

Punishment, in general, is abandoned at the age of 16 or 17, but on the other hand, I received a slap from my father when I was 20 years old. I think that termination of punishment is determined by the child's ability to support himself.

I think that Communism affected the frequency of parental punishment inasmuch as corporal punishment was abolished in all schools and this probably caused a decline in physical punishment at home. I don't think there was any difference ~~in~~ under Communism in the kind of punishment or the age at which it was abandoned at home.

Under Communism, corporal punishment was abolished in our schools. It was replaced by scolding and in more severe cases, by expulsion.

The characteristics most valued in a friend are reliability and sincerity. A friend must be of the same political opinion as I.

THE END

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XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS REARING CHILDREN is to give them a religious, moral education. They should be taught the true meaning of the Ten Commandments and taught to observe them. It can be disputed as to whether the Ten Commandments are religious precepts or moral laws, nevertheless, they contain the essential rules of human conduct in society.

I think it is necessary to discipline children and for this reason, it may be advisable at times to resort to physical punishment, but physical punishment should be applied with caution and only when absolutely necessary. The individual character and personality of the child should be taken into consideration.

I don't think boys and girls should be treated equally in questions of discipline. I think that mothers better understand daughters.

As the child grows older and reaches adolescence, and his personality and pride develops it can do much harm to the child to resort to physical punishment. On the other hand, the child's sense of reason has developed and this may be appealed to, instead.

I was fourteen when I received extremely poor grades on my report card at the end of the winter semester. I flunked mathematics. When I got home and showed my report card to my father, he gave me three slaps/

The case of children six years or older is probably punished most frequently by the mother, the father rarely, but in exceptional cases and he inflicts heavier punishment.

I think that mothers punish children of both sexes, but fathers punish only sons. I think that daughters ten or older are very rarely punished by the father. I don't know of any cases of girls 12 or 13 or older being punished by the father. I think that, in general the corporal punishment of children is more frequent among simple families of workers and peasants, but there is no change even in these families in respect to which parent administers punishment.

I am not aware of any changes concerning which parent punished the child during Communism.

Corporal punishment is abolished for boys at 14 or 15 and for girls, at 11 or 12, but under any circumstance, at 13. Girls rarely can get slapped.

These leaflets served a good purpose: they kept alive the opposition of the people. They also gave us hope that there would eventually be an end to our prison terms. We always waited for the next leaflets because the newspaper leaflets which I mentioned, were numbered. We always kept a record of issues received and those still outstanding.

I don't know of any leaflets having been dropped into Hungary during the revolution.

I think that FEC should continue to drop leaflets because they serve to strengthen the resistance against the Communists.

I think it must be realized that with the aid of leaflets and broadcasts, there is no possibility of inciting the Hungarian people to a new revolution, but these leaflets should contain the proper evaluation of the recent fight-rebellion and they should stress the fact that the entire Western world sympathizes with their cause. Those at home should be informed that the West has not given up all hope of freeing Hungary. But the promises and hopes stirred should be realistic ones. In a certain sense, this is propaganda, but it is necessary. The leaflets should also give advice on how to conduct passive resistance against the Communists. It would also be very important to warn those Communists who are now exercising terror over those at home that their day of reckoning may will come for them, too.

D. The purpose of the Western organizations in broadcasting news and in sending leaflets is to increase the resistance of the people behind the iron curtain and to thereby weaken the Soviet Union. I don't know of any differences in the various groups.

Their hopes and spirits must be kept alive, but not by promising them future miracles. It is better to make the people understand that a political change will require time instead of telling them that a political change can be expected in the very near future. When that near future comes and nothing happens, then the people will not believe anything any more.

B. I have seen the initials NEM on leaflets which were smuggled in to us by civilian miners who were working with us at the time when I was in the prison coal mine. This was at the end of '54 and the beginning of '55. At that time, I also received a copy of the twelve demands. This was at the end of '54. It listed the 1945 political demands. These demands were fairly realistic.

C. I do not remember any Free Europe Press abbreviations on the leaflets I saw. I remember the NEM leaflets, "Were they not identical?"

Beside the twelve demands which I have already mentioned there were leaflets containing cartoons of the Stalin statue falling on Rakosi. In the summer of 1955, we received several copies, of the publication called Szabad Magyarorszag. I am not certain about the title. There were 8 or 9 issues of this newspaper which was dropped in leaflet form into Hungary.

When these leaflets were smuggled into the prison labor camp by the civilian miners, we always passed them on to reliable friends among the prisoners. These were passed from hand to hand until they were torn and ragged.

I did not hear about any leaflets, but the leaflets that were dropped in our district always came into my possession. I was fortunate in working together with a ~~NY~~ Social-democratic worker, elderly, who hated the Communist regime intensely. He was always willing to take the risk of smuggling leaflets and newspapers to us.

Had we been caught, the person who had supplied us would have been imprisoned and disciplinary punishment for us.

These broadcasts contained much propaganda which was probably more effective than might have been suspected. At least, this is what the Hungarian revolution indicates. But this does not mean that the Hungarian revolution was directly caused by foreign broadcasts. It was only a contributing factor.

I think that the most reliable and the least biased were the BBC programs. Then ranks Paris Radio. I am unable to give my opinion of the present broadcasts because I am unable to listen to them.

I preferred the BBC programs for their reliability, and the Free Europe programs for the commentaries on the news. My impression of the RFE programs was that the RFE news items were not always reliable, but that the explanations of the political situation ~~of~~ and events abroad and in Hungary in the form of commentaries was excellent. I formed my opinion of the accuracy of foreign broadcasts by listening to several broadcasts and comparing them with each other and with the material published in the Hungarian press or in the broadcasts of the Hungarian radio. I was able to check events occurring inside Hungary personally.

With the exception of RFE, all foreign stations were very restrained during the revolution. RFE was very propagandistic. I, myself, was unable to listen to broadcasts during the revolution because I had no time for it. I ~~had~~ formed my opinion on what I heard from others.

Sometimes RFE was too optimistic and was inclined to create false hopes. This was best expressed by one of my friends before the revolution. He told me, "In the evening, I listen to RFE; in the morning I get up and am angry that the Americans are still not here!"

I think that RFE should continue its broadcasts into Hungary, but the programs must be revised. I don't know what the present programming is because, since my arrival in the U.S., I haven't had the opportunity to listen to RFE programs, therefore when I say that the programs must be revised, I keep in mind the pre-revolution programs and those during that period. RFE must give reliable news service. And realistic evaluation of events at home and their outlooks. In this way, people at home will not be discouraged and disillusioned.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Until my arrest in 1951, I listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts. Until the spring of 1956, I was unable to listen to broadcasts myself because I was in prison, but I listened to broadcasts regularly for the three months before the revolution when I was a free man.

I listened to almost all foreign stations. Reception was best for BBC Hungarian broadcasts, then for the VOA, the Radio Paris and RFE last. I only listened to the Hungarian language broadcasts. Sometimes to the French language broadcasts. I listened regularly from 7 til 10 every night. What I heard, I always discussed the next day in the mine with my friends.

I listened to these broadcasts over my father's radio in his company and on very rare occasions, we would have one or two friends. We did not lock the door, but we were careful. We did not tune in too loudly and for any sign of anyone approaching, we dialed to another station.

I received verbal accounts of the foreign radio broadcasts while I was working in the prison coal mine, from 1953 til 1956. I was on good terms with some of the civilian workers. They regularly reported to me what was being broadcast over the foreign radio.

It was not a criminal offense to listen to the foreign radio, but it was a punishable crime of inciting against democracy and the people's government, if someone told another about what he heard over the foreign radio. Such crimes were punishable up to three years of imprisonment.

I don't think that this danger deterred anyone from listening to these broadcasts. Until 1948, it was not prohibited nor dangerous to listen to foreign broadcasts. At the height of the Communist terror in Hungary, in 1950 and 1951, and 1952, foreign radio listening was very severely punished. After 1953, these "crimes" were not taken so seriously.

The foreign broadcasts served to keep alive the spirit of resistance in the people behind the iron curtain.

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I would insist that they learn to speak and write Hungarian.

a large number of dissatisfied Hungarians living in refugee camps must be countered.

I think that the primary task of all Hungarians exiles is to find jobs and support themselves and save money for the time when they can return to Hungary. The present exiles would be able to form the core of a democratic society in a free Hungary. They are now attending an excellent school¹/₂ in democracy.

I am already a member of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation headed by General Bela Kiraly. The purpose of this organization is to unite all refugees and freedom fighters. It includes, not only FF, but all Hungarians in exile who are of democratic leanings. We do not want Hungarian Fascists or Communists to be members of this organization.

Before 1948, I sympathized with the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party. I do not know anything about the Hungarian political parties in exile. I think that there are no political parties here in exile, only exile politicians. I sympathize with all political parties which were participating in the Hungarian coalition with the exception of the Communist Party.

I knew about the revival of the Hungarian political parties at home during the revolution. I also took part in this. For example, I gave back to the Small-holders Party, the premises which had been taken away from them by the Communists to be used for student homes and day nurseries. I approved of the activities of the democratic parties in Hungary during the revolution. The democratic political anarchy which existed for a time must not be maintained permanently. It was necessary to provide the proper framework which represented the millions of Hungarian workers and which could later take over the government.

I don't think that the Hungarians in exile should have returned during the revolution. They should have returned only after order had been restored in Hungary. But the politicians in exile must realize that in the meantime, the new generation had grown up at home which also demands participation in political activities.

E. I intend to return to Hungary as soon as she is liberated. In the meanwhile, should I have children born here in the U.S.,

Contrary to general belief, Otto von Hapsburg has no ambitions for regaining the Hungarian throne. He is a Republican who has a very good Hungarian education. He speaks excellent Hungarian.

Governor Horthy died recently in Portugal. He lived completely withdrawn from the political field. It cannot be doubted that he meant well and that his intentions were good.

It is my impression that the Hungarian politicians in exile did not do enough for Hungary. I suspect that they made a profession out of being exile politicians and their primary concern was to make a living.

At home, I was unable to see the possibilities which stood before the exile politicians. Here in the U.S., I must acknowledge with regret that there is not much the exile politicians and the exile political organizations can do for Hungary.

During the revolution, I thought that the Hungarian National Council would attempt to induce official circles here in the U.S. and in other Western European nations to interfere in the Hungarian situation on behalf of the civilian population at home which was being slaughtered by the Russians.

C. I have met several Hungarians who fled to the West in 1945 and later returned. Most of them returned because of homesickness and because they had left families at home. Without exception, they regretted having returned. They were unfortunate people who realized that the time of their return was the time at which they gave up a comparatively much better life than they would lead in Hungary.

The purpose of the Communist re-defection campaign was to have all Hungarians at home. It also had its propaganda value, but I think that, by and large, this campaign was unsuccessful.

D. The people at home want to establish closer contact with the refugees, they want to know what circumstances the refugees are living under. The people at home should be told that the refugees are living a free life and are satisfied with their lots. Communist propaganda concerning

Eckhardt Tibor is a very talented Hungarian politician who opposed the Nazis and fled from Hungary in 1941.

Paul Auer was a member of the Hungarian small holders Party and later became the Hungarian minister to France.

Imre Kovacs is a peasant Party writer who fled from Hungary in 1947. He wrote several books in exile.

Imre Selig is a Social Democratic Party leader now residing in London.

Charles Powell was the best known Social Democratic leader who died recently,

Miklos Kallai was the Prime Minister of Hungary until March 1944 when the Germans over ran our country. He sought refuge in the Turkish legation building in Budapest. Later he was deported and after the war, went to Italy. He is now here in the U.S. and is a member of the Hungarian National Council.

Zoltan Pfeiffer was originally a Small-holder Party Parliament member who later formed his own opposition party. He was anti-German and is anti-Communist. At present, he is the editor-in-chief of the Hungarian People's Voice, a newspaper published here in the U.S.

Istvan Baronkovics was the editor of the Magyar Nemzet at home. He was anti-Nazi and is anti-Communist. He fled from Hungary in 1947.

Kozi-Horvath is a brave, outspoken priest who opposed both Germans and Communists. He was forced to flee from Hungary.

General Zakov was a Fascist army officer in the Horthy army who later was promoted to the rank of Major-General by the Hungarian Fascists leaders, Szalasi. He organized a fraternity of Hungarian army officers in Austria and Germany, but the real purpose of the organization which was called MHVK was to conduct espionage for the American intelligence. He sacrificed many young Hungarian refugees for material gain.

General Ferenc Farkas was at one time, the ^{LEADER} ~~Hungarian~~ of the Hungarian boy scouts. He was a general in the Horthy army.

The elder people, the Hungarian peasants, and people who have some property in Hungary would all ~~remain~~ remain.

