

## II. Major Salience Question

We felt that the country had been sold to the Russians at the Yalta Conference. This forced us to live 12 years behind barbed wires, under Soviet oppression. During the revolution, we believed until the last day that something would happen. We did not expect military aid, but some kind of assistance from the UN. It was not only our future which was at stake, but the future of all the captive East European nations.

## III. Chronology of Personal Experiences, Actions, Attitudes, and Expectations during the Revolution.

October 20-24: On Oct. 24, I went down to Pecs with a student friend. We had a small circle of friends interested in Hungarian literature and traditions. We used to meet at the Hungaria Coffee House, formerly New York Palace, where we held many debates. My friend was going down to Pecs to meet the students there following the events in Szeged. I went with him.

On Oct. 21, the students in Pecs made their first move. They held a meeting in the student home of the pedagogic faculty, behind closed doors. They decided that they were fed up with Communist ideology and that a general meeting of the whole student body should be called for the next day, Oct. 22.

On Oct. 22, the general assembly of the students met and 20 demands were formulated. These demands were later printed and distributed in the form of leaflets. The meeting was attended by all professors and by many teachers from the countryside. This was a meeting in the open air in front of the University of Pecs, which lasted until after midnight, Oct. 23. The weather was beautiful. The whole city seemed to be on the square; I believe there were more than 2,000 people there. There were secret policemen in the crowd, but they didn't dare to intervene. Several professors made speeches and asked for the dismissal of several Communist university teachers.

On the same day, students went to the neighboring mines and established contact with the Miners' Youth associations. Many of the students were caught by the AVO.

On Oct. 24, students were busy printing and distributing the leaflets containing the 20 demands. They soon found out that some of them had been arrested. As soon as the people got news of the events in Budapest, the AVO and the police occupied all strategic points. In the evening, people were told to stay in their homes and a state of seige was declared. I took, at

that point, the only train going to Budapest. Everybody was very excited during the trip and discussed with animation the events taking place in the capital. There was an army officer on the train who kept asking the people not to throw him out. He was not harmed. When we arrived in the morning at the Southern Railway Station in Budapest, (our train was the only one to be able to enter the city, all the others had to stop outside the city and their passengers had to walk into the city), we derailed the train with the help of the railway employees. We pushed down towards the Szena Square one sleeping car, one Pullman car, and the mail car. They rolled right against the Soviet tanks and stayed there constituting a barricade almost impossible to remove.

I went immediately to see my friends in the New York Coffee House. They were already busy editing revolutionary newspapers. In that building, at least 15 papers were edited. The New York Palace was the center of this activity and during the revolution, not less than 50 papers were edited. I got a machine pistol and stood guard at the building. I also organized the distribution of the papers in Budapest, on a Pobeda car. The Russians never dared to enter the streets.

On Oct. 27, I was in the Second District of Budapest organizing the revolutionary Council of the teachers. I became a member of the Council of the District. Following a meeting of all schools concerned, we accepted the demands of the Hungarian nation and immediately started to remove the Communist emblems from our schools. The children burned their Russian text-books with great enthusiasm. At the university, several Communist teachers were removed.

I was, during all this time, in a mood of taking revenge for more than 10 years of oppression by the Communists. I had to work hard while studying in college and though later I had no more financial difficulties, I still had many reasons to take revenge. I had no fear at all, but was very enthusiastic. I wanted a truly Hungarian national government and complete independence for Hungary. We were all starving because of the Russians. I hate the Russians because I know them well. I have relatives who live in the Ukraine-Carpathes and I knew how hard their life had been under the Soviet oppression.

We were sure that we would not fail. We hoped that the world, especially the great Western Powers, would side with us. I will never forget the meeting I attended in Pecs; though it was only for students and professors, everybody came, everybody spoke and voted with raised hands. It was like a prayer.

## B. Fighting after October 24.

The people got arms from the Army barracks, from the warehouses of the plants; they were given heavy weapons by the soldiers who were brought to town from the country-side. But unfortunately, they had no bazookas.

On Oct. 26, after the freedom fighters occupied the Radio Building, we took positions in the telephone exchange. The officers of the Zrinyl Military training school were sent out to re-occupy the building. They were preceded by a Soviet storm-brigade of 32 men and 2 armored cars. Only one Soviet officer and one soldier survived, the others were killed by the freedom fighters. When the Hungarian officers saw this, they refused to fight against the people. The Zrinyl Officers' Training School ceased, in fact, to exist from that moment on. The Communist elite officers were disintegrating...

On Oct. 27, a group of more than 200 young miners from Tata-banya came to Budapest through the hills with machine-guns, mortars and much ammunition. The way was already cut by the Russians. The miners left their weapons at Hunyadvára. One group took position in the fortress on the Buda hill, the others in the woods near Pest, near the highways. They fought for days, in excellent positions, and destroyed many Soviet tanks, armored cars, killed and wounded many Russian soldiers.

Later, they picked up the weapons they left behind and with dumpers, before the Russians' eyes, and took them to Széna Square and to the fortress. At the square, the railway cars proved to be excellent barricades, not even the tanks could break through. Around the square, many buildings were destroyed. They must be razed and rebuilt completely. The same applies to the Váci-ut and to the Korut.

The freedom fighters had no regular leaders. People would join a group and fight there, then maybe, they would join another group. I had some contacts with the people who took over at the radio stations.

We got all our news from RFE. They gave us much hope. I knew immediately that Hegedus and Gero had called the Russians. The damned sold out the Hungarian people. But the Russians would have intervened anyway.

### III. The Re-Invasion

We saw that the Soviet troops had surrounded Budapest. We started to organize the stock piling of food, of ammunition in the cellars of Buda. We also tried to organize some regular armed forces, such as national guards and armed students. Their task was to stand guard at strategic points. We established public kitchens for them.

The day the Russians left, we already knew that they had entrenched themselves around the city. We had mortars on the Gellert Hill, anti-craft guns in the fortress and the army was with the freedom fighters.

On Nov. 3 and 4, I didn't go to sleep at all and sat near the radio, waiting for news. On Nov. 4, we went out in the morning to the Fehervari Road where the Russians were coming in. The fighting was particularly heavy in the bus depot. We were pushed back to the Moricz Zsigmond Square. Four or five Russian tanks arrived and gunned the buildings until they burned down. When they had no more ammunition, three cars carrying some arrived. We destroyed them all with hand grenades. When they exploded, one tank fell literally apart and burned out. Forty to fifty Russian soldiers were reduced to small bits. We were attacked from the air with phosphorous shells. We tore up the cobbles from the whole square, pulled down electric wires and then went back to the fortress. Our artillery destroyed two or three Russian tanks and the same number of anti-tank guns in front of the bridge over the Danube.

We remained in the fortress until the general attack started on Nov. 7 or 8. The Russian tanks opened fire from various directions, damaging the church and the archives and the printing shop. The tanks fired more than 300 shells from a distance of 15 to 20 feet. The building caught fire and burned for three days as the Russians also destroyed the fire engines. The American Library, where two wounded were lying was hit by mines. Our people showed the white flag. When the Russians saw it, they fired 30 to 40 shells into the building. This I saw myself. Then the tanks entered the fortress.

I went down with a small group to annihilate the Russians' mine sweepers. We took our wounded to the cellar to save them from the hands of the Russians. Later, they were taken to the various hospitals. When we learned that Dunapentele had fallen, I tried to go back to my home in Zugliget. I met my landlord, who told me not to go home because many people had been taken away from the neighborhood by the secret police and that the young people had left for the hills west of Pest. I went to Pest. The damage there was considerable. Much more than we thought while we were in Buda. I looked for my friends and companions of the fighting. The New York Palace was destroyed. In one room I saw bodies, but was unable to identify them.

During the next ten days we tried with my friends to figure out what we could do. We buried our friends and colleagues who had been killed during the fighting. I lost one of my best friends, who was killed while trying to get some food for his wife. When we saw that it was useless, we stayed. Thousands of children had died only because they heard about freedom, but didn't know what it was, and felt only that it was worth while to die for it. We saw that all this had been in vain, because we were again back under Soviet oppression, which took the ten most beautiful years of my life (20 to 30). I knew I couldn't teach any more, and the rest of my life seemed meaningless if I were to be enslaved once more.

Then I met with my athletic ~~friends~~ friends and the twelve of us stole a military bus and headed toward the border. Everyone left family ~~members~~ behind, children, fiancées, etc. We were ~~stopped~~ stopped near the border by a Russian radio unit, which consisted of three soldiers. We told them we were going to Czechoslovakia and asked them to climb into the bus. Only one was armed. We started the bus and told them to keep quiet. We followed the railroad tracks. ~~With~~ Other Russians let us pass when they saw their men on the bus. We emptied the Russians weapons and they came with us to the border. We said goodbye to them and walked over into Austria. For a long ~~time~~ time we could see them discussing in the sunset whether or not they should come too. If ~~they~~ they did so, we do not know. As for us, we threw away our weapons and reached freedom.

#### IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

As for years, the whole Western propaganda apparatus gave so much encouragement and so many nice promises to the people of the captive nations, we naive people who liked a decent life and wanted to live free as our friends in the West, could not imagine that the assistance to the ~~Hungarian~~ Hungarian freedom fighters would end with the Red Cross relief parcels.

We certainly expected some help from the UN. If a war had resulted this would only have been an advantage, but the rest of the world cannot understand this. I formed my expectations from listening to Western broadcasts, especially from Marai's comments about the UN. I met during the fighting many French, Austrian, British and Swiss newspapermen who used to come to the New York Palace. We took some of them with us to show them the fighting. We didn't talk of Western assistance with them, we knew it was a question of politeness, not of humanity.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES .

A. My father was a ship officer of a Hungarian river and sea fleet. In 1945, he was dismissed without pension with several hundred other captains. He had to take all kinds of jobs, was night watchman, warehouse employee, etc. He still works today with a bridge construction enterprise. Our family owns a villa.

(5) High school diploma

B.1.a.) The Bolshevists, who are neither man nor animal. They make the most of the regime, one to be served by everybody and everything. In brief, the new aristocracy.

b) A special group formed by the artists. They enjoy many privileges from the regime.

The middle class has ceased to exist as such.

c) The workers' masses, industrial workers and peasantry

I had many contacts with all of them as I taught to young workers and peasants alike. The Hungarian worker who formed the largest group, forfeited their leading role in the formation of Hungarian life. The Hungarian worker does every thing if he sees that work has a meaning. His eyes were open wide during the revolution.

The peasantry received very mean treatment. It is more characteristic class. What is Hungarian today in Hungary lives in the peasant. If Soviet oppression continues, it is this class which will preserve for the generations to come everything which is human and Hungarian and which means fatherland. The peasants are the country's heroes to be named both Hungarians and ~~men~~ human beings. The peasantry sacrificed during the revolution was like a hymn. They emptied their attics, gave their last piece of food for those who fought in the heart of the country for a better life. They sent food ~~from~~ on carriages to Budapest from a distance ~~of~~ that often exceeded 100 miles, and distributed it free.

The intelligentsia (pedagogues, etc.) is not a social class. The communists put the people together in the same misery and servitude. It was the best way to unite the people and to help them ~~in~~ in meeting each other.

2. The Hungarian peasant is a man who loves his land. He works hard on it and he hates every form of coercion. If there is nothing to eat, it's his own trouble; if it's a good year, it is his pay. He can be forced to give up his own land. He hated the kolkhozes, where wastage and lack of organization prevailed. In 1945 the land was not given to the peasants by the Communists. When they took away the peasants' land the latter became enraged.

The workers.

To understand this we must go back to another regime in which, socially, the condition of the workers was poor. Until 1945 the worker who worked for wages was the ~~man~~ <sup>last</sup> man in the society. The worker's child was not given an adequate education, and the so-called differences of classes, artificially maintained by the society, kept the workers away from becoming educated men with a broader horizon.

The original promises of Bolshevism raised hopes in these have-nots. First, the Communists proclaimed the power of the working classes and tried to obscure the workers' vision with this self respecting word. As the workers had no basis for comparison with anything else, they believed the nice words and looked at the Potemkin-Houses of the Bolshevism as the pledge for their well-being. As the years went by, the workers realized that their standard of living was falling lower and lower. And when they looked up at the Communists' palaces, they realized that they would get their own homes only when their grand-children would be born.

These workers felt on their own skin that the men they called their leaders were lying so much that nobody could believe them. The price of the lie rose from 7 forints to 35 forints 1/2 lb. At the same time billions were spent on the Budapest subway where the hot water was forcing out the workers to the surface like mice. This was senseless and the workers didn't have to be too intelligent to know it.

