

Interviewee: M. Ivanko  
Date: July 5&14, 1957  
Place: N.Y.C.

I. PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. 68-M
2. Age 45
3. Male
4. Widower since 1945
5. Roman Catholic
6. Born in Budapest
7. Spent most of his life in Budapest
8. When the revolution broke out respondent had his permanent address in the 8th district of Budapest on Mat yas Square near the Killina Barracks. However, he was not in Budapest at that time; he was employed on a construction project near the uranium mines in southern Hungary, just outside the city of Pecs.
9. In 1936, as a reinlisted non-commissioned officer, respondent was assigned for messenger duty in the Hungarian legation in Prague, Czechoslovakia. From 1936 to 1938 he served in the same capacity in the Hungarian legation in Bukarest. After the war he was a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union.
10. Respondent entered the Hungarian army in 1931. After two years of compulsory military service, he reinlisted as a non-commissioned officer. He left the Hungarian army in 1939, but then war broke out and he was recruited for military service and served all through the war.
11. His education consists of six grades of elementary school and three grades of apprentice school.

68-M

12. From 1926 to 1929 respondent was a painter's apprentice in Budapest. He ended his apprenticeship in 1929 and worked as a painter in Budapest until he entered military service in 1931. He served continuously until 1945, the end of World War II. He was then taken a prisoner of war to the Soviet Union. He returned in 1947. He worked for a few months in a screw factory in Csepel. From here he was fired because the Party secretary found out that he had been a non-commissioned officer in the Horthy army. Until 1949 he did odd jobs, mostly for Budapest teamsters. In 1949 he wanted to flee Hungary, because he found out that the police were looking for him on a war crimes charge. Unable to cross the border at that time, he went into hiding and lived for two years in a hay stack in Rakospalota. Friends gave him food and clothing. In 1951 he again attempted to cross the border illegally. This time he succeeded in going to Czechoslovakia. He was captured by the Czechoslovak secret police beyond Prague. He was returned to Hungary, spent long months in the AVH prison, and was sentenced to 5½ years on a war crimes charge and for attempting to cross the border illegally. The war crimes charge was brought against him because he had been involved in the execution of some partisans in the Soviet Union.
13. Respondent's father is presumably alive. His last address was Nove Zamky, Czechoslovakia. Respondent has had no contact with him since 1945. His mother died when respondent was only three years old.
14. Has three half-brothers and half-sister in Czechoslovakia. Exact address unknown.
15. Has one married daughter in Budapest.

16. Left November 15, 1956
17. Arrived in U.S. December 17, 1956
18. Since his arrival in the U.S. he has been in Milwaukee, N.Y.C., and Westport, Conn.
19. Respondent would like to find more permanent employment in his profession. He is a painter and interior decorator.
20. Has not been interviewed by any Western organizations since leaving Hungary.
21. He speaks German and some Rumanian and Bohemian.
22. Took an active part in the fighting and demonstrations.

Character description:

Respondent is a 45 year old industrial worker and craftsman. His father was also an industrial worker. He is tall, thin, clean but very poorly dressed. Does not have much education, (Only six grades and three years of apprentice school.) but has a vast amount of common sense and very good judgement. Is composed and calm usually, but betrays strong feelings when speaking about the Russians and Communists. His bitterness can be attributed to the fact that his wife and two children were killed by a Russian bomb during the war. He has ~~been in prison for five years~~ spent over a year in a Russian prisoner of war camp, and has been imprisoned ~~2~~ 5½ years by the Communists. He is very modest about his participation in the fighting. He mentioned in rather a casual way that he shot out three Russian tanks personally. He did not attribute much importance to this, and considered it something natural. He sees clearly the mistakes and deficiencies of the Horthy regime, but prefers it 1000 times to the Communist regime.



16. Left November 15, 1956
17. Arrived in U.S. December 17, 1956
18. Since his arrival in the U.S. he has been in Milwaukee, N.Y.C., and Westport, Conn.
19. Respondent would like to find more permanent employment in his profession. He is a painter and interior decorator.
20. Has not been interviewed by any Western organizations since leaving Hungary.
21. He speaks German and some Rumanian and Bohemian.
22. Took an active part in the fighting and demonstrations.

Character description:

Respondent is a 45 year old industrial worker and craftsman. His father was also an industrial worker. He is tall, thin, clean but very poorly dressed. Does not have much education, (Only six grades and three years of apprentice school.) but has a vast amount of common sense and very good judgement. Is composed and calm usually, but betrays strong feelings when speaking about the Russians and Communists. His bitterness can be attributed to the fact that his wife and two children were killed by a Russian bomb during the war. He has ~~been a prisoner of war~~ spent over a year in a Russian prisoner of war camp, and has been imprisoned  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years by the Communists. He is very modest about his participation in the fighting. He mentioned in rather a casual way that he shot out three Russian tanks personally. He did not attribute much importance to this, and considered it something natural. He sees clearly the mistakes and deficiencies of the Horthy regime, but prefers it 1000 times to the Communist regime.



68-M  
t.

4/I

Having not had a very happy childhood, and having lost a wife and two children, he is very much attached to his daughter and grandchild. He is very homesick, and intends to return home once Communism is overthrown in Hungary.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The Americans are blind and do not want to admit that they are responsible for what has happened in Hungary. I got out of prison/ in September, 1956. From then on until the revolution I listened to American radio broadcasts constantly. In their October 21 radio broadcast the Americans predicted that the Hungarian students would follow the example of Poland in a very short time. They seemed to be directing us to turn against the Communists and the Russians. When the time came for them to help, us, they forgot about us.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS,  
ATTITUDES, AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLU-  
TION

(Politically unreli-  
able males of draft  
age were assigned to  
military labor bri-  
gades ~~in~~ during their  
term of compulsory  
military service.)

A. After 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  years of prison I was released in September, 1956. I lived with my daughter in Budapest, but I was assigned to a construction project near the uranium mines in Pecs. I was there on October 22. I worked as usual. I suspected something was going to happen. The Party secretary for the construction project of the uranium mines in Pecs had already fled. The soldiers who served there in the labor brigades also were hopeful and expected something to happen. We did not know what would happen, but there was a feeling of keen expectancy.

I did not work on October 23, and went into Pecs to make some purchases.

B. IN the evening of October 23, the radio announced that armed bands had attacked the police and the army in Budapest. I was both pleased and relieved to hear that fighting had broken out. Everyone felt that at last something was happening. We stopped work immediately. The workers and the soldiers of the work battalions cheered when they heard this news. We had a peculiar feeling which could be described best as exuberance. We did not fear anything or anybody.

On October 23 nothing happened in the vicinity uranium mines.

Next morning all of the soldiers in the ~~work~~ work ~~battalion~~ battalion took off their red stars. Only the officers kept theirs on.

That day (this is the 24th) we went into the nearby village of Kovagoszallas. We took off the red star of the local police station. The police did not interfere. We also talked with the AVH guards who had their barracks there. They had been placed in a state of emergency,



and were heavily armed. But, they told us that they would not fight against us should anything happen.

That night (October 24) three students came to us from Pecs and read us the Sixteen ~~Points~~ Demands of the university students. Everyone was jubilant. We felt that at last we will be free of the Russians. There was much joking. We made scarecrows and effigies ~~and~~ of Russians and placed signs on them: 'Russkies go home.'.

