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Date of Interviews:
Sept. 12, 13, 1957

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Interviewer:
Maria Podhorszky

PERSONAL INVENTORY

M - 92
Age; 55
Sex: Male
Married

Roman Catholic

Born: at Szentmartonkata, County Pest in Hungary.

Respondent spent most of his life in Budapest, Hungary.

Respondent lived just before the revolution broke out at the Rakoczi Street and Central Boulevard Kolnar.

Respondent was abroad in 1948 when he was in Italy on a vacation.

Respondent served in the reserve corps of the Hungarian army, with the mechanized division where he attained the rank of sergeant.

Respondent's education is as follows: a high school graduate, has a diploma of the Budapest University; is a doctor of law, and also has his barrister's diploma. ~~Respondent~~ Respondent worked at the legal department of the Mavag - this is the Hungarian railroad manufacturing company from 1955-1957.

From 1947-1948, he was employed by the legal section of the Hungarian Ministry for Agriculture, dealing with the State Forestry offices.

In 1948, he was pensioned and he worked until 1950 as a physical worker in a venetian-blind factory; in 1950, he passed his exam as an official Russian translator, and was employed at the Scientific Institute for Traffic Problems as a translator. In this section he was employed until 1952 under contract, and in 1952, he was taken on as a permanent employee in the documentation section of the same office. In 1955, the Party secretary dismissed him; however, the manager of the Institute had him under contract only. He worked here until the outbreak of the revolution.

Respondent's parents are not living. He has only one brother who is in Budapest. He is 65 years old. Respondent has no children. Respondent left Hungary on ~~November~~ Nov. 15, 1956, and arrived in the USA on March 3, 1957. Respondent since then stayed only in Camp Kilmer and in New York where he is residing now. Respondent plans first of all to learn English very well. He is attending several English language courses. At present, he is employed as an accountant with the ~~Slyde~~ ~~Company~~ Company down at Union Square. Respondent was interviewed only by the American Consulate in Vienna, and then at Camp Kilmer by the National Academy of Sciences. These were short, routine interviews.

Respondent speaks and writes Russian, some German. Now he is quite a good talking English.

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CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is the son of a provincial, small village chief parish clerk. One of nine children, all of whom received nevertheless a good education. Respondent attended the gymnasium of the Pigrist Orders; graduated there and attended then the University of Legal Sciences in Budapest. He has an LL.D degree, and also a lawyer's diploma, although he never practiced as a lawyer.

Subject is sincere, well-balanced. Does not display strong emotions - neither pro nor con. He resigned himself, and adapted himself philosophically and good-humouredly to the adversities of life and circumstances. He went to work as a physical worker in Hungary and quite enjoyed his work when he was ousted from office. At present he works as an assistant bookkeeper for Klein's Department Store.

He accepts the fact that being a greenhorn and not knowing English well, he first must get the feel of the land and the whole American way of living.

Due to his political associations, he had quite a lot to say about Hungarian politics and Hungarian political personalities.

I do not think that he is too strong physically, despite his size. He is ~~about~~ six-footer and drinks tons of coffee, and very strong ones at that. Nevertheless rather fagged out both days toward the end of the afternoon.

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MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS, ATTITUDES,

Respondent sums up his opinion of what he thinks are the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 as follows: his personal experiences during the days of the revolution:

"There is one thing which I believe is quite important and which I have never heard so far here in the USA is that it is absolutely untrue that the Hungarian government or any Communist in Hungary has called in the Russian troops. This is not true. It was neither Nagy nor Gero nor the Hungarian government. The Russians were already in the country and came in without asking. I was doing translation work and here we heard that the University students are staging a revolution. Then, there is something else which I believe to be very important. The whole Western hemisphere and Western world ought to realize that Hungary is not under a Communist rule. This is not Communism anymore. It is neither Marxism nor Leninism...it is Colonialism...and Hungary is a colony of the Soviet Union."

"My relatives brought along their small children, and when the shooting and fighting started at the radio we left. However, later in the evening we again went out to the Municipal park to see the demolished statue of Stalin."

"Regarding our feelings during the demonstrations, I believe that they were the same as those of every decent Hungarian. We were happy; however, personally, I was rather a pessimist. Knowing the Russians, I was convinced that in the end, they will say that this was a counter-revolution which they did, as a matter of fact."

"Regarding the demands, I believe that the emphasis was on the free elections, which would have been the one for the liberation of Hungary. Prime Minister Nagy was under terrific pressure and it was clear that he was unable to do something that is effective. At that time, considering the feelings, the elation and the enthusiasm of the people, I do not believe that anyone would have accepted any compromises from the government."

"Even before the fighting started, I knew that the uprising will be quelled."

"Regarding the demonstrators, it was something quite amazing to see how one simple people - the bus conductors, the University students, the workers,

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

A. Respondent gave the following account about his personal experiences during the days of the revolution:

"On the 22 of October, I hadn't the foggiest notion about anything that was going to come. The whole demonstrations and the revolution came absolutely unawares.

"On the 23rd, I was working in the office where I was doing translation work and here we heard that the University students are staging demonstrations, and from the windows of our offices which were on the Museum Boulevard, we saw the crowd that grew from minute to minute. About seven o'clock in the evening, I picked up some relatives of mine and we tried to go as near as possible to the radio building. This was before Gero spoke.

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the young and the old, the children, students, everybody joined in - men and women alike - in the demonstrations.

"As to the organization of the demonstrations, at that time I didn't know anything. Only in Vienna did I hear that the students of the University of Technical Sciences were the originators of the demonstrations. However, from what I have seen, these demonstrations were quite spontaneous. Everybody just joined and the crowds in the streets always grew from minute to minute. After all, it was just the bottled feelings, hatred and bitterness that was exploding at that time."

B. "I believe that the peaceful demonstrations turned into fighting when the first shots were fired at the radio building. At least, this was the opinion of everybody else, too.

"As I told already, I never believed for a second that the overall outcome of the revolution would be victory.

"As I said already, I did never hold the government responsible for calling in the Russian troops, or any individual. The Russians did not have to be called in. They were there. They interfered on Russian command, orders.

"As to who fought during the revolution- from what I have seen there were young and old people - boys and girls - women and men - workers, students - the factory workers from Csepel and also fought in great numbers.

"I heard that the fighters got their arms from the military barracks. There was one at the Hungaria Boulevard - the former Francis Joseph Barracks. Then also, I heard, that many policemen and even these stationed at the police barracks had surrendered their arms to the freedom fighters.

"I do not believe that the freedom fighters were organized, either. They were all over the city - individual groups that had a leader. Later on, however, I heard that Colonel Maleter was asked by the University students to assume leadership. He was the one, who then, went to the Kilian barracks and became the leader of the freedom fighters.

"the

C. "The days between the time of Soviet withdrawal" and the "re-invasion" were the happy days of freedom. I immediately went to the headquarters of the small-holder's party where together with (I am

omitting here the names respondent has given me); we went on to organize the economic political section of the Small-holder's Party and took and got in touch with the different economic experts. Here we were working day and night during those short three days, trying to find the ways and means to lead the country out from chaos.

"However, I was a pessimist, and all the time I was very skeptical. I even had several discussions and arguments with the leaders of the Small-holder's Party. On the 3rd of Nov. we had a meeting. Former Mayor Kovago who is here in the US can bear me out on this. He attended this meeting, too. Here everybody told me I am a fool. I told them not to believe that the Russians have left the country. I told them that the troops are dug in all around the city. We went up Tildy who said: "Maleter is going right now to negotiate with the Russians. Don't be anxious." I was booed down and told that I am an idiot. This was at the time when the reports came in that the Russian planes are coming in at the Tokol airport."

"From the time of the Red Armies "return" to the time of my escape, I did not dare to go home, and I was in hiding at my mother-in-laws. Of course, I knew that due to my activities in the Small-holder's Party I must leave the country as soon as possible. When on Sunday at dawn, Prime Minister Nagy read out his proclamation on the wireless asking the help of the West, stating again Hungary's neutrality, and informing the public that the Russians are invading Hungary, ~~everyone~~ everybody had to realize finally that the end had come and the bloodshed is going to start."