The workers lost their confidence, became disillusioned by the many lies which collapsed during the revolution. The workers were doomed who had the largest part in the fighting, especially the have-not proletarians of the VIIIth and IXth districts. It was not the villas or modern buildings of the residential districts which were damaged, but the workers' districts of Csepel and Kobanya. The Hungarian



workers learned what Bolshevist comradeship really meant: inequality.

### 3) Intellectuals

They knew that they had a rope around their neck and that the regime needed them as long as they had ~~finished~~ not finished teaching those creatures whom the regime thought would serve it. They educated and taught, in the elementary schools and universities. Now, the revolution showed it. It was the greatest blow to Communism: the hate of youth, of the same youth the Communists wanted to educate in their own way.

C. The oppression welded together the social classes. The intelligentsia, because of its culture, could see better the inner situation; they considered the workers as victims of Communism, the peasants as the martyrs of the nation. The workers had the same opinion of the peasantry which was the hardest hit by Communism.

E. If somebody wanted to go ahead, he had to sell himself completely to Bolshevism. From then on, as soon as his honor would eventually rebel against the injustices, he lost the favor of the regime. He could be the manager of a small enterprise, or a politician, the regime only knew one thing: the lies and the power of arms. The man trying to go ahead this way is an embittered man, to whom nothing matters and who doesn't know that the price for ruthlessness is always very high. A man who is clairvoyant does not become a scoundrel. The other lives from villainy and ignominy like the regime. Everybody cheated and stole from the state and wherever he lived and wherever he could.

After 1949 only the technical intelligentsia could go ahead with ~~talent~~ talent because it was irreplaceable. There was a psychological change under the New Course. Private initiative was alone in a limited form and many small craftsmen who had connections took advantage of the amelioration. This decreased with Rakosi's return.

F. The secret police (AVO) and the Moscovites with Rakosi. These people could obtain any money or anything they wanted on every line of the economic and cultural life. The departments of certain ministries were created so that several people could earn more money.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE AND THE COMMUNISM

A. Bolsh.vism ~~had~~ deteriorated family life in Hungary. It was one of its aims. The weaker the influence of the family on the young generation became, the easier the poisoning of the child's mind by the Communists' ideology which instead of ~~gave~~ truth and piety taught hate, lies, and brute force to the youth.

We can't speak of normalization of family life in Hungary as long as the older sister gets married, brings her children to life and sees them growing up in the same over crowded room. Communism didn't want to change this. If children do not know the educational effects of family life then, in these circumstances, they can become the early victims of an ideology which tries to suppress the noble and decent efforts of the individuals in order to have them serve only one purpose; the Communist world domination.

B. 1. The way children are brought up changed. The parents, in their struggle for making a living, ~~had~~ both had to work in 99 per cent of the families. The Communists tried to solve the problem by placing the children in nurseries while the parents were at work. In these institutions, the pedagogic system was completely subjected to Communist ideology. That, "Comrade Rakosi is our father" was taught to the young child as soon as he would speak a little. The parents, who didn't sympathize with Communism, realized with fear that the child used more and more Communist slogans at home after school.

What could they do? Explain to the child that everything he learned was a lie and confuse his mind? Or let his responsiveness take in to a greater extent ~~of~~ the morale of the hated regime? This would have obliged them to educate themselves ~~and~~ their children.

2. The children's upbringing depended in a large measure on the pedagogues who educated outside the home. The pressure of work on the parents, their hard fight with life and the problem of the daily morsel of bread didn't allow the relationship between parents and children to become intimate, and the child's confidence in the parents deteriorated as the parents' daily struggle increased. The child's obedience declined in a great measure in the family as well as in the school life. Only in those families where the mother didn't have to work could something more be done in order

to develop the children's minds.

(1) This is a stupid question.

(3) In the school there were so-called "parents' collectives". Their role was to maintain the contact between the school and the home. Politically their activity depended on the director who, if he's a Communist, tried to bring the prevailing tone towards Communism and nobody there to express a different opinion because of the consequences. On the other hand, if Communist parents criticized without grounds, the teacher's work or wanted some privileges for their children, nobody would dare to say anything or to contradict them. School life was reduced to the fact that the teacher was left completely alone to teach youth what was good, beautiful and true. That the children understood it, the revolution proved it with the heroic death of many thousands of young boys and girls.

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On the elementary level, 90 per cent of the Hungarian pedagogues tried to form honest and patriotic Hungarians of the youth in their charge. In 10 per cent of the industrial schools, the role of which was different, the teaching board was of such inferior quality, with the exception of a few former honest pedagogues, that youth itself despised these teachers for their ignorance and their arrogant attitude. Some of them, who had finished six years of elementary school and had received one year of training, were qualified to teach only things to their Party membership certificate, were amazingly ignorant and didn't know much about education. Their efforts were unsuccessful among the young industrial students who knew the reality of Communism through their parents' and their own situation.

The desolation of the countryside schools under Communism surpassed all imagination. The regime tried to solve school programs by introducing morning and afternoon classes, which meant that young children had to go home in darkness in the winter. If a school was to be built in the country, this was discussed for months in the newspapers as a new victory on the educational front. But in reality crowdedness and dirt were the two factors of the Communist school policy.

In the countryside family life was more normal than in the larger cities. But as the children grew up, they tried immediately to leave the desolated and plundered small villages and towns.

C. Courtship, under its old form before Communism disappeared almost completely. As life didn't offer anything ideal to man, the youth lost its idealism and searched for beauty, which characterized the Hungarian pattern of courtship before Communism. As the husband could give no security to his chosen beloved, because insecurity was the basis of the regime, the choice of the other partner often was based on mere libido. These ill-fated marriages are better illustrated by the great number of divorces. The Communist system could not provide a home or an apartment to the newlyweds who often lived for years apart from each other. This abnormal life could not create the conditions for a happy life. As the economic situation was very bad, this had only harmful effects on the solidity of the marriage. The young people were forced to hand over their children to the state and its various institutions.

From the legal point of view, in the years 1952-53-54, a new Communist ideology was born whose slogan: "To become a mother is a duty for a woman, a glory for a girl". This slogan was accompanied by a layette and a half dozen diapers. The Communists thought this would be sufficient for the child for the next twenty years to come. The most disgraceful injustices occurred during those years. Without any legal basis, any woman could name anybody as the father of the child she expected. The young people's marriages were watched by the Party secretary, who and often they had to go to the countryside if they wanted to get married in the church.

There were many illegitimate children. No birth control. In 1956 a new decree made possible, to some extent, the correction of this intolerable situation. Contraceptives were available at all times. Prostitution increased in frightening proportions. The official of the regime was to emphasize the beauty of family life without doing anything in favor of it. The sexual problems were avoided by the Communist press and only last year were some serious articles published. Many Communists chose their position so that women were depending on them and whom they could use for their own aims. It is not possible to answer whether or not the Communists were more or less inhibited than others. This depends on the individuals and, in my opinion, this question makes no sense.

D. 1. When two people talked together in Hungary they were very friendly and sincere in their opinions. If a third person was present, they put on the so-called "muffler". And they said just the opposite of what they thought.

2. A Communist would have ceased to be my friend because I had in my ~~circle~~ circle of friends no men who sold themselves to the regime which ruined the country. If the Communists felt that for his own interest, it was not good to be friendly with an anti-Communist, he would also break the friendship. It is impossible to continue the friendship without politics, because the Communists were those people who committed faults and misused everything. And there was too much hatred and too much contempt towards them.

E. The Communist means of information always avoided mentioning any crimes. There was maybe, one small news item in the week. Crimes and robberies, which in 1945 were inaugurated by the Russians reached proportions never seen before. I know the facts pertinently because I had police officers among my sport friends who knew the real situation.

The causes were: first, the bad economic conditions; secondly, the complete aimlessness of the future. People, at least for a while, wanted to ~~live~~ live as men, and those whose moral basis was less developed than the average, would lose ground and become criminals. There were never as many embezzlements in Hungary as under the Communists. With the slogan "The factory is yours", the workers tried to take as much as they could from what was their own. Everyday dozens of thefts were reported in factories. The people thought in themselves: to steal from the state is a glory, from the state which lives on the sweat of the workers and maintains an army of secret policemen, in order to suppress the workers' rights. Nobody felt any remorse when causing damage to the state.

Special institutions, which never before existed in Hungary had to be established for juvenile delinquents. Many young people, when they left the industrial schools and went to work found themselves in such difficult circumstances and were put in such wage categories that they were unable to earn the minimum means of living. And as for months, they had no hope to get ahead, they didn't see any sense in their work. The hooligans were usually young workers who saw the Party leaders in their magnificent American cars and who tried to live as well without working. Expressed in other words, the example is catching. The difference between the

two groups was that one group had strong foundations in the Communist Party membership, and good friends in Moscow, while the other consisted of disillusioned youths who always received something different from what they were told.

When the question was raised in the press, the Party was always the only one who "could lead the erring youth to the only and just role, and the young people, putting their hopes in the great Stalin, became elite Stakhanovites of the camp of peace". As long as the "criminal" doesn't hurt the society, I don't consider this a crime whether he works or not,

The parents usually take notice of this behavior when they face their children at the police station. Most young criminals never knew their parents. Often, I envied the bums in rags sunbathing on the benches while I ran from one place to another to give my lessons and earn a hard living.

The rise in alcoholism was such that the state had to increase the prices of liquors by 100 to 200 per cent. The reasons for that were the complete lack of security, and as salaries were not enough for everything, it didn't matter on what they were spent. Drinking is always the narcosis of misery.

Under the Bolshevist regime, the non-political crimes fell under individual judgement. A criminal of workers' origin would be sentenced to a few months imprisonment for stealing 20,000 forints, because he was a "misled proletarian". At the same time, a post office employee with 25 years of service who in four years would steal 3,000 forints of stamps, would be sentenced to several years, because it was found out that he had studied in a religious school and that the Party secretary had seen him in the crowd at ~~the~~ a religious procession.

The police were absolutely unsuccessful. It was too busy with crimes and many had political aspects. As the old police force was completely disbanded and the experienced former police officers and men were put into internment camps, complete anarchy reigned in the ranks of the police. The people hated them because they were an organ of oppression. The new mercenary police had only one thing: faithfulness to the Party, instead of experience, knowledge, and vocation in defending the interests of society.

## VII. RELIGION

A. Communist rule had much of an effect on the religious life in Hungary. Before Communism, the role of the churches in Hungary was not satisfactory. The clergy was too far away from the masses which paid the taxes which provided their living and in return, they would often just give their hand to kiss. The system of the religious schools in the elementary grades became completely obsolete under the former regime. Very often, the existence or non-existence of people with diplomas depended on the sympathy or antipathy of a priest. The effect of Bolshevism on a religious life was to relieve the spiritual complexion of the masses. In my opinion, the eventual religious compulsion that the people had felt was replaced under Bolshevism by the inner religious life of the individual. Bolshevism's fight against religion deterred many people from practicing openly, but strengthened many people in the exercise of their inner personal religious life. I remember the last procession of Saint Stephen's Day which was ~~axismag~~ allowed under Bolshevism. Those who were there were not forced or asked to be there. They came either because they felt piety in themselves or because they wanted to demonstrate against a world which took over in the years to come. In

In the people's minds and souls God's house was not only a place of devotion, but a silent protest at every service and high mass against something diabolic and hated by man. To hear every Sunday a sermon, open or in guarded words telling of a human life still to come, became the support of many people.

(4) The Catholic church was hardest hit because the state wanted its wealth. The Bolsheviks robbed everything from everybody and, ~~for this~~ was used to cover their other aims.

(5) I don't see any differences between these religions as I believe Communism didn't make any difference between them. It was only a question of terror.

B. I am not too religious myself. I believe in God, but I accept the religious doctrines only when I find them agreeable to my own self created values of justice and of human honesty. In our family, the actions of the individuals have to speak for themselves because if they are honest, one doesn't have to ask God for forgiveness of sins. In general, Hungarians are not more religious today than we were. I used to go to church regularly.

C. The correct relationship between state and church .

The church should educate and not play politics. It must help the needy people. It must not live in the frame of the state on a material basis, but as an independent organ which the faithful support with sincere enthusiasm for their own benefit, because they feel that from their own point of view, they need everything which they can get from the church. In any case, the churches should not set moral codes and standards in movies, plays, books, etc. The churches should possess such forces, the effects of which are stronger than those the churches should criticize.

