

as a construction worker on the television broadcasting station of the Szechenyi hegy in Budapest.

13. Parents are not living
14. No brothers or sisters
15. No children
16. Left Hungary December 3, 1956
17. Arrived in U.S. January 16, 1957
18. Spent three weeks in Camp Killmer, two weeks in Manhattan Beach Hospital. Since then he has been living in Washington, D.C.
19. Respondent is now working for the Federal Bureau of Census. He has been promised employment by the Vacuum Oil Company in N.Y.
20. Has not been interviewed
21. Speaks ~~and~~ English and German well; some French

Subject is a 36 year old young intellectual with an industrial worker background. Graduated from the School of Economics in Budapest and studied two semesters in the Philosophy Faculty of the Budapest University. Was an analyst in the Central Bureau of Statistics until his arrest in 1955 on political charges. Freed in 1956, he worked as a construction worker in Budapest.

Short, handsome, bespectacled, neat, pleasant manners. Has a great interest in music, skipped meals to get opera tickets. Very intelligent, a keen observer, has a good sense of humor. Gave very good rapport. His account of a student-delegation's experiences in the Parliament building just before the October 25 massacre is extremely interesting. A very pleasant and likeable person.

Subject denied direct questions concerning armed participation in the fighting but his denials were not convincing. Indirectly he admitted having arms in his possession on the first day of the fighting (p.6). He was very cautious about giving "incriminating" evidence against himself and others.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The Americans believe that the Hungarian revolution was staged by Communists. This is not true. From the very moment on when Imre Nagy addressed the crowd 'Comrades', it was evident that the purpose of the revolution was to liquidate Communism. There was no need to announce any special program during the revolution. Everyone knew what the slogans should be. 'Russkies go home!', etc. No one was interested in economic questions. Very few economic issues are among the demands. The major issues were freedom and independence.

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

A. At the time of the revolution I was employed as a television station construction worker in Budapest on Szechenyi hegy. I lived there in the workers' barracks.

On October 22 I was in the city in the evening, but did not notice anything unusual.

On October ~~22~~ 23 we were working late in the evening. We noticed that the brightly lighted Red star on the roof of the golf club nearby had been turned off. We thought this strange, but did not know the reason. When we came down from the television steeple, our night watch-man, an ex-army officer, already had the Hungarian national colors in his button-hole. He told us what was happening in the city.

My first reactions were incredibility mixed with joy. I immediately decided to go into the city and investigate. On the way I stopped at a friend's house to listen to Gero's speech.

When I heard that Gero's speech contained nothing new and was delivered in the old style, I was not interested in it and did not remain to hear the end of it. I went thru Buda and saw that there was an air of expectation everywhere in the streets. The newspaper vendors ~~had~~ told us that an extra edition of the 'Irodalmi Ujsag' would shortly be available. When it came it contained the demands of the writers, which were not identical with the sixteen demands of the university students.

When I reached Budapest, that is, the center of the city, I heard that the Stalin statue had been demolished. I was very much pleased and very curious to see it. It was impossible to get there by street car, so I had to walk.

It was almost 9p.m. when I reached the square where

the Stalin statue was located. Workers were already cutting at it with acetylene torches. The crowd jokingly urged them on. There were more than 100,000 people there. The people were the people of Budapest of all kinds, all classes, not only youth, but also the older people. There were many girls and women in the ~~mixed~~ crowd.

The special edition of the 'Irodalmi Ujsag' was distributed on the square. Certain persons read the demands of the writers aloud to the crowd. There was much cheering and approval on their part.

When I saw what was happening on the square and saw the workers demolishing the Stalin statue, I had the feeling of uncertainty. In the back of my mind I expected that the Communists were permitting this to take place in order to quiet down the dissatisfaction of the people. I was the more suspicious because in the past years every demonstration parade, etc. had been staged by the Communists. Now, there were no Communists on the streets, no police, not even AVH men. Everyone was enthusiastically against Communism and against Stalin. There was no opposition at all.

B. Around 9:30p.m. trucks came from the direction of the radio building bringing the news that the AVH was firing at the crowd. Students and workers rushed to the trucks, boarding them, and a motorcade started off in the direction of the Radio studios. I went with them.

I forgot to mention that at 8p.m., at the very time when Gero's speech was being broadcast, I saw several truck loads of industrial apprentices waving Hungarian flags without the Communist insignia, driving thru the streets of the city shouting, 'Russkies go home!' and 'Down with Gero!'

By the time we reached the radio studios the first skirmish was already over. It was impossible to get near the building. Strong AVH forces had just swept out the crowd of demonstrators from Sandor Street. On each street corner there were strong AVH squads with bayonets. In the side streets leading to Sandor

Street there were detachments of Blue police, but they did not interfere and did not seem interested at all.

When I went there, the first victim of the revolution, a young father of two children, his face riddled to pieces by sub-machine guns, was brought into a side street. He was covered with the Hungarian flag.

Around 10p.m. the atmosphere was very embittered. The crowd bemoaned that they had no arms. In their helpless rage they armed themselves with bricks and attacked the AVH.

From 10p.m. on there was ceaseless shooting. Two or three AVH trucks were overturned and set afire. The whole district was closed by the AVH and the AVH troops were reinforced. Tear-gas was still in the Air, and made our eyes smart. People were constantly being wounded and killed.

We saw that it was impossible to do anything without arms. On the korut there was a stalled military truck with twenty or thirty soldiers. They were armed with sub-machine guns. We talked with them, told them what was happening, and asked them to give us their arms. They told us that they had no ammunition, but that we should send two or three trucks to the Kilian barracks and we would get everything we needed.

Two trucks went off immediately toward the barracks. The commanding officer of the Kilian Barracks was still maintaining control over the soldiers. However, ~~they~~ these twenty or thirty soldiers we met went into the barracks and started to throw out arms and ammunition to us thru the windows without the knowledge of the officers. It is my belief that this small group of soldiers went into the barracks, informed the other soldiers of what was going on in Sandor Street, and in other parts of the city, and in this way prepared the soldiers in the barracks for the role which they were to play later in the struggle against the Russians.

When asked directly whether he had arms and did he take an active part in the fighting, subjects answer was to the negative, but he was not convincing./

We took the body of the first victim whom I already

mentioned to the building of the 'Szabad Nep'. This started off the attack against the 'Szabad Nep' building. Two or three cars were overturned and set afire. It was very suspicious to me that no armed guards were defending this Communist press building. They broke in the glass doors and entered the premises. Some of the demonstrators went immediately to the roof and started to tear down the Red star. It was about 11:30 p.m. when the star crashed to the pavement. About that time a tractor dragged the iron dictator to the National Theatre just a block away.

We ~~had~~ conducted discussions with the staff of the 'Szabad Nep' to print the demands of the students and of the writers. They were not willing to do so. The demonstrators threw out the files of the 'Szabad Nep' offices into the street, together with the contents of the Communist book store on the ground floor. They made a huge bon-fire.

After midnight I went back to the radio station. Some of the university students started to organize the people who had arms in their possession. Soldiers by ones and twos were also drifting there and joined the fighting. The students set up a sort of headquarters in the Astoria Hotel. I was also there with them.

The headquarters was getting leaflets from the Szilra Printing Press. They contained the demands of the university students and of the writers. The students commandeered cars and trucks to haul arms and ammunition and leaflets. They also set up what was jokingly called 'an ammunition brokerage' in the Astoria Hotel. At that time we had received arms not only from the Kilian Barracks, but also from the police headquarters in Izabella Street.

The industrial apprentices also knew from where to bring arms. For example, the Lampart factory which was supposed to be making lamps and kitchen utensils, was also manufacturing arms. (They apprentices knew where they were stored and knew how to get them.)

However, the ammunition which we received did not always fit all kinds of arms. It happened that some of the people got the wrong kind of ammunition for the weapons they had. Therefore, they came to the 'ammunition brokerage' and exchanged the ammunition they had for ammunition which fit their guns.

Around 3:30 a.m. (this was already on October 24) six Russian tanks drove by heading in the direction of the Nyugati Railroad station from the direction of Calvin Square.

One of the leaders of the university students in the Astoria Hotel immediately grabbed a telephone and called the officer on duty in the Piliscsaba Camp. He told the officer, 'Now not only the AVH is fighting against us but also Soviet tanks. We need your support.' The officer promised to send tanks, but they were unable to enter the city. Previously six tanks from Piliscsaba had already arrived. They had been sent out originally to suppress the revolt, but they sided with the insurgents and fought against the AVH at the radio studio.

About a half hour later the entire district was surrounded by Russian tanks. They began to identify everyone and to search people for arms or ammunition.

We were warned in advance that the Russians were coming and were told to hide our arms and ammunition. There were several hundred people, mostly students and young workers at that time in the Astoria. Some twenty Russians came in with sub-machine guns. They had strong Asiatic features. They began a thorough search of the premises and searched the pockets and purses of everyone. Where they found bullets or pistols, they took the person away to Semmelweis Street and lined them up against the wall. Some thirty or forty young men stood there facing the wall with their hands behind their backs. A few Hungarian Blue policemen were there also guarding

them. I heard that they were herded off to the cellar of the Municipal Council building nearby. There they were questioned and tortured by AVH officers. I do not know what happened to these ~~many~~ people, but I have not heard of them since.

It was about 4:30 a.m. when the Russians let us go from the Astoria Hotel and told us to walk in the direction of Kossuth Lajos Street. We hardly reached the first corner when they began to shoot in our direction. A man walking beside ~~me~~ his wife on the other side of the sidewalk was severely wounded. We rushed into the church of the Franciscan Monks and sought cover there.

When things quieted down a bit I went into the apartment of a friend who lived nearby. As I had not slept the entire night, I rested there for several hours. I was too excited to sleep however. We listened constantly to the radio and telephoned our friends. Miraculously, the telephones were operating. The radio announced the curfew and also demanded the surrender of the insurgents. We could hear fierce fighting and shooting nearby. Tanks were patrolling the streets.

In the afternoon I left my friend's apartment and started off for home. I had to wait for about an hour for the Russians to open the bridge to pedestrians. Although the pedestrians were not yet allowed to cross, the Russians let the Red Cross cars and ambulances carrying the wounded from Dohany Street pass.

When the Soviet tanks appeared everyone was convinced that the revolt would be crushed. There was very little sign of organized fighting. Only the Killian Barracks, the Corvin Theatre, and the Robert Karoly Barracks were conducting an organized resistance. Everyone who had arms went to help where their seemed to be some fighting.

I heard from a reliable source that the AVH

tricked the delegation of six university students who were admitted to the radio studio building. They were received very cordially and were ushered into a small room on the second floor. When they reached the door of the room, they were told to open the door and go in. When the door was opened they were met with a volley of sub-machine gun fire.

