

I. PERSONAL INVENTORY

Interview conducted by
Mr. Ivancho -- Feb. 20,
21, and 25, 1957.

1. Respondent's name: 3-M
2. Age: 27
3. Sex: Male
4. Marital status: Unmarried
5. Religion: Protestant
6. Where born: Tizzaszerdaheley, Borsod County
7. Where did respondent spend most of his life in Hungary?
Same as 6.
8. Where did respondent live just before the revolution
broke out? (Get exact address if possible).

Kazinczbzrczika, near Miskolc
9. Was respondent ever abroad? If so, when and where, and
for what purpose?

Never abroad.
10. Did respondent ever serve in the Hungarian military
services? If so, what was his rank?

Yes, from 1950 until 1953 as a private
11. Respondent's education (in detail)

Finished secondary schools in 1950. He completed the
gymnasium and one year at the Pecs University where
he studied Geography, Biology and Chemistry. He was
unable to continue because of financial and political
reasons.
12. What was respondent's occupation, and where and for
whom did he work? (Get basic details):

Bookkeeper for state forestry enterprise June 1950 until
fall that year. Supt. of MTH (Bur. Labor Res.) home in
Miskolc 1953-1955, same in Kazinczbarczika until May 1956.

(a) Before 1945

Too young

3-M

(b) Since 1945

If respondent is a married woman, get above details about her husband also.

13. Are respondent's parents living? If so, how old are they?

Yes, age unknown.

Where are they now?

Borsod County, Hungary

14. Has respondent any brothers or sisters? If so, what are their ages?

Two brothers, ages 25 and 32

Where are they now?

Also in Hungary

15. Has respondent any children? If so, what age, what sex?

Not to the best of his knowledge

Where are they?

16. When did respondent leave Hungary?

December 4, 1956

17. When did he arrive in the US?

January 1, 1957

18. Where has he been in the US?

Only Camp Kilmer and New York City

19. What are his immediate plans?

To continue his studies in Geology

19. Has respondent been interviewed by any Western organization since leaving Hungary? If so, by whom and for how long each time?

Only routine questioning by Austrian police and the US Immigration Service. Latter while on board ship.

20. Does respondent speak or write any foreign language? If so, which?

Speaks some English and reads French and German

On Oct. 22, I went by train from the place of my birth to visit my parents in Borsod County. I got off at the railroad station in Mikolc. the latest edition of the Bekesdabadsad. In it was an article by Thomas eczel. It was called "Travel Hungaria". Its contents were the following: Up to now, nobody was able to travel outside Hungary. The writer of the article just returned from Vienna and he compared the conditions there stating that Hungary is very much behind Austria. In Austria, there was a very ~~mmxk~~ high standard of living and everything was modern and new despite the fact that the Russian army also captured and occupied Austria for a considerable time.

This article was a very bold one, but it was not the first one of this kind. The so-called thaw(?) was in efect for quite a time. According to Eczel, it was started by a poem of the Hungarian poet, Benjamin Laszlo, compared to what life was like before; this was indeed a great change, but at that time on the 22 of Oct., I did not dare hope that the next day, the revolution would break out with the demonstrations by the students in Budapest.

I arrived at home on the evening of the 22. The village in which my parents live does not have electricity and therefore there are no radio sets with the exceptioñ of one or two battery sets, therefore, we didn't know very much about what was happening outside of the village. But on the morning of the 24, my father woke me up, I was still in bed, and he told me ~~xxxxxx~~ excellent news: there are demonstrations in Budapest staged by the students and the students have already captured the radio station buildings. My father, who is a teacher, learned this news from a colleague who happened to have a battery set. However, this news was too exciting and I could not stay at home. I decided to go by the first train to Mikolc and look around and see what was happening. I arrived at Mikolc in the afternoon of the 24. There was something tense in the air, but I could see nothing unusual. People were everywhere talking about events in Budapest. The students were walking up and down the streets and there was excitement in the air. Everybody felt that something would happen that day or the next. In Mikolc, I stayed with my relatives. I spent the night with them.

The next day, I got up at ten o'clock and went out into the street. I went to the very center of the city into a watchmaker's shop. I wanted to have my wrist watch repaired. While I was talking with the shopkeeper, a man of about 50 came into the shop very excited. His daughter was working for the watch-

maker. He said to his daughter: "Come immediately home because the workers of Troszger are coming into the city." The girl immediately packed her things and went with her father home.

