation.

B. The Hungarian youth played the leading role in the demonstrations and the revolution. Through the youth and student organizations it demanded political freedom and the withdrawal of Russians from Hungary. The demonstrations were organized and conducted by the university students. Later others also joined. The fighting was also started by the students, and led by them at the initial stage.

It was the Hungarian youth which took the lead in the ~~same~~ demonstrations and the fighting, and not any other age group, because the Hungarian youth was the most dissatisfied with the situation under which it lived. During the revolution the older people had an excellent opinion of the youth. They praised its bravery and determination. The older people/who, up to then, very often scolded and ~~criticized~~ criticized the youth, became fond of them during the revolution. They gave us advice about arms and how to fight. They were less inclined to participate in the fighting themselves.

C. The standard of education in the Hungarian secondary schools was very high. Very much was demanded of the students. Certain subjects such as literature and history were distorted, ~~but~~ ~~what~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~demanded~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~students~~ ~~under~~ ~~the~~ ~~previous~~ ~~regime~~, was demanded of them now.

Every teacher and instructor was compelled to prepare a teaching plan for the entire school year. These plans had to be submitted for approval to the school inspectors.

After completion of secondary school not all students could continue their studies at a university. Admittance to schools of higher education was determined on the basis of class origin and political beliefs. Students of worker origin were admitted much easier than children of the peasants. The children of the intelligentsia were very rarely admitted to universities and had to be exceptionally talented.

The majority of the instructors in the secondary schools had been educated under the previous regime. Very few of them were

Party members. They had ample opportunity to impart to us their disagreement of some of the things they were forced to teach us.

E. It is true that the Communists devoted much time and effort to the indoctrination of the Hungarian youth. Through various youth organizations and compulsory political classes in schools they wanted to ~~xxx~~ familiarize the youth with the principles of Communism. The vast majority of the Hungarian youth was bored by such indoctrination efforts and they were not influenced by them because the youth was able to see in every day life the contradictions of the Communist doctrines.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE.

A. The major dissatisfactions with life in Communist Hungary were low wages, high prices, a low standard of living, no political freedom. In Communist Hungary one was constantly pestered by authorities and officials. One was liable to be questioned by police at anytime of the day. One was stopped on the street, asked to show ones identification card, asked why you weren't at work or ~~did you get money from~~ where did you get money for recreation or amusement, etc.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. During my last year in Communist Hungary we had to work very hard in order to live at all. We were able to provide food and quarters, but nothing was left for clothing or recreation.

At home we had to plan our budget very carefully. We were not able to buy everything we would have liked.

My step-mother did not work. My father and I ate lunch in the factory. My step-brother ate in school. Breakfast at home usually consisted of a slice of buttered bread and tea. Sometimes we took a sandwich with us to eat before lunch. The lunches we got at the factory were not very good. I always felt hungry after lunch. Supper at home was the most substantial meal of the day. We always ate some soup and vegetables. We had meat usually two times a week.

Clothes were the most difficult problem. We could buy only a little at a time. We could afford to buy new shoes only when this was absolutely necessary. If we bought anything it was always the cheapest. I had only two suits and three pairs of slacks. My two suits were three and one years old, respectively. I had four or five shirts and one raincoat.

The four of us lived in a four room villa which previously belonged to my father. It had been nationalized in 1948. To prevent a family being moved in on us we rented one room to a university student. After the villa had been nationalized my father had to pay 200 forints rent per month.

I considered it a luxury to be able to have a clean shirt every second day, or to eat the same kind of food on week-days as on Sunday. It was also a luxury to be able to buy a theatre ticket or a cinema ticket.

Before and during the war we led a comparatively comfortable life, and we were able to afford decent clothes and good food. After the war our standard of living declined about 60%. Our standard of living was probably the highest in 1955 and 1956. It was the lowest in 1948 to 1952.

From among my friends and acquaintances the family of a school-mate probably lived the best. The father was a top government official in the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications. One child was a law student who wanted to enter the diplomatic service. A second child was a lath operator in a Budapest



factory. The mother did not work. The father and the elder son earned comparatively good salaries. They were able to afford good clothes and good meals. Sometimes the children were able to go to dances, cinemas, or theatres. The family did not entertain at home. They had a three room flat with ~~an~~ fairly nice furniture. They lived much better than the average Hungarian.

The low standard of living can be attributed to the fact that the Hungarian forint did not have any value outside of Hungary. The government was forced to export at a low price in order to be able to meet foreign competition. The balance of ~~imports~~ imports could be covered only by paying outstandingly low wages and by considerably increasing the prices of consumers goods at home.

B.

During the last year before the revolution my father's average 1850 forints a month. My average income was 1300 forints. This was the take-home pay. 70 forints were deducted from my pay each month and 280 forints from my father's for trade union fees and compulsory government loans. I received a production bonus of 600 to 1000 forints every six months. I do not know how much my father received in bonuses. I know that he received a family allowance of 40 forints a month for my half-brother. This sum was included in the 1850 forints take-home pay I mentioned.

Neither one of us had any secondary source of income.

My step-mother did not work. She remained home to do the housework.

I did not receive any wage increase during the last five years. My father did not receive a wage increase, but got a reduction of 100 forints per month when the size of his company was reduced in course of a reorganization of government enterprises.

C. There was a difference of prices on the free market and government retail stores. Poultry, eggs, and dairy products were 5% to 10% higher than in the government stores. On the other hand, other farm produce were 15% cheaper on the free market than in the government stores. The difference in prices was seasonal, and it always depended on the extent of demand.

Eggs and poultry prices were always higher in the Spring and would decline toward the end of summer. The difference in prices also depended on where one purchased. For example, in Budapest and in the country; Budapest prices were usually higher.

The government commissioned stores handled only used articles.

There was not much difference between the quality of the hardly used articles available in the government commissioned stores and the new products available in the government retail stores.

Sometimes there were shortages of goods at certain retail stores, whereas they were available in other stores. This was caused by too much red tape in distribution.

The quality of goods, in general, improved somewhat during the last ~~year~~ two years. Before that, there were too many complaints because of the poor quality of the articles sold in government stores. Inspection and supervision probably improved in the factories.

It sometimes happened that such items as paprika were available in some stores and not available in other stores.

Spare ~~parts~~ parts were obtainable, but mostly not in government ~~stores~~ stores.

I do not know of any spoilage of foods in Hungary.