D. When asked whether he thought that on the whole Hungary has gained because of the revolution, respondent said:

"Immensely. First of all, Hungary has done a great harm to the Soviet by exposing its methods and aims. Secondly, the Western Communists have also finally realized what Soviet Communism means, and finally, I hope even the most stupid politicians in the West have realized what aims the Soviet Union has."

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EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "Personally I did not expect anything from the West because I knew that the USA is scared of war.

"However, people at home did expect that the West would at least send in the UN troops. Even the Russians expected a move on the part of the West because of those 4 days they allowed us to remain free were only a strategic "wait" on the part of the Russians. They were waiting there, sitting tight, to see how the West would react."

Respondent did not come into contact with any foreigners between Oct. 23 and the time of his escape.

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent gave the following account about his own family background:

"My father was chief parish clerk in the small village of Szentmartonkata in County Pest. We were nine children, but he always had the means to give us the best of education. We lived well; we had servants and he had always had an adequate income. Of course I cannot remember how much he earned, but he also had some land; we grew our own vegetables, our own poultry, etc. Since the family was so big, mother also worked part time. ~~She~~ she was the postmistress of the village.

"My father was an high school graduate and he also had two years college in order to apply for the post of a ~~parish clerk~~ parish clerk. Mother was educated at a nun's convent and she had eight grades, and after that attended special training course for postmastership.

B." Regarding social classes in Hungary since 1945, there was what I would call a classless society. Before that there was the peasants, the workers, the intellectuals which could be divided into two parts-- the middle and the upper class.

"The intellectual class, has, of course, has during those eleven years been oppressed to the extreme, and I believe that this was the class was the hardest hit by Communism.

" Myself, I belong to the intellectual class.

"When I was a worker in the ventian-blind factory, of course I had contacts with this class - this was the class most disillusioned in Communism, and not even during Communism did it become wholeheartedly Communistic. They were exploited by the State to the utmost.

"I also have talked a great deal with the peasants in the countryside and know how much they were exploited by the regime and they were terribly unhappy. I believe that the Hungarian peasantry is the backbone of the Hungarian nation.

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"The intellectual class is suffering most, not only because of material worries but because they are oppressed spiritually. Theand oppression of national feeling, and national pride, etc. is worse than anything. Everything that is Hungarian and that is national is determined by the Russians.

"I do not know very much about the different classes felt about each other but I have seen was that the ~~nationalist~~ ~~barriers~~ barriers had fallen down because of the mutual suffering and the mutual wrong everybody had to accept, somehow welded together the different classes, and this is how the society became classless and not the way how the Communists wanted to have it.

C. "It is very easy to say how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary. He must be an opportunist, but he must be a talented actor so as to make the regime he is a ~~real~~ communist. This is not so easy. Of course, the political views are the most important. Then comes class origin and talent comes only last.

"In 1954, it was comparatively easy to get a job and to get ahead for anyone who was a class alien. But later on, when they introduced the cadre files ~~system~~ in the system - this was whether or not you could get ahead under the regime.

"In 1954, when Prime Minister Nagy was first prime minister, I do not think that the change was genuine. This came about on Moscow's order.

"Nevertheless, I would like to point out that during the twelve years of Communist regime, I have not met a convinced and all-and-out Communist. When you had opportunity to talk to even the big-shots all voiced their disillusion.

D. "Of course there are groups that get out more of the society than they deserve, and these are the Communist Party big-shot and the fellow-travelers. These people earn three times more than anybody else, and are like the drones in society of the bees and don't work at all. These are the new class - the aristocracy. They are cruel, greedy and uneducated and stupid.

FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Family life in Hungary has been thoroughly demoralized under the Communist regime. I cannot say this, of course, about my own family. I am married; I have no children, and our family continued under the Communist regime as it did before. I believe that there were all three kinds of families under the communist regime as you mentioned them to me - those, who families grew apart and the children grew away from the parents; also, families that grew closer together under the communist regime, and the family felt safe within the family; and also there were families that were not muchly influenced by the communist regime and life went on much as before, but I think that there was also a fourth type of family under the communist regime which was very typical of the regime. These were the cadre people who were chosen by the Party for their good political views and social background. These people who were of very humble origin were elevated by the Party and put into responsible jobs. This man was a proletarian but at the Party's rules, he somehow got a kind of a superficial polish; now then what happened and was this man all of a sudden found out that his wife is an uneducated, primitive unkept slut, and then either divorced her or they led a hell of a married life.

"I believe that the type two, the family that grew closer together under the regime was the most typical for the Hungarian families. The home that meant also your homeland and everything that is Hungarian and national.

B. "Marriage in Hungary went very easily on the rocks under the communists not only for the very reason that people were over-tired, jumpy and nervous and never had enough money, but also because ~~many~~ divorce was made easy. Formerly, in Hungary, you could not divorce with mutual consent. Now the Communist started this formula, so after five years of separation you could get a divorce - even in absentia.

"I attribute the great number of illegitimate children to the different pioneer DISZ coeducational camps; furthermore, that the communist regime stated at full blast that it an honor for a girl to bring children into the world.

"Prostitution was prohibited in Hungary but continued in the streets, nevertheless. The difference only was that before the communist regime, the prostitutes lived in the cat houses and were subject to weekly medical control; now these became taxi-drivers or took up some respectable job and continued with their way of living."

Regarding the sexual morality of a convinced communist, this is very difficult to give an opinion on, because as I have previously said, I have never met a convinced communist. Such a thing doesn't exist."

BI only have heard, for instance, that Eric Molnar, one of the big shots in the Communist government in Hungary wanted to divorce his wife, but the Party did not let him, so he always had - how should I say, girl-friend."

C. "I indeed had a good friend before 1948 who joined the Communist Party. I immediately broke off with him. I do not believe that friendship can continue by keeping politics out of it. Anyone who joins the Party is not a good Hungarian. Somehow, my wife and I always felt that these people who joined the Party whether by conviction or ~~other~~ out of sheer opportunity are like lepers. We just didn't want to have anything to do with them anymore."

D. When asked about juvenile delinquency in Hungary, respondent said: "I can tell you juvenile delinquency is much higher here in the USA than anywhere else."

"The Communist press never carried news about juvenile delinquency. They always played down the increase in criminal activities altogether. Crime was not a topic in the Hungarian Communist press; nevertheless we knew that the juvenile delinquency and other crimes had increased. Officially juvenile delinquency is wilful loitering. Because of this, this type of behavior can be found in the fact that children, especially of the working class, have to attend day schools and nurseries because the parents are working. The age of the young juvenile delinquent is usually in the teens between 15 and 18. They mostly commit thieving, and petty offenses.

"The Jampecs is a teen-ager who apes the American way of dressing, behaving and dancing, and therefore is ostracized by the regime.

VII. RELIGION.

A. "I believe that religion played an important part in Hungarian life because everybody took a more active part in the activities of the church than before. For instance, at Christmas, the midnight Masses were so much attended that people had to stand out in the streets. Also, more people attended church regularly."

"In my opinion, it was the Roman Catholic religion that was hardest hit because this religion is strongest in Hungary and also because it has such a strong international backing. Furthermore, the Communist regime resented the power of Rome."

"I do not know ~~how much~~ to which extent other religions were affected or hit by the regime, because despite that my wife is Protestant, since 1945 she never attends a Protestant church because she ~~thought that~~ had no more respect for the church, a leader of which, Tildy, has become a traitor of the nation."

"Roman Catholic religion is a bulwark against Communism in Hungary because it opposes Communism in every respect."

B. "Religion plays an important part in my life. I was educated by the Priorist (?) Fathers. I'm a religious man although no bigott. I attend church regularly. St. Therese of Lisieux is the patron of our family. I believe that religion is a stronger factor in my life than in the life of my parents. I also believe myself to be about as much religious as the average person in Hungary is."

C. "In my opinion, church and state should be kept quite separate. They ought to be independent. However, so as the priests of every religion be able to look after religious matters, the state ought to assure them a living."

"The role of the churches in education is very important to my mind, especially regarding moral standars."

