

and worked for three months with the same enterprise. Then he obtained a job with the Copyright Protection Bureau as a bookkeeper until his departure from Hungary.

13. Parents living in Hungary; <sup>Budapest.</sup> father 58, mother 57
14. Has sister age 28, married and in Hungary
15. No children
16. Left Hungary December 27, 1956
17. Arrived U.S. April 2, 1957
18. He has been only in Greenwich, Conn., and N.Y.C.
19. He is now employed as bookkeeper in a bank and is studying accounting in night school
20. Has not been interviewed by any Western organization
21. Speaks German and English

Respondent is tall, not very good-looking, but muscular. His military carriage portrays the professional army officer. His manners and mentality reflect the military background in which he grew up. Both his father and grandfather were professional army officers. Very intelligent. His account of the revolution is extremely interesting, especially his opinion on the so-called 'desertion' of Russian tanks in Budapest. Gave fairly good rapport, but he is the type who insists on having his say and resented being interrupted when side-tracking from subject. A keen observer. As a professional soldier who is used to gunfire, he moved around a lot during the revolution. But this was more out of curiosity than to participate in the fighting. Was very cautious even during the demonstrations (alibi p.5, background p.6, fear of arrest p.10, observation of the curfew p.10). Joined the militia after the Russian withdrawal, but was quick to leave it when the attack began on 4 Nov. Was arrested (p.16) and released. He, no doubt, would be rearrested had he stayed at home.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The American people should know that the Hungarian revolution was caused by Russian imperialism. It was a revolt not only against economic exploitation, and the colonial policy of the Soviet Union, but also against the cultural and moral assimilation of Hungary. The first stage of this Russian policy was the so-called 'People's democracy', the final stage would have been complete incorporation.

Everyone behind the Iron Curtain from an eight year old boy on knows that the final aim of Russian imperialism is to destroy capitalism. As these aims are being openly professed behind the Iron Curtain, the people at home did not for one minute think that this was not clear to the people in the West. The people of the United States must realize that no Russian statements or promises will alter the course and aims of Russian foreign policy. This ~~xxxx~~ foreign policy is aimed primarily against the U.S. My impression is that the people here in the States are extremely naive about foreign politics.

III. CENSUOUSLY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ARISING  
 ATTITUDE ON AND EXPECTATIONS DURING REVOLUTION 3/II-a.

Summary of activities during the revolution.

- October 23 - cautious participation in demonstrations. Witnessed fighting near Radio Building till 11 P.M.
- 24 - At home in Budakeszi, pedestrians were not allowed to proceed in the direction of Budapest.
- 25 - Goes to Budapest. Visits scene of Parliament Square massacre soon after it happened. Was one of the members of a demonstrators delegation received by the British minister. Joins demonstrators outside blue police HQ. Takes part in another demonstration that afternoon. Arrested by AVH.
- 26 - 28. Confined in AVH prison in Fo utca.
- 28 Released late in the evening.
- 29 Joins the National Guard (later called Freedom Fighters). From then on until
- November 3 is assigned to guard duty in a Budapest newspaper building.
- November 4 Sees lack of organization and confusion. Regards any resistance futile. Goes home.
- Mid-November Takes part in the silent demonstration.
- December 27 Leaves Hungary after one unsuccessful attempt.

Between 3 and 4 p.m. we saw students marching on Radoosi Road. Three of us left the office without permission and went out. I carried a bag with some to the bus station.

There it became evident that this demonstration was an unusual one. All the usual formalities and

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

A. On October 22 I was at home doing nothing unusual. I did not expect anything to happen the next day.

On October 23 I went to my office in the morning. It was near the National Theatre. Around noon someone came to the office and brought word that the posters of the students bearing the Sixteen Demands have appeared on the walls of Budapest buildings. We also heard that a demonstration was planned for the afternoon.

During my lunch hour I went to the streets to read the demands. I was very much surprised to see that the Hungarian university students dared to post such demands.

Early in the afternoon the Hungarian radio announced the Minister of the Interior had not permitted the demonstration scheduled for that afternoon.

Later the building superintendent turned up in the office and said that the radio again announced the Minister of Interior had granted permission to stage the demonstration.

Everyone was cautious in connection with the demonstrations. For the past fifteen years only the Communists were staging demonstrations. But, everyone was keenly interested, and wanted to know what would happen.

Between 3 and 4 p.m. we saw students marching on Rakoczi Road. Three of us left the office without permission and went out, flagged a cab, and drove to the Bem statue.

There it became evident that this demonstration was an unusual one. All the usual formalities and

equipment of Communist demonstrations were missing. For example, there were no loud-speakers. People were streaming to the Bem statue. They represented the entire Hungarian society. Many army officers were among them. The demonstrators were members of the intelligentsia, workers, and, most of all, university students. People from the ages of 20 to 60, men and women alike, were there. The soldiers in the barracks facing the Bem statue looked on from the windows and applauded. The Hungarian foreign office on the other side of the Square also hanged out a few flags, but there was some confusion about this. Once the flags were put out, then withdrawn, and finally once again hanged out.

The slogans which the crowd shouted were borrowed from the Petofi poem 'Talpra Magyar'. There were also slogans expressing sympathy for Poland.

Disregarding the hardships and difficulties which I experienced under the Communist regime, I had always been opposed to Communism. At the demonstrations I was surprised to see that everyone else opposed Communism just as much as I did.

At 4:45 p.m. I went back to the office to inform my colleagues of what was going on. I also was cautious for I wanted to be in the office when office hours ended at five. This was to ward off any attacks for being present at the Bem statue during the demonstrations.

When I left the Bem statue and went back to my office, the demonstration was just developing. It was nothing more than a Petofi Circle meeting on the streets.

In the office I received a phone call from my wife who informed me that the entire crowd was going from the Bem statue to in front of Parliament Square building. Therefore, after 5 p.m., I and a friend from the office went directly to Parliament Square. The streets were crowded on the way. The same spirit prevailed on the streets as in front of the Bem

statue. I arrived in front of the Parliament about 5:45p.m.

On the way I met a group going to the radio studio. I learned from them that they intended to read the demands of the university students over Radio Budapest. I was certain that they would get into conflicts with the police and AVH. Therefore, instead of going with them I went directly to Parliament Square. I realized that my background was extremely dangerous. If I were arrested with 1500 others, I would be called the instigator and the rest would not be guilty.

When I arrived at Parliament Square I noticed that the crowd had changed considerably. One could see the fashionably dressed women from Vaci Street, and also industrial workers from the suburbs. The steps of the Parliament Building were occupied by university students who were the cheer leaders. The crowd demanded that Imre Nagy come and address them.

Previously, Erdelyi, Minister of Agriculture, and Peter Veres wanted to speak to the crowd, but they were booed out. The crowd told them, 'We have heard enough lies.' This, by the way, was the major refrain of the entire demonstration.

According to my estimates, there were at least 100,000 people on the Square. The Square was more crowded than a New York subway train at rush hours.

Around 8p.m. a truck with excited young university students and workers came to the Square bringing the news that the AVH was shooting the demonstrators in front of the Radio Building. The crowd refused to believe them. Everyone thought that this was only a Communist trick to disperse the ~~xxx~~ crowd. Our suspicion increased when we saw that the Communists were trying to disperse us by turning off the lights on Parliament Square. The newspaper torches which were lighted were so effective

that the AVH decided to turn on the lights again.

When the Communists saw that they were unable to tire out the crowd, and make them disperse, they began promising that Imre Nagy would come and address the crowd.

During these hours of waiting, the ~~xxx~~ crowd had found its voice. This voice began to get more and more sincere. When, after Peter Veres, Minister of Agriculture Erdelyi wanted to speak, the sentiments of the crowd were decidedly anti-Communist.

Finally, the Communists were forced to let Imre Nagy address the crowd. They thought that he would be able to silence them. When he made the mistake of addressing us as 'comrades', and was booed, it was evident that the crowd was out of control. It was too late, everyone was openly anti-Communist.

Dissatisfied with Imre Nagy's speech, the crowd decided to remain in Parliament Square, and began reciting the Sixteen Demands. Most important of these demands ~~was~~ was, 'Russkies, go home.'

My impression was that the government would either make concessions, (that the Communists allowed Imre Nagy to speak was already a concession) or they would be fighting. At 7p.m. this was already evident.

The demonstration was originally organized by the students. When their Sixteen Demands were made public, everyone joined the demonstration because the demands were what everyone was wanting and waiting for for the past four years.

B. Around 10p.m., that is about an hour after Imre Nagy's speech, another truck came bringing the news that AVH men were shooting at the

demonstrators in front of the Radio Building. The crowd immediately decided to go there and investigate. About 50,000 or 80,000 people in a stream as wide as the streets would permit started off in the direction of the Radio Building. I do not know how far I was from the front. I was going on the Tanacs Korut when crowds were coming from Andrássy Road with the news that the Stalin statue had been overturned.

In the side streets trucks appeared bearing workers from the suburbs. Taking the time limit into consideration, they started immediately when they heard of the Parliament scene. As was the custom on May 1st parades, the trucks always announced whom they were bringing.

On this night I think that class barriers ceased to exist in Hungary.

On the way to the Radio Buildings the Red stars were being destroyed.

