

PERSONAL IMPRESSION

Respondent is a young man of 25, but looks younger than his age. He is a graduate of a Business College in Roumania. His background is well-to-do, middle class. Frail and evidently ill, he is under treatment for heart trouble. Intelligent. Has a good sense of humour and a large degree of self-sarcasm. Gave very good response. He had been living in Roumania until February, 1956. Nevertheless, he is very well informed on events in Hungary because the Hungarian minority in Roumania had constant contacts with relatives in Hungary, and was informed of events at home through the Hungarian broadcasts at home and Communists. Communist daily newspapers, which were available also in Roumania. There are some sub-sections which are not applicable because of his long absence from Hungary (e.g. Commodity Prices, etc) On the other hand, his comparison of the Hungarian AVH with the Roumania Securitate, the Roumanian views on a Danubian Federation; radio and Radio Europe free pamphlets in Roumania, etc. are very interesting

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION.

"In connection with the Hungarian Revolution, the people here in the United States should know that Hungary has suffered two dictatorships in succession. She desires independence to live her own life in strict neutrality.

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

3. On the evening of October the 22, I was at home. I knew about the student's demonstration which was to be held the next day but I did not attach any importance to it. In the morning of Oct. 22, (23) I was in the Ministry of the Interior. I went there to see what was happening on my application for Hungarian Citizenship. The AVH officers acted very nervously. Guards were doubled. I was sent away and told to come back another time.

In the afternoon of Oct. the 22, I walked on the streets of Budapest and noted that many University students were out on the streets. I went to the SZABAD NEM building and there purchased the latest edition of the SZABAD IFJUSAG. I read with surprise in the paper that the University students in Szeged had dissolved their MISZ organization and have revived the HEFESZ, the student's organization which existed during the war. I also read in the paper that a student's parliament was to be held in Budapest. I did not attach much importance to it because I suspected that it was sponsored by the Communists.

On October the 23, I left home at about 11:00 AM. I went to visit friends living in Buda. I was returning home around 1:00 PM when, from the streetcar on Moricz Zsigmond Square, I noted an excited crowd reading something which had been posted on the trees and walls. I got off and decided to investigate. I was completely dumb-founded when I read the 16 demands of the students of the Budapest technical universities, School of Architecture. I did not (want to) believe my own ideas. The people around me seemed very excited and pleased. I heard such comments as: "It's about time something is being done!", "I hope they will not get into trouble because of this". Others were more pessimistic and said that nothing would come from this anyhow.

It surprised me that the policemen on the streets who saw these posters were entirely indifferent.

Somewhat after 2:00 PM, I saw a large group of students near the Budapest Technical University. I did not attach any importance to them because I thought that this was the student's meeting of which I had read in the paper the previous day.

I arrived home at about 3:00 PM and started to work immediately on a translation which I was doing at home. At 5:30 PM, my aunt came home and was very excited. She said that the crowds were demonstrating on the streets - singing Hungarian patriotic songs and shouting slogans of: "Ruskies go home". I partly believed her. I turned on the radio and heard that a speech by Gero was scheduled that evening. I wanted to hear what Gero had to say, but as the speech was to be held only at 8:00 PM, and it was not even 6:00 yet, I decided to go out into the street and investigate.

I walked up as far as the Hungarian National Theatre. I went along the main street of Budapest. Streetcars had stopped; large crowds were out in the streets with Hungarian National colors in their buttonholes and singing Kossuth songs. It was the usual street crowd of fifty or sixty. There were many girls and women in the crowd. It was impossible to tell by one's clothes what that person's occupation was. The crowd was very enthusiastic and some of the women wept for joy. I was surprised to see many army uniforms among the crowd.

It was rumored that Stalin's statue was being torn down and most of the people were heading in that direction. A comparatively few people went in the direction of the Hungarian radio studio.

I turned home and went back home to listen to Gero's speech. It was very provocative and threatening. He said that the Fascist gangs would be subdued in very short order. After Gero's speech, I too started off in the direction of Stalin's statue. A huge crowd had gathered around it, shouting encouragement to the workers who were placing steel cables around it and cutting it with a welding torch. When the huge statue began to topple over, there was such a roar from the crowd that I thought I would become deaf. I, too, was shouting with shouting with might and main. When the statue hit the ground, the crowd went frantic and in their frantic fashion tried to get nearer to Stalin's enormous metal bulk. Everyone wanted to either kick, or spit, at the statue. There were about two-hundred-fifty thousand people on the square. What I had just witnessed was probably the most unforgettable scene in my life. I think it would be impossible to re-act it for a motion picture play. Such great joy and such fanatic hate could only be spontaneous. I don't think that anyone there thought about consequences - about the possible consequences.

B. The crowd was still enjoying the sight of the toppled dictator when a truckload of excited students and young industrial workers drove up. They informed us that the AVH was shooting at the crowd in front of the radio studio building. There was a short, dumb silence from which one could hear the sound of shots from far off, from the direction of the radio building or the Nep building. There followed an increasing roar of disapproval and anger from the crowd. Everyone started off in the direction of the radio studio.

It was about 11:00PM when I reached the National theatre. I saw a large crowd storming the Szabad Nep building. They broke the windows and started throwing out the files and furniture from the offices. The crowd also ransacked the Soviet bookshop on the ground floor of the building. Books and papers were brought out into the middle of

the street and a huge bonfire was lit. From here, one could hear clearly the shooting in the vicinity of the radio studio.

I did not go to the radio studios, but started off home. It was about twelve PM when I reached the Killian Barracks. A large crowd of demonstrators had surrounded the Barracks and were shouting up to the soldiers, who were looking out from the windows. They shouted: "Give us Arms!" "Don't shoot at your brothers!". They also urged the soldiers to join them. The crowd consisted of youngsters from twelve to thirteen to men and women of fifty and sixty.

I went home convinced that within two days the AVH would be the master of the situation.

That night at home, we discussed for a long time the situation, with my uncle and aunt. None of us at home believed that the Hungarian Army would side with the uprisers. I was certain that the leaders of the uprising and of the demonstrations would be arrested and hanged. Others would receive long prison terms.

On October the 24, I woke up about 9:00 AM. I heard the sound of heavy guns from the direction of the Killian Barracks and also the sound of heavy tanks moving along Soroksar Road and the Korut. The radio announced that a curfew had been imposed on the city, and everyone was warned to stay at home. The large apartment building in which I lived was inhabited mostly by worker families. The teenagers living in our house disregarded the curfew entirely and were no where to be seen. Frantic mothers were very much concerned because of their absence and hoped, fervently, that nothing would befall them.

I stayed home the whole day. The shooting continued until late in the night. After nightfall, one of the teenager boys living in our apartment house returned home toting a brand new ~~submachine~~ submachine gun, and hand grenades. He said that the workers in the Hungarian munition factory acquired the arms. Through him we also learned that in the city small, organized groups had been formed. They consisted mostly of industrial workers and students. However, there was no contact between the various groups. Each group chose its own commander. He also told us that the Russians had been trying to capture the Killian Barracks all day but without success. He used very wild language in connection with Gero and the Russians.

A doctor was living in our apartment building and about noon, on Oct. 25, he asked me whether or not I would be willing to go to help him in a first-aid station which had been set up on Mester Street in one of the schools. I had never served in the Army and did not know much about arms, or fighting, but I felt that this was something I could do. I worked here in the first-aid station until Oct. the 28th.

We who administered medical aid to freedom-fighters and civilians alike; the majority of the wounded were between the ages of 16 and 20. Many people were wounded who did not take part in the fighting. Many women were injured on the streets or in their homes.

We treated, also, two Russians. One of them had a serious face wound; the other, had a shattered leg which had to be amputated. This second Russian was transferred to the St. Stephen Hospital, and I do not know what happened to him. The other one - with the face wound - was treated in our first-aid station and later taken to the infirmary which had been set up in the basement of the school. He was very much afraid, expecting that we wanted to kill him. He was in great pain, but when the doctor wanted to give him an injection to ease the pain, he started yelling. He probably thought that we meant to poison him. Some of the boys who spoke Russian talked to him, but he didn't answer. He accepted our cigarette and sat all day in the corner of the cellar.

We received our bandages and medicine from hospitals and from the Red Cross. The ambulance drivers complained that the Russians were firing at them. Another Red Cross ambulance driver told me that while he was transporting wounded, - freedom fighters - he was stopped by the AVH. The AVH men pulled out the wounded from the ambulance and forced the ambulance driver, at gun point, to give over the ambulance to them. They sat in, and drove off. The AVH did not have any regard for the wounded although the chauffeur had told them that they needed urgent medical attention.

I worked at this first-aid station until Oct. 28. By then, the Russians had withdrawn from the city. We transported all our wounded into the St. Stephen's hospital, and I went home very tired and exhausted.

But by Oct. 25, I had been convinced that the revolution in Budapest was on such a large scale that the freedom fighters would be able to defeat the AVH, especially as the Hungarian Army also aided with them.

6. When the Russians withdrew from Budapest, I was convinced that their withdrawal was only temporary and tactical. I knew that they would not accept defeat from the Freedom Fighters.

In our house there lived a young worker who was elected to the Revolutionary Council in my district of Budapest. He told me that they were very short of officers, and workers, and wanted me to go and work there a few hours a day. I willingly did so. I worked there until Nov. the 3, typing declarations, instructions and answering letters.

The Revolutionary Council of the Ninth district had about 20 members. They were mostly young, industrial workers and local students. They

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had been elected ~~been elected~~ by factories, plants, offices and the University, which was also situated in this district of Budapest.

There was much debate within the Council on what should be done. A minority of the Council members favored that pressure be exercised upon the government to ask arms and occupation troops from the West. The majority of the "revolutionary Council members, however, did not want armed Western intervention, fearing that Hungary would turn into a second Korea. Very few of the Council members shared my opinion that the Russians would return.

On Nov. 2, I was requested by telephone to report immediately at the Roumanian Legation at Budapest. The Legation staff seemed very nervous and depressed. The Legation had transported busses and were sending immediately all Roumanians back to Roumania. My fears that the Russians would return seem to be confirmed. I knew that Roumanians always had good foresight, or intuition, which enabled them to pre- sense diplomatic developments.

I did not know what to do - to stay in Budapest, or go back to Roumanis. I did not have to make up my mind because there were more passengers than seats available.

On Nov. 3, the radio announced that more Russian troops were moving into Hungary. We still hoped that perhaps the United Nations would save us.