I too decided to investigate what was going to happen. Then I went to ward Troszger, to see what this demonstration was all about.

Rounding the corner near St. Anna's Church, I saw about 200 yds away, the workers of Troszger marching toward the city. I cannot estimate how many people were there, but the whole street was packed. The crowd was bearing Hunarian flags. It was significant and I noticed it immediately that the Communists' signs were removed from the flags. Not one single red flag could be seen. The demonstrators were shouting "Down with Gero". "Russkies go out".

The crowd was singing the Kozut song, the meaning of which is that should Kozut ~~again~~ require soldiers for his revolutionary, everyone will have to go and fight. Long live Hungary's liberty, long live Hungarian freedom.

I do not know how this demonstration was organized, but I do know that it was caused by Gero's speech the previous night denouncing the Hungarian students in Budapest as Fascists bandits. The workers of Troszger staged this demonstration in protest of Gero's speech and in protest of the government's actions against the students' demonstrations in Budapest.

Among the demonstrators I saw only civilians, workers, students, officials and so on but I saw no soldiers among the demonstrators, both sexes were equally represented.

My feeling at that time was that these demonstrations were the demonstrations in Budapest and like this one in Mikal would lead to some result and the government would make concessions.

The demonstrators shouted: "Everyone who is Hungarian will join us. Therefore, the people standing on the sidewalk also joined the demonstrators. I too went with them despite the fact that my train was due to leave at 2. in the afternoon and I still had to get my luggage from my relatives.

The demonstrators went and marched in front of the building of the Communist Party and there they demanded that Gero should resign and give over his place to Imre Nagy. They also demanded

that the Russians leave Hungary/

At that time, I taught that the AVO would not tolerate this demonstration and would disperse the demonstrators when they attempted to come near to Party headquarters.

I could not stay any longer with the demonstrators. I had to go back to get my luggage and go to the station. The street cars were not running them in Mikloc.

At the railroad station and on the train everyone was talking about the demonstrations in Budapest and ~~in~~ about the demonstration which just took place in Mikloc. The Budapest trains were not running only the local commuter train. It seems that the Communists did not want to allow the industrial workers of Mikloc and Ocz(?) to go to Budapest to help the students in the revolution.

Satorajrughely

Those passengers who did not come from Mikloc, but came from Chartre or (?) ~~were~~ or some other place outside of Mikloc did not know about the events which took place there. When we told them what happened they were very happy and cheered. I am certain that these passengers took the news home and spread it.

When I arrived at Kazinczbarczika I saw nothing unusual in the village. This is very small peasant village and was entirely quiet. I did not see a flag anywhere.

This somehow dampened and checked my enthusiasm. When I had to hurry home, dress and go to work. I was then working on the afternoon shift. When I came just in front of the power plant, I ~~thought~~ stopped for a second seeing a sight which I will never forget. The factory (the ~~power~~ power plant) had three 120 meter tall chimneys. I saw 3 workers taking each a flag up the chimneys and affixing them to the top of the chimneys. The chimneys were so tall and the flags were so tiny. But it was great to see the Hungarian flag without the Communist star on it. Everyone was happy and the general feeling was that perhaps at ~~last~~ last our factory is not Communist any more.

We all had to hurry to work because we were supposed to ~~take~~ take over our assignment ten minutes before the shift started.

Next to me worked the ~~ex-Communist~~ ex-Party secretary of the power plant. I noticed that he was always watching me from the corner of his eye. It seemed that he was afraid of me. I do not know why. I hardly knew him. He received that

assignment only for days ago. He was replaced as Party secretary by another man because the results of his Party work were not up to expectations. He did not have the qualifications required to do the work, to which he was now assigned. He received this assignment because ~~at~~ paid well.

While working, I was always able to talk to many of the other workers and we usually exchanged our information. I told them what happened in Mikołc. Many of them were living far from Kazinczbarczika and they took the news home. The next day they also told me what happened at home, in one or two villages. the population wanted to hang the Party secretary. But until then the workers knew comparatively little about what was taking place in Budapest and outside Hungary. This was due to the fact that ~~when~~ many of the villages did not have electricity and therefore the news was scarce.

Otherwise, nothing unusual happened on this shift. There were rumors to the effect that the Party secretary had said that the whole rebellion would be squashed.

The next day on the 26 of Oct, I and 2 friends from the factory that is the power plant, wanted to go to Mikołc and ~~to~~ see what was going on. We wanted to go on the 7 o'clock train in order to be back for work by two. On reaching the station, we found out that the train on which we wanted to go was not running.