There were periodical shortages in foodstuffs. At one time there was great difficulty in obtaining bicycle tires and inner tubes. For example, in 1951 to 1954 one was able to obtain bicycle inner tubes only by handing in the old inner tube and paying 90 forints for inner tube.

Black-marketing was conducted on a very small scale in Hungary. There was a black-market in tools and electrical equipment. For example, cable wires, ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT would frequently be stolen by the workers in the factories and sold to fences. These fences would in turn sell the tools and equipment to private dealers for about 25% to 30% less than their official price. The dealers would be glad to pay this price because, otherwise, they were unable to get materials or tools.

Such black-market operations were extremely dangerous. If anyone were caught it meant imprisonment. Price speculation was punishable with 2 to 5 years imprisonment.

D. For the last three years before the revolution I was employed by the Ganz Electrical Company. This factory was situated near Szena Square. My last assignment was that of inspector. I had to inspect the electrical turbines and machinery which our factory manufactured for export. We manufactured electrical locomotive engines and turbines. We specialized in high tension electrical machinery.

We worked eight and on half hours a day. I worked only six because I was a member of the factory's football team. I spent two hours everyday practicing and training. These two hours were paid to me as if I had been on the job.

Normally, working hours in the factory, for the day shift, were from 7:30 to 4 p.m., sometimes to 4:30 p.m. depending ~~xxxxx~~ on how much time was taken for lunch. If there was a lunch recess of one hour only half an hour was paid for by the company.

I obtained my job with this company because I was a good football player and was needed to play on the factory's team.

I was on good terms with my colleagues, but not with my superiors. They would complain because I worked too fast and, again, if I worked too slow. I did not have much ~~xxxxx~~ respect for their authority, but had respect for their training and practice. I was not afraid of them because I was well trained for my job. The only thing they could have done against me was to cause political trouble. In general, my foreman and superiors were well trained. I was satisfied with my job in the factory. I felt that my colleagues were also well trained. My immediate superiors always had unofficial praise for work well done.

The vacation program in the factory was conducted with too much bureaucracy. In theory you could take your vacation anytime you wanted to. In practice, however, the production season of certain shops determined when the workers could take their yearly vacation. One could go either to the vacation homes ~~xxxxx~~ maintained by the factory or by the trade union. Vacation expenses were comparatively small.

Social security program of the Hungarian Communist government provided free medical attention and sick-pay to workers for a certain period of time. I do not know much about the pension program, but I have heard several old people complain that the pensions were very low, and they were unable to live on their pensions. I do not know details about the pension program.

E. In Communist Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. There is more cultural life in the city and life there is generally much more comfortable. Also, more interesting. In the country you are usually able to obtain newspapers only after they are two days old. I think that the city population in Hungary eats better and more food than the rural population, and the standard of living is higher in the cities than in rural Hungary. Probably the political pressures were also lower in provincial Hungary than in

the cities.

When the collectivization of farms was introduced in Hungary everyone knew that it would not work out in practice. The farm collectivization program was not good because it did not take into consideration the strong feeling for private ownership among the Hungarian peasants. The peasants lost interest in their work. They would have grown much more on land which was their own.

I think that the middle peasantry objected the most to collectivization of farms.

In the Spring of 1956 I heard of one or two cases where farm cooperatives and cooperative production groups were dissolved in Hungary. The reason for dissolving these collective farms was that the members had practically no income from the farm and the farm was operating at a loss.

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

The ideal agricultural system in Hungary should be based on an extensive land reform with no large estates. Mechanization of agriculture should continue and the compulsory surrendering of crops by the peasants should be abolished.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. In 1948 I was only thirteen years old and I was not very interested in politics. But, in retrospect, I favored the Hungarian Small-Holders Party from among the parties which were active in Hungary before 1948. It probably represents **POLITICAL VIEWS NEAREST MY OWN**. After 1945 my father became a member of the Hungarian Social-Democratic party.

In the pre-1948 Communist Party the non-Stalinist members were also able to fill important Party posts.

I have not heard much about Bela Kan. But I know that he worked together with Tibor Samuelli. I know that Tibor Samuelli was sadist who ~~is~~ was responsible for the deaths of many ~~innocent~~ hundreds of innocent Hungarian peasants, and intellectuals.

I see no difference between the underground Communist Party which operated during and before World War Two, and the pre-1948 Communist Party.

B. Communist Party members after 1948 should generally be divided into two groups. First, there were the Communists by conviction. Second, there were the Party members which were, more or less, compelled to join the Party because they were afraid of losing their jobs, or because they wanted to get ahead.

I've known Communist Party members of both types. All Party members had to show outwardly their acceptance and approval of Communism and Communist principles. Inwardly, what they thought of the Party depended largely on why they joined. Their attitudes toward the Party probably changed in accordance with the fluctuations of Party policies. I mean such changes in Party policies as, for example, after the death of Stalin.

There were changes in Party policy. The Communists were very well aware of the true public opinion. They were forced to make concessions because they saw the strong opposition to the regime. These changes occurred on instructions received from Moscow. Moscow, in turn, was influenced by external and internal political and economic conditions.

I was aware of differences within the Communist Party leadership only during and after the revolution.

By Party morale I mean the acceptance of the Party's program by its members. I don't think that outwardly Party morale changed much during the various periods from 1945. Outwardly, the Party was strong and firm; Party morale was high. Inwardly, the morale of the Party members depended on the reasons why they have joined the Party originally.

The leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party are Moscovites. They are mere puppets who are permitted by Moscow to act when and as long as it is convenient to the Soviet Communist Party leaders. They receive their instructions directly from Moscow. If they have any difference of opinion, they are either liquidated or imprisoned. They must accept orders and instructions from the Moscow Communists. However, they are Communists by conviction. They believe in what the Party teaches. But, sometimes they have insight into the true purposes of the Party. They are sadists and criminals. Their personal motives are mostly material. From the Communist point of view, some of them may have talent and experience, but none of them are statesmen or politicians in the true sense of the word.

There is really not much difference between the simple Party members and the Party leadership from the point of view of motives. Both the simple Party members and the leaders are members or leaders for material gain.

If a political change occurs in Hungary then the top leaders of the Communist Party, if they are not lynched by the crowd, should be placed before a court to answer for their deeds.

C. There was opposition to Communism in the years before the revolution. This took the form of sabotage in the factories and farms, in slow downs, and even in distribution of anti-regime leaflets. The workers very often damaged the machines or put them out of order. This was often the case with electrical installations. Here, repairs required a considerable length of time. I, myself, have witnessed several such cases in our factory.