Of the six only one escaped. This student had the presence of mind to dive thru a second floor window. He fell into a small courtyard and broke his leg in the fall. He was found hours later when the Hungarian soldiers and students had captured the studio building. He was taken to a hospital where he was visited by my friend, a priest who told me this story.

Still on the 24th, in the afternoon, I saw a detachment of policemen come to the right bridgehead of the Petofi Bridge where they were supposed to maintain order among the crowd waiting for the bridge to be opened. The policemen were ~~scolded~~ scolded by the crowd, especially by the women. They were told to go home and asked what were they doing here. When the ~~crowd~~ crowd began to surround the policemen and argue with them, the Russians trained the barrels of their tank guns at the crowd. After a short hesitation the non-commissioned police officer in charge of the squad lined them up, ordered about face, and marched them off home. They were cheered by the crowd.

On the evening of the 24th I already heard false reports over the radio that the insurgents were surrendering.

In the first stage of the revolution I had not heard the term 'Freedom Fighters' used. To the best of my memory, I think it was used only after the Russians withdrew from the ~~city~~ city. At that time the insurgents were called 'felkelo.'

When the fighting started it was motly the university students and the young industrial workers' apprentices who fought. They were gradually

joined by soldiers and later by the older workers, especially the age group which had fought through World War II. All social ~~was~~ classes were equally represented. In the first stages of the fighting I did not see any women or girls with arms.

I realized then that we, by ourselves, could not ~~win~~ chase the Russians out of Hungary, but I hoped that the Western world would take notice of our efforts and come to our aid.

The fighting was not organized in advance. It would not have started if the AVH had not provoked it intentionally.

On October 25 the radio announced that everyone should go to his place of work. The streets were full of people. Instead of working I went over to Budapest from Buda to see what was going on. I came thru Calvin Square. I noticed that the museum was on fire. Russians were attacking the radio studio buildings. It had already been captured by the insurrects, but the studio could not be used for broadcasting because the antennae in Lakihegy were being guarded by strong AVH forces. The Communists were still broadcasting over Radio Budapest from the auxiliary studios in the Parliament Building.

The streets near the museum and the radio studio building were littered with corpses.

Further on in front of the Astoria Hotel, I saw some very enthusiastic university students and young workers. It looked as if some Russians had gone over to our side. Their armored cars and tanks were draped with Hungarian flags. The whole thing seemed suspicious to me. They were unwilling to fight against the Russians who were attacking the studio building.

The enthusiastic crowd in front of the Astoria

decided to stage a demonstration. They asked the Russians to participate in it. One Russian armored car and two tanks started off in the direction of the Parliament building.

To this very day I disbelieve the desertion of the Russians. It was all make-believe. Neither then nor later did I see Russians fighting against the AVH or against one another. It was true however that I saw Russian tanks draped with Hungarian flags. These tanks had been captured from the Russians.

Marshall law had been previously declared and there had been much shooting in Budapest. Therefore it required some courage now to stage a demonstration and to march toward Parliament Building. On the way the crowd was constantly increasing like a rolling snowball.

Someone near Parliament Square remarked on seeing the crowd, 'What a blood bath this will be.' We did not know then how true this prophecy was.

The crowd marched into Parliament Square. The students took up their position on the steps of the Parliament Building. They were the cheerleaders. The industrial workers and the sympathizers gathered around the Rakosi statue on the south end of the Square. The student cheerleaders threw up such slogans as 'We are not fascists!', 'Down with Gero!'

A delegation of three students entered the Parliament Building to hand Imre Nagy their demands. I spoke to one of them later on. He told me what happened.

When they entered the Building four AVH officers surrounded them. The AVH men were very sarcastic. They ridiculed them for having dared to enter the Parliament Building. When they told the AVH that

they wanted to give Imre Nagy their demands, the AVH marched them off to an air-raid shelter in the celler of the Parliament building. A Russian general was sitting there in one corner. He seemed to be in charge. The ministers were all there with the exception of Gero. Each one was surrounded by four AVH men. They seemed entirely ~~un-~~ un-informed.

The delegation talked for awhile with Antal Apro and Imre Nagy. They asked the delegation questions: What was the situation in the city, where was there stiff fighting, etc.

Imre Nagy told the delegation he regrets that he is able to answer them only in writing. Four AVH officers escorted him to another room. He did not return. One of the AVH men brought back his written answer. It was the usual hemming and hawing. He advised the insurgents to stop their resistance and promised that his government would settle everything.

While the delegation was still inside the building, the massacre occurred on the square. I was walking toward the Ministry for Defense building because it was rumored that the Russians were executing some Hungarian officers there. I heard the Soviet tanks start up their motors. A student asked them where they were going. One of them said jokingly 'home.'

The tanks took up position on the edge of the Square, surrounding the ~~xxx~~ crowd.

I went on toward the Ministry of Defense. Several hundred tanks were surrounding the buildings. There were signs of some resistance. Several shattered windows with bullet marks could be seen. Allegedly, a small group of Hungarian high-ranking officers ~~xxx~~ had resisted the Russians.

Around 10:45 the shooting started on Parliament Square.

The firing continued ceaselessly for over an hour. One could hear sub-machine gun, machine gun, and tank firing and also mines exploding.

We were concealed in a doorway of a building a few blocks away from the Parliament Square. We had no idea what was happening. We were very uneasy. I thought that some Hungarian unit was fighting against the Russians.

I was able to get to the square only around 1p.m. The ambulances were already taking away the dead and the wounded. By then they had taken away over 500 wounded. The very first ambulance was shot to pieces by the Russians. There were not enough ambulances, so busses also helped to carry away the wounded.

service headquarters

The ambulance/~~service~~ was only a few blocks away from the Parliament, but the building was full of wounded and they accepted only the most serious cases.

The bodies were stacked up near the Rakocsi statue. In my opinion there were over 200 bodies in that stack.

Many sympathizers who were watching the demonstration in front of the Parliament from a distance, crashed in the windows of the State Control Center which was in one of the buildings facing the Square. AVH officers and men were stationed also in that building. The people who sought refuge there were denounced as fascists by Comrade Hay, the director of the center. Hay ordered the AVH to lock up the civilians in the cellar. They were let free only late in the afternoon.

An hour later the radio announced that Erno Gero had resigned. Very likely it was he who had given orders to fire on the crowd.

I ~~has~~ have ~~often~~ often heard that it was the AVH men who were shooting at the crowd. I don't think

this is true. It is true that there were AVH men in the buildings of the Ministry for Agriculture. But, the line of fire indicates that the shooting was done by the tanks. Most of the people were wounded in the heads. Also those who were near the tanks and ducked to the ground immediately when the shooting started remained uninjured.

It was remarkable to see that the very crowd who had lived thru the massacre on Parliament Square was not frightened. In the afternoon of that day they soaked a white sheet in the pools of blood on Parliament Square and, with this sheet, a new demonstration marched in front of the American legation building.

There was some more shooting in the afternoon from the Russian tanks stationed at the Pest bridgehead of the Kossuth Bridge.

The news of the massacre on Parliament Square enraged everyone against the Communist and the Russians. Everywhere on the streets one could see statues of Lenin and Stalin being thrown out of windows. Also, Communist insignia and flags.

On the afternoon of the 25th I went down to Buda. I saw the civilians building barricades on Szell Kalman Square. The workers of the Ganz Electrical Factory were very well organized. They directed their military operations with loud speakers and thru the public address system.

I must mention that from a reliable friend I heard that various AVH units in Budapest were constantly in contact with each other over short wave radio. My friend also heard the radio reports of the pro-Communist planes to the air-force commander in Szolnok. From the reports submitted by the scout planes, we were able to ~~put~~ ~~put~~ piece together what was happening in rural Hungary.

On October 26 I went again over to Pest and saw the fighting in the vicinity of the Killian barracks. Thirty to forty tanks were being shot out each day in that vicinity. Some chemical engineering students prepared 'flame grenades' which shot off the tank turrets and burned out the tanks.

From then on I stayed in Buda and did not return to Pest until the Russians had withdrawn.

C. When the fighting ceased in the first stage of the revolution, I constantly toured the city. I saw that the ~~the~~ withdrawal of the Russians was only a ruse. On All Saints Day I was in the Obuda ~~Cemetary~~ Cemetery where my parents are buried. I saw that the Russian tanks and armored cars were dug in not far from the cemetery proper.

In my opinion, the Russians withdrew from Budapest because they were unable to leave their tanks for fear of being shot. The open armored cars offered them no protection at all. The Russian troops were exhausted and they were unable to complete the necessary repairs on their tanks. They also expected reinforcements and supplies.

I must mention that a friend of mine intercepted talks between Russian ~~the~~ tanks and their commanders. Very often the Russians complained that they had not eaten the whole day.

Not all Russian forces had withdrawn from Budapest. Russian tanks were guarding such strategic points as the Russian embassy and the Ministry of War.

I first heard that the Russians were returning over the radio. Imre Nagy announced that fresh Russian troops were entering Hungary. He protested because of Russian troop movements to the United Nations. Later he issued a command not to resist the Soviet troops who were occupying all Hungarian ~~the~~ air fields. Allegedly, this was done to insure the removal of Soviet civilians and dependents from Hungary.

I first heard that the Russians had returned when I was awakened by the sound of shooting at about 3:30a.m. on November 4. The first attack was against the Zalta Mate barracks, (previously Karoly barracks) Here some sixty Hungarian tanks were taken completely by surprise. We heard the shooting from a distance. Guards were shot down immediately. I spoke with a boy whose brother had been on guard duty as a non-commissioned officer in the barracks that day. He said that his brother had heard the sound of shooting outside and went to investigate. When he saw that the Russians were attacking, he turned around and started to run for the building in which the guard house and ~~the~~ alarm system were located. The Russians shot him. He received seventeen bullets, but did not die until a week later.

Only the soldiers who were located in one of the rear buildings at the base of the Sashegy were able to jump out the windows and climb, with practically no clothes, into the hills. Over 300 soldiers were killed in the barracks that day.

All barracks in Hungary were attacked that day simultaneously. Resistance was impossible. The artillery which was situated in the Buda Hills had been preparing for the attack. Over 150 tanks, guns and 7000 shells were ready for the Russians. The guns were measured in on the road on which the Russians were supposed to approach Budapest from the direction of Szekesfehervar. Regrettably, there was much hesitation and indecision on the part of the soldiers. There was no one to command them. The Russians had tricked the Hungarian army command to go to them for negotiations at the time they started the attack. When the soldiers fleeing from the Karoly barracks began to arrive to the batteries

stationed in the mountains, their hesitation increased. They were unwilling to fight against the Russians. They distributed the food they had among the civilian population, gave them also their surplus equipment, and fled. Regrettably, they first rendered the guns useless.

There was no fighting in the vicinity of our workers' barracks on Szechenyi hegy. The Russians came only days later to inspect the jamming stations which were vacated previously by the AVH. The jamming stations operated by the AVH were located ~~in~~ along the ridges of the hills outside Budapest.