Nov. the 4, was a Sunday. We were awakened early, at dawn, by the sound of big guns. I immediately turned to the radio, but the radio was silent. I climbed up to the fifth floor of our apartment house, and from there I saw that a large scale tank attack had been launched against Budapest. I went back to our flat on the first floor and found my aunt crying and my uncle sitting helplessly in a chair, and cursing. Shortly after that I heard over the radio that the Russians had launched a treacherous attack against Budapest. My only comment was: "I told you so!"

We immediately went down to the air-raid shelter of the house. There was much fighting in our neighborhood as we were not far from the Killian Barracks. We stayed in the air-raid shelter until Nov. 7. In the forenoon of Nov. the 7, a Russian patrol came to our house led by a Soviet Sergeant. They were very nervous and seemed evidently ~~scared~~ afraid. I spoke some Russian and asked them where the Fascists were. They searched the house for arms, but found nothing. They warned us that if one single shot was to be fired from our building, the Russian tanks would destroy the entire house.

In the afternoon of Nov. 7, I ventured out into the streets for the first time since the Russian attack. What I saw on the streets was something that probably the Russians had never experienced before. The civilian population of the besieged and the defeated city was not afraid of them. Everyone was giving them a piece of their minds. This was perhaps the only advantage of being forced to study Russian for so many years. The Russians were perplexed and kept mumbling about German and American Fascists. They seemed amazed that we were not grateful to them for freeing us from the Fascists.

One young worker asked a Russian soldier from the town of Gorki how he would like to have his own city destroyed in the same fashion as the Russians had destroyed Budapest.

From Nov. 7th until the 25th, I stayed in Budapest I walked about a great deal in the city and visited friends and relatives. My first cousin had been killed, and in fact, his parents could not be consoled. Everyone was talking of escaping to the West and feared the deprivations.

On Nov. 15, I myself saw a Russian armored car stop on the corner of Baross Street. Five Russians jumped out and arrested three boys who were walking on the sidewalk. They did not take a girl, a sister of one of the boys. She began to scream and begged the Russians to let her brother go. Finally, she lay down in front of the armored car. The Russians cursed and swore and a civilian had to drag the girl away from the path of the car.

This scene had a great effect on me. However, I'd still not made up my mind to go to the West. My decision was made suddenly. On Nov. 23, I was ordered by the Roumania Legation in Budapest to report for repatriation. Some Hungarian Bus Chauffeur who had taken Roumanians to the border, reported, and before I had heard that, Roumanian citizens who had been Hungary during the revolution were immediately taken into custody by the Roumanian Securitate on the Hungarian-Roumanian border.

I had no difficulty in getting out of Hungary. I was in possession of my Roumanian passport. I forged a document in Russian and Hungarian, stating that I am a newspaper correspondent for the Roumanian Communist paper SCANTEA. I boarded a train in Budapest and went as far as Szilagyssalyo(?). There I was checked by three Russian soldiers and an Hungarian border-guard. The Hungarian was not much concerned at my papers; the Russians looked at it and let me go. Ten minutes later I was in Austria.

Despite the heavy losses in lives and property, Hungary, through the Revolution, has gained a great moral and political victory which will bear fruit after the adjustment of Eastern and European problems.

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EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION:

A. I did not expect military aide or military assistance from the West during the revolution. I was convinced all the time that the Russians would return, but I hoped that the United Nations would be strong enough to be able to impose such economical and political sanctions on the Soviet Union which would force her to withdraw her troops from Hungary.

B. I knew that Hungary's geographical position plus its neutrality and the fear of the West of erupting an atomic war would keep the West from sending one single soldier, or one single rifle into Hungary. But I had a different opinion about the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations at that time. I thought that the United Nations organization was able and would help Hungary.

C. During the revolution I had contact with several foreigners. I have already mentioned that on Nov. 2, I visited the Roumanian Legation in Budapest. I also met a Yugoslav tourist who had been forced to leave the Royal Hotel because of the fighting there. She was furious at the Russians because of their conduct in Budapest: "What else could one have expected of them?". I also met an Italian newspaper reporter who was much impressed by what he had seen in Budapest. Immediately before my departure, I spoke to an Austrian doctor who had come to Hungary with an International Red Cross shipment of medicines and supplies. I asked him to take me with him to Vienna, but he was very sorry and said that he could not take any passengers because this would jeopardize the further entry of much-needed medical and food supplies sent by the International Red Cross.

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father is a building contractor. Before, and during, the war he also was employed in this trade. Before the war, every year he was able to make as much as a medium size family house cost at that time. After the war, until 1946, his ~~annual~~ monthly income was equivalent of 4,000 forints at its present value. From 1947 until 1956, his monthly income dropped down to about 2,503 forints (He was paid in Roumanian currency - I am counting its purchase value expressed in forints) - on the basis of foreign prices which existed in 1956.

(My father owned two homes in Roumania - the Party Secretary is living in one house now, and the Chief of Police in the other. Our family was forced to find rooms elsewhere)

My father completed four years of the Gymnasium and attended a three year course in architecture in Germany. It was called Hoch Bonn Industry. He studied in Berlin. My mother's education was limited to four years of secondary school.

B. The three major social classes in Hungary are the industrial workers, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. To the intelligentsia belong all officials, engineers, physicians, etc. Beside these three classes there is a considerably small Communist aristocracy of top Communist officials, government officials, army and police officers. There is also a small group of top Communist intellectuals. These two latter groups lived extremely well under the communist regime.

I have had contact with all classes in Hungary. My family belongs to the Industrial Workers. My friends were the younger members of the Intelligentsia. I also have peasant relatives living in the villages.

In my opinion, the Hungarian working class - that is the Industrial Workers - are very diligent, talented, clear-thinking, and patriotic.

The Hungarian peasantry is conservative, industrious, mistrustful, patriotic, and has a very strong sense of private ownership.

The Hungarian Intelligentsia is intelligent and cultured. Compared to the West they are better educated. Many of its members are opportunists, however. They are reliable, good patriots and try to attain the secure ~~the~~ bourgeois form of life.

I consider myself to be a member of the middle-class intelligentsia.

In my opinion, the Hungarian Industrial Workers were the hardest hit by the Communists regime. They have become virtually wage slaves of State Capitalism.

The Hungarian Industrial workers envied the peasantry because the peasants could obtain food products much easier than the city workers. However, the Communists were not able to create antagonism between the Industrial workers and the peasantry. The Industrial workers understood the Hungarian Intelligentsia and got along well with it.

The Hungarian peasantry was a bit mistrustful of the industrial workers and thought they were more in favor of communism than the peasantry. Communist propaganda gave the peasants the impression that the compulsory surrendering of products at a minimal price was necessary for insuring the food supply of the industrial workers.

The Hungarian peasants got along well with those members of the intelligentsia with whom they had contact.

The Hungarian intelligentsia was crushed by the economic policies of the communist regime and it was also in conflict with their conscience and self-respect for working for the members of the communist regime. The members of the intelligentsia knew the true situation of both the peasantry and the industrial workers. The intelligentsia also knew what was happening in Hungary and what was the true purpose of communism. In general, class barriers between the intelligentsia and the other two classes have almost completely vanished under communism.

C. To get ahead in Communist Hungary, one had to be a Party member, a worker or of working peasant origin. College experience, only of secondary importance. From 1953 on, there was a considerable change in this respect. Gradually more and more importance was contributed to talent and knowledge but this was true of jobs which were not politically important. In such jobs the situation had not changed.

As an individual, the person most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary is a man who has no moral inhibitions.

D. There were two small groups in Hungary which received much more from society than they deserved. The first group was the Communist aristocracy, consisting of top government officials, top party members, army officer, police officers, etc. The other privileged and exceptional group were the top communist intellectuals - writers, musicians, etc. These two small groups lived extremely well.

FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

A. Under the Communist regime my mother was also compelled to go to work. She became an office worker. My father, who had been a private building contractor before, and during, World War II, was forced to go to work for the Government after the war. Very often he was assigned to building projects some two or three hundred miles from our home. This meant that he was unable to come home for two or three months at a time. Being separated from my mother in this way, he sought the company of other women. My mother found out about his acts of infidelity and divorced him.

In general the ties between husband and wife, and parents and children, were loosened to a considerable extent, but only after the Communist regime. Both parents were obliged to seek employment. They had little time left for their children. Wages were extremely low. Many working women and girls yielded themselves to boy friends for such advantages as clothes or stockings.

Our family does not conform to any of the types mentioned. It is true that our family broke up, but on the other hand, politically we were closer to each other than before. We discussed political problems openly at home and warned each other of political dangers.

I have seen many families broken up under Communism but I do not know of any case where there has been political mistrust or suspicion within the family.

The education of the children was left entirely to Communist schools. Parents had little time for their children and, consequently, lost their influence over them.

In our family, only I and my younger brother were at home. My other brother had already married and left the family. We did not see much of our parents. The whole family met at the dinner table not more than twice, or three times, a month. Even the Sundays were not peaceful because of political meetings and "voluntary" social work in the villages. I don't think any of the families were able to educate their children entirely in the same way as before, during the war.

B. Young people became acquainted much easier than before, or during the war. Formalities of introduction were abandoned. Only the physical impressions and sex appeal were important. Courtesy, chivalry, romantic dreaming, ideals were entirely missing in the relations of the two sexes. A far greater number of young people married early. These marriages were more irresponsible and not lasting.

Extra-marital sexual relations were more frequent than before. It was considered neither shame, nor a tragedy to have a child out of wedlock.

I don't think the parents had an interference, nor an influence on the courtship of their children. These changes could be attributed to the fact that the young people were forced to start early to earn a living, and because they didn't depend, materially, on their parents. They felt free to do as they pleased. Also the youth had nothing with which to occupy its time. The inhibitions of religious thinking were also lacking. Under Communism, even if the youth did not become entirely atheistic, the influence of religion declined considerably.

There was no official prostitution under Communism in Hungary, but if one had money one was able to get practically any woman by spending money on her. This was not exactly prostitution but something very near to it.

I don't think that a convinced Communist has less sexual and moral inhibitions than any other average person; however, the Communists have more opportunity to engage in extra-marital sexual relations because they have better paid jobs and more money.

C. Such cases where friendships broke up because one member joined the Communist Party, and the other was a non-member and an anti-communist, were frequent. In such cases, the friendship usually broke-up, or turned into an acquaintanceship. Perhaps it would be more the Communist's friend who would sever the tie rather than the non-communist friend. But, the membership in the Party may make one proud or haughty; also, it is not advisable for Party members to associate with non-members or class enemies.