When I arrived on the corner of Sandor Street, the AVH cars which had attempted to bring ammunition for the AVH men guarding the studio were already burning. The crowd had overturned and ignited them.

Six or seven large Budapest busses were stalled in the traffic near Sandor Street. Many trucks were already there which had brought demonstrators from the industrial suburbs.

There were also three or four fire trucks there, either to put out the fires or to drench the crowd. They did nothing, and the crowd commented that firemen, too, are Hungarians.

About 500 people separated me from the Radio Studio. We were standing on the corner of Sandor Street. My colleague with whom I went from the office to the Square had got lost in the crowd. Soon after my



arrival the shooting started in Sandor Square. The crowd grew thinner. In the next ten minutes the wounded were already being carried out. The crowd surrounded the policemen and army officers who were there and demanded that they interfere and stop the AVH from shooting the people. In demanding this, the girls and women were the loudest.

When on the way to the Studio Building we passed the AVH headquarters in Arany Janos Street, the crowd had already grumbled against the AVH and called them murderers. At that time the AVH had not killed any demonstrators. The crowd was referring to the conduct of the AVH during the past twelve years. When the AVH's conduct in Sandor Street proved that the crowd was right, they immediately demanded arms. For the next two or three minutes everyone was shouting and demanding arms and ammunitions. But, no one knew where to get them from. Then the policemen, officers, and a few workers jumped into the trucks and busses. The crowd let them go thru when they said they were going for arms.

The atmosphere was electrifying. From the windows of buildings on Muzem Korut, I was able to make out the contours of soldiers standing there with sub-machine guns. There were two soldiers in each window. I recognized their military caps. They began to shoot. Immediately, two or three people died and four or five were wounded. The crowd had to withdraw from Muzem korut toward the Rakoczi St.

I was never able to find out who those soldiers were and at whom were they shooting. There must have been thirty or forty of them. They were well organized. Had they shot directly at the crowd many more casualties would have occurred. Perhaps they had fired at the AVH which was already in the Muzem garden.

The entire Rakoczi Road was crowded with people.

The side streets leading in the direction of the studio buildings were blocked with people peering toward the studios.

I started off on foot toward the office. On the way I saw two trucks of policemen who were wearing the Hungarian colors. The civilians also jumped on their truck and they were cheered by the crowd.

On the corner of the Korut and Rakoczi Road I went into a Kozert store and bought my supper. It was 11p.m. Streetcars were still running on the Korut. When we passed the Nyugati Railway Station, the crowd was just taking down the Red star from the building. I was able to catch the last bus for Budakeszi where we lived. I arrived home after 1p.m.

I left the demonstrations not only because I had to catch the last bus home, but also because I feared that the AVH would come and screen the crowd and possibly arrest me.

We did not have a radio, but next morning we heard from friends living nearby what was happening in the city. One other friend telephoned from near the Astoria Hotel and told me that he himself saw the AVH shoot twenty people who had surrendered. The promises of general amnesty to anyone who surrendered were not true.

The road to Budapest was blocked, I do not know by whom. The people, as we heard, were being let out of the city, but were not allowed to proceed in the direction of Budapest. We heard only from the radio what was going on in the city. On the evening of the 24th the radio announced that the ultimatum to surrender was expiring. I was very much upset that I was not able to participate in the fighting in the city.

That night the radio announced that next morning everyone should go to work as usual.

On October 23<sup>rd</sup> I caught the 9 o'clock bus to the city. We stopped in Buda to see friends in Filler Street. From them we found out that the radio had been lying. Resistance had not ceased in Budapest, and the Killian barracks and also a resistance group on Baross Square near the Keleti Railroad Station were still fighting.

The groups were not led by anyone. Fifteen or twenty people grouped together with arms and started shooting. Further on, they heard that others were also shooting. For mutual protection they joined forces.

I learned from friends who had stayed near the Radio Building on the night of the 23rd that the trucks later returned bringing ammunition. Arms were given everyone who would accept them. The Radio Studio Buildings were captured after midnight, but the broadcasts continued from the studio rooms which were operating in the Parliament Building.

One of my personal acquaintances who had fought in the battle for the Radio Studio Building told me that there were over 600 AVH men guarding the studios. They fought stubbornly to the last man. They had to be shot one by one. Only then were the Freedom Fighters able to capture the Studio Building.

I forgot to mention that on October 23 I saw an AVH man come into the crowd from the direction from the Radio Studio. He was carrying a rifle. When the crowd noticed him, someone began to shout 'murderer'. He answered 'You are right'. He put down his gun on a corner and went away.

When, on October 25, I found out in Budapest that the revolution had not been suppressed, I wanted to take part in it. I telephoned the office and found out that shooting was going on in its vicinity. I wanted to go over from Buda. The AVH was patrolling the streets. Many people were out on the streets. The ones who had

fought the previous night could be spotted from a distance. They were weary and their clothes dirty.

One could hear shooting from the direction of the Naphegy where the Hungarian news agency was located. I saw AVH trucks speed off in that direction. The streets leading to the Naphegy were deserted. I saw one or two soldiers, but they were not on duty and carried no arms.

Everyone in Buda was intent to know what was going on in Pest. When I reached the Chain bridge, I noticed that many people were coming from Pest to Buda, but none going in the opposite direction. On the bridge I met a friend who told me not to go to Pest, but to come back. I decided I had a good excuse to go over because my office was located in Pest.

I continued my way over the chain bridge and had to pass the building of the Ministry of the Interior. It was heavily reinforced and guarded by AVH men and soldiers. Many AVH men or soldiers were concealed on the balconies of the building. They had received instructions to hide behind the parapets, but the tops of their steel helmets were visible from the streets.

AVH patrols requested identification cards, especially from persons who seemed tired and weary.

When I reached the Astoria Hotel I was disappointed because it seemed that the revolt had been crushed. The intersection in front of the Astoria Hotel was being guarded by eight or ten Russian tanks. The Russians were not shooting then at our armed civilians. The previous day they had been.

People surrounded the Russians and were talking to them. They tried to convince them that the Hungarians were not fascists. Some of them invited the Russians to come fight on the side of the Freedom Fighters. The people clamored on the tanks and were row and then shoved away by the Russians. To me as a soldier

it was evident that the Russians were waiting for instructions and did not know what to do.

A demonstration was heading in the direction of the Parliament Building and two of the Russian tanks, for what reason I do not know, went with the demonstrators. The demonstrations were aimed against Gerc, who was still prime minister.

I did not go with the crowd in the direction of the Parliament Building, but continued toward my office on Rakoczi Road. The streets were littered with debris, glass and masonry, destroyed Red stars, Russian corpses, and civilian ones were in the streets. The streetcars had been left empty on the streets.

There was no one in my office and I turned back in the direction of the Astoria Hotel. When I reached there I heard about the massacre which had taken place on Parliament Square. I immediately decided to go there and investigate.

When I got there the smell of condensed gun smoke was still in the air. From the doorways of buildings in the side streets people were looking paralyzed with fright in the direction of the Parliament. Red Cross trucks and ambulances were parked on the side streets unable to proceed toward the wounded and dead. Anybody entering the Square was immediately mowed down by the sub-machine gun fire of the AVH.

Behind the closed windows of the Ministry of Agriculture I could see AVH men on all floors.

The Russian tanks had been stationed near the Parliament steps and had been in the line of fire of the AVH men from the buildings facing Parliament Square. In the confusion the Russians, not knowing who was shooting at whom, returned the fire. I do not think it is true that they intentionally fought against the AVH on Parliament Square.

When I got there there were about 150 bodies lying in the south corner of the Square. The steps of the Parliament building were thickly strewn with bodies, and there was also a thinner carpet of corpses leading from the steps toward the Ministry of Agriculture. It was a terrible sight. I think that even according to the most cautious estimates there were about 1000 people killed on Parliament Square that day.

I did not stay here long. Word was passed around in the crowd that blood donors were urgently needed in the Rokus Hospital ~~xxxxxx~~ I started off toward the hospital. On my way I met a crowd of about 200 demonstrators. They consisted mostly of the smart set of the city. This was very significant. Although everyone knew that the Russians were massacring the demonstrators in one part of the city, another demonstration had already been formed in another part of the city. The demonstration went into the building of the British legation. I went with them. A delegation wanted to go in to speak to the minister. The crowd wanted people who knew English. As I speak some English I also went with the delegation. The British minister received us very kindly. He said that he had informed his government about the happenings in Budapest and ~~xxxxxx~~ had sent more than thirty cables home that day. They asked us to describe in detail what we had seen on Parliament Square.

These demonstrators were already carrying black flags in a sign of mourning.

Just opposite the British legation was the headquarters of the Blue Police in Budapest. A crowd of some 150 people were there shouting 'Free the prisoners!' The building was reinforced with police troops, but they did not act in a hostile manner. Two police officers and two students appeared shortly later on the balcony of the building. They told the crowd that the students had gone thru the entire building and there were no prisoners. One of the officers said that they would be only too willing to let the prisoners go, but there were none.

The crowd was satisfied with this answer, but demanded that the Red star be taken down from the building. The policemen were already without the stars on their caps. Ten minutes later the great star crashed to the street. The police did this voluntarily. The demonstrators numbered only 150 odd men, while in the building there were at least 500 policemen.