B. While I was still in Hungary I heard about the Hungarian National Committee and about some of its members. Even the Hungarian Communist newspapers reported on them, but always in a malicious tone. At ~~home~~ home, I somehow expected them to do much more for Hungary than they were able to accomplish.

(Respondent is reluctant to answer questions concerning his contact with ~~refugee organizations~~ political organizations in exile and politicians since his arrival in the United States.)

In Hungary we heard that the Hungarian National Council consists of the Democratic politicians in exile who left Hungary in 1946 and 1947. All Hungarian democratic parties are represented in the National Council. The purpose of the National Council is to represent the free Hungarians.

I heard about the M.H.B.K. in prison. It is an organization of Hungarian army officers who fled to the West in 1945. On paper it is a fraternal organization, but its true purpose is to conduct espionage for the United States. Its leader is the Hungarian fascist general Zako. This organization has sent numerous Hungarian young refugees back to Hungary and subsequently either to prison or the gallows.

I heard about the Christian Democratic Union at home in Hungary. It maintains contact with the Christian Socialist parties of ~~Glenzner and~~ Adenauer and de Gasparri.

I heard that the International Peasant Union is a union of all peasant parties in exile. It is headed by the one-time Polish ~~minister Mikolajczyk~~ prime-minister Mikolajczyk.

The Rato Hotar is a Hungarian Democratic newspaper published in Germany. The Hungarian Communist newspapers at home ~~re-~~ suspect it very much, but were forced to admit that its literary level was high.

I knew that Father Bela Varga was the chairman of the Hungarian National Council. I knew him at home in Hungary. He was a very good friend of my father.

About Ferenc Nagy, we knew at home that he purchased a farm herein the U.S. and he is now farming.

XVIII. ~~REFUGEE~~ ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The refugees who left Hungary during and after the revolution were ~~either~~ people who took active part in the demonstrations and the fighting, the political prisoners who feared they would be taken back to prison if the revolution was suppressed, a considerable number of people who, for economic reasons, wanted to leave Hungary to start life anew under more favorable conditions, and a number of young people who willingly left Hungary to seek adventure. The majority of the refugees are young people between 16 and 25 years old. I think more men than women came out of Hungary. The majority of the refugees come from the districts bordering Austria and from Budapest.

Practically all peasants stayed at home. They were unwilling to leave their meagre possessions. Other people remained for family reasons, because they had young children or old parents they did not want to leave behind. Other people remained in Hungary because they had real estate or ~~some~~ property (CHATTLEL) which they did not wish to leave behind. All those people who had nothing to fear from retaliations and whose livelihoods were insured to a certain extent remained in Hungary. Many remained because they feared that they would be unable to start life anew outside Hungary and feared that they would be homesick.

Having some idea of what is now going on in Hungary, I have only pity for those who remained at home.

There were people who probably could have left Hungary during and after the revolution, but remained refused to do so. It must be remembered that, with the exception of a few days when the Russians ~~withdrew~~ withdrew their troops from Budapest, the Hungarian border to Austria was constantly guarded. Many people feared running the risk of being caught.

I think the people at home are glad that at least we are safe and are ~~living~~ living under better conditions than at home. The saner and more intelligent elements realize we will be separated for a considerable ~~for a considerable~~ length of time.

If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary, I think 2/3 of the present number of people at home would still remain.

Kruschev is a fanatic Communist who craves power. He is a Russian chauvinist.

Molotov is the most talented and, at the same time, the most narrow minded Communist in the politbureau.

Olenhauer is a talented politician, the leader of the Social-Democrat party in West Germany.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of our century. It is a pity that he was not president of the United States during World War II. ~~Stalin~~ Could he have been in Roosevelt's place, I think there would be considerably less trouble today in the world.

namely to check the decline of a world power, Even Churchill could have done nothing in Eden's place.

President Truman continued Roosevelt's policy. He should have been more firm toward the Russians.

Mikoyan is a Stalinist within the politbureau/

Nehru is an internationalist who severed relations with the British, but is also afraid of the Russians.

Generalissimo Chiang kai Chek caused the Communization of China by failing to introduce urgent social reforms in time.

Ferenc Nagy was one of the leaders of the Hungarian Small Holders party which attained an overwhelming majority at the Hungarian elections. He committed many mistakes. He was too cautious, ~~and~~ too opportunistic, and afraid of the Communists. He did not make use of the available possibilities. It is true, however, that he was in a very difficult situation. That things had developed so far in such a short time in Hungary/ can be attributed to Ferenc Nagy's ~~timid~~ timid and conciliatory policies.

President Roosevelt is the cause of all the political troubles in the world today. He misjudged the Russians entirely.

is the
Chancellor ~~Adenauer~~ Adenauer/a Christian-Democrat leader of West Germany. His foreign policy is very wise and cautious. He does not wish to sacrifice the German people for foreign interests.

Stalin was a dictator who ruthlessly liquidated his political rivals and hundreds of thousands of people who opposed him. He had no conscience. It cannot be denied that he developed Soviet foreign power to such a degree which has been unequalled in the history of Russia.

Malenkov was Stalin's secretary for a long time. He is talented and probably the least fanatical member of the politbureau/

Generalissimo Franco had certain merits in as much as he saved Spain from the Communists.

G. Beven is one of the leaders of the British Labor Party. He became ~~entirely~~ entirely disillusioned with the Russians.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I don't think there is anyone either at home or outside of Hungary I could term as the greatest living Hungarian.

This is the very ~~meaning~~ tragedy of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. Namely, it did not have any such outstanding leaders as Kossuth in 1848.

B. By November 1 Imre Nagy was not a Communist. He was an honest Hungarian patriot, the real prime-minister of Hungary. I am afraid that the Communists will hang him.

Cardinal Mydzenty is a difficult problem. I do not consider him the sole Hungarian leader as he is regarded generally here in the West. He is primarily a priest, and not a politician. His last speech was very prudent and moderate. His purposes are honest and desirable from the national point of view. As an individual I respect him very much. He is a loyal son of Hungary. Through his sufferings he has focused public attention on Hungary.

Laslo Rajk is the originator of the AVH. It is an irony of fate that he was destroyed by his own creation. He is a victim of Rakosi's struggle for power.

ERno Gero is a fanatical Communist of the most dangerous type. He is capable of anything. Of all Communist leaders, I hate him the most.

One hears very contradicting things about Kadar. I think he must be a very luke-warm Communist. He was a political opponent of Rakosi. I don't think he is very talented. I am most certain that he is acting under compulsion.

President Eisenhower is probably competing for the Nobel Peace prize. He may be a very good military leader, but he is not a statesman.

Secretary General Hammarskjold is a bureaucrat. All his actions reflect the fact that the Soviet Union and his country are neighbors.

I have a very poor opinion of State Secretary Dulles.

Prime Minister Eden tried to continue Churchill's work,

it wanted to stop Soviet expansion in ASia. ~~It~~ This was the ~~only~~ only honest and prudent move of the United States in foreign affairs for a very long time.

J. In my opinion the UNited Nations is superfluous. The aims and purpose of the UN, are praiseworthy, but as long as such countries as the Soviet Union are members of this organization it cannot work out in practice for solving international disputes, peacefully. It very much resembles the bankrupt League of Nations.

During those five or six days in which the Russians were not in Budapest, the United Nations should have sent observers and even police troops to Budapest. In that case, I do not think that the Russians would have dared to return to the city. I still am unable to understand why SEcretary-General Hammarskjold did not personally go to Budapest at that time.

I don't think there is any chance of effective United Nations action in favor or behalf of Hungary in the near future.

not recognize the Kadar regime. This is of no great political significance, but it means much morally. It is necessary to maintain very formal diplomatic relations in order to have a listening post to what is going on in Hungary. The United States should have no economic and cultural relations with the present Hungarian government.

My views on what U.S. foreign policy should be have not changed ~~xxx~~ much since my arrival in the United States. The United States government should endeavor to press Nasser out of Egypt and the Russians out of the satellite countries. U.S. foreign policy should be firm. Such luke-warm attitudes toward the Soviet Union can lead to no results. The Soviet Union has respect for only one thing, and that is ~~xxxxx~~ strength.

I think that people at home would welcome Western visitors. This would give them a chance to explain to Western visitors what Communism is like in practice. It would be extremely desirable to have newspaper men come to Hungary because they could help form public opinion here,.

If going to Hungary, Western visitors should be briefed in Hungarian history and Hungarian conditions before and during the war. They should be told to make their own comparisons. They should be warned not to form their opinions on the Potjomkin scenery shown to them by the Hungarian government.

The people at home would like very much to have access to Western publications. During the past ten years Hungary has been completely cut off from the West. The ~~xxxx~~ people at home know very little about cultural and political developments outside of Hungary. But, I do not know of any way of getting these publications to them. Perhaps, the Western legation in Budapest may find some way of distributing publications.

It would be desirable to have recent Hungarian refugees connected with such activities so people at home could see that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ we have not forgotten about them.

The primary purpose of the Marshall Plan in 1948 was to aid the reconstruction of the Western European countries. The secondary purpose of this Plan was to gain political influence.

The United States got involved in the Korean War because

At home I thought that Germany had been rearmed to a great extent. I was surprised to learn after leaving Hungary that in all Western Germany has only 96,000 people armed. I was astonished that Western Europe was exposed to Soviet ~~penetration~~ penetration to such an extent. Now, I begin to understand why we did ~~not~~ not received Western military aid at the time of our revolution.

In my opinion, the West German armed forces are weaker than the armed forces than either Great Britain or France. I think the length of compulsory military service in West Germany is about one year or eighteen months. Under all circumstances, it is shorter than the length of military service in Hungary.

I shared the general view in Hungary that the German occupation forces were less unpopular ~~and~~ than the Soviet occupation troops. It cannot be denied that the German officers and men were better disciplined than their Soviet counterparts.

G. I think that the British Labor Party represents considerable political force in Britain. Their policies are most likely to be followed in entire Europe. The British Labor Party should be considered as an example to the Worker Parties in Eastern Europe. I think that British Labor Party is very strongly opposed to Communism.

From among the countries mentioned I think that West Germany has the highest standard of living with Great Britain second, then Italy, Greece, the Soviet Union, and Egypt last.

H. Before my arrival in the United States I had a very good idea of what conditions to expect here, I heard much of the United States over the radio and I read much. I came here, not as I would have arrived for example in Hawaii, but upon my arrival I was astonished how little the United States public knew about world affairs, and at their lack of interest. They are ~~not~~ unable to realize that Communism is a threat to them as well.

The United States' ~~unsuccessful~~ foreign policy is very unsatisfactory. I don't believe that diplomatic experts are charting the course of U.S. Foreign policy.

I don't think that the United States government should give economic aid to any Eastern European country. By doing so, it would only strengthen the Soviet Union economically.

With respect to Hungary, the United States government should

relations with the Soviet Union in 1948, his popularity was again on the rise at home. At present, I think, that at home, Tito's foreign policy is popular, but his internal policy is not. Perhaps, the Yugoslav youth ~~is~~ the only one ~~which~~ who are enthusiastic about Tito.

I think that economic conditions and the standard of living in Yugoslavia are worse than in Hungary. By this I mean the pre-revolutionary Hungary. Yugoslavia was so backward and so neglected that a few million dollars of American aid are unable to ~~raise~~ raise her to the economic level of either Hungary or Western Europe. I base my opinion on my personal experiences in Yugoslavia in 1943 and 1947. I have also had friends and relatives who were in Yugoslavia.

E. The Communist rise to ~~power~~ power in China can be attributed to imprudent United States foreign policy. Another contributing factor was General Chian-kei Shek's failure to introduce social reforms.

China may ~~be~~ be occupying a special position among the Soviet satellites because of her size and importance.

Gandhi very prudently achieved independence for India. I do not think that relations between Great Britain and India are too friendly. The English are not popular in India because of their long colonial rule.

The Suez crisis broke out at a time which was very inopportune for Hungary. I don't think Egypt was entirely right in nationalizing the Suez Canal. But, neither were the French and British justified in invading Egypt. But, once they did so they should have continued despite United States protests and should have driven Nasser away, accomplishing thereby a fait accompli.

The Israeli invasion of Egypt can be attributed to Israeli-Arab disputes.

The immediate result of the Suez crisis was that it distracted public attention from events in Hungary.

F. I think that after the United States the West Germany standard of living is the highest in the world.

I don't think the Germans want another world war. They have lost too much in the last two world wars.

hear anything about this.

I would not have preferred the Hungarian revolution to ~~take~~ have taken the Polish course. Poland achieved nothing, not even a moral victory which Hungary unquestionably scored against the Soviet Union.

