

Interviewee: M. Ivancho
Place: N.Y.C.
Date: April 9,10, 1957

I. PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. Name: Code 32-M
2. Age: 28
3. Sex: male
4. Marital status: single
5. Religion: Roman Catholic
6. Birthplace:
7. Respondent's birthplace belonged to Slovakia until 1938 when this territory was annexed to Hungary. Respondent spent most of his life here. In 1947, after World War II, respondent and his family were forced to leave Czechoslovak territory and resettle in _____
8. At the outbreak of the revolution respondent lived in Budapest on _____ Rd.
9. Respondent was never abroad.
10. Served in Hungarian army for three months in the summer of 1955.
11. Respondent was graduated from gynosium in 1950
12. For the last six months ~~xxxxxx~~ Before the revolution, respondent worked as a newspaper reporter for the "_____ Budapest". From 1951 until 1955, he worked as a milling machine operator in the Budapest Tool Machine Factory.
13. Parents: Father age 55, Mother 53. Living in Hungary.
14. Has one married sister age 29, in United States. Brother age 23 is in France. Youngest child age 11 is with parents.
15. Respondent has no children

- 16/ Respondent left Hungary November 4, 1956
- 17/ Arrived in U.S. on December 18, 1956
18. Besides Camp Kilmer, respondent has been to Bard College and N.Y.C.
19. His immediate plans are to find employment, preferably with the Voice of America.
20. With the exception of Austrian and American routine examinations by immigration authorities, and officials, respondent has not been interviewed by any Western organizations since leaving Hungary.
21. Respondent studied German in school for six years. He is able to understand German, but does not speak the language. He knows some English.

Interviewers Evaluation

Subject is a young newspaper writer of lower middle class background. Expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II, subject's parents became ruined financially and he was unable to acquire a university education. With great diligence and effort of will, he supplemented his formal education through extensive reading. He is very intelligent, knows the conditions in Hungary extremely well. He gave an excellent and very interesting rapport.

Tall, good looking, very neat in appearance, perhaps a bit vain.

Of special interest is his information concerning the revolutionary leader Dudas, hanged recently by the Communists.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The American public should be told two things about the revolution. First, that nine million Hungarian people unanimously arose against Communist oppression. Second, and perhaps this is more important, they should be told the reason why the revolution broke out. They should realise that what the world witnessed in Hungary was Communist expansion and imperialism. It is interesting that all over the world colonial people are given full rights and equality, whereas in Central and Eastern Europe the Soviet Union is openly colonizing these once free nations. The free world must realise that Soviet expansion will not stop. The Soviet's reaction to the Hungarian revolution shows that the Soviet Union intends to keep what it possesses. From this, it is also ~~manifestly~~ evident that Soviet Communist expansion will continue until it conquers the world.

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

A. On October 22 I heard that the university students had held a meeting on that day and I also heard about the demands which they drafted. But, I was convinced that it was impossible to make these demands public.

On October 24 I stayed at home and wrote an article for my newspaper. Around noontime I left home to go to the office which was located in the building of the "Szabad Nep". I walked down to Bartok Bela Road intending to catch a bus. Near the bus-stop I saw a girl, evidently a student, posting a lithographed copy of the Sixteen Demands on a wall. Immediately, a crowd gathered to read the poster and the girl disappeared. The people were unwilling to board the bus until they read the demands. The bus was practically empty when it started off toward Pest.

On my way to the office I did not see anything unusual on the main streets of the city. In front of the "Szabad Nep" building I met two Communist newspaper reporters who were waiting for a car to take them to Party headquarters for instructions. They held copies of the posters listing the Sixteen Demands in their hands. In the office I heard that the Minister for the Interior had banned the students demonstrations scheduled for that afternoon.

About 2 p.m. I decided to go and see what was happening on Bem Square. Only about 150 people were there when I arrived. About 3:30 p.m. the students from one of the gymnasiums in Buda arrived, led by their professors. The crowd which had gathered in the meantime cheered the students enthusiastically. It surprised me to see that there were no more policemen on the streets than usual. I did not know at that time that the Minister for the Interior had withdrawn his ban on the demonstration.

Shortly after that, about 4 p.m., rows of university students began to arrive. They quickly filled the entire square. One of the students read the sixteen points demand of the university students. A sound truck of the Petofi Circle arrived and the president of the Petofi Circle held a speech in which he greeted the demonstrating students and expressed

for the students in Poland.

Peter Veres was the next speaker who spoke in the name of the Hungarian Writers Association. He listed the seven demands of the Hungarian Writers. This was a watered down version of the demands of the university students. The seven demands did not include such embarrassing things as, for example, the withdrawal of the Russian troops or the revision of the trade agreements with the Soviet Union. I suspect that Peter Veres had instructions to quiet down the university students by coming forward with more acceptable demands.

It must be mentioned that the demonstration was a silent one, until it reached the Bem Square. There was no shouting or slogans. The first shouts I heard were when the demonstrators demanded that Hungarian flags be placed on the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and on the barracks which faced the square. The soldiers in the barracks crowded in the windows and sympathized with us.

The vast majority of the demonstrators here on Bem Square were students, but the 5 o'clock throng of officials and workers returning home from work also joined the demonstrators.

The one small sound truck was not enough for such a large crowd. The writer, Tibor Deri, climbed on a truck and ~~informed~~ informed the crowd that everyone should go to Parliament Square because microphones and amplifiers had been rigged up there, and it would be possible for everyone to hear the speeches. The demonstrators started off in orderly fashion toward Parliament Square. This was the time when the first slogans originated. They were "We want the Kossuth crest", and "Every soldier should go back to his native country."

On our way back to Parliament Square we passed by the building for the Ministry for the Interior. I did not see anything unusual around or about the building. Several Blue police officers came out of the building and went on the sidewalk in the same direction in which the crowd was going. I closed up behind them and tried to listen to any comments that they might make. I did not hear anything, but they did not seem extremely happy.

By the time we reached Parliament Square, none of the flags which the demonstrators carried bore the Communist crest. They had been

torn from the flags which had them.

When we reached Parliament Square it turned out that there were no microphones and the speech which was promised by Tibor Deri was not held. But, the crowd demanded to hear Imre Nagy's speech. We had a very long time to wait. Here on Parliament Square during the long hours of waiting, the slogans of the revolution were born. Such slogans were "We want a new government", "Russkies go home", and "Down with the AVO". At one time the lights were turned off, probably to compel the crowd to disperse. But, the crowd stayed on and with newspapers and pieces of paper lighted. The lights were later turned on.

The actor, Imre Sinkovics, recited the poems of Petofi several times. We sang the Hungarian national anthem once every fifteen minutes. The enthusiasm of the crowd constantly grew. I was convinced that if the crowd succeeded in keeping together and staying on, then the government would probably promise to grant some of our demands. It was my impression that they kept the crowd waiting in hope that it would get tired hanging around and would disperse. I did not believe that the ~~same~~ demonstrators could force the government to resign and a new cabinet be formed.

The slogans which were coined here on Parliament Square were nothing else than the simplified version of the Sixteen Demands.

Imre Nagy finally came. He was booed for addressing the crowd as "Comrade". The great uproar which he provoked lasted several minutes. Here it became evident that the demonstration had become anti-Communist in character. Imre Nagy did not have anything of importance to say. He attempted to quiet the crowd and to induce them to disperse. His speech was a great disappointment to everyone.

I was standing very near to the steps of the Parliament building. Word began to go around that a large demonstration was being held simultaneously near the Stalin statue. We also heard that the Stalin statue had been torn down. We didn't believe this. We thought that these were rumors being spread by the AVH in order to get the crowd to disperse.

Finally someone suggested that the crowd should go to the radio

studio building and demand that the sixteen points of the university students be read over the radio. In this way, the entire country would know about the "mass meeting", as this ~~demonstration, xxxxxxxxxx~~ gathering in front of Parliament building was then called.

It was about 9:30 p.m. when the entire crowd began to move in the direction of the radio studios. On the way, word spread that Erno Gero had made very sharp remarks against the demonstrators in his speech over the radio. Immediately, slogans of "Down with Gero" were taken up by the entire crowd.

When we reached ~~the~~ Rd., which had been renamed Stalin Blvd., two university students climbed up on the balcony of the building and tried to take down the street sign bearing Stalin's name. They succeeded, much to the delight of the crowd.

B. We heard the first shots from the direction of the radio building when we reached Kossuth St. The crowd immediately stopped, and everyone tried to seek cover in a doorway. A television truck came from the direction of the studios bearing wounded people. The shooting seemed to be constantly increasing. I decided to investigate and go as near to the studio building as possible.

Keeping as close to the sides of the buildings as possible, I reached the museum garden. Here I saw three cars burning. They had been overturned by the crowd and set afire. Allegedly, these cars belonged to the AVH, and AVH officers had come in these cars to the studio buildings to help in their defense.

In front of the museum building I met several truckloads of air force men. They had been sent out to disperse the crowd, and to help ~~xxx~~ protect the studio buildings. But, they told the demonstrators that they had arms but no ammunition. They assured everyone they would not fight against the demonstrators. Many of them turned over their weapons to the civilians and told them that ammunition could be had from a truck which was standing further away.

I decided to turn around and go in the direction of Rakosi St. I did not think that the uprising would succeed. I was prepared that the AVH would come out and crush the rebellion.

All traffic had stopped on the streets. Street-cars and busses, motor vehicles were not running.

On Rakosi St. I went into an expresse to drink a cup of coffee. Here I met an ~~ex~~ acquaintance who had been very close to the entrance to the studio building and told me with great ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm how bravely the "boys" had fought. He also told me that the arms which the demonstrators had had been brought from the Danuvia factory.

I continued to walk in the direction of the "Szabad Nep" building where my office was. It was impossible to get in the building. I heard shots from that direction. The sound of firing was constantly increasing from the direction from the radio building. The unarmed crowd was checking all vehicles which were coming from and going. It was rumored that the AVH attempted to smuggle arms and ammunition to the defenders of the radio building in ambulance cars. It was believed that if the AVH men inside the studio buildings were cut off from ammunition, they would finally be forced to surrender the building.

About an hour later I saw demonstrators breaking into the "Szabad Nep" building. They began to throw out the papers and documents into the street. Simultaneously the crowd broke into the Communist bookshop on the ground floor of the building. Everything was ~~as~~ piled in the center of the street and set afire.

By then there were many young people with arms, that is rifles and sub-machine guns, on the street. As yet, I had not seen any women or girls with arms. The young people were students and young industrial workers. Then I was still convinced that by morning the whole rebellion would be crushed and that severe retaliation would follow.

I continued to go in the direction of the Nyugati Railroad Station. On the way, I saw that another large Russian book store had been broken open and had its books dumped out on the street and set afire. I also saw that the crowd was dismantling the large red star from the railway station building. This large star was made of wood and when it was dismantled the demonstrators set afire to that, too.

By then I saw several truckloads of young civilians and soldiers with arms driving in the direction of the radio building. When I saw that the soldiers were with the civilians, I began to hope, for the first time, that the revolution would succeed. I thought that the entire Hungarian army had gone over to the side of the revolution.

I went back in the direction of the "Szabad Nep" Building. When

I came to Rakosi St. I saw a truck dragging the remains of the Stalin statue. It was dumped off near the National Theatre and left on the street.

It is difficult to describe my feelings then. There was the great joy and enthusiasm, but also there was fear. Not for myself, but for the others. Also, there was the uncertainty of what would happen.

I wanted to see as much as possible of what was going on in the city. I went by foot in the direction of Buda. I crossed the Bridge. I had to go past the Ministry of the Interior. It was dark and silent. At the bridgehead of the Margit Bridge in Buda, civilians were stopping all motor vehicles looking for armed AVH men. The civilians were unarmed.

I went back to Pest and on the corner of Vaci Rd. and the Ring, I saw several truckloads of young people with arms. I recognized one of them as a workman with whom I had previously worked in the same factory. I was able to exchange a few words with him. He told me that they were taking leaflets to the outskirts of Budapest to the industrial sections. He gave me a ~~sample~~ several copies of the leaflets. There were three different kinds of leaflets with practically the same text. All of them urged the industrial workers to go on strike and keep on striking until the last Soviet soldier leaves Hungary. He also told me that the trucks were going for arms and ammunition to one of the Hungarian barracks. The leaflets which he gave me were not lithographed, but printed. It could be seen that the leaflets had been printed on three different printing presses. Allegedly, they were printed in Szirka Printing Press where most of the Communist propaganda leaflets had been published.

I went back in the direction of the "Szabad Nep" building. On the way I met Ivan Boldizsar. He was the chief of the press section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He seemed very indignant and called the demonstrators "scoundrels". He told me the rebellion would be crushed because the Russian troops had already circled the city.

On the street I heard that arms were being distributed to civilians near the Killian barracks. I somehow felt ashamed that until now I had done nothing but walk around in the city. I felt that I should go to the Killian barracks, get myself arms, and participate in the fighting.

I reached the Killian barracks about 3a.m. on October 24. By

then the city had quieted down considerably. One could ~~have~~ hear shooting in the distance, but I knew that this was only young boys trying out the new arms they had obtained.

There was a large crowd in front of the Killian barracks. Some of the people had been standing there for some time waiting for arms. I heard that several truckloads had already been distributed there. A truck came with sub-machine guns and rifles. A non-commissioned officer and a soldier began to distribute them among the crowd. The majority of those who received arms were young men about 30. There were some teen-agers among us also. Up to now I did not see any women or girls with arms, or sub-machine guns.

The entire crowd was incensed at the AVH for shooting at the crowd in front of the radio building. Everyone wanted arms to avenge the persons who had been killed and wounded by the AVH in the fighting.

I received a sub-machine gun with two drums of ammunition. In 1955 I had been in the army for three months and knew how to handle arms.

It was about 4:30 when I received my sub-machine gun. For a time I did not know what to do. I walked up and down the street near the barracks. I became acquainted with two young men. They also had arms. One of them was a third year medical student. The other, a second year engineering student. The relatives of the medical student were living near-by. He invited the two of us to go home with him for breakfast.

The parents of the medical student were middle-class intellectuals. The father, I believe, was an attorney. The mother was a very charming woman of about 50 years old. They were very hospitable to us and the mother did not try to dissuade her son from fighting. She tried to hide her concern and seemed proud of her son.

Around 7a.m. we went back out to the streets. We met several young men armed with sub-machine guns and rifles. Four or five young industrial workers joined our group. I was the oldest one among them, but there was no commander among us. We talked things over, but did not issue commands.

Several such groups were formed in the vicinity of the Killian barracks. We went to the barracks gates to find out what we should do. We were informed by the armed guards stationed in

the gate-way that civilians could not enter the barracks, but that the entire force stationed there is on the side of the revolution. We were extremely happy to hear this, because we believed that the same situation existed everywhere in Hungary.

Armed as we were with sub-machine guns we went to the police station on Viola Street. Now, in retrospect this seems a very stupid thing for us to have done. We were armed insurgents and martial law had been declared. But, at that time we considered this natural. We asked the police captain in charge of the station what we should do. He said that the Blue police are unable to come with us, but we can rest assured that they would not fire on us.