The friendship could continue under a mutual agreement not to mix politics into it, but in this case it would not be true friendship anymore.

D. There was an increase in juvenile delinquency in Hungary during the Communist regime. This was caused by the absence of parental and religious education. Parents had less time to supervise the activities of their children; also, the low standards of living contributed to the increase in the juvenile crime rate.

I have never heard the term "hooligan" in Hungary but I heard it in Roumania. Under "hooligan" one means the revelling, drinking, loitering in the suburbs. They have no fixed jobs or professions. Usually there personal identification cards state that they are laborers. The "hooligans" are mostly young people between the age of 20 and 25 and come from industrial-worker families.

According to the Communist, "hooliganism" is criminal, but I think that the whole problem of hooliganism is grossly exaggerated by the Communist's propaganda.

The Jampec is not a "hooligan". He is only a young man who copies Western fashion in clothes, music and dances. His primary interest in life are clothes, women, dancing and to have a good time. The Jampecs come from all social classes. I do not think they are classed as criminal.

To a certain extent they are motivated by a desire to do something which is anti-communist.

RELIGION

A. From 1945 until 1949, the churches in Hungary gave opposition to the Communist regime. After Mindszenty's arrest and trial, religious life has been restricted in Hungary considerably. As a result of the religious persecution, many people became indifferent toward religion, especially the younger generations. They neither go to church or pray. In 1955, and 1956 there was a noted rise in church attendance and in religious life. Even the younger people went to church.

The Roman Catholic church was the hardest hit in Hungary by communism. This can be explained by the fact that the greater majority of Hungarians are Catholic and that Catholic Church has always been an avowed enemy of communism, but all other religions were also persecuted. Communist materialism does not tolerate any religion.

B. I think religion is less important in my life than it is in the lives of my parents. I think that my attitude toward religion is identical with that of the average Hungarian, my age. I sometimes go to church, especially on important Church Holidays such as Easter, Christmas, etc. I sometimes pray and go to Confession rarely.

C. In an independent Hungary, I would not make the teaching of religion compulsory in schools. I would let Churches operate Church schools if they desired, but at the same time a sufficient number of State schools should be maintained for those who do not want to send their children to Church schools. I think that the Churches should be allowed to voice their opinion concerning films, books, plays, etc. but the government should exercise censorship over them, and not the churches. I do not approve of any Church taking an active part in everyday politics.

D. The Jewish religion in Hungary was also hurt by Communism, not as much as the Catholic religion but perhaps as much as the Protestants. The Communists did not look with favor on any religion, whether it be Catholic, Protestant or Jewish.

Anti-Semitism

The Jews in Hungary were affected economically by the Communist regime. The majority of the Jews were Capitalists; however, the Communists used the Jews for their purposes. As victims of Fascist persecution, the Jews were reliable to the Communists and for this reason, they were assigned to court and government positions. The Jewish masses in Hungary, however, would have preferred that Communist leaders be not Jews. They were afraid that resentment ~~against~~ against the Communist and the Jewish Communist leaders would, in the end, ~~not~~ be the cause of anti-Jewish pogroms.

Very many Jews were members of the Communist Party. They joined not

because of political convictions but for a better chance to get ahead.

During the Revolution, I did not see, personally, any Jews fighting, but I heard from friends that Jews, especially young Jews took part in the fighting. Most Jews welcomed the Revolution, especially when they saw that it had no anti-semitism.

I don't believe that the Jews are opposed to the formation of an Independent -democratic Hungary. I think they would welcome a truly independent Hungary.

THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. By Hungarian youth, we mean, in general young people between 14 and 26.

B. The Hungarian youth, that is to be exact - the Hungarian University students - organized the demonstrations and started the Revolution. They were immediately joined by the young industrial workers. The example of these two groups, turned the Revolution into a wide, popular movement. The young peasants and the army also did their share of the fighting.

It was the Hungarian youth and not any other age group, or class, which started the Revolution, because the Hungarian youth had less to lose, was more optimistic, and not as subdued as older age groups.

The older age groups were surprised by the conduct of the Hungarian youth and admired its bravery. On the other hand, the Hungarian youth realized that it would be unwise to create a dictatorship of the youth and that it is advisable to be led by the more experienced elders.

C. I have not attended any schools in Hungary but probably the educational system is the same as it was in Roumania. The Communists laid great emphasis on higher education in order to acquire in the shortest possible time, reliable cadres for all government and economic jobs. But the young industrial workers and peasants whom they sent to Universities did not have the proper educational qualifications. This caused a general decline in higher education. The students, who completed their studies, were not able to find lucrative employment.

There were restrictions of vocational choice. The entrance examinations served other purposes than to insure the basic educational requirements of the students admitted to University studies. They had a true purpose which was to weed out everyone who did not have the proper class background.

The quality of education declined. The curriculums were primed with political subjects and Communist propaganda penetrated all other subjects as well.

There were very few Communists by conviction among the educators and professors and teachers, but they were forced to accept Soviet educational methods. The teachers who were trained under the Communist regime were inferior to those who taught under the Horthy regime.

Communist political subjects were considered

and reacted favorably

D. As a result of Communism indoctrination efforts, the Hungarian teacher accepted the Communist economic views but did not accept the political views which it had to learn by heart. They considered Communist political indoctrination as uninteresting, boring and compulsory.

I think that the Hungarian youth from 1945-1948 had accepted Communism and reacted favorably to it. With the beginning of Tito's excommunication from the Communist flock, the Hungarian youth began to see the true face of Moscow communism and lost confidence in it. Later, the Hungarian youth began to criticize the regime and finally, revolted against it.

MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A. My major dissatisfactions with every day life in Communist Hungary were the low wages, the high prices, and the irritating lies of Communist propoganda.

B. Other people complained of low incomes, difficulty in obtaining proper quarters, absence of all contacts with the Western world, and constant fear of the Secret Police.

ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Financially, I was not able to get along too well during my last year in Hungary.

For breakfast, I usually ate a slice of toast, buttered and drank a cup of tea at home. I ate lunch in the cheap, government cafeteria. Supper was prepared at home by my aunt with whom I live.

I paid my aunt 100 forints a month rent for a room which I shared with my cousin, her son. I considered it a luxury to go to a dance once a month. If I escorted a girl to a dance it usually cost about 150 forints for the both of us.

I had three suits - one, new one, one year old and one two years old. Clothing was my greatest problem.

In comparison to our pre-war standard of living, our post-war standard was not even 5% of what it had been. What I missed most from my previous way of life was a comfortable home with a room of my own, and a fairly large sized wardrobe. From among all my acquaintances in Hungary, every engineer and his family lived the best of all. The engineer was very talented and industrious; he accepted part-time jobs in planning to supplement his income. ~~There~~ mother was not employed; she kept the house. A married daughter and her ~~husband~~ husband were living with them and another daughter, unmarried was also ~~employed~~ employed; three boys, ages 16, 12 and 10 were at school. They had a fairly comfortable home, ate good food and had decent clothes. All this was possible through the diligence of the father and to the fact that two daughters and one son-in-law contributed to the support of the family.

The low level of the Hungarian standard of living after the war was due entirely to the Soviet exploitation.

B. My average income as government translator was 1200 forints a month. 50 forints per month were deducted for compulsory government loans. 1% for trade union dues, and 8% for dis-membership fees.

I did not receive any premium or extra pay, but I had a secondary source of income inasmuch as I sold coffee and cocoa smuggled in from Roumania. In this way I earned 400-500 forints each month, extra.

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C. (Sub-section C is not applicable, as subject has lived comparably short time in Hungary)

There was much black marketing in goods smuggled in from Roumania and Austria. From Roumania, cocoa, coffee, spices, were brought in with the aid of suitcases which had a false bottom. ~~Wool, gloves,~~ chiffons, medicines which were smuggled from Hungary into Roumania. This smuggling was not very dangerous. If one was caught then the contraband was confiscated.

D. I was employed in the National Translation Bureau. I translated mostly from Hungarian into Roumania; often Roumanian into Hungarian. I worked 8 hours a day. Sometimes, I took extra work home and worked overtime. I usually translated legal documents, certificates, but sometimes even newspaper articles for the Szabad Nep.

I slept regularly eight hours a night. I did not live far from my place of work and was in my office every day from 9-5. If I got up late, instead of walking the half-hour, I took a street car and was there in 10 minutes. I took this job because it was comparatively well paid. I was on excellent terms with my co-workers and superiors. I was not ^{praised} by my superiors, nor was I afraid of them. It must be admitted that they were well qualified for their jobs.

In general, I was satisfied with my job although it did not pay enough money to live as well as I would have liked to.

My co-workers were also well qualified for their jobs. Apart from the official praise and citations, our superiors hardly ever expressed their satisfaction over our work which was well done.

The Social Medicine Care and the Vacation program of the Hungarian Trade-unions operated very well. However, the pension workers were not satisfied as the pensions were too low.

E. In Hungary I would prefer to live in Budapest. There are more facilities for recreation, culture and education, in Budapest than in the country. I think that city workers ate better food than the Hungarian country population. The standard of living was higher in the cities. On the other hand, I think that the rural population had an easier time politically under the Communist regime.

When farm collectivization was being introduced in Hungary and Roumania I was certain that it would not succeed. Directly, I did not feel that this would affect me; indirectly, however, it would cause a shortage of food supplies.

The system of farm collectivization is doomed to fail; it was introduced by force, directed by people who did not have any experience, nor knowledge of, agriculture and the program was launched without adequate material and resources.

I think that the Hungarians' peasant group were more opposed to farm cooperatives than any other peasant group. They were very embittered when the land that only a few years ago they had received from the Communists was taken away from them.

(in course of the land reform)

I first heard of farm collectives being dissolved in 1953, during the Imre Nagy government. I also heard about this, and such cases, during and after the "evolution. Farm cooperative groups were dissolved because of bad management and because of extremely low income of the farm group members.

In an independent Hungary it would be well to introduce the same farm co-operative movement which exists in Denmark. It would be wise to continue the system of tractor-stations which the Communists have introduced. These tractor stations would be able to provide the farmers with agricultural machinery and with farm implements which they rent for at a low price. It would still be necessary to maintain the State farms for breeding animals and conducting agricultural experiments.

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. I was ten years old in 1942. Since then I have read newspapers regularly. As I grew up my interest in politics increased even more. Before, 1948, I was most in favor of the Hungarian smallholders party. It had the confidence of almost everyone in Hungary. After 1945, my father joined the social-democratic party. At the present I consider ~~it~~ the British Labor Party and its program, as ideal.