While we ~~were~~ were at the station, I saw an AVO officer whom I knew by sight with a civilian who probably was also an AVO officer. They seemed very suspicious of us but did not say anything to us. ~~They went~~ They went and walked around the power plant and the homes of the workers. Probably they were sent to see what was going on in Kazinczbarczika. It was a very uncanny feeling when we saw when we thought the AVO officers were watching us. It seemed to me that ~~the Party~~ despite the demonstrations, the AVO still had control of the country. But the AVO officers soon left and did not do anything nor speak to anyone.

In the afternoon I again went to work. We exchanged information with the other workers. Everyone wanted to know what would happen next. ~~xxx~~ (1-B)

1-B We discussed the situation with the other workers at the power plant. Most of them were timid. They feared retaliation. Nobody knew what would happen. The Budapest radio at our

town only played music. We listened to foreign broadcasts openly. We had a good radio. We were anxious to know how the situation would develop from minute to minute.

After Budapest, Mikolc especially the workers of Trosgyer were the first ones to take part in the revolution. Everybody wanted to know what would happen, 0

The next day the ex-Party secretary came and spoke to me. He was extremely friendly. This was probably the first time he ever spoke to me. He said he was very sorry he ~~could not~~ was unable to do anything about my brother who at that time wanted to get a job in ~~the~~ power plant. He emphasized the fact that he comes from Transylvania and that he is a good Hungarian. He also said that he was demoted from the job of Party secretary because he didn't perform his work in the Party with much enthusiasm.

When I came home from the shift that night, I heard that there were demonstrations again in Mikolc. This time the demonstrations were staged by the university students and high school students and industrial workers also took part.

On the morning of the 27 Oct., I succeeded in going to Mikolc. Already at the railroad station in Mikolc I heard that a great demonstration was going to take place that day. The previous night, the AVO arrested 35 or 40 of the students and workers who organized the previous demonstration. The purpose of the demonstration today was to free them from the AVO. Evidently they had been severely tortured during the night. The leaders of the previous demonstration were in the custody of the Blue police at the Blue police headquarters in Mikolc.

The workers and students came ~~and~~ in large numbers. This was the second great demonstration in Mikolc. The crowd ~~was~~ surrounded the building of the Blue police headquarters. ~~W~~ They demanded that the prisoners be freed and they said ~~w~~ they were unwilling to go away until the police would free the arrested leaders of the previous demonstration. With my two friends, I was also there in the crowd in front of the building.

The police warned the crowd to disperse promising to use fire arms if they did not do so. A woman in the uniform of the AVO police also spoke to the crowd from a window and said "Go away or we shall immediately shoot!" Commander of the Blue police of Mikolc also addressed the crowd. This was the third warning to disperse, but the crowd said it

wouldn't until the leaders were freed.

Certainly AVO and policemen appeared in the windows of the 2nd floor and started to fire on the crowd with sub-machine guns. The police commander, a man by the name of Seghy and his wife (the woman in the AVO uniform) ~~xxxx~~ threw hand grenades into the crowd. According to my estimates, 10 to 15 people died immediately and many were wounded.

I became very nervous. It was terrible to listen to the moans and cries of the wounded.

The crowd broke into the building and ran up the stairs to capture the AVO men and the policemen who fired on the crowd.

~~xxxx~~ They succeeded in capturing Seghy and his wife but most of the AVO and policemen escaped taking with them about 25 of the arrested leaders of the previous demonstration. I saw only about 8 or 10 of them who were freed when the crowd broke in. It is possible the others were also freed but I did not see them in the great crowd. Later I heard ~~xxxx~~ nothing about their fate.

It was impossible to come near Seghy and his wife. More than 50 people were around them, workers armed with hammers or iron bars. They were dragged down into the street in front of the building but by that time I think both of them had already been beaten to death.

A group of miners came there with a truck. Some of them took down iron cables and attached the two bodies to the truck by the necks. The truck started off toward Beke ASquare. The two bodies were dragged along the road, to the Russian monument which was on the square. Along the way, the crowd kicked and spat upon the ~~xxx~~ killed policeman ~~xxx~~ commander and his wife.