I began to plan my escape around November 20. Deportations were already in progress in Hungary, and the whole situation looked completely hopeless. I made two unsuccessful attempts. On both occasions my friend and I were detained by the Russians. They let us go when we gave them our wristwatches and money.

The third time we were arrested by Hungarian border guards. They were already operating with police dogs and were manning the observation towers along the border. I was arrested in the vicinity of the village of Vaskereszt. From 300 to 400 people were detained there each day. The border guards prepared protocols after questioning us and let us go with a warning not to cross the border again. They did not let the young people under eighteen go, but insisted on shipping them home themselves.

Instead of returning to Budapest after having been freed by the border guards, my friend and I attempted to cross the border the third time. We got across safely although we had to wade ~~in~~ in ice cold water up to our waists.

D. In the revolution it became evident that although there were one million Party members in

Hungary, there were only insignificantly few Communists. Even the youth, which had been educated by the Communists, were against them. The army also refused to obey them. Perhaps we haven't gained much, but Communism has suffered great losses of prestige and has become entirely weakened. This is important for the future and may contribute to the downfall of Communism in the end.

Summary of activities during the revolution:

- October 23- Subject was working on the construction of the Budapest television station on Szechenyihegy, a prominent residential suburb of Budapest in the Buda hills. At 9 PM goes to the Stalin statue, from there to the Radio Building. His denial of active participation in the fighting is not convincing. Indirectly he admits having had arms (page 6, last paragraph). Was present at the student HQ directing the Radio Building fighting, set up in the Astoria Hotel.
- October 24- Students HQ raided by Soviet soldiers at 3.30 AM. Subject sought cover in the house of a friend nearby. In the afternoon goes to workers barracks on Szechenyihegy where he lived.
- October 25- Takes part in the Parliament demonstration. <sup>Was</sup> ~~is~~ a block away during the massacre. Visits Szena Square (another resistance center in Buda) in the afternoon.
- October 26- Roams streets near Killian Barracks, returns to Buda and stays <sup>at home</sup> ~~there~~ until Russian withdrawal.
- October 28-Nov. 4 - Took part in intercepting and jamming Soviet and AVH shortwave communications. Refused to give details. Impression: credible.
- November 20- Begins planning escape from Hungary. After 3 unsuccessful attempts, reaches Austria 3 December 1956.

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

A. In the first stage of the revolution I expected only a moral and diplomatic support from the West. I knew that if this should be insufficient, they could impose economic and political sanctions on the Soviet Union and force her to withdraw. I thought that the United Nations had the authority and the moral prestige to force the Russians to behave.

B. The majority of the world is anti-Communist and would take advantage of this opportunity to weaken Communism. I also thought that the United Nations charter is worth more than the paper it is printed on.

C. On one occasion I was present on Tisza Kalman Square during the ~~night~~ siege of the Party Headquarters. This was after the Russians had withdrawn from Budapest. I spoke to two British and Austrian television teams there. I did not get any information from them, but supplied ~~with~~ them with the information I could. I explained to them what the situation was and acted as an interpreter for them.

The sounds from the underground prison and the barracks could be heard distinctly. I was there myself and heard it. The radio broadcasts were also intercepted. One could hear the yells of the prison guards and the sound of firing. Later, the Kadar government denied that there was a prison there. These denials are ridiculous.

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father was a fireman in Budapest, but he died very early. I was only eighteen months old. My mother was a factory worker in the old Buda tobacco factory. We had no property. My mother's income before the war was 105 to 110 pengos a month. After the war, in forints, at the time when the forint was still worth something, she received from 600 to 700 forints a month. Later her pay was doubled due to the depreciation of the forint. She went on pension in 1949. She received only 200 forints per month pension. I had to contribute to her support.

Both my father and my mother have the equivalent of eight grades of elementary school.

B. In 1945 there were the remnants of aristocracy, the independent intelligentsia (doctors, lawyers, business men, factory owners, etc.), the lower intelligentsia (government officials, business executives, etc.), the industrial workers, and the peasantry. The peasantry itself could be divided into small peasants, middle peasants, and large peasants. At that time the land reforms still left many farmers from 200 to 300 yokes.

By 1956 the aristocracy had virtually ceased to exist. The free intelligentsia was reduced to a minimum. Factory owners lost their wealth thru the nationalization of industries. Very few doctors and lawyers could continue their professions on a free lance basis. The rest of the intelligentsia ~~(officials, etc.)~~ (officials, etc.) were deluted by new cadres trained by the Communists. The industrial workers increased by a large influx of the peasantry. Within the peasantry there arose a new group of collective and state farmers whose position was very much like that of the agricultural servants on the large estates. The kuloks had lost their land, but they were still distinguished and politically persecuted more than the others. At the same time a new

aristocracy has been formed of Communist top officials and AVH and army officers. They lived a very secluded life in great luxury. They were exceptional beings who enjoyed the great privileges.

I had contact with all classes in Hungary with the exception of the new Communist aristocracy.

I do not ~~mean~~ evaluate people as members of a class, only as individuals. There are all kinds of people in every class.

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

I think that the village kulaks, the rich peasants, were the hardest hit by Communism. They were morally and financially the strongest group in Hungary. The Communists thought that with their system of collective farming they did not need the middle peasantry.

The deportees were also very hard hit and suffered much, along with the political prisoners. But, they were not of a special social class. All classes were abundantly represented.

It is difficult to determine the mentality of the average person in each class. They did not have a Gallup Institute to establish this. In general, the political pressure on all classes brought them closer to each other and the previous class barriers disappeared entirely. Class barriers were set up only by the ~~max~~ Party's ideology, but this did not represent public opinion.

C. Class origin was the most important factor in determining one's advancement in Communist Hungary. Talent, in general, did not count, only very exceptional talent.

The repetition of Party slogans and Party activities by which one could draw conclusion to another's

political views were also extremely important. Influence, and personal contact also helped very much.

In 1953, during the first Imre Nagy government, some changes occurred in this respect. (In general, whenever the Communists encountered economic difficulties there was ~~always~~ always a tendency of emphasizing the importance of the intelligentsia.) From then on talent and experience counted somewhat more in the eyes of the Communists than before.

As individuals, I think that the persons with no character and convictions were the best able to get along in Communist Hungary.

D. The Party aristocracy the Communists created received much more from society than it deserved. Also, outstanding artists, writers, and scientists were able to live far much better than anyone else in Hungary.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The Hungarian Central Bureau of Statistics established that the number of divorces and separations increased considerably under Communism. They were caused by the changes induced by Communism. The woman lost her role of mother and housewife. She was forced to earn a living. She also had a greater opportunity to establish contacts with other men. The number of extra-marital sexual relations increased. Also, the sudden career of a husband or even the wife demanded a better and more suitable partner. The worker who had advanced to a factory director wanted a better looking woman for his car than the haggard, oldish woman with whom he had lived for the past twenty years.

Communism had no affect on my family life. It is true that we divorced, but this was caused by my deep interest in music and I neglected my wife. Our divorce would have occurred regardless of Communism. Indirectly, it is possible that my increased interest in music was due to the influence of Communism. This was a sphere of interest which was the least affected by the Communist line.

We had no children, but in general I think our family life comes closest to type III where family life was not much influenced by the Communist regime.

I think there were very few families which belong to type I. I only know of one person who did not dare tell political jokes at home because his wife had advanced to Party Secretary.

It was characteristic that even children among themselves were always on guard and

warned each other 'don't talk in front of that boy. His father is a Party Secretary.'

The children, despite their ages, were able to determine what was true and what was false. They were more inclined to believe what they were told at home.

I do not know what the situation was in rural Hungary nor in the families of the Communist aristocracy. But, I think there were very few families where the education of the children was not at all affected by Communism.

B. Getting acquainted was much easier. Less formalities were ~~required~~ observed. Young people had more opportunity to meet each other at mass meetings, parades, parties, outings, etc. staged by Communist organizations. Campings and trade union vacations gave ample opportunities for sexual intercourse. Twelve and thirteen year old girls and fourteen and fifteen year old boys had sexual intercourse in pioneer camps and many pregnancies and child births resulted from such relations.

Bosses and Communist officials sometimes misused their positions to form sexual relations with women employees.

Many ~~times~~ divorces and separations were caused by housing conditions. Young people were forced to live together with their in-laws.

The influence of parents in courtships and marriages decreased considerably. Parents also had less opportunity to control the activities of their children.

The Party interfered in the family life of even non-Party members. For example, in our

office a non-Party employee wanted to marry a kulok's daughter. He was forbidden to do so under threats of immediate dismissal.

Prostitution was abolished and brothels were closed. Secret prostitution thrived. Married and unmarried males were forced to find partners elsewhere. And the inclination of women toward extra-marital sexual relations was also greater.

The system of trade union vacation programs contributed to extra-marital sexual relations. Husband and wife were rarely able to spend their vacations at the same trade union resort.

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There was a joke in Hungary about the statistical report on what the males do after making love. 10% ~~take~~ a cigarette, 10% turn toward the wall and sleep, 80% dress and go home. This is a joke, but I would not be surprised if the figures were ~~exact, or near~~ true.

The increase of alcoholism due to the futility of everyday life and the hopeless outlook for the future also contributes to the decline of sexual morality.

Some change is required in everyday life to avoid boredom. The people at home were unable to provide diversion materially, so they sought diversion emotionally.

Concerning the sexual conduct of the convinced Communists I doubt very much whether there were any convinced Communists in Hungary. Morally and sexually, I don't think that Party members differ from other normal individuals. However, they have more opportunity to form extra-marital sexual relations.

C. Such cases where, from two good friends, one joined the Party and the other didn't were frequent. I experienced a case like this myself. It led to a deterioration of the relationship even though my friend was not a

rabid Communist. We met less frequently. I still trusted him and dared criticize conditions and the Communist party. He accepted my criticism. He was a so-called progressive Communist. On one occasion he warned me not to speak in the presence of another Communist who was not reliable.

The further outcome of the friendship depends to a large extent on who the other non-Communist friend is. A very few people may be inclined to nourish such a friendship in the hope of obtaining advantages from the influence of the Communist friend. But, in the majority of the cases, it is probably the non-Communist friend who severs the relationship.

I do not think a true friendship can continue as before if one person joins the Party and the other does not. The Communist friend necessarily undergoes a change even if tho he may not be a Communist by conviction. Party schools and seminars have their effects even tho the person is opposed to Communism and he himself does not notice any changes in his mentality or conduct.

B. Communists today admit an increase in juvenile delinquency and confess that previously they purposely attempted to ignore this problem.

In my opinion the increase in juvenile delinquency is due to the decline of parental influence and control. ~~Some~~ Teachers were also less able to discipline the students.

I never heard of the term 'hooligans' before. The 'jampecs' are mostly young people from the workers families or young industrial workers. They can be recognized from a distance by their clothes, from close-up by their manners. They mostly between the ages of sixteen and twenty. I do not think that their conduct is

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criminal. I believe that the entire problem of  
jampacs had been exaggerated by the Communists.