"I believe that churches should act as counselors only when setting moral codes and standards in such things as movies, plays, books, etc. I'm thinking, for instance, of a state board . The churches could then have membership at such a board and act as advisors."

"However, no priests should take active part in politics in an independent Hungary. This is no good."

D. "To my mind, the Jewish religion itself has also been hurt by Communism. They were mostly charged with Zionism. Nevertheless, it was maybe less hurt than the others. Catholic religion came first, then the Protestants, and only last the Jewish ~~relig~~ religion."

"Regarding the attitudes of Jews towards Communism, I believe that they have made a dangerous mistake. The Jews came back from the concentration camps filled with animosity and ~~hate~~ hatred. The Communist regime very quickly saw that they have willing tools in their hands, and in 1945 the top ranking AVH people were ~~ranked~~ recruited from the Jews who were out for an all and out vengeance."

"The Jewry later on however realized that they were only used for dirty jobs and very many of them then turned against Communism. After all, it was natural, because the rich Jews and the Jewish merchants were deprived of their jobs and their possessions just as much as everybody else was."

"There were many Jews who joined the Communist party. These have seen in Communism the enemy of Hitler."

"As far as I can recall, very few Jews attended the demonstrations and the fighting. However, I would like to point out that during the revolution there was no anti-Semitism at all."

"Whether or not the Jews want an independent Hungary, this is very difficult to ~~say~~ say. The Jewish people always think in the extremes and maybe they are scared of pogroms. I do not know. You know, history repeats itself. When the Jews came back from the concentration camp, they have seen an enemy in every Christian man and have associated the atrocities the Nazis have committed with every other Christian. Now, of course, the simple people associate likewise the C and AVH men and the Communists in every Jew. I expect this is the answer."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

A. "Of course, I consider young people between 14 and 25 to belong to what we call Hungarian youth."

B. "Hungarian youth played a leading part in the revolution. This, of course, is due to the nature of the young people. The youngsters they are full of enthusiasm and less critical of everything."

"The older generation, of course, lacks the élan. Furthermore, people like me who have families and see a little bit further are always reasoning. Young people sometimes run head on the wall."

"During the revolution, we, the older people, found it somehow quite natural that the young people assumed the leadership and we were very proud of them. Nevertheless, it was a little bit unexpected that just these young people who were educated under the Communist regime behaved as they did."

(I left out paragraph C. Respondent has no children, so could not tell about schools and educational system in Hungary during the last 10 years.)

D. "It is very easy to explain the youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination. After all, the mere facts have contradicted the theory. Besides, Communist ideology is contrary to human nature. I think this is the explanation."

"Youth rejected indoctrination because they very soon found out the web of lies. Also because they were unable to get ahead under the Communist regime."

"There was a group of young people who were sympathizing with Communism. These were the so-called Cader boys, who were educated, for instance, at the Lenin Institute, and other colleges. These youngsters came from a very low class and the great surprise was when the students of the Lenin College became the leaders of the revolution. Some of these boys were even taken to Moscow for summer courses. So they could judge for themselves how life under Communism is."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE.

A. "I believe that the extremely low living standard was one of the main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary."

B. "Apart from big political things, the people were much annoyed, for instance, when they found out that they have been cheated on the weight and quality when they were buying, for instance, food."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. "Despite that I made quite a good living in the last years in Hungary, I could never make both ends meet. Prices were terribly high. We had, for instance, to pay 30 forints for one kilogram of meat, and even this was very scarce. We had to que up."

"Regarding clothing, I can give you what one fact. I could not afford to buy myself a new suit since 1940. The clothing you received was expensive and very bad."

"Housing was a problem in Hungary. We were lucky, though, because we were able to stay in our old apartment. However, the rent was so high that we had to take a tenant and we had to sublet one part of our apartment. Altogether there was a great shortage of apartments in Budapest."

"I would have considered it a great luxury to ride a taxi while I was in Hungary."

"Of the above mentioned, clothing posed me the greatest difficulty."

"On the whole, I can say that our standard of living has declined terrifically since 1945. I would put it to about 1/5 of the standard in 1955. And all this due to the prices of everything. One kilogram of coffee, for instance, was 400 forints."

"Our living standard has steadily declined from 1948. I cannot remember that it was slightly better ever."

"People I knew were better off than any others were were the physicians. These people, even though they were employed by the state, could still continue with their private practice, and since the care you received under the state health insurance plan was not so good, people rather went to see their own private doctors."

"The answer to why the Hungarian standard of living was so low during the last eight years is very simple; it was the organized and regular exploitation of the country by the Soviet Union and the Soviet colonization of Hungary."

B. "My earnings per month, in 1956, were between 2,200 to 3,000 forints per month. My wife did not work therefore. However, even this was not enough to indulge in any luxuries."

C. "We always bought our food in state stores, where, of course, the quality was not so good, and the prices, on the other hand, were lower. Regarding clothing, as I told you before, since 1940 we never bought anything. Small items we needed we bought at the state stores."

"Retail distribution in Hungary was a complete failure. I think this was due to disorganization and also to the shortage of goods. Furthermore, ~~the shortage of goods~~ the lack of transportation and shortage of vehicles probably played a great part in this."

"Spare parts were simply unobtainable sometimes. It very often happened that, for instance, spare parts for those cars which were manufactured in Hungary at Csepel were also unobtainable; especially short supply ~~was~~ was constantly meat, butter, then soap, sewing thread, needles, etc."

"The black market was flourishing under the Communist regime and mainly in foodstuffs. Usually the peasants came to the cities and brought their products. This is how we also very often bought food. Then real leather shoes, and good shoes, were in great demand on the black market. The prices, of course, were much higher, but it was worthwhile to pay the difference."

"I do not think that the authorities care very much now about the black marketeering except in gold and in golden watches, for instance. This is still very strictly controlled."

D. Regarding working conditions, respondent gave the following information:

"The past three years, as I said, I worked at the scientific institute of traffic problems as a translator and in the last years as head of the documentation section. We worked from 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon, with a half an hour lunch break. I walked to my office, which took me about 15 minutes. Having received free licenses as an official translator, and besides I knew something about automobiles, it was my own choice, and also the only place where I could really get a job. So I quite liked my work. I cannot speak about the relations with superiors, because I was the boss there. I had one engineer and one typist under me in this section. ~~Both~~ Both were extremely well qualified people and the relationship between the three of us was extremely good and friendly. We were all the three of us good reactionaries. The director of the

Institute was an old friend of mine and so we got on very well together."

Regarding the Hungarian vacation, health and compensation program, respondent had the following to say:

"The vacation program would have been a very good one, but it worked on paper only. There were very few resorts compared to the number of the workers who were entitled to vacations, and the party or the trade union had a say in it."

"The health program was also well thought up program. You were entitled to 60 % of the last three month average of your salary if you were sick, after you have served at least one year with the same company. You could also stay in the hospital for 6 months, for instance. So, in principle, it was good. But the trouble was that ~~there~~ there was a shortage of personnel, especially physicians, and therefore, the doctors could not spend enough time on the examination of the patients."

"People who received pensions were very bad off, because pensions paid off by the Communists was extremely little. I have heard that the pension program has been revised now by the regime."

When asked where he would have preferred to live, in the country or in the city while he was in Hungary, respondent voiced his preference for the city, for the reason that he has always lived more or less in the city since he was a grown up person, and after all he liked this kind of life better.

According to respondent, the city workers had a much better diet in Communist Hungary because the regime always tried to please the working classes.

The standard of living was also higher in the cities, according to respondent, and also, politically, everybody had an easier time in the city. It was easier to get lost in the crowd, said respondent, and in the country, and at small provincial places, everybody knows everybody else.

When collectivization was first introduced into Hungary, according to respondent, everybody knew what was coming and nobody expected anything good out of the whole system. And this due only to the character of the Hungarian peasant, who liked individual farming and not sheer slavery, because this is what finally the collectivization amounted to in Hungary as carried out and practiced by the Communist regime, said respondent.

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He also mentioned that in 1952, under Prime Minister Nagy, the Collectives had dissolved.