I was in Pecs on October 25 when the demonstrations were staged. The students forced the commander of the AVH to help pull down the Soviet monument.

Pecs was heavily guarded by AVH and police troops. Armed cars and trucks were patrolling the city. But, somehow the AVH disappeared and the students, especially the Revolutionary Council, took over the administration of the city. This happened on the 26th or 27th of October.

We heard that the Russians were withdrawing from Budapest. We were very happy. We thought we would be free, like Austria.

On the 29th I came to Budapest because I was concerned about my 20 year old daughter and her family. I came up with a truck load of food supplies for the Budapest residents. I was one of the guards assigned to the truck. I received a sub-machine gun and hand-grenades from the students in Pecs. They had received them previously from the army.

I saw several demonstrations in Pecs previously. Everyone took part in the regardless of age or sex. There were even Korean students among the demonstrators.

During the demonstrations I felt that the

government would be forced to accept all 16 demands. No one thought about possible retaliations, or feared the consequences in those days.

The demonstrations were initially organized and led by the university students, but they soon became spontaneous, with even part of the Blue police force joining.

The students received their arms from the army. The army as a whole joined the revolution. The army commander in Pecs took command of the entire district.

C. When the Russians began their withdrawal from Budapest, I believed that they were sincere, and would eventually ~~leave~~ leave the country.

After my ~~return~~ return to Budapest on October 29, I rested for a day. Then I met an ex-prison cell mate who was in the militia which was then being organized. He directed me to report at one of the headquarters in Vig Street. This was in the building of the district police headquarters. I received an army coat, arms and ammunition, and a red, white, and green arm-band with the inscription 'militia'. Seven young boys were placed under my command. We were assigned to check the cars on the streets in that district. (I also took part in the fighting on Tisza Kalman Square, and helped capture the Party headquarters there. I am 100 per cent certain that there was an underground secret prison there. I myself heard the voices and intercepted the signals of the prisoners. We were frantic when we were unable to find the entrance to the secret prison.)

The search for the secret prison could not be continued because the Russians launched

their second attack against Budapest on November 4.

We heard the first shots on November 4 early in the morning. We were given instructions to stay close to headquarters in Vig Street, and would get our orders later. We had already built barricades on the streets near headquarters.

The Russians came systematically with tanks and occupied all side streets.

The young people in my platoon were very undisciplined, and refused to listen. One of the boys crossed the street when I told him not to go. He was immediately shot down by one of the Russians. An ambulance came to give him first aid and to carry him to the hospital. The Russians shot at this ambulance and destroyed it. The red cross on the ambulance could be seen from far off.

In the fightings after November 4 I ~~shot up~~ destroyed three tanks in all.

(Respondent said this in a most matter of fact way, and immediately began to speak about something else. When asked for details he named the exact locations of these tanks and mentioned the names of the men who were with him.)

We were gradually forced out by the Russians from Budapest, and withdrew in the direction of Ujpest. We were able to defend Ujpest until November 11.

In the fighting on November 4 I received a ~~new~~ head injury. I lost consciousness and about three liters of blood. I was taken to an Angyalfold Hospital. (Angyalfold is the name of the northern district of Pest



inhabited mostly by industrial workers and ~~underground~~ underworld elements.) After receiving a blood transfusion and resting for a day, I ran away from the hospital, and went back to my platoon. From time to time I sneaked back to the hospital to have my wound dressed.

The Russians fought in a very cowardly way, and were afraid to leave their tanks. By November 11 we saw that the Russians had captured everything. We civilians were ~~embittered~~ bittered when we saw that large number of soldiers were coming in our direction without arms. They told us that the resistance was useless. We civilians kept on fighting even after that. Those soldiers who wanted to fight were ~~led~~ led by us thru the lines into Ujpest. Some of the ~~sixteen~~ civilians were so embittered that they said they would rather die than stop fighting.

On the 11th I went back to the hospital to get my wound dressed again. In the bed beside me there was a nine or ten years old boy whose right hand had been shattered in the fighting. It had to be amputated. When four Russians and an interpreter came to the hospital to look for Russians, the boy wanted to shoot them on the spot. We were hardly able to subdue him. We feared that the Russians in retaliation would destroy the entire hospital.

On November 12 I left the hospital for good, and went home. I told the doctors not to put too much bandage on my head so that I could conceal the dressing with a cap pulled over it.

There was no food at home and I went to Dorog for provisions. I the way back I met a truck driver from near the border.

He was bringing supplies to Budapest. This driver was willing to take me, and help me get out of the country. He said he would be returning home within three days.

My daughter was not willing to come with me because her husband was not at home. She was not willing to come without him.

The truck was stopped and checked several times by joint Russian and Hungarian patrols. Several residents of the border zone who had proper identification cards were also coming with the truck. They concealed us and showed their own identification cards when we were checked. On several occasions the chauffeur bribed the Russians by giving them bottles of whisky.

D. Hungary has accomplished something which no other nation would have dared to do. Had the West helped us, there would be no Communism today in Europe, perhaps not even in Russia. But, we had been abandoned by the West and lost everything.

Chronology:

October 22-29 Respondent was in southern Hungary, near Pecs and the uranium mines. Took part in the demonstrations in Pecs.

October 29 Comes to Budapest

October 30 Joins militia, takes part in the siege and capture of the Party HQ on Tisza Kalman Sq.

November 4 Active participation in the fighting, is wounded and taken to a hospital

November 6 Sneaks out of the hospital and goes fighting.

November 12 Puts down arms and goes home. (Has shot out three Russian tanks since Nov. 4.)

November 15 Leaves Hungary.

~~QVX~~

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. When the fighting ~~ba~~ broke out in Budapest, we expected the West to send us arms, ammunition, and troops.

B. Our expectations were based on frequent promises made by President Eisenhower and by Radio Free Europe.

C. During the revolution I met an American press correspondent.

(Personal description and the fact that the correspondent spoke some Hungarian seemed to indicate that this was Russell Jones.)

He asked us numerous questions and patted our backs. He did not tell us anything interesting.



## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father was a baker, but he was never self-employed. For a time he was a worker in a stone quarry. He was severely wounded in World War I, and he became a semi-invalid. From then on he was unable to work much. His income was insignificant. Since the age of fifteen when I became an apprentice, I was not home at all. My mother died in 1917, and my father remarried. I did not get along well with my step-mother.

My father owned a very small cottage consisting of one room and a kitchen. Our family was very poor.

My father finished only six grades of elementary school and two years of apprentice school. I do not know how much education my mother had.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the intelligentsia, the craftsmen and tradesmen, and the workers, and the peasants. (This question needed considerable probing.)

I have had contact with all these classes.

By the intelligentsia I mean also the university students. In this way it can be said that the intelligentsia started the revolution.

The tradesmen and craftsmen were ruined financially by the Communists, and were restricted in their activities.

The industrial workers were suppressed and

exploited by the Communists. In my opinion, about 75 per cent of the industrial workers are good Hungarians who want to see the end of Communism in Hungary.

At one time I had a very poor opinion of the peasantry. But, now, during the revolution, although they did not fight themselves, the peasants gave practically everything they had to the Freedom Fighters. One of the peasants said that he would rather go hungry himself to send everything to the Freedom Fighters. They have my respect and admiration.

I ~~cannot~~ consider myself to be an industrial ~~workman~~ worker.