## VII. RELIGION

A. From 1948 on all ~~other~~ churches in Hungary were persecuted. Probably the Catholic church was hit the hardest because of its size and because it probably had more influence on its flock than the other churches. I think that in Hungary religion has been a bulwark against Communism. Communists are atheists and opposed to religion. Also, Communists are materialists, something which the churches are also opposed to.

It is very difficult to judge the degree of religiousness of a person. Religiousness to certain extent means formalities. I am religious, but I do not believe in formalities. I believe in the existence of God, I go to church, and I pray. I am unable to say whether my mother was more religious than I am. I cannot say anything about my father because he died when I was only eighteen months old.

I think that I am less religious than the average person in Hungary.

I think that the ideal relations between church and state is that the church be independent of the state and vice versa, but they should cooperate. The church should be given back its role in the education of children. The religious orders in Hungary and the churches have ~~excellent~~ excellent schools and experienced personnel.

I think that the churches should be allowed to express their opinions on such things as plays, movies, and books. However, their opinion or censorship should not be considered compulsory. It can be only advisory to its own parishioners.

As long as the dangers of Communism exist in Hungary, I think that the churches in Hungary

should take an active role in politics. But, in an independent Hungary this would not be necessary nor desirable.

B. The Jewish religion has also been hurt by the Communist regime in Hungary. The Communists are equally opposed to all ~~xxx~~ religions; the same restrictions applied also to the Jews. Party members could not attend religious services or go to the church. Church institutions, whether Jewish or Catholic, were similarly taken into government custody and control.

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It cannot be denied that, at the beginning, the Jews welcomed Communism because the Soviet army liberated them from certain death. But, I think that gradually the Jews, especially the business men and factory owners, became opposed to Communism in a comparatively short time. They lost practically everything under the Communists. Some even said that the fascists were somewhat better.

The Jews I met on the streets during the revolution seemed pleased and happy because of the revolution. They sympathized with the Freedom Fighters. But, of course, these were not the Jews who were given top government positions and who were top Communist Party members. I saw Jews taking part in the demonstrations and in the fighting, but not in such great numbers as the percentage of Jews in Budapest would have warranted.

I do not think it is true that Jews fear an independent Hungary. Probably only the Communist Jews fear this, because they would not be given good jobs and would lose their influence.

#### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth in general we mean the young people from sixteen to twenty-four.

B. The Hungarian youth started demonstrations which led to the revolution and they were the ones who began the fighting and directed it to a large extent.

Youth, in general, is always more enthusiastic than older age groups. This applies especially to the Hungarian youth. They had less responsibility than the older people and were much more daring. Also, it must be taken into consideration that the majority of the students lived in student homes where they had very little supervision and no influence from the family. There was no one to keep them back from fighting.

The older people approved of the revolution and were very pleased with the conduct of the Hungarian youth. When armed resistance ceased, they took over the resistance to the Communists and Russians by declaring a general strike.

I think that the Hungarian youth very well understood the situation of the older people, and realized that they could not all come and fight with them.

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

D. The Hungarian youth rejected Communist indoctrination because the lies of the Communists were so transparent that even the youngest child could clearly see the falsehoods.

From 1948 on when Communism really began

in Hungary the Hungarian youth as a whole was always apposed to Communism. There may have been one or two individuals who sympathised with it. The only thing is that there was no no organized collective resistance to Communism on the part of the youth. Their resistance was always individual and depended always on the extent of government pressure and the possibility of showing such resistance.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY  
LIFE

A. In Communist Hungary I was mostly dissatisfied with the complete lack of freedom and the restrictions imposed on everyone by the regime. There was a joke in Hungary defining the people's democracy. The people's democracy is a system under which nothing is allowed. What is allowed is compulsory.

B. Other people's complaints centered around the economic conditions and the low standard of living. As compared to the pre-war standard of living, the ~~maximax~~ post-war Communist standard of living was very low, and in the last years before the revolution it was constantly declining.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. I was arrested in 1955 and freed from prison only in the Summer of 1956. Discounting this time and also the few months which I lived as a construction worker in Budapest until the revolution, I was not able to get along very well in Communist Hungary during the last years. Before my arrest my food was very poor. I ate only the food at the office canteen and snacks in cheap buffets in Budapest. I was not able to afford clothes. During the last three years I bought myself only a raincoat and a pair of shoes. I did not have an apartment of my own. I lived in a room which I was unable to heat in the winter and had to pay a high rent for it. I had to consider good clothes and shoes a luxury. However, I was able to attend concerts and operas on low priced tickets. I am very interested in music and was willing to cut down on food bills in order to be able to afford concerts and operas.

Food and clothes were my major problem during the last few years. In general, I think that my pre-war standard of living was at least 50% higher than our standard of living after the war. There has been nothing which I have gained from the point of view of my standard of living after the war.

My standard of living was the highest in 1945 and it decreased gradually. It was the lowest before the revolution.

Among my acquaintances there was an engineer who was considered indispensable. He was probably the sole expert in his field. Previously he had been a factory owner. Regardless of this the Communists retained his services. He could keep his villa on Lake Balaton and his luxuriously furnished apartment in a prominent residential section of Budapest. He had an official car. I do not

know what his salary was, but his wife did not have to work. They were able to afford parties and entertained many guests.

The low standard of living in Hungary during the last eight years can be attributed to the reparation deliveries and to the disadvantageous trade agreements with the Soviet Union. For example, in 1954 when the Hungarian grain crop was exceptionally poor, the Soviet Union took away five million centners of wheat and other grains, and Hungary was compelled to import grain from France and Afghanistan. Another example of the disadvantageous trade agreements are the Hungarian locomotive deliveries to the Soviet Union. The Soviets prescribed that the locomotives to be delivered to them should be built with special axles imported from Germany. The axles cost the Hungarian government much more than it got for the complete locomotive from the Soviet Union. Another example is the price of eggs. In Hungary when the market price of an egg was two forints the Soviet accepted egg shipments at a rate of three fillers an egg.

B. After being freed from prison in June, 1956 I worked only for four months in Hungary. My average monthly pay was 900 forints. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ % was deducted for trade union fees, old age pensions, and bachelors tax. I did not receive any premiums or extra pay. I had no family allowances. I had no secondary source of income nor part-time job. As I am a bachelor, no one else worked in my family. I did not get any special wage increase during the last five years. My pay was increased when there were pay adjustments in general. At the same time prices increased comparatively much more than our salaries were raised.

C. I purchased very little food myself in Communist Hungary. As I ate my meals in the office cafeteria or small snack bars I purchased only bread or perhaps cold-cuts on weekends. I did most of my purchasing in the

Kozert stores and bought only fruit on the free market. The price of fruit on the free market was somewhat higher than in the Kozert stores, but the quality was much better and the difference in price was worth it.

There were some items which were not available in the Kozert stores. For example, bacon and pure lard. The lard which was available in the Kozert stores was always adulterated with margarine and oil.

There were differences in price between the two markets and the price difference varied. In general, it can be said that the Kozert prices were set prices fixed by the government. They did not change at all. The prices remained the same even when the Kozert stores were unable to supply the items. On the other hand, the free market prices were governed by the laws of supply and demand. When there was a scarcity of some kind of goods the prices would increase.

I bought very little clothes in Hungary during the last three years. I have only bought a raincoat and a pair of shoes. The shoes were custom made by a small shoemaker. He charged me 520 forints. At the same time these shoes would have been available at 360 forints in a government department store, but the quality was incomparably better ~~than the ready-made shoes.~~ than the ready-made shoes.

It was impossible to buy ready-made clothes in private stores because only government department stores carried ready-made clothes. One was able to have clothes made to measure in a tailors' cooperative or in a small tailor's shop, but this was far more expensive than ready-made clothes.

The retail distribution of commodities in Hungary was very disorganized and involved much bureaucratic ~~and~~ red tape. Even the Communists

themselves admitted this and the Communist comic papers ridiculed the conditions in the government and in other stores. For example, neckties were sent to villages and kerchiefs worn only by peasant women were sent to Budapest.

It was extremely difficult to get standard spare parts.

For years there was an acute shortage of meat and lard. The average Budapest family ate meat only once a week. Housewives had to line up for hours in order to get some meat for their families.

There was considerable ~~in~~ black-marketing in Hungary. This is evident from the severity of the sentences imposed on black-market operators. When there was a shortage of any kind, either commodities or industrial products, the black-market immediately began to operate. I do not know how the black-market was organized.

Usually the merchant who sold other things also sold black-market products, but only to reliable friends or acquaintances. I don't think that any storekeeper dared to demand a higher price for anything which was scarce. But, there was a tendency to link sales with less desirable products. Mostly the scarce items were set aside for ~~my~~ ~~my~~ acquaintances and friends who were willing to pay a higher price.

D. During my last four months in Hungary I was employed as a laborer on the construction project in Budapest. I lived at the workers' barracks not far ~~fr~~ off. We worked approximately ten hours a day. We were paid on a piece performance basis and even so our foreman told us if he were strict in computing our wages we would not be getting half as much as we were getting.

In general I was satisfied with my job. In prison I had promised myself never to accept

a white collar job in Communist Hungary. This was probably the best job I could have had. I enjoyed working outdoors.

There were about 150 to 200 workers employed on this construction project. All of them were experts in their fields. Even the skilled laborers knew their business. I got along very well with my foreman and with my co-workers. In general, the superiors were quick to praise good work and to denounce ~~anything~~ anything done wrong.

The Hungarian trade union vacation programs were not the best. The average worker could go on such a vacation only once every ten years. As I've mentioned before it was extremely difficult to get assignments to health resorts for wife and husband together. Children were barred in principle and only the top Communists could take their families with them. There were special resorts set aside for them and for the members of the AVH. The children were sent to pioneer camps. About 30% or 40% of the children could be sent there, but parents were very reluctant to do so because of the ill repute these camps had. It was enough for one or two pregnant girls to return from there to scare all mothers away.

The socialized health service in Hungary was fairly good. It was much better than the previous health service had been under the Horthy regime. Medical examinations and treatments were very good but there was a shortage of hospital beds and there was a waiting list of one or two or even more weeks.

The pensions were very low and everyone complained that they were unable to live on their pensions. The Communists promised higher pensions, but only in the future.

E. I am so devoted to music and so interested in concerts and operas that I would prefer to live only in the city, preferably Budapest.

Undeniably, the agricultural workers ate much better food than the city workers. The standard of living was higher in the city. But, politically, it was probably easier in the villages because there were less Communists there and people dared to speak more openly. However, the class war was stronger in the villages.

When the collectivization of farms was first introduced in Hungary I did not approve of it. I knew that the peasants would be very reluctant to give up individual farming. As a result I expected that agricultural production would decline and prices would increase. It would affect me indirectly only thru increased prices.