According to respondent, the well-to-do peasant, who was called Kulak, had no word to say regarding collectivization, because his land was taken away anyway. But even the less well-to-do, less well off peasants, were also strongly against the collective system.

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Respondent gave the following account regarding his interests in politics before 1945:

"In 1945 when the Hungarian coalition cabinet was still in power, I took part in the reorganization of the small-holder's party all over the country and having been employed by the MAVAG, I organized a party branch within this enterprise, with the result that very soon I was sacked.

"I sympathized with the small-holder's party because this party expressed best my political ideas, and the program of this party was democratic and national. Also, it was the party that opposed the strongest the communist doctrine.

"My feelings about the Communist Party in 1918 and 1919 were the same as now. ~~My family~~ The whole family of ours shared the same opinion. In fact, one of my brothers took part in the fightings against the regime of Bela Bela Kun. All my family shared my opinion that not only communism, but even the slightest leanings toward the left would cause the downfall of the country.

"My attitudes toward the communist party have only changed to the effect that I hate them even more consciously if I could say it this way, and just because as everybody else I have found out the true aims of the communists, which is world domination. I do not see any difference between them and Hitler.

B. " Since 1948, people have joined the communist party mostly for better pieces of bread, I believe, and of course, they were the opportunists and those who wanted to get ahead in their careers by all means.

"The attitude to the Party can be judged if you talk to these people under your eyes. No sound-minded person can maintain that communism is for the good of a nation.

"Party policies did undergo a change during the last eight years. The greatest change came about under the first Prime Ministership of Nagy. But this was only due to Moscow's change of heart also. Everything in Hungary and in the satellite nations happened according to how the wind blew from Moscow.

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"I did not know the differences within the Party because I had very little contact with Party members.

"And for the same reason, I also do not know anything about the Party morale, and whether or not it has changed. I only remember that often when I had to go to some state offices that once I found the picture of Bakoczi and Stalin. A couple of weeks later these were taken down and then put back a gain. It was downright silly.

"In my opinion, the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party are selling our country to the Soviet Union wholesale and ~~this~~ every good Hungarian knows. The collective aims of the communist leadership is to make satellite nation a colony out of Hungary.

"The personal aims are also to maintain their well-paid top jobs. They are all traitors.

"I do not believe that any of the Party big-wigs is an all and out convinced Communist. Anyway, I never met one. The only one I consider as a true fanatic is Gero. He is the type of person who repeats cliches, and who does not tolerate any ~~xxxx~~ criticism.

"I consider them even diabolic people on the whole, who willfully sell out the country to the Soviet Union. I think that there is only a very small, negligible percentage of the Party top leaders who are stupid enough to believe in Communism.

"I do not think that it will be a problem what to do with the Hungarian top Communists when and if ever Hungary becomes independent, because they by that time will have left - all of them - for the Soviet Union."

C. "Regarding opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, as far as I have seen and witnessed and known, noone in Hungary was wholeheartedly behind any job, so this was already was kind of an opposition. More I cannot say because there were lots of rumours by the slow-down of plants, and of sabatoge. Once I heard about large scale sabotage in the coal mines, but of course these rumours could never be checked."

When asked about the activities of the intellectuals and what he knew about them, respondent said:

"The first signs of the activities of the intellectuals became known under the Prime Ministership of Imry Nagy. At that time, the literary magazines published for the first time strong criticism and voiced

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the opinion of the nation against the Communist regime. This paper FILLER was sold for ten forints on the black market. However, I have not heard about the Petofi Circle - only during the revolution. It was quite definite why the intellectuals stood up against the regime. After all, an author will always be unable to produce a slanted and directed book or poem, or whatever else he writes."

THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. When asked his opinion about the secret police, respondent said:

"As I mentioned before the communists had a devilish plan and used the Hungarian Jews in 1945 for their own purposes. They recruited the top echelon of the AVH from that. It was very easy to get these people, who were so full up of vengeance, trained for their evil purposes.

"However, there was a difference between the AVH top echelon and the files and ranks. While I was a mechanic for the venetian blind factory, once I had to go and put up these blinds at the AVH barracks on the Svabhegy. Here I had opportunity to talk to the boys who were serving in the ranks. ~~They~~ They did not know, nor neither did the AVH officers of my background. The rank and file AVH were young people who were serving their compulsory service and were assigned to the AVH. These boys talked freely to me, and were full of complaint and very unhappy." Respondent, neither did his family nor his friends have personal experience with AVH men or their matters.

Respondent did never know of any AVH man who wanted to leave the AVH, who suffered remorse, etc.

Respondent was of the opinion when Hungary ~~was~~ becomes independent, the AVH people should be tried individually.

According to respondent, the regular police as compared with the AVH was quite different; and also, as the years went by, more and more men of the regular force became communists. After all, according to respondent the majority of the regular police force came from among the Hungarian peasantry.

"During the revolution, it was also to be seen how the regular police felt about it - the regime. They went, ~~openly~~ openly, over to the freedom fighters - not only handing over their arms but very often fighting together with them. Young people to whom I have talked have confirmed this and told me the above."

B8 "Regarding the activities of the Hungarian courts before 1945, I must emphasize that the Hungarian courts were the examples of classic and of the classically independent and absolutely fair, courts.

"The People's Courts in 1945-47 were just the contrary. They were acting on Party orders, and were not independent courts but party courts.

"The sentences were therefore accordingly biased.

~~"Although they find the definition of war criminals"~~

"Incidentally, to pass a judgment on "war criminal" is somewhat paradoxical. Because it seems that the idea is that the victor in a war is never guilty. Szalassy and his fellow travelers, were after all against civilians, and committed crimes against civilians so I do not see why they are called 'war criminals'. They could have been called just plain criminals, and they were guilty by all means. In a war when the soldiers are facing each other as enemies, none of them is guilty of murder."

C. In reference to the Hungarian Army, respondent said the following:

"As far as I have seen Hungarian people's have failed to accept the Communist point of view because of its role during the revolution. Communist indoctrination had no effect on any Hungarian soldier. I was told by a friend of mine from Esztegom that for instance, the regiment from there, was ordered to put up to take part in the fighting. The commander of his regiment who, by the way, was of very humble origin - a former master sergeant who became a colonel in the new army - told his men "Gentlemen" (he did not use the word comrade) "we are told to ~~fight~~ fight in Budapest against the Hungarians. I advise you all to act according to your own judgment." This colonel was the one who was killed in front of the radio building later on when he stood up and shouted "You dirty dogs. You are killing your own people."

Respondent had only second hand accounts about the behaviour of the Hungarian troops during the revolution because he went in hiding between the return of the Soviet troops and his departure from Hungary.

Respondent said that he was not however surprised by the Army's behaviour during the revolution, because it was a proof of the unity of the Hungarian people and their feeling against the Soviet oppression. He said that everybody thought it quite natural.

Respondent's experiences with life in the Army were as follows:

In 1940 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ respondent was called in from the so-called second grade reserve and he served a month. As such, he had to serve among the

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rank and file and his highest rank attained was that of corporal. He was stationed in Transylvania - the eastern part of Hungary which at that time was returned to Hungary. After five months, he was demobilized.

In 1942, he was called up again and sent on to the Russian front. Here he was wounded.

According to respondent, the officers in his unit which was a mechanized unit, were very efficient. They were career officers..the N.C.O.'s too were drivers in civilian life. According to respondent their spirit was very good. Since most of them shared the same political views, respondent told that they did not talk much about politics. In July 1943, respondent was wounded and taken to a field hospital - first at Kursk and later on to Vienna. Since he was shellshocked, he was put into the Reserve again, and later on in 1943, called up but only for officer's work.

Due to his age, respondent did not serve in the so-called People's Army and could not give any information on that.

B. When asked whether or not Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1848, respondent said:

"It is quite silly to trace back the Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army to 1848. The only reason for the universal hatred that is prevailing against the Russians troops can be traced for their behaviour in 1944 and '45 when they came as liberators and they raped and looted the country.