D. Tito in Yugoslavia did have a considerable effect on the other Eastern European satellites. Tito's success in achieving independence ~~in~~ Moscow helped to ~~his~~ bolster opposition within the ~~Soviet~~ Communist Party. It gave rise to national Communist tendencies among the Communist Party leaders. The oppressed people in the other satellite countries considered a Tito type National Communism the lesser of two evils.

National Communism, in my opinion, is fiction. It can exist only temporarily as a transit to democracy. In case of a dispute between East and West, I cannot imagine the National Communists to take any ~~an~~ other side than the ~~International~~ ~~Communist~~ ~~Party~~ International Communists.

Tito's relation with the Soviet Union shows a constant fluctuation since 1948. Moscow's relation with Tito always determines the current relation between the other Eastern European satellites and Yugoslavia.

During the Hungarian revolution, Tito seemed to be sympathizing with the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, and because of this Tito received sharp rebukes from Moscow.

My opinion of Marshall Tito is that he is a very skillful statesman who takes considerable advantages of the differences between East and West.

I think that the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe would like very much to follow Tito's example. They cannot do this because of the vigorous control exercised over them by the Moscow politbureau.

Tito was very popular in Yugoslavia in 1945 and '46. His popularity can be attributed to his heroic struggles against the Germans. Mainly, the Yugoslavs are very nationalistic. But, after the war, when Tito was on good terms with the Soviet Union, his popularity at home gradually declined, because of his relations with the Soviet. When he broke off friendly

top Communists in the Soviet Union and those in Hungary, is that those in the Soviet Union have more power.

B. From among the countries listed, the most popular is Poland because of traditional historic relations between Poland and Hungary. The second in popularity would be perhaps Bulgaria because of distant but friendly relation which existed between the two countries before the war. The least popular would be ~~the~~ Czechoslovakia and Rumania because of the territorial disputes and because of their conduct toward the Hungarian minorities before and during the war.

If free elections were to be held in these countries, a bourgeois democratic government would come to power everywhere. The ~~the~~ Communists would remain in minority everywhere, even Czechoslovakia where they received 38% of the popular vote in 1946.

I think that the standard of living is the highest in Czechoslovakia with East Germany second. It is probably the lowest in Rumania with Bulgaria second lowest.

C. In 1956 the Gomulka government in Poland attempted to attain a certain degree of independence, but, within the existing political and social framework. Since then, the achievements of the Gomulka government have been retracted to a considerable extent.

In principle, I would approve of the policy of gradualism but, it cannot be applied against Communism. Communism is dictatorship and cannot be granted concessions.

Conditions in Poland will lapse back to where they had been before the Gomulka government. For a time it seemed that the Polish people had achieved some independence and freedom, but everything is going back to where it had been before.

Events in Poland and Hungary had a mutual influence on each other but only to a certain degree. The true state of affairs before Gomulka in Poland were not known to the Hungarian people. They received some information of this, but only thru Western radio broadcasts. I am convinced that the Hungarian revolution would have broken out even without Poznan and Gomulka.

I do not know whether or not Polish people have attained a certain degree of independence even before Gomulka's rise to power. At that time I was in prison and did not

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

is

A. I don't think there ~~is~~ much chance of internal changes within the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a totalitarian government which can afford to make no concessions. The outbreak of a revolution within the Soviet Union is very unlikely. They now have had Communism for over forty years. The present generation had grown up in Communism and has no first-hand knowledge of how other people are living. Only reliable Communists are allowed to leave the Soviet Union and also actors and artists. All such people have comparatively much better life within the Soviet Union and a change in the Communist system would terminate their privileged positions.

I don't think that the Soviet people are very satisfied with Communism, but they realize that the Communist rule in the Soviet Union has achieved significance in world affairs. Under Communism, the Soviet Union and Russia have become a great power, far greater than it has ever been before. This appeals to Russian patriotism even if they oppose Communism as an economic and political system.

But, I have never been in the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet Union and do not have a first hand account of ~~what people think there~~ how people think there. But, it is my impression that all people react similarly to political oppression. In this respect, the Russians are no exceptions.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, a party would come to power which ~~promises~~ promises more freedom and more self-government to the Russians. But, they have become so used to the Communists form of government and Communist institutions, that it is hard for them to imagine anything else. It would be a ~~long~~ long time before the Soviet Union would be able to change its political system.

If elections were held in the Soviet Union, probably some liberal Social-Democratic party, for instance, like the Kerensky party had been, would come to rule.

Some of the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party may be Communists by conviction, maniacs who are convinced that theirs is the right way. They are very narrow minded people, but, the majority of the top Communist leaders in the Soviet Union are careerists who crave power, and are motivated by the advantages which their position insures them. This is material more than moral. The only difference between the

to be extremely careful to avoid observation by the large number of stool-pigeons among the prisoners. If we were caught it meant the dark-cell or strict solitary confinement with no food. It also meant that we were taken from our place of work to a disciplinary prison, for example, the prison in Marianostra. If the prison guards found a newspaper in the possession of a prisoner, and he was unwilling to tell from whom he got the newspaper, the guards would very often beat and torture him.

F. (Not applicable because respondent was in prison and had been freed only immediately before the revolution)

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I did not hear about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th congress of the Communist Party, because at that time I was in prison.

According to Soviet propaganda and the Communist press in Hungary, Senator McCarthy and his House Un-American Activities Committee ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ were conducting political witch-hunting in the United States. If someone is strongly against Communism, that in itself does not necessarily mean that the person is a sympathetic one. My impression was that Senator McCarthy is inclined toward extremes. If, however, he was hunting for real Communists, then I sympathize with him.

In prison I heard about the fall of Peron in Argentina. I do not know anything else about this.

Before the revolution I did not hear much about the private life of Rakosi. I heard that allegedly he had homosexual inclinations.

B. Before and during the war, my father subscribed to the "Magyar Nemzet" and to the "Mai Nep". I do not remember the names of the magazines we had at home. My father read much, not only Hungarian authors, but also translations of many Western authors. He had a good command of the German language and read many German books in the original text.

From 1946 until 1948 I read all the Hungarian daily newspapers. From 1948 until 1951, the time of my arrest, I preferred the "Magyar Nemzet". In prison it was impossible to get newspapers. From August 1953 until the time of my release in 1956 I worked in a prison coal mine. Here we were allowed to purchase Hungarian Communist books and the Hungarian translations of Soviet novels. But, we were not allowed to read newspapers.

C. In the prison coal mines we received news about the outside world mostly thru word of mouth. Some of the civilian miners who worked with us always told us about foreign radio broadcasts and Hungarian newspaper articles. We had them organized to take notes of various foreign broadcasts. Sometimes they ever risked bringing us Hungarian newspapers, especially the "Szabad Nep". We had to be extremely careful not to be overheard. The miners would tell the news to only one person at a time in whom they had confidence. We prisoners would exchange news, but only among reliable friends. We had

of the population in Yugoslavia had transplanted the Hungarian minorities from all the Hungarian-Yugoslav border regions.

The Communist doctrines of complete national equality have been favorable for the Hungarian minorities in the bordering countries. At the present, I am not worried about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the other satellite countries, with the exception that they too are under Communists rule.

I don't think much can be done about territorial demands and the fate of the Hungarian minorities at present. The Soviet Union does not wish any territorial changes, and the West is reluctant to interfere in such problems. But, when the present differences are settled (this will take place after Communism is defeated) then, the reorganization of Europe will insure Hungary a favorable position politically because of Hungary's central geographical location.

freedom ~~of~~ although it does not guarantee a high standard of living.

I would not be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party in an independent Hungary. The Hungarian masses have been completely cured of Communism. But, I would tolerate the existence of a Communist Party only if it accepts the principles of parliamentary government.

C. A strict neutrality like that of either Austria or Switzerland would be the most ideal for Hungary. Hungary should maintain neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. These relations should be economic, diplomatic, and cultural. ~~That~~ Hungary should have no military alliances or relations with either the Soviet Union or with any other country.

The only military pacts which Hungary should sign would be pacts of non-aggression.

Hungary should maintain good relations with all neighboring countries, but first the territorial disputes with Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia ~~should~~ and Rumania should be settled. Of the neighboring countries I like Czechoslovakia the least of all. Masaryk was the immediate cause of the outbreak of World War II. Had he been less chauvinistic and had not desired territory which was inhabited by people other than Czechs and Slovaks, there would have been no World War II.

Hungary should maintain the closest possible relations with the other Western European countries and with the United States. Hungary's neutrality, however, should exclude any military pacts other than pacts of non-aggression.

I had first heard about a plan for Danubian Confederation in the writings of Kossuth. Such plans are not very popular at home. Perhaps such a federation could have been possible 100 years ago, but not today. Nevertheless, if such a federation should be formed, I would like it to be only with Austria and Yugoslavia. I think that at home a plan for a United States of Europe is much more popular than plans for a Danubian federation.

I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. On the basis of self-determination the minorities in the disputed territories should decide by plebiscite where they want to belong. On the basis of such a plebiscite, Hungary would regain her territories from Rumania and Czechoslovakia, but probably not from Yugoslavia. A ~~forced~~ forced in NER migration

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

B. Hungary should remain strictly an agricultural country with intensive agriculture. Hungarian light industry should be developed, but our heavy industry is not able to compete with the West or even with the Balkins. Hungary should not grow wheat, but fruits, vegetables and industrial crops which would provide employment for Hungary's agriculture labor surplus. In an independent Hungary, I would not be in favor of unlimited private ownership. The large national enterprises should remain in state ownership. The middle-sized national enterprises should be ~~restored~~ restored to their original owners.

The state farms should be maintained by the government as model agricultural farms. But, if the state farms were formed by confiscating the agricultural estates of others, then these large estates should be divided in course of land reforms, unless the large scale investments made by the state on these farms warrants their continuation. (That is, if equipment and installations on these farms would be wasted in case of a division of the farms in course of a land reform.) The farm cooperative production groups should continue to function if the members so desire. They should be based and organized along Swedish lines. But, if the farm cooperative production groups were formed on confiscated land, then the property should be returned to its original owners. If it is inadvisable to breakup such farm cooperative production groups because of large scale investments, then the original owner should be given land elsewhere as compensation.

The large estates, however, should not be restored. I think that 100 yokes should be the limit.

I think that the government should set the maximum of agricultural property ~~what~~ which one person or family can own at about 100 yokes.

I favor private ownership and private enterprise only to the extent that it does not collide with public interest. I think that the plants and factories employing over 50 employees should be nationalized. Key industries and banks should be nationalized regardless of the number of employees.

I value freedom more than a high standard of living. For this reason I would choose a political system which guarantees

B. During the past ten years, the people at home knew very well that our doom was sealed by the Yalta agreement. We knew that we were in the Soviet's sphere of interest. We realised very well that the pace of bolshevization of Hungary could be retarded but, Hungary could not escape her doom. We hoped all along that the people in the West, and especially in the ~~the~~ United States, would realise the dangers of Communism and come to our aid. Our hopes increased somewhat in 1953 after Stalin's death. For a few months then we thought that personal strife within the politbureau would weaken the Soviet Union and she would be forced to make concessions to the West.

XIII. THE ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I think that the present regime in Hungary will remain. Kadar will not be replaced for some time. The United Nations and the United States will do nothing to alter the situation in Hungary. The people at home will gradually be forced to become reconciled to this situation. I think that the policy of the Communist Party in Hungary will not go back entirely to the old ~~Stalinist~~ Stalinist line. Later on, perhaps, the same situation will arise which existed in October before the outbreak of the revolution.

Outside Hungary, the other satellites will not follow Hungary's example. The lack of effective assistance from the West disillusioned not only Hungary, but also discouraged the other satellites from revolting against Communism.

The only thing we can hope for is a miracle. The New York Times was right when it wrote that only a miracle can help Hungary, and it would be a miracle if the United Nations could do anything about it.

I think that a compromise with the Communists is impossible. Even Gomulka had to retract his ~~stalinist~~ attitude toward the Soviet Union. He now recognizes the Kadar government.

I would like to have the world problem solved preferably by peaceful means. But, I do not see any possibility for this. At the present, the United States is stronger than the Soviet Union, but the U.S. government and U.S. public opinion is too scrupulous about starting a World War III. I am convinced that such a war is inevitable. It is only a question of time. When the Soviet Union feels strong enough, she will start the war. America should strike now when it had supremacy.

I, personally, do not desire a world war or a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Perhaps, the majority of the people at home are in favor of war, because they do not realize the dangers involved.

I do not think that international pressure on the Soviet Union will be able to solve the situation. Internal changes within the Soviet Union are very unlikely. There may be personnel changes in Soviet leadership, but this will not effect Soviet foreign policy.