I heard and read about the 1918-19 Communist Party in Hungary and its activities during the first Hungarian Communist regime. My father fought in the Transalvaanian Regiment against the Communists. The Reds captured him, and tortured him severely. He was almost executed. My sentiments with regards to the Communists, its Party and Communism, did not change during World War II when the Russian troops were approaching, I feared very much. However, from 1945 to 1948, I did not consider the Communist Party as dangerous. I did not believe that they would be able to form a dictatorship of the working class.

B. After 1948, my views concerning the Communist Party changed considerably. Until then there were still some Communist leaders with the Party who meant well. From 1948 on, only Careerists and Moscow Puppets were the Party leaders.

Communist Party members can be grouped as follows: " The Party Aristocracy and the top Party Officials who are mostly Communists by convictions and who run the party; party members who took part in the underground activities of the Communist Party before and during the war. Most of them had been Communists by conviction before 1948 but since then have become entirely disillusioned with communism; simple party members who joined the Party in order to get ahead, and finally, party members who joined under compulsion - that is, in order not to lose their jobs, or to avoid political persecution for their conduct during World War II.

The Hungarian Communist Party was very inconsequential in its policy. These policies were changed in accordance with orders from Moscow; these were determined by Soviet aspirations, by poverty and by economic necessity. From their point of view, the change of policies was often successful, but sometimes the change was nothing more than a disgusting political manoeuvre. Every change of policy caused many Party members by conviction to change their views concerning the Communist Party, although, at that time, they were not able to express their sentiments openly.

In my opinion, the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party were loyal servants of Moscow; the major motives are to secure the power of Communism with Hungary and to serve Moscow loyally. As individuals they are primarily motivated by material gain. Also they crave power and all the advantages which go with it. I cannot imagine any communist leader who has good intentions. Such idealistic communists have been liquidated or deposed.

If Hungary once regains her independence then the top leaders of the Communists should be made to answer for their deeds before a court.

C. (Most of this sub-section is not applicable as subject had been residing in Hungary for a comparatively short time)

(I first heard about the Petofi Circle in May of last year from a newspaper reporter friend. He told me that very interesting debates were being conducted by the Petofi Circle and that this was the first forum where one could speak freely without fear of consequences.

Prior to the Petofi Circle, I had heard about the intellectual ferment in Hungary when, in 1955, the Hungarian writers revolted. This revolt was allegedly inspired by the Soviet writer Ilya Brinberg. The Hungarian Communist writers demanded more literary freedom and the abolishment of censorship. The resolutions of the Hungarian writers appeared in the IRODALMI U JSAG. This issue of the Irodalmi U Jsag was confiscated in Roumania.

The Hungarian intellectuals did not have anything new to say. Their primary significance lies in their open opposition. I consider the Hungarian intellectuals as the forerunners and planners of an intellectual revolution. The majority of them are sound, realistic people and not impractical dreamers.

Although the intellectuals were the pampered favorites of the Communist regime, nevertheless they went against it because they were dissatisfied with Communist control and regimentation of their creative activities, creative work.

THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The offices of the secret police in Hungary can be divided into two groups. The ~~known~~ first group are the top ranking officers who are communists by conviction; who are sadists, murderers and who perhaps have other similar appellations. The second group - those who belong are officers who, because of their knowledge of languages or technical training are assigned to intellectual jobs within the AVH. These people are political careerists, who are not communists by conviction.

I have had little contacts with the Hungarians in AVH but I was able to establish that the Hungarian secret police are entirely different people than their Roumanian counter-part, the Securitate. The Hungarian AVH is more ruthless and even more Moscowites than the Soviet FVD itself. From the Communist point of view it is more reliable than the Roumanian counterpart. A Roumanian secret policeman was always willing to accept a bribe and to close his eyes. A Hungarian secret police-man is on the other hand always willing to torture his own father.

I met several AVH officers when I was in the Ministry for the Interior trying to get my citizenship papers. All the officers of the Ministry of the Interior are AVH. I found them very reserved, courteous and fairly intelligent.

My father had been arrested by the Roumanian secret police. The treatment of prisoners there was entirely different than in Hungary. It was possible to intervene in their behalf and to send them parcels and even letters. It was entirely impossible to smuggle out, for example a letter, from the Hungarian AVH. I think also that under the Roumanian secret police the system, and network, of informers was not so wide spread as in Hungary.

I have not heard of any professional AVH feeling remorse and wanting to leave the service. If such cases occurred they probably happened among the enlisted men who were assigned to AVH duty in the course of compulsory military drafting.

When Hungary regains her independence it will be necessary to investigate thoroughly the deeds of all the AVH officers and men and who are guilty should be placed before a court.

In comparison to the AVH, the Hungarian Blue Police were less significant, more bureaucratic, and not so well trained. They were not reliable Party Members from the Communist point of view. They were not as competent as the Blue Police force under the Horthy regime. There may have been corruption also in Hungarian Blue Police force as there certainly was in the Roumanian counterpart.

In the first stage of the Hungarian Revolution, the Blue Force policeman showed goodwill, placidity toward the revolution. He ~~did not~~ ~~hesitate~~ ~~to~~ ~~join~~ ~~the~~ ~~revolution~~ ~~but~~ ~~even~~

He did not take any action against the freedom fighters or demonstrators, but even gave their arms over to them. When the Russians withdrew their troops from Budapest, and it was believed that the Revolution had won, the Blue policemen took part in obtaining the order. After the second attack against Budapest, many AVH Officers infiltrated the Blue police force.

B. I think that before and during the war the Hungarian courts were just. Communist accusations of class justice are entirely unfounded.

The People's Courts operated from 1945-1947. They tried war criminals and persons who ~~XXXXX~~ took part in the persecution of communists views. The Hungarian people courts were overjealous ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in comparison to the other satellite countries ~~XXX~~ set a record in ~~XXXXXX~~ sentencing ~~XXXX~~ "war criminals". Some of the war criminals were, no doubt, guilty and deserved the sentence, but the vast majority of the sentences too severe, or unjust.

C. The Hungarian army played a decisive role in the Revolution. Had there been no Stalinist element within the Ministry for Defense and the General Staff, the Hungarian Army as a unit would have been able to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ offer resistance to the Russian attack on Nov. 4.

In Budapest, I myself saw what role the Budapest army played in the Revolution because I happened to live near the Killian Barracks. What happened in the country, I heard only from hearsay. (I know only from hearsay) For example, my cousin who was serving with the Border Guards in Nagykanizsa that all Stalinist officers jumped into cars and fled to Yugoslavia and Austria during the first stage of the Revolution. The frontier guardsman sided entirely with the freedom fighters. On Nov. 4, the Russians encircled them. The Hungarian frontier guards began negotiations with the Russians, using the delay to distribute arms among the civilians and to enable them to escape from the city. The Frontier guards then agreed to resume their duty on the border but did not intercept anyone attempting to leave the country.

told me

I do not know of any difference in the conduct of army units, or groups which could be attributed to geographical factors. The enlisted men and non-commissioned officers in general ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ sided with the freedom fighters while some of the officers-especially the senior officers - were Stalinists. I do not know of any difference or conduct which could be attributed to class origin.

The fact that some army units took part as a whole in the Revolution ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ while others did not, can be attributed to the lack of communication between the troops; to false rumours spread intentionally by Communists among them; and to the fact that in some places Communist officers were able to maintain control and discipline.

I was surprised by the conduct of the army. The most I expected from the army was that it would remain passive and not fire against Hungarians. But I did not expect them to take an active part against the Communists. I over-estimated the Communist reliability of the officers.

(The respondent has not served in the Hungarian army. The rest of this is not applicable)

D. I think that the strong feeling against the Russians in Hungary can be attributed primarily to the combat and behaviour of the Russian troops in 1944 and 1945. When the Russians were advancing, everyone was afraid of them because the events of the 1919 Communist regime had not yet been forgotten. World War I prisoners of war in Russia also told and readily believed stories of Soviet atrocities in the Soviet Union. The two generations brought up under the Horthy regime were strongly anti-communist.

When the occupying forces came in they misbehaved, were drunk most of the time, looted and raped women. After 1945, my opinion of the Russians improved somewhat. I was forced to admit that they made a great advancement in the field of technical progress.

I have had no contact with the Soviet occupation troops in Hungary or Roumania.

My only contact with Soviet soldiers during the Revolution was with those soldier whom we treated at our first-aid station. This I have already mentioned.

My impression was that the Soviet troops which fought in Hungary from October 22 to Nov. 4, were troops who had spent sometime in Hungary. They fought very unwillingly and with no great enthusiasm. They knew very well that the entire population had turned against the Communists.

The Soviet troops which were launched against Budapest and other cities on Nov. the 4th, were fresh troops. They had been entirely misled and prejudiced. They had received instructions to fight ruthlessly against Fascists who were being led by Germans and Americans. Many of them did not know where they were. They inquired how far Berlin was and where the Suez Canal lay.

I do not know anything of the views of the Soviet soldiers who served with the Occupying Troops in Hungary and Roumania. I have not noticed any difference between officers and enlisted men in the Revolution. I did not notice any difference in conduct which could be attributed to age or nationality. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

I personally do not know of any cases where Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, refused to obey their superiors, deserted, fought on the side of the Hungarians against the AVH or against each other.

I do not know of any atrocities committed individually by the Soviet soldiers, but I do know that a good many of the people whom we treated at the first-aid station during the Revolution were people who never had arms in their hands and took no part in the fighting.

E. There were, sometimes, government officials who were willing to assist a person. For example, I had great difficulty in obtaining a job because I had no Hungarian citizenship. Some government officials were willing to overlook this ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ lack of citizenship.

F. I think it was extremely difficult in Hungary to get around regulations and laws. It was much easier in Roumania. Probably one could use contact, and perhaps, even bribery, to a small extent in seeking appointment. In Hungary, any official caught attempting to bribe was very severely punished.

G. I think that the vast majority of the top of the Hungarian secret police cannot be termed as intelligent, only that they have a blind obedience to Moscow Communists. There have been very few, may be, top ranking secret police officers who have received excellent training in the Soviet Union - perhaps they can be termed as intelligent.

I do not know what the situation was in respect in intelligence among army top leadership.

I think that the top leadership of the Russian army is well-trained and capable.

One has to distinguish between two groups of officials within the Hungarian public administration. One group, which had served previously under the Horthy regime, was intelligent. However, they were assigned to less significant jobs. The second group consisted of the new party "intelligentsia" (correction: The second group consisted of the new Communist intelligentsia. They were workers and peasants who, for their good communist loyalty were assigned to public administration jobs, for which they did not have educational qualifications, nor intelligence.