The industrial workers were the ones who dared to express their dissatisfaction the most of the regime in this form. I know very little about the sabotage conducted by the Hungarian peasants. My impression was that the members of the intelligentsia dared least of all to show any open resistance to the regime.

All forms of resistance to Communism were facts of public knowledge within Hungary. Perhaps only the people who were responsible for sabotage, etc. were not known.

Resistance in any form was the most dangerous in 1950 to '51. In 1953-'56 criticism and grumbling against the regime was more frequent and open.

In general, the intellectuals and members of the intelligentsia were so frightened that they did not show any resistance to Communism. I heard about the activities of the Petofi Circle only during the revolution. I don't think that the intellectuals had anything new to say. Their primary importance was in the fact that they dared to express their views which everyone professed secretly. The opposition of the intellectuals was not always open and direct. Sometimes it was contained subtly in between the lines.

My opinion of the intellectuals is that they are not day-dreamers, but realistic persons. They achieved a leading role in the revolution the two weeks after its outbreak, but, because of the shortage of time, they were not able to achieve much.

The Hungarian intellectuals turned against the regime because they probably had the best insight into affairs and knew the true situation in Hungary.

## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Most of the men in the AVG were drafted for compulsory military service and assigned to this branch of service. They had no choice of serving in any other branch of the armed service.

The officers, however, were not compelled to serve in the AVH. They chose this profession volutarily. Their motives were primarily material ones. The AVH officers were excellently paid. Their work was not difficult and it afforded great possibilities to men who had sadistic tendencies.

I had no contact with the AVH whatever. Neither I, nor my family, nor any of my friends were ever arrested by the AVH. The only AVH plainclothesman that I knew was an AVH officer assigned to work in our factory. His cover job was to take care of social welfare matters within the factory. But, it was rumored that he was an AVH ~~man~~ man whose ~~true~~ true assignment was to observe everything that was happening in our factory. We were always careful to avoid him and not to speak in his presense.

I did not know of any AVH officers or AVH men who wanted to leave the service, who suffered remorse, or had pangs of conscience. I only knew one person who was supposed to begin his term of compulsory military service in the Fall of 1956. He was very reluctant to go and serve in the AVH. He did not know what to do. Fortunately for him, the revolution postponed the commencement of compulsory military service in Hungary in the Fall of 1956 and my friend was able to come out of Hungary illegally.

I have already told you about my experiences with the AVH men we captured during the revolution. I do not know what became of them. When the Russians were advancing, thirty AVH men were ordered shot, because they had killed and tortured people. About 200 AVH officers against whom there was no evidence were not harmed, and were probably freed by the Russians.

It is no exaggeration to say that people in Communist Hungary live in constant anxiety and fear. They have constant financial difficulties and live always in the fear of arrest, and torture by the AVH and the Blue police.

If Hungary becomes independent it will be necessary to screen those people who served in the AVH. If there is any evidence that they tortured or killed innocent people, then they should be placed before a summary court and receive their due reward.

The regular or Blue police in Hungary did not handle political



cases. Any information which it had on political cases it had to turn over to the AVH. But, sometimes the Blue police, especially in the provinces, acted as agents of the AVH. In general, the Blue police were efficient in non-political cases. There might have been corruption in the Hungarian Blue police force, but only among the top officers.

During the Hungarian revolution the Blue police force hesitated and did not know what stand to take. When the policemen saw that the revolution was spreading, and had hopes of succeeding, then they joined the revolutionists. It is possible that some of the policemen joined the insurgents only seemingly. But, it cannot be denied that some of the leaders of the Hungarian Blue police gave us much help in organizing the Hungarian militia. But, the policemen were reluctant to take part in the arrest and capture of AVH officers. Such work was done by the ~~district revolutionary~~ Hungarian militia under the command of the district revolutionary commanders.

During the revolution I did not see any Hungarian Blue policemen fighting. But, I saw them on patrol duty with the members of the newly formed Hungarian militia. They gave us arms and equipment.

B. I think, in general, the Hungarian courts in non-political cases were very strict in the lower courts, but comparatively fair in the upper courts. The Hungarian courts, in general, could be termed just in non-political cases to the extent it was possible under the existing government regulations and laws.

I do not know much about the courts of the Horthy regime, but I think that they were just. There was no "class justice". The only difference between a poor and a rich person before the court was that the rich person was able to hire a better lawyer to assist him.

The People's Courts were set up in 1945 and 1947. They tried the so-called war criminals. The Communists considered the war criminals guilty. I ~~consider~~ consider only SEALASI and some of his assistance guilty, and only because of the persecution of the Jews during the war. But most of the sentences passed by the People's Courts were not just.

C. In my opinion, only a fraction of the Hungarian army took part in the revolution. Most of the army was confined to the barracks, and kept in hand by the political officers. But, there were some barracks which fought on our side to the last man. I base my opinion on what I learned from the soldiers with whom I was in contact during the revolution. For example, the entire signal corps barracks in Budakeszi fought under the direct command of Uncle Szabo, whom I have already mentioned.

I did not notice any difference in the conduct of the army groups based on their geographical location or on the social

origin or rank of the soldiers or officers.

I was not surprised by the conduct of the army. Those soldiers who were able to get out of their barracks fought very readily with us. They were the same kind of young people we were, with the exception that they were in uniforms. Their aims and motives were the same as ours.

I never served in the Hungarian army, so I cannot give you any details on army life.

D. There may be some truth in the view that the conduct of the Russian army in 1848 was the cause of their unpopularity in Hungary. But, I think that this is only a contributing cause, and the primary reason for their unpopularity was the conduct of the Soviet army in 1944 and '45 when they invaded Hungary.

I was only a child at that time, but, on the basis of what I heard from older people, I feared the coming of the Russians very much. When they came in they plundered and looted the entire neighborhood and set our villa on fire. They did not rape the women in our neighborhood, but I know of many cases where this occurred.

My opinion of the Russian army had not changed since 1945. I think this applies to everyone in Hungary.

Neither I nor my relatives, nor friends had any contact with the Russian occupation troops before the revolution. There were no Russians in Budapest. We only knew that there are some in several places in Hungary.

During the revolution my only contact with Russians was the scene I described on Parliament Square. One of the students talked with a Russian officer who was in command of one of the tanks. The student explained to this Russian that we were not fascists, and we only wanted to be let alone. He seemed to sympathize with us, but told us he has his orders and he must obey them.