F. ~~Some~~ Sometimes it was possible to circumvent government regulations through personal contact and on the basis of favor for favor. There may even have been some bribery, but I know of no such cases. Perhaps, it was most widespread in the Bureau of Housing. In order to obtain an apartment or, at least, a room, one had to give a bribe to one of the officials in the housing department. If any such cases were found out, the officials ~~would be~~ concerned would be very severely punished.

G. I think that the top leadership of the Hungarian secret police ~~was~~ intelligent and understood ~~its~~ business. They were trained in Moscow. Once, in 1952, I was questioned by Gabor Peter himself, who, at that time, was the chief of the secret police. He made the impression of being a bright and intelligent person, but who has a lust for power.

The top leadership of the Hungarian army was trained in the military academies in Leningrad and Moscow. But, many posts in the Ministry for Home Defense and within the army itself were filled, not on the basis of military qualifications, but on the basis of Party membership. For example, the one time Minister for Home Defense Mihaly Farkas was a major general, but owed his rank not to his knowledge of military affairs, but to his post within the Party.

I think that the top leadership of the Soviet army has some very exceptional talent. Many of the top generals who achieved fame in World War II are now dying out.

Public administration in Hungary was the first field in which top officials who served under the previous Horthy regime were weeded out. They were replaced by workers and peasants who were Communists. These had neither the experience nor the knowledge which their predecessors had. Gradually, the Communist began to ~~xxx~~ replace these public administration officials with new talent who had been educated under the Communist system.

I never thought of the Soviet Union independently--only in conjunction with other Allied powers. Although I discounted all the atrocities the German papers wrote about the Russians, as mere propaganda, I still would have preferred one of the Western Allies occupy Hungary. From friends and relatives who fought on the Russian front, I knew that the Hungarian soldiers in Russia behaved very ~~sixtily~~ civilly toward the population. I expected the same treatment from the Russians in Hungary. When they arrived I was convinced that what the German and Hungarian papers wrote about the atrocities committed by the Russians was no exaggeration.

During the long years of Communism, the Russian people ~~was~~ I always considered to be basically good-natured, had become cruel and wild. When the Soviet troops occupied the small Semogy County village where I was at that time, they looted and plundered, murdered and raped women and tortured priests.

Since 1945 I have had no contact whatsoever with Russian troops, and my opinion of them had not changed.

I did not have any contact with Russian occupation personnel in Hungary before the revolution. I know nothing, nor have I heard, anything about their mentality and views. There were no occupation forces stationed in the vicinity of Pecs. I have also been imprisoned for more than five years and did not have the opportunity to contact any Russians.

During the revolution I had no contact with the Russians other than fighting. I have already given ~~xxxxxx~~ you an account of my discussions with the commander of the Soviet tank ~~division~~ unit which later attacked Pecs.

I do not know of any cases where Soviet soldiers helped the Hungarians, fought against the AVH or against their own troops, deserted or refused to obey orders. I only know of one case where Russian soldiers were executed by the AVH and the Russian troops. I have already told you in section III about the murder of wounded Hungarian Freedom Fighters. Among them there were two wounded Russian soldiers who had been taken prisoners. They ~~was~~ too were murdered by the AVH and the Russians.

E. (This section is not applicable because subject was free only three months before the revolution.)

required to pass a gymnasium graduation examination within a certain time limit. This requirement was made only in 1952 or 1953, when the Communists realized that their officers were unintelligent. Of course, ~~know~~ on these examinations, the officers were treated much more leniently than an ordinary student would be.

I did not notice any difference in the conduct of the non-commissioned officers or the junior or senior officers which could be attributed to Party membership or class origin. Their attitude toward the enlisted men varied according to the individual.

Within the army certain groups did get better treatment which was evident from their rationing. For example, the infantry received only #3 rationing. This amounted to 2600 calories a day. The lowest rationing norm was #1 which was given to the prisoners in military prisons. This amounted to 1100 calories a day. Norm #8 was given to the aviation pilots, paratroopers, and tank personnel. This varied from 6300 to 7000 calories a day.

When I served in the army, we had from four to six hours of political indoctrination a week. These classes were conducted by the political officer. Each army unit had a political officer of its own. Everyone had to pretend to be agreeing with the political slogans and theories which were taught us at these political indoctrination classes. After 1953 the situation was somewhat better, and it was possible to conduct debates on political questions.

D. I don't think anyone remembers or knows about the conduct of the Russian army in 1848 when it invaded Hungary to suppress the Kossuth revolution. I think that the unpopularity of the Russian troops in Hungary is based on their conduct in 1944 and 1945.

During the war I knew that the approach of the Russian troops meant the end of the war. I thought that the Soviet Union, as one of the Allies, would act in a civilized manner. Once its troops reached Hungary, I expected a just peace treaty and a revision of Hungarian territorial demands. People in Hungary knew very well that Germany is going to lose the war. We knew that every effort to lengthen the war would be of a disadvantage to us. But, during the last stages of the war,

reliability, and not their military experience or cleverness, was the decisive factor. There was a saying in Hungary that the workers of Csepel gave Communist of Hungary 500 ministers, generals, and officers. They were not paid too well, but the leisurely life in the army appealed to them. For example, in 1951 the salary of a 1st. lieutenant was about 1400 forints plus benefits such as uniforms, quarters, etc. On the other hand, at that time, a good industrial worker was able to earn almost twice this sum.

The non-commissioned officers were promoted from enlisted men who were serving the regular time in the army.

I think, with a few exceptions, most of the officers disliked the Communists regime, and were repeating the Party lines only from sheer necessity. Political pressure within the army was very great. If anyone said anything he was liable to be taken immediately to the army political section which was the AVH equivalent in the army. Many people had been hanged by the military prosecutors. An enlisted man was liable to get 15 ~~years~~ years for going AWOL once.

With very few exceptions, the enlisted men and the non-commissioned officers were on very good terms. I think the relations between these groups were much closer than in the army under the Horthy regime. There was no difference of age between the enlisted men and the non-commissioned officers.

In general, the officers were disliked by the enlisted men with only one or two exceptions.

Under the Horthy regime, a special school for training professional non-commissioned officers was set up in Jutas. This school had a very good reputation and educated excellent non-commissioned officers. When the Communists came to power, they promoted many of these non-commissioned officers to officers and even senior officers. Under the Horthy regime, these non-commissioned officers had no chance of advancing in rank because they did not have the proper educational background. However, such officers in the Communist army were very competent and efficient. The workers and working peasants who attended the short officers' training courses under the Communist regime were not as competent. The Communists noted this deficiency and gradually increased the length of these training courses from one to two, and later to three, years. Officers who did not have a gymnasium education were

B. A basic principle which all courts had to take into consideration was not the nature or size of the case, but the class origin of the person concerned. For example, for the same crime, a Communist would get a lighter sentence than a so-called reactionary.

The courts of the Horthy regime were just and all persons before the court had an equal chance. There was class justice in pre-war Hungary, but not in the sense that the courts were biased or prejudiced. The class justice meant that the existing laws protected ~~the~~ a different kind of social order than existed under Communist. It cannot be said, however, that the courts were controlled by the government. The judges were free to pass judgement to the best of their knowledge and according to their conscience. They could not be transferred or retired except with their own consent and, for retiring, after a certain age limit.

The Peoples' Courts functioned in Hungary from 1945 to 1947. Their purpose was to punish the so-called war criminals. The Peoples' Courts were strongly prejudiced, and in many cases sentenced innocent people ~~to~~ or handed out sentences which were out of proportion with the guilt of the person concerned. However, a higher court which reviewed the sentences passed by the Peoples' Courts did much to mitigate these unjust sentences. I think that some of the war criminals were really guilty, but most of them received sentences which far exceeded their guilt.

On the other hand, there were many war criminals who escaped prosecution because they became Communist Party members, and the Communist Party afforded them immunity from prosecution.

C. During the demonstrations, and in the first stage of the revolution, the Hungarian army, in general, acted passively toward the revolution. Their reluctance to fight against the Freedom Fighters was of great help to the cause of the revolution, because the Communists immediately saw that the army was unreliable. When, after November 4, it would have been necessary to have a uniform, well organized army to have opposed the Russians, it turned out that our army had disintegrated, and that the top army leadership had sabotaged every effort to ~~oppose~~ oppose the Russians.

The non-commissioned officers and the enlisted men behaved alike. They sympathized with the revolution and, in the Capital, they took active part in the fighting, especially the military academies which fought from the very first day on. Where the

XII. THE APPARATUS OF RWEX POWER

A. Some of the AVH officers were fanatical Communists who hated the "Class enemies", intensely. They were misled people who were willing to do everything the Communists ordered them to do.

The more intelligent AVH men were sadists and people with ~~PSYCHOLOGICAL~~ defects. I think no normal person would be willing and able to torture people in the way the AV H officers did.

I was arrested by the AVH on December 2, 1951 and kept at the AVH headquarters until April 30, 1952. During this time I was tortured, ~~They~~ with black-jacks, forced to stand for 72 hours in succession, bumped my head on the wall with full force, and did not let me sleep for days. This was the usual procedure in questioning political prisoners.

I do not know, and have not heard, of any AVH officers who had pangs of conscience or wanted to leave the service.

I think it is no exaggeration to say that Communist Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear.

When Hungary regains her ^{independence} ~~independence~~, the AVH officers should be brought to justice, but not according to the principle of collective guilt.

The Hungarian Blue Police did not handle any political cases. Their methods were entirely different from those of the AVH. The Blue Police officers were also Communists, but not as fanatical and wild as the secret police.

I think, in general, the work of the Blue Police force was effective. They maintained order and liquidated most of the Hungarian underworld.

During the revolution and demonstrations, the Hungarian Blue Police at first remained entirely passive. When the revolution took over local self-government completely, the ~~pink~~ police force sided with the revolution and took part in the work of the militia. I did not see any Blue Police fighting with us in the Mecsek Mountains.

A good many of the intellectuals were Communists by conviction. Others were not. They were only opportunists who were willing to sacrifice their political convictions and principles. Until 1953, they bent head over heels in an effort to serve the Communists. There were only one or two progressive young ~~tax~~ ~~writers~~ writers who refused to serve the regime.

After Stalin's death many of the writers made an effort to undo the bad they had done.

The Hungarian intellectuals turned against Communism because they, too, had a conscience and despised themselves for lying and misleading the public. They knew, perhaps best of all, that Communism was the exact opposite of what it pretended to be.

C. The more terroristic the Communist regime became, the greater was the opposition against the regime from an increasingly larger number of people. Communism in practice disillusioned even those idealistic Party members who originally were in favor of Communism.

The forms of opposition were various. Slow-downs and strikes were infrequent but sometimes ~~occurred~~ occurred. Wages on a piece basis did not encourage slow-down tactics. But, many people were imprisoned for instigating against the peoples' democracy and for conspiring to overthrow it. Such "enemies of the people" came from all classes, and included very many peasants, industrial workers, and intellectuals.

It was a well known fact that all social classes and all age groups were united in their opposition to Communism.

Opposition was the greatest in 1951, '52 and '53 when Communist terror was at its height. When the terror lessened, it also meant a lessening of the opposition to Communism. The opposition culminated in the Hungarian revolution in 1956. At that time no one had anything to lose.

The intellectual ferment in Hungary began in the summer of 1955. I do not ~~know~~ know much about it because at that time I was still in prison. I first heard about the Petofi Circle in the summer of 1956. Originally, it was an organization of young Communist intellectuals, and its purpose was to discuss Communist reform problems. Gradually, more and more Social-Democrats and ~~radicals~~ radicals became members of the Petofi Circle. Thru their influence, the purpose of the Petofi Circle was not to achieve Communist reforms, but to overthrow Communism itself. It became a cover-organization in which basically anti-Communist intellectuals could influence public opinion.

Before the Petofi Circle there were the young writers and the Association of Hungarian Writers. They began to air their dissatisfaction against Communism, at first subtly, and later more openly.

The significance and importance of the Hungarian intellectuals laid not in what they had to say, but in the fact that they were the first ones to express openly what everyone really felt.

the years of greatest terror. 1953 is the year of Stalin's death, which also caused considerable change in Party policy. The gradual liberalization continued thru 1954. In 1955 there was a slight relapse. In 1956 the liberalization was continued and culminated in the Hungarian revolution.

Changes in the policy of the Hungarian Communist Party are only the results in similar changes in the policy of the politbureau in Moscow. The Soviet Union, in turn, changed the policy of its Communist Party in accordance with political and economic exigencies and as a result of the struggle for power in the Kremlin.