We left the ~~garrison~~ police station and began ~~start~~ patrolling the streets in the vicinity of the Killian barracks. Some of the men wanted to go to work. The women dissuaded them from going and tried to convince them it would be best to stay at home. They knew then, that a general strike had been declared.

About 9 a.m. we saw civilians stop a car on Mester Street. When we got there the crowd had already pulled out two men from the car. They wore army uniforms, but underneath they had AVH uniforms. They were two AVH officers who had tried to conceal their identity by donning artillery officers coats. The crowd was very hostile toward them. The crowd seeing that we were armed, turned the AVH officers over to us. We did not know what to do with them, so we marched them off to the police station. We handed the two AVH officers over to the police captain to whom we had spoken before. We wanted a written receipt from him that we had turned over these two prisoners to him. He refused to give us a written receipt, but gave us his word of honor that the two AVH men would be kept in custody. When we were going away the captain told us to be careful and take care of ourselves.

When we reached the Ferenc Korut we were told that someone had fired on the revolutionists from the apartment house at #54. A ten year old boy had been shot in the leg by someone in this building. With the help of some civilians who knew their way around, we searched the building. In one apartment we found two Blue Policemen. They were both peasant boys. They only had revolvers and claimed that they had not fired at anyone. The crowd wanted to lynch them. We searched the ~~premises~~ premises,

but we did not find a rifle. The shots which wounded the boy were fired from a figle. We took away their revolvers and escorted the boys out through the crowd. A few blocks from this scene we told the boys to take off their Communist insignias from their uniforms, and turned them loose. When we returned to the building we found out that two other armed groups which continued the search of the building had found an AVH officer in civilian clothes who had fired the shots. They also found the rifle. I do not know what happened to this officer.

About 11a.m. we heard that Russian tanks had arrived at the Haller Market Square. Later, an armored car appeared on Ulloi Road, but did not fire at anyone. Pedestrians and Freedom Fighters alike sought cover in buildings near-by. That entire morning passed by without any fighting in our vicinity. Only one AVH truck appeared on Ulloi Road. It was equipped with machine-guns. It fired at the Freedom Fighters and we returned the fire, but the truck went away unharmed.

It was terrible that we did not know anything of what was going on in other parts of the city. We heard that marshall law had been declared in the entire country. It was somewhat discouraging to see that the older people were very enthusiastic and urged us to fight, but they themselves were reluctant to take up arms.

Around noon-time we went to the home of the medical student nearby to have lunch. The telephones were in operation and here I was able to telephone my aunt with whom I was living to assure her that everything was all right and that I would be home later on. I did this because my father was in Budapest and from the country to visit me, and I knew that he was concerned about my welfare.

In the afternoon we heard rumors that the artillery troops stationed in _____ were on the side of the revolution and have assured us that they will stop any Russian tanks attempting to enter the city from that direction.

Later in the afternoon two trucks and a bus load of artillery troops arrived to disarm the Killian barracks. They first stopped at Mester Street and Korut corner. Here the civilian population, especially the women, surrounded them and began to scold them. They said that they, the soldiers, should be ashamed of themselves to be fighting against their own brothers. It could be seen that the officer in command and the soldiers

also were very reluctant. However, there was among them a political officer who seemed to be really in charge. He was dressed in the uniform of a private. Probably he was some party secretary or AVH officer who put this uniform on.

The artillery troops surrounded the Killian barracks. When they were ordered to shoot, they shot in the air. Soon an officer and two non-commissioned officers appeared in the gate-way of the Killian barracks bearing a white flag of truce. The commander of the artillery troops went up to them. I was too far away to hear what they were talking about, but I saw that the political officer kept yelling instructions to the commander. Finally, the commander reached in his holster, took out his revolver, and handed it over to the officer carrying the white flag. At the same time one single shot was fired and the political officer had been shot in the head from the rear. The artillery soldiers ran up to the barracks and embraced the ~~the~~ soldiers who were pouring out. The civilians cheered the scene. It was one of the most ~~warmhearted~~ heart-warming scenes in the entire revolution.

Nothing else of importance happened on the 24 of October. We roamed the streets around the Killian barracks and were later informed that the civilian Freedom Fighters should gather in the building of the Corvin theatre. The women living in that neighborhood brought us baskets of food. There were about eighty civilian Freedom Fighters in the building. Many ~~of~~ them were industrial apprentices living in an industrial apprentice home nearby. Here I saw the first girls with arms. They too were industrial apprentices.

The night passed without incident. The various armed groups agreed to patrol the streets and to stand guard during the night. The two Pongracz brothers were already there. Both were intelligent, active young men. The older brother had some military experience, the younger one did not. Both of them had qualities of leadership. People somehow naturally turned to them for instructions. However, there was no organization at all among the various armed groups which were in the Corvin ~~the~~ theatre building. Later ~~on~~, I think it was November 3, the older Pongracz brother was elected commander by the Freedom Fighters, but then, on October 25, there was no organization yet among the armed groups.

On October 25 the first Russian armored cars ~~marching~~ gunned the streets in our vicinity. We heard rumors of fighting going

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On October 25 the first Russian armored cars ~~machings~~ gunned the streets in our vicinity. We heard rumors of fighting going

on in other sections of the city. But, we did not have any reliable news and did not know what was going on in the rest of the city or in the country outside Budapest.

That day we got our first anti-tank gun. I do not know where it came from. The ~~ex~~ only person who understood anything about it was a civilian with a wooden leg. He and the elder Pongracz rigged up the gun on the street facing the direction from which we expected the Russian tanks to come. A long cable was attached to the gun and led to a store entrance which provided considerably good shelter. When the first tank appeared everyone ran for ~~some~~ cover and only the wooden legged man stayed beside the gun. When the Russian tank came in line with the gun this man waved to us and we pulled the cable, firing the gun. There was a loud explosion and for a time we could see nothing because of the smoke. Thru clouds of dust and smoke we later saw that the tank continued on its way for a short time and burst into flames. We were jubilant. We thought that we had won the whole revolution.

The Russian personnel which manned the tank tried to get out of it. Not one of them left the scene.

The other three Russian tanks turned around and went back in the direction of the military academy where they were stationed.

While we were busy setting up the gun and aiming it in the direction in which we expected the Russians to come, a Hungarian tank came and took up its position near the entrance of the barracks. I do not know from where this tank came, but it took an active part in ~~the~~ defending the barracks from the Russian tanks.

That afternoon we tried out our first Maletov cocktails. A twelve year old boy thru two bottles of benzine on a Russian tank. We fired at the tank but the benzine did not ignite or explode. The tank went away unharmed.

The engineering student who was with us tried to think up a better way for igniting the Molotov cocktails. He thought that perhaps with the aid of tracer bullets it would be easier to ignite the benzine. We were discussing this problem when we went back to the Corvin theatre. On the way we saw ~~another~~ another unsuccessful attempt to blow up a tank with the aid of a Maletov cocktail. Benzine was again thrown at the tank,

ignite. A seventy year old man very calmly and slowly went up near the tank from the rear. He took out a box of matches and lit the benzine, as calmly as if he were lighting his pipe. The trail of benzine left by the tank ignited and caught up with the tank. The benzine which was on the surface of the tank caught fire, but it did no harm to the tank itself. The seventy year old man was very unhappy that the tank got away from him. The Russians did not shoot at him, but were happy to be able to get away in the direction from which they came.

When we reached the Corvin Theatre the problem of making Molotov cocktails had already been solved. Someone instructed the Freedom Fighters to attach small fuses to the benzine bottles and to ignite them before throwing. When we reached the Corvin Theatre a group of children were already manufacturing bombs by filling every kind of bottle they could get, with benzine from a benzine pump in the back of the theatre building. Much of the benzine had been spilled and the elder Pomgracz came and asked the women lining nearby to wipe up the benzine with rags because it may be dangerous if a shell exploded in the area of the benzine. The women very willingly brought rags and wiped up the benzine.

We passed word around to the tenants living in the apartment buildings nearby to fill all the bottles they had with benzine if they had any at home. The next morning we had a large number of Molotov cocktails placed on the street in front of the apartment houses.

The afternoon of October 25 there was another tank attack against the Killian barracks. The tanks fired several shots, then turned around and went away.

October 26 was a rainy day. Our unit went into Tuzolto Street to inspect a garage which previously had belonged to the AVH. In the garage we found arms, ammunition, and armed ourselves with handgrenades which we found there. We were just preparing to leave the garage when a Russian tank approached. This was the first time we had seen a Russian tank in a side street. Under the cover of a wooden fence we were able to approach the tank to about three or four metres from it. We unloosened a plank in

a fence and thru this we ~~threw~~ threw three hand-grenades behind the tank. They exploded but did not cause any damage in the tank. Then we did not know we should have thrown the hand-grenades not behind, but in front of the tank. The tank continued to go about 50 or 100 metres and turned around. On its way back another armed group threw a bottle of benzine on it. The benzine ignited but did not cause any harm to the tank. Only the benzine on the surface of the tank burned.

On that forenoon three more tanks approached the Killian barracks on Ulloa Road. The Freedom Fighters were able to destroy one of these tanks.

By then the Russians were very nervous and worried and were inclined to shoot at the slightest movement they noticed. The Russians did not cause ~~many~~ much ~~large~~ damage among the Freedom Fighters because we were always careful to seek cover. But, the civilian population which did not take part in the fighting was less careful and many casualties occurred.

On the afternoon of the 26th two Russian tanks had taken strategic positions from which they could command the entire Ulloa Road. It was impossible to approach these tanks because the Russian infantry was stationed nearby them. It was impossible to cross Ulloa Road because the Russians were shooting v ery accurately.

A thirty year old woman who was out shopping wanted to cross Ulloa Road. Another woman was with her. We told them it was dangerous to cross because the Russians would fire at the slightest movement. She insisted that she had to go home to her children. They were hardly out in the open when the Russians began firing at them. ~~Then~~ The thirty year old mother was severely wounded in the neck. The other woman managed to cross unharmed. An ambulance manned by medical students approached. It bore the usual red-cross sign. At first the Russians began to fire at it because they thought that the ambulance was bringing ammunition. Regardless of the fire the medical students took a ~~stretcher~~ stretcher and approached the woman on the street. When the Russians realized that the ambulance came only to take the woman away they stopped their fire. The medical students put the woman on the stretcher and took her away, but it was too ~~late~~ late to help her. She had died.

17/III

When we returned to the Corvin Theatre in the afternoon of October 26 we were very tired. We were soaking wet from the drizzling rain which fell all day. We were dirty from climbing roofs and attics because we were searching for convenient spots to throw Molotov cocktails from at tanks. We placed a number of Molotov cocktails at such spots. They were there for anyone to use if the tanks came.

In the ~~evening~~ Corvin theatre that evening we heard many interesting things. For example we heard that in Prater Street the crowd had lynched an ANH officer who had been firing from his flat on the Freedom Fighters. They threw him out on the street and placed all his money and personal possessions on him. No one touched the money or jewelry found on his person.

It astonished me to see that there was no contact whatsoever between the various fighting groups. The so-called Corvin group to which we belonged was practically isolated from the groups which fought on Prater Street north of us. Yet they knew of our existence. The Russians tried several times to cut their way thru Prater Street and attack us from the rear. The Prater group fought them off effectively and they were unable to come from behind. This group also succeeded in getting a large caliber gun which could be used against tanks. They succeeded in destroying two tanks with this gun. This group was very strong because, as I learned later, they were able to alert a large number of students by telephone and to get them to come and help in the fighting. I became acquainted with the three boys who supplied this group with ammunition. They were two young university students and a baker's apprentice. They carried the ammunition in paper bags and were out in the streets in the fiercest fighting. They devised an ingenious ~~type~~ periscope by tying a small mirror to the end of a broomstick. With the aid of this they were able to look around corners without jeopardizing their lives unnecessarily.

October 26 was probably our most trying day. We were very tired and weary. I was able to telephone my relatives that I was safe and they should not worry about us.

On the afternoon of October 26 two university students came as truce bearers from the government. They ~~time~~ tried to persuade us to lay down our arms. They brought us a personal message from ex-President Zoltan Tildy.

They told us that the government is willing to accept our demands and that the Russians will leave the capital, but first we must lay down our arms.

Our meeting rejected the ultimatum sent us by the government. We sent word by the truce bearers to the government that we would lay down our arms only if the Russians left the capital. From the truce bearers we also learned that there were two large groups fighting against the Russians in the city. One group was ours in the Corvin Theatre, and the other was the group on Szege Square in Buda. There was a third large armed group in Buda on Bartok Bela Road, but there was no fighting there. From the truce bearers we also found out about the massacre of demonstrators on Parliament Square on October 25.

On the forenoon of October 27 we repelled Russian tanks on Ulloi Road. Two tanks were destroyed with the aid of Molotov cocktails. In the afternoon of October 27 we attacked a tank on the corners of Tahy Kalman Street and Ulloi. We shot at it with a small anti-tank gun. We were unable to destroy its traction and it got away from us. But, four or five Molotov cocktails were thrown at it and the tank was destroyed. None of the Russians who manned the tank were able to escape.

That night we were able to sleep a few hours in the Corvin Theatre. After midnight however, alarm was sounded. Allegedly, the Russians were approaching from the direction of the military academy. Forty of us went out for reconnaissance, but it turned out to be a false alarm.

By October 28 the Freedom Fighters stationed in the Corvin Theatre had already formed small groups. There were from six to eight young people in my group. We had sub-machine guns, rifles, a small anti-tank gun and a large machine-gun. No one was in command of the group in the strict sense of the word. I, the medical student, and the engineering student were the ones to whom the unit went for advice.

On the afternoon of October the 28 the two students who came to us previously as truce bearers again appeared. Our group was unwilling to lay down its arms and the two students left without making an agreement with us. On the evening of that day we heard that the Russians had

accepted a cease-fire agreement and were withdrawing their troops from the capital. Everyone in our group was overjoyed to hear this.

I was very tired. I had had no sleep since Tuesday. I went to an apartment ~~at~~ which we inspected that day as a prospective anti-tank nest and asked the people there to let me wash and dress. They readily agreed and even laundered my shirt.

It must be mentioned that during the entire fighting, the civilian population was always very friendly toward us. The simple proletarian women were so kind to us that even my mother could not have been kinder. They brought us food, cigarettes, and they were always very happy to be able to do anything for us.

In the forenoon on October 29 I left my arms in the Corvin theatre and went by foot home. I still saw Russian tanks on Calvin Square, and near the bridges. I did not know whether it was possible to cross over the Danube or not. I telephoned my relatives and they, over the phone, told me that from their place one could see that there was normal traffic over the bridges and pedestrians were allowed to cross. I was a bit worried when I had to cross the bridge where the Russians were still stationed. By my appearance one could see that I had not been on a picnic the last few days. But, I managed to get across without being challenged, and went home. I took a bath and went to bed for a much needed rest.