D. The Jews stick together far more than any other religious group. The events of 1944-45 gave a special opportunity to the Jews. The leading positions were almost all occupied by them and they directed the political, economical and artistic life of the country. From the directors of the university, factory managers, theatre managers, etc. all spheres of life were under Jewish direction. The political leaders of Hungary under Communism, all those who retained the highest posts were Jews, (Rakosi, Gero, etc.). Naturally, with such common interests, the Jews were placed on a pedestal among the starving masses of the Hungarian people, I do not exaggerate if I say that 90 per cent of the managers of all state stores, and restaurants, etc. were Jews. Naturally, they did not become managers and directors because they were Jews, but because they belonged to the Communist Party. The organization of the AVD was done completely by Jews which was natural after the terrible injustices which occurred in 1944-45 towards these people, whose only crime had been to be Jewish.

Q Considered from a logical viewpoint, to be a member of the Party for a Jew, was the most natural means of protection against the eventuality of a new Nazi persecution. As under Bolshevism, the Jews had a leading role in all spheres of life and sat in the boat to which we were only clinging, their only aim was to keep their positions at any price. The price was the revolution in October. After the revolution, my Jewish school director tore up before my eyes in his office his Communist Party membership certificate and told me, "In this country, there is no sense to live any more! What could I do to get max with my pregnant wife out of the country?" As a man, he was honest and I will always think of him with affection.



I did not see any Jews demonstrating or fighting during the revolution. Actually, these people were thrown out from their leading positions by the revolution.

As the Jews leading role under the twelve years of Bolshevism was felt completely in all spheres of Hungarian life, and that this life brought misery to the masses and comfort without work for the leaders, the masses came unwillingly under the effect of a new kind of anti-Semitism provoked by the Communist Jews. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ In spite of this hatred and disgust, the revolution of October remained unblemished/ and free of any anti-Semitic character.

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#### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. High school and university students and young/ workers

B. Under Bolsheviks youth had the most hopeless situation. The middle aged people who had already known better times in a relative freedom became somewhat insensible in their struggle for survival. The youth which, through the difficult situation of the parents could see ~~xx~~ all the hypocrisy between daily life and the Bolshevik slogans became disgusted with so many lies. Youth knew what it could expect when it became old. The old people were of no use to Bolshevism and were condemned to die.

Youth lived in misery. The normal daily food was a problem similar to that of getting a pair of socks or shoes. While the Bolsheviks wage preachers stepped out of their elegant cars in front of the entrances of the Luxurious restaurants youth observed and waited. There were animated debates at university meetings in which only two or three Communist stooges found themselves facing the masses of the youth. Youth asked for justice and for a free life, ~~xxxx~~ A better material life, more food and easier means of ~~xxxx~~ living were not mentioned at these meetings. The goals were justice and freedom, at any price. The university students demonstrated, taking along with them the elementary and high school students and finally the whole Hungarian nation. This was the way the revolution began.

(3) In ~~the~~ view of so many sacrifices, the most sensible man could say nothing but "let's try it at all costs". Among the ranks of the youth/ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ fought many older people with more experience. More than one mother was struck at her child's side by an AVO or a Russian bullet. Young and old

alike wanted only one thing, the country's freedom. This struggle was the struggle of the entire nation and cannot be divided into age groups.

C. The aim of the school policy was to win over the child and the adolescent to the Bolshevist ideology. The class books were modified, the image of the Russian books, the compulsory teaching of Marxism and of the Russian language were introduced. All this served one purpose: to educate out of the youth good subjects of the new Soviet colony.

In the lower grade schools, the quality of the teaching did not reach the minimum requirements which were asked from the students in the high schools. The misery in which the teachers lived, their complete oppression and political intimidation were the factors which contributed to create such a situation.

The admission to a university was based completely on ~~sex~~ ~~sex~~ class origin. The aim of the regime was to train, in addition to the many Jews who, thanks to their connections, were in the universities, an adequate technical intelligentsia out of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ worker cadres. As the preliminary studies of these cadres lacked the most elementary basis, the level of the instruction in the universities had to be lowered to their ~~own~~ level.

The result was amazing. If the student was an active Party member and got honors in Bolshevism, the professor, if he was an old one, was forced to let him be promoted without the ~~minimum~~ minimum knowledge. If the teacher was a Communist, --there were few of them-- he would promote him, influenced by comradely sympathy. Foreign technical literature was reduced to a minimum and the lack of knowledge of the Western methods undermined the level of the university instruction. There were never so many faulty planning, unnecessarily invested material and delayed export goods in Hungary as during the years under Bolshevism. The statistical offices which ~~had~~ rather looked like atomic plants --they were so heavily guarded-- published the most impossible data concerning the never attained heights of the Hungarian economic, cultural and social life.

E. 1. They devoted very much time to this and a good ideological knowledge was often considered more important than ~~the~~ technical illiteracy.

2. The ideologic training was completely wasted time and even the Communist students knew it. This indoctrination had no other meaning than to ~~maximize~~ repeat a lie until people believed it.

Under Imre Nagy the university professors tried desperately to raise the level of the education. More emphasis was placed on knowledge. This effort did not succeed and nothing changed. It was all eye-wash from the part of the regime.

#### IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

Hungary's economic situation was characterized by a constant, disguised running up of prices by the Bolshevists, either by putting up the prices effectively or by reducing the salaries through a so-called "adjustment of norms". The situation was ~~the~~ worse in the countryside where in 1953-54 and even in 55 people had to make long queues in order to get commodities ~~such~~ such as bread, lard, meat, etc. This was the often proclaimed increase of the standard of living. The mere expression of opinion was equivalent, in the most fortunate case, to dismissal from one's job. The quality of the products among the food stuff was the most inferior.

#### X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. 1. As an individual, I had a special situation because besides teaching at school, I gave private gymnastic lessons and massage. This meant that materially I was able to triple my teacher's salary with my other occupations. It also meant that I was continually working from 8 A.M. til 9 P.M., Saturdays included. At that price, I earned 3,500 to 4,000 forints a month. My private life was equal to nothing and my only goal was to become materially ~~the~~ independent, ~~if~~ in the eventuality that I would not be allowed again to teach because of my opinions, as during the school year 1954-55.

NEED - The problem of my clothing was solved through my connections with ~~sportemen~~ <sup>athletes</sup> who used to go abroad. As for the food my claims were minimal. I renounced having an apartment for myself under Bolshevism. Since I went to school, I lived in rented rooms and during the two years I was married, I couldn't even get one single independent room for two persons.

(3) Food (because it was the most expensive)  
If someone wanted to buy anything else, he had to give up normal eating for along time. For weeks, I ate bread and lard for breakfast and dinner to be able to buy all the works of Shakespeare for 200 forints. I don't mean this was characteristic for 1956, when my material situation became better than the average.

(4) As I was a student before the war, I can make comparisons only through the life of my family. Today, the greatest problem for my father, mother and sister is the daily bread. Before the war, we did not know this problem.

(5) In 1951, two pounds of lard cost 100 forints on the free market. Officially, it cost 17 forints, but it could be found only on the free market for 100 forints. The regime made a "gesture" to the people and fixed the maximum price at 35 forints. The wages, of course, remained the same. =

In 1952, there was a relative amelioration, though at the end of the year the prices of textiles were increased 50 per cent. The salaries remained the same, in 1953-54 people queued long hours in the countryside for bread, lard, and meat. A quintal of corn cost 800 forints, that is a worker's monthly salary. The good crop of 1955 brought some amelioration to the food situation in the countryside and in the capital.

2. The family I knew was that of a Jewish business man who sold sportswear articles. They had two children to whom I gave lessons at home, as the fee they paid me was almost equivalent with my monthly pay as a teacher. Both husband and wife worked in the store. The finished products were made for them by different small craftsmen and the business of the store was excellent. The monthly net income was between 10 and 11 thousand forints. The monthly total turn-over, around 100,000 forints. In spite of the heavy taxes, it was worth while for them to keep their business. Naturally, these people's household did not lack anything which could be obtained legally or illegally in Hungary. They lived in a two room apartment with adjoining space. One room was for the children and the other for the parents. In the summer, they, ~~xxxxx~~ vacationed on the lake Balaton or in the mountains, in a private pension and lived like men should have lived in our country. They were working and honest people and they deserved their fortunate circumstances.

3. Until the end of 1949 after the inflation had been stopped, the situation in Hungary was normal. The Bolshevists could get a solid hold on the economic situation only after they

took ~~me~~ over the products and properties accumulated by private individuals and achieved suppression of private ownership in favor of the state. When ~~they~~ reduced everybody who owned something to the state of a beggar, the state was forced to support its own beggars. The economy started to deteriorate<sup>AND</sup> with mild fluctuations, ~~and~~ continued to do so from 1950 until the revolution.

B. 1. 3,500-4,000

2. About 12 per cent deductions plus 3 per cent union fees.

6. I taught for five years and I always received 1,000 forints per month.

C. There were differences in price. For instance, the potatoes. When there were no more potatoes in the Kozert (state stores) the price of the free market rose 8 or even 10 fold! Prices in Hungary depended completely on the ingathering and on the storage. If, because of faulty storage, 1,000 carloads of goods were spoiled, prices increased two fold, for example, so that the state enterprise could fulfill its financial plan. As there were no competitors, the citizens paid everything.

(2) There were minimal differences. It can only be said that certain articles disappeared from the market for several months. Then we knew that the regime was exporting. And to express how genial were the transactions of the export companies, we used to say in Hungary that "for two quarts of Tokaj wine, we received one quart of Pilsener beer from Czechoslovakia". Our foreign trade leaders wanted to do business at all costs, because they still had business in the blood when they came back from the concentration camps. I knew many of them personally, ~~when~~ from the time I used to go and buy vegetables in their own stores. I do not know in what language the foreign trade agreements, ~~which~~ were settled, but I knew for sure that some of the people who concluded them had only six years of elementary school.

3. ~~It~~ When an article disappeared for a while, it could be found after a few days in limitless quantities on the black market.

The ingathering system in Hungary was really amazing. The buyer, that is the state, cheated the peasant whenever it could. Nobody protected the peasant. If he complained, he

lackey

was branded a kulak or a ~~xxxx~~ of ~~x~~ kulaks. The buyer took the good quality while claiming it to be poor quality. The peasant thought to himself: "If you cheat me, I'll pay you back!", ~~xxx~~ What had to be stored in a dry place, he allowed to get wet (with water, it will weigh more!). When the produce got to the warehouses, and when its transportation was delayed by lack of carriers, it germinated and got rotten. The peasant could have put the produce in a dry place in his attic, but Communism did not trust anybody.

I saw, myself, a case, in the Fall when the corn was being ~~gathered xxxxxxxx~~ gathered at the railway station in a countryside. The peasants gathered the corn in the heavy rain, threw it on the ground and trampled it into the mud. When I came back a week later, most of the corn was still lying there wet and covered with mud. In that year, 1954, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~, the price of corn was 600 forints a quintal. I wonder how the peasant who grew the corn by the sweat of his brow and had to deliver it to the state for 40 to 50 forints a quintal did feel. This is the way Bolshevism honored the tiring work of its peasants. Those who directed these state organs had nothing to do with agriculture. They were only Party members and could be trusted by the Ministry for Ingathering.

5. ~~Many~~ products (cheese, butter, etc.) Hungary was characterized by the fact that everything could be found, but for such a price that very few people could buy them regularly. I considered a luxury, while I was in Hungary: alcoholic beverages, coffee, tea, cocoa, sardines, tropical fruit, (they couldn't be found at all), a refrigerator, continuous hot water, a vacuum cleaner, a washing machine, central heating or rather warmth.

6. There were articles in Hungary which were available to the consumers only in limited quantities. They could be bought only through acquaintances. For instance, rice, butter, chocolate, and every food stuff which disappeared seasonally. Among the people who did under the counter sales, very few were caught. I knew Kozert director who kept in his store tamed rats in order to justify (the "damages" he suffered. Every time an inspector would show up, the rats were let free and the shrewd manager could report several hundred forints worth of losses every month without being suspected.