In my opinion, the Hungarian peasantry was hit hardest by Communism. But, now perhaps the intelligentsia is worst off. Communists are angry at them because they played an important role in the revolution.

The industrial workers always knew that they could not live without the peasantry, which feeds them, or without the intelligentsia, which leads them. But, after the war, the peasantry was taking advantage of the food shortage and did a lot of black-marketing. At that time this made them rather unpopular in the eyes of the other two classes.

Before the war the intelligentsia was inclined to look down on the peasantry. After the war it seemed that the intelligentsia had a better opinion of the peasantry.

The intelligentsia got along ~~with~~ well with the ~~ind~~ industrial workers, tradesmen, and craftsmen. This was evident in the revolution.

The peasantry was ~~is~~ dissatisfied with the

intelligentsia, especially with those in public administration. They also felt bitter about the tradesmen and craftsmen. They considered industrial prices much too ~~high~~ high in comparison with what they got for their crops. They also regarded the industrial workers as Communists, and the source of all their troubles.

During the revolution all these differences, and even class barriers, were forgotten.

C. With ~~xxxx~~ respect to getting along in Communist Hungary, Party membership was the ~~most~~ most important, but class origin was a preliminary condition of becoming a Party member. Talent and experience did not amount to anything. A shoemaker could become the chief of police.

I do not know of any changes in this respect, but I was in prison for 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  years and released just before the revolution. In prison I could not be aware of the changes in the same extent as I would have had I been free. But, I vaguely remember that at one time the government demanded workers and peasants who had been promoted to officers in the army to complete gymnasium studies. This seemed to indicate that more emphasis was placed on talent and knowledge.

As individuals the boot lickers and good Party members were the ones who were ~~able~~ able to get ahead in Communist Hungary.

D. The AVH, top trade union, and Party officials, and worker directors lived comparatively much better in Communist Hungary than the rest of the population.



XX

# VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. I lost my wife and two children in the war. They were victims of a Russian air-raid in 1945. My daughter was brought up by her grandmother. I was a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union, and had to go into hiding for two years when I came home, and spent five and one half years in prison. My family life ceased to exist under Communism.

The family life of most people was effected by Communism, either directly or indirectly. The nationalizations, arrests, etc. all effected family life also. In 1950-'51 thousands and thousands of families were deported.

My family life cannot ~~be~~ very well be compared to either of the types mentioned. In general, I think that the average Hungarian family comes closest to type I, where the family falls apart and ~~because~~ the parents are afraid to speak in the presence of their children.

Political indoctrination affected the education of the children of Hungary. Parents distrusted their children, but sometimes the opposite of this occurred. The child feared his Communist parents. My daughter has not been effected at all by Communism. She went to a Catholic school, and was brought up by nuns.

Many families were not affected by Communism. This is true even though the parents may have been forced to become Party members. For example, I knew personally a prison guard whose children greeted their parents at home with 'Praise be Jesus Christ.' This happened

even though the child wore the Pioneers uniform.

B. In the past regime there were brothels where a person could get a woman, come away, and forget about it. But, now, practically every woman was available. There was no need for brothels.

There was no formality about introductions. Young people were very promiscuous. Perhaps the peasantry preserved its morals the best.

Marriages were regarded less seriously. The civil ceremony was a simple formality after which the couple went to bed, if they hadn't been there already. Church ceremonies were quite out of the question. Those who wanted an ecclesiastical marriage had to have it performed ~~xxx~~ secretly. Divorces were very simple. Husbands in prison just got notices informing them that their wives had been granted divorces.

I think that sexual morality declined considerably under Communism. Most of the ~~girl~~ ~~girl~~ girls and women were so poorly ~~xxx~~ paid that they were compelled to keep boy friends who helped support them. Also, there ~~was~~ was the slogan: 'It is ~~xxxxx~~ the duty of every woman to bear children, and it is a glory for a girl to do so.'

Brothels were closed and prostitution officially abolished under Communism in Hungary. But, there were more prostitutes than before.

I think Communists have less inhibitions in connection with their sexual ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~life~~ life. The Communist woman and girls were more willing to hit the bed. They needed no persuasion at all.

18/VI

C. Such cases where one of two friends becomes a Communist were fairly frequent. I think the friendship would end if this were to happen to me. I would be the one to sever the friendship.

But, it may happen that the Party member is not a Communist by conviction. In such cases he could, and did, help his non-Communist friend, and the friendship continued.

I don't think that a friendship can continue between a ~~friendship between~~ Communist and a non-Communist by conviction. The agreement not to mix politics into the friendship cannot be kept. Politics would be mixed into the friendship even if they do not talk about it.

D. Juvenile delinquency was more widespread than before. This was caused by the poor living conditions and the lack of parental ~~education~~ upbringing.

I never heard the word 'Hooligan' before.

I first heard the word 'Jampecs' in prison. The jampecs were people who wore thick soled shoes, and tight fitting pants, wide brimmed hats, colored shirts. They wore their hair long and acted very sophisticated. Their ages ~~xxxxx~~ varied from 15 to 21. Most of them came from industrial worker families. I don't think their conduct is criminal. They acted this way because they thought it was smart. Also because the Communists did not like it.

I think the entire jampecs problem was greatly exaggerated by the Communists. They also used it as a means of anti-Western propaganda.



## VII. RELIGION

A. Communists persecuted all religions ruthlessly. Religious orders were dissolved. Nuns became seamstresses and factory workers. Many priests were imprisoned.

I think that the Catholic church was hit the Hardest by Communism. The Communists considered the Catholic Church a pro-American, fascist, international organization.

I think that religion is a bulwark against Communism. The Communists do not believe in God. In principle they are opposed to what the church teaches. The Communists claim that religion and churches are backward, and are an obstacle to progress.

B. (Note: comparison of religiousness with parents is not applicable because of respondent's family circumstances.)

I think I am just as religious as the average person in Hungary. I feel a spiritual need to go to church at least once a week.

C. I think religious instruction should be made compulsory in schools. I am in favor of returning the former church schools to the churches.

Censorship ~~is~~ with respect to young people up to 21 should be exercised to safeguard the morals of the youth. In this respect the churches should be allowed to exercise censorship.

No, I don't think it is advisable for the church to take an active part in politics. The church and politics should ~~take~~ keep away from each other.

D. I do not think that the Jewish religion was also persecuted by the Communists. In 1944 the Jews were persecuted by the fascists. After the so-called liberation, the Jews favored Communism. Most Communist leaders were ~~also~~ Jews.

The attitude of the Jews about Communism did not change. It must be admitted that very many Jews fought on our side during the revolution. I myself saw at least fifty or sixty Jews I knew personally.

Very many Jews were Communist Party members. First they joined in desire for revenge. They also knew that the top Communists were Jews, and that the Jews had the advantage over others by being politically reliable.

It is true that many Jews fear an independent Hungary. They are compromised by Communism for having served in the Avh, Communist Party, etc., but we must distinguish between Jews belonging to the upper 10,000, and the rest of the Jews. Only the upper 10,000 fear an independent Hungary.

(The "upper ten thousand" of Communist society.)

#### VIII. THE YOUTH

A. By Hungarian youth I mean all young people under 21.

B. The demonstrations and the revolution were initiated by the Hungarian youth. Although they were bred to be Communists, the circumstances of life under Communism turned them against the regime. They foresaw their own future in the miserable lives of the older people.