About 3p.m. I went back to the Astoria Hotel. On Rakoczi Road a few AVH men concealed on tops of buildings were sniping at pedestrians. The crowd searched for them and found them.

Soon after that the black flag demonstration arrived there. From the direction of the National Theatre two Russian tanks fired at them. The crowd immediately dispersed. No one was killed.

That day before the Nyugati Railroad Station the Russians were also killing people. One of my colleagues, a civilian without arms, was severely wounded. All this occurred about the same time that Russians were fraternizing with Hungarians in front of the Astoria Hotel before the demonstration leading to the Parliament massacre.

That afternoon it was announced that Imre Nagy had become premier. A new demonstration took place at 4p.m. that day. Some 40,000 people marched toward Parliament Square. On the way there they stopped before the United States legation. The way the legation personnel acted was very deplorable. After the blood bath which had occurred that day not far from the legation, someone came out on the balcony of the legation and ~~spoke~~ spoke only a few words. This person, probably the minister, was clad in shirt and necktie. After his brief speech, he immediately ducked into the building. The crowd was appalled and very disappointed.

This time the demonstrators went only as far as the edge of Parliament Square. By then all of the bodies had been carried away.

Because of the 5 o'clock curfew I could not remain there, but had to go back home. I wanted to cross the bridges before five. With two friends I started off in the direction of the bridge. On the way we destroyed several Red stars and tore down such shields from office buildings. Near the building of the Ministry of the Interior I saw a policeman who still wore the Red star. I shouted at him to take it off. He disappeared, but a few minutes later he came back with three AVH men with tommy-guns. They arrested me and took me into the building of the ministry. I was searched and taken down into the cellar. It had once been a bank vault, because once this building had been occupied by the Budapest Commercial Bank. There were about 200 people in the part of the cellar where I was locked up. Most of them had been arrested on the streets after the Parliament incident. There were only men in this vault. Boys from fifteen on.

At 3 a.m. on the 26th the entire crowd in the cellar was marched with hands up to trucks and carried to the AVH headquarters in Buda. I noticed that all the AVH men had changed their uniforms that night. They had taken off their AVH uniforms and put on police uniforms instead.

Here at AVH headquarters we were booked, searched, and placed in cells, twenty to a cell. Everything was done in regular prison fashion, and ~~in~~ leisurely. It seemed that they thought they had all the time in the world. I considered myself a fool for being arrested, but was not very discouraged. I hoped that the revolution would free us. For the next two or three days we received very little food. The prison guards however were very polite.



I was the oldest one in our cell and, together with a university student, the only representatives of the intelligentsia. Most of the others were caught with at least bullets in their pockets.

We heard the sound of heavy firing from nearby. This was the fighting on Szena Square. We did not know what the situation was outside the prison.

On Sunday afternoon I was called to the ground floor with twenty-five other persons. There a man who said he was a prosecutor told us that we would be let free. He also added that it was now dangerous to be on the streets, therefore we would be let out only after dark. We did not like this because we feared that we would be shot on the street and accused of having violated the curfew. But, there was nothing we could do. We were assigned to different rooms where there were beds and ~~chess boards~~ chess boards.

The AVH let us out of the building through a small gate after five o'clock. We were let out by two s. The streets were empty in the vicinity of the AVH ~~main~~ headquarters. Further on we met some people and asked them what was going on. They seemed surprised that we did not know that the revolution had won, and that the Russians were withdrawing from Budapest.

On October 29 the radio announced that every able-bodied man should join the militia. I too joined and was assigned to guard the offices of the 'Nemzeti Ujsag'. These offices of the newspaper was in the so-called New York building not far from the National Theatre. We received ammunition and equipment from the police force.

On the 29th there was still fighting going on in the vicinity of the Killian barracks. That day we had to interfere because the director of the

Atheneum Printing Shop refused to publish our newspaper because we had no license for it. We compelled him to let the workers, who otherwise did so willingly, print the papers.

On the 30th there was still sniping from the AVH headquarters on Tisza Kalman Square. Several people who were wounded came to us and we gave them first-aid.

It was characteristic of the AVH that for days it attempted to provoke fighting by sniping at people on the streets. Their cars were cruising the city by night and were equipped with machine guns which they used frequently.

When the Russians began their withdrawal from Budapest I was a bit suspicious concerning their intentions because I noticed that they stopped on the outskirts of the suburbs of Budapest. For example, they did not vacate the munitions factory which had been built in Budakeszi. My impression was that the Russians had not yet decided what to do. They were waiting to see what world reaction would be to the Hungarian revolution.

On Wednesday, October 31, I heard that Russians were returning into the country. Fresh troops were being brought from the Soviet Union.

I was on duty on November 4 when, at about 3a/m. we were informed that some thirty Russian tanks were approaching from the direction of the Boráros Bridge. I immediately telephoned Bela Kiraly headquarters and the air-force headquarters. No one wanted to believe our report. They said that those tanks must be Hungarian ones. We argued for an hour until we were able to convince them that they were Russian. By then the Russian tanks had come up as far as the National Theatre.

The Russians surrounded the main points of resistance in Budapest. I saw that there was no leadership among

the Freedom Fighters and no instructions had been given. The whole thing looked hopeless. Therefore, I went home, not to Budakeszi because I feared that they would be looking for me there.

We then were still hoping that the United States would interfere. We heard over the radio that the U.S. strategic ~~air~~ ~~air~~ air-force has been placed in a state of emergency.

I took part in the silent demonstration in the end of November.

Shortly after that my wife and I started off for Austria. We went by train as far as Gyor and from there proceeded by foot. We hiked for four days but were arrested near the border. We were taken back to Budapest in a bus. We were two of the 10,000 refugees who had allegedly had just returned from Vienna.

A few days later we tried again. This time we succeeded.

Despite the heavy losses we suffered in the revolution, Hungary has still gained by it. We have regained our national existence. Until then we were only a mass of people confused by class war. However, we did not gain anything in the material sense of the word.

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

A. At the very outbreak of the revolution I did not think of Western aid. The whole thing seemed to be a fight of Communist factions.

Later, when neutrality was declared and the second attack of the Soviet army began, I felt that this was the historical moment for the Western world to start the liberation of the Eastern European countries promised by President Eisenhower after his reelection and at the Geneva Conference. For the past fifty years this was the first opportunity to liquidate Communism. I am astonished that the Americans did not make use of this golden opportunity.

B. My expectations of help was placed on pure logic. If my deadly enemy attacks my friend I will help the friend not only because I am fond of him, but also because the enemy is my enemy. This is the simple rule of village brawls. If the peasants of Hungary know this why doesn't the government?

C. I have already told you that I was a member of the delegation which went to see the British minister in Budapest. I also had contact with Austrian newspaper men from whom I heard about the return of Russian troops into Hungary when this started. They were very well informed and received fresh news.

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father had been a career army officer. In 1944 he was a colonel in the Royal Hungarian army. His average monthly income before the war was 600 to 700 pengos a month. This increased considerably during the war because there was an inflation. After the "liberation" my father was pensioned. His pension was stopped in 1946. In 1948 he became an electrician and worked until 1951. From 1951 on he was a laborer.

My parents did not own any property. My in-laws owned a large apartment building in Budapest.

My father was a gymnasium graduate and also completed the Hungarian military academy for professional army officers. My mother is a gymnasium teacher and a university graduate.

B. Socially the pre-war class distinctions have remained. The more intelligent people mix with their own kind. Workers mix with workers, peasants associate with other peasants. The Communist cadre policy has dislodged everyone from his previous occupation and places of employment. In new surroundings more acquaintances were formed. Social life has ceased, but ~~it~~ in its limited existence it is restricted to people of a kind.

In Communist Hungary the social classes or social groups are the following: the professional Communist officials and Party aristocracy, the top intellectual workers, (scientists, professors, etc.) engineers and doctors, (higher incomes), the white collar workers, the artisans and skilled workers, the laborers, the peasants among whom there are the independent peasants and peasants working in collectives.

I have had contact with all these groups with the exception of top Communists.

I think it is needless to discuss my opinion of

top Communist officials.

The top intellectuals includes many eminent scientists and also some less talented intellectuals who have been boosted to the top for their loyalty to the Communist party, or because of their willingness to lend their names to Communist propaganda.

The engineers and doctors had higher incomes and were the most able to retain their pre-war way of life. Many of them were also Party members who had to join not from conviction, but to insure their careers.

The white collar workers, I mean the government officials and the commercial employees, were suppressed by the Communists. Among them anti-Communism was the strongest.

Most of the skilled workers and artisans were Social Democrats, but with strong nationalistic feelings.

The laborers were very dissatisfied with Communism because of their low incomes. They too were strongly opposed to Communism, although there were Party members among them. However, of these very few were Communists by conviction.

The independent peasants are strongly anti-Communist and they are the backbone of the country.

The collective peasants are mostly people who were compelled to join the cooperatives. Very few of them may be Communists.

There is no political class barrier between the peasantry and the intelligentsia unless they are Party officials or public administration officials. The latter are disliked by the peasantry because they seem to be the cause of all their troubles.

The barrier between the peasantry and industrial

workers is not strictly defined. Under Communism many peasants went to work in industries and some industrial workers went back to the land to farm. I think they got along well, there is no discord between them. As a white collar worker I belong to the group of officials and employees.