"Myself, and my family did not expect anything good of the Russians before they entered the country because after all I had been in Russia and knew what to expect. I also warned everyone else that what the Germans were saying about the Russians - troops- is not propoganda ..it is the gospel truth. While in Russia, I often talked to the Russian peasants there and I can state ~~without~~ without any prejudice that the Russian people are good and meek and hate the Soviet system wholeheartedly, but I knew what to expect from the Army."

Respondent told of his experience with the Russian Army in 1945 when he was rounded up in the street together with many other men for checking

their identity- at least this is what the Russians told them. They were taken to a house that has no windows, and guarded there by Russian soldiers during the night. This was in January, and it was beastly cold. At dawn, however, they found out that the guards had disappeared- and gone out to the city - probably to loot and to drink, so all of them - about 600 just hied out of the house and went home.

Respondent's attitude has not changed since because as he said they didn't give any proof of being better than they were at that time. However, he was unable to learn more about the Russian troops in Hungary because fraternization was strictly prohibited, and the Hungarians refrained from fraternizing, too.

"As to the actions and reactions of the Russian soldiers during the revolution, I myself saw the sham, capitalization of several Russian tanks but I do not believe that this was genuine. I did not hear of any Soviet soldiers having deserted or of having fought on the side of Hungarians. (4a.1)

E. Respondent said that he did not know whether or not local government officials were willing to forget the news and help people in trouble.

F. Respondent didn't know whether or not it was possible to use bribes or to pull the ropes in order to get ^{by} some of the regulations.

G. The only groups and people about which respondent could get any information regarding their efficiency and competence were public official administration officers. Respondent was of the opinion that it was frightening to see what low quality people were holding high posts and uneducated and unefficient people were in the public administration.

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent's views regarding Hungary's future were as follows:

"I'm convinced that the situation will deteriorate in Hungary, and it is quite hopeless also for the next few years. As long as the Russian troops are stationed in Hungary and I do not believe that they will leave - no change can be expected. The Russians have decided that Hungary is going to become a colony of the Soviet Empire and that therefore of their own free will they will never leave this country.

"Within Hungary, there is, of course, a passive resistance, but no other can be shown. Kadar is acting under Moscow's command.

"Outside Hungary, I do not expect and do not hope, for any actions of the West which might influence Hungary's immediate future. Russian policy in the future might be dictated by the Army and end up in a military dictatorship which will be even worse regarding their foreign policy.

"Poland-type like solution is a fake and I do not think that anybody in Hungary, including myself, would accept one. After all, in the course of history Russia so far has never kept her word, so why should she in the case of Poland.

"War only can solve the problem of southeastern Europe, and I do not think that if a war breaks out you can have to pick your choice regarding the weapons. I am quite convinced that war will occur between East and West, and it only depends when Western Germany will be ready for it. Not only militarily buttoo.

"International pressure on the Soviet Union will have no effect whatsoever. The Soviet Union can only be impressed by the number of divisions. This is an old story."

B. According to respondent a general opinion regarding the prospects of Hungary ~~in~~ of the last ten years was, so long as the West does not square accounts finally with the Soviet Union, no hopes be fostered for a radical change.

SOCIAL POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. ~~XX~~

"In an independent Hungary, I would like to see Western democratic system. The kind of program as endorsed by the Smallholder's Party; in short, real and true democracy coupled with the implementation of the sound land reform. I would like to see freedom of religion and freedom of press and all human freedom rights to be exercised. I would like to have a coalition government and a multiple party rule - party parliament - well executed - social securities system and a high standard of living - adequate wages for the working class and a five-day week."

B. "I believe that a free Hungary should emphasize agriculture and the light industry only. Hungary after all has been an agricultural country for several hundred years - if not thousands. I believe that in agriculture great attention should be paid to the quality of the agricultural products. I think that besides the growing of wheat and corn, live-stock breeding should be a major part of Hungarian agriculture.

"The light industry on the other hand should produce the consumer commodities.

"If the Communist regime were overthrown, I advocate that the national enterprises be returned to their rightful owners. The same refers to the different kolkhozes and state farms. Of course, a sound and just land reform ought to be carried out. Certainly if people desire to participate voluntarily in a co-operative, let them do so by all means."

Regarding the kind of government he would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent had the following ideas:

"I would leave the mines and some of the heavy industries that remain in the hands of the state as it was before - water, gas, electricity and the utilities altogether should remain municipal, also as before. However, tobacco growing, and distilling, I would leave as state monopoly, as before the war.

"The light industry, I would return to private ownership, by all means, but the state should have a say in the foreign trade, and in the foreign currency management.

"On the whole the state should only direct and support, but not command agriculture in Hungary, by means of loans.

"I believe that the maximum limit of land anyone person or family may own, could be put at 300 acres if well-planned land reform is being carried out."

"When asked what kind of government he would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent chose the first king - that is the one that guarantees personal freedoms of the individual. After all, if we are free and are choosing our own government and our own Parliament, this government and this Parliament will govern the country in a way that everybody who wants to work will be able to do and earn decent wages."

To the question as to whether or not he is in favor of outlawing the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, respondent said: "Certainly not. This is contrary to personal freedom and freedom of speech, but after twelve years of communism, the Communist Party would have no members anyway in Hungary."

Respondent's ideas about the position he would want Hungary to have IDEALLY were completely independent state similar to Austria.

Respondent refuted any relations military, economic or cultural with the Soviet Union. He would like to see trade and commercial relations only with the Eastern European states but with the rest of Europe and the United States, he would welcome trade and cultural relations.

Respondent has known, of course, of the idea of the Danubian state Federation and he thought it to be a very sound idea, if the complete neutrality of such a Federation is maintained. Respondent said:

"It would be a very good solution for the whole Eastern European problem, however, this is not a new idea. Kossuth, more than a hundred years ago, has already been strongly in favor of such a union. However, I see a great hitch of such a union and this is the language barrier. I should like to see Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and Poland included in this Federation. And I believe that this about the opinion that everyone is voicing - at least among the people I knew in Hungary."

Respondent did not find the present boundaries of Hungary acceptable. He thought that an international geographical amendment should be carried out under international control and plebescite. It is the least we could do for our minorities living outside Hungary, said respondent.

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"The whole question is very important to ~~me~~ me as it is to every Hungarian back home. The more so since tremendous national values are being lost this way."

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent admitted that he has never heard about Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress; however, the 20th Party Congress was commented on by the Hungarian Communist press, according to him.

When asked what he knew about Senator McCarthy or the un-American Activities Committee, respondent said:

"Of course I knew about him. He was in America the most all and out enemy of Communism. He was quite a legendary figure back home in Hungary, and the Un-American Activities Committee was closely linked to his activities."

Regarding the fall of Peron, respondent said: "While he was a dictator, and according internal law these dictators sooner or later fall, he thought himself and his wife to be demagogues."

On Rakosi's private life, respondent had the following to say:

"Rakosi, in private life, lived and acted like a millionaire. He even went to take lessons from a forester to learn to hunt and to get big game. In short, he lived like a peacetime the head of a rich country would live.

"We knew that his wife was an ugly looking - in fact, hideous Mongolian woman who speaks Hungarian."

B. Regarding the sources respondent drew most of his information in the last ten years in Hungary, he said that this source and main source was only the RFE - nothing else.

C.
He did not get news by word-of-mouth; at least, he did not believe it.

D. Regarding his reading habits, respondent said:

"Before and during the war, I read regularly every day the MAGYAR NEMZET I also read the most prominent literary magazines and I read many books both foreign and Hungarian - the foreign fiction mostly, in translation of course. At that time, the Hungarian literature was not influenced by any foreign trend. However, the newspapers between 1942 and 1945 became strongly influenced by the rightist party.

"During the last eight to ten years in Hungary, I have read regularly still the MAGYAR NEMZET, the same paper, and I also read the communist dailies in my office. I never believed a word the Communist press was printing because I knew the papers to be slanted and biased, but any intelligent was able to read behind the lines and get an idea what was really happening.

"The most unreliable ~~XXXX~~ news was the foreing news as interpreted by the Communist press."

When asked whether there were any reports or statistics that were trusted or could be trusted, respondent said:

"The only part of the newspaper that I trusted and knew to be true was the date of the newspaper and its name. But maybe even the name wasn't true or right because after all one of the papers was called SZABAD NEP which means, free people, and what sort of freedom did we have, I ask?"