The youth had a better opportunity to study the theories of Communism and to see the situation more clearly than their parents.

The older people were enthusiastic about the Hungarian youth during the revolution, and respected them. Previously they had been inclined to regard the youth as lost to Communism.

The older people did not foresake the youth during the revolution. Fifty and 60 year old men and women fought with them. There was accord and mutual understanding between the youth and the older people.

C. (Not applicable. Respondent is over 30. and has no children in school. His child was educated not by him, but by his mother-in-law.)

D. In general the Hungarian youth did not sympathize with Communism. Perhaps Communist indoctrination may have affected those very young children from the ages of 12 to 16, who were members of the Pioneer organization and other Communist youth organizations. But, the parents of such children were themselves Communists or inclined toward Communism. That the Hungarian youth as a whole rejected Communism can be seen in its conduct during the revolution.



IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY\*  
DAY LIFE

A. My major dissatisfaction with life under Communism in Hungary was that during the entire period I never felt free. I was a prisoner of war immediately after World War II ended. When I came home, ~~and~~ after a short time I was imprisoned. What little time I spent in Hungary outside prisons and not hiding, I was also very miserable. I was poorly paid. There was the constant ~~making~~ feeling of insecurity.

B.

Others complained that they were deprived of their property, of their businesses, and enterprises, and had to become slaves of the Communist state.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. I was freed from prison in September, 1956 and lived only one month in freedom before the revolution. During that one month I was employed on a construction project near the uranium mines in southern Hungary. I lived there in the workers' barracks, and ate the food of the workers' canteen. The food was not enough, nor good. I always had to buy extra food in order not to be hungry. I was not able to afford clothes at all. When I came home from prison I had practically nothing left. I was unable to buy anything. I bought myself during that one month before the revolution only one pair of used, second-hand shoes.

I also maintained a room in my daughter's apartment in Budapest. I paid her 280 forints a month. That is, I planned to pay that; I only paid her one month before the revolution broke out. I was unable to pay the rent to my daughter and sustain myself at my place of employment from my wages. I was forced to accept loans from friends.

I experienced the most difficulty with clothing. It seemed hopeless to be able to afford a suit of clothes.

My post-war standard of living cannot be compared with my pre-war standard at all.

From 1948 to 1956 on I did not live well at all. In 1948 I already had to go into hiding. The authorities were out to get me. From then on I was imprisoned. I was released only in 1956, and perhaps it can be said that

the one month which I spent in Hungary before the revolution was the best of the entire period. But, this can be only comparatively speaking.

(Respondent was unable to ~~name~~ name anyone who lived comparatively better than others in Hungary from among his acquaintances.)

During the past eight years the low standard of living in Hungary ~~is~~ was caused by Soviet dictatorship.

(Further probing did not get any other answer from respondent.)

B. (This sub-section is not applicable. Respondent was freed only one month before the revolution, and has already stated the amount which he earned then.)

C. (Not applicable. Respondent ~~was~~ was freed immediately before the revolution.)

D. I was employed as a painter and interior decorator on the construction project near the uranium mines in Hungary. We had to paint ~~in~~ the apartments of the workers employed there. We did not work on a time basis, but on a ~~per~~ piece basis. Our production ~~norms~~ norms were such that I very often had to work from seven in the morning to nine in the evening in able to accomplish my work.

I got along well with my co-workers. I accepted this job because I was unable to get any other as a former political prisoner. I did not get along well with my superior. He was a top Communist who was always after us. Most of the workers there were former political prisoners who were unable to get jobs elsewhere.



He always threatened to fire us or to take disciplinary measures against us. But, it must be admitted that he was a good craftsman and understood his trade. He was more inclined to criticize our work than to praise it, but this too happened, although very rarely.

I do not know anything about the trade union vacation program. I myself had been a member of the Hungarian Social Security Health Service. I was hospitalized and operated on in 1947. At that time I was not satisfied with the treatment. We did not ~~xxx~~ enough care in the hospital. For example, when I was operated on they did not use anesthetics, and therefore the operation was very painful. I do not know how the trade union Social Security Health Service / functioned later on. It may have improved, but at that time it was very bad.

I had an old friend who, in 1956, received only 200 forints a month pension. For many years he had been a gateman in one of the factories in Csepel. He complained bitterly that he was not able to live on his pension. His wife went to clean a restaurant. She always brought scraps of food home which were left on the plates.

E. In Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. My occupation ties me to the city. I think that in Communist Hungary the agricultural workers ate better food than the industrial workers. They also had a higher standard of living. Politically it was easier in the villages because the agricultural population was strongly against Communism, and the Communist Party in the provinces was very weak.

When collective farming was first introduced in Hungary, I did not like it. I suspected that

68-M  
t.

25/X  
B

this would mean higher food prices. I think that the small and middle peasantry opposed collective farming in the same manner and degree. I ~~have~~ heard about collectives being dissolved only during the revolution.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948 I was not very much interested in politics. I did not take an active part in politics at the time I served in the army, because professional soldiers and reinlisted non-commissioned officers were not allowed to take active parts in politics during the Horthy regime. Later on, after 1945, I was interested in politics because I was opposed to Communism, but I never took any <sup>active</sup> part in the political activities of any party. Before 1948 I sympathized most with the Magyar Elet Partja. This was the party in power up to the time the Germans entered Hungary. The program of this party was strongly nationalist. It wanted the re-annexation of the territories lost after 1919, and it was based on the principle of private ownership.

I heard about the first commune in Hungary during the 1918-19 revolution. I was a child at that time and did not remember what Bela Kun and his friends did. But, I consider them common criminals.

During World War II I was aware of the Communist Party, but in my opinion Communists were only loafers, and irresponsible elements who did not like to work and would like to come to power.

My opinion of the Communist Party at that time did not change after 1948.

B. I think that very few people, perhaps only 10 per ~~cent~~ cent, in the Communist Party are Party members by conviction. The vast majority of the Party members entered the Party because they were compelled to do so. There is also a large percentage of Party



members who are opportunistic elements. They will join any party if it suits their interests.

~~The~~

The policies of the Communist Party changed considerably during the last eight or ten years. The first significant change can be noticed at the time of the Rajk trial, and before that at the time of Tito's expulsion from the Party. ~~Later~~ Later on the Communists became reconciled with Tito, and Rakosi had to leave Hungary. These changes were caused by the Communists' desire to get loans from the West.

(Respondent needed considerable probing, very uncertain about his answers.)

I do not know what Party morale is. I have never been a Communist.

To be frank, I, during the short time I was free in Hungary, was unable to form an opinion on the Communist Party and its leaders. But, I think that most of the Party leaders are wicked, diabolic people. They have convictions and want to rule. This is more important to them than money. I do not know of any top Communists who might be well meaning. Perhaps the only exception in this is Zoltan Vas.

(Respondent's approval of Zoltan Vas is based on the latter's conduct toward political prisoners. Vas was noted for his visits to ~~prisons~~ prisons and prison camps where he tried to improve conditions in favor of the prisoners.)

When Hungary becomes independent I think that all top Communists should be hanged.