The next day was October 30. Before noon I decided to go into the city. I went to the office of the Hungarian Writers' Association. There I was told that I should go to the Parliament Building from where the Hungarian radio had been operating. The personnel that had been on duty during the entire fighting was fatigued and needed replacements. I was willing to go, but when I saw that the other two writers who were assigned to this duty were people who only a few weeks ago had still been rabid Communists, I decided that I did not care much for this assignment. Instead I ~~then~~ decided to go to the "Szabad Nep" and look around to see what was going on there. I knew that the printing press of the "SZabad Nep" was the best one in Budapest.

The "Szabad Nep" building was heavily guarded. Among the guards I recognized a young boy with whom I had been fighting

in the Corvin Theatre district. He immediately let me pass and I saw that there was much activity inside the building. Several papers were ~~in~~ being edited from there.

I was introduced to Dudas/who, as the commander of the group ~~which~~ which fought on Szena Square, had captured for the second or third time the Szabad Nep building. When he heard that I was a newspaper man he immediately assigned me to edit his newspaper which was called the "Hungarian Independence"...In Hungarian "Magyar Fuggetlenseg". We immediately started work on preparations to come out with the paper on the next day.

On October 31 I wrote the editorial of the "Magyar Fuggetlenseg". It was ~~assigned~~ assigned by Dudas, but I was his ghost writer. The gist of the editorial was that the Freedom Fighters would not recognize the present Hungarian government of Imre Nagy until the Russian troops had left the country.

That day a captured AVH officer was brought to Dudas for questioning in the Szabad Nep building. I must say that Dudas treated this man very humanly, ~~let~~ and after questioning had him sent to the AVH prison in Fo Utea.

I did not know much about ~~him~~ Dudas then. I knew that he was an engineer who, in 1945, had been a Communist Party member. He became disillusioned with the Party in 1945 and became a ~~member~~ member of the Small Holders Party. He was elected to parliament as a Small Holders party member. He was imprisoned by the Communists, but let out before the revolution. At the outbreak of the revolution, he worked as a laborer in Budapest. When the fighting started he became the leader of the ~~group~~ group which fought on Szena Square. On October 29 he captured the building of the Szabad Nep with his group. This was the second time the building ~~was captured by his group~~ fell into the hands of the insurgents. His groups consisted of about 200 fighters and he was in contact with the ~~groups~~ various barracks and could always get assistance from them.

After he captured the Szabad Nep building he set up his office there. He organized the Hungarian Revolutionary Committee which was to take over the role of all the revolutionary committees.

Dudas was the first revolutionary leader who had been

executed by the Kadar government after the revolution was suppressed. He was charged with attempting to capture the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

I happen to know that on the night of November 2, ~~that~~ when this alleged attack on the Ministry for Foreign Affairs took place, Dudas was ~~lying~~ lying at home, ill with a sore throat. He ran a high fever and was hardly able to talk. He did not give any orders to capture this building. I suspect that it was only Communist ruse by which the Communist wanted to show that the Freedom Fighters had violated the armistice agreement.

C. On November 1 I had attended a meeting at the Corvin Theatre where we elected the elder Pongracz to be our representative and commander.

On November 2 I was granted an interview by Maleter, who by then had been nominated Minister of Defense. I had spoken to him previously on October 27 when I requested that he give us a few non-commissioned officers to command and instruct the Freedom Fighters. At that time he refused to give us any non-commissioned officers. Now, at the interview, he maintained his unfriendly attitude toward the civilian Freedom Fighters. His view was that without the aid of the army, the civilian fighters would have been wiped out immediately. He said that within two days he will be able to remove from the army those officers who could not be relied on. He said that he had full confidence in the army and the officers who would remain. Within two days, he said, he would have a sizable army ready for action. The interview lasted only fifteen minutes because Maleter had to go from the Killian barracks to the Ministry for the Defense. Two body-guards were present and a loaded revolver was on the desk during the interview.

On November 2 I went to Koztarsasag Square where work was going on to free prisoners from an underground secret AVH prison. In answer to radio appeals, an engineer had brought Dudas' plans of the secret construction work which had been conducted there during the World War II for the Gestapo. The engineer said that he believed the AVH had continued this project. But, he was unable to supply the plan of the AVH.

On the orders issued by Dudas, nineteen experts and equipment were transported to Koztarsasag Square, and

on November 3 they began their work to locate the exact spot from where the signals of the trapped prisoners came from. The rescue work could not be continued because of the Russian reinvasion Budapest on November 4.

On November 2 I talked to Peter Frayer, the reporter of the "Daily Worker". I met him and other foreign press reporters in the Bristol Hotel. Frayer complained that his newspaper was not accepting his reports. He was very embittered. He told us that we were perfectly right in opposing the Russians, although he, in principle, still remained a Communist. I also talked with several other foreign press correspondents but did not learn much from them. It was rather they who asked questions of us about the revolution.

This meeting with the foreign press correspondents took place on November 2 at 8 p.m. After the interview I ~~went back to my office~~ went back to my office ~~and in the Szabad Nep building to prepare the next day's edition of our newspaper.~~ I left the office for home at midnight and was checked several times by the Hungarian National Guard. They always accepted my identification cards and the papers of the official card which was given me by Dudas.

On November 3 Dudas wanted to send me by car in the direction of Cegléd, Szolnok, and Debrecen. Reports of Russian troops advancing in the direction of Budapest came in from these cities. Dudas wanted me to go out for reconnaissance and to telephone him about what I saw. I was to leave at 11 a.m. Before I could leave we were informed that the Russians had blocked the way Cegléd.

On hearing this, Dudas instructed me to take a trip by car in the direction of Győr and Sopron. I was to report to him by telephone on what I saw. ~~It is~~

I left Budapest by car at 3pm on November 2 3. There were only three of us in the car, the driver, I, and a press photographer. We did not have any arms in our possession, and we were supplied by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with Russian and Hungarian identification cards stating that we were newspaper men.

We were able to go as far as Tatabánya without any difficulty. From here on we were checked by Freedom Fighters and National guardsmen several times.

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Near Komarom we had to pass a road block of two Russian tanks, but they let us pass without even asking for our identification cards.

We reached Gyor at about 5p.m. I immediately contacted the local Revolutionary Military Council. They gave me alarming news of advancing Russian troops and told me that the road to Sopron had been cut off by the Russians. They refused to allow me to telephone Dudas. Later, it turned out that most of the news which they gave me was false.

Despite the unfavorable news which the Revolutionary Military Council in Gyor had given us, we decided to continue our way to Sopron nevertheless.

The Raba bridge was guarded by two Russian tanks. They searched our car and let us pass when they read our press card. On the way to Sopron we were stopped several times by Hungarians, but they always let us proceed. The drivers of vehicles coming from the opposite direction informed us that there were no Russians on the way. We reached the town of Nagycenk without any difficulty. Proceeding from there on we were suddenly stopped by a Russian soldier waving a red lamp. He was a Mongolian and demanded our identification cards. It could be seen that he and his unit had arrived there only recently. Two Russian soldiers with sub-machine guns pointed at us thru the windows of the car remained there while the Mongolian took our papers to an officer who was inside a tank nearby. The Mongolian was able to speak a few words in Hungarian. He could say in bad Hungarian "Please wait a bit." He returned with our papers and allowed us to continue on our way toward Sopron.

In Sopron I contacted the leaders of the "Mefesz" organization. I got all the information from them that I could about events in Russian troop movements in Sopron. They allowed me to use their telephone and I was able to report by phone to Dudas in Budapest. I was instructed by him to start for Budapest the afternoon of November 4.

We talked for some time with the "Mefesz" leaders in the cafeteria of the university. I returned to my hotel room

at midnight. We planned ~~nt~~ to go next morning to the border and write a report on the shipments of medicine and food supplies which were arriving to the Hungarian border for the Freedom Fighters.

I was awakened in the morning by two university students who informed me that the Russians had started their attack on Budapest. We were undecided what to do. I wanted to return to Budapest. My colleagues dissuaded me from doing this. There was great panic in the city because word got around that the heavy guns which were given by the army to the university students had been ~~and~~ rendered useless by the officers. They were Communist sympathizers and had removed some working parts ~~for~~ from the cannons ~~before~~ before they turned them over to the university students.

The Social Democratic leader, ~~and~~ Anna Kethly, who was on her way to Budapest from Vienna, was forced to turn back and also came to Sopron. At the university she told us that the only sensible thing to do for us was to go to Vienna and to wait there until effective Western help from the United Nations arrived and the Russians would be forced to withdraw from the country. On her advice we decided to go to Austria. Before we crossed the border for good, we made several trips from Sopron to the border and back helping families with children cross. Late in the afternoon of November 4 we crossed into Austria with the ~~an~~ intention of returning to Hungary in a few days as soon as it would be possible.

When the Russian troops began their withdrawal from Budapest, I thought that they would leave the capital and resume their stations at their barracks. Then, negotiations would start between the Hungarian and Soviet governments concerning the final withdrawal of troops from Hungary. I realized only too well that the Warsaw Pact could not be terminated on such short notice by Hungary. But, I was certain that Russian troops would not remain in Hungary against the will of the Hungarian government. I still think that this was the greatest mistake ever committed by the Soviet politbureau.

D. I still think that on the whole Hungary had gained by the revolution. ~~She~~ She has made an ~~immense~~ immense

moral victory. In the long years of Communist oppression Hungarians had begun to doubt the very existence of the Hungarian traits which have made our history so famous. Now, in the revolution, the Hungarian people have proved that they are just as heroic, just as strong, and full of vitality as before. With the exception of a very few traitors, the vast majority of the Hungarian people became united and sure of each other.

The Hungarian people have proved to the entire world that they are the only nation which is willing to attack Communism even under such heavy odds. The Hungarian revolution will probably be written down on the pages of history as the most heroic feat of any small nation in the 20th ~~century~~ century. All this gives the Hungarian people hope that in course of the next reorganization of Europe, Hungary will get a better and more just treatment than in the two reorganizations which occurred in the past forty years.

But, it is very difficult to draw a comparison between what we have lost and what we have gained by the revolution.

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

A. In the first week of the revolution I did not expect any effective help from the West. The outcome of the entire revolution was too uncertain. I realized that nothing could be done until Imre Nagy asks the Russian ~~taxia~~ government to withdraw its troops from Hungary. But, I hoped that the presense of a large number of Western press correspondents in Budapest at the time of the outbreak of the revolution would help the free world to know what is going on, and that we would get moral support from the Western world.

Later, when Imre Nagy requested the United Nations to send observers to Hungary, I expected these observers to be sent and to arrive in the country. I did not expect any United Nations troops to arrive because I knew that this could not be arranged in short order. I was confident that the presense of United Nations observers would in itself be sufficient and that we would be aided the most by similar revolts and revolutions breaking out in the other satellite countries. Regretably, neither observers nor revolutions helped us.

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C. The only foreigners I saw between October ~~11~~ and November 4 were the foreign press correspondents of whom I have already told you. I did not learn anything from them. They were the ones who asked us questions. However, they did tell us about the effects of the Russian intervention on public opinion in their countries. We were pleased to hear that many prominent Communist sympathizers in the West had openly condemned the attitude and acts of ~~isolationist~~ the Soviet government.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. My father was a mechanic and fairly well off until 1947. Before the war he owned a flour mill which employed eight persons, and a mechanical repair shop which he operated with six employees. We also had a house of our own. It would be difficult to state what his income was before the war. The territory on which my father's property was located ~~was~~ belonged to Czechoslovakia until 1938. Then it was re-annexed to Hungary. After World War II it again became a part of Czechoslovakia. In 1947 my parents were expelled from the country and all the real estate property they had was confiscated by the Czech government. We also had a house of our own.

In 1947 my father was able to bring from Czechoslovakia only his mobile property. He was able to bring across to Hungary the equipment of his mechanics shop. He operated his repair shop up to the ~~end~~ end of 1949. Then, he was so hard pressed by taxes that he was compelled to close his shop and sell his tools. Until 1955 my father lived at home farming on his three yokes and living from what he could sell of his belongings. For a very short time he joined a craftsmen's cooperative in Budapest, but there he earned practically nothing. He went back to _____ and earned his living from odd jobs.

My father finished six grades of elementary school and two grades of industrial school. My mother completed eight grades of grade school.

B. After 1945 the class of aristocrats in Hungary had been completely wiped out. The class of nobles also lost its property. They merged into the middle class. The middle class consists of intellectuals, white collar workers, the richer tradesmen and craftsmen. Besides these classes there is also the class of industrial workers and that of the peasantry.

I have contact with all these classes with the exception of the Hungarian aristocracy.

In my opinion the aristocracy in Hungary had not been

of very great value to the nation. After World War II the class of the nobles had changed considerably. The young noblemen devested their many faults and numerous faults and became very constructive members of the intellectual and middle classes.

I knew, perhaps, best of all the middle class. They had always been dependent on the government in power. For this reason they did not have as strong convictions as the other classes. Perhaps they were the softest and the most opportunistic group in Hungarian society.

The majority of industrial workers underwent a great disillusionment in 1948 and 1949. The Social Democrats and the Communist sympathizers got cured completely of Communism when they experienced Communism in practice to their own disadvantage. I think that this class was the most anti-Communist class in Hungary. The industrial workers were the most class conscious, the best organized, and perhaps knew best of all what they wanted. Regrettably, the leaders of the working class had been ~~liquidated~~ liquidated first by the gestapo and later by the Communists. The working class remained without leaders.

The Hungarian peasantry was the least organized and was less intelligent than ~~in~~ other classes. The peasantry as a class is very conservative. It remained aloof of fascism and Communism. The Hungarian peasants are very individualistic and hate anything that is collective. It is continuing its ~~xx~~ stubborn resistance which is mostly passive in nature. The Hungarian peasantry is a very valuable group of Hungarian society.

The Hungarian middle class should include not only the bourgeoisie, but also the intellectuals and officials.

I would say that I belonged to the middle class.

I think that all social classes in Hungary were hard hit by the Communists. First, the aristocracy and the nobles were wiped out. Then, the middle class was deprived of its property and kicked out of jobs. Up to 1951 the middle class was the class which lost most to Communism. After that the peasantry and the industrial workers were equally hard hit by Communism.

The peasantry, thru the collectivization of farms, thru discriminating taxation, and the compulsory delivery of crops, lived in fantastic poverty. The old peasants were unable to recall any time in which life had not been much easier than under Communism. The industrial workers were reduced to poverty by high production norms and high prices.

C. The Hungarian middle class knew very well that the peasantry was the only anti-Communist class in Hungary, after 1945. The middle class did not know the industrial workers and well as the peasants. Until ~~just~~ about 1950 it was generally believed by the middle class that the industrial workers were Communists.

The Hungarian industrial workers had respect for the middle class for its higher education and knowledge. The industrial workers realized the middle class was against Communism although very often, seemingly, they had to appear Communists. The industrial workers hoped that the middle class would lead them in their struggle against Communism.