D. I had 27 hours of classes in school plus 16 hours per week of private gymnastic instruction and 12 hours of massage.

What I earned with these three jobs was enough for relatively normal life. But my life was literally calculated by minutes. I had always to be back at school for the beginning of my hours. My life was a perpetual running. This would not have been compulsory for me, but my teacher's salary did not cover the minimum cost of my living. The school commenced at 8 A.M. and ended at 2 P.M.. I had unoccupied hours between the two. If ~~xxxx~~ I had to attend a lecture in the afternoon I could not look after my other job. From my teacher's salary and my earnings as a private gymnastic teacher, 50 per cent was deducted from which amount the director, the assistant director, the cleaning personnel and the state got their share, the biggest going naturally to the latter. If I could have chosen, I would have preferred to be a soccer player. It was the only intelligent occupation. Soccer players could travel abroad with a regular passport and they could live without difficulties.

~~xxxxxxx~~ Among the teachers, I must make a distinction between two groups: those with whom I spoke openly and those to whom I didn't speak at all because it was advisable to do so, as our position depended on the director's good and bad will, But if one had a high protector, this did not matter. I was not satisfied with my job. One was forced materially to take on much more than one could accomplish normally. This was the same in all spheres of life for everybody except for a very small category of people who could make themselves independent materially from this situation.  
~~Yixxwx~~

2. In their profession, my co-workers, in my opinion, all gave satisfaction. When we were asked to put politics into gymnastics and to prepare the young children to fight, we had to give them regular military training such as sharp shooting with automatic weapons and hand grenades. (I taught industrial students for three years). The classification in the progress of their military training was based on much shooting they did during the year. We took our task seriously and we taught the youth how to fight. The revolution proved that we taught them well.

3. The Communists vacation program was a ~~fxwx~~ false vacation which could be expressed by these words, " If I don't eat it I won't get anything else." This meant in practice, that people were sent in Nov to lake Balaton or in August

to the mountains when they wanted to be near the water. ~~The granting of the holidays~~ The granting of the holidays was done on a "friendly" basis. Those who ~~were~~ had the proper connections could have vacations as much as three times a year, once legally, the other times as a reward. The granting of vacations was naturally linked to ~~his~~ political merits, though the amount of money which was allotted was minimal. But the misfortunes of the poor vacationer really started when he arrived at the resort designated for him and ~~when~~ he was put in a four bed room. At a time when he wanted to rest, he ~~was~~ found himself, like one of my fellow teachers, in the company of three complete strangers of whom one snored, the other listened to the radio until 2 in the morning and the third had a too marked preference for drinking. In addition, a distance of one mile separated the dining place from the dormitory and when my colleague came back from his rest, he was so embittered that we could hardly cheer him up.

Health insurance was fairly well organized. If somebody fell ill and had worked for two years at the same place he received 70 per cent of his pay for the first two months; after this he was declared a disabled person and was given a minimum sum on which he could starve. If he worked less than two years at the same place, he got only 60 per cent of his salary. The health institutions (hospitals) were continually over crowded, the doctors collapsed one after the other in their super human work, the health personnel was so poorly paid that as a result, it didn't care too much about its work. In the dispensaries, could be found every day thousands of people simulating illness together with the people broken down by the inhuman conditions of work. For one year I assumed the direction of the athletic circle of a large Budapest district hospital (Ujpest). In the hospitals, the food was kept at the lowest minimum possible. Because of the bad material circumstances, the personnel changed continually. The doctors had to take care of many patients in various institutions in order to make a living. As a result, their further scientific training was completely neglected. I had many friends among the doctors whom I met every day and I cannot recall a single one who was not embittered.

#### Pensions

As Bolshevism needs a man only as long as he can sweat, those who become old have to die. The amount of the pensions was so minimal that it did not cover the expenses for food of an old man for two weeks! My grand mother received 120



forints per month after the death of my grand father, who had been a chief forestry officer. (This was the price of eight pounds of lard).

I must mention separately the so-called Party pensions which even a 30 year old man could get if the Bolshevist regime thought him worthy of this amount. I knew somebody who received 1,200 forints per month as Party pension. For what merits, I don't know. The regime always spoke about reforming the pension system and introduced a special 4 per cent pension tax for everybody, but to my knowledge, nothing from this money was ever given to the needy and starving old people.

E. (1) In Hungary, country life under Bolshevism was the equivalent of being buried alive. The country people, like the rats from the sinking ship, fled desperately towards the capital. This stream could only be called an "escape". Regards the distribution of goods, ~~was~~ the country was looked upon as if no people were existing there. The Bolsheviks concentrated everything in the capital where they attempted to create with fantastic shop-windows the appearance of abundance. The Bolshevist regime destroyed the country. It robbed who had something as long as it was possible, and when they had nothing more left, it deported them. Anarchy reached never seen proportions in the country. The police organs could take any measures against anybody. Those who directed the country life were the g hooligans and the bars-inmates who had never possessed anything and who, as trustworthy proletarians, had become members of the Party and the leaders of the country life.

The country life was characterized by fear and misery. I tought for two years in the country, in a medium-size town [Nagykanizsa], and as long as I'll live I'll never forget those days of despair without any prospects for the future. When we intellectuals met, nothing but complaints could be heard, so that the people avoided each other's company. We were all alone, without any distractions, and felt extremely miserable. I had no other choice than to return to the capital- if I didn't want to go insane or to become an alcoholic, like other intellectuals, among them outstanding doctors, who had been forced to accept a job in the country. In the city, especially in Budapest, because of their number, the people did not feel so exposed to the regime. Moreover, the economical factors were incomparably more favorable.

(2) The peasantry had a horror of the collective farming in Hungary. The Moscovite leaders who upon the Kremlin's orders, wanted to realize collectivization didn't know the inner life of the Hungarian peasants, because these leaders had nothing in common with the Hungarian people. Collective farming was introduced by an endless, vile and disgraceful propaganda. A crusade was launched in the country against all those who had some private property. They were called kulaks. The Hungarian peasants, who were branded by this name by the Bolsheviks were condemned to death. The peasantry, ruined by the most terroristic methods, the most exorbitant taxes and deliveries, was forced by groups to cultivate collectively. The flourishing ~~xxxxxx~~ farms went bankrupt. The Bolshevik regime made from the Hungarian peasants who loved their land a poor rural proletariat which possessed absolutely nothing. Propaganda farms were made out of a few kolkhozes with huge sums of money, in which the members, after the distribution of the incomr at the end of the year, were given as much as 4000-5000 forints monthly salary per person. At the same time, the chief doctor of a hospital earned 1,600 forints per month. The life and the work of these kolkhozes was the preferred theme of the Communist press.

(3) The formation of the kolkhozes was opposed most of all by the landless cotters of the former regime who in 1945, had been given land and were finally able to have their own life, in accordance with their own convictions.

(4) Some kolkhozes, which were created by force, lacked so much of means of production and of labor force that the members had nothing to eat. In Hungary, one could recognize, from far away which land belonged to the kolkhoze, and which to the individual farmer. When the weed was higher than the grapes, or when the corn was still not gathered in December, it could only be a kolkhoze. Students and employees were forced more than once to go out to the fields to work, in order to save at least a part of the products. In the summer, the majority of the army was ordered out for agricultural work. When this free labor force was enable to reach any sizable results, the kolkhoze was dissolved. The Communist collectivization of agriculture was a planned and deliberate destruction of Hungary's economic life.

3. Private farms. In Hungary, nothing is so expensive as food. The individual farmers, who were fortunate enough to avoid the kulaks' lists, and could produce well, took their share out of the amazingly high prices of foodstuffs, though I knew of very few such cases.

4. Independent farming, with the realization of an irrigation plan by the state. The Hungarian peasants would pay for the water to the state. But the land would belong to the peasants.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. 1. Before 1945, I went to school. The aim of school education before 1945 was to keep alive in the child's mind the so-called Hungarian patriotism and the restoration of the Hungarian territories detached by the peace treaty of Trianon. As a child, I remember the demonstrations of the years 1938-1939, when we claimed for the return of the detached territories. We heard so much in school of the Hungarian bravery and heroism that we didn't see that among the people who headed these demonstrations some had formerly owned land in these territories.

With the beginning of World War II, the Hungarian political life fell partly under the influence of German ideology. We in the schools and in the so-called "levante" youth organization, also felt the effects of this tendency. The anti-semitic trend was propagated at that time in Hungary, too. In our education, it played an insignificant part. In the secondary school I went to, 50 per cent of the students were Jews. We never felt that among them there were differences between us, we did our homework together and played together in the yard.

In 1942, when the German military apparatus swept over Europe, the question arose in us, young people: what will be the fate of Hungary following an eventual German victory? We had seen the Boles' fate, and we knew that in Rotterdam thousands of people remained dead under the ruins after one single air raid. As we became older, we started to realize what ruthlessness was.

In January, 1942, we stuck anti-German leaflets on the walls of houses and on street-car windows, and also in the school. The next day, when I came out at noon from the school, two men came to me and asked me to accompany them. They took me to the

Bajza-utca, in the German military and police establishments, and the next day, I was transported to Vienne in a sealed truck with two other students, and locked up at the Elizabeth Allee.

I spent 3 months in jail, together with my 16th birthday. After three months, at the end of April, I was questioned by a Hungarian-speaking detective, and when I mentioned the name of one of my father's friends, who was chief detective in Hungary, he became very friendly, and told me how lucky I was, because some people had to wait one year before being questioned. The interrogation took place in the building of the Gestapo in Vienna, near the Danube Canal. Four or five days later, they escorted me to the Hungarian border, and I could go home illegally. Only when I arrived home did my parents know of my fate for the first time.

In the jail, I got to know many foreigners, and I saw which side had the strongest forces. After my return I continued my studies in another school. During the German withdrawal, we all knew that the nation had been swept into a hopeless and unjust war. At the age of eighteen, I fought in the war as a "levente" in Budapest against the Russians. On January 13, 1945 in the last resistance center on the Margit körút, we threw away our weapons with two other friends of the same age, and put on civilian clothes.

And then we got to know the Russians personally. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ One can give some recognition to the Germans as soldiers. With the Russians' arrival we discovered a new type of men, the type of men all dictatorships create for themselves. Without any remorse, they killed anybody if this was in their interest. Our mothers and sisters had to be hidden from them, and for long months, the general plundering and looting went on. We would have never thought that God's creation, man, humanity could be destroyed to such an extent.

As the Russian pressure diminished somewhat, the struggle for power of the political parties and the individuals' struggle for positions began. The Jews ~~sawed~~ freed from the ghetto established in December 1944, and saved from the Nazi death camps, wanted to pay back eye-for-eye, tooth-for-tooth the injuries inflicted to them. They organized the AVO and the economical police. I met again some of my former schoolmates as detectives and AVÖ men. One of them told me that he had just slapped half-dead one of his levente instructors on the Andrassy-ut (AVO headquarters), who in 1944, made him lie in the school yard. Everybody leaved in fear. The Russians took the people away from the streets and deported them to

Siberia for many years. Some fathers went down to queue for bread, and their families would not see them again five years later, if they were lucky.

This situation suited the Bolsheviks whom Moscow sent to Hungary for stepping openly on the stage. Where there is misery, hate and dissatisfaction, Bolshevism finds safe grounds. For the workers of the country, robbed by the Germans and the Russians, a few words of encouragement were sufficient, and hoping for a better life, a fraction of them joined the Bolsheviks who won therefore the first round. The other parties either fought each other or, inside the parties, fought for positions. The parties divided among themselves the main positions in the ministries. With the help of the Soviet bayonets, the Communists obtained the most important ones. The Party had obtained a very small percentage at the first national free elections. For a while, the Communists kept promising everything. Hundreds of thousands of Hungarians had been deported to the Soviet Union, and when a small group of sick people was returned, ~~it was~~ the Communists took the merit for it! The later evolution of events and the strengthening of the internal security forces of the Communists followed a parallel course. The Bolsheviks' method was to create dissatisfaction, to arm an internal police force, to ~~put~~ surround the country with barbed-wire and mines, and thus their power was strengthened.

Because of the continuous fighting of the parties, I could not associate myself with their ideas of any of them. There are only ~~six~~ nine million Hungarians in the world and I always thought that one we could try to put under a same denominator the programs of all parties, and ~~to~~ work with one single and common will for the prosperity of the country.

2. I knew of the first Communism only by hear-say, and at ~~the~~ time, in my opinion, one could have spoken of Communism only, not of Bolshevik imperialism. But the Communism of 1919 was based on ruthlessness, and did not raise the standard of living of the masses. The Bolshevism of the years which followed 1945 was based on the degradation of the masses. The goal was that everybody should depend on a power which gives the minimum means of living. If this minimum is denied, the mere existence becomes impossible. Communism is an ideology, which may be accepted by individuals like any other ideology. Bolshevism is not an ideology. A small group, in a diabolical way, organized the greatest system of terror of the world, and wherever it went, it left nothing but tears, misery and suffering behind itself.