In principle the Communist Party is the party of the working people, and in accordance with the so-called "democracy within the Party". The policy of the Communist Party is always determined by the wishes and views of the working masses. In practice, however, it is quite otherwise. There is strict discipline within the Party, and the masses have to accept the policies formulated by a few top Communists. The terror within the Party is so great that no freedom of expression or criticism are tolerated within the Party. For this reason, there can't be any Party morale with the Communist Party.

The top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party must be divided into two groups. In the first group belong the Communist leaders who, until the revolution, were Communists by conviction and believed to be serving a true cause. However, during the revolution they realized that the working people are against them. When this became evident to them, the majority of this group did not have the moral courage to admit their mistake openly. Some of them may have stayed on hoping, that in the long run, it may be of good that they and not someone else ~~ixixixpawax~~ are in power.

But, the other, and perhaps larger, group ^{and} are careerists, sadists who are ~~sting~~ clinging to power at all costs. Otherwise, they would not be playing the role which the Soviet Union is compelling them to play. I somehow feel that there are very few top Communist leaders who mean well and are idealists. Most of them fear that they will lose their present power and all the advantages which go with it.

If Hungary ever regains her independence, then the top leaders of the Communist Party should be brought to justice.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. When World War II broke out, I was only fifteen years old, but I was interested in politics, and especially in the outcome of the war. I was convinced all along that the Germans would lose the war.

Before the war my father was not a member of any political party. He favored the bourgeois program of Kassák. I, personally, favored the Social Democratic party. I liked its liberalism and democracy.

The 1918-1919 Communist regime in Hungary was a bloody dictatorship. During the Horthy regime and during the war, the Communist party was so insignificant in Hungary that no one took it into consideration.

B. After the war until the end of 1947, the program of the Hungarian Communist party was radical, and, to a certain extent, acceptable. After 1948 Communists showed their true face. Neither then nor after that did I ever approve of its program.

There are different types of Communist party members. There is, first of all, the old guard, that is Communists by conviction who were members of the Communist party even when it was underground.

After 1945 many ex-fascists joined the Communist party in order to protect themselves from criminal ~~prosecution~~ prosecution for being members of any fascist organization. On the other hand, there were fascists who sympathized with Communism because both fascism and Communism are inclined to extremes.

There is still another large group of party members who can be called "existentialists." They are small merchants, craftsmen, white collar workers who joined the Communist party in order to be able to make a living.

There was a change in the Party's policy during the last eight years. 1948 is termed by the Communists as the year of change. This was the year in which the Communist Party came out with its true program. 1951 and 1952 can be called

When collectivization of agriculture was first introduced in Hungary, it did not take the Soviet form of collective farming immediately. The collective farms followed the Soviet pattern only from 1951 on. I knew that this type of collective farming would cause a general decline in Hungarian agricultural production.

In my opinion, all Hungarian peasants opposed Soviet collective farms methods to the same degree. The Hungarian peasant has a very strong sense of private ownership. They were very embittered when the Communist government began taking away land from them which only recently had been given them in course of the agricultural reform executed by the Communists after 1945.

I heard about farm cooperatives being dissolved only during the revolution. They were dissolved because the farm cooperatives had gone practically bankrupt.

If I were an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary and did not have any land of my own, then, I would prefer to work on a government farm. But, if I had a few yokes of land of my own, then, I would prefer to be an individual farmer.

The 1945 agricultural land reform is good in principle. There is not enough land in Hungary for all the peasants, but, the largest amount of peasants possible should be given land of their own. But, farming on strips of land is not economical. For this reason cooperative farming in Hungary is necessary, but this should be conducted in cooperatives organized along the Scandinavian lines. All government farms should not be dissolved. They should be maintained to serve as model farms.

I would have preferred some kind of a white collar job for which I am better suited. But, because of my criminal record, I was unable to find any other employment.

I was on excellent terms with my fellow workers. We had respect for the foreman and superintendent who were old, experienced miners. But, we had no respect, only contempt, for those Communists who got their jobs because of their political background. I must mention that there are very many old miner families in the Peas Coal basin, and it is not an uncommon occurrence to see the ~~grand~~ grandfather, father, and the son working together in the coal mines.

The vacation program was extended to all workers in Hungary, but influential Communists were sent to the better health vacation resorts. It sometimes happened that the husband would be sent to a vacation resort at a different time from his wife. This vacationing was regimented to a certain extent. The workers were not ~~xxxxxxx~~ left alone to enjoy ~~xxxx~~ their vacations. They had political indoctrination classes and seminars even during their vacations.

The social security health service in Hungary was good, but only on paper. In practice the doctors were instructed to cut down to the minimum paid sick leaves.

The retirement age was raised from 55 to ~~xxxx~~ 60 years. The pensioned workers complained that their pensions were not enough.

E. In Communist Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. The atmosphere of the city is entirely different. There are more possibilities for recreation and cultural activities.

I think that in Communist Hungary, the rural population ate more and better food. Because the acquisition of foodstuffs was such a major problem, the standard of living must be termed higher in ~~the~~ provincial Hungary than in the cities.

I think that politically it was easier to live in the country than in the cities.

I am not in favor of collective farming in the way it had practised in Hungary. Collective farming is good only on the basis of voluntary participation. I would prefer the type of collective farming there is in the Scandinavian countries.

to the Soviet Union and the other allied countries, including Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and also, there were the disadvantageous commercial agreements with the Soviet Union.

During the past three months before the revolution, I earned an average of 1200 to 1500 forints a month. I could do this only by working extremely hard and accomplishing 130% of the production norm. Had I filled the norms to only 100% my monthly pay would have amounted to only 800 to 900 forints per month.

From my pay, 3% was deducted for trade union dues and 4% for bachelor tax. There were no compulsory government loads at the time of my release from prison and the revolution.

I did not get any premiums or extra pay or allowances.

I had no secondary source of income.

Both my father and I were working. I did not live with my father. He rented a room in the city, whereas I lived in the miners' barracks.

C. I am unable to tell you anything about prices and the quality of goods in Hungary, because I had been released from prison just before the revolution. During the three months I was in Hungary before the revolution I did not buy any foodstuffs nor any bigger purchases. For these reasons, I do not know anything about black-market operations or prices.

D. For three months before the revolution I worked as a miner in a coal mine near Pecs. I got up at 5 a.m., ate breakfast in the miners' canteen, and had to be at the shaft by 5:45 ready to descent. Our shift lasted from 6 a.m. until 2 p.m. We came up to the surface at 2:30 p.m. The showers were crowded and it was about 3:30 by the time I got myself in order. I ate dinner at 4:30 p.m. I usually went to bed at 9 p.m.

We usually worked 48 hours a week. My assignment was to push loaded mine cars. Very often, at least three Sundays a month, we were compelled to do maintenance work for which we got no extra pay.

Going to and from work was not any problem because I lived in the barracks very near to the mine shaft.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Before the revolution I lived only three months as a free man. Before that I had been in prison for over five years. As an ex-prisoner I was unable to find any other employment than working in the mine. I earned approximately 1500 forints a month. I lived in the workers' barracks near the mine, sharing a room with six other miners. I paid 20 forints a month for rent and 200 forints a month for food. The food which we got in the miners canteen was, perhaps, enough, but it was not tasty and it wasn't good. I had two suits, one of them had been left from the time of my arrest, the other was purchased by my father as a present after my release from prison.

I had the most difficulty with clothes, because clothes were very expensive.

Compared to our pre-war standard of living, I missed the comfortable home, the good food, the clothes, and the chances for recreation. According to my estimates, our standard of living was 200 % lower than it was before the war. After the war, our standard of living was comparatively the highest in 1948 and the lowest in 1951.

From among our acquaintances, the family which lived the best was that of a hotel manager. He earned about 2000 forints a month, his wife, who worked in an office, earned 1000 forints a month. They had no children. They had a small villa of their own which had not been taken away from them after the war. They could afford clothes and lived fairly comfortably. They could not afford more for recreation than an occasional movie or theatre ticket.

After the war, the standard of living in Hungary, for awhile, showed an increasing tendency; then, after that, a rapid decline. A three year plan was launched in an era when private enterprise was not barred. This was needed to speed up the reconstruction of Hungary which had suffered much after and during the war.

In 1950 the Five Year Plan was launched. At this time, the nationalization of industries had already been carried out. The large scale investments which the Plan called for, could be financed only by cutting the standard of living to the minimum. Besides this, there were the reparation obligations

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

I, myself, in Communist Hungary, was mostly dissatisfied with the lack of freedom and the total disregard for political rights. The majority of the people in Hungary, however, were dissatisfied because of their financial and economical conditions. Freedom and basic rights came only second.

before the war, but that secondary education exceeded the pre-war level.

There were restrictions of vocational choice because a branch in the Ministry of Education decided what the intellectual requirement for each year was. For example, only 600 doctors were required a year, and over 2000 people applied for enrollment in medical school. So, 1400 students would be assigned to other universities regardless of inclination to that specific vocation, or not.

The staff at the universities and colleges was enlarged to include instructors of merely political subjects. Every university also had a military science department staffed by army officers.

The majority of the instructors and professors were people who had attained fame under the previous regime. In the last years under Communism, there was an increasing number of new professors and instructors who had proper political background, but, also had the required professional qualifications to teach.

E. The political indoctrination of youth started early. Attempts to indoctrinate them were made in day nurseries and grade-school. There were compulsory political subjects and classes in the secondary schools and in the universities, as well. If a student flunked his political classes he could not continue his studies. The Communist Youth Organizations were another attempt to indoctrinate the youth. The Youth Organizations included not only students, but young workers and peasants as well. Membership in these organizations was more or less compulsory.

Despite the time and effort devoted to the indoctrination to the younger generation, the Communists could not indoctrinate the Hungarian youth because it was evident that the exact opposite of Communists teachings was true in everyday life. Although the influence of parents had been curbed by the Communists, nevertheless, parents were able to influence the political mentality of their children. The older age groups of the Hungarian youth were still able to remember conditions and life under the previous regime. The Hungarian youth also listened to foreign radio broadcasts and was able to form an opinion about the better life their counterparts lived beyond the iron curtain.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth we mean the young people from fifteen to thirty in age regardless of social class they belong to.

B. I think it is an exaggeration to say that the Hungarian youth led the revolution. Perhaps, "started" would be a better term to use. If only the Hungarian youth had taken part in the revolution, then the revolution would not have been the success it was.

The demonstrations in Budapest were organized by the Hungarian Writers Association and the Hungarian university students. They organized the demonstrations in Budapest, but in Pecs the demonstrations were entirely spontaneous.

The fighting was ~~as~~ also started by the university students, but it was not led by them.

The initiative was taken by the Hungarian youth perhaps ~~because~~ because youth, in general, is more full of ideals. It can also be said that youth, in general, is more irresponsible and more hot-headed.

During the ~~days~~ demonstrations and the revolution, the older age groups had great respect for the Hungarian youth. The youth, in turn, was dissatisfied with the attitude of the older age groups, because it considered them too slow. But, this dissatisfaction ceased when the revolution was in full swing.

C. Before Communism, secondary education in Hungary was classical. Under Communism, emphasis was placed on natural science. During the past regime, the number of university students never exceeded 12,000. Now, the number was 60,000. All this, to a certain extent, served to lower the level of studies in Hungary.

To obtain a large number of reliable cadres, the Communists made it possible for workers and peasants to enroll at universities without the proper educational background. The Communists wanted to have only so-called "specialized barbarians" who, nothing at all outside their own fields. (KNOW)

In the secondary schools the students were overburdened with a large number of ~~subjects~~ ^{subjects} which exceeded the pre-war level. It is my opinion that the level of university education was lower than

from concentration camps. Everyone had friends or relatives who had been killed by the Germans. Probably, I, too, would have wanted to avenge the deaths of my friends and relatives if I had been in their place. In 1945 many of them returned with a desire for vengeance. A number of Jews became officers in the AVH because they were deemed reliable and anti-fascists. But, Jews in general dislike dictatorships. Jews prefer to live in an atmosphere of liberalism where they can best exercise their talents. A very slight percentage of Jews were Communists by conviction. Most of them soon became disillusioned with Communism. However, there was a large group of opportunists who exploited fully the favorable conditions in Hungary. But, this group constantly diminished because the Jews in Hungary soon realized that the top Communist Jews in the Hungarian politbureau had been Jews only by birth. Now, as Communist leaders, they do not discriminate between Jews and non-Jews. The only favorable thing to Jews under Communism was that the slightest form of anti-Semitism was punished.

Many Jews were Communists, especially immediately after World War II. But, the majority of the Jews were either members of the intelligentsia or were business men. Both groups were oppressed under Communism. In this respect, Jews were no exception.