I think that by Communism the aristocracy had been hit the hardest. It has been completely abolished. The middle class also suffered much. It was deemed politically unreliable by the Communists.

C, The higher and lucrative positions were always filled on the basis of the suspected political beliefs of the person concerned. In less significant jobs technical knowledge was the most decisive factor. Class origin made it impossible for anyone to get a government job. In similar jobs a person with the better class background had a decisive advantage over colleagues who did not have the right origin.

From 1953 on skill and knowledge were considered more important than before. Concessions were made also in respect to class origin.

The person without character and without moral principles was the one who was able to get ahead in Communist Hungary.

D. High Party officials and AVH officers were the ones who got much more from society than the other people. Prominent sportsmen, writers, and artists who were in the service of the Communist propaganda were also much better off than others.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Until 1949 I had been a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union. My parents lost their pension and were deported. I was married in 1955. We had practically nothing at that time.

Communism is strongly against family life and intends to break it up. They want an 'atomized' society where there is only one unit: the Communist state. They failed to accomplish this aim in Hungary.

Our family life after my marriage resembled the type III family which you mentioned where Communism did not have any influence on the family. No emotional, nor critical intellectual problems were created in our family by Communism.

In general, the average family in Hungary comes closest to the Type II where the members of the family grew closer and talked freely among themselves.

We had no children, but my impression was that with very few exceptions the families were not affected by Communism in the education of their children. Families were able to hold on to old ways. They were not able to provide everything they would have been able to if there were no Communism. But, emotionally and morally everyone educated his child as before. This can be attributed to the moral background of the parents.

B. There was more opportunity to become acquainted under Communism than before. Formal introductions were not necessary. In courtships the lack of material means formed a comradeship between the young pair. But, basically, there was no change in courtships.

Under Communism marriages placed bigger burdens on the woman. Every woman was compelled to work, although she may have preferred to keep house and rear children.



Some marriages went on the rocks because the husband lost his social standing and had to abandon his previous standard of living. But, in most cases the role of the wife as breadwinner did not alter the relation between herself and her husband.

In the last ten years, compared to pre-war life, sexual morality has become more lax. This is due to closer association in offices and working places. But, basically, here too there is little change.

I think that the role of parents in courtships, engagements, and marriages declined from the pre-war 80% to about 40% now. By this I mean the direct influence of the parents.

Officially prostitution had been abolished by the Communists, but there was widespread secret prostitution, ~~often~~ often camouflaged. There were no brothels, but quick acquaintances were formed on street espressos.

I think in their sexual lives Communists are restricted in their choice of partners, because they too have to be Communists. Two Communists together have less inhibitions concerning extra-marital relations and attribute less significance to sexual intercourse.

C. It happened to me too that friends joined the Communist party before 1948 and later became Party officials. It meant the termination of our friendship in most cases, unless the friend was not a Communist by conviction.

If the Communist friend's class origin would place him under suspicion for associating with non-Communists and class enemies, then the Communist friend would by the one to most likely sever the friendship. The non-Communist friend would probably be afraid to do this.

I think it is possible to continue a friendship under

an understanding not to mix politics into it.

D. By juvenile delinquency I mean strictly criminal acts committed by children or young people under the age of eighteen.

The weakened influence of parents, the economic conditions, and the replacement of morals thru politics and education have caused an increase in juvenile delinquency under Communism.

I have never heard the term 'hooligan' before. I do not know who the hooligans are.

A jampec is an immature young person who does everything differently from the others in order to become conspicuous and attract attention. In German the equivalent of jampec is 'halbstark'. The jampecs are usually young people between the ages of twenty to thirty, and are mostly young industrial workers. Their conduct is not criminal, they only show bad taste. I think that the Communists exaggerated this problem. They used it as a means of propaganda against the Americans. They spread the belief that the Americans are like the jampecs.

VII. RELIGION

A. The Communists have always been suspicious of religion and religious people. Religion offered moral resistance against Communist immorality.

Under Communism the Catholic church was hit the hardest because the Catholic church is a world organization with its visible head in Rome. Also, the Catholic church has historical traditions in Hungary.

Religion is most certainly a bulwark against Communism. There is a great difference in the moral views and attitudes of the churches and those of the Communists. The churches are also opposed to Communist methods and to the Communist doctrines of class hatred. The Catholic church was unwilling to become a 'satellite' of Communism as the Russian Orthodox church in the Soviet Union.

B. I think that I am less religious than my parents were. I think that my views on religion are ~~characteristic~~ characteristic of the average person's in Hungary.

I go to church every Sunday, pray every day, and go to Communion several times a year.

C. I think that church schools are indispensable in breeding character. However, these church schools should not be isolated from the facts of every day life.

I think that the churches should have a role in setting moral codes and standards for plays, cinemas, and books.

No, I don't think it is advisable for any church to take an active part in the politics of an independent Hungary. The church should exercise its influence indirectly.

D. The Jewish religion was also effected by Communism.

The Jewish religion was paralyzed, although not to the same extent as Catholicism. It was effected, perhaps, to the same extent as was Protestantism.

After Nazi persecution the Jews naturally greeted the Russians and the Communists as their ~~lib~~ liberators. In the first five years of Communism the Jews were deemed reliable because of their anti-Nazi attitude. They were given important roles in government and in commerce. The Moscow trained top Hungarian Communists were mostly Jews and they, at first, won the sympathy of the Jews at home.

With the nationalization of industries and commerce and with the introduction of other social restrictions (class origin) the majority of the Jews in Hungary became disillusioned with Communism.

Many Jews were Communists because they entered the Party in 1945. They at that time did so as a reaction to Nazi persecution. Later, they were unable to leave the Party.

The Jews whom I knew personally were undeniably anti-Communist. They were not opposed to the revolution. I saw Jews both among the demonstrators and the fighters.

I don't think anyone has any reason to fear an independent Hungary unless he has done something in the past; that is, has been a Party secretary or an AVH officer.

## VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the age group from seventeen to thirty.

B. In the revolution the Hungarian youth played the same role as the youth plays in the war. They were the ones who did the fighting. When war breaks out the young people are the ones usually sent to the front lines, but this does not mean that the other people are not participating in the war.

It was the young people and not the older age groups who started off the demonstrations and revolution, because young people in general are more enthusiastic and more sincere. They are morally more opposed to lies and deception.

The elder people were enthusiastic and proud of the Hungarian youth and sympathized with them. Just as when troops are marching off to war and everyone calls them 'our boys', this was experienced also during the revolution.

There wasn't time for any differences to arise between the young people and the older generation during the revolution.

C. (subject has no children, and is over thirty.  
This sub-section is not applicable)

D. The Communist indoctrination of the Hungarian youth failed because Communist ideology in practice is in direct contradiction with its main dogmas. Communist methods are inhumane and immoral. They are rejectable to every morally sane person.

Communism was accepted only by the children of Communist workers and employees and Party functionaries. But, not even all of these were Communists.

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The youth probably sympathized the most with Communism in 1947 to '52. It required some time for the Hungarian youth to be able to see clearly and Communism in Hungary really began only in 1948.

IX.

A. In my everyday life in Hungary I was dissatisfied with the poverty and misery in which we lived. I did not like the political oppression which could be felt constantly. I strongly resented Moscow control and attempts to russify H.. People in general complained about the low standard of living. They resented the iron curtain and the forced acceptance of Russian superiority.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. After my return from Russia in 1949 I was almost immediately deported. When the deportation was ended in 1953 and I was able to return to the suburbs of Budapest, I had great difficulty in making ends meet. I was married in 1955. After that we managed to get along somehow, but by working fourteen to fifteen hours a day.

Our food was not very good. Both my wife and I ate lunch in our offices. These office lunches in the cafeterias were neither enough nor tasty nor nutritious. We ate supper and breakfast at home. We were able to eat meat at home only once every two weeks.

In the way of clothes we were very bad off. I was able to afford one new suit only once every three or four years.

~~xxxxxx~~ Before the deportation I had a two room apartment with my parents. During the deportation we lived in one small room, with no bathroom or kitchen. We were still fortunate. Sometimes two families were moved into one small room.

From 1953 to 1955 I rented a bed in the kitchen of a worker family in Budakeszi. I had no privacy. They used the kitchen for cooking and a dining room.

In 1955 I was married and lived in a rented room in Budakeszi with my wife. We had to cook in our room. There was no bathroom or running water. We were compelled to live in Budakeszi because after the deportation we were not permitted to resettle in the city proper. Rents were very high. We paid 250 forints a month for that one room. For this price we could have rented a comfortable apartment



in the city. It was impossible to heat our room in the winter.

Theatre and opera tickets were luxuries. We dreamed of a fairly well furnished, comfortable small apartment. This was quite out of the question.

Our greatest problem was housing.

Compared to our pre-war life our standard of living under Communism declined tremendously in every respect. What I missed most was the opportunity to acquire some special education or training. I was unable and unwilling to continue my career as a professional army officer.

Under Communism I have gained nothing at all in comparison to my pre-war life.

Our standard of living was the highest in 1949. It was the lowest in 1952.