I disapprove of the way agricultural collectivization program had been carried out in Hungary.

I heard of collectives being dissolved in 1953 immediately after Imre Nagy's speech promising to dissolve cooperatives if the cooperative members did not wish to continue collective farming. Collective farmers everywhere in Hungary came together and dissolved the cooperatives that very night. In many places they even distributed the grain which had been harvested. In many ~~part~~ places the Party Secretaries were chased away and there were one or two cases of lynching.

The ideal agricultural system for an independent Hungary must be entirely free and void of government control. A system of small peasant farms based on intensive agriculture and orchard farming would be the most ideal.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1945 I was not interested in politics at all. From 1945 to '48 I was very much interested in it because I knew that our future was a stake. After 1948 when it was evident that the Communists had come to power, I was interested in politics because one has to know ones enemies.

Before 1948 I sympathized with the Hungarian Small Holders party. I saw the weak points in the programs of every party, but I liked the Small Holders best because their politicians were not Moscow trained. They were at least Hungarians. Before 1948 I also sympathized with the Hungarian Social Democratic party because at that time they also opposed the Communists.

I heard about the blood baths staged by Bela Kun and his cronies during the first Communism in 1818-1819. I disapproved of it. I did not know anything about the existance of the Hungarian Communist party during World War II. Only after the war did I read numerous accounts of their 'deeds' and the large size of their underworld.

My views of the Hungarian Communist party have not changed basically after 1948. From 1945 to 1948 I was very much concerned to see that all key positions in Hungary were occupied by Communists. They could easily do so because Hungary was occupied by the Soviets.

B. Very few Communist party members are Communist by conviction. The second large group of Communist party members consists of those people who joined to achieve careers. There were still others who were compelled to join in order to maintain their jobs or to get employment. A very large number of the Party members automatically

became Party members after the merger of the Social Democratic party with the Hungarian Communist party, which created the Hungarian Workers party.

I think that many Communists who joined with good intentions and with convictions at the very beginning, soon were forced to see and realize what was going on in the Hungarian Communist party and became disillusioned. It is another question whether they were able to do anything about it.

The policy of the Hungarian Communist party constantly changed during the last eight years. These changes were caused by Moscow changes of Party policy. We knew very well if a personnel change occurred in the Soviet Union a change could be expected in the Communist party of Hungary, and also in Czechoslovakia, Poland and in the other satellites. We knew that if there were a Mhdzenty trial in Hungary, there would be a Visinsky trial in Poland.

We were aware of differences within the Hungarian Communist party. The Party faction which achieved the majority and which was in power never failed to criticize the minority or the faction which had lost power. From these criticisms one could ~~in confirm~~ conclude that there were strong differences of opinion within the Party.

If by Party morale we mean the relation of the Party members to the Party then the following ~~must~~ must be taken into consideration: The Hungarian Communist Party had a much larger membership comparatively than the Soviet Communist party. The Party was not able to satisfy the demands of all Party members concerning jobs and advantages. This created a dissatisfaction among Party members. Also, the Party was forced, from

time to time, to screen its membership, and to reduce the number of its members. Screenings were conducted on the basis of class origin and political activities, and also the work which one is doing for the Party.

Party discipline was very strong and no Party member was ever able to express his true opinion of Party policy.

In course of my work for the Central Bureau for Statistics I was able to see and observe closely such top Communists as Zoltan Vas, Mr. Fikler, and Mrs. Aladar Mod. All three of them belong to the upper fifty Communists in Hungary. MY impression of them is that they are not Communists by conviction, but fanatics. They are intelligent people and should see the weak and feeble explanations offered by the Moscow Communists for practically everything. However, they accepted everything as dogma and did not even think it advisable to think about its veracity.

My impression of top Hungarian Communists is that they are very ambitious, very anxious to succeed, and to appear in public. Allegedly, they are very simple people and are not interested in material advantages. However, all of them have luxurious American cars, live in luxurious villas, have private tennis courts and swimming pools, etc.

Economically and politically the top Hungarian Communists do not have personality and are mere puppets. However, in other respect they do have personality because they differ from each other.

It is very difficult to determine the true motives and convictions of the Hungarian top Communists. I was never able to determine whether or not they were well intentioned or diabolic.

When Hungary is independent all top Hungarian Communists must be made to answer for their crimes. If they are not guilty of any capital crime they should be exiled to an island and there create a Communist society of their own.

C. There has been constant opposition to Communism in Hungary. This is evidenced by the over-crowded prisons. Only a small portion of the people resisting or conspiring against the regime were found out.

Grumbling against the regime and general dissatisfaction with political and economic conditions were constant. The Hungarian peasantry sabotaged compulsory planned deliveries wherever it could. Where there was a possibility to ~~not~~ avoid control as, for example, in the raising and harvesting of corn, the government was never able to achieve more than a 70% completion of its crop delivery program.

The industrial workers were also dissatisfied. The opposition was expressed not only by grumbling, but also by cheating in ~~many~~ norms. Open strikes were quite out of the question. I think that opposition behavior was higher at the time when norms were tightened and wages reduced.

I do not think that such opposition behavior was very effective.

The intelligentsia also opposed Communism and sabotaged it silently. For example, the technical intelligentsia did not work very ~~well~~ willingly and did not take any actions to correct faults in organization or production.

Many outstanding Hungarian intellectuals were also opposed to Communism. For example, such outstanding poets as Gyula Illyes were reluctant to write about Communist subjects. They wrote poems secretly which were made public only during and after the revolution. Such outstanding

musicians as, for example, Zoltan Kodaly also opposed Communist regime.

I heard from a reliable source that when Zoltan Kodaly had been awarded the Kossuth Prize, which was 35,000 forints at that time, he told Minister Gero that he doesn't need the money for himself but is accepting it to buy a piano for a very talented student of his whom he was hardly able to bring back from deportation.

At the time when the Petofi Circle was organized I was still in prison. We heard some rumors about the Petofi Circle and its debates in prison, but did not know much about it. When I was freed in the summer of 1956 I learned much about the Petofi Circle and its activities thru the newspaper 'Irodalmi Ujsag'.

I do not know of any intellectual ferment before the Petofi Circle. The significance of the intellectual revolt as can be seen in the Petofi meetings was that the intellectuals dared to express their views everyone had been professing all along. They created the freer atmosphere which gave the revolution the courage to oppose the regime.

I think that the intellectuals are mostly practical people. I have a good opinion of them.

The intellectuals were satisfied with materially with the advantages given them by the regime, but they could no longer tolerate the intellectual slavery to which they were condemned. They saw that a new era was beginning in the Soviet Union and they thought that probably they could change the atmosphere at home also.

## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The members of the Hungarian secret police were the scum of ~~the~~ Hungarian society. They were people who did not want to work, who were ~~not~~ sadists, and were willing to do anything for money.

I had a cell-mate in prison, a ~~former~~ former AVH officer, a captain by the name of Akos Papp. He told me many things about himself. He said that he had two apartments in Budapest under two different names. He had personal identification cards for five names. He was a captain assigned to the foreign currency group of the AVH. He also was a qualified mason. Whenever there were repairs to be done on legation buildings, diplomatic corps apartments, or churches he was sent to do them. He used this opportunity to take photographs and to observe who were the people who went to such places. He boasted that his salary was from 5000 to 6000 forints a month and that he was also able to ~~make~~ make much money on the side. I knew of another AVH major who was imprisoned because on one occasion he found \$10,000 in the possession of a suspect and kept the money.

I do not know of any AVH men who had remorse or pangs of conscience and wanted to leave the service.

When Hungary is independent I think that every AVH man should answer for his deeds.

In comparison to the AVH the Hungarian Blue Police force handled only common crimes and economic crimes. I don't think that the police force was very much influenced by Communism. Only the top leaders of the police force were Communists. This is evident from the conduct of the Blue Police during the revolution. They

acted entirely indifferently in the first stage of the revolution, and readily handed over their arms and ammunition to the insurgents.

I don't think that the Communist Blue Police force was as efficient as its counterpart during the Horthy regime. The Communists fired the skilled, experienced policemen who were heading the police department under the Horthy regime, and they did not as yet have time to train a staff of their own. Also, it must be taken into consideration that the underworld during the Communist regime increased because of economic reasons.

B. I don't think that Communist accusations that the courts of the Horthy regime were biased were true. I think that the courts at that time functioned very well and they were independent of the government.

The People's Courts were set up in Hungary in 1945 and '46. They tried war crime charges. Not all of the war criminals sentenced by these courts were guilty. Unquestionably, those war criminals who persecuted and murdered others were guilty. But, in many cases, the sentences of the People's Courts were unjust. They depended largely on the influence of the Communist Party delegate in the court Senate.

Later, the Communists revised many of the sentences of the People's Courts and even passed stiffer sentences.

C. I do not know what role the Hungarian army played in the revolution outside Budapest. I only know that events in Budapest.

In Budapest only two barracks, the Killian and the Karoly barracks, participated in the fighting as a whole in the first stage of the revolution. After the Russian withdrawal from Budapest, the

other barracks also issued declarations that they too were siding with the revolution, but up til then only individual deserters or small groups of deserters had taken part in the fighting from the other barracks.

Geographical differences also had an influence on the conduct of the various army units. For example, the army units in western Hungary, where there were comparatively few Russians, and the ones who were there as, for example, in Győr, had been there for a long time, there was no fighting and the soldiers were more inclined to side with the revolution. In eastern Hungary where the proximity of the Russian border and the presence of large Russian troops depressed the soldiers, their participation was ~~at~~ on a smaller scale.

I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the soldiers and officers which could be attributed to class origin.

In general it can be said that the enlisted men, especially the new recruits who were not so much under discipline as yet, were the ones who participated more enthusiastically in the fighting. The NCOs also favored the revolution. Many of the higher officers sided with the revolution but most of them were either indifferent or conducted sabotage in favor of the Communists.

I think that perhaps in the fighting the city boys from industrial worker families were more at home and acted braver than the peasant boys.

I do not know of any general rule with which to explain the participation of some ~~units~~ units as a whole whereas others remained on the side of the Communists. It is probably the influence of the commanding officers and their political convictions.

I was not surprised by the conduct of the Hungarian army during the revolution. I even expected more of them. In the second stage of the revolution when the Russians were returning, they could have offered stiffer resistance. The lack of their participation is due to the fact that top Communist officers who had not been removed from the army were sabotaging efforts to fight against the Soviets. Also, the arrest of Colonel Maleter and other top army officers caused much confusion in the army and there was no one to issue orders.

I think however that had the participation of the army in the second stage of the revolution been more organized and more effective, even that would have only prolonged the fighting in Budapest, but would not have altered the final outcome.

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

D. I think that the ~~unpopularity~~ unpopularity of the Soviet troops in Hungary is due to their conduct in 1944 and '45, not to the participation of the Russian troops in defeating the Kossuth rebellion of 1948.