(2) The Bolsheviks' contradictions increased continually during eight years, and this could only lead to the people's fight for freedom.

B. 1. A fraction of the CP members joined the Party by conviction. The Jews joined because they saw the protection of their existence in the proximity of the Soviets. In my opinion, 50 per cent of the CP members were forced to join. Some, in order to keep their positions, the others, in order to obtain a position through their Party membership. The convinced Communists became quickly disillusioned by the hypocrisy of the regime. There were honest men among them who were misled. The dangerous ones were those who had top positions, and who, in order to keep these positions swept everybody out of their way. Bolshevism tried to please its members with the good man's mask only until its terror police force force was strong enough ~~xxx~~ to suppress expression of opinion of the individual.

2. The Bolshevik Party in Hungary had no policy of its own. As the Bolshevik leaders were not even Hungarians, they were not even able to follow ~~as~~ parallelly in Hungary the directives received from Moscow. As the Bolsheviks' policy changed in Moscow, so it changed in Hungary. The Bolsheviks always needed to occupy the masses with something. They knew well the Roman policy of "games for the people". They hanged a handful of people, and we sent cables thanking them for having cleaned our ancestral Hungarian life from these people. When an influential man lost favor before the eyes of the regime, he fell immediately with all his entourage, including the cleaning woman of the ministry. The ~~am~~ positions thus vacated were filled again with even more zealous servants of Bolshevism.

3. In Hungary, everybody lived in fear, but the most fearful man was the Communist. It was clear to him that there was no room for him outside the Party, and if he would lose its favor, his further existence may be annihilated. The Party spirit was characterized by fear. The CP members had no opinion; they had one duty, to shout together with the shouters. The so-called Party spirit was only good at preventing the Bolsheviks to become unfaithful to their masters in Moscow, and to dare to express any individual opinions.

4. The Bolshevik leaders of Hungary were without exceptions the agents of Moscow, who received their training in the Soviet Union. It cannot be denied that these men, apart from their own well-being, never had any human feeling towards the fate of the Hungarian people. They sold out the country to the Russians, and played the roles of tax ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ collectors for the Soviet emperor. As political leaders, they were mere puppets and were paraded before the people. I am ashamed to think that my country and the Hungarian people were oppressed by such damned ~~gnomes~~ dwarves, as Rakosi, Hegedus, etc.

C. 1. The Hungarians felt on their own skin the benedictions of Bolshevism. The workers and the miners who at the beginning declared themselves communists realised that they had been deceived. And those who spoke up were arrested. Everybody cheated and stole from the state where he could. In the minds of the people the state was the greatest enemy, to which it was natural to cause damage and the destruction of which was the ultimate goal. If somebody, ~~xxxx~~ either an individual or a group, would speak up openly and voice dissatisfaction he was immediately taken into custody. One cannot speak of open resistance in Hungary.

2. The relaxation under Imre Nagy gave a little hope to the people, but nobody took it seriously. Everybody tried only to take advantage of this eventual temporary situation, because we knew the Communist ideology: "One step forward, two steps backward".

3. I had knowledge of the Petofi Circle, and our only hope was that a national unity could be eventually reached through the enlightening of the masses. ~~xx~~ I was myself interested in literature and was the secretary of a small circle of friends which consisted of young actors, artists and writers. We used to meet around the same table and we enjoyed exchanging our thoughts about the creation of a more human life. This Circle, which I created myself, had about fifty members. I went once to a debate of the Petofi Circle which was mainly ~~xx~~ held in connection with the students' situation. Our small circle also tried to learn and to play new plays which were not permitted by the Bolsheviks' censorship.

Only in winter 1955 did the intelligence there to speak up. It was a choice of alternatives between dying for a new freedom, or living in eternal slavery. There was not much to lose. All the sorrows of ten years of oppression, ~~the xxxxxxxxxx~~ which should have been the ten most beautiful years of our youth, were crying for a new and more human life. In our debates, the passions often silenced the voice of reason and we forgot to fear. The whole country wanted something new, something purer and nobler because Communism gave nothing but squalor and lies. Dye-hard communists had broken down and stepped out of the ranks of the Party. Even those writers who enjoyed material advantages under Bolshevism were obliged to recognise the freedom of the spirit.

The creation of the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of the revolution is the work of the Hungarian writers. In the country, everything was crying for something new, and this cry reached the workers' homes as well as the smallest villages.

The role and fate of the intelligentsia under Bolshevism had been to be oppressed. By artificial means, the Bolsheviks wanted to oppose the intellectuals to the masses of workers and peasants, and within the intelligentsia, they made a distinction between progressive and non-progressive intelligentsia. Communism, which stands on a materialistic basis, underestimated the strength of human mind and the eternal desire for freedom of the human soul. During the revolution, writers, workers, street-car conductors, teachers, students fought together with weapons in their hands. I saw myself a female street-car conductor, with a muddy bandage around her hand, came after three days of fighting to the New York Palace in order to take some newspapers home for her friends.

## XII THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. 1. Two types of men belonged to the AVO. The first group took part in the organization of the AVO and its aim was to take revenge for the harm done to it. As the years went by, these people occupied the leading positions in the AVO. The second group consisted of those who, for material advantages, chose the infamous role of the secret-police.

2. One of my friends, the son of a former detective, was the assistant-manager of a restaurant also selling liquor. One day, a man in civilian clothes comes in in the after-noon and orders beer. "We have only bottled beer," said my friend. The man insisted he wanted tapped beer. "There is no tapped beer", said my friend. "I'll go and see for myself in the cellar", said the stranger. "You have no right to go down to the cellar" replied my friend. "I'll show you", said the stranger and he produced his identification card showing that he was an AVO captain by the name of Galambos (I don't remember his first name). My friend said "You still don't have the right to go into the cellar, because only the men of the Central Office of the Restaurants Enterprise have the right to go down". The stranger left. The same evening, two detectives came to the restaurant and took away my friend for questioning. Two hours later he was released. Three days later he was summoned before the court accused of concealing goods and of being a Fascist, as his father had been a detective. That was the reason why he didn't show the cellar to the AVO captain (who turned out to be the local AVO District Commander), and also because he wanted to



to downgrade the prestige of the AVO before the other persons who were in the restaurant. Four days after these events my friend was dismissed from his job. The other store manager who was not present during the incident was placed in another restaurant as well as the barman. All the waiters were also placed in other restaurants in the district. The court proceedings were ended in this case by the revolution at least for the moment. I was with my friend during the revolution and we paid them back something. The account of AVO captain Galambos was definitely settled by one of the waiters who did not forget him. This was life ~~xxx~~ in Hungary.

(6) I knew two athletes of a handball team who both belonged to the AVO. Both had been drafted from the army into the AVO and as they were trustworthy because of their origin, the AVO let them study gymnastics at the university. Otherwise they had as little in common with the secret police as myself. They were given the rank of an officer and were ~~studying~~ in their last year at the university. ~~xxxxxx~~ During the revolution, I was afraid for them because they wore AVO uniforms. One was shot by the people, but only wounded, though none of them fought against anybody. At that time they both left the AVO, as many officers were allowed to do so.

There were many cases like the latter. These people's salary was equal to the pay of an army officer who as he was not classified into the AVO did not get the classification allowance. Their political views were completely in agreement with those of any honest Hungarian man. As they studied they couldn't tell us much of the internal life of the AVO.

Here is another case. An acquaintance of mine was drafted into the AVO and sent to school. After he finished he got the rank of an officer and was made the commander of a garage. The most interesting fact was that his uncle was a priest who was in an internment camp for years.

4. The huge differences between prices and salaries in Hungary under ~~the~~ communism kept the people in continual state of worry. As the human rights were implemented according to the communist patterns this created a continual anxiety in people's minds. People would be arrested without any legal foundation and without having any right to choose his own defense counsel. This situation can be illustrated as follows: Somebody knocks during the night at the gypsy's door. The gypsy terrified and trembling goes to the door and asks, "Who is it"? A voice from the outside answers "Death"! "Thank God", sighs the gypsy with relief, "I thought it was the AVO."

5. I heard of this system, but I did not experience it personally. When one arrived in a new place, one soon found out the people with whom one ~~ga~~ could exchange thoughts sincerely, and those persons would caution the newcomer against certain people before whom it was not advisable to talk. In my opinion the people who accepted such an infamous role did it only in order to maintain their positions.

6. This depended entirely on whether or not one had been denounced by somebody to the AVO.

7. I never heard of such cases. I doubt it very much that they occurred.

8. Those who are guilty must receive their just punishment. Those who didn't harm anybody should be given the right to live like anybody else.

9. The members of the Blue Police joined in many cases because they were attracted by the material advantages and by an idle life. They had no prestige and from the point of view of public safety their role had little value. The Blue Police force refused to ~~xxxx~~ cooperate with the AVO in suppressing the revolution but chose a passive attitude during the fighting.

B. Those who administered the law in Hungary under the former regime tried to serve those upon whom their positions depended, but there is no doubt that the right of choosing one's legal defense could be used in a much freer way before 1945 than after. Communism erased completely the system of human rights and built up a new system which depended upon the situation of the moment of the Party policy. The free labor force provided by the numerous prisoners was a very important factor in the economic life and plans of communism. When the communists decided to start a large construction work or to solve a mining project, they found new possibilities in order to arrest people. Bolshevism created the legal practice of the defense accusing the defendant and thanking the court for helping the defendant -- eventually for years -- to become a socialist element. The prisoner's sentence was decided on the grounds of his origin and political opinions. Often the "miserable proletarian" could save himself in cases where the intellectual would be sentenced to several years imprisonment because ~~his~~ his case was handled politically and because ~~his~~ he was not reliable.

3. The People's Courts of 1945-47 functioned on the basis of revenge and were the complete servants of the communist system which, with a few exceptions, condemned tens of thousands of innocent people. If a Jew denounced somebody in 1945 that was enough to send that person to jail for months without any hearing and to be given the heaviest sentence. Because of the injustices inflicted upon them, the Jews wanted to take revenge on everybody.

I remember a court hearing in 1945 when my professor of gymnastics, later my colleague, Joseph V., was held for months in prison after having been denounced by a Jew. ~~He~~ The latter, before his deportation in 1944, had ~~him~~ entrusted some of his gold to him. This gold, together with other valuables was stolen from my colleague by the Russians. At the court hearing it was found out that my friend had done a similar favor for several other Jews and that he had saved everybody's valuables with the only exception mentioned above. The audience in the courtroom consisted mainly of Jews who sat there day after day; as their relatives had been eventually executed by Nazis their only aim was to take revenge. I remember that the whole school went to the hearing of my teacher, more than one thousand students, with stones in our pockets and iron pipes under our coats decided to free, by force if necessary, the teacher we liked so much. ~~from the building~~. They would not let us into the building so we forced the door and occupied all the stairways. It's a serious incident did not take place between us and the police it was only thanks to the presence of our teachers. One thousand unwilling young people thus fell victim of feeling called "anti-Semitism". Our teacher was acquitted at the hearing. His three children and his pregnant wife were also present. We did not let him return to his jail to go through the final formalities but carried him on our shoulders out to the street. Such a case can throw a good light on the judicial situation in Hungary at that time.

4. I have no personal ~~in~~ experience of prison life under the communists, but some of my friends spent years in prison. The prisoners could obtain information from the outside because, for money, you could obtain everything under Bolshevism.

C. As the members of the Hungarian army were soldiers drafted by force, they hated their bond and their officers whose intellectual level was, with a few exceptions lower, than that of the privates. The army's role during the revolution was most significant, both at the beginning and after Nov. 4. The young soldiers who had been given arms by the Communists and who learned how to use them, turned them against the biggest enemy, the Russians. The young soldier, whose parents were deported by the AVO could finally take revenge for these injustices. A fraction of the officers sided with the revolution and only then did it become evident how the number of those, the Bolshevists could count upon was small.

There were no differences between social groups. I thought that the army's behavior was natural, and I was not surprised.

2. I served in the army during the first year when Hungary joined unconditionally the Communist bloc, and when the country became similar to a large military camp. We were trained under the direction of reserve officers. In order to become a reserve officer, one had to be 100 per cent reliable politically. The officers' cultural level was amazingly low. The commander, Major Fazekas, was a sergeant under the former regime. We found out later that he got his rank exclusively because during the deportations of 1944, he hid successfully a Jew who later became a high ranking army officer. Everybody hated this man, even his fellow officers. We had another officer, a horseman from Hortobagy who had great difficulties with writing. Those who really knew about the training were the soldiers trained under the former regime, who served as non-commissioned officers. A minimal supply of food was provided and when it got to the soldiers almost everything was stolen.