The truck stopped on Beke Square near the Russian monument. I saw a worker take a ladder and climb up to the top of the monument. He attached a wire cable to the Red star on the monument and soon we saw that Seghy's body was hanged by the neck from this monument. As Seghy's head was already beaten to a pulp soon his body slipped through the noose and it fell down. The workers then took another steel rope and fastened it under his arms and hanged him again to the star. Seghy's wife was hanged on the other side of the same monument.

About 50 meters from the monument there was a commotion in the crowd and soon the third body was brought to the monument and hanged along side Seghy and his wife. This was a man in an AVO uniform. I found out later that this man was also in the crowd. He was some relative or friend of the Seghys/ He made a comment stating that somebody will suffer for this. Some of the bystanders heard his remarks and immediately he was lynched on the spot., hanged beside Seghy.

I stood for some time there on the square but later I had to go to the railroad station to catch the train back to Kazinczbarczika as I had to go to work in the afternoon.

In Kazinczbarczika everything was quiet and the three flags were still on the smokestacks. In the factory I told the other workers what happened in Mikolc.

The workers also told me a piece of news. It was rumored that at the time when the flags were being hoisted up the stacks, the director of the Social Welfare department of the power plant a man by the name of Nanvor Verges, was also present and said that the whole thing was a dirty fascist provocation. This upset the workers very much. He was a big Communist, a Jew and actually he embezzled a lot of money. The next day, this director went away for a leave of absence. What the worker said, that he would get his when he returned.

Another incident which caused much dissatisfaction among the workers was the following: three workers with hammers destroyed the Red star at the entrance of the power plant. The Party secretary worked near me said the following: We will settle our accounts with them later. I know who they are. Some body heard him and there was much grumbling among the workers because of him.

It is interesting to note that a few days later, when the workers councils were organized, (?) the personnel director was dismissed, because "of unpatriotic conduct at the time when the flags were hoisted on the chimneys of the power plant". We hoped that from this, Vertish? will learn a lesson in social respect and appreciation of his fellow workers. " This indicates what the composition of the workers councils was like.

We went to Mikolc practically every day to see what the news was.

Two days after the lynching of Seghy and his wife, I went to Mikolc with two friends. We got out at the first station. The city was entirely calm and quiet. I walked to the building of the police headquarters where now the military revolutionary council had its headquarters. At that time my impression was that this military revolutionary council was under the jurisdiction ~~of~~ of the city workers council.

Opposite the police headquarters was the barracks of the Mikolc army group. This building was the so-called Rudo elite barracks. When I was there I noticed several officers and soldiers with guns escorting a civilian. I later learned that this civilian was the chief of the AVO'S quadrille section. ~~The~~ He had some documents in his possession. One of the officers addressed the crowd and said that they have guaranteed this man his safety. His services are valuable and as he has turned over to them the entire list of all the secret policemen~~x~~ and secret agents in Mikolc.

I wanted to see the place where Seghy's Body had been brought out from the police headquarters. There on the square despite the heavy traffic and the rains one could see still signs of blood and membrane. The three bodies remained on the Russian monument, for ~~several~~ several days.

The entire city was decorated with Hungarian flags. On one building the crowd noticed a flag which had the Communist insignia on it. The landlord was requested to immediately cut~~=~~ out the insignis from the flag.ó

From my relatives in Mikolc, I learned much about the activities of the workers revolutionary council in Mikolc. It seemed that there was much dispute among its members, as to whom the leader ~~should~~ should be. Some of the public administration officials of the Horthy regime turned up and wanted to take over the management of ~~the~~ affairs. The workers were not willing to let them.

In Kazincbátczaka, the situation remained the same. We also formed a workers council. Our council adopted the resolutions of the Budapest revolutionary council. We established contact with the other councils. How these councils began their work, and how they were formed, I do not know exactly. ~~But~~

I remember that one day when I was in the power plant working, I heard one of the workers asking the other, "Did you cast your vote already?" I enquired what this was all about and I found out the following; A list was being passed among the workers, each one signing his own name and the name of the person he wanted to be our representative in the workers council. When the list came to me, I saw immediately that most of the votes had been cast for the previous foreman manager. I was not satisfied with this. I also saw that the foreman and one of his henchman was always near the persons who were signing the ~~xxx~~ list. When it was my turn to sign and the foreman thought that I was hesitating, he came to me and said that it would be advisable to vote for him and other people who already had experience in running the plant. I refused to vote for him, but voted instead for an old worker whom I could trust completely. Nevertheless, the composition of the ~~new~~ workers council was not satisfactory. Most of the old people were still in it.