There was considerable antagonism between the industrial workers and the peasantry, although the Communist tried to unite them. That is, unite the industrial workers with the so called "working peasants". The Hungarian peasantry thought that the industrial workers were Communists. The industrial workers, in ~~the~~ turn, blamed the peasants for the high price of farm products. Very often both classes were unable to see that their poverty was really caused by the Communist government.

The great respect which the peasantry had for the middle class before and during the war diminished considerably under Communism. Not only did the Communists try to break down class barriers, but the middle class lost much of its respect because of its opportunistic conduct.

The differences between the industrial workers and the peasantry can be attributed to the party line according to which the industrial workers are the back-bone of the Communist state and the peasants are too backward and have still to advance.

E. To get ahead in Communist Hungary one had to have the proper class background. Class origin was very important. Next came the persons political views. Talent and experience played a very minor role. Only in very exceptional cases as for example, in the cases of scientists and university professors who had acquired their fame and authority under the previous regime, was the Communist government willing to make concessions and keep them in their posts despite the fact that they evidently did not sympathize with Communism, and did not have the proper class background. The Communists wanted to gradually replace such people with their own & new intelligentsia.

There was a considerable change in this respect in the years of 1954 and '55. Then, very often good party members with the proper social background who were assigned to jobs for which they did not qualify were replaced by persons who had neither the proper background nor Communist political views. For example, in the field of literature which I knew best, young writers were sometimes able to publish their writings despite the fact that they were not Communists. This situation gradually expanded up to the revolution.

The person most likely to succeed in Hungary is the opportunist who is willing to make concessions, suppress his individuality, and is willing to accept totally the often changing political views which govern sometimes even the smallest details of his life.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism had an enormous effect on family life in Hungary. It is the basic principle of Communism to destroy all ties which unite persons with each other and to retain only the party and party membership. The family and family life are one of the greatest obstacles to total Communism. To destroy the family and family life the Communists introduced such a low standard of living that everyone was compelled to work. The parents had no other solution than to let the Communist government educate their children. Family life was completely demoralized.

Until the end of 1951 our family was able to preserve its unity. Then, the threat of being drafted for compulsory military ~~training~~ labor forced me to go to ~~the~~ Budapest and seek employment. In 1953 my father also had to come to Budapest to find employment. It was practically impossible to find an apartment and bring the rest of the family to Budapest. Therefore, my father had to travel 300 kilometers once every month in order to see the rest of the family. Only my mother and my younger brother remained at home, because my second brother also came to Budapest to find work.

The difficult housing situation also effected marriages. Very often young people would get married and both of them would be compelled to live separately with their families. They would meet only occasionally as when they were only engaged. There was no real family life in the old sense of the word.

B. Communism also changed the way children are being brought up. The aim of the Communists was to take the education of the children out of the hands of the parents. Consequently, the influence of the parents declined. They abolished institutions for the education of children which were set up in the previous regime. Thus, they abolished the scout organizations and other religious organizations. The long working hours left little time to the parents for their children.

The children were also most completely under the influence of the Communist schools. The schools in turn endeavored to occupy all their time.

The subjects in school and the method of teaching had only one purpose: to take the child completely out from the influence of family life. They did not want the children to think ~~as~~ or to become individuals. The schools propagated collectivism in every respect.

The teen-age children were left to themselves ~~and~~ at a time when they need advice and guidance, probably the most. The parents were too busy trying to make a living. They lost contact with their children. ~~Forced~~ Forced to rely on each other, the children encountered great emotional and sexual hardships thru which they would have been normally guided by their parents. The result is a far ~~greater~~ greater number of misfits both ~~physically and sexually~~ psychologically and sexually.

The Communists robbed the Hungarian youth of its greatest joys. They deprived them of a romantic life which youth usually needs.

The economic plight of the parents compelled the older children to seek work. Contributing to the support of the family, they attained a certain degree of independence. The influence of the parents became considerably less. This also effected the degree of obedience of the children. The fields in which the older children were more inclined to disobey their parents were courtship, religion, studies, choice of profession, etc. But, I think that the children accepted readily the political views of the parents.

I think that the change in the obedience of children applies equally to all classes.

Communism also affected courtships and marriages. The formalities which were attached to courtships previously were abolished. Such slogans as "It is the duty of every woman to bear children", and it is a glory ~~for a girl to do the same~~ for a girl to do the same" had the effect which the Communists desired. In the first five years of Communist rule

the Communists intentionally undermined the Hungarian youth morally. A large number of early marriages were formed. Young people not mature enough to start married life were cast adrift in life and left to go on entirely on their own. Courtship did not mean the complete union of two persons, it only meant sexual relations. The Communists denied ~~any~~ everything that was spiritual or emotional. They taught that sexual life was a biological necessity.

Church marriages were indirectly banned. As a consequence, marriage lost much of its seriousness. It was considered only as a contract which could be terminated by either party at any time. But, when the Communists realized the dangerous increase in divorce rates they attempted to make divorces more difficult.

The vast majority of the women in Communist Hungary were forced to take employment. Young girls went to work at an age when ~~was~~ they usually would have been under the supervision of their parents at home. This large-scale early employment gave ample opportunity for young people to become acquainted and to establish sexual relations. The previous formalities and the views on the relations between the sexes changed entirely. The number of illegitimate children increased considerably.

Prostitution was officially banned by the Communist government in 1950, but secret prostitution thrived, especially in the cities. Until 1954 there were no articles or speeches about sexual conduct in the Hungarian newspapers or in Hungarian schools. There were, however, such slogans as the one I quoted about its being an honor for a girl to bear a child. In 1954 the writer Pal Szabo wrote an article criticizing the morals of the Hungarian Communist youth. After that several articles appeared both in defense of and against the morals of the Disz members. I think that the sexual lives of Communists by conviction is ~~much~~ conducted much more openly than those of non-Communists. Communists with their materialistic views are inclined to regard sexual life as a biological necessity. They attribute considerably less emotional importance to sexual relations and other people.

Such cases where one of two ~~fine~~ friends joined the Communist party and the other did not, were frequent. In very many cases the friendship would cease. In most

cases the non-Communist member would be the one to terminate the friendship. I think it is impossible to continue such a friendship if under an agreement not to include politics in it. The Communist system regards practically everything from a political point of view.

E. I do not think that the crime rate increased under Communism. It is more likely that the number of crimes, that is common crimes, not political, decreased considerably. The Communist system compels everyone to work. This provides a greater opportunity to keep everyone under control and supervision. Also, sentences, especially where government property was concerned, (and practically everything belonged to the government) were very stiff. This also deterred even criminal element from committing crimes.

The crime rate of women probably increased under Communism because of the increasing ~~number~~ number of thefts in factories and places of employment. Such thefts of government property were not condemned morally by the underpaid workers.

I don't think that juvenile delinquency increased under Communism in Hungary. But, probably the sexual aberrations of juveniles increased considerably.

I don't think that the government did anything special to curb the crime rate in Hungary.

There was a considerable increase in alcoholism under Communism. In general, people did not plan for the future. The suit you bought today may not be yours tomorrow, but what you consumed today ~~cannot~~ cannot be taken away from you.

The so-called "Jampecs" can be found only in Budapest or in the larger cities. Such young people come from the slums or from middle class families who lost complete control over their children because of the existing conditions. These young people did not like to work. They wanted to conduct a way of life which provided the least possible amount of restriction. They could be recognised by their style of dress, their sophisticated language and conduct, and by

their negative attitude toward life in general. The Communist government staged large ~~scale~~ scale raids against people who were without employment. Because of such measures and because of the considerable abuse which they got from the government and Communist party organs, the so-called "Jampecs" were probably the most anti-Communist element in Hungary.

I think that the Communist government ~~was~~ exaggerated the so-called "Jampecs" question.

The majority of the Jampecs are young people from 16 to 25. I do not ~~consider~~ consider their conduct in itself criminal.

The parents of the Jampecs are very much opposed to their conduct of their children. Probably their greatest objection is that the children spend the money on themselves and do not contribute to the support of the family.

VII. RELIGION

A. Under Communism the vast majority of the older generation became more religious, or at least it wanted to appear more religious because this in itself was a demonstration against the Communist regime. The majority of the younger people, however, became almost completely passive toward religion and religious problems.

In Hungary the Communist regime exercised almost complete control over the religions. The so-called "church bureaus" were reformed which exercised complete control over the clergy. Those clergymen who showed the slightest resistance were sent to prison.

I think that the Catholic Church in Hungary was the hardest hit by Communism. The explanation of this is in the very dogmas and teachings of the Catholic church which are strongly in conflict with the materialistic teachings of Marxism.

I think that the Protestant clergy was more willing to cooperate with the Communists than the Catholic clergy. The Protestant churches give more freedom of conscience and action to their clergy than the Catholic church does. ~~Another~~ Another reason why the Protestant church seems to have suffered less in Hungary is that the vast majority of Hungary is Catholic.

B. I think that religion in my life plays about the same role as it does in the lives of my parents. I think that in general I am more religious than the average person in Hungary.

I go regularly to mass, but rarely to confession and communion.

C. I think that the ideal relations between church and state are complete independence of one another. The state should sympathize with religion but should not interfere in religious problems. On the other

hand, the church should not take part in politics.

In an independent Hungary the church schools should be restored to the churches. However, they should be reorganized. Previously, they had been too expensive for poor people to send their families to such institutions. Tuition in church schools should be reduced considerably to enable all classes to send their children to these excellent schools.

I don't think that censorship of books, plays and films should be entrusted to the churches. The churches are inclined to be too rigid on such questions. In principle, I am opposed to all forms of censorship.

D. I think that the Jewish religion in Hungary was persecuted probably to the same extent as the Protestant church was.

The middle class Jews were opposed to Communism because the nationalization of industries and farms robbed them of their property. But, the vast majority of the Jewish intellectual middle class sympathized with Communism. During the last ten years the sympathy of the Jews toward Communism probably increased. Because of the persecution of the Jews in 1944, the national conscience of the Jews practically ceased. Their vast majority blamed Hungarian society in general for the events in 1944.

Many Jews were Communist party members. They joined the Communist party either because they were opportunists who wanted to make a career, or because they were willing to make concessions and join the party out of necessity, or because they sympathized with Communism.

In my opinion the Hungarian Jews during the first week of the revolution did much more for the revolution than could have been justly expected of them. This applies only to the young Jews. I saw a number of young Jews participating in the demonstrations and I know personally several Jews who took an active part in the fighting.

I don't think it is true that the Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary. They are certain that an independent Hungary would provide a better life also for them. The recent Hungarian revolution convinced them that Hungary is not anti-Semitic.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. I think that under Hungarian youth we should mean people from 16 to 30.

B. I don't think it can be said that the Hungarian youth led the revolution. It would be more proper to say that they began the revolution.

In the last six months before the revolution the Hungarian youth did not play any important role, but probably the Hungarian youth was that group of society which could be and was most influenced by the Hungarian intellectuals.

The Hungarian youth organized the demonstrations which later turned into the revolution. They provided the enthusiasm which fired everyone to participate in the revolution.

It was the Hungarian youth and not any older age group which started the Hungarian revolution, because in this respect the Hungarian youth has tradition dating back to 1848. But, in general, every youth in every country is more susceptible to new things. It is always opposed to forms of totalitarianism.

During the ~~same~~ demonstrations and the revolution, the older people were pleasantly surprised ~~in~~ by the bravery of the Hungarian youth. Previously, they had given up this generation for lost. They thought they had been won over by the Communist. The older people regarded the youth with such great respect ~~which~~ the youth had never before enjoyed.

On the other hand, the youth was disappointed in the older generation. The older people did not show the activity which the youth anticipated of them.

C. Under Communism the educators and teachers were over burdened with work. The Communists demanded

that they observe strictly the educational plan prepared by the Ministry of Education. The purpose of this educational plan was to educate, not individuals, but Marxists members of a collective society.

I am unable to give you much information on the Hungarian schools. I came from Czechoslovakia in 1947. After that I was only a private student for two years and did not attend any school. I was unable to continue my studies at the university.

Vocational choice was ~~restricted~~ restricted by Communists. Class origin and political environment were the primary factors which determined whether you would be admitted to a university or not. But, even so, a student with the proper class and political background applying for admission to medical school may often end up in a technical university. The Communists wanted the greatest amount of engineers and technicians possible in a comparatively short time.

It is difficult to give an opinion on the standard of education under Communism. In general, it can be said that education under Communism did not give the cultural education which one acquired during the past regime. With less general knowledge however, the students acquired much more specialized knowledge in their own fields. The purpose of the Communists was to train specialists and not to educate cultured individuals.

The majority of the teachers and educators were opportunists who did not hold firm political convictions. The majority of the teachers, especially the ones who had been trained during the previous regime, were well qualified for their jobs. This cannot be said in general of the teachers who had been trained in this regime.

E. It is true that ~~much~~ the Communists spent much time and effort to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth. The youth was allowed almost no

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free time. The purpose of this was to allow them no time to think.

In every class there was one or two boys who received some aid from friends or the family. They were able to see things clearly. In turn, they influenced the other boys and girls in the class. Consequently the efforts of the Communists to indoctrinate the youth did not succeed.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. My major dissatisfaction with Communism in Hungary was the complete absence of cultural freedom.

B. Other people in Hungary complained most about the very low standard of living, the absence of cultural life and the terror and insecurity.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. I had great difficulty in getting along financially during the last six months before the revolution. In 1955 I gave up my job in the factory. I wanted to write. It was impossible to get a full-time job on the staff of any of the newspapers. Politically I did not have the proper background. But, I was able to place one or two articles and short stories with some of the provincial papers. Finally, I became a free lance writer for the "Budapest", and, financially, I was somewhat better off than before. I was then able to scrape enough together to live.

I was living with an aunt in Budapest and paid her 150 forints for a room. I ate breakfast at home which was usually a cup of coffee and a slice of bread. I usually ate lunch in the office. The office cafeteria provided cheap lunches, but they were not too good. We got meat about three times a week. I ate supper at home, usually something cold and a cup of tea.

I had three suits which were two or three years old. I also had a rain coat, overcoat, and three pairs of shoes. I had the most trouble with clothes.

To go to a restaurant, a bar, or to a theatre was ~~considered~~ considered a luxury. So it was also to get a better suit.

The clothing problem, recreation, and the books I needed to supplement my education consumed much money. For this reason, I had to deny myself anything I could have otherwise afforded.

According to my estimates, my standard of living after the war was 40% to 50% lower than our pre-war standard of living.

I think that the standard of living of our family after the war was the highest in 1948 and the lowest in 1951.

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I knew of one family which was able to maintain its pre-war standard of living even during the Communist regime. The father owned a small glass polishing shop. This trade occupied such an exceptional position that it had not been nationalized. The elder son of the family also worked in the shop. A younger brother was attending the university for physical culture. The mother was at home and did not have to work. This family occupied a three room house of their own. The boys were ~~able~~ able to afford motorcycles. The family did not entertain much but the two boys were able to go to the movies or theatres, or to a restaurant once or twice a week.