"As an official Russian translator, I had the opportunity to read publications from the Soviet Union, but these were only scientific and technical news magazine. The contents of these, however, were reprints and translations from Western technical magazines and could be easily compared to the original ones. The texts were usually watered-down to a great extent to primitive level of the Russians.

"Western publications were not allowed to come into Hungary, and we did not read any with the exception, of course, as I mentioned the Scientific magazines.

"The "proscribed" literature in Hungary was widely read by everybody and people like myself did not surrender the proscribed books..we rather hid them and handed them down from friend to friend

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding Russia had the following opinion:

"Ever since the death of Stalin some changes are occurring within the Soviet Union, and the fight for power started at that time. However, the four top Soviet leaders hold at present power in their hands, and they seem to cooperate. However, knowing the Russians, it very easily might so happen that a fight will break out between these four. Khrushchev has the evilness of Stalin, but he has not his brains.

"The feelings of the people in Russia are about the same as everywhere else as I mentioned before I know this from the times I was in Russia and talked with men in the street.

"I do not believe that gradually liberation would bring about a change in Russia - only the revolution could, if the people finally come to their senses.

"If Russia had free elections, I think that ^{bourgeois} ~~bourgeois~~ government would be the result.

"In my opinion, the top leaders of Russia aim to achieve world domination of the Soviet Union, and the slogan is "Proletarians all over the world, unite". For this purpose, the top leaders of Russia willingly sacrifice their own nation, because the terrifically low living standard in the Soviet Union is due to ~~the~~ rearmament that Soviet Union is carrying out at top speed, so as to achieve world domination sooner than later. Only fools, don't see or do not want to see, the Soviet Union's aim.

"Personally the top leaders of Soviet Russia are led by megalomania.

"In my opinion, the differences between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian top Communists can be put like this - the Hungarian communists are the servants of the Russians."

B. The relative popularity in Hungary of the other Eastern European nations was put in the following order by respondent. Most popular is Poland because the Polish nation with its love for freedom and historical past, stands nearer to the Hungarians.

"Next comes Germany, because the eastern Germans have western culture, after all. Bulgaria comes next because Bulgaria was always more or less neutral to Hungary, and last on the list are Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. These people are not liked by the Hungarians because Hungary in the past had much trouble with these countries in reference to the minority problems."

"The preferences and dislikes of the Hungarians can be traced back to the people only, because the government of the other satellite nations are alike, like one egg to another - that is, under Soviet domination."

"It is my belief that Communism would be rejected by all countries if free elections were held there."

"In my opinion, the highest standard of living is in Eastern Germany for the very reason because the Hungarian food and exports are mostly guided there by the Soviet Union; next best standard of living is in Czechoslovakia, followed by Hungary, then Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania are last."

C. Referring to the Polish situation, respondent said:

"In my opinion, the Polish developments are only transitory change, and I do not feel that they are genuine ones. Gomulka is a good actor, but nevertheless, I do not believe that his policy is a step in the right direction. He is acting under Soviet orders; therefore, my opinion is that Gomulka will not stay long in power, because the Russians will eliminate him."

"In my opinion, events in Poland did affect events in Hungary. The Polish "thaw" was contagious and was taken as an example. I do not know that any events in Poland would have affected Hungarian events after October, '56."

"I also know very little about the ~~xxx~~ freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. All we heard was the news that was painted in the Hungarian press and this was slanted. The Poznan riots were also reported by the Hungarian newspapers."

"By no means would I have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take the path of Polish lines, because the Hungarian revolution is something quite unique in history and it has opened the eyes of the whole universe."

D. Respondent's view on Tito and Yugoslavia was as follows:

"I do not know to which extent Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe, but I know that he is a sly, double-crosser. He wants to remain a dictator and to be independent. His relationship with other East European nations is equally double-crossing. He is trading with Russia, but at the same time is afraid for his independence, but not of his people's but only of his own, because having been a partisan leader, he does not want to become a slave of Russia."

"At the same time, he is cheating the West and using them for his own purposes."

"His double-crossing attitude has been exposed during the Hungarian revolution."

"I do not know whether Tito is popular at all in Yugoslavia, because I think that the people also is freedom loving there. But certainly he has a clique and among those he might be popular."

"As far as I was informed, internal conditions in Yugoslavia regarding the standard of living and labor conditions, freedom of expression, etc., are worse than in Hungary."

E. In reference to the Suez situation, respondent said:

"I strongly disapprove of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt." Regarding the Israeli invasion, however, I do not see clearly who was the aggressor. If it was Israel, then it was wrong."

"Egypt had no right to nationalize the canal because an international agreement has to be respected."

"I believe that events in Egypt had a very bad effect on the developments in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 because of the unfortunate timing."

F. "My impression of the living standards in Western Germany are that the living standard is extremely high there, the highest possible in the whole of Europe."

"I do not agree with the opinion that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war. Those people who have fought in second World War ~~have~~ are not yet prepared to start another war."

"The re-armament of Western Germany, however, is justified, and very much so, because Germany is the only country that can and is keeping Russia at bay."

"I do not know how strong the West German army is and have no idea about the term of service in the West German army. I believe that if, and ever, Germany would start another war, that would be against Russia, because they have a very heavy account to settle."

When asked to compare the German occupation army with the Russian occupation after World War II, respondent said:

"The Hungarians objected to both occupations, because of their national freedom. But, on the other hand, one cannot compare the two occupation armies, they were so completely different. The German occupation army behaved decently with the civilian population, and this is really not what could be said about the Russians. The Russian army occupation force was the more distasteful to me and to the whole country."

"The German occupation army was far better disciplined as to both officers and enlisted men. There did not seem to be any discipline in the Russian army."

G. "The Atlantic alliance, or NATO, to my mind is something very sound and necessary. Because had the NATO not been established, Russia would have already occupied Europe. The Nato cannot ~~possibly~~ even be compared with the Warsaw pact, because this is a farce. It is a fake and is only an eyewash. Besides being blackmail, too."

~~He said that the British Labor Party is a classical example of a
social democratic party~~

"As far as I am informed, the British Labor Party is trying to conciliate the classical social democratic ideas with the bourgeois way of living. To my mind, the British Labor Party is not favorable to Communism at all. After all, the Social Democratic idea is against the exploitation of the masses, and the trade unions are also against Communism."

"My impressions regarding the living standards of various countries are as follows:

"I believe that the living standard is highest in West Germany than in Great Britain, Italy, and I have no idea as to the rest of the other countries. I cannot even guess."

H. As to what surprised respondent particularly about America during his first few months here, they were as follows:

"I was most surprised by the high rate of juvenile delinquency then by the behavior of the American youth, because these two things I had no idea so far. Other material and political things in America did not surprise me because I had a pretty good knowledge about it."

"I do not know what the US could do now for the people in the nations of Eastern Europe because the actual present policy of the United States is impotent, and the reason for this I see in the shortage of trained diplomatic personnel over here. By no means should the United States give any material aid now to the present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia and to Hungary, because this would only help the Soviet Union. And I also believe that the American government should not acknowledge the present government of Hungary."

"People in Hungary would like to see more western visitors because this would mean that there is a breach in the iron curtain. People who would go to Hungary should be informed before they go not to believe to appearances and to try to get first hand and personal information and this mainly from the plain man in the street and from all social classes. The informants of these people could be the newest immigrants who know the situation best."

"Western books and periodicals would be much welcomed by people in Hungary, and I believe that not only books, periodicals and newspapers, but cultural movie pictures and shorts would be very welcomed. All these ought to be sent to the public libraries, I believe, so as to give them the greatest possible circulation."

"I believe that it would give a very favorable impression, if people at home would know that Hungarian exiles are associated with these activities. Because this would prove to them that the Hungarian immigrants have not broken with their former homeland."

The Marshal Plan, as launched by the US in 1948, was well known to respondent. He said:

"In Hungary, people knew that the hot bed of Communism is misery and the low living standard, and this induced the United States to launch the Marshal Plan so as to combat the spread of Communism."