C. There was opposition to Communism in Hungary, especially by industrial workers, students,

priests, and, perhaps most of all, by the peasantry. There was no sabotage. This was quite out of the question, and also strikes were impossible. But, the peasants left their lands untilled and sabotaged crop deliveries. The industrial workers, whenever they could, slowed down production. There were times when, in Csepel, so-called silence strikes were staged. That is, the workers were in the factories, worked little, and did not talk to anyone, even during meals. I do not know how the students opposed the regime and Communism because I was not among them. But, that they were against Communism and the regime is evident from their conduct during the Hungarian revolution.

Such acts of opposition were effective because they gradually led to the revolution. The people at home began to get ideas in 1953 when the first Imre Nagy government was formed. When Imre Nagy announced his program of more freedom, Rakosi was quick to hold a radio speech ~~that~~ and to contradict him. Perhaps it can be said that from then on the opposition of the people in general toward Communism increased more and more.

(Respondent's answers very vague and uncertain.)

The intellectuals also opposed the regime secretly. I was aware of their activities only during the revolution when the Hungarian Writers' Federation issued its declaration. I have never heard of the Petofi Circle.

The significance of the intellectuals in the Hungarian Writers' Association is very great. They were essentially the leaders of the revolution. I do not think they were day-dreamers. They were practical people and they expressed the wishes of ~~the~~ the people. I do not think they had anything new to say, but they had to say what the people wanted.

I think that the Hungarian intellectuals opposed the regime

because their standard of living was very low.

Most of the intellectuals are very decent and nice people. Some of them are turncoats. There is one, I am unable to remember his name, who was very active during the revolution, but now is again writing for the Communists at home.



## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The members of the AVH are cruel, sadistic people. They joined the force because they did not want to work, and wanted to live well. They had all the advantages they wanted: high pay, good women, good quarters, uniforms, and large expense accounts. I did not know any members of the AVH in private life. I had been arrested by the AVH and sent to prison. I knew only the AVH officers who interrogated me.

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

When Hungary is independent, all AVH officers, without exception, should be hanged or quartered. But, this does not include those ~~in~~ enlisted men who had been forced to serve in the AVH as guards during their term of compulsory military service. As a prisoner I knew one or two such AVH men who were good to us. One of them even injured his eye intentionally in order to leave the ~~service~~ service sooner.

The Hungarian Blue police were almost as bad as the AVH. The only difference between them was that the Blue Police did not investigate political crimes. This was left to the AVH. I do not think that the ~~Blue~~ Blue Police force was as efficient under the Communist regime as it had been under the Horthy regime. I think that there was more ~~corruption~~ corruption in the Blue Police force now, and large scale criminals gave ~~the~~ ~~their regular contacts to the police~~ the police a regular cut.

During the revolution, in the first days of the fighting, the Blue Policemen simply disappeared. Many of them fought on our side in the second stage of the revolution. That is, after October 28. That was the time when the

militia was organized. The information concerning the Blue Police force and its participation in the October revolution is based on my personal experience.

B. I think the courts in the Horthy regime were just. Communist accusations that the courts at that time were exercising 'class justice' are not true.

The People's Courts were set up after 1945 to try mostly political cases. I do not think that the sentences of the People's Courts were just. I do not think that war criminals are guilty. The soldier who is given order to fight has to do so. It is true that some of the people who persecuted or tortured Jews deserved their punishment. But, very often it happened that people accused falsely of such acts were innocent, and, nevertheless, sentenced to death and ~~executed~~ executed. I, too, was accused on one occasion of being a member of the guard in one of the ghettos. I had never been there in my life. I was hardly able to clear myself before the police. With a little less luck I would have been hanged. But, since I was able to prove that at the critical time I was off fighting on the front, I was not indicted.

C. In Budapest the army as a whole immediately joined the revolution. In the provinces the enlisted men and the non-commissioned officers, almost without exception, immediately sided with the revolution. But, the officers were more cautious and did not express their sympathy for or against the revolution so readily. But, in the provinces some units joined the revolution as a whole, while others did not, can be attributed to the absence or presence of Russian troops in the vicinity. Where Russian troops were stationed nearby, as, for example, in the city of Miskolc, in the eastern part of Hungary,

the army was less willing to take sides openly with the revolution, although, without doubt, they sympathized with the Freedom Fighters.

I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the enlisted men, officers, and non-commissioned officers which can be attributed to their class origin or ~~XXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ geographical location.

I was not at all surprised by the conduct of the army during the revolution. I know that they were also under great ~~on~~ oppression. From 1931 on to the end of World War II in 1945 I was constantly in the army, with the exception of nine months in 1933. As a non-commissioned officer in the Horthy army I got along well, and liked the life in the army. There was strict discipline, but otherwise the treatment was good. Some officers were less popular than others. This was due to ~~their~~ their personal habits or character. Some of them were mean and were after the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men. ~~One~~ All of the officers at that time had to be intelligent people with at least a gymnasium diploma. I think that very often boys from peasant families made better soldiers and better non-commissioned officers than boys from industrial workers families.

The non-commissioned officers got along well with the enlisted men and were very often on good terms. But, strict discipline had to be maintained.

I did not serve at all in the Hungarian army ~~dur~~ during the Communist regime.

D. (Respondent has had no contact at all with Russian occupation troops in Hungary. During the revolution respondent had no contact with Russians other than fighting.)



E. I do not know of any instances where local government officials would be willing to forget government regulations in order to help people.

F. Personal contacts and back-stairs influence helped a person in Communist Hungary. In prison I met people who were arrested for accepting or giving bribes. But, I do not think that in such places, as for example, the AVH, one could give or offer a bribe.

G. I don't think that the top leadership of the AVH was intelligent. All they knew was how to torture people. For example, when I was interrogated by them, I was shut up in a small inclosure the size of a cage. There was a bright glaring light shining in my eyes. I had to constantly look at the light. This ~~g~~ went on for hours and hours, and perhaps for days and ~~days~~ days. If I became dizzy or lost ~~consciousness~~ consciousness, I would have to lean ~~again~~ against the wall. The wall was studded with sharp nails. When these pierced by back, or side, or chest, I immediately regained consciousness. At the end I passed out and do not remember being taken out of the cell.

I don't think that the top leadership of the Hungarian army is intelligent. Ex-workers and peasants completed a brief training course and were given top ranks in the army.

I don't ~~hk~~ think the leadership of the Russian army is very intelligent or efficient. They get talent by taking a gulp of vodka now and then. (Sarcastic)

I don't think that the top officials of the Hungarian public administration were very intelligent or efficient.

### XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. As long as the Russians remain in Hungary Communism will also be in power. The Russians will remain until either a revolution at home, or a war with the West forces them to give up Hungary, and the other satellites. Until then the Kadar government will ~~xxx~~ remain in power, but perhaps not Kadar. I think that he will very likely be assassinated. If this happens, someone else will take his place. Who that will be is irrelevant. The Kadar government will continue the ~~public~~ policies of the Rakosi government. I don't think he will give any concessions. I think that he is worse than Rakosi.

I think that a war with the Soviet Union is inevitable. That is, unless a revolution breaks out first in the Soviet Union, which would make a war unnecessary. I am in favor of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, ~~xxxx~~ even if this means an atomic war, and the possible extinction of Hungary. I think that the people at home, although they too are fed up with wars, would prefer this to their present fate.

I don't think that methods other than war would help. Diplomatic means would be of no use. The Russians are lying even in their sleep. They are tricking Europe and tricking America. They trick the entire world. One cannot believe them.