Among our friends a doctor friend was able to live comparatively much better than anyone else. His wife did not have to work. They were ~~able~~ able to maintain their pre-war standard of living. They had a radio, expensive camera equipment, a large collection of phonograph records, their house was a four and one half room villa, luxuriously furnished. They ate excellent food and were able to afford vacations. The husband was an excellent surgeon and had two or three government jobs and a very good practice.

The low standard of living under Communism can be attributed to the war reparations and the Russian economic policy. The war reparations were limited by the peace treaty to 300 million dollars of 1938 value. But the prices of items shipped in reparation deliveries to Russia were not determined. They were set arbitrarily

by the Russians themselves. The Russian satellite economic council directed Hungarian products to other satellite countries, and mostly to Russia, far below cost. What remained was spent on Russian and Hungarian rearmament and on military installations.

B. My average monthly income in 1956 was 1500 forints. ~~xxxxxxx~~ From this approximately 120 forints were deducted for compulsory government loans. A trade union fee which I had to pay is also included in the 120 forints.

I received no premiums or bonuses in 1956.

I had a secondary part-time job controlling the programs of orchestras, etc. to see whether the copyright fees were being paid or not. The income from this part-time job is included in the amount stated above.

My wife was also working as a stenographer in the Patent Trading National Enterprise. Her income was 600 forints from this part-time job, and she did typing at home, also. All in all, her income amounted to about 1100 forints a month. Deductions from this amounted to about 100 per month, leaving her 1000 forints.

I received a raise of fifty forints in 1954 and another raise of 40 forints in 1955. These raises were given in the course of general raise increases.

We purchased our food only in state stores, very rarely in the open market. Open market prices were somewhat higher, but the quality was always much better. Foodstuffs were always available on the open market, but not always in the government stores. The difference in price was well worth it. The price differentials were greater in 1951 and 1952. At that time there were greater restrictions

on marketing.

Clothing was available only in government stores. Made-to-order clothes were available in private tailor shops, but they were very expensive. The tailors did not supply the material. One had to purchase it in government stores.

There were constant difficulties in connection with retail distribution. There were delays of several days in foodstuffs and months for industrial products. Industrial products were distributed quarterly.

Spare parts were more available during the last two years than before.

In 1952 there was a bread shortage and meat, lard and bacon were also hard to get.

With the exception of the first two years right after the war, there was practically no black-marketing in Hungary. But, there was a licensed free sale of foodstuffs for peasants who had surpluses after meeting their farm delivery quotas.

I do not know anything about the organization of the black-markets in Hungary.

D. My last job in Hungary was with the Bureau for Copyright Protection. I was employed there as a bookkeeper. I worked 48 hours a week, slept only six hours a night. Commuting back and forth to work required three hours a day in all.

I was fortunate to have found this job. I would have preferred to study chemical engineering, but could not because of my class background and financial reasons.

I was on very friendly terms with my colleagues and got along well with my superiors, also. The

latter, however, were not entirely competent nor qualified for their jobs.

In general, I was satisfied with my work. This was the maximum I could hope for under the Communist regime because of my background.

Some of my colleagues were capable at their jobs and some were not. The personal contact with the superiors was more important than work well done.

The Trade Union vacation programs were fairly satisfactory in our office.

The socialized health service in general met modern requirements although many modern drugs were not available behind the Iron Curtain.

Pensions were very low and the government itself admitted the deficiencies of the pension program.

E. In Communist Hungary I would prefer to live in the city because it is more difficult to buy commodities in the country and one could satisfy ones cultural demands easier in the city.

Rural workers ate better food in Hungary than the city workers. This is quite opposite to the conditions in Russia where the city workers ate better.

I think that the standard of living is higher in the city than in the country.

Politically it is better to live in the city because few people know each other there.

I was not in Hungary at the time when farm collectivization was first introduced. I was then a prisoner of war in Russia. But, in my opinion, the collectivization program as it has been carried out in Hungary is not good at all. Basically, it wanted to make factory workers out of peasants who have no close ties with the land on which

they are working as employees of large scale collective farms. Each village is reduced to one or at the most two enterprises bossed by a farm manager or Party secretary.

I think that the small peasants opposed farm collectivization more strongly than the middle or big peasants.

I heard about farm cooperatives being dissolved in 1953 during the first Imre Nagy government. They were dissolved because of general dissatisfaction/<sup>over</sup>mismanagement, corruption and compulsion.

In an independent Hungary the agricultural system should be based either on voluntary cooperatives or on small peasant farms from ten to thirty yokes which conduct intensive farming. Agriculture should be entirely free and supported by highly developed agricultural industries. The agricultural labor surplus would find employment there.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

A. Before 1945 I was not interested in politics. As a professional soldier I could be a member of no political party. I was interested, however, in the outcome of World War II. I feared very much that the Soviet would win and Communism would dominate Europe.

My father was also a professional soldier and so could not be a member of any political party.

From 1945 until 1948 I was not in Hungary.

My opinion of Bela Kun is that he was an irresponsible adventurist. I disapproved of the bloody 1818-1819 Communism. My opinion of the Hungarian Communist party has not changed at all since then.

I disapproved of the activities of the Hungarian Communist party even during World War II, although I was not in favor of fascism. I feared Communism more than I did fascism.

B. The Communist Party consists of a very small leading group and of a larger group which joined the Party in order to get ahead and to ~~achieve~~ achieve financial advantages. The large mass of the party, however, do not know themselves why they joined; mostly under compulsion or in fear of losing their jobs.

During the past eight years there has been no basic ideological changes within the Communist party or in its policies. There has only been a change of tactics, but the basic principles remain the same. We knew there was discord within the Party, but this was not based on ideology. It was only a struggle for power.

Party morale in the true sense of the word cannot come into consideration at all in the Hungarian

Communist Party. The majority of the Party members do not know what the true purposes and aspirations are. The Party tolerates no criticism. They must accept the Party policy without any reservations.

The primary purpose of the Communist top leadership is to achieve world domination and to spread Communism to all parts of the world. Their individual aspirations are power and the material advantages that go with it. It is very difficult to judge their convictions. They had been isolated to such a great degree from the general public that this is impossible to determine. I think, however, that they have no personalities, or if they do it is ~~xxxx~~ irrelevant. They are mere pawns of the system. I think they are evil, diabolical persons, ordinary criminals.

When Hungary is independent I think that the top Hungarian Communists will be lynched. It will be advisable for them to disappear from Hungary.

C. There has been constant opposition to Communism in Hungary during the entire Communist regime. This opposition was mostly intellectual in form. It consisted of complaints, grumblings and jokes against the regime. Many people supported those who were the victims of class persecution. This resistance could be observed in all classes of society without exception. I do not know, of course, about the sentiments or the resistance of the top Communists themselves, because I have had no contact with them. This opposition became intensified after 1951. It culminated in the revolution.

I heard about the Petofi Circle in the Spring of 1956. The Petofi Circle had been organized originally by the Communists in order to have a forum where political problems could be debated. In this way the Communists wanted to silence the oppositor within the Party itself.

Prior to the meetings of the Petofi Circle the only intellectual ferment I know of was the revolt of the writers in 1953 and 1954. During the first Imre Nagy government the Hungarian Association of Writers ~~was~~ entrusted several Hungarian writers to go into the country to study conditions there. When they came back and reported the general dissatisfaction, there was strong anti-Communist criticism in the Writers' Association. When the Rakosi regime returned to power the Hungarian Writers Association was criticized for this activity.

I think that the intellectuals in Hungary prepared the way for the Hungarian revolution of October, 1956. Essentially, they did not have anything new to say. They only formulated the ideas which everyone expressed freely in private conversations before then.

I think that in general most of the intellectuals and writers in Hungary are impractical people.

The Hungarian intellectuals, although they profited tremendously from the regime and lived considerably much better than others, turned against the Communist regime because they were forced to admit that it was based on falsehood.



## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. THE Hungarian AVH consisted of people who were attracted by uniforms and military life, and were willing to do practically anything for this purpose. Also, of people who were ordinary sadists and of many Communists by conviction who believed in what they were doing.

In private life I have had no contact at all with members of the AVH. My father-in-law had been imprisoned by them and died in prison. I, myself, was deported, although this was not done only by the AVH, but also by the Blue police.

I did not personally know any AVH man who wanted to leave the service or who suffered remorse, pangs of conscience, etc. But, there were rumors to the effect that some of the members of the AVH force were dissatisfied and would have like to leave the service.

When Hungary is independent I think that all members of the AVH should be brought to court to answer for the common crime they have committed. This was the decision of the Hungarian revolution in 1956. Comparatively very few AVH officers were lynched by the crowd. Those who were killed were killed because they offered resistance and refused to surrender.

The Communists did not consider the regular police force as reliable as the AVH, but up til about 1953 there were many Communists on the Hungarian Blue Police force. They also handled political cases, especially in the provinces.

I don't think that the Blue Police force under the Communist regime was as efficient or operated as well as under the previous regime.

The Blue Police helped the revolution by acting passively in the first stage of the revolution,

and by siding with the Freedom Fighters in the second stage. But, even then, certain elements in the police force who were pro-Communist remained passive. When, after November 4, the Communists again came to power and regained control, the roles were changed. The policemen who previously sided with the Freedom Fighters, if they were not too implicated, are since then behaving passively.