The low standard of living in Communist Hungary was due to the so-called socialized economy. The basic principles of law of economics were disregarded in favor of political interests. The nationalized industries operated at a considerable loss.

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B. During the past six ~~years~~ before the revolution my average monthly income was between 1200 to 1500 forings. About 18% was deducted for trade union fees and compulsory government loan installments. I did not receive any premiums or bonuses. I did not have any secondary source of income. In our family not only I and my father, but my sister and younger brother worked. We were not living at home but we were helping our parents.

I did not get any increase during the last five years.

C. I am unable to tell you anything about retail prices, especially about the prices of consumers goods and food products. I did very little marketing. This was done by my aunt.

The quality of goods available was very poor. This was true especially in the years of 1951 and '52. Some improvement could be noted, especially in textiles in 1953

and 1954. I think that the improvement in economic life can be attributed to political sources. This was a reflection of political concessions on economic life.

Bottle-neck situations in retail trade are common occurrences in socialized economy. Distribution involves too much red tape. Often one was able to acquire snow boots in summer and swimming suits only in winter. Sometimes bicycles and overcoats were unobtainable in certain counties for long periods at a time.

This was true also in the case of standard spare parts. For example, there was a time when one was able to obtain bicycle chains only in Budapest, and even then, not in every store.

I don't think there was any spoilage of food in Hungary.

There was a shortage especially in cosmetics, coffee, cacao, and tea. Very often they were available, but only at very high prices. Such items and citric fruits and bananas, dates, figs, were entirely unavailable.

There was a black-market but only in luxury articles smuggled in from the West. These were mylons, watches, medicine, textiles, etc. They were brought into Hungary by Danube sailors and by sportsman, or by Hungarian officials who had some opportunity to travel abroad. The black-market in these goods was not organized. If a person brought or smuggled such goods into Hungary then he would sell them to friends or acquaintances, or perhaps to colleagues in the office. The price of such smuggled goods was comparatively high, but these goods were of considerably better quality than those available in Hungary.

I did not hear of any instances where retail dealers refused to sell goods unless paid a higher price by the consumer.

Black-marketing was dangerous and the person caught in this operation was liable to be imprisoned for several years.

D. (This sub-section cannot be applied because respondent was a free-lance newspaper man who worked mostly at home, and had very little contact with superiors and colleagues.)

E. In Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. Life in the city is much freer than in the country because a person is not so much under observation as in the country where everyone knows everyone.

I think that the rural population of Hungary eats better and more food, but on the other hand, the city population is better clad and has more opportunity for recreation.

When the collectivization of farms was first introduced in Hungary, I thought that the government would be unable to carry out its program. I did not think that such great terror would be applied as later it was.

I have a very low opinion of collectivization as it had been carried out in Hungary. I knew that the Hungarian peasantry would be opposed to it. I realized very well that there would be considerable difficulties in carrying out this program and the consequence of the collectivization of farms would be increased food prices. This in turn would lead to a general decline of the standard of living.

I think that all peasants groups opposed collectivization equally.

I have heard of a few farm collectives being dissolved in 1953 when the Imre Nagy government first came to power. Almost all farm cooperative production groups were dissolved during the revolution.

These cooperatives were dissolved because the peasants were only waiting for an opportunity to dissolve them. The farm cooperatives were formed by police terror. When this terror subsided the cooperatives were dissolved.

If I were an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, I'd prefer to work on a privately owned farm. Although

the political pressure on private ~~xxxxx~~ farmers is very great, still it is better to be a private farmer than to work in a farm cooperative or on a government farm. In an independent Hungary I would keep and even develop the government tractor stations introduced by the Communists. I think that in some regions of Hungary, even the cooperative farming but on the same scale as it is being conducted in Scandinavia would also be possible.

XI. POLITICAL LIFE.

A. I was only fifteen years old when the war ended, but I was interested in politics already, during the war and even more so after the war. Before 1948 my father was not a member of any political party. From among the pre-1948 political parties I liked the Christian Democrats and the Small Holders the best. Their programs were the nearest to my political views. In general, I favor democracy and saw a good example of this in practice as a child when I lived in Czechoslovakia.

I have always condemned ~~the~~ Bela Kun, but I don't sympathize with the White Terror either. The Communist party was probably the most popular during World War II because the Communists underground was very active against Hitlerism. After 1945 this relative popularity of the Communist party ceased entirely because it became evident that it had turned into a dictatorship probably even worse than that of Hitler.

B. The Communist party members are either old Communists who participated ~~in~~ in the activities of the Communist party when it was underground, or young workers and intellectuals who have become blinded by Communism. But, the majority of the party members are mere opportunists. I have known Communist party members of all three types.

After 1948 and '49 the idealistic Communists began to complain about the party and its policies, but only in the strictest confidence among reliable friends.

During the past ten years the policy of the Hungarian Communist party underwent considerable changes. Until Stalin's death there was an ever increasing terror, even within the party itself. At that time the Communist party was very choosy about whom it accepted as a member. This was not as it was in 1945 and 1946 when the party wanted members at all costs and political views or convictions were not important.

After Stalin's death, the policy of the Hungarian Communist party always reflected the situation within the Soviet politbureau. The policy of the Communist party was most lenient in the summer of 1955 when the ~~rehabilitation~~ re-habilitation ~~of Tito~~ of Tito began.

Changes in the policy of the Hungarian Communist party always reflected the changes within the politbureau and in the Soviet Union.

I think there are very few Communist by conviction in the Hungarian Communist party.

People in Hungary, in general, were not aware of any ~~big~~ differences ~~in~~ within the party leadership itself.

Party moral within the Communist party is something which is very difficult to describe because in reality it never existed. Party moral is the equivalent of terror within the party. The moral of the members changed according to the amount of terror.

In my opinion only very few members of the leadership of the Hungarian Communist party were true Communists by conviction. They were the very ones who had been relieved of their posts during the policy of appeasement. For example, there is the Hungarian chief ideologist of the Communist party Jozsef Rafai. Now, such people as Ravai are being reinstated by the Kadar regime.

In general, I think that the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party are not Communist party members by conviction. I don't think they believe in the purposes and the aims of the Communist party.

I think that the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party are very shady characters. Each one of them should have sense enough to realize that their policy in Hungary is not independent of Moscow and serves only Moscow interests. They are the puppets who help to build new colonial systems within Europe. If they didn't know this

before, the recent Hungarian revolution made this very clear to them. Their motives are material and they also crave power. They are evil ~~people~~ people and ~~have~~ very few of them have any ideals at all.

The simple party members have been forced to become members by circumstances largely beyond their control. On the other hand, the leadership of the Hungarian Communist party has ambition and purpose. They were not compelled to become Communist.

When Hungary regains her independence I think that all the leaders of the Hungarian Communist party should be made to answer for their deeds before a court.

C. There was opposition to Communism from the very start. Complaints and grumbling were constant in every conversation not only before the revolution, but during the entire Communist regime.

The industrial workers slowed down production and the quality of the products made by them left much to be desired.

Probably the strongest resistance before the revolution was the cultural revolution introduced by the Hungarian intellectuals one year before the outbreak ~~and~~ of the 1956 revolution. There was considerable sabotage and resistance on the part of writers, theatre managers, motion picture directors, etc.

The Hungarian peasantry also showed its resistance to Communism by sabotaging the payment of taxes and the compulsory delivery of farm products.

Such acts of opposition were generally known in Hungary. The revolution proved that these forms of resistance were effective.

The extent of such opposition always depended on the degree of terror exercised by the government. Before 1953 probably the industrial workers showed the most resistance to Communism. In 1953 the resistance of the peasantry was the strongest. In 1954 the intellectuals began their effective resistance.

The resistance of the intellectuals began in 1954. It gathered momentum in 1955. For example, in December of that year the Communist writers of the Hungarian ~~Wirk~~ Writers Association prepared a memorandum demanding more freedom of opinion, and the abolishment of censorship over writers. The resistance of the Hungarian intellectuals steadily increased and the 20th Congress of the Communist proved them to be right.

The Hungarian young Communist intellectuals organized the Petofi Circle because the Communists wanted to allow a forum where "constructive criticism" could be exercised against the regime, and political and economical conditions. This Petofi Circle was organized within the framework of the Communist Youth Association.

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Public attention was drawn to the word of the Petofi Circle for the first time in May 1956. This was when the so-called debate on education was made public.

The Petofi Circle had been in existence for several months before I heard about it.

The second important debate was conducted by the Petofi Circle in June. It concerned the freedom of the press. Reports on these debates spread and made the ~~Park~~ Petofi Circle very popular. This debate on the freedom of the press was termed as "the little Poznan".

The true significance of the activities of the Hungarian intellectuals lays in the fact that they emphasized nationalism,--something the Communists attempted to exterminate completely. The Hungarian intellectuals favored nationalism and demanded a form of life other than Soviet even within the framework of Communism.

I consider the Hungarian intellectuals the forerunners of the revolution. They paved the way for the revolution which broke out in the Fall of 1956.

I have a high regard for the Hungarian intellectuals and I do not consider them as impractical dreamers.

It was primarily the Hungarian intellectuals who

turned against the regime because the more a person is able to ~~xxxx~~ think the easier and clearer he can see the contradictions and failures of Communism.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

A. The Hungarian secret police, the so-called AVH men, are the scum of ~~the~~ society. Most of them have been previously roughnecks of the Hungarian fascist party in 1944. I personally did not have any contact or experience with the AVH, but a friend of mine who was arrested by them told me ~~extens~~ in detail how the AVH tortures its suspects.

I never heard of any AVH ~~man~~ man who felt pangs of conscience or wanted to leave the AVH service.

I don't think it was an exaggeration to say that people in Hungary lived in constant anxiety and fear. One never knew when some malicious informer would cause a person's arrest by the AVH on false charges. And there was no arguing with the AVH--it was always right.

When Hungary is independent I think that the AVH members should be brought before the court.

There was considerable difference between the AVH and the ordinary Blue Police. The Blue Police exercised normal police functions. Of course, there were Communists also among the Blue Police, but they operated only under the supervision of the AVH. Normally, they did not handle political ~~affairs~~ cases. They too applied third degree methods against ordinary criminals, but the Blue Police in this respect could not even be compared with the AVH.

I think there may have been some corruption within the Blue Police force, especially among the officers. They could be bribed, mostly in economic crimes.

I was very satisfied with the ~~conduct~~ conduct of the Blue Police force during the revolution. I have already told you some details when I described my experiences during the revolution. (see III) In general, the Blue Police sided with the revolution. This does not apply to the top leaders of the police force. The police not only fought themselves in the revolution, but supplied us with arms, too. They contributed to the success of the revolution in the first few days by remaining comparatively passive.

B. I don't think there was any case at all before the Hungarian courts that the Communists did not mix politics into. After 1949, 1950 practically all of the judges were reliable Communists.

I do not know much about the courts of the Horthy regime, but I believe that they were by far much better than the Communist courts. Even then I think a simple peasant did not have the same chance of winning a civil law suit as, for example, Count Eszterhazy.

I do not know much about the Hungarian People's Courts because in 1945 and 1946, when these courts operated, I was not in Hungary. But, I think the war criminals tried by the People's Courts were guilty. They deserved their sentences.

C. At the outbreak of the revolution the passivity of the Hungarian army was of enormous significance. The Communist government was unable to force the army to fight against the uprising. This was true not only in the case of the enlisted men, but also of the non-commissioned officers and officers. Later, the army took an active part in the fighting and supplied the Freedom Fighters with arms and ammunition. I know this on the basis of my personal experiences during the fightings in Budapest.

Geographical locations came into consideration only in one respect. The soldiers in the barracks which were located far from cities were less informed of the events of the revolution and therefore did not take such an active part in the fighting as, for example, the soldiers in Budapest.

The vast majority of the political officers within the army sided with the Communists. This was also true of the majority of the top ranking officers. The non-commissioned officers, the enlisted men, and many officers of lower rank not only sympathized with the Freedom Fighters, but took part in the fighting.

I have not experienced any differences in the conduct

of the men and officers which could be attributed to their class origin.

The fact that some army units participated in the revolution while others did not can be attributed to the geographical difference which I mentioned.

I was surprised by the conduct and attitude ~~of~~ of the Hungarian army. I did not dare hope that the army would openly side with the revolution.

I served in the Hungarian army for three months in the summer of 1955. I was assigned for training to the Danube River ~~guard~~ ^{garrison} in their barracks in Ujpest. Our quarters were very miserable and our food inadequate. We received basic infantry training for two weeks, and after that conducted the menial work around the barracks and on the river bank.

The officers were of industrial worker and peasant origin. They were people who were unable to succeed in their own fields of life or who wanted an easier life in the army. I have a very low opinion of them.

The majority of the army officers and of the non-commissioned officers were opportunists who joined the party in order to get ahead. The political officers and the top ranking army officers were, of course, Communists by conviction. This applies at least to the majority of them.

Essentially there was not much difference in army life under Communism as compared to what army life was under the Horthy regime. Probably, only the methods were different. Under the Communist regime an army officer or a non-commissioned officer was not permitted to hit anyone of a lower rank. Disciplinary calisthenics were also banned. On the other hand, in the Communist army a non-commissioned officer or officer could have anyone of a lower rank confined to the barracks or locked up. They could also file a complaint to the military court and have the person sentenced.

I did not notice any change in the conduct of the

officers toward the enlisted men during the revolution.

I think that the non-commissioned officers were comparatively more competent than the officers.

In my opinion the attitude of the officers toward the enlisted men did not ~~hinge~~ hinge on their political convictions or class origin. This depended entirely on the mentality and intelligence of the officer concerned. There were some intelligent officers in the army who attended only short training courses but made a considerable effort to supplement the deficiencies in their education and training by reading up privately on subjects they should know. Such officers, however, were comparatively rare.

Treatment in the army varied ~~according~~ according to services. The two elite services were the air force and the armored troupes. ~~Their~~ Their treatment was considerably better, ~~but~~ but on the other hand, ~~the~~ the length of military service was three years.

When I served in the army in the summer of 1955 we had ~~the~~ two hours of political indoctrination every second day. No one could be excused under any pretext from these classes. The soldiers were not interested in what the instructors had to say and fell asleep as soon as possible. When the instructors noticed this ~~they~~ we were compelled to attend these classes standing.

D. I don't think it is very likely that the unpopularity of the Russian troops in Hungary is based on their conduct in 1848. Most people in Hungary do not know much about the details of the 1848 revolution. It is more likely that the unpopularity of the Russians in Hungary is based on their conduct in 1945.

I knew that the approach of the Russians during the war in 1944 and '45 meant the end of the war itself, and the withdrawal of the German troops from our country. I expected that the Russian troops would be excellently organized, well disciplined, and would conduct themselves properly. I was completely disillusioned when they arrived. I was very soon convinced of the exact opposite of what I expected.