The chief of the personnel section was ousted, by the revolutionary workers council in the factory but he was not dismissed only given a very good assignment. he was a convinced Communist, who previously was in the Army and although he had only four grades of school, became an officer on the Hungarian Air Force. Later, he was assigned to this position in the power plant where he had no work to do and received a very high salary. From such signs, it was evident to me that if ~~xxxx~~ the revolution did not succeed, then there would be much retaliation here in our power plant. against those who showed any sympathy with the demonstrators or who took part in the demonstrations

From the radio we knew of what was taking place in Budapest on the 28 and on the 29. Railroad communication with Budapest was severed partly due to the lack of coal and perhaps also to government orders to prevent the industrial workers of this region from coming to Budapest.

Nothing of ~~xxx~~ importance occurred during this time until the return of the Russians. The Communist Party was reorganized and we felt that nothing had been accomplished. Radio Free Europe also informed us that the ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the Communists was still to be found in the Communist Party.
 old order

On Nov. 3 we were listening to the radio in the barracks where we lived. Many of the engineers of the power plant were also there. We were overjoyed to learn that the Russians allegedly

had started to evacuate their troops from Hungary. I myself was pessimistic and told the others, "Wait until the last one goes out."

Next morning, when I was preparing to go to the power plant to begin the day shift, I turned on the radio and heard for the first time, the message of Imre Nagy. He announced that Russian troops were attacking Budapest and he appealed to the UN and to the Western powers for aid.

Even in the power plant we managed to monitor the radio broadcast, and were constantly waiting for news to know what was happening. The foreign radio broadcasts ~~in~~ w informed us that the action of the Russians was a violation of the international agreements of war. We hoped that the UN would be able to do something in our behalf. Days passed and nothing happened. And in the meantime, the Russians were pouring into Hungary again and re-occupying the country, ~~and~~

A few days later, I again went to Mikołc where I met my father. He also came into the city to find out what was really happening. He was very much concerned about my two brothers. One of them lived in Budapest just opposite the ~~the~~ ~~Kikiz~~ ? barracks.

From my father I learned ~~that~~ ^{during} before Nov 4, he, ~~during~~ one ~~night~~ how more than 1,000 Russian tanks coming ~~in the~~ direction of Mikołc. As he felt cold, he did not stay much longer. But the tanks were still coming when he left for home.

From my father, I learned that, before Nov. 4, during one night, he counted more than 1,000 tanks (Russian) coming in the direction Mikołc. As he felt cold, he did not stay much longer. But the tanks were still coming when he left for home. This happened at the end of Oct or Nov 1.

From what my father and other friends had to say, I gathered that the Russians were slowly coming into the country on by-ways and side roads in order to avoid observation.

III. C.. I believed that the reinvasion of Mikołc took place simultaneously with the reinvasion of Budapest. I was not in the city of Mikołc at the time this took place, but I had a first hand account of it from reliable friends.

At the time the workers attacked police headquarters in Budapest, they did not have one single rifle or a pistol. Later, the soldiers ~~from~~ from the Rudo barracks, equipped them with arms. Still later, a security militia was formed of workers and students. About 80 per cent of this militia were students. They had arm bands and were equipped with firearms.

...from police headquarters Budapest to police headquarters Mikolc. In the early hours of Nov 4 Russian tanks about 50 approached the buildings of the technical university in Mikolc. The students' guards placed on the top of buildings noticed their approach and started firing on them. Several Russians were killed. The Russians also fired from their tanks and more tanks were drawn up to the university. By dawn, all of the university students were either disarmed or killed. I do not know how many students were killed, but several hundred would not be an exaggeration.

The workers of Trosgyer remained entirely quiet. There was no fighting in that area/

With the fighting at the university, all military action in Mikolc ceased. The Russians drew up their tanks along strategic points in the city. There was no fighting on the streets. The Russians were searching for arms among the students and young people and took anybody suspicious to them into custody.

The Hungarian army in Mikolc offered no resistance to the Russians. They probably saw that they were overpowered and outnumbered.

At the time that ~~the~~ of the Russian re-invasion, we were expecting some help from the West. We ~~wx~~ were constantly sitting beside our radios and listening to the foreign broadcasts. We were waiting for assistance from the West and are still waiting for it. The sessions of the UN were always being postponed. Immediate and urgent assistance was required then.