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I think that the present terror in Hungary will continue for at least one more year. The present regime will conduct a thorough investigation of participation in the Revolution last fall. Everyone involved will be seriously punished. The present Hungarian regime will attempt to secure its position with the aid of the Soviet Union. The present government will not be able to make any concessions—either economic, nor political. ~~It will~~ ^{Kadar will} not remain in power long—perhaps, not more than one year. I would not be surprised to ~~know~~ see Rakosi's complete rehabilitation, even if he does not take active part in the government. He will, however, conduct affairs from behind the scenes. Kadar's successor will be a Moscowite who is more intelligent and perhaps even more loyal to Moscow than Kadar is.

Outside of Hungary, the armementaries between East and West will continue. Both sides will accelerate further research on nuclear weapons. Perhaps Moscow may come forward with a policy of "peaceful co-existence". This may lead to further cultural ties but not to political conciliation. Should there be any international top-level talks, these will bring no results.

I only hope that the Soviet Union and the Hungarian communists will draw their own conclusions about the recent events in Hungary. This may I hope induce them to grant small economic and political concessions which could make the lives of the people at home more tolerable. In such a case, I think, the emphasis will be placed on economic concessions and not on political ones.

I do not favor war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Neither do I think that the people at home do. Only I think that last fall during the embitterness which can be best explained as the security action of the Revolution where the people of Hungary wanted war at all cost even if it meant the destruction of Hungary itself. But I fear that war between the United States and the Soviet Union is inevitable, and it will take place within the next ten years. I do ~~not~~ think that all diplomatic meetings are bearing pressure upon the Soviet Union and that short of war, will bring no results. I don't think there is any chance of the Revolution breaking out within the Soviet Union.

B. During the past ten years, we hoped that a peace treaty would be signed which would mean that the Soviet troops will have to withdraw from the countries they occupy. With no Soviet bayonets to support them, we thought that the local communist parties would collapse.

Now and then we thought that perhaps the Western world would be able to bear enough diplomatic pressure upon the Soviet Union to make her withdraw behind her own frontiers. At one time or other, talks of disarmament and of neutralizing Central and Eastern Europe were all very hopeful. But our disillusionment with Western military power, and when we saw the ineffectiveness of Western military power in Korea, we realized that Western military power was not as formidable as we had hoped it would be.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. I think that independent Hungary should be a democratic republic with ~~Parliament government~~ and a ~~government~~ government. This government should conduct a national independence and democratic policy. The key industries should remain nationalized but the small industries and small trades should be restored to private ownership. The agricultural policy of the government should also be liberal.

B. I think Hungary should place emphasis on industry and not on agriculture. Hungary has excellent skilled workers and technicians to develop her industry. In a world of free trade, she would be able to acquire the raw materials which are not available at home from the foreign markets. Emphasis should be placed on fine mechanics and on the chemical industry. The Hungarian heavy industries would not be able to compete with foreign countries. The emphasis should not be placed on agriculture because in normal conditions the ~~present~~ present agricultural facilities are able to insure an ample food supply for the entire country.

If the Communist regime were overthrown, I think that the large national enterprises should be placed under the management of a worker's committee. All the national enterprises should be individual, commercial units and should operate, more or less as Capitalistic enterprises - with the exception that ownership of the enterprises is invested in the workers.

The lesser and the badly organized national enterprises should be abolished. Perhaps they should be split up into smaller, lesser units and be leased or sold to private individuals or companies. The government should not restrain industrial production. It should however offer an advisory service for market research, but it should not be compulsory for the enterprises to follow the advisory instructions of this government service.

The large enterprises should not be restored to their previous owners. The small tradesman, or merchant, who suffered financial losses through the nationalization of industries should be able to repossess their property, or should receive compensation.

If the Communist regime ~~would~~ were overthrown, the collective farms could continue to operate in their present form, should the members of the farm (forum) continue collective farming. Perhaps the collective farms could be organized along the Scandinavian principles. The State farms should continue to operate for agricultural research and live stock breeding purposes.

The nationalisation of large industry is a common phenomenon even in Western Europe. Therefore, I consider the nationalization of the heavy industries, -the coal industry, the steel industry, etc. as essential and vital. The nationalization of large industries which are not key industries is often justified. I think I should set the limit for nationalization where the profits of the owner exceed twenty times the profits of the worker. Perhaps it could be established by the number of employees. Perhaps where the number of the employees exceed fifty.

The government should support, and not direct, agriculture. Agricultural production should be intensified. The government should provide homes to farmers at a small rate of interest. The facilities for renting farm machinery and equipment should also be provided. Agricultural research and live stock breeding (stud animals, etc) should be conducted by the government farms. The government should also increase its efforts to raise the cultural and health level of the village population. I think that the large number of agricultural experts are urgently needed in Hungary.

I think that the government should have a maximum limit to the land which any one family should own- or any one person. This limit should be, perhaps, 100 ~~gárdásági~~ ^{yoke}. Farm owners should not have so much more profit than the total wages of the agricultural workers employed by them. Such measures as restriction of, or a limit to, State ownership and the nationalization of industries would prevent the rebirth of undesirable outgrowths of the economic life of Hungary.

If I were to choose between the two forms of government which you mentioned, I would, without hesitation, choose a democratic form of government where freedom is insured even though the government is unable to guarantee everyone a fair standard of living. In a democratic country everyone would be able to get ahead depending on his knowledge and talent. Such a democratic atmosphere would provide incentives for progress in science, industry, trade and commerce.

In an independent ~~democratic~~ Hungary, I do not think that it would be advisable to outlaw the Communist Party. The Communist Party is perhaps more dangerous when it is forced to go underground.

C. For Hungary, and international position such as the neutrality of Austria, would be the most ideal. This is the only road open for small countries if they want to pursue their national interests.

Ideally, Hungary should have only economic relations with the Soviet Union, but on the basis of equality; cultural relations, but without politics and propaganda and without government support; military relations should be restricted to pacts of non-aggression and friendship.

The same should be said of Hungary's relations with the other Eastern European satellite countries. The only difference in the relation with Western European countries and the United States is that the government should promote cultural ties with these countries and provide a large number of scholarships and fellowships to send new students to these countries.

Plans for a federation of Danubian states were first drafted by Kossuth in 1848. I have often discussed such plans with University students both in Hungary and Roumania. I think that such a federation would be very desirable but it is impossible to achieve. Plans for such a federation can never solve the ethnical, economic and political inconsistency which exist. The majority of the people in the countries concerned would never approve of such a federation.

Nevertheless if such a federation would be formed, I would prefer to have all Danubian countries participate in it with the exception of the Czechs. ~~University students were much opposed to~~ The Slovaks should be included.

In Roumania, university students were very much opposed to such plans because their position in such a federation would be less advantageous than it is if they remain independent. I think that all small Danubian countries would ~~assume~~^{fear} that one of them would strive to assume control over the others. A federation of this kind would revive all the faults and mistakes of the Austria-Hungarian empire. The statesmen of the Western world should abandon all ideas for such a federation.

I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. I would like to see territorial changes around the Roumanian-Czechoslovakia boundaries; that is, the re-annexation of territories occupied by the Hungarian minority. I would not want any territorial changes along the Yugoslavia frontier. The only concession Yugoslavia should make to Hungary is a free sea port on the Yugoslavia seacoast.

These territorial changes could be achieved only through international arbitration.

I am concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities, especially in Czechoslovakia. In Roumania the role of the Hungarian minority is much better. They are in far greater numbers and ~~may~~ the Roumanians cannot risk the loss of their cooperation. Stalinism and Chauvanism are not as strong in Roumania as they are in Czechoslovakia. The Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia enjoys a much better position than that of the Hungarians at home, even under the first Imre Nagy government.

These questions of territorial changes and the fate of the Hungarian people in neighboring countries are very important to all Hungarians. In importance they rank second immediately after the overthrow of the Communist rule in Hungary.

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech in March, 1956. I heard about it from a friend who is on the staff of the Hungarian newspaper, NEPSZAVA. This happened about one month after Stalin's public de-idealization. Plans for the public denouncement of Stalin were first discussed at a secret meeting of the

While I was in Hungary, I was satisfied with Senator McCarthy and his House on un-American Activities committee. I was pleased to see that he was getting rid of the communists within the government. However, at home from the Communist press, we heard that Senator McCarthy was persecuting innocent people on false charges in the United States and that the activities of his committee were equal to the witch-hunting of the middle ages. Since my arrival in the United States, I heard, to my surprise, that some of the things said by the Communists about Senator McCarthy were true. However, it is my opinion that in the long run, it is still better to run the risk of discharging innocent people from the government on charges of Communist Party membership, or communist affiliation than to run the risk of keeping such people in government. With the freedom which is given everyone in defending himself, sooner or later, the innocence of people who are dismissed unjustly can always be later established. They can be rehabilitated.

I read about Peron's downfall in Argentina. The communist newspapers at home ran full details. I did not attach any importance to his downfall.

We did not know much about the private life of Rakosi before the Revolution. Everyone knew that his wife, a Mongolian, was a top prosecutor in Moscow, and allegedly was Rakosi's wife only in name. She was assigned to keep watch over Rakosi and see to it that his loyalty to the Soviet Union did not waver. We also knew that Rakosi lived in great luxury.

B. During the past ten years, our resources of information at home were communist newspaper and radio broadcasts; the foreign radio broadcast and foreign newspapers although they were left-wing papers. All these sources of news were equally important to me because they supplemented each other.

C. In 1953, I met very many foreign students in Yugoslavia at the summer Communist Youth rally held in Bucharest. Talks with these foreign students and young workers, convinced me that the Western way of life is much higher both morally and economically. In the summer of 1956, in Hungary, I also met Austrian, Yugoslav, eastern German, French and Czechoslovak tourists in Hungary. Only the Yugoslavs and Austrians gave me acceptable, credible accounts of the political situation in their countries. All the other with whom I spoke gave me the usual propaganda lines. I consider the news which I received in this way much more reliable than the news which was available from communist press and radio.

D. Before and during the war, my father subscribed for a Transylvanian Hungarian newspaper, called KELETI UJSAG. When Transylvania was re-annexed next to Hungary, then my father also subscribed for the Budapest daily newspapers. He read only technical magazines which were related to his work. He read about an hour and an hour and a half every day. He liked the Hungarian classics and some of the modern Hungarian writers. He also read translations of foreign novels. Originally, he only read the German technical magazines related to the building trade.