"However," respondent said, "the Marshal Plan is a very good and beautiful theory, which costs very much the United States, is however in proportion with the results and the expenditures."

"In 1950, America became involved in the Korean War for the very reason because she wanted to ~~xxx~~ put a stop to Communist aggression in the eastern hemisphere. This attitude was clearly shown by the fact that the United States did not, in the end, go further than the 38th parallel."

I. "I strongly disapprove of the United ~~St~~ Nations, because it does not show any energy in ~~any~~ cases where it ought to. Furthermore, I ~~believe~~ believe that the charter and particularly the veto right, is something which puts a check on the good intentions of some United Nation members. I think that there is a great necessity that the UN charter be changed."

"I most strongly blame the United Nations for not having sent UN controlled troops to Hungary during those three or four days when the Russians were sitting back and waiting for the Western reaction."

"For the above-mentioned reason, I do not see that the UN will undertake any effective action for Hungary in the foreseeable future. They are going to bring resolutions. They are going to issue beautiful documents, but all this will remain on paper. There is no way to make someone obey rules if this nation openly defies the United Nations. I believe the greatest mistake was committed when Secretary General Hammerskjold did not take a plane and did not fly over to Hungary in October."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. When asked to name who in his opinion is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent said, without hesitating, "Mindszenty, because he willingly accepted martyrdom for remaining a good Hungarian. I wish he were as good a politician as good a man and courageous a man he is. Then he could be a second Kossuth."

B. Respondent's reactions to a number of persons were as follows:

NAGY - "To my mind, he's not a historical person. He is not a great man. However, the events of the revolution have put him on a pedestal. He has to make up his mind to be a Hungarian or a lackey of Moscow. He chose the former one, good for him."

RAJK - "Had been a Communist, but not a Moscovite."

GERO - "Is the most servile servant of Moscow. He is a narrow minded, untalented man."

KADAR - "I cannot find words to express my opinion on Kadar. He is a worm."

General BELA KIRALY - "I never have heard General Bela Kiraly mentioned back home. The first time I heard his name, quite unexpectedly, was here in the United States."

ANNA KETHLY - "Miss Kethly is a senile old woman."

"I think that President Eisenhower is an excellent soldier, but does not have the necessary power to enforce his word. Furthermore, the president believes dollars to be a very good foreign secretary. However, Eisenhower can judge only military personnel. I wish the United States would have a second Churchill."

"The foreign policy of the United States must have greatly discouraged the former British Prime Minister Eden, and I believe that besides his health this must have been also a factor in his retirement."

"I have no idea what kind of a trade Mr. Truman has learned, but he certainly was not a born statesman."

Regarding other selected personalities, respondent said:

MIKOYAN - "I cannot give any opinion about Mikoyan because I know too little about him."

NEHRU - "I consider him to be a fence sitter."

CHIANG KAI-SHEK - "Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, as generally known in Hungary, was a very corrupt man."

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ROOSEVELT - "Former President Roosevelt was being taken a sucker by the Russians."

ADENAUER - "Chancellor Adenauer, on the other hand, is a first class statesman. It is very unfortunate that he is old."

STALIN - "Stalin was a criminal genius."

MALENKOV - "Malenkov is the typical Russian muzsik."

FRANCO - "Generalissimo Franco is the staunchest enemy of Communism."

Bevan - "Bevan, of the British Labor Party, mostly works to see his private ambitions succeed."

KHRUSHCHEV - "Khrushchev is a pocket edition of Stalin, with very much less brains."

MOLOTOV - "Molotov is a cruel sly old fox."

OLLENHAUER - "Ollenhauer would like to replace Adenauer."

CHURCHILL - "Winston Churchill is the greatest politician and statesman of this century."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARDS EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. "The escapees from Hungary come from all social classes and generally from quite young up till 60 years of age. The majority of escapees came from the city, from Budapest, but also from all over the country."

"Their reason for leaving was the utter hopelessness of the future."

"I believe that people who stayed behind did so for family reasons. Also for fear from the future."

am
"I/deeply sorry for all who stayed behind."

"I think that people in Hungary are glad and approve that people they knew, who are mostly their relatives and friends, have left the country and have succeeded in escaping."

"Assuming that the Russians still are occupying Hungary and the people had a chance to come to the best, I do not believe that any more Hungarians would come out, because in the fall of 1956, those who really wanted to come away could do so. And there was time ~~enough~~ enough for them to escape. People who stayed behind have made up their minds and are willing to face the consequences."

B. Regarding Hungarian exile organizations and individuals, respondent mentioned only the National Hungarian Council, the activities of which were known to him. He also mentioned Monsignor Varga and Francis Nagy as individuals who, according to his knowledge, were active here in the West. When handed over the list of organizations and individuals, he had the following remarks to make:

"I knew that the Hungarian National Council tried to keep the Hungarian issue in the public eye and also to establish contacts and to keep them with the leading American politicians and political authorities."

In reference to individuals, respondent said:

"I have known Monsignor Bela Varga personally back home. He was the last legal speaker of the Hungarian Parliament. He was the most prominent and respected leader of the smallholders party who is an excellent orator. ~~Even though I held that the opinion that the smallholders should not be~~

Even though I hold ~~that~~ the opinion that priests should not indulge in politics, I believe that his clerical position has meant some authority for the Hungarians here in the United States."

"Francis Nagy I also know personally, and I cooperated closely with him while he was still in Hungary. At that time he was an exemplary ~~leader of the Hungarian peasant party, a politician~~ representative of the policies of the Hungarian peasants. He was a wise man and I most strongly must refute all those derogatory gossips that are circulated in connection with him."

"I have not known Mr. Eckhardt back home, but when I came out to the United States I have heard that his political abilities have been greatly influenced by his age."

"Paul Auer, as far as I have known him, was a prominent member of the small holders' party who has been a minister of Hungary in Paris. He is a very talented and many-sided man."

"Szelig, a prominent Social Democrat, while he was in Hungary after '45 was strongly fighting the entrenchment of the ~~the~~ public servants at that time, which was forcibly carried out by the Communist Party. Unfortunately, I have heard that ever since coming to the West, he has become rather pinky."

"I know of course who Charles Peyer was, but I have not known him personally."

"I consider Nicholas Kallay to be a very talented ~~politician~~ politician who in his time as prime minister did his best to keep back Hungary from all extremes."

"Since I have read an article by Pfeiffer here in the United States, my opinion of him has greatly changed. In this article, he strongly attacks the so-called Horthy regime. The logic on which he bases his article is completely wrong."

"Bela Fabian is one of the most active members of the Hungarian politicians in exile."

"While I was in Vienna, I have heard of someone who belongs to the immediate retinue of Hapsburg and who has talked to him many times, that Prince Otto is an extremely talented young man who has very reasonable and correct views. He believes it to be a dream to return to the throne of Hungary and advocates a plebiscite for Hungary if and ever she is allowed to chose the kind of government the nation wants to have."

"Admiral Horthy's merits are undeniable. He has saved Hungary in 1919 from the Reds and even if he committed some mistakes later on, this act of his atones for everything."

C. Respondent has not met any Hungarians who escaped to the West after 1945 but who returned to Hungary later on.

Respondent said that unfortunately the Communist redefection campaign met with some success because a few gullible people did go back. According to respondent, the Communists started the redefection campaign solely for anti-Western propoganda reasons.

D. In respondent's opinion, people in Hungary want to know about the exiles, how they are getting on in their new homeland.

"This is what I ~~skax~~ always get from the letters I receive from back home."

"What I think they must and should know, and what I am writing them always is that nobody can realize the degree of freedom we enjoy here. And this freedom is making up for everything else and for all the hardships we have now in the beginning. I'm quite willing to do the lowest of menial work here in the United States in return of the freedom I'm enjoying here."

"As to what the exiles should do now, I feel that all Hungarian exiles, regardless of social, religious or political belief, should unite in one solid block and work for the Hungarian independence. This is what all people back in Hungary expect us to do, and personally I would like to do the above and would like to join an exile organization only if this organization has these aims. The present constant bickering among the different political parties is something disgusting. I believe that this organization, as I mentioned above, should be made up by all exiles, all pre-revolutionary and new exiles as well, and no distinction should be made as to political, religious or social creed."