I have seen only one case where the Russians fought against the AVG. This was also on Parliament Square, when they AVH started to shoot at the crowd and at the Russians from the neighboring buildings. The Russians didn't know who was shooting at them, and returned the fire.

On another occasion I saw the Russians put ~~an~~<sup>the</sup> Hungarian flag on the building in which their headquarters were. This was the Astoria Hotel where their headquarters were at this time. This

was probably a trick to deceive the insurrects. I have heard of cases where Russians ~~men~~ put Hungarian flags and insignias on their tanks to deceive the Freedom Fighters. But, there were also Russians who went over to the Hungarians and fought with them against the AVH and regular Russian troops. But, this I know only from hearsay.

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

E. The most typical bureaucrat who ~~m~~ I knew in Hungary was the accountant in charge of production norms in our factory. He was a man of 55 or 60, not a Party member. He was a good accountant, but very slow. There was always delays in figuring out ~~and~~ what our wages were.

On one occasion I had trouble with my division superintendent in the factory. He scolded me in very strong and abusive words because the machinery which I inspected and had found faulty I sent back to the shop for repairs and did not have the repairs on the spot. I was unable to say anything to him because he was a top Communist and had considerable influence inside the factory.

There were some officials who were more concerned with the wellfare of the people than with state interests. For example, there was a superintendent in our factory who sometimes would order good machines to be dismantled and repaired although they were in perfect condition. This was only to give work to the men, who otherwise would have been idle. Very few of us knew about his tactics, and we kept it a secret. There were many more of this kind a person in our factory.

F. To a certain extent it was possible to circumvent government regulations and rules. For example, in the factory we could put white collar workers on the pay roll as laborers. In this way they were able to get employment, and probably made more than they would have otherwise.

There may have been cases of bribery in Hungary. We did not know much about such things. I think that if an official had been caught excepting a bribe, he would have been sentenced and imprisoned.

G. I am very grateful to providence to have had no contact with the Hungarian secret police. But, I think they had talent and were efficient from the Communist point of view. But, they had no intelligence.

The majority of the officers now in the Hungary army had only eight grades of schooling, and attended special courses for officers. I don't think they knew much about military science. I don't know what the situation was within the Hungarian general staff.

I don't think that the Soviet army leadership is very intelligent, but they may know more about military matters than the Hungarian counterparts.

I do not know what the situation was concerning talent and intelligence among the public administration officials.

The top executives in industrial management were Party members who were given their soft jobs for their merits in Party work. They did not know much about industrial or managerial problems. They had to rely entirely on their chief accountants and engineers.

xiii. THE ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. It is very difficult to say what the immediate future of Hungary will be in the next few years. Kadar will remain in power, and the Communist terror will continue along the old Stalinist lines. I don't think that the Communists will make any concessions in the near future. The people at home will resort to silent resistance. Relations between the East and the West will gradually improve, because neither party wants war.

I hope that the Western world will be able to achieve, by diplomatic means, the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Hungary, and free elections under international control. Even a Poland type solution would be better than what is now in Hungary. People at home are probably very dissatisfied with the West for its inactivity.

I think that the settlement of Hungary could be best achieved by diplomatic means. I am not in favor of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, because it may very well mean the destruction of the whole world. The people at home probably favor such a war, but they do not realize the full significance of an overall atomic war. On the other hand, I think that war between the U.S. and the Soviet is inevitable, but, this may happen years from now.

I am somewhat skeptical about the efficiency of diplomatic negotiations with the Soviet Union concerning a settlement of European problems. I don't think that internal changes in the Soviet Union are very likely.

B. During the past eight years at home, there was not much hope of a political change in Hungary. The only thing we could hope for was an eventual possibility of an escape to the West. We thought that the regime would remain and we would proceed toward the complete Communization of Hungary. I don't think there was any change in this attitude at any time during the past eight years.

#### XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. & B. I think that in an independent Hungary it would be advisable to maintain the industrial development which the Communist regime achieved. On the other hand, in the future emphasis should be placed mostly on the light industry and agriculture. Hungary should manufacture especially radios, television sets, tool machinery, industrial equipment. No branches of production should be stopped which are already operating in Hungary.

If the Communist regime is overthrown, I think that the national enterprises should continue under government management. The kolkhozes and the government farms should be discontinued, and the land be divided among the landless peasants in course of a large scale land reform. The agricultural equipment of the state farms and kolkhozes should be sold.

I approve of the nationalization of industries and transportation facilities. This insures better management and better planning. There is no overlap. At home, probably, many people would disagree with me. I approve of nationalization both in heavy and light industries.

I think that the government should offer advice and aid to farmers, but should not prescribe what the farmers should grow. A certain amount of planning is essential in agriculture, but farmers should be convinced that what the government advises them to do is to their benefit. Compulsory surrendering of agricultural products by the farmers should be abolished. The mechanization ~~started~~ of agriculture started by the Communists should be continued.

I don't think the government should set a limit to agriculture property which one person or a family can own. Everyone should acquire and farm as much land as he can. But, if the person neglects his agricultural property and does not farm it all, then the government should have the right to take over, or to lease, this property to someone who will farm it appropriately.

If I were to choose between freedom and a dictatorship I would choose freedom even if the government was unable to insure a fair standard of living or employment to everyone. Life under a dictatorship can never be good even if the regime insures a fair standard of living.

In an independent Hungary I would be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party. There is no need for such a party. They would probably again attempt to take over and sell the country to Moscow.

I would not favor outlawing the Communist sympathizers or the so-called Fellow Travelers organizations unless their activities are dangerous to state security.

C. The ideal political situation for Hungary would be a neutrality like Austria's. This would insure the best life for everyone in the country. I would want only cultural relations with the Soviet Union, but no economic or military relations. Military relations are out of the question, because of Hungary's neutrality. Economic relations are not advisable because a Soviet economy is at a very low level. I would want only economic and cultural relations with the other Eastern European countries. With the Western European countries and with the United States I would want friendly relations, politically, economically and culturally. But, I would not want any military relations or alliances with these countries because it would be best to have Hungary remain strictly neutral.

I have never heard of a plan for a federation of Danubian states. I am not in favor of such a federation. It may be possible to form such a federation. If such a federation is formed I would be willing to be in it only together with Austria, but not with the other Danubian countries. I don't think that the people at home know much about the plans of this kind, or have ever thought about these possibilities.

I find the present boundaries of Hungary <sup>acceptable</sup> ~~acceptable~~, but I am worried about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries. They should be resettled in Hungary. Otherwise this entire problem is of no considerable importance to me.

#### XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Before the Hungarian revolution I heard nothing at all about Khrushchev's secret speech, nor about Senator McCarthy and his UnAmerican Activities Committee, nor about Peron. I do not know who Peron is.

I knew nothing about the private life of Rokosi.

B. Before and during the war my father subscribed to the "Pesti Hirlap", the "Nemzeti Sport", and also to the Hungarian newspaper published in German the "Pester Lloyd", and for the magazine "Signal". This was also German. My father read much. He had a library of his own of over 1500 volumes. He had not only Hungarian books, but also German and French as well. I think he was satisfied with what he was able to read, because he could get anything which interested him at that time.

After the war we subscribed to the "Magyar Nemzet", the "Szabad Ifjúság", the "Sport Újság". We did not subscribe to any magazines. We read the newspapers in great detail, but did not put any trust in them. I never had any confidence in them at all. I had the least trust in what they had to say about foreign events and the international political situation. Perhaps the only things one could accept were some of the production data published in the papers. However, reading the papers was useful, because one could sometimes read between the lines.

We did not read any publications from the Soviet Union or from other satellite countries, including Yugoslavia. Such publications, with the exception of the Yugoslav papers and magazines, were available in Budapest.

Some Western publications were available in Hungary. For example, I was able to purchase, quite frequently, copies of the Austrian "Der Abend". I also saw several English newspapers; I think the "Daily Worker", and perhaps sometimes the New York "Herald Tribune". Such Western publications were extremely hard to get. Not all newsstands carried them. I bought "Der Abend" at a newsstand that was near the first class hotels where many foreigners stayed.

I do not know anything about the ~~is~~ illegal publications from the West. I only read a few illegal leaflets. (NOTE: see XIX)  
The only "illegal" ~~publications~~ publications in Hungarian which I read in Hungary were the books placed on index. My father had



many such books in his library. He did not make any special attempt to conceal them. He would lend such books to his immediate friends and close relatives.

When the books were placed on index, they were confiscated from bookstores and from the libraries. Some of the people who had such books in their possession surrendered them, but most of them kept their books.

C. I often got news by word of mouth. This was especially information about foreign radio broadcasts in Hungarian. I would get such news from friends and relatives. This was always less reliable than the news one heard oneself over the radio. People whom I knew better and knew to be reliable for their accuracy in retelling news they have heard were more trusted.

I, too, passed on news which I heard over the radio to my friends and relatives. This was not done regularly, but only when the radio announced some news of special importance or interest. Naturally, we did not talk about such things in public place, in street cars ~~or~~ nor busses. We always took care not to be overheard.

F. I went to the cinema about twice a month, and to the theatre about once a month. I preferred light entertainment to serious films and plays. Most of the films that I saw were French or Italian. I saw some Russian and satellite films. Some were good and some were bad.

I was not interested in any films which dealt with the role of the Russians in World War II, Russian heroism and victory, Western films on Western espionage, films dealing with the life in the kolkhozes.

In plays I preferred light Hungarian operettas.

The two films I liked most were an Italian film "Count of Monte Cristo", and a French film "Before the Deluge." In these films I found not only the subjects interesting, but also enjoyed the dramatic performances of the actors, and the excellent way in which the films were directed.

The two plays I enjoyed most were Shakespeare's "Hamlet", and "The Chardash Queen" by Imre Kalman.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I think that a change within the Soviet Union is impossible. The masses living within the Soviet empire are isolated from one another and from the outside world. If one or two cities or even twenty cities revolt, there is still the rest of the Soviet Union to subdue them. Several decades of Communist rule made them consider the present conditions as natural. They are "blinded by their own misery." I think that neither gradual liberation nor revolution are very likely to cause a political change within Russia.

If free elections were to be held in Russia, the present Communist government would collapse and in its place a new national Communist government would arise.

The present top leaders of the Soviet Union are <sup>old</sup> ~~the~~ the Communists who helped Stalin to create his empire, or who were educated and made courriers under Stalin. Their primary purpose is to spread Communism and to strenghten it everywhere. In this way they are able to ~~make~~ make their own positions more secure. As individuals they are ambitious, perhaps jealous of each others power, their primary motives are material.

There is only a geographical difference between the <sup>leaders of the</sup> Soviet and the Hungarian Communist Party.

B. I think that of the countries mentioned Rumania and Poland are the most popular in Hungary. Rumania is popular because so many Hungarians are living in the country. Poland is popular because of the historic Hungarian-Polish friendship, and because of the recert revolutionary events in that country.

The least popular are Czechoslavkia, and Bulgaria. Czechoslavkia is unpopular because of its conduct toward the Hungarian minority in that country. Bulgaria is unpopular because it sympathizes too much with Communism.

I have had no contact at all with these countries.

If free elections were to be held in these satellite countries I think that Rumania and Poland would overthrow Communism. Czechoslavkia and Bulgaria would not. Czechoslavkia would remain Communist because it has a high standard of living under

Communism at present. Bulgaria has always been sympathizing with Russian and Communism. I do not know what the situation is in Eastern Germany, but I think that Communism would be overthrown there also.

The highest standard of living is probably in Hungary, and after that, in Eastern Germany. The standard of living is lowest in Rumania and probably, Bulgaria.

C. I think that the Gomulka government in Poland is not a puppet government depending entirely on Moscow. I think that the present policy of the Gomulka government in Poland represents a considerable change from what conditions in Poland were before. Gomulka strives to direct his country without interference from the Russians. I approve of his policy of gradualism.

The future outlook for Poland is good. Gomulka is trying to strengthen his relations with the West. Gradually he is turning against Moscow. I think he will remain in power. My views on Poland have not changed since the revolution.

Events in Poland had a considerable effect on the revolution in Hungary. People in Hungary knew about the Poznan riots. The Hungarian revolution itself started with sympathy demonstrations for the Polish students. But after the outbreak of the revolution in Hungary, further events in Poland did not have any effect on the course of the revolution itself.

I have not heard that the Communist government in Poland had granted more freedom of expression a full year before Gomulka's rise to power. People in Hungary knew about the Poznan trials, but not about anything which happened before that. We heard about the Poznan trials on the Hungarian press radio, and also from foreign broadcasts.

I don't think I would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take the course which the Polish revolution took. Poland achieved practically nothing at all. Poland only wanted a national Communism. We, on the other hand, wanted to be free of Communism and live as an independent country.