During the revolution, the Jews were glad that there was no sign of anti-Semitism. They, too, opposed Communism, and were expecting a bourgeois liberalism which would have favored them as well.

I know many Jews who took an active part in the fighting and in the demonstrations. For example, in the Freedom Fighter group which I knew in the Mecsek Mountains, there were three Jewish brothers. All three of them were killed in the fighting. But, it is true, on the other hand, that the majority of the Jews were cautious and remained at home. They were very uncertain about the outcome of the revolution.

I don't believe that the Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary. They fear only anti-Semitism, but not an independent Hungary. I know, because I knew many Jews and talked with many of them. The Jews are only afraid of intolerance which can exist even under Communism.

I go to church only on the more important holy days. Religious ceremonies are beautiful, but they are not the spiritual sensations which I seek. I do not pray in the sense of mechanically repeating certain prayers. I often meditate on God and life after death.

C. ~~Some~~ Churches have a very important role to play in society. The religious and moral education of children should be entrusted to them. But, the church should not play a dominate role in the state. Sometimes the teaching of the church is too dogmatic. They should strive to educate children and to prepare them for everyday life. I would restore the church schools to the various religious orders. But, I would not make it the sole privilege of the Catholics to maintain such schools. The church should be supported by the government, but in return, the government should not ask for any influence in church affairs.

I think that the censorship of books, plays and films should be entrusted to some government agency, and not to the church. But, regardless of this, the church can express its views and criticisms of films, plays, and books.

Active participation in politics is a difficult affair which often leads to attacks against persons who participate. Therefore, it is best for the clergy not to play an active role in politics. However, a priest or any member of the clergy cannot be barred from holding public office ~~and~~ nor from voting. But, such clergymen must realize that their church office does not give them immunity from the usual attacks against politicians. If they want to participate in politics, they must bear the consequences.

D. The Jewish religion was also persecuted by the Communists, as was everything which is spiritual and does not comply with the principles of materialism which they teach. But, there were very few Jews in Hungary. After World War II many of them immigrated from the country. When the borders were closed, only about 70,000 or 80,000 Jews remained in our country. The great majority of these were not religious Jews. For this reason, the persecution of the Jewish religion in Hungary was not as noticeable as the persecution of the Catholic church.

I talked to many Jews in Hungary concerning their attitude toward Communism. This is a very confusing problem. Most of them were not clear themselves about their attitudes toward Communism. It cannot be denied that there was a persecution of Jews during the war in Hungary. Many of the Jews returned

VII. RELIGION

A. People in general like to do things which are prohibited. Because of the persecution of the church and the suppression of religious freedom in Hungary, not only those people ~~want~~ who were really religious went to church, but also those who, in this way, wanted to show their opposition to Communism.

To be termed a "clerical reactionist" was a very bad point on a person's cadre sheet. People who opposed the persecution of the churches and who went to religious services ~~would~~ sometimes be dismissed for such reasons. The Communist regime in Hungary conducted a well organized persecution of all churches. The clergy and the churches were made financially dependent on the Communist government. For the financial aid it gave to the priests and the churches, the Communist government demanded a participation in church administration. The so-called church bureaus were established. This means complete interference in church affairs. The clergy, especially the Catholic clergy, was imprisoned. All real estate ~~was~~ belonging to the churches were confiscated. Church ~~schools~~ schools were nationalized and the teaching of religion in schools ceased.

Probably, the Catholic church was the hardest hit by Communism/ in Hungary, because 70% of Hungary's population is Catholic. Also, the Catholic church had the greatest influence on the population.

The Protestant churches/ in Hungary was/ considerably smaller than the Catholic church. The Protestants were split up into four or five different denominations. Their influence in Hungary was considerably smaller than that of the Catholic church.

B. I think religion/ plays a less important role in my life than ~~was~~ it did in the lives of my parents. I think that the older generation of Hungarians is more religious than I am. On the other hand, I think that my views on religion are shared by the average Hungarian of my age. I believe in God, but I do not accept all the dogmas of the Catholic church. The attitude of my generation can be summed up in the following: We believe in the existence of a God, we try to live as honestly as we can, and we will find out about life after death when we come to it.

they thought to be sophisticated manners. In a certain sense, the Jampecs meant a form of opposition to Communism. I think that the Communist government at home exaggerated the entire problem. The Jampecs were mostly the young people living in cities. They could be from 16 to 25 in ages. I don't think their conduct should be termed criminal.

I think that the parents of the Jampecs did not care much about the conduct of their children because financially the children were supporting themselves. To a certain degree, the parents also saw a form of opposition to Communism in the conduct of the Jampecs.

Hungary did not show their true face. More or less, they came out with only a radical program. But, if after 1948, my friend continued to be a Communist of conviction, this would probably mean the end of our friendship. Most likely, I would be the one to terminate such a friendship. But, it can also be imagined that a Communist would terminate a friendship with a non-Communist member because the Party kept him under observation and frowned on any contact with non-Communists.

I don't think it would be possible to continue a friendship with a non-Communist under an agreement not to mix politics in the friendship. The Communist Party regulates so many aspects of everyday life that it is impossible not to mix politics into the simplest conversation.

E. It is difficult to say whether the crime rate increased under Communism or not. I do not think that the number of crimes against property increased. Such crimes committed against government or "Peoples'" property were very severely punished. After the nationalization of ~~private~~ industry, very few rich people remained from whom one could steal anything. But, I think that the number of sex crimes probably increased. Also, the recent war has had an effect on the mentality of the people at home. Perhaps, after the war, people were more inclined to commit crimes against life. That is, perhaps their inhibitions were less. There was a considerable increase in economic crimes such as currency speculation, black-market operations, violations of price regulations, etc.

I think that the crime rate of women also increased. This was due to the fact that more women were forced to earn their living and had to leave the protected life at home.

Juvenile delinquency probably also increased. This can be attributed to the fact that the young people, in general, like to have a good time and, under Communism, they were not able to acquire the money for this purpose. I think that sex crimes among the youth also increased.

The live-today, -and-don't-worry-about-tomorrow attitude of the people in Hungary contributed to the increase of alcoholism after the World War.

The term "Jampecs" was applied to the young people who imitated Western fashions in dress, and preferred to dance American dances instead of the conservative dances which people were used to before the war. They also copied what

that two can live as cheaply as one. Because marriages were so easy to terminate, many rash marriages were formed with ~~the~~ divorce in mind in case the marriage did not work out.

Joint youth organizations provided ample opportunity for the young people to get acquainted. Due to the general looseness of morals, young people of both sexes did not try to curb their natural instincts. The pre-war moral codes were applied primarily to girls and women, but they also bound boys and men as well.

Under the Communist regime, the number of illegitimate children increased considerably. Officially, the word "illegitimate" was banned, and such children were called children born out of wedlock. The records of birth were corrected and, from a birth certificate, it was impossible to say whether a person was an illegitimate child or not.

Because of the constant financial difficulties in which people lived under Communism, couples did not want children. Nevertheless, abortions were punished very severely. Prophylactics, however were available at all times.

The Communists officially banned prostitution, but secret prostitution thrived in the cities, and the number of secret prostitutes was considerably greater than the number when it was officially permitted.

The Communists did not encourage extra-marital sexual relations openly, but neither did they prevent this. I think that in principle they always favored the direct opposite of what the church preached. But, when the Communist regime noticed the great harm which was caused by loose morals, especially among the Hungarian youth, they changed their tactics and favored "pure morals". This was in the last few years before the revolution, and I do not know any details about this, because at that time I was in prison.

I don't think there is any difference in the sexual inhibitions of a Communist and a non-Communist. Such things depend entirely on the individual.

My attitude toward a close friend who joined the Communist Party before 1948 would depend largely on his subsequent conduct. Up to about the end of 1948 the Communists in

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism in Hungary unquestionably had a great influence on family life. The aim of the Communists was to demoralize families. They wanted to sever all family ties and to obliterate the closeness of family life. Compelling both parents to work in order to sustain themselves, there were no homes in Hungary in the true sense of the word.

From this respect our family cannot be considered as typical. My mother died in 1937; my father was always a bit of a recluse, and spent most of his free time reading. I, myself, had been in prison for five years.

B. Under Communism, both parents had to work and therefore the youngest children were taken to day nurseries or kindergartens. School children saw even less of their parents. The older teenage groups was either forced to go to work as early as possible, or study in schools. The education which the children acquired in school had no moral religious basis. Co-educational schools and student homes served to undermine the morals of the school children. The influence of the parents at home was unable to counterbalance the effects of school on the children.

Children were forced to earn their own living as soon as this was possible. By being able to support themselves, the children were less inclined to obey their parents. The children did not obey their parents at all in connection with religion. They had their own concepts of what was morally right and wrong, and even politically they did not accept the views of their parents entirely.

This increase in the disobedience of children and the loss of parental influence applies mainly to the children of the industrial workers. In this respect, the Hungarian intelligentsia and the peasantry were less effected by Communism in Hungary.

C. Under Communism, it was easier to be married, but it was also easier to get divorced. The hardships of Communism made people want to enjoy life as much as they could, and not to think about the uncertain future. This was true of both sexes. For this reason marriages were formed not with the intention of making them lasting. Very often, marriages were the convenient solution to housing problems. Often, they were motivated by the thought

from the so-called "people who wore pants." For this reason the peasants felt a certain degree of resentment toward the intelligentsia.

The industrial workers also had a certain degree of dislike for the intelligentsia because their employers also belonged to this class and they were inclined to generalize. Previously, the industrial workers did not like the peasantry or, at least, were indifferent to them. Now, under the Communist industrialization program, workers in large numbers had to be recruited from the villages. Consequently, the attitude of the industrial workers toward the peasant population changed considerably.

In general, it can be said that, under Communism, class barriers broke down between all classes.

E. Until about 1947 all persons in Hungary had a equal chance of getting ahead. From 1948 on until about 1953 the political attitude of the person concerned was the most decisive factor in getting ahead. Class origin was also important, but only if it accompanied the proper political attitude. A person who was of industrial worker or peasant origins but did not profess Communist views was unable to get ahead on the basis of his class origin or talent alone. Talent, knowledge and experience in themselves were not enough.

From 1953 on, gradually less and less emphasis was placed on political views, and class origin. But, these factors remained important all along.

As an individual, the person most likely to succeed in Hungary is the careerist. By this we mean the person who is willing to do practically anything to get ahead, and is capable of setting aside his convictions.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father was a hotel owner until 1949. His father and grandfather were also in the same business. By selling the property which he inherited from his parents, my father was able to buy and operate a medium sized hotel on Lake Balaton. When our hotel was nationalized, my father became a manager of a small hotel in Pecs. He earned 1000 to 1200 forints per month.

My parents did not own any real estate property besides the hotel I mentioned.

My father graduated from a gymnasium; my mother graduated from the Hungarian equivalent of a business college.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the industrial workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. There is also the group of merchants and craftsmen which belongs neither to the intelligentsia nor to the industrial workers. They are somewhere half way between the two groups. In Hungary I have had contact with all these classes and groups. I consider the industrial workers the most constructive social class in Hungary. The Hungarian peasantry was too obsolete and backward in mentality. I have had contact with all these classes and know them well.

I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia.

When the Communists first wiped out the aristocrats and the gentry. Next came the destruction of the industrial capitalists. These two groups were the so-called "exploiting class." The next in line were the owners of the middle estates. Then came the different categories of peasants, and finally the industrial workers. I think that all Hungarian social classes were affected by Communism, but the most affected were the aristocrats and the gentry, because they were abolished entirely.

C. Under Communism a new kind of intelligentsia was created. This new intelligentsia had a much better opinion of the industrial workers and peasants than the old intelligentsia, which very often had been inclined to look down upon the lower social classes.

The Hungarian peasants had never experienced anything good

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. During the revolution we did not expect arms or military assistance from the West. We discussed these problems in detail at that time. We knew that such military aid was impossible. But, we did think that diplomatic pressure on the Soviet Union would be enough to make her withdraw from Hungary. We attributed much more power and importance to the United Nations than it really had. The most we hoped for at that time was that the United Nations would send observers and, perhaps, an international police force to Hungary.

C. The only foreigner I encountered during the entire revolution in Hungary was a Western newspaper reporter. I do not know his name nor the paper he represented. We did not learn anything from him. He was the one who asked us numerous questions about conditions in Pecs and its vicinity.

Gradually our Freedom Fighters disintegrated. At the end there were only about 400 of us fighting. Organized fighting on our part continued about November 10.

It is interesting to note that on November 8 thirty-nine Freedom Fighters and two Russians, all of them severely wounded, were murdered by the AVH and the Russians. It was our custom to gather our wounded who needed medical attention in one spot and then telephone the ambulance service in the city to come and give them medical assistance. On this occasion, the call to the ambulance service was intercepted by the AVH. They came out together with the Russians and murdered all thirty-nine Freedom Fighters and the two Russians.