The Russians were rude, cruel, and acted like barbarians. My opinion of them did not change after 1945. I have heard very little about the Russian troops in Hungary after 1945. When I was in the army I heard that there were Russian military advisers assigned everywhere to the Hungarian commanders. We were told that the Hungarian army is based on the Stalinist ~~strategy and organization~~ strategy and organization.

The occupation troops in Hungary were completely isolated. The enlisted men and the junior officers were confined to barracks and quarters. Only the top ranking officers ~~with~~ and their families were able to have a ~~minimum~~ minimum of contact with the Hungarian population. But, ~~neither~~ neither I nor any of my relatives or friends had any immediate contact with such Russians, therefore I know practically nothing about their mentality, and views. The only contact I had with Russians was in the fightings in Budapest in 1956.

During the revolution it was evident that the Russians did not fight against us very willingly. They could have fought against us more effectively had they wanted to. The Soviet Union had large forces in Hungary. What they did on November 4 they could have easily done on October 26. Otherwise I do not know anything about the attitudes of the Russian troops or officers during the revolution.

During the revolution I heard from reliable friends that Soviet tanks went over to the side of the revolution during the first week of Kossuth Street near the Astoria Hotel. I also heard from reliable eye-witnesses that during the ~~last~~ massacre on Parliament Square ~~an~~ the Russian tanks fired on the AVH men who were located on the roofs of the neighboring buildings.

I do not know of any instances where Soviet soldiers refused to obey orders or deserted. That Soviet soldiers fought against each other I know only by hearsay.

After November 4 I heard from reliable eye-witnesses that on several occasions the Soviet tanks fired on civilians lining up for bread in front of bakeries. Also from a reliable friend I heard that in the Mecsek Mountains (near the town of Pecs) Soviet troops had executed Freedom Fighters who had been seriously wounded. They promised to take them to a hospital

but instead took them away and executed them.

E. One of the most bureaucrats in Hungary was a column writer for the paper *Byt* which I was employed. He was incapable of having an independent opinion of his own. Even if he could have, he was afraid to do so. He shirked responsibility. He always wanted to be covered in five or six ways on things that appeared in his column. For example, if an article appeared in the paper about some disorder or unfavorable conditions in one of the factories, he first ~~sent~~ sent a draft of the article to the local party secretary, to the ministry concerned, and even to the management which was criticized in the article.

The enormous amount of bureaucratic red tape and the bureaucrat mentality in Hungary can be explained by the fact that the vast majority of the bureaucrats were people who did not have the proper qualifications for the jobs to which they were assigned by the Communist party merely on the basis of ~~their~~ their party membership and their party loyalty. For example, the bureaucrat I just mentioned wanted to be an electrical engineer. The party selected him for this post and it was only natural that a person who had inclinations to become an engineer will not necessarily make a good editor.

Up to about 1954 the vast majority of the executives and officials were assigned to their jobs on the basis of party merits. Such an assignment sometimes even meant less pay for the person concerned. Of course, such new executives and officials did not have the training nor experience which their counterparts did who served during the Horthy regime. The old officials and executives lived in a constant fear of being fired. In their desperation they did everything to gain the approval of the Communist party. Around 1952 and 1953 the new Communist-bred officials and executives began to replace completely the persons who had served under the previous regime. Neither their training nor experience equaled that of the men whom they replaced.

In the tool factory where I worked previously I had trouble several times with the secretary of the Works Committee (a trade union man) and with the factory manager himself. Both of them charged me with inciting

the workers against the trade union and management. The Works Committee secretary was angry because I once received from his predecessor a certificate which entitled me to buy a commuters ticket at a 60% discount. I got the certificate despite the fact that I was not a member of the trade union. When the other workers who were trade union members saw this they objected strongly against it and some of them refused to pay their trade union dues.

I got into difficulty with the factory manager when he arbitrarily changed our working hours from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. instead of the previous 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. All winter long we had been working according to the later schedule and when Spring came we objected to having our afternoons shortened by starting work later. The manager was forced to alter his decision and he blamed me for inciting the workers. He ~~threatened~~ ~~threatened~~ threatened to inform the AVH if anything of this kind occurred again. Before being assigned to our factory the director had been chief of personnel in the Ministry for Industry. He was a top Communist and, as he told me, he was not used to other people countering his will.

I have not known any officials or executives who disregarded party orders in government regulations, because their primary concern was the welfare of the Hungarian people.

F. It was possible to circumvent government regulations and laws if one had contact and knew people of influence. Without pull one was unable to go far. For example, when I came to Budapest to work in the tool factory I did not have any experience at all. It would have meant a great difference to pay if I had been employed only as an unskilled laborer. My brother-in-law knew a ~~man~~ man in the labor bureau and he gave me a certificate testifying to the fact that I was a qualified skilled laborer. In this way I became a drilling machine operator without any previous experience and earned considerable more than I would have as only an unskilled laborer.

One had to have contact in order to find a job. This

was considered natural. If anyone was seeking employment, it was natural for him to inform all his friends requesting them to look around for anyone who could assist in finding a certain kind of job. The sponsor could never get into trouble because he helped someone to get a job unless, later on, the person concerned got into political difficulty with the AVH. Then the AVH usually investigated who obtained the job for the man concerned and for what reasons.

I do not know of any cases of bribery in government offices.

G. I think that approximately only one third of the top officers of the secret police could be termed as educated. But, they are the type of people whose knowledge will never mean advancement to the human race. They never used their knowledge or intelligence to the benefit of humanity. The rest of the top AVH officers are half educated people of the most dangerous kind. Many of them are uneducated and unintelligent.

I think this applies also to the army leadership.

I am unable to give you an opinion of the top leadership of the Russian army.

In public administration a large number of the officials and executives who had served under the previous regime were able to keep ~~their~~ their jobs. Perhaps they had been demoted, but they were the ones who did the bulk of the work. Among these public administration officials a large number could be termed intelligent, educated, and had good experience. But, the people who were their superiors usually were uneducated, unintelligent, and acquired their positions only thru party merits.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Your question concerning the immediate future and outlooks for Hungary is a very difficult one to answer. I think that the present conditions within Hungary are trending back toward the situation which existed in 1950 at the time when Communist terror in Hungary was at its height. In this way the present government of Hungary intends to counter-balance the effects of the revolution. I think that the old Communist ideologists, planners and ~~executives~~ executives, who had been placed in moth bags at the time when it became evident that the Stalinist economy and politics have failed entirely, are now being recalled and reinstated. I think that the present Hungarian government will insist on the continuation of the collectivization of farms. Certain signs indicate that Reval, the fired ideologist of the Communist party in Hungary, is being rehabilitated. I think that Kadar will be replaced by someone else within one year. The Communists will probably stage "re-elections" shortly and a large number of, up to now, insignificant and comparatively unknown Communists names will appear on the new party list. These insignificant people will suit the purposes of Moscow just as well as Kadar or Rakosi. I do not think that either the Kadar regime or its successors will make any concessions to the Hungarian people.

Outside Hungary the struggle for power within the politbureau between the Stalinists and non-Stalinists will continue. Now it seems that the Stalinists are in power, but Bulganin and Krushchev seem to ~~indicate~~ indicate that their power is not absolute. If these two are ousted either in a show window ~~trial~~ trial or without this, the party line will go back entirely to the Stalinist course and this will have its effect also on the internal ~~situation~~ situation in Hungary. But if the non-Stalinist faction gains complete control within the politbureau, then it may make even more concessions than after the 20th Congress. If only half of the political

concessions made in Hungary in 1954 and '55 are again granted, then not only in Hungary, but also in ~~many~~ other satellite countries the pre-revolution conditions will return. A ~~revolution~~ revolution or revolutions will breakout as a consequence, but I hope this time it will not be in Hungary. Hungary has shed enough blood in its struggle against Communism. Now, it should be someone else's turn to do so.

Other world political events as for example in Suez or the Near East can also influence the immediate future of Hungary. Now everyone knows that the developments in the Suez can be attributed to the direct influence of Moscow. Once the public opinion in the West sees this as clearly as we do then, the outbreak of the inevitable war with the Soviet Union will be hastened. Hungary can only profit by such a war.

At home the people are on the brink of despair. They feel that they have been betrayed and sacrificed by the entire Western world. Therefore, at home, one can expect complete insensibility and passiveness, and a repetition of the revolution cannot be expected unless the pre-revolution conditions are resumed in the very near future.

There is ~~not~~ nothing much to hope for, neither here nor at home. The only basis for hope would be the United Nations, but this organization has repeatedly shown its inability to cope with any kind of crisis or problem.

Both the Hungarian refugees and the people at home are convinced that war with the Communists is inevitable. Pending political problems everywhere in the world can be solved only after such a war. These problems cannot be solved by means other than war. The Soviet Union is completely indifferent to diplomatic pressure.

The outbreak of a revolution in the Soviet Union is very unlikely. Had there been Communism in Hungary ever since it existed in the Soviet Union, I don't think the 1956 revolution would have occurred.

B. During the past ten years the people at home, including myself, were hoping that the political differences between the Soviet Union and the Western world would culminate in war. This war will end the defeat of Communism and will solve all the problems, including the problem of Hungary. A constant source of hope was the unsettled German problem. The differences arising in connection with the planned unification ~~##~~ of Germany may very well cause the outbreak of World War III.

Our hopes increased after 1954. We thought that the political weaknesses within the Soviet politbureau would be noticed by the Western world and that the West would force a decision and take an advantage of this weakness.

I have always considered the war between East and West inevitable. My opinion of this question had not changed since my departure from Hungary.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

B. I think that in the economic life of an independent Hungary, emphasis should be placed on agriculture. The Hungarian heavy industry should be reorganized to make only tractors, combines, and other agricultural machinery. All key industries, including the mines and power plants, the heavy industries, also the large estates and banks, should belong to the government. Very little wheat should be grown because, despite the fact that Hungarian wheat is of an excellent quality, wheat can be imported cheaper from abroad. Instead of extensive agriculture Hungarian farmers should grow fruits and vegetables and ~~xxxxxxx~~ raise livestock. I don't think that Hungarian tool machine industry will ever be able to compete with the Western industries. I think that Hungary should discontinue all its industries where ~~the~~ production costs are considerable higher than in the West. The national enterprises which can be termed as K-industries could be continued to be managed by the government. Of course, the present managers would have to be replaced and the management of such enterprises rationalized and basically reorganized. Such factories and enterprises should be run by persons who have experience and not only political merits. Individual responsibility should be increased and simultaneously the pay and benefits of the managers should be increased.

Other small enterprises of perhaps less than 100 workers should be returned to the previous owners. It is only natural that the owners of nationalized enterprises will not be able to any compensation from the Hungarian government for the damages caused by the government. Everyone, workers, peasants and the factory owners alike, will have to shoulder their own losses. If the Hungarian government in an independent Hungary at the very start would be burdened by liabilities caused by the Communists, it would go bankrupt.

I think this is one of the gravest problems facing Hungarian economic life in an independent Hungary. But these problems can be solved and they will be.

I think that the farm cooperatives and farm cooperative production groups should be allowed to remain wherever the members wish them to continue. These cooperatives should be organized on Scandinavian cooperative lines. I think that in some parts of Hungary such cooperatives can exist.

Those government farms which were organized on land originally owned by the government even before the war should continue, but, of course, under new management. All ~~the~~ other land taken over by the government should be distributed among the peasants. The owners of estates should get back not more than 150 yokes of land. This is enough to sustain a family. They should get no compensation for the rest of the land.

I think that the opinion of the people at home on these questions is the same as mine.

In an independent Hungary the government should aid agriculture and not exploit the agricultural workers. The level of our agriculture will have to be raised, but the government will have to convince the peasants that new farming methods are to their advantage, and not coerce them to change their present methods. The compulsory surrendering of crops should be abolished.

I don't think a limit should be set to agricultural property which can be owned by one person or family. The limit which I mentioned is to be taken into consideration only when the nationalized farms are returned to their owners. Such a restriction on ownership of land would, later on, curb initiative and ambition.

If I were to choose between a dictatorship with an ensured standard of living and a freedom with no guarantee of standard of living, I would choose freedom without hesitation. A country is formed not by the government, but it consists of the people themselves. Where freedom is insured, everyone can earn a living to the best of his knowledge and talent.

In an independent Hungary I would not favor outlawing the Communist party. Hungary could afford to tolerate a Communist party because it would have no followers. By allowing a Communist party to exist, it could avoid charges of being a dictatorship.

C. I would prefer for Hungary to gain neutrality like that of Austria. I would sever all relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union, including trade relations. It is practically impossible to conduct a normal trade with the Soviet Union because of the large amount of red tape and bureaucracy involved. The Soviet Union is a very unreliable business partner.

It would be ideal for Hungary to maintain very friendly relations with all neighboring countries, and perhaps form a Danubian Federation with them.

With Western Europe and with The United States, Hungary should conduct very friendly and cordial relations. These relations should be cultural and commercial, but not military.

The idea of a ~~firm~~ federation of the Danubian States originated with Kossuth. This problem was often discussed among the intellectuals at home. All our really democratic politicians are in favor of such a federation. It would solve all the problems of central Europe which have been maladjusted twice during the past fifty years. But, I do not think that such a federation could be formed in the near future. Even after the solution of all present world problems, some time will have to elapse in which these Danubian countries will be able to gradually strengthen their bonds of friendship.

I would favor all Danubian countries to join such a federation, perhaps ~~with~~ with the exception of Yugoslavia. I would not like Yugoslavia in this federation because the Yugoslavs are the most chauvinistic people in Europe. It would be difficult to get along with them because of their extreme nationalism. I think that the opinion of

the people at home, in general, is the same as mine.

I do not find Hungary's present borders acceptable. Hungary should regain at least her 1938 boundaries. But, the conception of boundaries, in general, should be changed in a new Europe. Countries should not be closed off from each other by rigid borders. Friendly relations should exist with all neighboring countries. Passports should not be required to let the citizens of neighboring countries visit each other.

I am very much concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. In a reorganized new Europe, such problems would cease. There is nothing much that can be done at present to help Hungarian minorities.

I consider the question of Hungary's boundaries and of the Hungarian minorities very important. I think that the people at home regard these problems in the same way. The entire future of Hungary depends on the attitudes we take on these problems.

XV. THE FORMATION OF THE PUBLIC OPINION

A. I heard about Krushev's speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist party in Moscow, but I did not know the details of this speech. I heard about it from friends and colleagues. Among the newspaper reporters whom I knew, there were some who were extremely well informed, probably thru the Communist party.

Senator McCarthy and his UnAmerican Activities Committee were a constant target of Communist propaganda at home. Even if only about one tenth of what the Communists wrote about him and his committee was true, I do not sympathize with him.

I heard about Peron and his downfall, but I did not pay much attention to it. We at home were primarily interested in foreign events which influenced directly or indirectly the fate of Hungary.

Before the revolution I did not know much about the private life of Rakosi. We knew at home that he was ~~living~~ living in great luxury and was very closely guarded by a picked body-guard.