As there was a huge gulf between officers and soldiers, the soldiers didn't trust their officers during the revolution. When we were attacked by a storm-brigade of the officers' training school, together with Soviet armored cars, these officers understood the meaning of the people's fight only after we had annihilated the Russians. As these training officers did not swear allegiance to the Kadar regime, 90 per cent were discharged on their request and gave up the military career.

3. Those who did CP work, or were active on the political line were better treated. We attended low level political lectures a few hours weekly. We couldn't understand why we received military training. The regime had to be very naive if it believed that we would not use our weapons first against it.

D. 2. ~~This is not true~~. The feelings are due to the events of 1945. I fought against them for more than one month at that time and I knew that nothing good may be expected of them. Those who expected something were deceived the most.

3. The conviction of these Russian troops changed during their stay in Hungary, for our living standard, even after ten years of Bolshevism, was not ~~xxxxxxx~~ lowered as much as the highest in the Soviet Union. For them, even this was ideal.

In their everyday life, Hungarians and Russians were completely separated, and the former hated the latter.

4. The Russian soldiers who came to Hungary during and after World War II became unreliable for the Bolsheviks' propaganda.

During the revolution, I fought against them and did not speak to them. But we were sure in one thing: that these troops had been misled. The troops already stationed in Hungary had much more obsolete weapons and had a broader horizon for making judgements.

5. a) I heard of such cases, but I knew it was not true.

b) c) d) I don't know of such cases.

e) I know one case when during the blood-baths before the Parliament, several Soviet soldiers were wounded by AVO bullets, and when the Soviet tanks opened gun fire on the secret policemen shooting from the Ministry of Agriculture.

f) The commanders of the new troops did not recognize the old commanders' authority and as a result, a few fights broke out in the country, I don't know exactly where.

E.

XIII. 1. If somebody had some business to arrange in an office, he had to look in advance for somebody who would help him in arranging it because otherwise, he might have lost much of his time in the zig-zag of bureaucracy, without the slightest hope of success. As the people who handled official business were very poorly paid, they were often willing to arrange a case for some money.

Except for those former officials who were indispensable to the Communists, the personnel was new, and completely new offices were set up to handle the affairs of the Communists. During the past 8 years, it is my opinion that the number of administrative departments increased at least twofold. There were too many inspectors who were following each other. For example, the operation of a small restaurant would formerly require the owner, who often worked by himself, eventually with one helper. Today, after the state has taken away the shop from the proprietor, we find a manager, a cashier, a cleaning woman, and a barman to carry the work. This only for the restaurant alone.

The head office of the Budapest Restaurant Industry which controlled those shops consisted of: the Party official, the Trade Union official, the management, the secretariat, the commerce department, the personnel department, the accounting department, the registration department, the payroll group, the control department, and the innovation section. Each department had a large number of employees. If there number was divided by the number of those workers employed in the restaurant, one finds out that ~~two~~ there are two clerks for each restaurant worker. This seems amazing but it was the actual situation in all spheres of life in Hungary.

In the school year 1955-56, I was not permitted to teach for one year because I was judged unreliable politically by the educational department. In the previous year, I taught in an industrial training school with teachers who finished their last school year ~~next~~ shortly before. As there was a complete anarchy in the field of instruction, I didn't remain silent and I lost grace before the workers' cadre (cader). As they couldn't criticize my professional work, it was more difficult for them to bully me.

I knew many fine fellows who were desperate because of the country's situation.

2. Self-criticism was a weapon in the Communists' hands who misused it to clean their faults and crimes.

F. As nobody was paid enough wages, except the top leaders, everything could be "arranged" for money, i.e. trade licenses, legal affairs, etc. If the employee's social background WAS GOOD to be given as an example, he was severely punished; if not, he was only supposed to have been "misled" by the words of the reaction.

G. The Communists political leaders obviously were narrow-sighted and unintelligent. The Bolshevists used only such men in order to realize their aims. And if one of them was shrewd enough, he might have made a good career.

## XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. If Bolshevism is to remain under its old form, it can be maintained only amidst the greatest anarchy. Hungary is today the last dependable among the captive countries.

If the situation changes, the country will become again a battle-field between various political parties. All those who were harmed by the Bolshevik regime will be active again. But it would be difficult to say for when this possibility can be considered. Among all the captive nations, Hungary's fate is perhaps the most tragic.

The attitude of the West towards Hungary was equal to nothing. The West is militarily too weak to treat, as an equal, with the Soviets. The big Western powers ~~had/lost/it/~~ sold Eastern Europe to the Bolsheviks, thus, Hungary became a part of the Soviet empire for whom the Russians sacrificed millions of men during World War II. America spared her sons' lives. The price today is slavery for ~~hundreds of millions of people~~ hundreds of millions of people. History proved again that the smallest nations are only mere toys in the hands of the big powers.

man who was

The Western ~~man~~ sitting in his car and heard the events in Hungary, eventually sighed for a while and put his money in the collection boxes. There was no change in his life. ~~We know he can't be so naive as to sacrifice the prosperity of his country because in some small nation~~ We know he can't be so naive as to sacrifice the prosperity of his country because in some small nation

The Western men who were sitting in their cars and heard the events in Hungary eventually sighed for a while, put their money in the collection boxes. There were no changes in their lives. We know that they can't be so naive as to sacrifice their country's and their own prosperity because in some small nation, of which they hear for maybe the first time in their lives, ~~tens of thousands of people have died and a few millions are living in slavery for an~~ tens of thousands of people have died and a few millions are living in slavery for an unforeseeable period of time.

Economically and politically Hungary's situation can become sure only in the frame of a European united states. As long as the country remains by itself, it will become, because of its geographic position, a place of conflict between the big powers.

Time works for the Soviet Union. In my opinion, as long as their political interests will keep the big powers divided, no changes will occur in Europe. As soon as the Soviet Union will see no other alternative, it will attack Europe and there can be no doubt of her initial success. If the United States takes interest in Europe's fate, it must ~~not~~ sacrifice at that time twice as many lives as were spared by Roosevelt. Because the three big Western powers are jointly responsible for the present situation in Eastern Europe. As for the Soviets, they are determined to defend the booty bought with the blood of their subjects. T

#### revolution

The Hungarian ~~people~~ proved that 100 million people can regain their freedom only through war. When we young people think back on the events and of the years spent under Communism, we rather would prefer to die than to live in eternal enslavement. I don't see any other possibilities. The Soviet Union's aims are to maintain her position, particularly in those countries which were given to her by the three Western powers. I remember well the picture which could be found in Communist school-books after the signing of the ~~Yalta~~ agreement of Yalta. The leaders of the three Western powers surrounded Stalin, whose hands were stained with the blood of thousands of millions of people. When the Western powers speak of honor, they should always look again at this picture.

B. Before and also during the revolution hope was kept alive in the people only by the foreign radio broadcasts. As the people became often completely insensible, they believed even the lies. The revolution was not somebody's hope because nobody knew there would be a revolution. The westerner who goes to bed in peace will not take the responsibility for a new war. We knew this and we still hoped, without hope, because we couldn't do otherwise if we wanted to live.

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

A. I would like to see the independent Hungary in the frame of a European economical and customs union. Hungary is primarily an agricultural country and when the oppression of the peasantry will cease, ~~and when~~ the people will return again to the countryside, which always provided a living for those who worked diligently. As for industry, I would put the emphasis on light industry and would develop only those branches which are the most remunerative, for example, aluminum. Heavy industry, which is an important factor in the country's economic deficit, should be suppressed, especially the operation of Sztalinvaros. Because it was probably the ~~first time~~ first time ~~that~~ that iron ore was brought to the



smelters from a distance of over 650 miles.

Among the state enterprises, those whose operations are useful from the point of view of the state, should remain under its control. Those which were centralized by force, should be returned into private hands with a progressive system of taxes and adequate representation for the workers' ~~rights~~ and the peasants' rights.

B.

To set a maximum limit to the amount of lands a person or family may own would be undoubtedly advantageous after the present system to prevent the restoration of the situation prevailing before 1945.

I want an independent Hungary to be a republic. I will always choose government which guarantees the personal freedom of the individual. Because it is the law of survival that, in the struggle for life, the strong shall survive and ~~the~~ will have successors while the weak shall perish, plants, animals, and man alike.

I am not in favor of outlawing the Communist Party because this ~~is~~ would be in contradiction to the meaning of freedom.

C. I want for Hungary a status of neutrality and of equality with all of the states. I am in favor of large scale economic and cultural relations especially with Western Europe and the USA. I favor a free exchange of material and spiritual goods without being tied down to any ideology.

I can only imagine such Danubian federation if it is based on voluntary membership and neutrality. As for Hungary's boundaries, if a common European unity can be achieved, it will not matter where the people will live. On the other hand, if the new changes in the world will keep the countries within their own boundaries and competing for their own interests, then the return of those territories populated by Hungarians would be just, in my opinion.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC ~~OPINION~~ OPINION

2. I did not hear of it.

3. I heard of this under Communist version. Several cases which lasted for ~~months~~, months, such as the Rosenberg case, were known.

6. Yes, and I thought it was a good thing to have a dictator fall. Today in New York, I am treating several Argentines who were wounded during the revolution and were sent here by the new government to be rehabilitated.

8. I didn't know much about Rakosi's private life before the revolution though I lived ~~100~~ 300 feet from his residence. at Zugliget. After the revolution, I went into his villa and I could see what Communism meant according to Stalin's ideas. The villa had 32 private rooms, three TV sets, etc. I don't have to elaborate on this subject.

B. 1. Before the war, I read especially Hungarian classic literature. In school, Hungarian literature was my preferred subject/ and remained so after the war. Moreover, I wanted to acquire ~~an artistic level~~ an artistic level ~~of~~ in the presentation of Hungarian literature. I had a fairly good library, which contained among others, the works of all Hungarian poets and many foreign ones, too, in Hungarian translations. I collected ~~these~~ books as a hobby over the years especially works treating of literature and the history of music. My preference went to the Hungarian novels particularly the lyrical works.

I didn't read the newspapers regularly. The Literary Journals was the only newspaper I bought regularly because of its literary contents. I actually collected each copy.

The works of the classic foreign authors were very rare in Hungary and could be found only in antique shops or through private collectors. Certain books couldn't be found at all. For instance, I searched in vain for three years for a book by Jack London entitled Martin Eden.

2. I read more during the past ten years because these were the most precious years of my life during which one is educating oneself. I read often late at night because of a strong inner conviction that man can't live like an animal. My ~~free~~ time was so limited by my struggle for survival that this was the only moment when I could hold a book in = my hands. The state of my nerves, however, did not allow

me to mediate in peace and this was characteristic for all people in Hungary under Communism.

People of my kind read the same books as I. Maybe more fiction than lyrical works. The situation was worse with the workers whose political ignorance caused them to fall victim to Communism. On the cultural level, they were not given anything else but Bolshevist culture. Their intellectual level was not developed enough to enable them to form a cultural life of their ~~own~~ own. The libraries were completely at the service of the Bolshevist propaganda ~~through~~ the Communists spent large sums of money to create various cultural centers of their own.

3. I often read the "Magyar Nemzet". But was only interested in its literary value which was minimal. Sometimes, friends would tell me that there was something which had to be read but I admit that, in our impossible hopes, we often interpreted news according to our own wishful thinking. I never read publications from Russia or the other satellites. Apart from technical literature, no political publications ~~could~~ ~~be~~ from the West could be found in Hungary.

4. Yes, I read many books that were "illegal" especially lyrical works. I kept them at home and tried to lend them to my friends who were interested. This kind of book was destroyed by the organizations, hidden by the individuals before the Communist regime.

C. As <sup>some</sup> ~~some~~ of my relatives and friends were employed in shipping, and went to the West.-- Austria, West Germany-- I got foreign news from them. This news, instead of raising our hopes, rather discouraged us. We discussed it with my friends. The news was mostly political and economical. As I had some former class-mates who went to live in the West, I stayed in contact with them for a while/ through correspondence.

D. Everybody talked about politics in Hungary. It required only two people. If a third one came, a completely candid exchange of thoughts could not take place because of the danger of being arrested. We refrained from conducting ~~such~~ ~~discussions~~ ~~by~~ ~~correspondence~~ ~~or~~ ~~telephone~~. ~~When~~ ~~I~~ ~~spoke~~ ~~of~~ ~~this~~ ~~news~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~phone~~ at school and my colleagues would leave the room in a panic for fear of being called as a witness by the AVO. This actually never happened.