B. Before and during the war, the Hungarian courts functioned fairly well. There may have been one or two exceptional cases when influence effected the court sentences. I don't think that the accusations of class justice as often made by the Communists are true.

The People's Courts were set up in Hungary in 1945. They were created to try war crimes charges. However, the Communists openly admitted that the People's Courts were a weapon in their struggle against the ruling classes. Therefore, the majority of the sentences passed by these courts cannot be considered as just. I think that only those war criminals are really guilty who committed mass executions for political reasons.

C. In the revolution the Hungarian army did not participate in large units. For example, I do not know of any regiments fighting as a whole in the revolution. But, there were units from company on down which fought in the revolution. In other units many soldiers deserted and took part in the fighting individually.

It was my impression that the troops stationed in western Hungary farther away from the Russian border were more inclined to side with the revolution than troops stationed in eastern Hungary.

The enlisted men and most of the non-commissioned officers sided with the revolution. The officers were divided.

I do not know of any differences in the behavior of soldiers during the revolution which could be related to class origin.

The fact that some units fought in the revolution collectively can be explained only by the conduct and attitude of their commanding officers. Where the commanding officer sided with the revolution, there the entire unit went over to the Freedom Fighters.

I was not surprised by the conduct of the enlisted men during the revolution, but I was surprised by the conduct of the officers. I did not dare hope that the officers of the Communist army were so divided.

(The rest of this sub-section cannot be applied because respondent has not served in the Hungarian army during the Communist regime.)

D. I do not think that feelings against the Russian army in Hungary can be attributed to the role of the Russian army in the 1848 revolution. This is only a repetition of history which was otherwise forgotten. I think that the unpopularity of the Russian army in Hungary is due primarily to their conduct in Hungary in 1945.

In 1945 I was captured by the Russians in Budapest and was immediately taken away. I did not have an opportunity to see how they behaved, but from friends and relatives I know that they committed robbery and rape on a large scale. This was exactly the conduct that we feared before their arrival in Hungary. My opinion of the Russian army has not changed since 1945. They may have been somewhat better disciplined, but basically they are the same.

I did not have any contact with Russian occupying troops in Hungary or any of their personnel. But, in

Russia where I was a prisoner of war for four years, I met some simple soldiers who had served in Hungary. They were very much impressed by the prosperity of the people and the general standard of living. They always recalled with nostalgia Hungary as a place where one could eat and drink well. These soldiers were ~~not~~ simple people and did not have opinions on the people and political conditions in Hungary.

I did not have any experience at all with the Russian soldiers or officers during the revolution.

From my brother-in-law who was arrested for two weeks after the revolution I know that the two top floors in the AVH prison on Fo utsa were full of Russian officers and men who had taken part in the revolution or had sympathized with the Freedom Fighters. I do not know what happened to them because my brother-in-law was freed after two weeks.

From a reliable person I also heard that the commander of the Russian troops stationed on the airfield in Pava resisted the incoming Russian troops on November 4. This commander and his family committed suicide later.

I have experienced no brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution. I heard of such cases only from others. These rumors, however, cannot be checked.

H. One would very often encounter local government officials who would be willing to forget rules and help people in trouble. I experienced this often when seeking employment. Officials would disregard my class origin and employ me. Also, during the deportation in Hungary from 1951 to 1953, I experienced leniency on part of the local officials many times. They could have created much more unpleasantness for us if they would have used their official powers. Their motives were primarily sympathy for the persecuted people.

F. I do not know about bribes, but I know that personal contact and influence were of considerable help in Hungary. With their aid one could accomplish

practically anything. It even worked with the AVH.

G. I do not know whether the top officers of the AVH were intelligent or not, but it cannot be denied that their service functioned very efficiently. Therefore, I presume that the top officers were very well trained and understood their business. The AVH encountered some difficulties only in 1950 and '51 when it lost most of its voluntary informers. From then on informers had to be black-mailed to work for the AVH.

I have a very poor opinion of the Hungarian army leadership. However, the Russian army leadership is excellent.

Top public administration officials were not intelligent and efficient, but they had many public administration experts inherited from the previous regime. These experts, however, were not permitted to achieve top ranks.

### XIII. ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. In my opinion the present Communist regime in Hungary will continue. The presence of Kadar is irrelevant. He may be replaced by someone else but that will not alter the course of politics at home. I think that the present regime will go back to the Stalinist line. It will make very few concessions and only perhaps to avoid the gross mistakes committed by Rakosi and his regime.

Outside Hungary political events will depend largely on the decision of the Western world and of the Soviet Union concerning the stationing of troops on the European continent.

Our only hope can be that perhaps the Western world will decide to settle its accounts with the Soviet Union. I think that the only solution to the present political situation is a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. I do not consider such a war desirable because of the heavy losses involved in an atomic war. However, I think that the people in Hungary would be willing to risk even the danger of an atomic war just to get rid of Communism. I am certain that a war between the West and the East involving the U.S. will break out. I am not able to say exactly when this will be, but it will come when one of the sides in this rearmament race will reach the maximum of its capacity. Economic aspects of the armament race will also influence the outbreak of the war.

I think that without a war it would be possible to force the Soviet Union to give up its stand in Europe and its world aspirations only by a complete economic and diplomatic blockade of the Iron Curtain countries. Such measures, however, are out of the question because of the indecision of the Western world.

I do not believe that any internal changes in the

Soviet Union can occur which may settle the problems of eastern Europe. The Soviet political police are too efficient.

B. During the past ten years people in Hungary were constantly hoping that the Western world, and primarily the United States, would see clearly the Soviet aspirations to dominate the world and to create world Communism, and that they would take the necessary military measures to prevent this. At that time, the military superiority of the Western world was unquestionable. Our hopes were the highest at the time of the 1952 presidential elections when it seemed that the United States government had decided to liquidate the threats of Communism.

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

A. The Hungarian revolution of 1956 has for the first time created the possibility of a classless democratic government in Europe. In all the other countries of Europe class barriers still exist. They ceased entirely in Hungary during the revolution.

B. The natural resources, soil, and climate conditions of Hungary destine her to be an agricultural country. But, Hungarian agriculture should be supplemented by an agricultural industry. Emphasis should be placed on light industry. Heavy industry should be developed only to the extent that Hungary can provide raw materials for it.

Once Communism is overthrown in Hungary it will be necessary to maintain for a time the national enterprises as they are. Gradually, however, they should be turned into stock companies owned by the workers themselves. Only when these stock companies are functioning properly can the question of compensation to the ex-owners be discussed.

The farm cooperatives should be dissolved if the members do not wish to continue collective farming. However, they should be allowed to form new cooperatives but on an entirely voluntary basis.

Some state farms should be operated by the state for breeding and experimental purposes. The majority of the state farms should, however, be distributed to landless peasants.

The people at home are accustomed to the government ownership of transportation facilities. However, neither I nor the majority of the people at home approve of the nationalization of or government ownership of industries. This does not mean a certain degree of social control is not necessary.



I disapprove of the government ownership of heavy industry, but most certainly of the light industry.

The government should not interfere in agriculture. It should conduct market research and help the farmers to market their products abroad. But, otherwise there should be no restrictions imposed on the farmers.

I think that the government should settle the amount of land that can be owned by any one person or family at fifty yokes. This is enough to sustain a family.

If I had to choose between a democracy insuring no guaranteed standard of living and a dictatorship which gives no freedom but insures a fair standard of living, I would prefer the democracy.

In an independent Hungary I don't think it would be necessary to outlaw the Communist party. Communism would have no followers at all.

C. I think ideally the best international position for Hungary would be a neutrality like that of Austria's.

Hungary's neutrality would exclude any possibility of military alliances either with the Soviet Union or with any other country. In my opinion it is entirely unnecessary to conduct economic or cultural relations with the Soviet Union. Hungary would not benefit by such relations. With the eastern European countries it would be necessary only to conduct limited trade relations in order to insure the supply of raw materials. Cultural relations with eastern European countries are also unnecessary. However, with the rest of Europe and with the United States, Hungary should conduct close trade and cultural relations.

I have heard about a plan for a federation of the Danubian states in 1920. This was the time of the World War I peace treaties. I think that a

federation of the Danubian states would be ideal to solve the problems of central and Eastern Europe. I would like to be in this federation together with Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. I don't think that Rumania and Bulgaria would be welcome in this federation. This would give the entire federation a very Balkan character. Most of the people in Hungary approve of such plans.

I am not satisfied with Hungary's present boundaries. They are not acceptable. A revision of the peace treaties of World War I should be made on ethnical basis. I am very much concerned about the fate of the minorities in bordering countries. The Hungarian minorities should be safeguarded by the international supervision of minorities. Both these questions are very vital not only to me but to everyone in Hungary.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

A. I did not know anything about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress, but I do know that at the Congress he publicly denounced Stalin.

At home the Communist press was very much against Senator McCarthy. Our impression was that he was liquidating the Communist underground in the United States. We approved of his actions.

We heard about the fall of Peron. I think I read about it in a 'Life' or some other magazine. We did not attach much importance to this event.

We knew practically nothing about Rakosi's private life because it was ~~firm~~ veiled in complete secrecy. We knew that he had a wife who allegedly was not his wife but his guard.