I was not at home at the time when the Russians entered Hungary. I was in Austria and Germany. But, the press and radio had informed us of the advance and how the Russian army behaved in newly occupied territories. Their subsequent conduct in Hungary proved these reports correct.

My opinion of the Russian army had not improved since 1945.

I had practically no contact at all with Russian occupation troops in Hungary after the war. I knew of their presence, but had no opportunity to speak with them, and received no direct information concerning them from friends. I know,

however, that their presence in Hungary was resented all along and they were unpopular.

During the revolution I had no contact whatever with the Russian soldiers. I spoke with one, that is, a friend who spoke Russian spoke with one in my presence. This I already mentioned. This was the incident on Parliament Square, when the Russian tank operator said that they are going home, which was not true.

On another occasion a friend of mine spoke with the Russians and they asked him questions on where the Suez Canal was, etc. I am convinced that the Russians knew very well where they were and ~~against~~ against whom they were fighting. They asked such ~~stupid~~ stupid questions only to make the population believe that they are innocent of fighting against them.

When I was attempting to escape to Austria I, on two occasions, was caught by Russians. They let us go when we bribed them with wrist watches and money.

Otherwise I knew nothing about the conduct or the views of the Russians stationed in Hungary or participating in the Revolution.

I know of no cases where ~~Soviet~~ Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, refused to obey their superiors, deserted, fought against the AVH or against each other. I think that no such cases really occurred

I know of one occasion when a Soviet armored car was hit on Szeng Square. The two Russians who remained alive ran into the nearest house, and there forced the civilian population to gather around them. They wanted to protect themselves in this was against being shot.

From a reliable source I heard that during the second stage of the revolution on Moricz Zsigmond Square when the local state department store there was on fire, the Russians went into the air raid

shelters of the houses facing the Square and demanded that the men come and put out the fire. About ~~thirty~~ <sup>forty</sup> men brought out of the air-raid shelters and they were fired on by the Russians in the middle of the Square. All forty died with the exception of one person who pretended to be dead. He stayed there among the bodies until late at night when he was able to creep away. On another ~~many~~ occasion a Soviet tank coming from the direction of Kelenfold Railroad station passed a long line of mostly women waiting for bread in front of a bakery on Bartok Bela Road. The tank passed the line, stopped, turned around, and machine gunned the line. Five people were killed. This very same tank went further and fired a shell into a restaurant where a many people were eating lunch. There five or six persons were also killed.

E. In Communist Hungary it is very often happened that rural local councils were inclined to disregard government orders in favor ~~xxxx~~ of the people. The reason for this was that the local councils stood closer and sympathized more with the people of the villages than with the government in Budapest. Such exceptions occurred most in connection with the compulsory delivery of crops.

F. It was possible to resort to bribes where large financial interests were involved. For example, one could bribe the officials of the housing authority in order to get an apartment. An official caught accepting a bribe would be imprisoned.

Much could be done with proper contacts and influence. There was a large degree of nepotism among top Communists. Their relatives were always placed in lucrative posts. This was revealed only after the downfall of the person concerned. ~~It~~ Then even the papers wrote about it.

G. I did not have any opportunity to meet an

AVH officer who was higher in rank than a captain. My impression of the AVH officers whom I met was that they were not very intelligent, but they knew their business. The AVH was a diabolically clever and well organized police force. I suspect that the top leaders of the AVH were intelligent and gifted. They also spoke foreign languages.

I do not have a very high opinion of the talent and intelligence of the Hungarian army leadership. I had an army officer friend who once taught tactics and strategy in the school for Hungarian staff officers. He laughingly told me that he is teaching them strategy in the morning and in the afternoon the same future general staff officers are studying spelling and grammar from a school teacher. However, all administration of the army was done by Soviet experts who were sent to Hungary and already spoke the Hungarian language. Especially the counter-intelligence work in Hungary was done by such Soviet experts.

Hungarian public administration was full of new cadres, that is ex-workers, and farmers who had a talent for office work and public administration, but did not have the proper experience. However, there were many more officers of the past regime in the public administration than in any other government branch.

### XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. The Communists in Moscow and in Budapest know very well what the situation in Hungary is. They know that the revolt of last October was not a revolt instigated by Western agents and counter-revolutionists. It was the expressed dissatisfaction of the entire Hungarian nation.

To avoid the possibility of recurrence of such a revolution the Communists in Hungary will tighten their policy and go back to the 1950-'51 terror. They will liquidate everyone who may be dangerous to them. Kadar will remain in government. He cannot be more unpopular than he is now. But, it seems that the Soviets are reluctant to place Rakosi or Gero back in power because they fear that this may provoke another revolt.

Outside Hungary the armament race will continue. The Soviet Union is reshuffling its economy in preparation for war.

Our only hope is that an agreement may be reached between the East and West concerning the creation of a neutral zone in Europe which would include also Hungary.

I do not think that a Polish type solution would be acceptable to the people at home.

In the age of atomic weapons I do not desire a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. But, perhaps the people at home in the bitterness would be willing to accept even the hazards of an atomic war if it meant the liberation from Communism and the Soviet Union.

I think that war between the East and West is inevitable. When it will occur I do not know. It will come when the United States realizes that

its very existence is in jeopardy.

I do not think that any international pressure on the Soviet Union would solve the problem without war. The Soviet Union realizes very well that once it makes a small concession then the whole Soviet system will collapse. The death of Stalin has not changed Soviet ideology concerning Communist expansion. The Communists, to keep up their prestige, must achieve further victories and wants to expand.

I don't think that any changes within the Soviet Union are likely. If none has occurred in the past forty-some years, none will occur now.

B. During the past ten years we first expected that the militaristic policy of Stalin and his associates would provoke war, the outcome of which would solve Hungary's independence. We knew that the Hungarian and Polish soldiers would not fight against the Western world on the side of the Russians. Events in Korea, in Berlin, and elsewhere strengthened our hopes and it seemed that a war would break out.

There was a change in Soviet policy. We thought that there would be some agreement between the East and West which would mean the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary, and the establishment of a new regime.

When Hungary was being admitted for United Nations membership we thought that the acceptance of Hungary in the U.N. would be tied to conditions which it would have to fulfill. We thought that international control would be exercised in Hungary over free elections. And in the course of these free elections Communism would be swept away.

Later it turned out that all these hopes were false and everyone was embittered. Now I think

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the people at home are hoping only for a war to solve their problems.

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

A. In an independent Hungary I would like to see a modern democratic system based on Western principles of democracy.

B. Hungary is primarily an agricultural country. Therefore, emphasis in an independent Hungary should be placed on agriculture. Hungary has very few industrial resources, but she has an abundance of labor. Therefore, light industry should be developed instead of heavy industry. I think that especially the textile and chemical industries should be developed.

The Communists have attributed too much importance to Hungarian heavy industry. It is primarily ~~is~~ serving military purposes. The production of tanks and arms should be discontinued in Hungary. In their place it would be more advisable to manufacture modern agricultural machinery to raise the level of agriculture in Hungary,

Once the Communists are overthrown I think that a special committee consisting of government representatives, industrial experts, and representatives of the people should decide what should be done ~~with~~ with the national enterprises. The general tendency in Western Europe is to nationalize the key heavy industries and to keep them under government control. I think that would be the best solution also in Hungary. But, for the light industries, the freedom of enterprise should be insured.

There will be no kolchoz problem in Hungary once independence is gained. The Communist rule only cracked a bit and the kolchozes all disappeared. The state farms should continue to operate as model farms for breeding and crop

improvement and research purposes.

The people at home are accustomed to the national ownership of transportation facilities. The railroads, etc. have been built by the state itself. This is customary everywhere in Europe. The people at home probably approve also of the nationalization of the key industries, but the vast majority will favor free enterprise in other industries.

In an independent Hungary agriculture should be entirely free and not controlled by the government. The government should act only in an advisory capacity. It should provide the skilled agricultural experts to give advice to the peasantry. But, this advice should not be compulsory.

If I had to choose between a dictatorship granting an insured standard of living, and a democracy which insured freedom, but not a standard of living, I would without hesitation choose the latter. If the people at home are willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom, then I think they would not hesitate in sacrificing material advantages.

I don't think it would be necessary to outlaw the Communist party in an independent Hungary. There would be no Communist membership.

C. The example of not only Austria, but Switzerland and Sweden show that neutrality leads to prosperity and to a better life. But, in spite of all this, I think it would be much better for Hungary to belong to a Western alliance like West Germany's, because it is better not to be isolated but to participate in the activities of a larger community.

Hungary has had such bitter experiences with relations with the Soviet Union that I don't think anyone in Hungary would want to maintain any kind of relations whatever with the Soviet Union. The Russian people are an entirely different question. Once the Communist regime changes and ceases in the Soviet Union, then the question of relations can be reconsidered.

Hungary should have close economic, military, and cultural relations with the other eastern European countries, because they too should belong to a Western alliance.

With the rest of Europe and with the United States, Hungary should maintain the closest possible cultural, economic, and military relations.

I have heard at home about plans of a Danubian federation. Such plans are obsolete today. They originated a century ago. I don't think it would be desirable because the tendency today is toward the formation of larger units. The plans of a united stated of Europe are much more acceptable to everyone at home.

I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. To every impartial observer it is evident that the boudaries established by the ~~xxxx~~ World War I peace treaties are unjust. Large ethnical groups are living in the neighboring countries along the Hungarian border.

I am concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the ~~in~~ neighboring countries. In the past decades many of them have been expelled from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Many had to flee from Rumania. But, although all these ~~xxxx~~ problems are vital, I ~~xxxx~~ think they will be solved by the creation of a United States of Europe.

I think these problems are important to everyone at home, although at present everyone is concerned with more pressing problems of Communism and their very existance.

#### XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Regrettably, before the revolution I heard nothing about Khrushchev's secret speech, because, at that time, I was under arrest. We were ~~was~~ better informed before my arrest. For example, when Malenko resigned, although there was no radio in the office, within two hours everyone knēw but the Party members ↗

The official Hungarian newspapers were very bitter about Senator McCarthy and his Un-American Activities Committee. They charged him with witch hunting and the persecution of Communists. He was branded a fascist. All this made him popular to the people at home.

We heard that Peron was ousted in Argentina, but we were not very interested in these events, because they did not affect us personally.  
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Most of ~~my~~ information concerning Rakosi's private life before the revolution originated from Western radio sources. Western broadcasts informed the public at home that a new villa was being built for Rakosi, ~~with~~ a private swimming pool, a new air-raid shelter, etc. I also had a friend whose relative was a cook in one of the top government villas on Szechenyi hegy. He heard from her that Rakosi has to observe a very strict diet because he is very ill. Otherwise, he told us hair-raising accounts of the luxury and of the parties which were conducted in these villas. He also mentioned that the attitude of the AVH car drivers and guards was also very interesting. Their attitude could be summed up in 'Leb's live today, because who knows what will happen to us tomorrow.'