F. As I was very busy at work, I had little time to go to the theatre except when I studied theatre myself. I only went to see classical plays especially those I considered important for my studies. I went to the theatre ~~to~~ two to three times a month. The plays I liked the most were Cyrano ~~and~~ and The Mute ~~Levente~~ Levente by E. Erkel. As for movies, and it may seem unbelievable, I went maybe twenty times during the last 8 years. The reason was that I didn't like Russian movies and that it was very difficult to get tickets to the French and Italian ones.

#### XVI. ~~AN~~ EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I have always looked at foreign events from the point of view of seeing how close ~~we are to~~ they may bring us to armed conflict, because this would have been for us the only solution in order to regain our independence.

1. I do not believe in the possibility of a change in the Soviet Union through internal liberalization or revolution. The basis and only strength of Bolshevism is terror and it can maintain its position only by the use of the policy of terror. In all circumstances, time is favorable to the Soviet Union and as ~~they~~ her technical progress increases, her strength will become the equal of the West's. As soon as this happens, I don't believe that they will hesitate as much as the West and they will realize the Bolshevization of the world, with the greatest power on earth, terror.

The Russian people will continue to fear intensely the terror in which it is forced to live and to accept the lies which it has to witness. The greatest lie on earth is called Communism by the Bolshevism. Not even we Hungarians were always able to imagine the degree of misery ~~in~~ in which the Russian people lived.

Because of my particular situation, I had several times, the opportunity to meet and to be together with Russian athletes. As a masseur, I was the only man in Hungary who could spend hours in their hotel rooms. The candid opinions of these men who could not make comparisons between conditions existing in different countries, broke my heart. The only thing these athletes took with them was a shabby suit, two shirts, and one pair of black underpants. ~~and~~ I could see that these people wanted a good suit, good cigarettes, and a free life just as much as any other normal man. In their first contact with me, they were very reserved and they came closer only when I gave them a few packs of American cigarettes which I get from Western athletes. They had to smoke them in secret,

to avoid being seen by their superiors. I didn't get involved in political discussions with these people but these simple incidents threw enough light on their innermost thoughts.

2/ Free elections are unimaginable in the Soviet Union. In my opinion, the Soviet leaders started a game of cards which cannot be stopped, and the hand will continue to be dealt until the partners fall out of the game.

B. The most popular Eastern European nations are Poland and Rumania, the least popular, Czechoslovakia. The Hungarians know perfectly well that the ~~Eastern~~ other Eastern European nations did not choose their fates themselves, and that, with the exceptions of Czechoslovakia and East Germany, their present situation is worse than Hungary's. The leading roles in these countries is played by the same Moscovite agents as in Hungary.

I met athletes of other Eastern European countries, many of whom were actually Hungarians, like the members of ~~the~~ Rumanian teams. In that way, I got a good general picture of the conditions existing in their countries. The situation there is the same as in Hungary, i.e. the people would reject Communism if ~~given~~ given the opportunity.

3. The best standard of living belongs to East Germany, the worst to Bulgaria, Albania, and Poland.

C. We cannot speak of a real change. The government alone has lost its puppet character. I don't approve ~~this~~ this policy, it is condemned to death. These people are forcing themselves. But in the so-called camp of peace, such a situation cannot be maintained for long; the near future will show it.

The events in Poland had ~~a~~ psychological effects in Hungary but they were not the causes of the revolution.

The Poles were not allowed freedom of speech because Bolshevism does not recognize it. As the misery was intense, and there was no remedy for it, the regime is letting the people talk themselves out so that they will accept again their situation, resignedly. If w

If we could have foreseen that several thousands of young Hungarians would die in vain because of the West's abandonment and because the propaganda sent by the Western radios over

the years to the Hungarian people turned out to be a treachery just as base as the Soviet's treachery on Nov. 4, I would have preferred no revolution at all.

D. 1. Tito has no influence at all on ~~xxx~~ Eastern European politics. He is a dictator and if free elections were held in Yugoslavia, he would be swept away from power. Tito is the kind of politician who serves everybody, does everything for everybody, when this is beneficial for his own position and interests. The standard of living of Yugoslavia is similar to that of Hungary, personal freedoms just as suppressed as in Hungary, though more Western European cultural works, such as books, movies, are allowed in Yugoslavia. But the regime considers them in the same way as the regime in Hungary.

E. 1. Because of the clumsiness of the Americans. The US policy in China consisted only in sending dollars, but no men to defend their own interests. As a result, like the Eastern European countries, China fell into the hands of the Communists. The US have already started to pay in human lives for that mistake, during the Korean war.

3. The Soviets have maybe a more complete hold on Communist China than on Eastern Europe. They have hundreds and thousands of "advisers" in the country. I know that fact to be true, through what I heard from the Hungarian athletes who visited China.

5. England has lost India for ever, but as long as India's destiny will be in the hands of a politician such as Nehru, the country's fate is not reassuring. The personality of Nehru doesn't offer any assurances that some day India will not sink into the swamps of Communism, Nehru is the type of man whose passion lies in the theatre.

6. The Suez situation proved once more than the Soviets can play with the world as they please. Nasser is an agent of the Soviets in Africa, like Tito was in the Balkans in 1944, or he is being driven into the same current because of his weak character. It is not by mere chance that the Russians are the best chess players in the world. Politically, they move their puppets so that the West can escape the danger of a checkmate only by sacrificing a new figure.

The events of Suez had no influence on the Hungarian revolution. It gives only the proof that the prestige of the USA in the Soviets' eyes is much smaller than we could have believed it at any time. To say, as some did in the West, that the Soviet intervention in Hungary was parallel to the Anglo-French intervention in Egypt is a base distortion of the facts. Until now, the West did not and could not apply sanctions against the Soviet Union. The use of sanctions is effective only against a weak party, and for the past ten years, the policy of the Soviets didn't show any signs of weakness. Everything we ~~xxx~~ called weakness from their part was just wishful thinking.

F. West Germany's prosperity reached never-seen proportions, and and that believe that the West Germans will sacrifice this prosperity in a new war. Germany knows well that Europe's fate is in her hands, and she will always play in Europe a first role economically and politically.

W. Germany has followed a very good policy and gives today the appearance of the most complete democracy. In her Western reality of today, Germany is more united than in any other time in her history. It doesn't have to accept any foreign ideology and can create for her citizens their own world to an extent not found in any other European country today. In my opinion, Germany will receive everything she wants because there is no Europe without Germany.

The German rearmament is not considerable today, and as long as it is not completed, Europe's security will be uncertain, like the weathercock turning at the Russian wind. In World War II, the whole world had to unite its efforts to force the Germans down on their knees. Maybe this time it will be the other way, though the Germans, traditionally, are not politicians.

5. The German Army is the best army in the world. As men, most Hungarians would reject them. As soldiers, they have no equals. I am convinced that the Soviets won't remain quiet one minute if a strong German rearmament takes place. The Soviets' present military preparedness could have only one competitor in the world: Germany. The American policy which consisted, in critical times, in sacrificing money instead of men, failed in many cases, and the US had to pay a double sacrifice as a result.

G. Britain's economic troubles and political failures reveal that her role as a great power is near an end. Following her leaders' blunders and mistakes, Britain's prestige is fading away, and in a short time, it will be completely forgotten.

3. Highest, West Germany, lowest, Italy.

H. 1. The level of the well-being.

2. In my opinion, Europe's fate depends on America rearming Germany as quickly as possible, before the Soviets start the third World War. But it is not sure that the Soviets will give much time. If a balance of power can be created with the rearmament of West Germany, then maybe the US will be able to negotiate as equals with the Soviets, and to take up the fight with hopes of success, either around the conference tables or on the battle-fields. In my opinion, however, one must consider the fact that the USA, which at the Yalta agreement gave the Eastern

European countries to the Soviet Union, cannot support absolutely rightful claims on these countries. The Soviets paid \$ to the West the price for these strategic and political positions, which were necessary if they wanted to penetrate into Europe's heart and to keep control of it.

As the US has spent thousands of millions of dollars on much more silly and bad business deals, such as China, it's not too big a risk to try a few hundred of millions on such countries which, if given arms into their hands, would act for their own interests. I include among them all the Eastern European nations.

3. As millions of my compatriots are still remaining in the country, and that only a small fraction is in the lucky position to live on a free soil, the US policy towards the present government \$ should be such that the fate and lives of those who remained in Hungary be kept bearable. To ~~maxim~~ break diplomatic relations would only aggravate their situation.

4. Yes, of course. This will give them more hope to be able to travel themselves, and will enable them to get a true picture of the situation in the world. And the visitors will be able to report the true situation in Hungary. Nobody should influence these visitors before they go.

5. Yes, because they didn't receive any for the past ten years.

6. It does not matter. Everybody whose eyes are open can see the real situation in Hungary.

7. To strengthen the European countries economically in order to reinforce their political independence. Where there is misery, there is fertile ground for Communism.

8. Because of Korea's strategic importance, and because reasons of prestige.

1. 1. In the European sense of the word, there is no discrepancy in America as far as ~~standards~~ living standards are concerned because the meaning of hunger is unknown here. The differences tend to become even between rich and poor, as both have only one stomach. If the poor takes his family in his car and drives before the rich man's skyscraper, I don't think he will feel that he needs a skyscraper, too.

2. Here the trade-unions represent the workers' interests and possess the greatest powers in the economic life of the US. They are not under Communist influence, but are such true representatives of the workers that I would have never imagined it.



3. Crime rate is high today, but the situation is incomparably better than in the 1920s. This can be explained by the greater wealth of the masses.

4. In the field of general and technical education, the level of European education is higher in my opinion, and the demands are greater. The American education policy needs considerable reforms, and must enter a new era. In my opinion, a European Union would be far more superior by its technical achievements than the US, if both continents possess the equality in economic factors.

5. An American's life seems to be more empty than a European's, and at the present time, I'm unable to understand this. In any case, everybody spends his free time as he pleases.

J.

The UN could not have influenced the situation in Hungary. The weight of the UN is only felt by the weak members, against the powerful ones such as the ~~Soviet~~ USSR and the United States. No military sanctions can be applied to those big military powers who look smilingly at the activities of the UN. The great powers are led by their own interests and make concessions only when this is necessary to protect or to promote those interests. In their policies, they were never moved by the tears or even the death of million of peoples. The UN was the hope of the small nations, and plays approximately the role of the school teacher amidst the fighting children. If he can't make order peacefully, he gives two slaps, and order is restored. The child will not hit back, because his duty is to obey. If adults do the same together, more serious trouble can be expected. Just look at the behavior of the great powers.

Only a complete and demonstrative unity can be effective in order to better the situation in Hungary. The Soviets know well the troubles of Europe and of the Middle East. They exploit them and chose their victims without having anybody who could stop them from doing so.

## XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

## A. Bela Kovacs.

Because he had character and was a true Hungarian, he would not sacrifice his country for personal interests as his party colleagues formerly had done.

## B. Imre Nagy.

As a man and as a Communist, he was surprisingly honest in his aims though he personally would not have been the solution to the leadership of the Hungarian nation. I believe that he's the only Communist the Hungarian people can think of with esteem. His fate resulted from the fact that he couldn't forget he was a Hungarian.

## b. Cardinal Mindszenty.

As a priest, he belongs among the greatest sons of the Church. His life and sufferings reflect faithfully the situation of the whole Hungarian nation. But politically it is not permissible to risk all the esteem and affection he earned from the Hungarians by his martyrdom, and to let it become the prey of various political ideologies. He is a saint in our eyes and I feel we shall never see a politician in him.

## c. Laszlo Rajk.

A victim of the old but true common saying: "He who prepares a pit for another, falls into it himself". I don't think that at his exhumation, apart from his wife and relatives, anybody else shed a tear for him. If at the time he organized the AV0 and sent thousands of Hungarians to be hanged or deported, he would have invented freezing, he could have been warned now and he would be today a living hero of Communism.

## d. Erno Gero.

I feel that Gero was the most hated figure among the Hungarian Communist leaders. His name and the notion of disgust became identical in the minds of the Hungarian people.

## e. Janos Kadar.

As his actions lack all notion of logic, my opinion is that his cultural level is very low. His role will be clarified later, because to accept voluntarily with a rational mind a role similar to that of the rabid dog is simply unimaginable.