B. During the past ten years in Hungary I drew most of my information concerning foreign events from the foreign radio broadcasts and information concerning domestic events from conversations from all sorts of people. The Communist press was only of secondary importance in this respect.

C. By word of mouth we received the news concerning political and economic events in Hungary which could not be published in Hungarian Communist newspapers. I received such news from all kinds of people. In general news received by word of mouth was reliable.

D. (this section is omitted because of the time element)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I think that internal changes within the Soviet Union are very unlikely. The Soviet secret police are too efficient. They take greater care to avoid such things as the revolution in Hungary.

I have been a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union for four years. My experience with Russians is that they are dissatisfied with the Communist regime.

If free elections were to be held in Russia I think that a luke-warm Trotskyistic Communist government would come to power. Later on, some kind of social democratic government like that of Kerensky -- would replace it.

The primary purpose of the top leaders of the Communist party in Russia is to extend Communist rule over the entire world. Basically only the Russian Communist leaders are nationalists and imperialists. The Communist leaders of other countries are international Communists. The true aspirations of the Russian Communist leaders are never made public.

B. Of the countries mentioned Poland and Yugoslavia are the two most popular in Hungary because they opposed Russia. Czechoslovakia and Rumania are the two least popular because of their conduct during the October revolution.

If free elections were to be held in these countries I think that Communism would be defeated everywhere with the exception of Yugoslavia.

I think that Czechoslovakia and Hungary have the highest standard of living while Bulgaria and Rumania have the lowest.

C. I think that the Gomulka government in Poland wanted to introduce radical changes. I do not think

that originally Gomulka had been a mere puppet of the Soviet top Communists. I do not know what the situation in Poland is today, but my impression is that Gomulka's influence has been weakened. He is the head of the Polish government in name only. Everything has gone back to normal.

It cannot be denied that events in Poland had a very great influence on events in Hungary, but only in October, 1956. I do not know of any Polish concessions before that. I have heard about the Poznan riots, but only from the Communist newspapers at home. It was merely the dissatisfaction of some underpaid workers. I do not believe that there was any political freedom in Poland long before Gomulka's rise to power.

I don't think it would have been better if the Hungarian revolution had taken the same path as the Polish revolution. What the Poles gained they have long since lost.

D. I think that Tito is the originator of national Communism. Up to about 1948 he tolerated the Soviet Communists in his country. But, when the Soviet Communists wanted to turn him into a puppet the same as the other Communist leaders of the neighboring satellite countries he revolted against Moscow and chased out the staff of experts and advisors who were sent to him by Moscow. Basically, however, Tito remained a Communist and national Communism does not differ in many respects from Soviet Communism. National Communism can be described as fascism without anti-Semitism.

Tito's relations with other eastern European nations is determined by the amount of military pressure imposed by the Soviet Union on Yugoslavia. When this pressure lessens then the relations with neighboring satellite countries improve. When the pressure is increased then relations again deteriorate.

From 1948 until Khrushchev's and Bulganin's visit to Yugoslavia relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were almost hostile. Taking advantage of his relations with the Soviet Union, Tito established closer relations with the West and received considerable economic aid from them. However, Tito has given up nothing of his Communist principles.

The Hungarian revolution was very inopportune for Tito. He had to take sides against the Moscow Communists.

I think there is Titoism in the other satellite countries.

Tito perhaps is popular at home. That is, as popular as a dictator can be. I do not know much about the internal conditions in Yugoslavia. From what I heard from friends who, in 1955, came to visit relatives in Hungary, conditions in Yugoslavia are about the same as they were in Hungary before the revolution.

E. I think that the British, French and Israeli invasion of Egypt was justified by Egypt's foreign policy. Egypt had been constantly threatening Israel. It was also evident that the Russian policy wanted to provoke a small local war against the West. Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal and such arbitrary action on part of the Nasser government effected the economy of Europe.

I think that the Egyptian crisis had a considerable effect on the outcome of the Hungarian revolution. Long before the revolution broke out the Russians were already concentrating their troops southwards in preparation for a Near East war. They were able immediately to direct some of these troops into Hungary. Also, it was easier for the Soviet leaders to decide on strict measures in Hungary when they were already prepared for military action and possibly even for war.

F. I think that the standard of living of West Germany is the second highest in the world with

only America exceeding it.

It is possible that the unification of Germany may cause another world war. This is something which should have been taken into consideration by the great powers when they decided on the division of Germany.

The rearmament of West Germany is progressing very slowly. Much to the delight of the Soviet leaders, the statesmen of Europe were divided on this issue.

I do not know what the military strength of West Germany is today, but I think it is just about as strong as the armed forces of France. It must be weaker than the military strength of Britain.

In my opinion the length of military service in the West German army is probably eighteen months.

Perhaps 80% of the people at home agree with me that the Russian occupation of Hungary after World War II was worse than the German occupation in the last phase of the war. German officers and men were by far better disciplined than the Russians.

G. I approve of the NATO, but it should be strengthened considerably. Cooperation between the NATO countries is not close enough.

The Warsaw Pact is only a fiction. In reality the Pact has been existing since 1945.

The Labor Party is the opposition party in Britain. It is the equivalent of the Social Democratic party on the continent. The British Labor party is opposed to Communism.

Of the countries mentioned, West Germany has the highest standard of living with Great Britain second, Italy third, Greece fourth, Soviet Union fifth, and Egypt last.

H. On my arrival in the United States I was

impressed by its enormous size. I thought that this would also mean the disorganization of public administration and political affairs in the U.S.. Later, I was surprised to see that I had been mistaken.

If the United States does not intend to settle and liquidate international Communism then it can conduct no other foreign policy in eastern Europe than it is doing now. I think that the United States should give economic aid to the present Polish and Yugoslav governments. But, it would be extremely inadvisable to maintain other than diplomatic relations with the present Hungarian government. The diplomatic relations are necessary in order to enable the U.S. government to get first hand information on conditions in Hungary and to have at least a limited effect on Hungarian politics.

I am certain that the people at home would very much like to see more Western visitors. These visitors should be mere tourists. They should be warned not to be misled by the show-cases which the Communists show to tourists.

The people at home would most certainly like to read Western books and periodicals, but I doubt very much whether their postal shipment to Hungary would be permitted by the present Hungarian government. I know of no other way of sending publications to the people at home.

I think it would be extremely unwise to have recent Hungarian refugees or exiles associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications. The people at home would say, 'This is all they can do for us.'

The purpose of the Marshall Plan in 1948 was to restore the economies of the war-ridden countries of Europe. The United States government knew very well that Communism can thrive only in poverty and want. The Marshall Plan also had its political significance, namely it curbed Russian propaganda and political influence in these countries.



In 1950 the United States became involved in the Korean War because Americans did not want to give Russia access to the Japanese islands and the rest of Asia.

J. I don't think that the United Nations has any political influence at all. It is as insignificant as any other association. I think that in the autumn of 1956 the United Nations should have contributed at least as much attention to events in Hungary as it did to events in Egypt. It should have sent a watch-dog committee immediately to Hungary during the one week when the Russians withdrew from the capital. After November 4 the United Nations should have given effective military and ~~strong~~ diplomatic aid to Hungary.

I don't think there is any chance of effective United Nations action for Hungary for the foreseeable future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. I think that the greatest living Hungarian is Cardinal Mydzenty. He is a great Hungarian patriot who saw the future very clearly. Nevertheless, he clung to his political beliefs and principles, and bore the consequences of his conduct.

Imre Nagy is also a person of character. He is an exception among Communist leaders in the world in as much as he is not a careerist.

Erno Gero is a political rascal, a careerist.

My opinion of Janos Kadar is the same as that of ERNO GERO.

General Bela Kiraly is an honest Hungarian.

Anna Kethly played with fire until she burned her fingers.

President Eisenhower is a statesman who means well.

The best I can say for Secretary General Hammar-skjold is that he is Pink agent. If I want to be impartial, then he is a Red agent.

~~If~~  
The United States does not wish to solve political problems, but wants to ~~maintain~~ continue its policy of cold war and indécision then State Secretary ~~Ed~~ Dulles is ideal ~~in~~ for this.

I think that ex-Prime Minister Eden belongs to the old school of British statesmen who do not appraise the ~~in~~ threat of Communism as what it is.

Under the Truman administration the United States foreign policy was more decisive than it is now.

My opinion of President Eisenhower, Secretary General Hammarskjold, State Secretary Dulles, Eden, and Truman have not changed since my arrival in the U.S.

I do not have an opinion on Mikoyan. He is identical with Boshevist imperialism.

Prime Minister Nehru is a fraud. He wants to excel in the role of a super-statesman, but is conducting Indian nationalistic policy.

Generalissimo Chiang Kie-shek is the cause of his own downfall.

Ferenc Nagy overestimated his own talents. He dared to become Prime Minister when he ~~was~~ is not qualified to be a junior clerk in the ministry.

President Roosevelt was a great statesman in his domestic policy. But, ~~with respect~~ in respect to his foreign policy he was either insane or a Communist.

Chancellor Adenauer is the only western European statesman who has a thorough appraisal of the dangers of Communist.

Stalin was a careerist who murdered millions without batting an eyelash.

Malenkov is Stalin junior.

Generalissimo Franco put an end to the century old political chaos in Spain.