The only change during World War II ~~was~~ was that the magazines which he had been receiving from German friends, stopped coming, as the friends had been drafted for military service.

In general, my father was satisfied with what he was able to read during World War II. He was very particular about his reading.

After World War II, I read regularly the Roumanian communist newspapers and the Hungarian SZABAD NEMZET. I also subscribed to the IRODALMI UJSAG until the Roumanians confiscated some of the issues of this paper. I read every item in the newspaper very carefully, but until about 1948 or 1949, one could still believe what was published in the newspapers. After that, one had to have a sixth sense so as to decide which was true and which was false in the Communist papers. I was especially distrustful of news items concerning the political and Communist Party life. I did not even believe the statistical reports because there were no way to check their veracity. When reading anything in the Communist newspapers, the first thing to decide was, what propagandistic value had the news item concerned, for the Communists. The only thing to do was to determine what was really essential in the news item.

In Roumanian-Hungary I was also able to read Soviet publications. I read regularly the PRAVDA; sometimes the GOZNYOK; now and then the KROKODIL, and the SOVJETSKIJ SOJUZ. In the libraries, I also read magazines: the LITERATURA: ISKUSTVO, KINO and TEATER. ~~With~~ these newspapers and magazines contained about the same pro propaganda as their Hungarian and Roumanian counterparts. They had to be read with the same sense of criticism.

Magazines from all satellite countries, with the exception of Yugoslavia, were obtaining in Roumania and Hungary.

Western communist and socialist newspapers were also obtainable at Hungarian newsstands. For example, one was able to buy copies of HUMANITE; the AVANTGARD; DAILY WORKER; ILLUSTRIRTE WELT; the Italian VIE NUOVE; and the French, LETTRES FRANCAISES.

I did not know of any illegal papers from the West.

In Hungary, I read many books which had been placed on the Index by the Communists, and one was able to borrow such books from friends. Friends gave out such books to each other very reluctantly, and only when one solemnly promised to take care of the book; not to show it to anyone, and to return it, in short time.

The books which had been placed on the Index by the Communists had been withdrawn from all public libraries and bookstores, but not everyone surrendered these books after the Index appeared. Such books as Margaret Mitchell's GONE WITH THE WIND were also on INDEX.

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. There are slim chances of gradual liberation within the Soviet Union. When the political atmosphere becomes too tense, the government is always ready to make some slight concessions. The concessions will, however, not be very significant. In years to come, the most the Soviet citizens can hope to achieve is to be permitted to travel abroad and to receive Western films and publications.

I think that during the long years of Communist ruling in the Soviet Union that the Soviet citizen has become indifferent and insensible toward hopes and expectations of political change. They are mistrustful of everyone and especially of the regime. There may be some organized resistance among the various nationalities incorporated in the Soviet Union; however, in general, the Soviet Union citizen is trying to live the best he can and ^(really?) mechanically to anything the government does or says.

why?
I think that an Revolution can arise only perhaps in the Ukraine, and also perhaps in the Baltic States. These revolutions will be suppressed by the Communists in power in short order.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, I think that the dictatorship of the Communist Party would cease. The majority of the people would be, however, indifferent to any political change. Perhaps some popular Narodnyik Socialist Party would come to power. This would be a Labor Party but not in the Western sense of the word. Some kind of peasant party, or peasant federation would also be formed. I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party have endless Imperialistic ambitions for trading power. It would be very unwise to term them as untalented, or unintelligent. From the point of view of intelligence, ~~KHUSH~~ Khrushchev is probably their worst sample. Molotov is the most dangerous one. All of them probably believe in Communism. At one time, perhaps forty years ago, they were communists by conviction. By now communism by conviction has become a routine with them, and they never stop to think of whether they are convinced or not. They are entirely convinced that the final victory will be theirs.

The difference between the top Soviet Communists and the top Hungarian Communists leaders is that the Russians are more ~~powerful~~, haughty, and have more power. The Hungarians are more servile and have less power.

B. Of the countries listed, Poland and Yugoslavia are the two most popular ones because of their opposition to Moscow communism. Czechoslovakia, Roumania are the two least popular because of their conduct in the Hungarian Revolution. The Roumanians behaved only slightly better than the Czechoslovakians. The Czechs actively cooperated with the Soviets in suppressing the Revolution.

If free elections were to be held in these countries at that time, the following would happen. In Bulgaria a peasant party would come to

government, but a small Communist party would remain. In Czeckoslovakia, there would be a stiff struggle for power between the Communists and the popular Democratic Party. The outcome of this struggle is questionable. In Eastern Germany, the Socialist Party would come to power, and the Communist Party would shrink to complete insignificance. In Roumania, the government would be dominated by the peasant party - the communists would perhaps be able to get one or two seats in Parliament in the industrial worker districts. In Yugoslavia, Tito and Communism are linked closely together. A strong communist party would continue under Tito, but perhaps in the country, the peasant voters would form a peasant block which would, however, be basically communist, and would go over with Tito.

I don't think that the restoration of any Monarchy in these countries is possible.

I think that from among the countries listed that Eastern Germany has the highest standard of living with Czeckoslovakia, second. Roumania has the lowest standard of living, with Bulgaria having second poorest standard.

C. I think that ^{Gomulka} ~~Stalin~~ represents a basic change in Bonn. After the Posnan trials, the leadership of the Polish party realized that the situation was critical and decided to win the confidence of the people by setting Gomulka free and letting him head the new government.

Gomulka's policies is a brave attempt to form an entirely independent Communist Party policy, with due respect for national independence. I do not doubt for one minute that Gomulka is a good patriot. Gomulka's rule hinges on the economic problems of Poland. If he is able to solve the economic questions then he will remain in power. He will continue a cautious cooperation with the Soviet Union and will attempt to get as many concessions as he can, especially economic ones.

Since my departure from Hungary, I think that Poland's situation has become even more favorable than before.

The Posnan riots had a great effect on Hungary. The Hungarian point of view -- they were more important than in 1953 the uprising. The Posnan riots occurred at the time when the Soviet Union was trying to sell the world on the idea of peaceful co-existence. For this reason, the situation in Poland was handled more tactfully than had it been otherwise. The workers in Hungary suddenly realized that perhaps the use of force is also possible. This started off a ferment which finally led to the Hungarian revolution. Events in Poland in 1956 were the immediate cause of the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution.

I do not know of any political concessions made in Poland even before Gomulka's rise of power.

Had the Russians not returned on Nov. 4, then, the Hungarian Revolution would have proven to be more resultful than the so-called Polish Revolution.

D The very start of the partisan movement in World War II and until the present day, Tito has been the most notable political figure in Eastern Europe. I consider him to be the originator of "national communism". National Communism is more tolerable, more moderate than international Moscow Communism. In Tito's case national communism is complicated by certain dictatorial traits of his person, and by the key international position which Yugoslavia occupies.

I think that Tito is doing his very best not to anger the Soviet Union, at the same time, he is very proud and sensitive. He is very bold in his criticism of the present Soviet Leadership.

From 1945 until 1948, very cordial relations existed between Yugoslavia and Hungary and other eastern European satellite countries. From 1948, until 1953, these relations were affected by Tito's break with the Comintern.

From 1953 until 1955, the eastern European satellite countries took a "wait-and-see" attitude toward Tito. After 1955, they did everything possible to patch up the differences with Tito and his favorites. For example, Roumania took back 200,000 Yugoslavs who had been expelled from Roumania previously, and also gave them full compensation.

Now after the Hungarian Revolution, relations between Tito and the Soviet Union and the satellite countries has deteriorated. This was caused by Tito's criticism of Soviet matter and the Hungarian Communist Party. Until 1948, Tito was hostile toward the West and the United States. In 1948, after his excommunication from the Communist flock, Tito was forced to accept the economic aid of the Western world. Since 1953, Tito has been considered an equal partner at Western diplomatic negotiations.

I think that the majority of the people in Yugoslavia support Tito. They consider him as a hero of the war against the Germans. Some people however, criticize both openly and indirectly, Tito's dictatorial tendencies. I think that after Gomulka, Tito is the only person who can expect popular support in the satellite countries.

I know something about conditions in Yugoslavia, because in 1952, I was, for a short time in Roumania near the Yugoslav border. From 1950 until 1952, I myself saw, the military threat which the Soviet directed towards Tito in an attempt to make him see reason. Last April, I

I talked with a Yugoslav newspaper writer who told me much about conditions in his country. I was quite surprised by his open criticism of some of the things in Yugoslavia. I also saw Yugoslav tourists. IN Budapest, I had also known, a Legation secretary of the Yugoslav Legation.

-Israeli

E. I approve of the joint Anglo-French ^{Israeli} invasion of Egypt last fall. It was entirely justified. It's purpose was to ~~in~~ prevent the indirect Soviet control of the Suez canal. Egypt did not have a right to take the canal unilaterally in her possession.

Events in Egypt had a detrimental effect upon the course of the Hungarian Revolution. They created a sharp difference of opinion among the Western nations, and these in turn could not take a united step against the Soviet Union within the United Nations.

F. I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is the highest in Europe. I don't think it is too advisable to allow the Germans to act entirely independently. They may be tempted to settle the score after the last World War. However, I approve of German rearmament provided that the Officers in charge of the New Army are not tainted with Fascism. A strong Western Germany would be a very valuable ally against the Soviet Union.

I think that at the present the West German Army is not as strong as either the British, or the French armed forces, but in time of war, the German war potential would be greater than that of any one of these two countries.

I think that ~~in~~ the ^{length} ~~extent~~ of national compulsory military service in the Western Army is probably 18 months.

Probably the German Occupation in the last phases of the war, were worse than the Soviet occupation. It can not be denied that the German officers and men were better disciplined than the Soviet soldiers, and officers. In fact, the people of Hungary, generally, share my opinion concerning the unpopularity of the German troops, as compared with the Russian occupation troops. The only trouble with the Russians was their conduct with women. What they did, above and beyond this, could have been much worse.

G. In Roumania and Hungary, I heard both the communist and western versions of NATO. I approve of its existence and aims, but I am afraid that it did not serve to curb Soviet aspirations for world domination.

I think that NATO is stronger than the Warsaw Pact. NATO's armed forces are reliable, which more than can be said for the ~~Russian~~ armies of the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact was the answer of the Soviet Union to the North Atlantic Treaty, but it must not be forgotten that at the time, when the Warsaw Pact was signed, the armies of the satellite countries had already been standardized and were virtually under Soviet control.