D. Tito's Communism isn't national Communism. This is something new. Tito's policy is like the weather vane. He always turns in the direction from which the wind is blowing. I think that Tito is a very good statesman from the Yugoslav point of view. But, he had no character.

Tito's relations with the Soviet Union are always changing. One year he is on good terms with the Soviet, the next he is not. The attitude which Moscow takes toward Tito also influences the

conduct of the other satellite countries toward Tito.

Tito's relations with the West always depend on the extent of Western aid he receives. His present relations with Moscow are somewhat confused. In principle, he is on good terms with Moscow, but, at the same time, he permits Hungarian refugees to go West from Yugoslavia. If he were on the side of Western powers, he would not be on good terms with Moscow.

I don't think that Titoism is very popular in the satellite countries. Rijk and SLANSKY are not Titoists. They are the same kind of Communists as the others, only they became the victims of the struggle for power within their respective ~~countries~~ Communist Parties.

I don't think that Tito is very popular in Yugoslavia. He keeps himself in power with the aid of a strong police force. I formed my opinions on the basis of my experiences in Yugoslavia. I was there for a two week vacation in the summer of 1956. It was my opinion that living conditions are worse in Yugoslavia than they were in Hungary. Wages are lower, there is inflation. On the other hand, there is a surplus of goods in the stores with nobody able to buy.

E. I do not know when the Communists came into power in China, but it is certain that their rise to power has strengthened world Communism to a great degree.

Communist China is probably more independent than the other satellites because of its size and large population. Moscow cannot achieve world Communism without the aid of the Chinese Communist.

I do not know what the political relations are between India and England. I know that they are cooperating closely in commerce and finance. Nehru, himself, is a puzzle to me. I think that he seeks too much the favors of the Communists.

France and Britain invaded Egypt because Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, ousting the British-French Suez Canal company. The French and English wanted to protect their financial interests in the canal.

I think Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal, because she was under international obligation to allow the Suez Canal Company to operate the canal.

Palestine was forced to invade Egypt because Egypt was causing a lot of trouble along the Palestine-Egyptian frontier.

I think events in Egypt helped to deter public opinion and attention from Hungary. Western Europe considered the fate of the Suez Canal more important than the fate of Hungary.

F. I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is very high. There is a labor shortage and wages are high.

I don't think that Germany will cause a third world war. She is busy now trying to unite Eastern and Western Germany.

I approve of the German rearmament. At least there will be one strong army in Europe.

I think that the German army is not as strong as the British army, but it is stronger than the French army.

I think that the length of compulsory military service in the Western German army is probably two years.

I think everyone in Hungary agrees that, as occupation troops, the Russians are, by far, less popular than the Germans had been. I think that the German army was much better disciplined ~~and~~ than the Russian army. This refers to both officers and men.

G. I do not know much about the British Labor Party, and I do not know ~~the~~ political program. I think that it is opposed to Communism.

From the point of view of a higher standard of living, the countries listed rank as follows: Great Britain, Western Germany, Greece, Egypt, Soviet Union, and Italy.

H. On my arrival in the United States what struck me most was the comparatively high wages, and low prices, and the large number of privately owned automobiles. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The policy of the United States government should be to force Russia to abandon the satellite countries and especially Hungary. In general, I am ~~am~~ satisfied with the foreign policy of the United States government. I don't think that the United States government should give loans to satellite countries other than Poland, because Poland seems to want to become independent. I think the United States government should use all diplomatic means available to force the Soviet government to withdraw its troops from Hungary and the other satellite

countries. Then, United Nation troops should be sent to maintain order and insure free elections. I don't think the United States government should recognise the Kadar regime, and should discontinue commercial relations with the present Hungarian government, and should not give the present Hungarian government a loan. But, diplomatic relations with the present Hungary should ~~maintained~~ maintained. My opinion on these questions has not changed since my departure from Hungary.

The people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors, especially tourists. This would give them an opportunity to talk with people from the West and find out more about life in the West. These visitors should be warned to speak with the simple people, and not with the stooges the Communists want these tourists to associate with.

I think that people in Hungary would like to have Western ~~publications~~ publications very much, but it is questionable whether the Hungarian post-office would deliver them, or not. If the Hungarians refused to admit such publications, then, these publications should be sent by balloons, as the leaflets have been sent.

I think it would be a good idea to have recent Hungarian refugees participate in such activities as informing prospective visitors to Hungary, and sending publications home. The recent refugees are the ones who know the situation at home probably the best, and the people at home would also feel that the refugees are not inactive.

I think that in the long run America would also have profited by the Marshall Plan. No state ever does anything it does not gain ~~by~~ from. The purpose of the Marshall Plan was to assist those governments in Europe which had financial and economic troubles. I was very young at that time, but this is my impression of the Marshall Plan. America would have had both material and moral benefits from the Marshall Plan. The countries which received the Marshall loans would have repaid these loans with interest, and there was also the moral benefit of having assisted countries which were in great ~~financial~~ financial difficulties.

I do not exactly remember how the Korean War started, therefore I am unable to tell you why America participated in this war. I only remember the outcome of this war.

J. My opinion of the United Nations is the worst possible. I am unable to conceive why the officials at the United Nations are

paid, because all they do is talk.

In the Autumn of 1956 the United Nations should have ordered an immediate cease-fire in Hungary, and compelled the Russian troops to withdraw from the country. Then they should have supervised the first free elections in Hungary. I do not think there is any chance of effective United Nations action for Hungary in the near future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I think that the greatest living Hungarian is Professor Gyula Germanus. He speaks thirteen languages, he is an explorer and scientist who knows much about Asia and Africa. He is the only ~~white-person-the-Arabic~~ European person teaching Arabian at the University of Cairo.

B. My opinion of Imre Nagy is good despite the fact that he was the one who asked the Russians to come into the country. I don't think that he is a Communist by conviction. He may be a Party member, but not a real Communist. He helped Hungary take the first steps toward freedom.

I have very high regard for Cardinal Mindzenty, but I do not like to see priests mixed up in politics. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Cardinal Mindzenty is a true Hungarian who is striving to create a free and independent Hungary. He has great moral character.

My opinion of Rajk is that one dog bit the other. Rajk is just as the same kind of Communist as Rakosi, only he had bad luck.

It is better not to speak of Erno Gero at all. He is not a human being, and he had no character. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He is merely a mouthpiece for Moscow.

I think that Kadar is an insane sadist whose mind and judgement have been effected by his experience in prison. I doubt very much that he is a sane, normal human being.