B. During the past ten years our best source of

news was the foreign radio broadcasts. The second most important news source was the foreign newspapers which were admitted to the country. These were mostly Communist or Social Democratic papers and one had to read them with certain reservations.

Finally, there was also news which we acquired by word of mouth.

C. News received by word of mouth concerned mostly domestic events. We received it regularly from friends, because we always discussed the political situation. During the past years of life in Hungary practically all news received from other friends by word of mouth was reliable because by then we were able to judge who was reliable and who was not. Persons who told news which proved to be false were reluctant to give any more news because they had been embarrassed by the inaccuracy of their previous news.

D. (Omitted because of the time element)

## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Since, after Stalin's death, no revolution broke out in the Soviet Union when it could be most expected, I don't think that any changes within the Soviet can be expected now.

It is very difficult to foresee what would happen in the Soviet Union if free elections were to be held there. The Soviet people know no other system than Communism. However, I think that if really true and free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union and the people would be convinced of this, fearing no trickery, then, Communism would be defeated even in the Soviet Union. I base my opinion on the fact that there only four or ~~six~~ five million Party members within the Soviet Union and it can be expected that not all of them are Communists by conviction.

What I said about the Hungarian top leaders also applies to the top Russian Communist leaders. All of them, whether Hungarian, Russian, Czechoslovak, or Rumanian or Chinese are the products of the same school. Their mentality, their purposes and aims are identical. There is ~~perhaps~~ perhaps only a difference in hierarchy, because the Hungarian and other satellite Communists receive their orders from Moscow. However, the top Soviet leaders are also dependent ~~on~~ upon the Communist party in the Soviet Union. They, too, are not absolute leaders.

B. From among the countries mentioned Poland is the most popular in Hungary because of the traditional historical Hungarian-Polish friendship. Second most popular country is Yugoslavia because the Yugoslavs have shown the most character and are very strongly opposed to Moscow.

The least popular is Rumania and the second least popular is Czechoslovakia. Both countries have persecuted Hungarian minorities in their countries, and are especially unpopular because of their conduct in the recent revolution.

If true free elections were to be held in these countries and the people were convinced that the elections were not rigged and no consequences would ~~arise~~ arise, then Communism would be defeated everywhere, even in Yugoslavia.

The standard of living is highest in East Germany and the second highest in Czechoslovakia. The standard of living is the lowest in Rumania and the second lowest in Bulgaria.

In Poland Gomulka's government had represented a virtual change from what was there previously, but it is questionable whether Gomulka will be permitted to remain in power or not. If he insists on conducting stiff opposition to the Russians and Soviet influence, he will be ousted. He has already made certain concessions to the Russians.

I do not think that events in Poland had a great influence on the Hungarian revolution. The Hungarian revolution would have occurred regardless of events in Poland. The Hungarian university students had already listed their demands and had decided to hold demonstrations before events in Poland broke out.

There may have been some thaw in Poland already before Gomulka's rise to power. We heard of the Poznan riots although the Hungarian newspapers ~~the~~ tried to play down its significance. We heard about them also over the foreign radio broadcasts.

I think that it would not have been better for Hungary to have ~~been~~ followed the path of the Polish revolution instead of the bloody revolution of last October. It is true that more

Hungarian lives would have been saved, but the Hungarian revolution was the traditional Hungarian way of doing things.

D. I do not think that Tito is the originator of national Communism. Virtually, Trotskyism is nothing else but national Communism. I think that Tito borrowed his ideas from Trotsky.

Tito was ousted from the Cominform because he refused to give Moscow complete control over internal affairs in Yugoslavia. Relations between ~~the~~ Tito and the other satellites in the initial area were better than his relations to Moscow. He wanted to woo the satellites and have them join his camp. In this he did not succeed. Relations with the Soviet Union improved only when the Soviet leaders visited Tito personally to ask his forgiveness.

As a Communist and as a Yugoslav ~~the~~ Tito sympathizes with the Soviet Union, but he also realizes that in his struggle for independence he can gain support only in the West against the Soviet Union. ~~the Soviet Union~~

I am not in favor of national Communism because Communism is Communism whether it is national or international.

At the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution Tito, as a Communist, disapproved of it and termed it also a counter-revolution. He had to fear the explosion of a similar revolution in his own country. On the other hand, he disapproved of the Moscow interference in Hungarian affairs. As a "gentleman" he also resented that the Soviets had given their word of honor to provide Imre Nagy and his party with safe conduct when they left the Yugoslav legation. The Soviet Union did not keep its promise.

I think that national Communist tendencies exist only in Poland, because what Gomulka is doing is virtually also national Communism. Czechoslovakia and East Germany are opposed to it. But, among the ordinary people there probably is a feeling that national Communism as a temporary solution is better than international Communism.

I don't think that Tito is very popular in Yugoslavia. Conditions there are worse than in Hungary. I gathered my impressions from a prison cell-mate who came from Yugoslavia. He left the country because of poor economic conditions there.

Tito's national Communism also is against religion and this, too, infuriates some of his people at home.

E. In my opinion Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal. The Suez Canal is an important water way from which depends the economic welfare of many countries. It cannot be placed in the management of one country alone, or be subject to the will or caprice or political beliefs of one person or party. However, I do not think that the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt was justified. This should have been solved peacefully, and I criticize the conduct of the United States in not forcing the issue before it came to war.

F. I think that the standard of living in West Germany is the highest in Europe. The Germans succeeded in putting their economy in ship-shape order. Now they are in a position to advance loans to France.

I do not think that the Germans are dangerous in starting off another war. Without arms, and without an army, without the money, they cannot do so.

As long as the Communist danger in Europe exists, and it will continue to exist despite any kind of agreement between East and West, I approve of the rearmament of West Germany.

I do not think that the West German army is stronger than the British or French armed forces.

I think that the length of compulsory military service in West Germany is eighteen months.

Neither the German nor the Russian occupation armies during World War II was popular in Hungary. But, the German occupation was more easily tolerated than the Russian one. The Germans did not rape the women. They courted them, took them to cinemas, and gave them a good time. It cannot be denied that the German officers and men acted much better disciplined than their Russian counterparts.

G. The NATO looks wonderful on paper. How it will work out in practice is yet to be seen.

Its main significance lies in the fact that it insures American participation in defending the boundaries and governments of European NATO countries.

The Warsaw Pact was allegedly formed to counter-balance NATO.

I think that the British Labor party is g progressive, but it is against Communism.

I think from the point of standard of living West Germany comes first, Great Britain second, Italy third, Greece fourth, Egypt fifth, and Soviet Union last.

H. On my arrival in the United States I was very much impressed by the very high standard of living in this country. This is evident in practically everything: the great many cars, the many ~~air~~ airplanes, the neat houses, the well furnished homes, the neatly dressed people, and even the features of people one sees on the streets. One does not

see the weary, tired, worried looks which is common in Europe.

I disapprove of American foreign policy in eastern Europe, because the American government is spending a tremendous amount of money to influence the opinion of the people at home against the Communist government. This is entirely superfluous. The Communists serve the best propaganda against themselves by their acts. It would be much better to devise some way of ending the Communist rule in these countries.

I approve of the American foreign policy of granting economic aid to Poland and Yugoslavia. This is excellent for not only propaganda purposes, but it also creates a link between East and West. It shows the Communist world that they cannot exist without Western aid.

I disapprove of America's unwillingness to give economic aid to Hungary. It is not being given to the Communist Kadar government, but it is given to the people of Hungary. It will help them to endure the time which they still have to ~~live~~ spend under Communist rule.

The American government should maintain only the most formal and diplomatic relations with the Kadar government.

I think that the people in Hungary would very much like to see more Western visitors. These visitors should be unofficial ones, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ Therefore, tourists have the first preference. These visitors should be warned to look at not only what they are ~~xxxxxxx~~ by the official Hungarian guides, ~~but~~ The information ~~is~~ to prospective visitors could be supplied by American personnel who were stationed in Hungary, and know the local situation, or by recent refugees.

I think that the people at home are wild with enthusiasm about getting more Western books and publications. The only possible way of getting them to the people is by offering the Hungarian government an ~~XXXXX~~ exchange of propaganda in publications program.

These publications are so highly regarded at home that it would be entirely indifferent to them who is associated with their delivery to Hungary.

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I do not have much information concerning the Marshall Plan. I know only the Soviet version. According to them America just wanted to dump its surpluses in Europe. What the political conditions to these Marshall loans were I do not know.

America participated in the Korean War only as one of the members of the United Nations armed forces. The military action in Korea was decided on by the UN to curb Communist expansion.

J. Since the Hungarian revolution I've seen that the United Nations is not worth more than the League of Nations after World War I. In the autumn and winter of 1956 the U.N. should have taken more effective action on Hungary. They should have talked less and acted more. They should have compelled Russia to withdraw its troops and not to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hungary. They should have stressed the fact that even on the basis of the Warsaw Pact the Soviet Union did not have a right to station troops in Hungary once the Hungarian participation in the Warsaw Pact had been revoked.

I do not see any hope, any chances of ~~effective~~ effective United Nations action for Hungary in the foreseeable future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDE TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I consider Zoltan Kodaly the greatest Hungarian today. He is giving strong opposition to Communism in Hungary. It is not by accident that they wanted to ~~not~~ elect him the chairman of the Provisional National Council in Hungary.

B. Imre Nagy was a much more moderate Communist than the other Communist leaders in Hungary. Because of his excellent record during the 1953 new ~~era~~ era when he, for a short time, was the head of the government, his person was acceptable in the first stage of the revolution to conduct the gradual severance of ties to the Soviet Union.

In the initial stage of the revolution Imre Nagy was entirely on the side of the Soviets. However, when the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Budapest, and Imre Nagy was ~~gr~~ free of his Soviet supervisors, then he, a person with good political feeling, ~~sensed~~ sensed that the people in Hungary want something other than a moderate form of Communism. He then turned his back on Communist principles, and perhaps because of personal ambitions headed the new trend which was entirely opposed to Soviet Communism, and Communism in general.

I have a very high opinion of Cardinal Mydzenty. Although I am not a Catholic I realize that because Hungary is strongly Catholic, Mydzenty's person is necessary in the initial period of a new era, because many persons who otherwise are not interested in politics will see in his person a guarantee that everything is being conducted in the right direction.

Laszlo Rijk is the organizer of the AVH. He became one of its victims. He deserved what he got.

Erno Gero is a very sinister and diabolical figure who, together with Zoltan Vas, conducted very shady transactions and acquired millions in the first two years after the war. He has no political talent. With a few well directed words he would have been able to sooth and quiet the demonstrators, and x to avoid the outbreak of the revolution. Instead, with a lack of caution which is surprising for a Communist, he used very strong words against the demonstrators and thereby poured oil on the fire.

I don't think that Janos Kadar is normal. Otherwise, I cannot explain that he, after being tortured so severely and brutally in Communist prisons, is siding with them.