The British Labor Party I think is an ideal political party.

Western Germany has the highest standard of living, with Great Britain second; the Soviet Union, third, Italy, fourth, Greece, fifth and Egypt, sixth.

H. I was not much surprised by anything upon my arrival in the United States. I read and heard a great deal about the US, saw films and pictures of life in America. I knew for example, how tall the Empire State Building is, and what American automobiles looked like.

I had a very unfavorable opinion of US foreign policy. It is too narrow-sighted. It lacks political perspectives. It is too timid and inclined to leave political allies in the lurch.

I think the United States Government should give loans to Poland and to Yugoslavia. With respect to Hungary, I see no tendency on the part of the US to take any firm steps in Hungary's behalf. I realize that the United States Government cannot give economic aid to the Hungarian government. It would be ridiculous to expect the United States to restore economic order through aid to a 100% pro-Soviet colony. That is, only the government is 100% pro-Soviet.

It is useless for the United States, or any Western country to foster military hopes in connection with Hungary. Last fall, they missed the favorable moment.

Since I've arrived in the United States, my views on these questions have not changed.

I do not think the United States government should recognize formally the present Hungarian government, but it is very important to maintain diplomatic relations with Hungary and in this respect, the maintenance of diplomatic relations means a de facto recognition.

I think that the people at home would like to see more Western visitors, especially tourists, newspaper writers and trade union representatives.

I don't think that statesmen and politicians would be especially welcome.

Before going to Hungary, such Western visitors should be informed that they should not rely too much upon the official guides supplied them by the Hungarian tourist agency. I don't think newspaper writers need any advice or warning in this respect. Tourists can be informed through newspaper and magazine articles. The trade union people can be informed by their trade unions.

The people at home would most certainly be interested in Western publications, but I do not know of any effective way in which such publications can be sent to them. Perhaps, only by dropping them into Hungary from the air.

I think it would be a good idea to have new refugees associated with such activities as informing prospective Western visitors and send Western publications home. This would create a favorable impression at home, but the information given to the visitors, etc. should be true.

I have heard about the Marshall Plan over the radio, and also know the Communist version from the newspapers at home. Its main purpose was to aid the disrupted economies of post-war Europe. The Marshall plan, however, was not an entirely altruistic relief program. It also helped the post-war prosperity boom in the US and won political influence for the American government in Western Europe.

America got involved in the Korean war because of the large deposits in Korea. At that time, the American government thought that it would be able to oust the communists with great ease. Had they known in advance that Chinese volunteers would also take part in the fighting, I don't think that the American would have started the war.

If the war in Korea just shows how inconsequential the US Foreign Policy is. Korea was not a member of the United Nations, nevertheless the United States government provided effective United Nations assistance for Southern Korea. On the other hand, Hungary in 1956 was a member of the United Nations and nothing was done to assist her.

G. I don't think the United Nations would have been able to alter the accomplished facts but it could have censored Soviet ~~aggression~~ conduct effectively by branding the Soviet Union as an aggressor and ~~thus~~ imposing political and economical sanctions against her. The United Nations could have asked the Soviet Union to withdraw from Hungary.

I do not think that the United Nations can operate effectively as long as such members as the Soviet Union sabotage UN resolutions. Only once has the Soviet Union voted with the United States in the UN. That was at the time of the Egyptian crisis. The Soviet attitude toward the

United Nations only served to undermine its authority.

In October, 1956 when the first round of the Revolution had been won by Hungary, the United Nations should have called an immediate extraordinary session and accepted the declaration issued at that time by the lawful Hungarian Government by Jare Nagy. The United Nations should have then warned the Soviet Union to keep her hands off Hungary.

On Nov. 4, when the invasion of Hungary, actually the re-invasion of Hungary began, the United Nations should have adopted effective political and economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.

I do not have any hope of effective United Nations aid for Hungary in the near future.

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I think that Cardinal Mindszenty is the greatest Hungarian alive.

B. Imre Nagy was a capable political leader in whom the Hungarian people had the most confidence. I know very little about him. I heard about him for the first time last year. I think he must have undergone a grave crisis at a time when he had to choose between Communism and Hungarian patriotism. After some initial hesitation, he accepted a very difficult task.

Cardinal Mindszenty is the best known Hungarian and the most respected, with true moral character. He is the clergy man with strong political convictions. I don't think that he wants to restore the rule of the Eszterterhazy and the Weisz Manfred. In my opinion, he wants to create a Christian Socialist Hungarian State and Society.

Laslo Rajk is one of the few communist leaders with firm conviction and fanaticism. He meant well, but he had been betrayed by his own party.

Erno Gero is a petrified communist and always will remain the same. He is cruel, ruthless and cynical.

Soviet

Janos Kadar is of low intelligence; an ~~Hungarian~~ puppet who is incapable of thinking and acting independently. He is a pitiable person.

General Bela Kiraly was not a communist by conviction. He told us that he regarded his position from a soldier's point of view, and tried to do no one harm within the Army. He was pretty much upset by the de-nationalization of the Hungarian Army. I heard his name only on October 27 or 28 when the first round of the Revolution had been won. He had been, at that time, appointed Commander of the National Guard. I think that he should have done more in planning and preparing the defense of Budapest ~~isochter~~ against Soviet reinvasion.

Anna Kethly is not very significant politically. Originally she was more involved in politics than she intended to be.

2. President Eisenhower is a very well-meaning person but a very mediocre statesman. He is sincere and likable. His views and plans sometimes are not realistic. His main concern is national security and prosperity.

Secretary-General Hammarskjold is a very diligent but not sufficiently firm bureaucrat. His long diplomatic negotiations seem to bring no result. He is not the right man for the job.

I have a very poor opinion of State Secretary Dulles. He is to be blamed for the blunders committed by the Republican administration in connection with US Foreign Policy.

d. I sympathize very much with ex-Prime Minister Eden. He is a very gifted, talented, skillful statesman and diplomat. His downfall is really tragic.

e. I think that President Truman had been more dynamic than President Eisenhower is now. He was a mediocre talent.

My opinions concerning the last five statesmen have not changed basically since I left Hungary.

3. Mikoyan is a very crafty and skillful polit-bureau member.

b. Nehru is an idealist and pacifist, but this does not prevent him from being very selfish where India's welfare is concerned.

c. I would like to see a younger and less corrupt in Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's place. He is a capable military leader but not a very clever statesman, or politician.

d. Ferenc Nagy committed a disastrous mistake when, as the leader of the Hungarian Small-holders Party which was in power immediately after the war, he neglected to take more effective countermeasures against the Communist conspiracy to take over. He has much to answer for.

e. President Roosevelt is very popular for having got the US out of the depression in the thirties. He committed a grave mistake, when during the war he failed to recognize that his communist allies are the same kind of dictators as opposed him and with whom he had been fighting. The fact that the US has won the war, but lost the peace, can be attributed to Roosevelt's policy.

f. Chancellor Adenauer is fine, talented and honest statesman. He is a great campaigner for freedom and liberty in Western Europe. He is beligerently anti-communist, and carries traits of German nationalism.

g. I know only about Stalin's political activities. The million legends circulating and published about his private life must be discounted. From the Communist point of view, Stalin is undeniably a skillful statesman. He was a master of political trick and machinations. He was very mistrustful and jealous. He was not a great military leader; only a cool, calculating adventurer.

h. Malenkov is only a Bureaucrat.

i. Despite the fact that he is a dictator, it must be admitted that Generalissimo Franco has saved Spain from communism.

j. Bevan is a popular leader of the British Labor Party.

k. Khrushchev is not intelligent. He is stubborn and insistent. He can both smile and be rude when it suits his purpose.

n. Molotov is the most intelligent and has the most talent of any Soviet Communist leader.

o. Ollenhauer, the Social Democrat leader of Western Germany is very sympathetic.

p. Churchill is a conservative, British statesman, whose chief aim was to protect the welfare of Great Britain above all.

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Most of the people who came out of Hungary during and after the Revolution in 1956 were young industrial workers between the age of 18 and 40. More men came out than women. Most of the refugees are from Budapest and the Western zone bordering on Austria. Many people who came out because they considered the situation at home as hopeless and some of them had become embittered and fearful of life under Communism. Many came out to enjoy a higher standard of living for themselves and their families. Many people came out because they feared deportations or repercussions because of their participation in the Revolution.

The people at home were either Communists who had nothing to fear and who preferred Communism (a small percentage of the population); or they were industrial workers who remained because of family reasons, or because they feared the uncertainty of life outside of Hungary; or they were peasants were reluctant to leave their meagre possessions at home. Many people stayed because they feared to risk the danger of being arrested on or near the border. Others stayed because of family reasons; others considered their patriotic duty to remain.

With the exception of the AVH and the Communists, I have deep sympathy for the people who remained at home.

I knew of several cases where people had an opportunity to go West, but refused to do so. One was a soldier who served with the Border Guards on the Hungarian -Austrian border. On Nov. 20, as he came back to Budapest he did not wish to leave his mother behind. Another boy did not come out because his fiance could not leave her family for reasons.

The people at home are probably sorry that they did not dare risk escaping to Austria. They envied us but in general they approved of our departure.

If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary, perhaps 10% of the present population would emigrate. 90% would stay at home because they fear the difficulties of starting life outside Hungary. They heard that from the 250,000 people who had left Hungary, many are in Austrian refugee camps and are unable to get settled.

B. Through foreign radio broadcasts, we at home were informed about the activities of exiled politicians and exiled political organizations. We heard about the National Committee over the radio. Sometimes, even

the Hungarian Communist newspapers wrote about them.

The purpose of the exile organizations was to keep alive the interest concerning Hungary and conditions at home. Most of the exiles were politicians, however, and were persons who had been compromised either by the Fascist or the Communist government. Most of them are careerists, who are concerned primarily with their own welfare.

Since I have been in the United States, I have met several Hungarian exiles - politicians. For example Mr.....

I have confidence only in the American-Hungarian organizations, and their representatives.

I heard at home about the Hungarian National Committee. It is more or less, a government in exile. Bela Varga is its chairman, and Ferenc Nagy is also one of its members. The Committee conducts propoganda on behalf of Hungary here in the United States. It receives financial support from the United States Government.

At home, I heard about the International Peasant Union over the radio. Its chairman is the one-time Polish Minister, Mikolajczyk.

I heard about the Hungarians-American Federation over the radio. It sponsors some of the political demonstrations here in New York.