I have a very good opinion of President Eisenhower. He is a good statesman, who is directing the course of American foreign policy very prudently. However, he should have been more determined when the Hungarian question came up. He now wants to compensate the inactivity of the American government at the time of the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution by giving far reaching financial and moral assistance to the refugees. Otherwise, he's a very good politician and an excellent soldier.

Secretary-General Hammerskjold talks too much and is flying here and there too much. He should have acted instead.

State Secretary Dulles is an able and capable assistant to President Eisenhower in his foreign policy.



Ex-Prime Minister Eden is a very capable statesman, but he committed a great error in judgement when he decided to invade Egypt.

I do not know much about President Truman, but my impression is that he was in favor of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union at any price.

My opinion of these persons has ~~basically~~ not undergone any basic change ~~since~~ since my departure from Hungary.

Mikoyan is a strong Stalinist within the politbureau who had decisive word on the policy of the Soviet Communist Party.

Nehru is like a Sun-flower. He always turns in the direction from where he can get something for nothing.

Generalissimo Chiang kai Chek is a strong military leader who made it a profession ~~at~~ to wage war.

Ex-Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy is one of the persons who does not want to be an apostle in his own country. After leaving ~~leaving~~ Hungary in his comfortable limosine, he is now trying to explain to everyone what a good politician he was at home.

I was too young to know much about President Roosevelt, therefore I have been unable to form ~~an~~ a definite opinion.

Chancellor Adenauer is a very capable statesman, but I cannot understand why he wants to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union. Such an agreement would only be to his detriment.

From the point of view of Communism, Stalin/<sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ a great politician and a great military leader. His name will not be forgotten in history.

Malenkov is an ambitious member of the Soviet politburo. But, he plays an insignificant role, both in Russian and world history.

Generalissimo Franco was a personal friend of the Fuehrer, therefore I do not like him. But, his system at home is still much better than Communism.

Bevin is one of the leaders of the British Labor Party. I do not know anything more about him.

Kruschev is an enterprising Communist leader who wants to be

on good terms with all countries, but in such a way as to profit by it. He likes to drink very much.

Max Maletov belongs to the older generation ~~ka~~ of Russian top Communists. He has brains, and he is a convinced Communist. He is a good diplomat.

I do not know who Ollenaer is.

Churchill is a great statesman who ~~assisted~~ contributed very much to the victory of the Allies in World War II.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. The people who left Hungary after and during the revolution can generally be divided into two groups. The first group has the people who took part in the fighting who were soldiers and afraid of returning to their units, or people who were persecuted under the past regime. In the second group are those so-called "Freedom Fighters" from Dob Street" who, on October 28, were already in Vienna. Nothing would have befallen them had they remained. They left the country either for adventure, or because of the economic conditions at home. Many of them thought that it was possible to sweep dollars here in the streets.

A great majority of the refugees came from Budapest and the Trans-Danubian part of Hungary. The average age of the refugees is somewhere between 17 and 30. I think the majority of the refugees come from places where there was fierce fighting. Most of the refugees belong to the intelligentsia. There are very many industrial workers, and few peasants.

The people who remained at home were either Communists or people who were afraid to risk the journey to the border and across to Austria. Many people were unwilling to leave their meagre possessions at home. This applies first of all to the Hungarian peasants. Also, there were many people who deemed it their duty to remain in Hungary and to continue their fight against the Communists, and Russians.

I have a very good opinion of the people who remained at home, with the exception of the Communists.

I do not know of anyone who had an opportunity to leave Hungary, but preferred to remain.

The majority of the people at home are happy to know that the people who left the country are now safe and living under conditions which are much better than at home.

If everyone were allowed to leave the country, I think about 50% of the people who are still in Hungary would leave. Those who stayed would either be Communists, or persons who are of advanced age or who have some possession, especially real-estate.

B. In Hungary I did not know anything about political organizations or politicians in exile, nor what they have attempted or achieved for Hungary. Since my departure from Hungary, I have had contact only with the newly organized association of Freedom

XX Fighters headed by General Bela Kiraly. I also belong to this organization and sometimes help to work in the office.

I have heard only about the Hungaryian National Council headed by Bela Varga. I have also heard about the Hungarian-American Federation. I did not know ~~any~~ anything about the existance of these organizations at home. I heard about them only here. I know that the Hungarian-American Federation is aiding the newly arrived refugees.

We have already discussed Ferenc Nagy.

Tibor Eckhardt is a Right-Wing politician who sympathises with no political party. He has been in the United States since the outbreak of World War II. I do not know what right he has to speak as if he were to be the next Prime Minister of an independent Hungary.

I have a good opinion of Imre Kovacs, but I have heard of him and met him only here in the United States.

I have heard of Istvan Darankovics at home. He was one of the leaders of the opposition parties in 1948.

Otto of Hapsburg is probably the only person who believes that he will sometime occupy the Hungarian throne.

Admiral Horthy was a good Hungarian. He was also a good politician and statesman. He was mistaken in entering the war on the side of the Germans. When he realised this, it was too late to get out of the war.

I don't think that the Hungarian politicians in exile, and the exile organizations have done very much for Hungary. They should ~~have~~ have tried to help the people in Hungary, both economically and politically. I did not think about them at all during the revolution.

C. I have heard of several people who left Hungary after 1945 and later returned. The majority of them had been arrested. I think they were mostly members of the intelligentsia who were unable to find suitable work in the West.

I think that the Communist redefection campaign served only political propaganda purposes. They wanted to show the people at home that life in the West is not so good if people are returning. They wanted to show the people in the West that life was good in Hungary.

D. I think that people at home would like to know how the refugees are faring in their new homelands. They should also be told that the Hungarians who left the country after the revolution have not forgotten the people at home. They should be told that we will do everything to help them.

I think that my immediate duty is to find a job and to make a living. I should help spread propoganda, and keep the American interest in Hungary alive.

I do not want to join any organization other than the Federation of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, which I have already joined. I think that only those newly arrived refugees should join the Federation who have taken an active part in the revolution. The purpose of this organization should be to unite all the newly arrived Hungarians. I do not want any of the older Hungarian exiles to take part in the activities of this organization.

Before 1948 I sympathised mostly with the Hungarian Small-Holders Party. I think that the program of this party was generally realistic. I do not know anything about the political parties in exile.

We knew about the revival of the Hungarian political parties during the revolution. I was very glad to hear that the Hungarian's Small-Holders Party had begun to organize its members. I think that this was the only party which was able to function at all during the revolution. The other parties were only in the process of being formed. I approved of the activities of the political parties during the revolution.