Bevan is the leader of the left-wing in the British Labor Party. He makes many blunders, but later realizes ~~his~~ his mistakes.

Khrushchev tries to be a great man.

Molotov is a farsighted intriguer, probably the greatest intriguer of the 20th century.

Ollenaer is trying to unify Germany with the aid of the Russians.

Churchill is ~~an~~ an outstanding statesman of World War II, but his efforts against the Russians proved useless.

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

A. The refugees who left Hungary during and after the revolution were people who had to fear Communist retaliation because of their participation in the demonstrations or fighting. Also, people who had enough of living in slavery, and, finally, people who expected to lead a ~~at~~ better life in the West.

The majority of the recent refugees are industrial workers. Very few peasants, and some intellectuals. The average age is between twenty and forty. I think that more men came out than women or girls.

The people who stayed at home were either not involved sufficiently in the revolution or fighting to place them in immediate danger of arrest, or people who were unwilling to leave their homelands because their attachment to the country and their homes was stronger than their fear or dislike of Communism.

Many people stayed at home although they had chances to come out. I ~~am~~ know one friend who did not come out because he considered himself too old to be able to settle down in a new country. Others kept postponing their departure until it was impossible to leave. Still others refused ~~behind~~ behind their meagre possessions, or their apartments.

to leave

I do not think that the people at home ~~fix~~ feel any resentment toward those who left. They are relieved that at least the refugees are in safety, and perhaps also envy them to a certain extent.

On the basis of our experiences and the propaganda ~~and~~ in connection with the management of the refugee problems ~~known~~ since last October,

I think that very few people would leave Hungary now if everyone had a chance to do so. Only those people would come out who had friends or relatives or other contacts in the western ~~of~~ European countries or in America.

B. We at home knew that such exile organizations as, for example, the Hungarian National Council existed, but we did not attach much significance to their activities. We knew that the Hungarian National Council was not a recognized body here in the West, and that it could do very little.

Since my arrival in the United States I have had no contact with such organizations or individuals.

I heard about the M.H.B.K. only in Austria.

<sup>was</sup>  
~~of~~ Tibor Eckhardt/~~is~~ an Hungarian Parliament member who left Hungary during World War II. Here he is a member of the Hungarian National Committee.

Charles Feyer was a Social Democratic parliament member before the war.

Miklos Kallay had been prime minister of Hungary before the German occupation. He is not a very talented statesman, but he has a strong sense of responsibility.

I may have heard the name of Bela Fabian over Radio Free Europe. Here I know that he is a member of the Hungarian National Committee.

We heard many rumors about General ~~Bela~~ Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak at home. Allegedly, he was organizing an Hungarian army in Austria and Germany.

I know who Otto of Hapsburg is, but I don't think he has any chance of coming back to the Hungarian throne.

For the first time in centuries ~~any~~ Governor Horthy gave us hope that Hungary would be independent.

Since the peace treaties after World War I the indifference of the Western world toward Hungary is considered traditional at home. Therefore, there was very little that the exile politicians or exile organizations could have done on ~~their~~ behalf of Hungary. During the revolution the Hungarian exiles everywhere in the world staged demonstrations and helped to influence public opinion.

C. I personally did not know anyone who left Hungary after 1945 and later returned. But, I knew that there were redefectors. The Communists started a redefection campaign about two years ago. Their purpose was to prove to the world that life in Hungary was not so bad after all.

These redefectors came back because they were unable to get along, and to adjust themselves to life outside Hungary. The people at home ~~usually~~ considered them either fools or scoundrels.

D. I think the people at home would like to know how the Hungarian refugees are getting along. They should be told that Hungary has won herself a position in the Western world, and does not belong to the ~~the~~ Balkans anymore.

I think it is the duty of every exile to adjust himself to his new way of life and to preserve the honor ~~and~~ and good name of Hungary.

I would like to join an exile organization which would be a cultural, social and political one at the same time. I do not have any specific organization in mind, but I think that this organization should stand above everyday party politics and intrigues.

I would not object to old exiles joining this organization also.

Of the pre-1948 political parties I preferred the Barankovics party. I do not know anything about the political parties in exile. During the revolution I knew about the revival of the political parties in Hungary. I approved ~~it~~ of it. This was necessary to underline the ideology of the revolution. I do not think that the exile groups should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revival of the political parties. They did not have the opportunity to do so.

I want to return to Hungary, but only if the Soviet rule is ended. I will insist that my children learn Hungarian here in the United States.



## KIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Up to the time of the Geneva Summit Conference I listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts. I listened to the military broadcasting stations in Austria, to the B.B.C., the Austrian Radio, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe. Reception was best for the Radio Free Europe broadcasts. All broadcasts were jammed, but Radio Free Europe and Voice of America broadcasts were jammed more than the others. I usually listened to the Hungarian broadcasts, but sometimes listened to the German and English broadcasts as well. I did not have a radio of my own and therefore I listened only on the radios of my friends. I usually went once a week to some friend and listened to the programs the entire evening and thru the night. We always took care to see that doors and windows were shut.

When I was unable to listen to foreign radio broadcasts I always received a second-hand account of what the Western broadcasts said. This was a general topic of conversation among friends.

It was dangerous to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, and especially to talk about them. This was considered a crime: instigation against the people's democracy. If one was apprehended very often the person was taken away by the AVH and sentenced. Otherwise, one only lost his job.

These foreign broadcasts were very useful in Hungary. They were the vitamins on which the entire population behind the iron curtain lived.

I preferred the British Broadcasting Corp.'s programs for their objectivity, and I also liked the Voice of America programs because they gave very good first hand information. The Radio

Free Europe was good for their cultural programs.

I was able to judge the accuracy of the programs on the basis of subsequent events.

Everyone in Hungary listened to these programs and broadcasts regularly. They helped the people at home feel that they are not alone in their opposition to Soviet rule.

I do not know of any effects these broadcasts may have had during the revolution, because I did not have time to listen to the radio then.

The news commentaries of the Radio Free Europe were particularly interesting and important.

Assistance against Soviet Russia was not promised by Radio Free Europe. It had been promised on two occasions at the presidential elections, and expectations of Western help could be implied from the numerous conferences on disarmament, political events, etc., which were taking place constantly since 1947.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts in to Hungary. These programs are very useful in as much as they keep people informed at home.

I think that Free Europe programs could consist primarily of programs on life in Western Europe and in the United States. Cultural programs on Hungarian culture and events which the Russians are attempting to falsify would also be valuable. Finally, it would be good to reveal to the people at home how the Communists are using one man against the other.

B. I have never heard of the initials N.E.M., nor of the Twelve Demands.

C. I have never seen Free Europe leaflets, nor have I heard of them. I read about them in the Communist press, and only know that they existed. For this reason I am unable to give an

opinion on them. AND DISCIPLINE

I think that it was much more dangerous to pick up Free Europe leaflets, keep them, talk about them or pass them on to others than to listen to radio broadcasts. I do not know of any changes in this during the last five years.

D. Up to the time of the Geneva Summit Conference I thought that the purpose of Western radio broadcasts and leaflets was to prepare the people at home psychologically for a war against Communism. ~~But~~ Since the Geneva Conference I do not know what ~~is~~ purpose these broadcasts and leaflets serve. I do not see any difference in the objectives in the various organizations.

undesirable influences in their national life later years.

As children grow older I think physical punishment can gradually be abolished, and parents can appeal to the reason of the child.

I was four years old when one evening I ran away from home with the intention of hitting my grandparents 20 kilometers away. I was caught when I was about 100 kilometers away and punished by my father.

The character of the punishment for the boy of that time was different from that of today. All that after the war of the 1940s was the punishment of the boy of the 1950s. I do not know of any changes in this respect during the last ten years.

Physical punishment is abandoned for boys at the age of ten to twelve and for girls at 15 or 16.

Punishment in general is abandoned for boys and girls at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. The most important thing a child should be taught is honesty.

B. I think it is essential that children be disciplined. Physical punishment may also be necessary in disciplining children when emotional and rational persuasion is useless.

I think there should be a difference in the treatment of boys and girls. If there is none then the girls are inclined to become tomboys, and the boys will be sissies. This will have undesirable influences in their emotional life later years.

As children grow older I think physical punishment can gradually be abolished, and parents can appeal to the reason of the child.

I was four years old when one evening I ran away from home with the intention of hiking to my grandparents 20 kilometers away. I was caught, taken home, and spanked by my father.

The character of the parents decides which one of them will punish the children after the age of six. This has nothing to do with the age or sex of the child, and I do not know of any ~~the~~ differences according to social class. I do not know of any changes in this respect during the last ten years.

Physical punishment is abandoned for boys at the age of ten to twelve, and for girls at six or seven.

Punishment in general is abandoned for both boys and girls at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

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I think that the parents of the peasantry or the industrial worker class abandon physical punishment and punishment in general at a later age than the parents of the intelligentsia and middle class.

I don't think there is any change in the frequency of parental punishment under Communism. Physical punishment may be less frequent than before. I don't think that the age at which it is abandoned has changed very much.

Physical punishment in school was abandoned by the Communists. I do not know what other forms of punishment were introduced in its place.

The traits I value most in a friend are sincerity and intelligence.

T H E       E N D