Bela Varga is one of the leaders of the Hungarian Small Holders Party, together with Ferenc Nagy, whom we have already discussed, he cooperated with the Russians and prepared their rise to power.

Tibor Eckhardt is a politician without convictions. I heard about him at home.

Charles Peyer is a Social Democratic Party leader who had been frequently abused by the Communists. He died here in the United States.

I have respect and appreciation for Miklos Kallay's efforts to stall off German Occupation of Hungary during World War II.

Zoltan Pfeiffer cooperated with the communists immediately after 1945. I do not know much about him.

Josef Kozi-Horvath is a Hungarian Priest who was a member of Parliament at home. I do not know details about him.

I heard about Bela Fabian only here in America. He is a one-time Budapest attorney and Parliament member who now is a member of the Hungarian National Committee.

General Zako had been made a General Szalosi (?).

All I know about General de Kisbarnak is that he had been a General in World War II.

Otto of Hapsburg is a valuable, well educated and likable person but as a statesman and a pretender to the Hungarian throne he is worth much.

Admiral Horthy, in the first years of his regime acted as a dictator and tolerated the so-called "White Terror". Considerable economic and cultural development can be attributed to his ~~regime~~ ^{reign}. He was not a very brilliant statesman.

Few of the politicians in exile were motivated by National interests and patriotism. The vast majority cooperated for a time after 1945 with the Communists. Only later did they get into difficulties with the communist regime. They achieved practically nothing for Hungary but it must be admitted that indifference abroad was very great and they had scanty material. Not much more could have been expected of them.

I did not think much about the politicians in exile during the revolution. After the first stage of the Revolution I thought that the politicians abroad would do their best to come home as soon as possible in order to insure for themselves lucrative jobs. When it seemed that the Hungarian Revolution was achieving results, I am certain that many Hungarian politicians in exile were worried by the prospects of having to return to Hungary and giving up the financial assistance and the comfort they were enjoying, here in the United States.

C. I met several people who left Hungary after 1945 but later returned. Some of them had real estate property here and wanted to save it. I know of a very young brilliant engineer who left Hungary in 1954. Although he spoke French and had a good diploma he was able to get a job only as a window washer. In 1955, he came back and was given a more suitable job in his own field.

I think the Communist redefection campaign was successful in very many cases. Many people, young and old alike, came home from France and Canada. The Communists exploited their homesickness no matter how difficult their lives were in Communist Hungary, abroad the Hungarians emigrants saw every thing in a more favorable light. Distance always serves to make things look better. Communists on the other hand did not economize on expenses for the redefection campaign. It was conducted because there was a big shortage in Hungary, especially of skilled labor. They wanted all the Hungarians at home and, also, the redefection had its propaganda value, both at home and abroad.

The majority of the people who returned home from abroad, later regretted having done so. The people left at home were not misled by the propoganda of the defection campaign.

B. The people at home that the Western world was very hospitable to the refugees. The refugees received much understanding aid and hospitality from the Western world. All of them now are in jobs for which they are suited.

I think every Hunga ian refugee should work diligently and adjust him, or her, self to the life in their new home.

I am a member of two Hungarian organizations here in the United States (1) is the American-Hungarian Students Federation, and the other is the Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters headed by General KIRALY . Both of these organizations accepted the 16 points which the Budapest students (University) had as their basic program.

Before 1948, I sympathised with the Hungarians' Small Holders Party and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party. I had never liked the Communists but I must admit that they were skillful and crafty in their political tactics. The Social Democrats were too conciliatory and did not have enough backbone.

I do not know anything of the Hungarian Parties in exile.

During the revolution, I knew about the revival of the political parties. I approved of such activities because it was necessary to create a government with popular support. Elections had to be held as soon as possible. I think that the groups in exile should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revived parties, but only if they had not been compromised by either extreme-right, or extreme-left contacts.

E. I wish to return to Hungary when she is liberated. If I marry and have children while I am here in the U.S. I do not want them to study Hungarian in schools but will teach them Hungarian at home.

AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. At home I listened regularly to the broadcasts of Voice of America; Radio Free Europe and the BBC. Reception was the best for Radio Free Europe broadcasts. All radio broadcastswere jammed, but not the foreign broadcasts in Roumania. The roumanian government was unwilling to foot the bill for Soviet jamming stations in Roumania. The Hungarian government willing complied.

I listened to Hungarian and Roumanian broadcasts. I listened to foreign broadcasts every day - to several broadcasts, but mostly to the BBC. We listened to these foreign radio broadcasts on our own radio at home, together with the family and maybe with one or two friends. We made certain that doors were closed. We did not take any other special precautions.

While I was in Roumania, the situation was somewhat better. In the factory, the Party Secretary himself would talk about the foreign radio broadcasts of the previous night. This was quite out of question in Hungary.

When I was unable to listen to foreign broadcasts myself, I got a pretty good account of such broadcasts from my friends and relatives.

There was practically no risk involved in Roumania in listening to foreign broadcasts. In Hungary, it was not advisable to be caught listening, or talking about, foreign radio broadcasts. I don't think, however, that this danger deterred many people from listening to foreign radio stations. In 1955-56 everyone listened to foreign radio broadcasts almost openly.

I liked the BBC broadcasts best of all. They were the most reliable, the most unbiased and very logical and clear commentaries.

The VOA programs were concerned mostly about the American form of life and about political and economical ~~xx~~ activities at home. It contained much pro-American propoganda.

Radio Free Europe programs were better adapted to the countries into which these broadcasts were sent. It was very well organized and started excellently, but its commentaries were very theatrical, demogogic and inciting. Often, the programs were irresponsible.

I think that the BBC programs were the most exact and reliable. I base my opinion on the accuracy of the radio broadcasts by comparing them with each other and with subsequent events.

Primary purpose of all these radio broadcasts was to inform the public at home. Radio Free Europe programs also served to keep alive the spirit of opposition to Communism. The programs did not play any special role during the Revolution, except that they served to inform the isolated groups of each others activities.

I personally have never heard RFE promise military assistance during or before the Revolution.

I think Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts into Hungary. The programs, however, should be very carefully edited. Their tone should be changed; its commentaries should be carefully weighed and be entirely unbiased. The staff should be freshened up with new refugees who know the conditions at home better. Straight news on political and economic events should be the most important. The commentaries should be entirely void of propogandastic statements.

B. I have heard N.E.M initials years ago in Roumania in foreign radio broadcasts. I have also heard about the Twelve Demands. But I was never able to read them. Some of my friends in Roumania received copies of these leaflets.

G. I saw Radio Free Europe leaflets twice. The first time was in 1955 in Roumania. I obtained an Hungarian leaflet and the second leaflet was a Slovak leaflet which I obtained in the autumn of 1955. The first leaflet was found by my father in our garden. The second leaflet was found by friends who went to an outing in the woods near our city. We were not able to understand the contents of the Slovak leaflet. The Hungarian leaflet contained political and economic news, a description of the Salk vaccine, commentaries of the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Bandung conference, and an article explaining why Imre Nagy had been forced to resign. This Hungarian leaflet also contained several cartoons. I was unable to pass these leaflets on because I had to return them to the person from whom I received them.

On other occasions I have heard of RFE leaflets. There were reports of such even in the Communist newspapers. The Hungarian and Blue Police and also the AVE attempted to collect them before they were ever discovered.

To pick up, or to pass on, such leaflets was less dangerous in Roumania than in Hungary. In Roumania one was liable to be kept in prison for 3 days and then let go. In Hungary, arrests and deportations, searches and prison sentences would result.

I do not think that the danger involved deterred many people from picking up, passing on or keeping such leaflets. I know of one occasion when an exciting football was interrupted when some of the audience noticed leaflets dropping some distance away. All the spectators left the game and went to the spot some distance away where the leaflets were dropping. This was in 1955.

The leaflet program of RFE began only in 1954. In 1955 it was somewhat more dangerous to pick up, keep, or pass on such leaflets, ~~and~~ in 1956.

I think that the leaflets were very useful, not only in spreading

information but also, ~~ps~~psychologically. They provided a more personal contact with us than the radio reception. The leaflets were well edited but I do not think that they had any important role, either before, or during, the Revolution. Frankly, I do not know of any leaflets being dropped into Hungary during the Revolution.

In principle, I approve of the leaflets, but the only thing that worries me is, that according to the Communists, the balloons with which these leaflets are dropped, jeopardize civil aviation. I believe that the balloons also contain some explosives, or material which is highly inflammable. The Communist newspapers wrote that on one occasion, children playing in the fields, found the remnants of such a balloon, took it home, and somehow it ignited, setting the entire house on fire.

It was my impression that the tone of the leaflets was much better than the radio broadcasts. They were also considerably more impartial.

D. The purpose of the BBC programs is only to spread information. About 50% of the Voice of America program is information; 50% propaganda. The primary purpose of the RFE programs and leaflets is to keep alive the spirit of resistance behind the iron curtain.

CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

A. The most important thing for a child to learn is to have fear for and faith in God, and obedience.

I am in favor of disciplining children, but I am not in favor of corporal punishment. In my opinion, from the point of view of discipline, girls should be treated more carefully than boys because they are more sensitive. As the children grow older, the parents should endeavor to become the good friends of their children and to understand them the best they can. I

I was ten years old and attending a school with the Catholic Nuns. On one occasion they ~~chained~~ chained me because while I was playing with some other boys, we kicked off and damaged severely a freshly painted wall. My rear end hurt me for three days.

I think that it is mostly the mother in the family who punishes children above the age of six. I don't think that the sex or age of the child has anything to do with which parent administers punishment. Among the industrial workers and in the families of the intelligentsia, it is mostly the mother who punishes the children. In the peasant families, perhaps, it is more the father.

I have not noticed any change in this respect during the last ten years.

Physical punishment is abolished usually for the boys of age 14 for boys, and age 12 for girls.

Punishment is abolished in general for the age of both boys and girls at the age of 18. ~~§~~

I don't think that there is any change in this respect according to the social class of the child.

Under Communism, I think, parental punishment has become less frequent. Physical punishment, on the other hand, is probably more frequent because parents were nervous and irritated. Perhaps the age at which punishment, and physical punishment, are abolished has declined by about two years.

Under Communism it was strictly forbidden to apply physical punishment to school children. New forms of punishment which were introduced, included public scolding before the class; public self-criticism, and suspension of the ~~right~~ (to wear the red neck tie.
(privilege)

Characteristics which I value most in a friend are trustfulness, a willingness to help and sincerity

I think that under Communism a small % of friendships became more intimate, while a large % of friendships turned only into acquaintanceships.