B. ~~After~~ After the war we in Hungary knew that the Soviet army would have to leave Hungary once the peace treaty was signed. When this happened we always hoped that the Russians would withdraw soon. When President Eisenhower was elected to his first term of office, we knew that he ~~xxxx~~ had been a

soldier, and hoped that he would make order in Europe. We thought that he would try to force the Soviet to leave Hungary, and the other satellite countries by diplomatic means, and, if this should fail, by resorting to war. In 1954 we heard rumors that <sup>at</sup> some top level diplomatic negotiations five or six large Soviet cities were marked out to be bombed by the United States if the Russians failed to withdraw their troops from Europe within a given time. We always hoped that the Russians would be forced to leave Hungary. We were always setting dates. When these dates were approaching or passed, we set newer ones. We did not give up our hope for one single minute.



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

A. In an independent Hungary I would like to see a socialist system of the kind that exists here today in the United States. But, by socialist I do not mean Communist. I mean socialist in the true sense of the word.

B. In an independent Hungary I emphasis should be placed on both agriculture and industry. One cannot exist without the other.

(Respondent admits he does not know the difference between heavy and light industry. When this was explained to him, he said:)

I think it would be better to manufacture things in Hungary which we have. We do not have iron, we have to import this. Therefore, it would be better to place emphasis on the light industry.

The production of arms and military equipment should cease in Hungary. In its place it would be much more advisable to manufacture agricultural machinery.

If Communism is overthrown in Hungary, and the national enterprises should be abolished. Everything should be given back to its former owner. This includes the government farms and kolхозes. The farm cooperatives should be abolished. The only cooperative that should be allowed to operate would be something like the Hangya cooperative in the Horthy regime.

(The Hangya cooperative was a marketing and purchasing cooperative with gbranch stores all over Hungary. It conducted the Hungarian agricultural exports before and during World War II.)

I do not approve of government ownership of industries, nor of the transportation facilities. This, too, should be placed in private hands. I would not approve of government ownership and nationalization, even in the case of heavy industries.

I do not think that one person or one family should be allowed to own more than 250 or 300 yokes of land. This would enable small peasants to acquire some land for themselves, too. I don't think that in an independent Hungary they government should prescribe what the peasants have to grow, and there should be no compulsory delivery of farm products.

Peasants should be allowed to market their produce without any restrictions.

If I had to choose between a system where there was no freedom, but the government insured a high standard of living, and a truly democratic system where the government does insure anything, I would nevertheless prefer freedom. I am confident that if they left me alone and permitted me to work, I could make enough to support myself and my family.

In an independent Hungary I would not tolerate the activities of a Communist party. If anyone is caught conducting Communist activities underground, he should be hanged immediately. Communists have given us enough bitter experiences in the past, and they should not be allowed to contaminate people with their doctrines. I would also ban all Fellow Travelers organizations such as the Hungarian Popular Front.

C. I think ideally for Hungary a military alliance with the West like that of West Germany would be the best. This would exclude military relations with the Soviet Union, and

it would be advisable also to abolish all cultural and economic relations with not only the Soviet Union, but also with the other eastern European countries, if they remain under Communist rule. On the other hand, the military, cultural and economic relations with the other western European countries and with the United States should be developed to the greatest possible extent.

(Subject has not heard of plans for a Danubian federation, not does he seem competent to be probed on such lines.)

I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. I would like to see the pre-1919 boundaries restored. This could be accomplished only thru the United Nations. I don't think this could be accomplished by war.

I am not ~~afraid~~ afraid <sup>for</sup> of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries ~~losing their nationalities~~. But, they too are under Communist oppression. It would be best to annex them to Hungary, or, if this is not possible, to oblige the governments of the neighboring countries to respect the rights of the minorities.

The problems of Hungary's boundaries and minorities are important not only to me, but to everyone in Hungary.



XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Before the revolution I did not hear anything about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress. At that time I was in prison.

(NOTE: Respondent did not know that this was the speech in which Khrushchev denied Stalin. <sup>since</sup>)

Respondent did not know anything about Senator McCarthy and the UN American Activities Committee. He was inclined to mix Senator McCarthy with General McArthur.

He did not know anything about the fall of Peron, nor about Rakosi's private life before the revolution.)

B. (This sub-section is not applicable because respondent spent most of his time before the revolution in prison.)

C. During the past few years before the revolution I was in prison. I received most news by word of mouth; all kinds of news, mostly political. Much of this news was not reliable and was merely wishful thinking. But, there was, for example, in prison, a cellmate who worked in the electric repair shop in the prison. Some of the guards and officers brought their radios to be repaired there. He sometimes, when no one was present, turned on these radios and listened to foreign radio broadcasts. This was the most reliable news source I received in prison. I received it directly from him.

D. (Subject does not seem competent, and section, <sup>the</sup> ~~as it is optional~~, is left out. because of lack of time.)

## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Within the Soviet Union there are chances of a civil war breaking out between two factions of the Soviet Politbureau. When this will happen I do not know. I do not think that gradual liberization in the Soviet Union is probable.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union I am sure the Communist Party would be defeated. Probably a Social Democratic party would come to power.

Collectively, the top leaders of the Soviet Union want to rule the world. As individuals I think that they are diabolic, wicked people who are interested in both power and material advantages. Many of them may have strong Communist convictions. Some may not. The chief difference between them and the Hungarian Communists is that they are the ones to give the orders.

B. Of the countries mentioned Poland is the most sympathetic in Hungary. Hungary has always been on good terms with Poland, and vice versa. Bulgarians are also sympathetic because they sympathized with Hungary. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia are equally unpopular in Hungary because they have always been our enemies.

in  
If free elections were to be held in these countries, all of them, without exception, the present Communist regimes would be overthrown.

The standard of living is highest in East Germany and Czechoslovakia second. The standard of living is lowest in Hungary and in all other Communist countries equally.

C. The Gomulka government in Poland does not represent

a change. He is the same kind of stooge as all other Russian puppets. He will remain in power only as long as the Russians want him to. My views on these matters have not changed in the past five or six months.

Events in Poland in the autumn of 1956 did affect the Hungarian revolution. The immediate cause of the outbreak ~~within~~ in Budapest was events in Poland. The students staged demonstrations in Warsaw two or three days before.

I have not heard of the ~~Russ~~ Poznan riot.

(Respondent was inclined to mistake Poznan for Potsdam.)

I do not know of any changes in freedom of expression long before Gomulka's rise to power.

It would not have been better if the Hungarian revolution had followed the lines of the events in Poland. It is true that we have not gained anything at home, but we have gained an enormous good name for Hungary and the Hungarian people abroad. Now every nation has respect for a hand full of people who dared to oppose the giant Soviet Union.

D. I do not know what national Communism is. What is in Yugoslavia is not national Communism. It is the same thing as in Moscow. Tito is a scoundrel. He is a Communist but has misled the entire world into believing that he is ~~again~~ against Moscow. This he did only in order to get material advantages from the West. I think that all along there was a secret understanding between Tito and Moscow, even at the time when they were seemingly on bad terms. The whole thing was only make-believe.



I do not know what Tito's relations are to the other eastern European countries. I think that Tito has an iron curtain of his own, and it ~~is~~ is impossible to go and visit him from these countries.