Regarding the various Hungarian political parties before 1948, respondent was of the opinion that Rakoczi very slyly and with great foresight permitted the Hungarian politicians to set up as many parties as possible because he knew that ~~the~~ if he breaks up the Hungarian political parties in many smaller parties, the strength of the small holder party, which was too dangerous for him, will also be broken up. This was what was called the salami tactics by Rakoczi."

Respondent did not know anything about parties in exile.

Regarding political parties reviewed in Hungary during the revolution, respondent said:

"Of course, immediately, at the outbreak of the revolution, I joined the small holders' party in reorganizing it. We were all, as everybody was, hoping for liberation, and we thought it is very important that parties be set up immediately so as to consolidate the situation."

"Whether or not groups that went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revised parties, I believe should have been decided here. Only people who had a very clean conscience could have returned anyway. But these people could have, in a given case, helped greatly parties in Hungary."

E. "Regarding my plans for the future, I would return to Hungary only if Hungary becomes independent and the Russians leave. I would go back home then, by all means, the more so since due to my age I cannot easily take roots here. And back home I could again take up my political work."

"I think it is very advisable that children of Hungarian parents should learn Hungarian and talk Hungarian as well as English here in the United States."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. "I was a regular listener to the foreign radio stations while I was in Hungary. I listened mainly, and this is the order to, to the BBC radio, Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. All stations were more or less jammed. I listened to the Hungarian language broadcasts regularly every evening, together with my family, my wife, friends and on our own ~~radio~~ radio."

"There was no law against listening to radio broadcasts. However, it was prohibited to 'disseminate foreign propoganda', so if you were caught that you listened together with other persons, or you were giving out the news you had heard, then you could be charged with political crimes. This did not deter people, however, and everybody listened to the foreign radio broadcasts. We, personally, usually shut the radio if someone was ringing at the door."

"My preference was for the radio broadcast from the BBC because these were the most factual ones and the missions refrained from all sorts of propoganda."

"The most accurate broadcasts were given by the BBC. Then followed by Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. These two last stations, and especially Radio Free Europe, was inclined to indulge in too much propoganda, and this we resented."

"Before the revolution, however, the Radio Free Europe broadcasts have influenced people greatly because they believed them implicitly. However, little by little, as the years went by, they lost heart, ~~and finally~~ and finally, after the revolution, they did not believe them any more. The disallusionment was complete."

~~Regarding Radio Free Europe broadcasts, I believe that the program~~

"Regarding the Radio Free Europe programs, I believe that they are no good. So many obvious things have happened in Hungary which could have been used as a wonderful propoganda weapon. If only they would have disclosed the lies of the government more. It happened very seldom that Radio Free Europe did so and that shows that they had the information. I believe that people who edited the programs can be taken responsible for this omission."

"I whole-heartedly agree with the opinion that Radio Free Europe did help to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help. Especially during the revolution, at a time when everybody was listening to the radio, people had utter confidence in the West, that they are going

to come to our assistance. The ^{free} radio station at Dunapentele even gave the correct location where the paratroopers can descend."

"Nevertheless, Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary, but should by no means encourage wishful dreaming in the Hungarian nation. The radio missions ought to mainly emphasize the truth and disclose the Communist lies, and the lies of the whole regime."

"I believe that political news and economic news should be broadcast and these factual broadcasts would be good enough anti-Communist propoganda. Programs about life in Western Europe and programs about life in the United States is also a good program. I have also another idea. I believe that people presently at the top in Communist Hungary, and leading personalities of the regime ought to be characterized by a special program by giving data, and correct data, about their lives, about their education, about their background. How low they have started. What corruptions he has taken part in, etc. This would be, to my mind, a kind of portrait of these people, and they ought to be ridiculed, because nothing kills better. These portraits should be free from propoganda, but very factual."

B. Respondent has seen two leaflets that were dropped into Hungary, and he recalled that they contained anti-Communist propoganda, most referring to Rakoczi's activities. ~~However~~ Respondent admitted that, as far as he knew, heavy penalties were passed on people who found leaflets and did not submit them to the authorities.

Respondent was of the opinion that Radio Free Europe committee should drop leaflets in Hungary only if the text of these leaflets is well made up.

He thinks that these pamphlets should be written by talented people and in a rather satiric way, because the ridicule is the greatest weapon and the best weapon to kill. Respondent strongly emphasized that he is very much against using amateurs in such kind of a work. "Propoganda must be made, but by professionals," he said.

D. In respondent's views, the purposes of the Western groups that broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary were to create an anti-Soviet feeling in the satellit nations, and also that these people should feel that they are not forgotten by the West. Respondent, however, stressed again:

"These groups should bear in mind not to raise false hopes in the satellite nations. I clearly remember one sentence a speaker of Radio Free Europe, with rather a hoarse voice, used to say -- 'You shall be free sooner than you think.'"

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"I also remember something which was very effective in Hungary, and that was giving the names and the activities of the different Communist agents and agents ~~provocateurs and spies~~ provocateurs and spies. This kind of program item could be greatly enlarged, and I'm sure it would have a very great effect."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

"Not having had any children of my own, I can only give my ideas on how children ought to be brought up. I believe that the most important things a child must be taught is a strong sense of duty, then obedience to his elders and respect toward the parents."

"I strongly advocate discipline for children, but if necessary, the rod should not be spared, however, physical punishment should not always be used."

"I believe that it is much easier to educate and teach a girl than a boy."

"I must confess that I'm shocked to see how the young people, the girls and boys, in this country are behaving, and how much freedom they have and how low the sexual morality of those kids is. I do not understand why the educational system here has ~~gone~~ gone to the dogs. After all, there are many wonderful and good books on pedagogy to be obtained everywhere. Why aren't these principles followed, after all?"

When asked about his own experience, how he was disciplined when he was a youngster, respondent said:

"We have only known one way of discipline in our family. We were nine kids altogether, and our father had only to look at us sternly and we obeyed. I remember I was in the sixth grade once and brought home a bad report card. Father tactfully, as always he was, called me into his study and he told me: 'You know what you are. You are a good-for-nothing. I am earning the money. Your mother is working. And the only work you have to do is to study properly. If And you don't even do this. You ought to be ashamed of yourself.' I must admit that I cried and I was terribly unhappy that my father despised me, and never again did I bring home a bad report card."

"Among the families I knew, it depended on the family, on the individual, on the child or on the parents, whether or not they punished children who were six years old or older."

"I do not believe, either, that the disciplinary methods depend on the social standing of the families. I hold the belief that anybody who has been well brought up by her or his parents, educates and brings up his children also well. Regardless whether he comes of a humble or better origin."

"However, great changes have occurred during the last 10 years, because the education of the children was more or less taken out from the hands of the parents, especially if both parents had to work."

"As to when physical punishment is abandoned, or punishment in general is abandoned, furthermore, whether or not this varies by social class, I am unable to tell."

"During the last 10 years, in the way children are disciplined during their first eight years in school, the methods have undergone a great change also, of course, I presume, but I cannot give any more details since I had no children who went to school. I only ~~know~~ know that in my times, we respected our teachers and were strongly disciplined by them. However, at the Priorist Fathers school which I attended, we never were disciplined physically. The Priorist Fathers were well known pedagogues and educated their kids very well. After ~~1945~~ '45, I have heard that children were allowed to call the teachers Comrade and held no respect for them. Later on, however, the regime realized that and tried, little by little, to pull the reins back, without much success, however. I know that during the Communist regime, physical discipline was abolished."

When asked what characteristics respondent valued most in a friend, he said:

"I must answer with the words of my father, who said: 'In a friend the most important is his heart and his brains.'"

"Under Communism in Hungary, I have broken off with many of my friends because if anybody was an opportunist and joined the Communist party for the slightest reasons, this was enough for me to break off with him completely."

"A real, true and deep friendship, however, was welded together more under the Communist regime, but new friendships were not made so easily. People did not trust anybody any more implicitly."