We were running out of supplies and ammunition. Unable to maintain contact with each other, we were split up in small groups of not more than twenty or thirty ~~in~~ Freedom Fighters in each. On November 11 we were completely surrounded by the Russians. We told everyone to fight his way out of the ring the best he could.

On November 11, about noontime, my group was able to break thru the Russian ring in the south-eastern direction. We had a two hour gun fight with the Russians but finally managed to break-out. One Freedom Fighter in our group was killed and several of us were severely wounded. We were able to go on side roads and across fields for a short distance. Later on we acquired trucks. We went straight for the border but, had to shoot our way past Russians several times on the way. Nine of us reached the Austrian border that evening. It was high time to leave Hungary because I had only three more bullets left.

~~It~~ Despite the heavy losses in lives and the present terror which is ~~making~~ reigning in Hungary, I think that our country, on the whole, has gained by the revolution. The entire world has witnessed the heroic struggle of Hungary against ~~its~~ her Communist oppressors. The Hungarian revolution will be something which will be remembered in the history books of centuries to come.

ammunition into the Mecsek Mountains. About 400 university students and young workers were there ready to fight.

Before the Russian attack started we had passed word to the militia to go either to the Mecsek Mountains or to stay at home and conceal the fire arms. We destroyed the greater part of our files and packed what we wanted to take with us.

The Russians came in and began disarming our soldiers and militia. The Freedom Fighters began to evacuate the city as had been planned. I was among the last ones to leave. As the telephones were cut off, I made the rounds talking to the local Workers' Councils, and to the armed groups. I told them what to do, and was able to leave the city only about noon. Some fighting at the outskirts of the city started at 10 a.m. It seemed that the Russians wanted to go with tanks to the Mecsek hills overlooking the city. They encountered the resistance of the Freedom Fighters.

Lt. Col. CSIKAR was very embittered and said that he would stay at the city hall to give the city over to the Russians. He said this was the military custom. I heard later that CSIKAR and some of the other officers who had been captured by the Russians were taken to Budapest. I fear that he had been hanged.

The Russians attacked the uranium mines with 84 tanks quite unexpectedly. This was in the early hours of November 4, simultaneously with the attack on Pecs. The guards at the uranium fields were taken completely unaware. They suffered heavy casualties.

The miners in the coal district were able to withstand the Russians for two days. The Russians were able to march in only on November 6.

Approximately 2000 Freedom Fighters had gathered in the Mecsek Mountains. They were the miners, soldiers, university students from Pecs and the industrial districts. Beside this number there was also approximately 1000 peasants from the villages. In all, there were about 3330 3000 Freedom Fighters in the Mecsek Mountains.

The Freedom Fighters were divided up into small groups. For several days we were able to maintain contact with each other. The telephones were operating and some of the hunting lodges in this district were equipped with phones.

But, we had difficulties in getting supplies and ammunition. Fortunately, the miners had brought along sticks of dynamite which we could use effectively against Russian tanks.

industrial workers to return to work.

There was more news of constantly returning Russians. For this reason our military people worked out a strategic plan. It was decided not to fight within the city, and not to fight defend it. Any fighting and resistance would take place in the hills outside the city. This was the so-called Mecsek mountains. We knew it was impossible to defend the city because we had hardly any artillery, and no tanks. All we had were a few mine throwers.

On November 3 we received information that the Russians were advancing toward Pecs from the direction of Dombóvár and were evidently planning to surround the city. That night I and two other Council members were sent out by the Revolutionary Workers' Council to talk terms with the Russians. We demanded to know what they wanted and why they were approaching. The commander of the Russian tanks told me that he did not have instructions to enter the city. The reason he was sent here was to safeguard the Russians who had been employed at the uranium mines. We told this officer that the Russians had left on October 26 and 27. He said some of them were still missing. We promised him to find any Russians who may be hiding and return them safely to him, but asked him not to enter the city in order to avoid bloodshed. We also asked him to warn us in advance if he should want to occupy the city. We told him that our intentions were to avoid bloodshed at all costs.

That night we telephoned the Ministry of Home Defense requesting instructions. We were able to talk to a colonel from the Ministry of Home Defense. We told him that the Russians were nearing Pecs and asked him what to do. He answered "Son, hasn't there been enough bloodshed already?" When I pressed him to tell us what to do he sounded very evasive. My impression of the entire Ministry of Home Defense was that it was sabotaging the revolution. So many contradicting orders had been issued by the Ministry that it only served to increase the confusion.

The Russians started their attack at dawn the next morning. Our telephone wires were immediately cut, but we were able to inform Budapest that the attack had started. The Russians did not telephone us in advance as they promised.

The previous day we had sent a large amount of arms and

capital to attend the first meeting of the National Revolutionary Council which was convened by the revolutionary leader, Dudas. Our purpose was primarily to gather information and to evaluate the political situation in Budapest. I had ~~was~~ received instructions from the Revolutionary Council authorizing me to acknowledge officially in the name of our Revolutionary Council the Imre Nagy government if I should see fit to do so. Before the meeting I went to the party headquarters of the Small-Holders and Social-Democratic Parties, which were then being revived. From the information which I received here, I gathered that the present composition of the Imre Nagy government was suitable for a temporary government. Therefore, before the meeting I went to the Parliament and wanted to inform Imre Nagy that the Revolutionary Council in Pecs officially recognizes the present Hungarian government. I was not able to talk to Imre Nagy himself, but to Colonel Toth, who was the commander of the Parliament guards.

The composition of the National Revolutionary Council, headed by the revolutionary leader, Dudas, seemed a bit too reactionary for my good. Therefore, I opposed the motions to place the Imre Nagy government by the National Revolutionary Council. However, this meeting was very useful in as much as I was able to gather much information concerning events and the operations of other Revolutionary Councils.

We arrived in Pecs by car in the early hours of November 2. Several times on the way we were stopped by Freedom Fighters. When we arrived at Dombóvár, we were informed that the Russians were moving 380 tanks in our direction from Szekesfehervar.

On November 2 we took 44 AVH officers into custody. We locked them up in the Pecs prison with the National Guard guarding them. Most of the officers were glad to give themselves up because they were in fear of their lives. Until now, they had been constantly staying at AVH headquarters. The eleven commanding officers of the AVH guards at the uranium mines near Pecs had been staying at home. We imposed house arrest on the four or five top Communists who had been staying at the Party headquarters in Pecs. We told these people that we are taking them into custody or placing them under house arrest for their own good.

Things were returning back to normal again in our city. The street-cars were running again. The public utilities employees were at their work. But, we could not persuade the

They lived in Pecs proper, but on the October 26 and 27 they left the city in cars and trucks.

On October 29 we freed all political prisoners in the Pecs prison. We also let out those persons who were sentenced for merely economic crimes.

I ~~must~~ forgot to mention that the executive committee of the Revolutionary Workers' Council consisted of twelve members. The chairman of the executive council was ^{the} military commander

CSIKAR.

All of us realised what would happen to us if the revolution failed. I, myself, had been in prison, so I knew what was waiting for me. But, I think all the others realised just as well. But, somehow, no one thought about the consequences. No one was really able to realise the significance of our acts.

C. We had a brain trust of four or five men, and in their opinion, it was impossible to believe that the Russian withdrawal from Budapest would be final. We realised that, for military reasons, and for reasons of prestige, the Russians could not evacuate Hungary. It would have meant the collapse of the entire satellite system. But, somehow, we were hoping against hope and expected a miracle to happen.

We first heard about returning Russians on October 31. We were able to maintain direct telephone lines with all parts of Hungary. On October 31 I personally spoke with someone from Zahony. This is the Hungarian border station on the Soviet frontier. I do not know whom the person was I talked to. He told me that the Russian tanks are coming from Csap into Hungary. I must have sounded skeptical, because the person ~~ask~~ asked me "Do you want to hear the tanks yourself?" I said I did, and then he must have taken the phone outside because I was able to clearly hear the rumbling sound of tanks passing by. The person told me that this tank was the 84th which he had counted that day. I told him that he should inform the Prime Minister Imre Nagy immediately. He said he had already informed him, but the Prime Minister was unwilling to believe his information, because the Soviet ambassador Antropov had told him that no new Russian troops are being brought into Hungary.

On November 1 I was in Budapest with two other members of the local Revolutionary Workers' Council. We were called to the

one Blue Policeman. There was no disorder whatsoever in the city and the AVH men were told to remain in their barracks, and not go out in the streets. The majority of the AVH men were drafted for this duty in course of compulsory military service.

On the morning of October 30, three young AVH guards from the uranium fields came to me. They did not wear their insignia. They told me that the 300 guards which were stationed in the uranium fields were supposed to be ~~dis-~~ dismissed from military service by November 1. They had driven off their officers and some of the officers had even been beaten up by them. Now, they wanted to go home. Most of them were peasant boys from Eastern Hungary. I gave them the necessary papers and gave orders to have a train take the 300 young soldiers to Budapest. Before going away they gave us all their arms and ammunition.

My duties as secretary of the Revolutionary Council were numerous. For example, the manager of the local national bank came to me and said he has no money to pay the monthly salaries on the first of the month. He told me that there were thirty million ~~for~~ forints in the National Bank at Nagykanizsa set aside for his use. But, he was unable to get the money. I immediately provided a car for him and an armed guard. They went and brought the money back safely and we were able to pay our employees.

On another occasion, a delegation of peasants came to me from the government farms and farm cooperatives production groups. They wanted to know what they should do. I instructed them to remain as they are for the time being, and do everything to supply the city and the fighters in Budapest with food supplies. They agreed to continue the farm cooperatives and state farms for the time being and were able to supply us with ~~about~~ 18,000 liters of milk per day. Beside this, we were able to send 20 to 30 truck loads of food every day to the fighters in Budapest.

The Pecs regiment had companies stationed in the towns of Mohacs, Szigetvar, Sasd, and Komlo. All these units were on our side. They set up road blocks on the roads leading to Pecs.

At the outbreak of the revolution, there were no Soviet occupation troops stationed in our county. The only Russians there were the engineers and officials of the uranium mines.

THOUSAND
not to hurry. I instructed him to take a telephone and call his second-in-command at the AVH headquarters, instructing him to recall, within fifteen minutes, all guards which were patrolling the streets. I told him that I ~~was~~ was hardly able to restrain the miners from coming to the city and attacking the AVH on two previous occasions. Now, a ~~large~~ ^{THOUSAND} miners were waiting at home for my phone call. If, by morning, they do not get my phone call, I will not take any responsibility for anything which may happen from then on. I also told him not to try to leave the building without our permission, because there were ten or twelve armed young men there who were capable of detaining him.

All this was only a bluff. The miners I referred to were sleeping peacefully at home. We would not have been able to disarm the AVH. There were some 600 AVH men in Pecs proper, and about 300 AVH men guarding the uranium fields nearby.

After short deliberation, Bradacs took the telephone and telephoned the AVH headquarters, giving them instructions which I had requested. The Council immediately agreed that Lt. Col. Calikar should take over military commands of the entire county. Lt. Col. Lukaszar immediately accepted him as his superior.

In the morning we immediately telephoned all factories and mines instructing them to arm fifteen or twenty reliable workers each.

In the first days of the revolution the Communists had armed the workers whom they thought reliable. Their duty was to have been to protect the mines and factories against any attempts to destroy them. Our workers ~~xxx~~ went to these armed Communists and informed them that the government had been taken over by the local Revolutionary Workers' Council, and that they should give over their arms and ammunition to our people. They complied almost without exception.

Where the workers were not able to obtain arms themselves, we sent them arms which we received from the army. The army gave us 600 rifles and 20 machine-guns, and 120 sub-machine guns. By morning the Revolutionary Workers' militia was formed and they were patrolling the streets. The patrols consisted of one armed worker, one ~~xxxxx~~ soldier, one student and

After the meeting I went to the radio studio and was convinced there was not much need for me there. It was agreed that in the future the radio station would broadcast only messages which were signed by me. I had a reliable friend there in the studio, and was convinced that everything would function to our satisfaction.

That evening I went back to the City Hall. The executive committee of the Workers' Revolutionary County Council was still there. They elected me the secretary of the executive committee.

About 20% of the members of the Revolutionary County executive committee were young radicals. ~~20%~~ 20% were extremely careful and cautious. The rest seemed indifferent. I think that perhaps this same average can be said of practically all revolutionary committees in Hungary.