During the revolution I did not hear what Tito's attitude was on the Hungarian revolution, but, at one time, we expected the Yugoslavs to move and help us. This was in Pecs, in southern Hungary, near the Yugoslav border.

(Asked about Titoism in the other satellite countries, respondent talks of ~~X~~ Yugoslav-Rumanian commercial relations.)

I do not think that Tito is popular at home. However, I must admit I know very little about conditions in Yugoslavia. I am unable to say whether it was better in Hungary or Yugoslavia. During the one month before the revolution when I lived near the Yugoslav border in southern Hungary, I spoke to some people of Yugoslav origin, but I was unable to determine what life was like inside Yugoslavia.

E. ( Asked about the situation in the Middle East, respondent refuses to answer questions, because he states that he does not know anything about conditions or situations there.)

F. Judging by what I saw in Munich during the short time I stayed there after leaving Hungary, I think that the standard of living in West Germany is about as high as in the United States.

It may be true that from the Russian point of view the Germans may be dangerous in as much as they may evoke a third world war. However, for myself, I would like to see this war break

today. For this reason I approve of West German rearmament. I think that today the West German army is about as strong as the armed forces of Great Britain. It is certainly stronger ~~than~~ than France's. I think that the length of military service in West Germany is probably two or three years.

The military occupation of Hungary by the Germans during World War II was shorter and less severe than the Russian occupation after the war. It cannot be denied that the Germans, both officers and men, behaved ~~more~~ much more disciplined than the Russians. I think that all people in Hungary agree with me in this respect.

(Respondent does not know what NATO is, has never heard of the NATO army.)

The British Labor party is probably the equivalent of the Social Democratic party on the continent. I haven't the slightest idea to what extent the British Labor party sympathizes with Communism, or whether it rejects it.

Of the countries mentioned I think that the standard of living is highest in Great Britain, Italy second, West Germany third, Greece fourth, Egypt fifth, Soviet Union sixth.

H. On my arrival in the United States I ~~was~~ <sup>with</sup> very much impressed by the efficiency ~~in~~ <sup>with</sup> which we were handled in Camp Killmer. After leaving the camp I was very much impressed with the fact that from one week's wages I could not only live well, but also was able to buy clothes.

I am not satisfied with the United ~~States~~ States' foreign policy in connection with eastern Europe. For example, during the revolution we did not get the aid which was promised us. We were told only to hold out three days and they would send military

supplies and forces. They did not keep their promise.

As long as the Communists are in power in the satellite countries, the American government should give no economic aid or loans to the satellite countries of eastern Europe. ~~Many~~ The United States should not recognize the Kadar government. It would be best to sever even diplomatic relations with the Kadar government. Since my arrival in the United States my ~~my~~ impression is that the United States government should immediately declare war on Russia if she does not withdraw her troops from Hungary.

I think that the people at home would like to see more Western visitors. These visitors would be able to inform the Hungarian people at home on conditions in the United States. Communist propaganda is endeavoring to place life in the United States in a very unfavorable light at home. They tell stories of racial discrimination, misery, want, unemployment, etc. I think that people at home would very much like to see trade union officials, and perhaps news correspondents. The trade union officials would be able to get first-hand accounts of conditions there, and they would also be able to inform the people on how workers are living here in the United States. Correspondents and newspaper men would be very desirable visitors for Hungary, because they would be able to get a clear picture of conditions and developments there. Before such people depart from Hungary it would be advisable to talk to them, to explain conditions at home so they would be able to understand better what they will see. I think it would be very desirable if they would talk with intelligent, recent refugees who know probably the conditions in Hungary better than others.

The people at home would most certainly like to



read more Western publications and periodicals. The only way to get these publications into Hungary is thru the aid of Western legations.

I think it would be desirable to have recent refugees associated with such activities as sending publications home to Hungary, and giving information to prospective visitors.

The purpose of the Marshall Plan was to aid the oppressed people of Europe economically. (It seems, ~~xx~~ according to respondent, Marshall ~~xxw~~ aid was given only to countries under Soviet rule.) I do not think that there were any political conditions attached to Marshall ~~xxxx~~ aid grants.

In 1950 America became involved in the Korean War because the United States government wanted to save Korea from Communism. ~~Whyxx~~ Why I do not know.

J. I don't think the United Nations is very effective. There is not much need for it after what we ~~saw~~ saw in 1956. At that time the United Nations should have been firm toward Russia, and demanded its immediate withdrawal from Hungary. I don't think there is any chance for effective United Nations action on Hungary in the foreseeable future. I do not know who the president of the United Nations is, but as long as he is in office there is not any hope that the United Nations will help Hungary effectively.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDE TOWARD  
SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I think that the greatest living Hungarian today is Pal Maleter, because he ~~may~~ fought against the Russians bravely.

B. Up to 1953 I thought that Imre Nagy was a true Communist. At that time I became convinced that he is acting under compulsion.

Cardinal Mindszenty is a true Catholic and a true Hungarian patriot. He has preferred to stay in Hungary, although he could have come out.

Despite the fact that Lazlo Rajk was the one who organized the AVH, I do not have a bad opinion of him.

Erno Gero is a dirty bastard and a traitor.

I'd like to skin Jano Kadar alive and salt him. I'd do this all gradually so he would not die quickly.

(Note: Subject has been General Bela ~~Kxxx~~ Kiraly is a Hungarian from procured through the head to toe. Freedom Fighters Federation.)

In my opinion, Anna Kethly is a double-crosser.

I have respect for President Eisenhower and I like him. But, I am sorry that he did not give the go ahead ~~signal~~ signal to the United States army against the Soviet Union.

I do not know who Mammarskjold is.

I have heard the name Dulles before, but I do not know who he is.

The same applies ~~to~~ to Eden. I have heard of him,

but I do not know who he is.

Truman was a pacifist who did not want war.

I do not know who Mikoyan is.

Prime Minister Nehru is a two-timer.

~~Chiang~~ Chiang Kai-shek is the president of Free China. I think he is a ~~right~~ <sup>hate</sup> guy.

I can never forgive Ferenc Nagy for escaping Hungary to save his own skin, and leaving the country in the lurch.

I know that Roosevelt was president of the ~~WMX~~ U.S. during World War II. I do not know anything else about him.

Adenauer is the Chancellor of West Germany. He's a nice guy.

Stalin was a lousy, filthy garbage can. He was the oppressor of millions.

Malenko was Stalin's successor. He is no better.

Franco is a decent chap.

Bevan is a French prime minister.

Khrushchev is also a garbage can.

Molotov is a dirty spy and a traitor.

I do not know who Ollenhauer is.

Churchill once sided with the Soviet Union, and then with the Germans. Finally he supported the Soviet Union.



### XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The people who came out of Hungary after and during the revolution were people who took part in the revolution and in the demonstrations, and therefore had to fear the consequences, or who had been freed from prisons and would have been returned when the revolution was suppressed. The refugees are mostly young people, although all age groups are represented. Most of the refugees come from Budapest and from along the Austro-Hungarian border. But, there are refugees even from eastern Europe. Many people came out with the refugees who did not like political conditions at home and wanted to spend the rest of their lives in peace.

The people who remained were either Communists and AVH officers, who feared that they would be made to answer for their deeds in the West, or those who were too timid to take the risk of going to the border, and possibly being caught. There were many people who could not come out for family reasons, for example, women who were expecting, or large families with young children. There were people who did not come out because of their age.