B. Before and during the war I was only a child, but I remember that my father subscribed to a Hungarian newspaper published in Bratislava. After we were re-annexed to Hungary, he subscribed to the daily newspaper "Magyar Nemzet". My mother subscribed to a women's literary magazine "Uj Idok". My father read a lot, two or three hours a day. In Czechoslovakia my father was able to purchase many Hungarian books from the Prager publishing house. These books were left-wing books which were placed on the index in Hungary. During the war my father was irritated by the fact that anti-fascist books were not available in Hungary.

After the war, until about 1949, we subscribed to a

Christian Democratic newspapers the "Hazank". In 1949 and 1950 I subscribed to a literary monthly magazine published by Gyuly Illyes. It was called " ". When all opposition parties ceased we were forced to subscribe to the "Szabad Nep". But, we also purchased the "Magyar Nemzet." I also read the "Irodalmi Ujsag", a weekly which was first published in 1951. I also read the "Csillag", a monthly magazine, and the "Uj Hang", which was first published in 1953. From 1954 on I subscribed to the monthly paper published in Pecs called the "Dunantul".

I read every article published in these papers which appeared to be interesting. I did not read the articles ~~and~~ on labor competitions and the social welfare of workers.

I never believed anything which was written in the Hungarian newspapers. I knew that especially news items on foreign events and on economic developments abroad and at home were always distorted and looked upon from the Communist point of view. I did not ~~believe~~ believe the statistical reports in the Hungarian newspapers. The Communists are masters in juggling statistical reports. What I read in the Hungarian newspapers served only as a basis of comparison to what I heard from other sources, primarily over the foreign radio broadcasts.

Neither I nor my family nor any of my friends read publications which were published in the Soviet Union or in other satellite countries, including Yugoslavia. Such publications, with the exception of Yugoslav publications, were available in Budapest, and in the larger cities in Hungary.

I did not read any Western publications which could be termed as legal, that is, the sale of ~~which~~ which was officially permitted. Sometimes one was able to get copies of the "Daily Worker" and some French magazines. But, illegally, I was able to sometimes get copies of "Life" magazine, and the "Times". I am unable to tell you from what source I got these magazines because the

person from whom I got them is still in Hungary. I was also able to obtain copies of the British information bulletin which was being distributed by the British Information Service at the British legation in Budapest. I had an old friend who sometimes dared to take the risk of going into the building and obtain such press reports.

We also read Hungarian and foreign books which were placed on the index by the Communists. Such books were available in Hungary. There were several book agents which specialized in books ~~was~~ placed on the index. For example, I knew an old agent from whom I could order such books as "Man, the Unknown" by Alexis ~~Carroll~~ Carroll. After placing an order, he would telephone me in one or two days that the book is available. The prices of such books were rather high.

The books which were placed on index were still available in the public libraries but only to a selected few. Scientists and newspaper men could obtain special permission to read these books in the reading room of the library, but they were not allowed to take these books from the library.

The books placed on index were not political books. They included many of the best-sellers which appeared and were published in America or in Britain. Most of the people did not destroy these books or surrender them after they had been placed on index. Everyone kept them at home in his bookcases. If the police came and searched your flat then they probably had other reasons other than the books placed on index.

Friends would lend such books to each other. Only a few cowards destroyed ~~their~~ their books after the ban concerning these books was published.

C. While I was in Hungary, the only news I received by word of mouth was accounts of what the foreign radios broadcasts. We discussed such broadcasts among friends not always, but

only when something of special significance was reported. Such second-hand accounts of foreign radio broadcasts were not as reliable as listening to them yourself. We were especially interested in such new items which were not published by the Hungarian newspapers. In this respect, perhaps I was more daring and less careful than the average person in Hungary.

F. Theatre tickets were expensive and, therefore, I very rarely went to the theatre; perhaps on the average of once every two months. I went to the ~~stare~~ cinema about once every two weeks. I preferred Italian and French films, and Russian historical films. I did not see any films which dealt with Communist life in Hungary. I was not interested in the majority of the Russian films. I omitted all ~~Russian~~ Bohemian and Rumanian films as a matter of principle. The plays which I saw were Hungarian and foreign classics.

During the past few years the films I liked most were "The Teeth of Bagdad", a technicolor film which was played in Budapest theatres just before the revolution. I also liked a French film called "Before the Deluge." In these films I liked both the subjects and the performances of the ~~great~~ actors. They were excellently filmed and directed. The two plays I liked best were Rostand's "Cyrano", and the "Tragedy of Man" by Madach.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. The situation within the Soviet Union will remain basically the same. Further liberation can be expected only if all of the Stalinists were to be ousted from the politbureau. A revolution within the Soviet Union is very unlikely. Too much time has elapsed since Communism was introduced in that country. I think that the people at home in Hungary are of the same opinion. It is very difficult to say what the feelings are of the Soviet people toward Communism. I have never been in that country.

It is very hard to imagine that free elections could be held in the Soviet Union. A long time had to elapse before this is possible. The mentality of the Soviet people has to be changed entirely. Basically, there is no one the Soviet people could elect instead of their present Communists. I think that the vast majority of the people in the Soviet Union is unschooled politically. They would be unable to prepare free democratic elections and a democratic regime all by themselves.

I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Union are imperialists, Communists by convictions, and also the followers of the ideals of Pan Slavism. Most of the politbureau leaders are people without personality, Communists by conviction, and are ruthless followers of their ideals. Basically, they are wicked people who crave power and they are not primarily motivated by material gains.

The only difference between the Soviet politbureau and the top Communists in Hungary is that the first have more power. They are the same type of people.

B. I think that Poland and Czechoslovakia are the two most popular countries in Hungary, while Rumania and Bulgaria are the least popular from among the countries mentioned. Hungarian sympathy for Poland and vice-versa reaches back centuries. Czechoslovakia is popular because it is the most civilized country from among those mentioned. Rumania and Bulgaria are less popular because of their low culture.

If free elections were to be held in these countries, then in ~~East~~ East Germany the Christian Socialist party would come into power and Germany would be united. I do not know what would happen in Rumania. Perhaps ~~the~~ a peasant party would come to power. In Czechoslovakia ~~perhaps~~ some bourgeois democratic party would come to power. In Bulgaria~~y~~ probably a peasant party would win the election. Communism would be defeated everywhere.

I think that the standard of living is the highest in Czechoslovakia, with East Germany second. It is perhaps the lowest in Poland and Rumania.

C. I don't think that the Gomulka government in Poland is a puppet one. Gomulka is doing everything possible not to be a puppet. On the other hand, the Russians are doing everything to keep him in control. If, at the end, they are unable to force Gomulka to comply with their instructions, then they will find some way to replace Gomulka with a puppet.

I think that the Gomulka government in Poland has achieved only temporary results. Conditions in Poland will probably develop to the state which existed in Hungary in 1953 at the time of the first Imre Nagy government. But, there is a slight possibility that the decay which has started will continue on a larger scale.

I do not approve of Gomulka's policy of gradualism. A dictatorship can never be developed gradually into a democratic form of government. At the first signs of the reins being slackened, the whole thing will collapse.

My views on Poland have not changed ~~max~~ much since my departure from Hungary.

Events in Poland did have an effect on the Hungarian situation and the Hungarian revolution, but not ~~as~~ to such an extent as it is generally imagined. Until the summer of 1956, that is until the Poznan trial, people in Hungary did not pay much attention to what

~~Warsaw~~ was going on in Poland. By then, the intellectual disintegration of Communism was already in full swing at home. When our revolution broke out, we thought that the Poles would immediately follow our example. After the revolution, we thought that for the first time that they are reaping the results of our sacrifices. Now, I see the whole problem in a ~~kind~~ different light. The results which the Poles achieved are very temporary.

I do not think that there had been more political freedom already before Gomulka's rise to power. I did not hear about this from anyone in Hungary. We heard only about the Poznan trial, which was distorted to some extent by the Hungarian Communist press, but full accounts of it ~~were~~ were rendered by the foreign radio broadcasts.

D. I do not think that Tito and Yugoslavia had too much of an effect on Eastern Europe.

It is true that Tito is the originator of the so-called National Communism. Essentially, Titoism is nothing else but the old fascism. The only difference is that it is painted red, and it is the same kind of a dictatorship as the so-called "international" Communism of Moscow. Yugoslavia under Tito is a police state the same as the Soviet Union.

It is difficult to clearly see the relations between the Soviet Union and Tito. Politically, Tito seems to be stronger and the initiative is always on his side. Relations between other Eastern European countries and Yugoslavia depend entirely on Tito's current ~~relations~~ relations with the Soviet Union, which have changed several times since the end of World War II.

Tito's relations with the West are very advantageous for Tito. He seems to be deriving much economic assistance and benefits from his relations with the West. He is unwilling to ~~commit~~ commit himself entirely for the West.

My impression is that at the outbreak of the revolution Tito looked with favor on the events in

Hungary, as he seemed to be justified in his policy of refusing Moscow control and economic exploitation. However, when he sensed that the Hungarian revolution has taken a strongly anti-Communist turn, he saw his own position in Yugoslavia threatened and took sides against the revolution.

I think that there are Titoists, or Communists who favor National Communism, in all satellite countries. They may be important in as much as they may start a revolt against Moscow in their attempt to gain independence. But, such National Communist solutions may be regarded as temporary. They will be replaced later by strongly anti-Communist regimes.

I do not think that Tito is popular in Yugoslavia. I base my opinion on what I have learned from several friends who were in Yugoslavia. In their opinions, Yugoslavia is entirely a police state.

I think I know more about the situation in Yugoslavia than the average Hungarian. This can be attributed to the fact that I have had several friends who were there and are experts on Yugoslav affairs. I think that the standard of living in Yugoslavia is lower than that in Hungary, but it cannot be denied that the industrial development of Yugoslavia during the Tito regime has progressed considerably. In general, Yugoslavia industrially was fifty years behind the other eastern European countries. Now, she has caught up with them.

E. The Communists gained control of China because Moscow was supporting them. Economic and social conditions in China were favorable for Communism.

I do not think that China is more independent of Moscow than the other Communist satellite countries. Due to her size and abundance of natural resources, China is very important to Moscow. For this reason, she is probably under much closer control than the other satellites. The Soviet Union cannot afford to lose China.

In general, I am familiar with the relations between India and Great Britain. In my opinion these relations

are very unhealthy, as they are based on constant compromises.

Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal, at least, not in the way that the nationalization was executed. If the nationalization could have been conducted by a free and democratic Egypt on the basis of negotiations, a favorable settlement could have been reached for all parties concerned. But, the purpose of the nationalization of the Suez Canal was to strengthen the newly born dictatorship in Egypt. This move was more than likely inspired by Moscow.

France and Great Britain had some right in invading Egypt in 1956. They wanted to safeguard their rights in the Suez Canal. A free canal is very vital for the economy of the entire western Europe.

The right of Israel to invade Egypt is questionable. The Arabs claim Israel to be their territory. They have occupied that territory for centuries. The historical claims of Israel to that territory are much weaker because they date back to about the time of Christ. However, ever since then that territory had been ruled by the Arabs.

Events in Egypt and the Suez zone in the autumn of 1956 did effect the Hungarian revolution, but not to the extent that it is generally claimed. It cannot be denied, however, that to a great extent events in Egypt served to divert attention from the situation in Hungary. It influenced the Soviet Union in its decision to take disciplinary action against Hungary. The Soviet politbureau was right in its estimate that the West will be too occupied with the Canal crisis and will pay less attention to developments in Hungary.

F. I believe that the standard of living of West Germany is the highest in Europe. I don't think that the world has to fear the Germans because they may eventually cause the outbreak of World War III. The unprecedented high standard of living in Germany has turned this strongly militaristic

nation into an anti-militaristic people. Germany will not intentionally cause a third world war, but it is possible that a third world war will emerge from German attempts to unify East and West Germany. For example, if a revolution or trouble should break out in East Germany, West Germany would immediately interfere and it is ~~certain~~ uncertain what the Soviet attitude would be in such a situation.

I approve of German rearmament. It is necessary because it is the only counter-balance to Soviet military power in Europe. I think that the West German army is weaker than the British army, but it is just as strong as the French. The length of compulsory military service in West Germany is probably one year.

The occupation force which is present is always the more unpopular. But, if a comparison should be made, I agree with everyone else in Hungary that the Russians are more unpopular than the Germans were. It cannot be denied that the German army, both men and officers, were much better disciplined than the Soviet counterparts.

G. The British Labor party does not sympathize with Communism. This party should be the prototype ~~for~~ all European ~~and~~ worker parties to follow.

I think that the standard of living is the highest in West German, with Britain second, Italy third, Greece fourth, Soviet Union fifth, and Egypt sixth.

H. On my arrival in the United States I was astonished by the large scale bureaucracy which I experienced on the part of the immigration officials. I was shocked by the political naivety of the public here. The high standard of living and immense ~~and~~ wealth here surpassed all my expectations.

I am not at all satisfied with the foreign policy of the United States government. It should be firmer in respect to the Soviet Union. I don't think that the United States government should give loans or economic aid to Eastern European countries. This applies also to Yugoslavia. All such aid would only serve to increase

the economic strength of the Soviet Union. The United States government, in every way possible, should express its sympathy for the Hungarian people, and its dissatisfaction with the present Communist regime in Hungary..

Since my arrival in the United States my views on what America should do have changed to some extent. On seeing all this wealth and technical superiority I cannot understand the reluctance of the American government and people to settle accounts with the Soviet Union. I ~~consider~~ that a final showdown between East and West is inevitable. I am amazed at the childish hopes of the American people that all this can be avoided.

The United States government should maintain formal diplomatic relations with the Hungarian government, but there should be no commercial trade relations or cultural relations between the Hungarian government and the U.S.

I am certain that the people at home would like to see more Western visitors, because ~~thru~~ thru them they would get more information on life outside Hungary. Visitors to Hungary should be warned to speak not only ~~to~~ about the high standard of living in the Western countries, ~~but~~ and about the wonderful qualities of goods which are unavailable in Hungary. These visitors should first of all attempt to explain to the people at home how free people are living. They should stress the fact that they have great sympathy for the Hungarian people, especially after events in Hungary ~~in~~ in 1956. It ~~must~~ must not be forgotten that it is of extreme importance to stress the patriotic feelings of Hungarians. Patriotism is a strong antidote to Communism.

The people at home are most certainly interested in Western publications, but at the present I don't know how it would be possible to send such publications there.

I think it would be of great importance to have immigrants take part in such activities as forming such prospective visitors to Hungary and in ~~xxxx~~ sending publications to the people at home. But, the question is, what kind of immigrants should be used for this. It would not be advisable to have any of the immigrants who had been party members mixed up in this and things of this kind. The people at home expect immigrants not only to represent them, but also to do something ~~af~~ for them. If they see that the refugees are active in any way, this helps to convince them that they have not been forgotten.

I do not know too much about the Marshall Plan. Its primary purpose was Humanitarian, to aid the reconstruction of European countries whose economies had been ~~disrupted~~ disrupted by World War II. Its secondary purpose ~~may~~ may have been to win sympathy for the United States and to prepare the way for American influence in these countries.