## 2. a. President Eisenhower.

As I don't change my opinions with time, I can say that what I thought of Eisenhower was closely related to his election as President in 1952. I thought that the USA had elected a soldier, whose honor and knowledge, and not political maneuvers, had placed him at the head of the wealthiest nation on earth. As the years went by, we, the 100 million captive Eastern European people, kept looking at him, and our attitude towards him became more and more negative. After knowing his views about the Hungarian revolution, we realized with shock that his person was just as powerless in solving the world's problems as we were powerless against the Russian tanks with our pistols. I feel that Eisenhower is no more the man he was before, and I cannot even call him a lucky man.

## b. Hammerskjold.

This representative figure never filled any special role in solving problems. He has as much prestige as the UN has before the small nations. The Big Powers patted his shoulder and told him "Hello, Brother!" "Have a drink and go home quickly because we want to go to sleep." And when he got home, he told happily that he had a drink with all those big personalities.

## c. Dulles.

When the new government was formed, Dulles' activities in foreign policy were looked upon with hope by the European and Asian nations. As the foreign policy programs and ideas didn't succeed, these nations also lost all interest in Dulles' person. I feel that he often missed the moment of action, though it cannot be denied that he bears a heavy responsibility as the political leader of a united Western world, at a time which has no equivalent in history, and when mankind can come so near to a complete annihilation.

## d. Eden.

He was a representative figure. Britain always needed good looking statemen. Until now, the country's prestige was enough to cover the eventual mistakes of her statemen. This world is over for Britain, and the future events will prove it.

## e. Truman.

His conciliant policy harmed Europe more than we can imagine today. If Eisenhower would have been President at that time, maybe we could have attain a free life and our well-being, instead of the fear of a new world war.

## 3. a. Mikoyan.

A puppet.

## b. Nehru . I told you before.

## c. Chiang Kai-Shek.

Invested very well the dollars he got from the US for the defense of his country against Communism. If he loses his power in Formosa, he'll still be able to reign on the French Riviera.

## d. Ferenc Nagy.

Chose what he could chose. He left the country after assuring his life materially. If he had opened a grocery store in Hungary, he would have been more successful than when he was busy in Hungarian politics: when the creditors stormed him, he went to a safe place.

## e. Roosevelt.

America did not finish to pay yet for his narrow-sighted vision. Many mother will still mention the name of this man, who, for a momentary well-being, assumed the responsibility for interests which his heirs will have to repay with maledictions, I mean the selling out of Eastern Europe.

## f. Adenauer.

First politician in Germany's history. Before him, the Germans had only leaders.

## g. Stalin.

There is probably no other name in the world which is so international as the name of Stalin. The various nations will probably say only "Stalin" for murderer. This man was also a politician, who was toasted by those politicians from whom we expected to receive our freedom.

## h. Malenkov.

If he could not feed his huge body every day, he would be one of the most unhappy member of the Soviet society. In order to get so fat he was even willing to play politics.

## i. Franco.

A dictatorship, either red, white or black, is still a dictatorship.

j. Bevan.

If the British LP leaders would become lords, they would sit with elegance at the Queen's dinners...

k. Khrushchev.

To be a rope-dancer, one must start training while a child. And when one reaches the proper age, one may be able to walk once or twice over the rope. But if one falls down, one can only blame oneself. This profession is not a life-insurance, unless one has a large deposit in a Swiss bank.

l. Tito.

This passionate hunter does everything in order to keep from expiring the hunting license on his territory. It's doubtful that he would get another territory.

m. Peron.

I didn't know him well.

Molotov.

n. This old Russian has nothing but bitterness left for his old days. He was always second man, and so will he be embalmed.

o. Ollenhauer.

p. Churchill.

This nice old fox was maybe the only politician who could keep in harmony men and politics, in himself and in his views. He solved alone more world problems than many of his fellow-men together. We will still hear his voice in the noise of a new world conflict. If the old gentleman says twenty, one does not have to count after him. Among the dealers of bad cards in politics, nobody can say that he ever had such honesty. ~~xxxxx~~ I feel that he is the greatest brains of our time.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES:

A. 1. Those who escaped were first those who had to leave because they were exposed. Then all those who got tired of the misery. There was also the Jews' exodus, this time not from Egypt, but from Hungary. Together with their positions, many also forgot at home their G Party membership certificate, though it had assured them a good living.

Those who wanted to come out, but had no means to make the escape stayed at home, together with those who ~~were~~ hoped for some kind of relaxation. Many families couldn't leave behind the achievements of a whole life. I'm sorry for them.

The people in Hungary expect very much from us. Not only relief parcels, but political strength.

2. 20 per cent would have stayed home.

They would feel they have duties which won't change their fate. If the people could take the material goods acquired by the work of their whole life, this percentage would be higher.

1.

B. I knew of such organizations and individuals, but we did not consider these men as the representatives of the Hungarian people. Their activities were not decisive in changing Hungary's destiny.

(3) No.

2. Among these people, Eckhart and Barankovics are the more acceptable.

3. These people's most important aim was to assure their own living, and this is perhaps understandable.

(4) No, we didn't think of them during the revolution.

C. Yes. They came back because of bad economic situation of Western Europe in 1945-46. They lost hope in waiting for different risks. Later they were all sorry for returning. The Communist redefection campaign was organized for propaganda purposes.

D. I. Weitherk they were dispersed in the world, or if they had the honesty to try changing the sad plight of their country. Today they should create such an organization which would make less difficult the life of those who stayed at home. It is essential that they know the real situation in Hungary. As for myself, I feel I must by all means let know in their true contents the events which took place in Hungary, and I'll look for the company of those men who share the same goal. When the hour of freedom will strike for Hungary, one must assure the best conditions of life for the rebuilding of the country, which needs new economic, political and cultural foundations. These foundations should be based on justice, and the leaders' aims on honesty.

5. No.

6. The main task of these parties was to obtain positions for their members, and we still did not seem to have learned the lesson during the revolution. I did not approve the activities of the political parties during the revolution. They forgot the only and important goal: the creation of the Hungarian unity. This seems to an eternal tragedy on the banks of the Danube.

(3) (c) No.

E. 1. Only of my own free will.

2. Yes, as our cultural heritage is superior to that of the US, this is only natural.

#### XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. 1. RFE daily, and the BBC for the news.

- a) yes, VOA, BBC, Paris, Ankara, Madrid.
- b) yes, RFE
- c) Hungarian
- d) from 6 to 8.30 P.M.
- e) yes, to my close friends.

- 2. a) own radio
- b) with my family
- c) we sat around the radio.

3. Yes, from friends.

2. Yes, there was a risk. People were eventually condemned for "spreading false news". This risk didn't deter them at all. The danger was particularly big in 1950-51.

3. RFE's broadcasts were those which deserved the less credit. Sometimes they told news which surprised us a great deal, as they were based on very naive presumptions. This was very similar to the Communists' policy, who thought that everybody was stupid. This, generally, annoys the people. For years, we lived from these broadcasts which kept the hopes alive in us; but we also had the right to make a criticism of them. There is no doubt that they rendered a great service in the hopeless life of Hungary. But we, who heard so many nice speeches of Western leaders about freedom, and saw so little to materialize, did not believe anything.

The BBC news service was the most accurate, followed by VOA, RFE and Paris. I judged the accuracy by comparing the real situation inside the country with what the broadcast said.

4. The most interesting parts of these broadcasts kept sometimes the whole population in excitement for days. During the revolution, it was the only news service we had. The broadcasts played maybe the biggest role during the revolution. The tone of RFE rose really hope for the eventuality of a freedom fight. We can't speak of inciting, but our hopes were multiplied. The man who is desperate takes for a fact the smallest encouragement, exaggerates it in the manner the most favorable to him.

Without these broadcasts the Hungarian people would have been completely cut from the knowledge of the real facts and even RFE, which we did not like because of its untrustworthy news, fulfilled a mission in informing the country. Without the foreign broadcasts, I feel that the revolution ~~might have~~ may have broken out earlier, because we would have been deprived from a realistic appreciation of the world situation, and bitterness would have forced the issues out in time.

6. Naturally. Whether the program policy is bad or not, RFE must be influenced first by its mission which is to inform the captive nations.

7. Hungarians want to know one thing: how their fate, and the internal situation can evolve in order to bring changes in their lives.



- B. 1. No.  
2. Yes.

C. I saw several of them stuck in the country-side in Western Hungary, in August, 1956, They dealt with economic problems.

I heard little of them, there were few leaflets, and it was dangerous to pick them up.

4. I didn't find them useful. The people knew that these leaflets--like the radio speeches -- came from well -heated rooms and were the work of well-nourished gentlemen. It was too little to be satisfied with. They had no role during the revolution.

5. No sense in doing so. In the present situation, this can only bring harmful effects.

D. To inform the people, to keep their conscience alive, to stop the Communists and to frighten them to a certain degree, finally to make propaganada for the policies of the West. The BBC stood by the news service.

Two thirds of KRFE's programs devoted to propaganada, one third , to news and report on prevailling conditions.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

1. The child must be taught respect. If there is no respect, there is no prestige. If there is no prestige, there is no authority over the child. If there is no authority, one cannot acquaint the child with principles. Without principles, there is no individual. Without individual, there are no morals and no society. Without morals, the society falls victim of its own weakness, and it does not direct its destiny, but its destiny can be directed by anybody.
2. The most important factor in child rearing is the complete knowledge of the inner life of the individual. As there are not two ~~identical~~ roses on a rose-tree, there are not two individuals who are identical. They are only similar to each other. The hereditary characters of the individuals' inner life go back sometimes to generations, and the parents have no understanding of the manifestations of their own children. The pedagogic principles of education, whether general, i.e. intended for the use of the masses, or individual, i.e. aimed at the formation of the individual's inner life, play a decisive role.

In my opinion, the child's mind is a piece of marble from which an artist's hands and understanding can form beautiful masterpieces that we can only admire. If this marble is left untouched, it remains formless stone until time does not consume it. If the stone is worked upon with bad instruments or with negligence, pieces will be broken at the wrong place, and the masterpiece will be imperfect and esthetically disappointing.

Communism knew well that the child's mind was its best hunting territory, and it tried to form the snow-white marble to its own image. At the same time, I can say that the only goal of the Hungarian parents and teachers was to make the child's mind receptive to beauty, truth and kindness, and to make these qualities determine the development of their life and their outlook on the world. Because the search for beauty, justice and goodness will be the eternal flame for the education of mankind, wherever the world's destiny will take us.

The use of physical punishment is undeniably useful at the proper time, but the choice of this time is the most decisive psychological moment which can decide for a long time of the child's behavior. The basis of the boys' and girls' views of life should be similar. Woman's role in the world has a similar value to Man's, so it must raise to the same level. Naturally, on the physiological line, she must find her own way in education, according to her own sex.

3. In the school I went to, we were punished exclusively with a cane. I must admit that considering the circumstances, --there were 2 pedagogs for 100 pupils--12-13 years of age -- there was no other instrument of punishment left.

My father beat me twice. I deserved it in both cases, and when I think back, I find these punishments the most natural thing for my mistakes.

4. In Hungary, the father was the one who punished the children. The girls received a different treatment, i.e. considerably less physical punishment.

Because of their greater experience, the intellectuals tried eventually to realize the scientific principles in educating their children. But often these children proved to be less honest than the workers' children who learned honesty at an early age through the toughness of life and that of their parents.

5. This is a stupid question. Some people at 5, others at 15. In some ~~xxx~~ cases, the importance of the parents is diminished, in others, not. In any case, physical punishment ceases at the age of 15-16, for boys and girls alike. Punishment in general is abandoned at the age of 18. In this respect, Communism has brought no changes at home.

6. Yes, physical punishment was used in the schools before Communism.

Now, public humiliation or written punishments are used. As a gym teacher, I used physical punishment at certain times, especially at the beginning of the year, in order to strengthen discipline, but I never used it without any cause, or when this would have had bad psychological effects on the child or on the others.

7. A friend should always tell the truth, and be selfless. Naturally, I'll apply the same principles to ~~myself~~ myself. Under Communism, friendship became a very valuable treasure cherished by the people, because in their human contacts, people had to wear a mask, and had to tell the opposite of what they thought. The true friend was the only one with whom problems were solved, and with whom one could be completely frank and honest.

I was the secretary of a small group of friends and we cultivated the meaning of friendship based on human honesty. This feeling which tied us made possible for us to solve many problems in common. We were all young and we were all searching for beauty, which lives of itself and can't be conquered by any "ism" or any principle.