~~It~~ It was hard to get any ~~as~~ work done with some of the members, and they later had to be replaced by others. For example, one man wanted compensation for the four teeth which were broken by the AVH when he was arrested by them a few months before. But, fortunately there were many levelheaded people in the Council, and it was able to function efficiently, in a very short time. The young workers and students were the driving force of our Revolutionary Council.

As yet, we did not recognize the Imre Nagy government. This came only after November 1. The Revolutionary Council deemed its most important task to protect the county from the Russians and Communists. We wanted to preserve the "achievements of the revolution". For this reason, it was necessary to form a militia from reliable workers, policemen, soldiers, and university students.

We saw that it was necessary to disarm the AVH as quick as possible. When we talked to Bradacs about this, he was unwilling to comply. He said he could do this only on instructions from the Minister of the Interior.

We told him that we do not, as yet, recognize the government in Budapest. We want to know AIROCITIES and for this reason it would be very advisable for him to recall the AVH guards which were still patrolling the city. He was unwilling to do this, but when, at 3:30 A.M., he wanted to leave the council room at the City Hall, where the meeting was taking place, I told him

I, in my speech, stressed the fact that the AVH could not be trusted. Three days ago the commander of the AVH, Colonel Bradacs, solemnly announced that he was with the revolution. He betrayed us the very next day.

Colonel Bradacs broke down completely. He probably had good intentions and was an idealist Communist. Up'til then he probably thought that he was serving a just cause.

The Lt. Col. Csikar, who was the head of the military science department of the local university, and Lt. Col. Bukszar, commander of the Kaposvar regiment stationed then in our city, were present at this meeting as representatives of the army. Major Nemes, the commander of the Blue Police, but who in reality was known to be an AVH officer, represented the Blue Police at the meeting.

After my speech, as resolution was adopted by the ^{County} Workers' Council that the AVH should be ~~as~~ dissolved and local government should be entirely taken over by the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ County Workers' Councils.

The young workers and students who were present at the meeting guarded the AVH and Police commanders closely, and they were uncertain whether they could get out of the building at all.

The County Workers' Council realized that it was too big and cumbersome to operate as a body. For this reason it was decided to elect sub-committees. I was elected to a committee which was placed in charge of the local radio station. Another committee was placed in charge of newspapers and printing shops. Functions were thus divided. Special committees and sub-committees were formed for public administration and for food supplies.

At 4 p.m. the meeting was adjourned and it was decided to resume the meeting the next day.

Lt. Cols. Csikar and Bukszar, with about twenty other Workers' Council members, were elected to the executive committee of the County Workers' Council. The two army officers took their oath of office and swore to protect and defend our county against invaders. It was evident that everyone ~~thought~~ meant Russians by invaders. In this way, the County Workers' Council, which was later called County Revolutionary Council, gained supreme control over the entire district, because the armed forces, two regiments, were at its disposal.

when the surrendering of fire arms became compulsory. Also, the Hungarian soldiers who were assigned to guard the coalmines, gave us arms and ammunition. We got very much ammunition and especially hand-grenades from them.

By October 27 not only the miners, but all industrial plants, and even the transportation workers in Pecs were on strike. The street-cars were not running and everyone was out in the streets, excitedly waiting for news.

A meeting of all the ~~max~~ members of the Workers Councils' in the Peca district was called for 9 a.m. ~~on~~ October 28 at the City Hall. The purpose of this meeting was to elect a county workers committee. It must be mentioned that when the instructions for electing Workers' Councils² had been issued, no mention was made of forming such county Workers' Councils². The initiative to form such a county workers council came from the workers of a local tool machining factory. This factory had more than 2000 workers.

Some 700 or 800 Workers' Council members were present at this meeting. A chief of the AVH and representatives of the army units in Pecs were also present. A few peasant delegations were also there.

The reports and motions submitted by the chairman were very general and evasive. It was evident that everyone feared the AVH which was present. An old miner was the fourth or fifth speaker. He got up and said "We are now discussing problems which are insignificant. These problems of little importance can be settled later. Now, the most important thing is to get the Russians to leave Hungary."

This old worker received much applause. Until then no one had dared speak openly. As it turned out later, the AVH not only was present, but took tape recordings of all speeches made at the meeting.

I was the next speaker. I explained that the revolution had won a victory in Budapest. It was high time in Pecs to disarm the AVH. This was the first step necessary to create order in Hungary. Other political and economical problems are of less importance, and can wait. I also said that under the existing conditions, the Workers' Council has new problems to face. It must take over the local government in our county because the government in Budapest now was unable to act.

found a lithographing machine and prepared several hundred copies of our demands.

About noon that day I and two other miners went to the local Party headquarters in Pecs. We demanded that they get in touch ~~through~~ through their direct line with the government in Budapest and read them our demands.

The Party headquarters building was completely occupied by AVH forces. All of the AVH men were heavily armed. Heavy machine-guns were installed in the windows of the building. I and the other two delegates had the feeling that if we ever got out of here safely, we could consider ourselves fortunate.

We started haggling over our demands with the local Communists. It was evident that both sides were fighting for time.

Finally, the local Party Secretary agreed to get me the Prime-Ministers office over his direct wire. I wanted to speak personally to Imre Nagy, but I was only able to speak with Ferenc Erdei. He had once been Minister of Agriculture, and now I think he was in charge of the compulsory surrendering of agricultural crops. I read to him our fifteen points demands over the telephone. He had a stenographer take them down in shorthand. Our demands included the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary, secret elections, neutrality for Hungary, Hungarian control on the mining of uranium, the improvement of production of arms, etc.

Ferenc Erdei told me over the phone that he was not the Prime-Minister, but was able to promise that the Hungarian cabinet would discuss the demands of the university students and the various workers. He warned us to keep cool, and give the Russians no cause for intervention. He said that the Prime Minister was very busy and was unable to come to the phone, but that he would personally send us a message over the Hungarian radio.

A short time later, among other messages, the Prime Minister announced over the radio that he accepts our demands. He also advised us to keep calm.

In the meantime, the miners began to arm themselves. There were many concealed weapons in our district. Most of these arms had been found by the miners in 1944 and '45 at the end of World War II. Many of them were hunters and had concealed fire arms

to disperse, they fired first in the air, later at the crowd. About four people were killed and ten wounded.

This incensed the crowd to such an extent that they wanted to attack the AVH men with bare hands. However, the commander of the AVH in Pecs, a colonel by the name of Bradacs, grabbed the microphone and addressed the crowd. Bradacs said that he wanted to avoid bloodshed and that he too was on the side of the revolution. To prove this he took down the red star ~~from~~ from his cap and his AVH men did likewise. He ~~and~~ requested that the crowd disperse and the crowd was naive enough to believe Bradacs, and went home.

Previously, a five man revolutionary committee had been quickly organized and its members were to discuss the situation with Bradacs. One of my friends was a member of this committee. Bradacs was willing to receive them at AVH headquarters, but, instead of talking to them, he had them locked up in cells.

The next day the AVH men put back their red stars and continued to patrol the streets. A curfew was announced, and no one was allowed to leave his home after dark. There was no sign of the delegation which went to take up negotiations with the commander of the AVH.

The next day I telephoned the AVH and spoke to Bradacs. I told him that the workers were very furious about the detention of the delegation which went to take up negotiations with him. I told him that unless he guaranteed to free the members of the delegation immediately, the miners would go into the city and cause trouble. The AVH commander promised to free the ~~delegation~~ gates immediately.

That day, from the radio, we heard further details about events in Budapest. The miners chose me as one of the members of a delegation of three to go to Party headquarters to discuss the situation with the local Communists and with the Party secretary.

I drafted a fifteen point demand. Our demands were practically identical with the demands of the university students in Budapest. ~~They contained only several demands which were adapted to the specific conditions of the local miners. I read these demands to the miners at our shaft, and they approved them with cheers. We~~ They contained only several demands which were adapted to the specific conditions of the local miners. I read these demands to the miners at our shaft, and they approved them with cheers. We

Council, in turn, elected from its members an executive committee of ten members. The original purpose of the Workers' Councils was to exercise a certain degree of control over management, but, in reality, the whole thing was only a bluff which served to calm down the dissatisfaction of the workers, by giving them, at least on paper, an insight to management problems.

The local Party Secretary and the director of our mine informed the members of the Workers' Council that they should consider it their duty to calm down the miners who were excited over the disorders which were still continuing in Budapest. They urged us to tell the miners that everything would be in order in a short time and to persuade them to take up their work.

On the afternoon of October 25 a meeting of all the miners was called. Here the Party Secretary and the director held speeches urging the miners to resume work. One of my close friends, who died in the fighting after November 4, spoke up and said no one would go down as long as Russian soldiers are murdering our brothers in Budapest. He pushed the director aside from the podium and was cheered by the miners, who resolved to go on strike until the Russians left Hungary.

I immediately grabbed the phone and rung up friends at all shafts in the district of Pecs, and, in a quarter hour, coal production ceased in the entire Pecs coal basin. The miners were on strike during the whole revolution. Only maintenance work was done in the mines, and, in all, only fifteen or twenty carloads were mined for Budapest hospitals.

On October 25 a large demonstration was held in the city of Pecs. One or two Freedom Fighters came down to our city to incite the crowd against the Communist government. There was not much need for this, because feeling was very strong against the Communists and Russians. Some 40,000 people took part in the demonstrations. The meeting was not organized. It started on the main square where loud-speakers had been rigged up some time before to spread Communist propaganda. Now, a crowd had gathered there, listening excitedly for news from Budapest. The demonstration started spontaneously. Its outbreak can be best explained by mass psychology. The crowd began to shout the following slogans: "Russkies go home!", "Down with Gero", "We want a new government", "We want Imre Nagy to be prime-minister". The demonstrators became very excited and started to tear down Red Stars. An AVH detachment arrived and attempted to disperse the crowd. When the crowd did not heed their order

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

A. On October 22, 1956 I was in Pecsanya coal mine, about five kilometers from the city of Pecs in southern Hungary. I was employed in the coal-mine as a car pusher and lived in the workers barracks not far from the mine. Nothing unusual happened that day. We heard that a Hungarian government delegation headed by Gero was in Belgrade conducting diplomatic negotiations with the Yugoslav government. We thought that perhaps these talks would bring about some political change, but we did not even dream of a revolution or that it would break out the next day.

Nothing unusual happened even on October 23. Only on the morning of October 24, when I woke up in the workers barracks and switched on the so-called "Molotov Box" (a central radio receiver with several loud-speakers in several rooms) did I hear the sound of gun-fire over the radio. The radio also announced that counter-revolutionary bands had started a revolt in Budapest, but that the situation was under control, and the Hungarian armed forces would subdue it in short order. When we heard this we, at first, thought that this was an insignificant affair of no great importance. But, we became suspicious when we noticed that the government kept prolonging the time limit for all insurgents to lay down their arms.

These radio broadcasts were the source of much speculation and caused considerable excitement among the workers. When it came time for the afternoon shift to go down to the mines, many miners refused to go down. This in itself was a great thing, because strict discipline was maintained among the miners, and refusal to start work on time was considered a great offense.

At that time I was a member of the Workers' Councils. The Workers' Councils had been organized about two weeks ago. Such councils were being formed everywhere in Hungary on instructions from the government. The Hungarian government was copying Yugoslav's methods and establishing work councils everywhere in industrial plants and factories, and also in our mines, in order to "make management more democratic." Our shaft employed about 1500 workers. These elected 70 representatives to the Workers' Councils. I was one of them. The Workers'

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

People here in the United States know comparatively little about Hungary, and about Central and Eastern Europe. It would be necessary to give the American public a complete picture of the history of our country and of conditions there before the revolution. In the light of such information they would be able to understand the aims and purposes of the revolution, and the reasons for its outbreak.

18. Travels in U.S.: After leaving Camp Kilmer, respondent was at Bard College in upper New York State, and, since Feb 16, in N.Y.C.
19. Immediate plans: At present respondent is employed by the Hungarian Federation for Freedom Fighters. He wishes to find some part-time job and to continue his university studies.
20. Has not been interviewed by any ~~any~~ Western organizations
21. Foreign languages: Studied German in gymnasium for five years and is able to make himself understood. Studied French ~~for~~ for four years and is able to read but not speak it.

Respondent is a young intellectual of middle class background. Spent five years in prison under the Communist regime. Was set free just three months before the revolution. Unable to find any other employment, he went to work in a coal mine. Intelligent, gave good rapport. His views, speech, and manners are somewhat old for his age. Silent, contemplative type, very active during the revolution. His account of revolutionary events is very interesting in as much as it casts light on how the Freedom Fighters were able to take over in Pecs practically without firing a shot. Gives an interesting explanation on how and why workers' councils were organized. Noteworthy is his information concerning the smuggling of Free Europe leaflets into prison camps.