At the time when the United States entered in a state of war in Korea, I thought I knew why it was fighting. The main reason was to curb the expansion of Communism in Asia. But, by the end of the war I did not see what the main ~~xxx~~ purpose was, because they solved practically nothing by starting the war. The United States attitude on the Korean War only served to increase the confidence and ~~perhaps~~ perhaps the impertinence of the Soviet Union.

J. The United Nations is becoming to resemble the one time League of Nations. The League of Nations is famous for not having solved on single political problem.

The United Nations did practically nothing to help Hungary in the autumn of 1956. The least it should have done was to have sent observers and perhaps a U.N. police force to Hungary. It could also have applied sanctions against the Soviet Union for interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary. I don't ~~think~~ think there is any hope of effective United Nations on Hungary in the near future. The

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United Nations should be entirely reorganized to
be able to take effective action.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED
PERSONALITIES.

A. It is very difficult to say who is the greatest living Hungarian. You probably expect me to say Cardinal Mydzenty, but I think that perhaps the Nobel Prize winner, Professor Szentgyorgyi can better qualify for this title.

B. I think that Imre Nagy is a man of mediocre talent. He is well intentioned but weak willed. He is not a good politician.

Cardinal Mydzenty is primarily a priest who has no talent or feeling for politics. He should not take part in Hungarian politics.

Lazlo Rajk is an international Communist. From an Hungarian point of view probably he was least bad of the Communist guard which came to Hungary in 1944-1945.

Erno Gero is a sadist, a blinded Communist, and a very dark character.

If it is possible to distinguish at all about top Communist leaders, I think that Kadar also belongs to the less evil ones. He has no character and was unable to commit suicide when this would have been the best solution to his problems.

My opinion of President Eisenhower is that he is primarily a soldier and not a statesman.

The conduct and attitude of Secretary-General Hammarskjold reflects the mentality of his country which was always in favor of neutrality. He is not familiar with European problems. If he is familiar with them, then his knowledge is very superficial.

State Secretary Dulles is not the firm state secretary the United States requires. The confusion in the United States foreign policy is largely his fault.

Ex-Prime Minister Eden is the good-looking, well-

dressed ~~xxxpolitician~~ politician who has only about one tenth of the talent Churchill had.

I am unable to form an opinion on ~~Rx~~ ex-President Truman.

My opinion on these persons have not changed since my departure from Hungary.

Mikoyan is one of the top ~~Stalinist~~ Stalinist advisors in the politbureau.

Prime Minister Nehru is probably the most stupid humanitarian in the world.

Generalissimo Chiang Kei Chek is an insignificant person.

This is my opinion also of Ferenc Nagy.

President Roosevelt was a great man, but an extremely bad politician. He lacked the foresight which a statesman requires,

Chancellor Adenauer is a very good statesman, but he is getting too old.

From the point of view of the Soviet Union, Stalin was the greatest dictator in the world.

Malenko is not very gifted.

Generalissimo Franco is a clever dictator.

~~Benin~~ Beven is a very shrewd politician.

Kruschev is an unscrupulous statesman.

Molotov is the best foreign minister the Soviet Union or Russia ever had.

Ollenauer is a very good party leader.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of the 20th century.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The majority of the refugees who fled from Hungary after the revolution, that is after Nov. 4, resided in the Trans-Danubian country and in Budapest. Before November 4 the majority of the people who came out were those who were waiting to flee Hungary for the past ten years. Many of them came not to live in the free world, but to encounter adventure. The political prisoners who would have been returned to prison were among the first ones to leave. After November 4 the majority of the people who left Hungary were young people who had participated in the fighting and had to fear retaliation.

I think that the majority of the present refugees are between 16 and 38 years of age. Only a slight fraction of them are women or girls. Most of the refugees probably belong to the so-called middle-class. There must be very few peasants among them.

The people who remained at home are either the most fanatical Freedom Fighters who deemed it their duty to remain and continue their fight against the Communists and Russians, or perhaps they were people who did not have an opportunity to leave the country, or who could not leave because of family reasons. I have great sympathy and compassion for the people who are now at home. Of course, this does not apply to the Communists who would not have come out anyhow.

There were many people who could have fled Hungary but deemed it ~~at~~ their duty to stay. One of the most heart ~~and~~ rending scenes I've ever witnessed in my life was the following: I was already in Austria and went down to the Hungarian border with a Swiss student to take down medical supplies and provisions which were being sent by the International Red Cross. On ~~of~~ the Hungarian border, but on Austrian territory, I encountered a student who was about 21 or 22 years old. He brought his 57 year old mother to Austrian territory, instructing her to go to her elder son in Canada. He bid good-bye to his mother

and turned around and went back to Hungary. He was a very intelligent, good-looking young man, and I sincerely hope that he is still alive.

I think that the people at home expect that we will be their representatives here in the free world, and that we will do everything in our power to aid them and to liberate our country.

Your question about who would leave Hungary if there were ample opportunity to do so is a very stupid one. It is very difficult to answer. Probably everybody, about eight or ~~xx~~ nine million people.

B. In Hungary I only heard about the Hungarian National Committee headed by Bela Varga. I know that the Hungarian National Committee is anti-fascist and anti-Communist. It unites all politicians of this kind who have left Hungary after 1945, and even during the war.

Since my arrival in the United States the only Hungarian exile organization with which I have had ~~any~~ contact is the Association of Hungarian Freedom Fighters headed by General Bela Kiraly. I am a member and employee of this organization.

I have heard about the M.H.B.K. only in Vienna. I heard about the Christian ~~Democratic~~ Democratic Union only here in the United States, and also about the International Peasant Union. I heard about the " " Only in Vienna. It is published by the International Peasant Union.

I heard about Bela Varga in Hungary. He is an excellent man and a good politician who has furthered the cause of Hungary in exile.

Ferenc Nagy has no talent for politics. He was a simple peasant barber. After he left Hungary he became a careerist. I ~~am~~ despise him.

Tibor Eckhardt is a very valuable member of the Hungarian immigration. He is very intelligent and very well educated, but his political views are somewhat obsolete.

Imre ~~Kovacs~~ Kovacs is a writer who should be barred from ~~exile~~ exile political activities. It must not be forgotten that in 1953 and 1955 he tried to convince everyone that the Hungarian peasantry wanted National Communism.

I heard about Imre Szelig _____ at home. He is a Social Democrat who, if necessary, uses Communist tactics.

Charles Peyer was probably the best known Social Democratic leader in exile.

I have great respect for Miklos Kalay for his conduct in 1944. He is anti-Nazi and Anti-Communist, but today he does not play an important role.

~~Sarkas~~ Zoltan Pfeiffer is a political swindler.

Istvan Barankovics is perhaps the most valuable member of the Hungarian National Committee. He is honest and intelligent. His principles are the most are the most acceptable to the Hungarian people.

Josef Kozi-Horvath is a stupid priest.

I heard about General Zako in Vienna. He is the chief of the M.H.B.K. This is a cover-organization which conducts espionage for the United States. He has sent several hundred young Hungarians to the gallows and to prison. This he did not from conviction, but for material gains.

Mr. Otto of Hapsburg is a very intelligent man who has no chance whatever of occupying the Hungarian throne.

~~Governor~~ Governor Horthy was an admiral without a fleet and a politician without talent. My ~~attitude~~ attitude toward the people just mentioned has not changed in any respect since my departure from Hungary.

The Hungarian politicians in exile ~~endeavored~~ endeavored to influence Western public opinion

in favor of Hungary. ~~They~~ They wanted to convince the free world that Hungary is entirely anti-Communist and that a Communist government had been imposed upon her by a small Moscow minority. Regrettably, the Hungarian politicians in exile and the Hungarian exile organizations were able to accomplish very little. These organizations and politicians should strive to send messages of hope and advice to the people at home.

During the revolution I did not think at all about the Hungarians living in exile.

C. I did not meet any Hungarians who fled the country in 1945 and came back later.

I think that the Communist redefection campaign had only propaganda purposes. The people at home considered this program as ridiculous and they felt sorry for the stupid people who took the bait.

D. I think that the people at home should be told that the Hungarian refugees are not living in concentration camps. They are free. The people at home know very well that our standard of living is much higher than theirs at home.

The people at home should also be told that the entire free world sympathizes with us, and that simple people everywhere are doing much more, that is comparatively much more, than the official government agencies.

I think that it is the duty of every Hungarian who has fled the country to win friends for Hungary everywhere in the world.

I have already joined the organization of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters and am presently employed there. The purpose of this federation should be to unite all Hungarians in exile. It is entirely indifferent to me whether pre-revolution exiles also join this organization.

There were many political parties in Hungary before 1948. Essentially, there was not much difference in

their programs. I am favorably inclined to all these parties which existed before 1948, with the exception of the Communist party.

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

I think that the revival of the Hungarian political parties during the revolution was premature. This should have been undertaken only when and if the results of the revolution had been insured.

I intend to return to Hungary once Hungary is liberated. It is difficult to say whether I will stay there permanently or just for a short time. It is hard to foresee the future.

If I have children here in the United States, I will insist that they learn Hungarian.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. At home in Hungary I listened regularly to Hungarian broadcasts of the B.B.C., Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and other radios, including the Paris and Madrid radios. I think that the reception of the B.B.C. programs was the best, after that came Free Europe, and finally, Voice of America. The Voice of America programs were jammed the most, the B.B.C. broadcasts the least. I only listened to the Hungarian broadcasts.

I listened to the B.B.C. programs every day and to the other programs perhaps once or twice a week. We always discussed the news broadcasts over these radios among friends and colleagues. I listened to these programs over my own radio at home. I listened to them entirely alone or in the company of my immediate family.

I did not take any special precautions when I listened to foreign radio programs.

It was not a criminal offense to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, but it was considered such to talk about them to others. This could be termed as inciting against the people's democracy, with a punishment of up to three years in prison. I think this prevented many people from listening and talking about such broadcasts. I am not aware of any change in this respect during the past ten years.

I consider the B.B.C. programs the most reliable. Radio Free Europe came second. The Voice of America was also reliable because it was the official organ of the American government. I formed my opinion on the reliability and accuracy of these programs by comparing their material with Hungarian publications or radio broadcasts and with events in Hungary which I could check personally.

Before the revolution, these broadcasts served to inform the people about events taking place outside of Hungary,

and, very often, about events taking place in Hungary, but about which they could know nothing ~~from~~ from merely the Hungarian newspapers or broadcasts.

During the revolution the foreign radio broadcasts, and especially Radio Free Europe, played a very important role. Namely, the Freedom Fighters were able to get information about events taking place in other parts of Budapest or in the country only by listening to the Free Europe broadcasts.

Radio Free Europe has the longest program and is able to broadcast on several wave-lengths simultaneously. But, the Hungarian broadcasts should be revised. It would be a good idea to freshen the staff with recent immigrants who know the situation in Hungary better.
~~xxxxx~~

I do not ~~know~~ think it is true that Radio Free Europe played any special role in inciting the Hungarian revolution.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue with programs and broadcasts into Hungary, but it should alter the tone of its programs considerably.

It would be extremely vital to form a united program ~~accepted~~ accepted by all the ~~various~~ various organizations. This would express the general lines on which a liberated Hungary would be reorganized. Radio Free Europe should inform the people at home about the political views and opinions of the exile ~~organizations~~ organizations and prepare them to a certain extent for a liberated Hungary.

B. I have heard at home about the Hungarian National Resistance Movement and their leaflets. My opinion is that the leaflets dropped into Hungary were primitive, ineffective, and prepared by persons who knew very little about the conditions at home. In short, this was ~~nothing~~ nothing else than a lot of American dollars thrown to the winds.

C. In 1953, and on another occasion ~~in~~ in 1955, I saw Free Europe Press leaflets. In The 1953 leaflet contained twelve demands. This I ~~received~~ received from

a friend. I don't know how it came to his possession. In 1955 when I was serving in the army, we were sent out to pick up such leaflets which were dropped into Hungary from balloons. The leaflets we gathered were primitive comparisons of the standard of living in Hungary and the United States. They were nothing more than a list of prices and wages. On another occasion we had to pick up leaflets which were written and published in Bohemia and we were unable to understand the contents.

I did not pass these leaflets on to anyone else.

There was talk about such leaflets in Hungary and even the Communist Press attacked these leaflets. I think that, in general, the people at home disapproved of these leaflets in the same way as I do.

It was dangerous to pick up such leaflets, to talk about them or to pass them on. If apprehended, a person was liable to be imprisoned. I think this danger deterred many people from picking up such leaflets or from passing them on. I am not ~~any~~ aware of any change in this respect during the last ten years.

I don't think that the Free Europe or other leaflets dropped into Hungary had any effect on the Hungarian population, either before or during the revolution.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue to drop such leaflets into Hungary, but not the kind which has been dropped so far. These leaflets should inform the people at home that the workers living in the free world are free and have a high standard of living. But, the emphasis should not be placed on this and should not be expressed by listing long columns of prices and wages. What should be emphasized is the political freedom and the cultural facilities available to the workers, and the abundance of goods in the free world.

D. I think the purpose of Western organizations in

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dropping leaflets into Hungary and other iron curtain countries, and broadcasting programs to these countries was to increase dissatisfaction against the present regime. I am not aware of any differences in the motives of the various organizations.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important things that a child should be taught are the fear of God, patriotism, respect for parents, and love and affection for the family.

It is necessary to discipline children, but I do not favor corporal punishment. Other forms of punishment, as, for example, the suspension of recreation, can hurt more than physical ~~punishment~~ punishment.

I ~~do~~ think that until the ages of twelve or thirteen no difference should be made between boys or girls regarding discipline.

After thirteen, the parents and teachers should appeal more to the intelligence of the child. I think that boys should be disciplined more than girls, but the ideal relation between parents and child is always ~~friendly~~ friendly.

I was eleven years old when a ~~professor~~ professor in school slapped me because I was sliding down the handrail.

Physical punishment is used mostly in the families of industrial workers and peasants. I don't think there is any difference in who punishes the child until about the age of thirteen. Over thirteen, usually the mother punishes the girls and not the ~~father~~ father.

Physical punishment is usually abandoned at the age of thirteen for boys and eleven or ~~the~~ twelve for ~~girls~~ girls.

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

The only difference in this respect among the various classes is that the children of the peasants and

industrial workers are forced to seek employment earlier, and when they begin supporting themselves they are less independent of their parents.

Communism has reduced the frequency of parental punishment. The parents have less time for their children and are less able to supervise their activities. I think that physical punishment has also declined under Communism. The age at which punishment is abandoned has ~~in~~ also been influenced by Communism because children in general are forced to seek employment and support themselves much earlier than before.

Under Communism physical punishment was banned in schools. In its place the Communists introduced scolding and attempted to influence the child by convincing him that he committed ~~some~~ a wrong thing.

The characteristics which I most value in a friend are sincerity, willingness to help, and confidence. I don't think Communism effected ~~first~~ friendships much.

THE END