I do not know anything about Bela Kiraly. I knew that he played some role in the revolution in its second stage, but did not participate in the fighting.

Anna Kethly belonged to the left-wing of the Social Democratic party at home. But, since she was not Communist trained, she had to be put out of the way in prison.

I have a very good opinion of President Eisenhower. He is a born leader; he ~~is~~ has a very good political feeling, and is a good statesman. I also see that he is popular here in the United States.

I also have a very good opinion of Secretary-General Hammarskjold. He is doing indefatigably what he can to preserve peace.

On the basis of what I read about State Secretary Dulles here in the U.S. since my arrival, my

impression is that he does not have foresight, which is essential for a man in his office. I also deplore the fact that top diplomatic assignments are not given on the basis of ability, but on the basis of wealth and social contact.

I had a very good opinion of Prime Minister Eden with the exception of one ~~unfortunate decision~~ with unfortunate decision concerning the invasion of Egypt.

During the Truman administration American foreign policy seemed to be much firmer toward the Soviet Union. ~~It is~~ than it is under the Eisenhower administration.

Mikoyan is a top Soviet Communist. I do not know anything much about him.

Prime Minister Nehru is not impartial. He regards everything from India's point of view. What is of interest to India, and what is advantageous to his country, determines Nehru's line of foreign policy.

I have a very low opinion of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek both as a soldier and as a statesman.

Ferenc Nagy deserted the country when the Communists were not yet in power. He ~~refused~~ let his party fall to pieces.

Roosevelt was a great statesman. However, his European foreign policy was very unfortunate.

Chancellor Adenauer is a very clever statesman and politician. It is a pity that he is so advanced in years.

Stalin was the cruelest dictator that ever lived in the world. He embodied all the faults and cruelties of Communism.

Malenkov is very ambitious. He is a mediocre politician.

Franco has created a dictatorship in Spain which is gradually weakening.

Bevan is one of the leaders of the British Labor party and therefore is a politically significant person.

On the basis of his recent television appearance, I think that Khrushchev is a very unintelligent person, politically very clumsy, and has very mediocre talent.

It must be admitted that from the Soviet point of view Molotov is a very clever foreign minister.

Ollenhauer is some kind of a Communist leader in Germany.

Churchill is an outstanding statesman and it is to be regretted that he had to retire because of his age.

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

A. The first large group of refugees to leave Hungary were the inhabitants of towns and cities along the Austrian-Hungarian border. They, on November the 4th, in panic and fear of Russian measures, fled to Austria in large groups of tens of thousands.

The second large groups of refugees were people, who for political reasons, had to fear the return of the Communists to power. These included mostly ex-political prisoners.

The third group was the Freedom Fighters, but they left Hungary well after November 4, when they saw that further resistance was impossible.

A large group of people came out of Hungary who took this opportunity to start life anew outside of Hungary. They either had the money or influential friends abroad who were able to assist them, and this made their decision to leave the country easier.

A large group of young people came out who, regardless of their participation in the revolution, left the country because they wanted adventure or to live under better conditions than those at home.

All social classes are equally represented among the refugees. I think about 60% of the refugees are under thirty. There are more males than females.

The people who remained at home were peasants who refused to leave their meagre possessions there, elderly people, or others who, for family reasons, were unable to leave.

I have one friend who had an opportunity to

come with me, but refused to do so because his brother had been arrested during the revolution by the Communists, and he did not wish to leave his elderly parents at home alone.

Many people remained at home because they believed that the general strikes would bring results, and, when it turned out that they were mistaken, it was impossible to get near the Austrian border.

If everyone had an opportunity to leave Hungary, I think very few people would remain.

B. I heard about the activities of Hungarian exile organizations and exile politicians over Radio Free Europe broadcasts. Essentially, we knew about these exile organizations and exile politicians only in that they existed and they were protesting ~~against~~ against the Communist rule in Hungary, and it was our impression that they were representing our interests.

Since my arrival in the United States I have had no contact ~~with~~ whatever with any exile organization or politician.

I knew who Bela Varga was at home. I also heard that he is here, and is the chairman of the Hungarian National Committee.

We have already discussed Ferenc Nagy.

I know that Tibor Eckhardt was a prominent member of the Hungarian Small Holders party before World War II. At the outbreak of the war he came to America.

Charles Peyer was a Social Democratic leader at home who was also politically active in the United States. He died during the revolution.

Miklos Kallay was a very good Hungarian prime minister during World War II. He is here in



D. I think that the people in Hungary are very much interested in knowing how the exiles are faring, and how they are settled in their new homelands.

I think that every exile should do his best to adjust himself to live in his new country.

I am not a member of any exile organization, nor do I wish to join any.

I do not know anything about the activities of the political parties in exile.

During the revolution I knew about the revival of the Hungarian political parties. To a certain extent this was premature. It served to distract attention from more vital problems. However, at least it can be said that for four days there was free political life in Hungary.

I don't think it would have been advisable for the politicians to have returned home and participated in the revival of the political parties. This would have given the Communists cause to say that the entire revolution had been staged by immigrants and Western agents.

E. I do not wish to return to Hungary, not even if Communism is overthrown. Maybe I will go back for a visit, but I want to settle here in the U.S.

I will want my children to learn Hungarian among other foreign languages here in the U.S. I want them also to have a knowledge of cultural situation and the history of Hungary.

## XIX. AUDIENCE TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

4. In Hungary I regularly listened to foreign radio broadcasts, especially to Radio Free Europe, to B.B.C., Voice of America, and sometimes to Radio Paris. The reception was best for the B.B.C. broadcasts. All stations were jammed. Probably Radio Free Europe programs were jammed the most. I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts, sometimes to German broadcasts from Austria and Germany. I prefer the B.B.C. programs. I usually told my friends what I had heard. This was a general topic of conversation. We always discussed what one had heard the previous night.

I listened to these programs usually on my own radio, ~~in~~ in the company of friends sometimes, but mostly alone. I took no special precautions when I listened to the ~~xxx~~ radio, but when I turned it off I usually changed to dial to another station.

It was not a criminal offense to listen to the radio broadcasts of foreign stations, but it was to talk about them. This was considered inciting against the people's democracy. It was not advisable to be caught listening to such programs, because it was easy for the Avh to ~~force~~ force a person to admit that he had told about these programs to others.

This danger did not deter many people from listening to foreign radio broadcasts, but it made them take care and be more cautious.

Listening to foreign stations and talking about ~~xxx~~ foreign broadcasts was especially severely punished in 1951 to '53. After the first Imre Nagy government it was regarded less severely.

The foreign broadcasts were very useful because they served to ~~inform~~ inform the people

at home not only of events abroad, but very often also of events which took place in Hungary.

I preferred the B.B.C. programs because the B.B.C. stations were easier to receive on my set and also because these programs were more impartial and more concise. I think that all foreign radio stations were fairly accurate and I was able to determine their accuracy by comparing them with each other.

These foreign broadcasts had a great effect in Hungary, especially in the first years of the Communist regime. Later on one got accustomed to them. I don't think they had any special role in the revolution.

In connection with Radio Free Europe broadcasts one had a feeling that this program was being edited for Hungary by Hungarians. It was more extensive than the other foreign broadcasts. The Free Europe programs also included cultural events and informed the public of the activities of the Hungarian writers, artists, musicians in exile. In this way, these programs served to counterbalance the effects of the pro-Soviet Hungarian culture one was getting at home.

There is some truth that Radio Free Europe promised help to the Freedom Fighters. This is true especially in the second half of the revolution when the Radio Free Europe announced 'Hold out until November 7. By then the presidential elections will be over and you will get help from the U.S. government.' This helped to extend the time of the second stage of the revolution. Were it not for these promises, then the revolution would have been over sooner with less bloodshed and less damages.

The programs of Radio Free Europe are excellent as they exist today, but it is not necessary to incite the people at home against Communism. They hate the Communists enough and know very well what Communism is, perhaps much better than the person who is broadcasting to them.

B. I think that I heard of the N.E.M. over Radio Free Europe.

I did not hear about the Twelve Demands, only the Sixteen Demands of the university students during the revolution.

C. I saw Radio Free Europe leaflets on two occasions: once in 1955 and once in 1956. They were brought to me by friends living in the country. I do not remember what the leaflets contained. They had news about America and about Hungary in general. Even the Hungarian newspapers wrote about the Free Europe leaflets when they protested against Americans sending leaflets into Hungary by balloon. I also heard about ~~people who had~~ heard about such leaflets from people who had seen balloons and picked up leaflets.

It was very dangerous to pick up Free Europe leaflets, to pass them on, or to keep them or talk about them. This was much more dangerous than listening to foreign radio broadcasts or to talk about such broadcasts. I do not know of any changes in this respect during the last ten years. Probably it was the same as with radio broadcasts. At one time, especially from 1951 to '53, it was treated more seriously than later.

The leaflets sent in to Hungary by balloons were very interesting in as much as they informed the people about life outside of Hungary. I do not know of any special role that they played before or during the revolution.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue to send leaflets in to Hungary. These leaflets should contain news about cultural developments in the Western world, and it also should give the people at home hope. But, this hope should be based on realities and not mere promises.

It should not consist of mere promises which are obviously untrue.

D. The purposes of all organizations and Western groups broadcasting and sending leaflets in to Hungary is to counterbalance Communist propaganda and to show its falsehoods. I do not know of any differences in the goals or motives of the various organizations.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. The most important things to ~~xxx~~ teach a child is fear of and belief in God, honesty, and love of freedom.

I disapprove of physical punishment, but regrettably very few people know how to discipline children without it.

I think there should be no ~~ft~~ difference ~~in~~ in the treatment of boys and girls from the point of view of discipline.

As ~~mm~~ children grow older and grow more mature then a difference should be made in the treatment of boys and girls.

To the best of my knowledge, my mother never beat me. My father died when I was eighteen months old. For a ~~ii~~ few years I had a step-father who, on one occasion, hit me in the nose so that it bled. I know that I resented it very much, but I am unable to recall why he hit me.

I think that among my friends it was usually the father who punished the children over six years. This did not depend on the sex ~~mi~~ of the child nor on its age. I do not know of any differences according to the social classes. I do not know of any changes in this respect during the last ten years.

Both physical punishment ~~xxxx~~ and punishment in general are abandoned for boys and girls usually at the age when they begin to support themselves. I do not know of any changes in this respect according to social classes.

Due to the fact that people were inclined to live a closer family life, there was much more mutual understanding within the family I think that the frequency of parental punishment declined during Communism. I do not know of any changes in the

kind of punishment nor at the age at which it was abandoned.

The Communists abolished corporal punishment in schools. I do not know what other techniques they used instead.

~~of~~ The traits I value most in a friend are character and reliability.

Many friendships ceased under Communism, especially when one friend joined the Communist party and the other did not.

T H E            E N D