I do not know of anyone who had the chance to come out, but did not do so. But, I do know that many people stayed at home because they hoped that a political change for the better would occur anyhow. Once they realized that the change was out of question, perhaps they would have come out, but it was too late.

In my opinion, if everyone were allowed to leave Hungary today, only about 15 per cent of the present population would remain.

B. The only exile organization which I knew in Hungary was Radio Free Europe.

Since my arrival in the United States, I have become a member of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation. There was another Hungarian exile organization which wanted me to join in Milwaukee. I do not know exactly what its name was. I did not join.

I have heard about Bela Varga only here in the United States. I have known Tibor Eckhardt at home in Hungary. He is a brilliant ~~man~~ man, and a ~~good~~ good Hungarian.

I did not approve of Charles <sup>Peyer</sup>~~Pyor~~. He has already died.

Miklos Kallay is a true Hungarian.

I heard about Zoltan Pfeiffer and Istan Baronkovics at home. I do not ~~approve~~ approve of them.

In connection with Otto Hapsburg, I think that nobody wants the restoration of a monarchy in Hungary.

Governor Horthy had his faults, but he was good.

I think that exile politicians such as Tibor Eckhardt who left Hungary before 1956 tried to do what they could in the West for Hungary. They tried to influence public opinion, and to spread information about the true situation in Hungary. I thought about Eckhardt during the revolution, but not about such politicians as Baronkovics.

C. I do not know of anyone who fled Hungary after 1945 and later redefected. I know however of Hungarians who left after 1945, acquired Hungarian citizenship <sup>abroad</sup> at home, came home to

visit relatives, and were arrested. I have not heard about the Communists' redefection campaign.

I think that the people at home would like to know how we are living here in our new country. I do not know if there is anything they should know under all circumstances. I think that the exiles should try to adjust themselves to life in this country, try to make a living, and try to help the people at home, if by no other way than to at least send parcels to them.

I have already joined the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation. The main ~~purpose~~ purpose of this federation should be to liberate Hungary from Communism. This should be achieved by influencing the United Nations and the foreign governments. I have no objections against previous Hungarian emigrants joining the Freedom Fighters' Federation, but they should be true Hungarians.

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

I knew about the revival of the political parties during the revolution. I approved of this, because this was necessary. I would ~~like to have seen the~~ have liked to have seen the Hungarian political party leaders in exile return to Hungary during the revolution and ~~participate~~ to have participated in the revival of the parties.

I want to return to Hungary once Hungary is liberated from Communism.

I don't think I will get married and have children, but if I do, I would like them to learn not only English, but also Hungarian. here in the United States.



## XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. FROM 1948 on I was either in hiding or in prison. Therefore, I did not have the opportunity to listen to foreign radio broadcasts in Hungarian. But, during the one month that I was free before the revolution I listened regularly to the Hungarian broadcasts of the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe. I did not listen to the B.B.C.'s Hungarian programs but once or twice. All of these programs were jammed, especially the Voice of America programs.

I listened to these broadcasts practically every night in September, 1956. I listened to them either at home, at my daughter's ~~px~~ apartment in the presence of her family, or in the workers' barracks near the uranium mines. We listened to foreign radio broadcasts there in large groups. No one was concerned about the consequences of being caught listening to radio broadcasts. When I was unable to listen to ~~xxx~~ foreign radio broadcasts myself, I always got a second-hand account from someone who had listened to them.

In the Fall of 1956 it was not dangerous at all to be listening to foreign radio broadcasts. Before ~~xxxx~~ that I was in prison, but my understanding was that it was dangerous. One could be ~~imprisoned~~ imprisoned for inciting against the people's democracy, or, at least, ~~xxxx~~ dismissed from his job.

I did not have any special preference between the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe broadcasts. I listened to both with keen interest. However, what these broadcasts said was not true entirely. I can establish this from the fact that Radio Free Europe promised us help and urged us to continue

fighting even if the Soviet should occupy our capitol. We should continue fighting and hold on for at least three more days. Then American military aid would be forthcoming. Before the revolution the foreign radio broadcasts helped to inform the people at home about events taking place not only outside of Hungary, but also at home. In general, the people believed these broadcasts, ~~but~~ although there were times when they said 'ALL the radios do is talk and promise, but they never act.' I do not know of any special role that the foreign radios played in the revolution, with the exception of the promises of Radio Free Europe, which I already mentioned.

Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts into Hungary, but they must confess openly that it had made a mistake in the past, and it will do its best to repair what wrong it ~~has~~ has done. Then probably the people at home will believe it, ~~but~~ again.

I think that in its programs Radio Free Europe should place the emphasis on plain economic and political news service. There has been enough of propaganda, and promises. It would also be good to inform people at home on life in the West, and in the United States.

B. I have never heard of the initials NEM. I have not heard of the Twelve Demands, only about the demands during the revolution.

C. I have never seen a Free Europe leaflet before, but I did see in 1955 balloons which were bringing leaflets into Hungary.

On one occasion in September, 1955 a few leaflets dropped into the prison coal ~~mine~~ mine camp in Oroszlani. I did not get any of the leaflets, but one of the prisoners got one and told me of its contents. I do not know what exactly it was, but it was political news, and encouragement to the people at home.

I think it was just as dangerous to pick up leaflets, to pass them on, and to talk about them as it was to listen to foreign radio broadcasts or to talk about them.

I think that these leaflets were very useful in as much as they encouraged the people at home and kept up their hope. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that many of these leaflets have placed numerous people in jail. Anyone caught in the possession of such leaflets would be jailed.

I don't think Radio Free Europe should continue sending leaflets into Hungary. It does not have much sense, at least / not under the present conditions at home.

D. I think that all Western organizations sending broadcasts and leaflets into Hungary want to encourage the people at home and keep up their resistance to Communism. I am not aware of any differences in their intentions or purposes.



\*'

68-M

t.

54/XX.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

A. The most important things that a child should be taught is honesty, character, and to be a good Christian.

It is necessary to discipline children, and it may ~~times~~ sometimes be necessary to spank them. I think that discipline is even more necessary for boys than girls. Otherwise they would become immoral. As children grow older I think that they should be disciplined more severely. They should gradually ~~be~~ be made to work.

I was fifteen years old and a painter's apprentice when I spoiled some work. My master scolded me and I wanted to leave him. He took a cane and spanked me on my rear end. Then I realized that I could not do as I pleased, and stayed.

In our family it was usually my step-mother who spanked me, but in the families of my ~~xxxxxx~~ acquaintances it was usually the father who spanked the children over six.

I don't think that the sex of the child or its age had anything to do with which parent spanked it or disciplined it. I don't know of any changes in this respect according to social class.

Girls are usually sixteen, boys eighteen when physical punishment is abolished.

Punishment in general is abandoned only when the child leaves the family.

I don't know of any changes in this respect according to social classes.

I don't think that Communism has very much

changed the punishment of children in the family. Perhaps the parental punishment of children under Communism was less frequent because officially physical punishment was banned even for parents at home. But, I think that most parents disregarded such rules. Perhaps the children were emancipated earlier under Communism, and generally the parents could not control children over fifteen.

I do not know much about the treatment of children in schools and their disciplining under Communism. I have heard that physical punishment had been abolished.

The traits which I admire most in a friend are willingness to help, reliability, and sincerity.

T H E   E N D