I do not think it would have been advisable for any politicians in exile to return to Hungary during the revolution and participate in the revival of the political parties.

E. I want to return to Hungary for good once Communism is overthrown, and Hungary becomes independent. Until then, I want my children, if I have any, to study Hungarian here in the United States.

### XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AID LEAFLETS.

A. While I was in Hungary I listened regularly to the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corp., and the Paris Radio. I preferred the Hungarian broadcasts of the B.B.C. All programs were jammed but it was possible to receive the programs of Radio Free Europe with comparative ease. The reason for this was that Radio Free Europe broadcasted its programs on several wave lengths simultaneously. I listened only to the broadcasts in Hungarian. I listened to these programs regularly, at least three or four times a week, usually in the evening or late at night. I usually told my friends if there was anything interesting on the foreign radio broadcasts. I did not tell them regularly about the broadcasts.

We listened to the foreign radio broadcasts at home on our own radio set. Usually only the family was present. We lived in a villa with no neighbors nearby, and therefore, no special precautions were necessary. Sometimes, when I was unable to listen to the radio broadcasts, I would be informed by my parents or by some friend or acquaintance.

It was very risky to listen to the Hungarian radio broadcasts or of the foreign radios or to talk about such broadcasts. Sometimes this meant a sentence of one or two years. I don't think there was any change in the severity with which the Communists treated persons who were caught listening to foreign radio broadcasts. But, in my opinion, this did not deter people from listening to such broadcasts.

I think that the Hungarian programs of the B.B.C. were the most reliable. The London radio usually gave you the plain facts without much commentary. The other radio stations were inclined to exaggerate in their comments.

I was able to form my opinion on the exactness and reliability of the news service of the various radio stations by comparing them with domestic programs and press.

These broadcasts of home were very interesting to the people. The people were able to learn of events which took place not only outside of Hungary, but also within Hungary which otherwise were not published in the Hungarian newspapers. On the other hand, some of the radio stations, especially Radio Free

Europe, were inclined to ~~s~~ incite the people with strong anti-Communist propaganda.

I do not know whether Radio Free Europe helped the Hungarian revolution or not, but it is true that it kept promising aid day and night.

I think that Radio Free Europe should, nevertheless, continue its broadcasts, because of its information service. Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast its news service, its music program, its review of foreign newspapers, and its program on life in America. The people at home would especially be interested in how the new Hungarian refugees are faring here in America, and in other Western European countries.

B. I have never heard about the initials ~~Mr~~ N.E.M. before. I do not know anything about the Twelve Demands. I only know of the demands of the various university student groups in Budapest. But I think they had fourteen and sixteen demands listed, not twelve.

C. I found some Free Europe leaflets in the hills in Buda in October last year. On another occasion, about 18 months ago, I found similar leaflets in the same area. The last leaflets which I found gave an account of the Poznan insurrection and trials. Another leaflet described in detail how some Hungarians boarded the Budapest Szombathely Airliner and landed safely in Austria. This was in September last year. We were out playing football near the golf course in THE BUDA hills. We saw these leaflets falling from the air. They were folding in such a way as to have a pointed end. They were dropping end first. WE read these leaflets and passed them on to friends.

We heard in Hungary that such leaflets were frequently being dropped in the Trans-Danubian districts near the border. I heard this from friends who living in that area.

It was dangerous to pick up such leaflets and to pass them on or to keep them. If a person was caught doing this, he was liable to get a sentence of up to two years. I don't think this deterred people from picking up such leaflets, or from passing them on. I know ~~xxxxxx~~ of no changes in this respect during the last ten years.

I think that such leaflets are useful because they serve to

spread information among the people. This is information of a kind which is not available from Hungarian sources and not everyone has a radio and so cannot listen to foreign radio broadcasts.

I do not <sup>know</sup> of any special effect that these leaflets may have had in Hungary before the revolution. I do not know of any such leaflets, during the revolution proper, being dropped.

I think the Free Europe Committee should continue to drop such leaflets in to Hungary because they serve to spread information.

These leaflets should contain counter-propaganda.

D. I think that the motives of the various broadcasting groups are identical. They wanted to spread counter-Communist propaganda, and to create psychological opposition to Communism behind the iron-curtain. I do not know of any differences in motives of the various groups.



XX.

A. The most important things children should be taught at home are love and respect, order, discipline, and an interest in their ~~and~~ studies. ~~ixixixxxxx~~

It is necessary to ~~the~~ teach children discipline, but I am opposed to physical punishment as a means of disciplining ~~child~~ children. Children should be punished by scolding or by banning them from forms of the favorite recreation or amusement. I think from the point of view of discipline, both boys and girls should be treated alike. As children grow older, this treatment should change. If their physical and mental development warrants this, the parents should ease up on the discipline of the children.

I was fifteen years old when my father caught me smoking a forbidden cigarette. He scolded me and compelled me to smoke a whole cigarette in his presence. He also forbid me to take part in any sport activities for one month. This was probably the most severe punishment he could have imposed on me. My parents never favored corporal punishment for children. I may have received one or two slaps when I was young, but I hardly remember any instance in which I was punished physically by my parents.

Children six years old or older are usually punished by one of the parents, by grandparents, or by any close relative who lives in the family or see them often. I don't think that the punishment of such children depends on the sex or age. I do not know of any differences in this respect according to social classes. I have noticed no change in this respect in the last ten years.

Physical punishment in Hungary is usually abandoned at the age of sixteen for boys and twelve for girls. Punishment in general is abandoned for both boys and girls usually at the age of seventeen. I don't think there is any variation according to social class. I don't think that Communism has brought any change in the frequency in parental punishment. It may have effected the kind of punishment because physical punishment had been banned at schools. But, I do not think it had any effect on parents. I don't think that Communism effected the age at which punishment was abandoned.

Under Communism physical punishment had been banned in schools,

but I don't think that it ceased completely. Some of the educators who had already been teaching under the previous regime, still resorted, sometimes, to physical punishment of children, despite the fact that it was banned.

Instead of physical punishment the Communist introduced the following forms of punishment: complaint sent to the parents of the child not more than three times, official reprimand by the class instructor not more than three times, reprimand by the director of the school once, reprimand by the school inspector once, and expulsion from the school. The expulsion from the school can be expulsion from the school concerned, or expulsion from all schools.

The characteristics which I value most in a friend are intelligence, character, and identical views on all important matters.

THE END