We did not think much about the form of assistance from the West. We wanted them to come or to send us guns and ammunition and arms. To throw this down to us in parachutes. If we were able to fight Russian with bare hands, how much more effectively we could have done so with arms, had the West supplied us with them? i

During the entire revolution, I did not meet any foreigners in Hungary.

After the return of the Russians, I went to work every day and was waiting to see what would happen. Kadar already on the scene. He made many promises and appeals to the workers to continue their work because stock supplies were short, etc.

I constantly listened to the Hungarian and foreign radio broadcasts, to speeches, statements and so on. I wanted very much to know what would happen.

About the 18 or 20 of Nov., I realized it was impossible to remain because the outlooks were very bleak. From the statements and speeches made by Kadar, it was evident that nothing could be expected from home, only retaliations. His promises became thinner and thinner.

It is interesting that the Rakosci Communists were in the workers militia which ~~was formed~~ had been formed during the revolution.

About ten days before I attempted to leave Hungary, I realized that it was impossible to wait any longer. Workers were already being dismissed from the power plant. I was certain that it was only a question of time when I too would be dismissed. I knew that the UN would not come or send an army if they had not come till now. In my opinion, there was nothing more to wait for.

A few days before I started off, I went to visit my parents. I realized that they will probably never see me again in my life. They tried to persuade me to remain, but finally they realized that it was better for me to go. They knew very well this was not some childish craving for adventure.

My delay was also due to the fact that I wanted to know to what extent the previous Rakosci regime would be restored. I was very much concerned, ~~whether~~ would there be retaliations against my parents if I left. At the time of my departure, I hoped that the old previous conditions would not be restored entirely and no trouble would befall my parents,

I left home on Nov 31. I promised my parents that I would not go West, only to Budapest to enquire about my brother who lived just opposite the Kiliun barracks. Therefore, we were

very much concerned for his safety because we knew that stiff fighting had been going on in that neighborhood. I told my parents that I am going to visit my brother, but both they and I knew that I am going West and would never return

On the way to Budapest I saw something very interesting which strengthened my resolution to go West and never return. At the railroad station in Hatvan, I saw two Russian soldiers, evidently deserters from the Red Army, they were being guarded by at least 12 Russian soldiers with sub-machine guns. A large crowd was surrounding them. Both Russians were young, about 18 or 22. They acted very calm and resigned. One of them tried to explain something to the Russian officer in charge of the guards. But this officer would not listen to him. I do not know exactly what they had done, but it was evident that their lives were to be very short. I had the feeling that this fate awaited all of us if we remained.

When I got off the train in Budapest, the sight which awaited us at the Galite station was terrible. Everything was in ruins. Russian tanks were stationed everywhere. No street cars ran. The streets looked as if they had been plowed up,

With my two parcels, I finally managed to go on foot to my brother's house. I found them there. The building in which they lived was very badly damaged, but they were still alive and well. Some of their furniture and possessions had remained.

I tried to convince my brother and his wife that they too should come with me. My brother was willing but his wife was not. She somehow could not leave behind the few possessions which had remained.

I went on by train in the direction of Kapuczwa. I arrived there and took a room in one of the hotels. My impression was that very little happened during the revolution in Kapuczwa and the old police and AVO were still in power. I went down to the room of the door man to listen to his radio. He warned us to be very careful. Beside me sat an elderly man who also listened to the radio. All at once, he motioned to me to turn the radio to another station. Very soon after that, a police squad came in led by a police non-commissioned officer who was evidently drunk. He questioned us and wanted to take me in, but he got into an argument, a one-sided

argument with this elderly man threatening to shoot him with his pistol. What the cause of the argument was, I do not know, but I remember that he called this man a Fascist. Soon afterwards, the drunken policeman and his squad went away leaving us there.

The next day I took a train for Somucz county to the village where my other brother was living. Due to the fact that I would not have a train for several hours and it was unwise to remain in the broader district, I finally decided not to visit my brother, but to continue my journey towards Somewhat hay. I did not have time nor the money to buy a railway ticket, but the conductors on the trains did not request a ticket from anyone. Everybody was openly talking about going West.

At the railway station in Szonbathely-I wanted to enquire which is the best way to go to Austria. But had to run from the railroad station because a Russian patrol came and looked at me with suspicion. I threw away my bags and ran. I succeeded in boarding the train going toward ~~Koszeg~~. The Russians did not follow me= Koszeg

Soon after leaving Szonbathely an AVO border police officer and a railroad man came through the train flashing a light into the faces of all the passengers and enquiring where they were going. They went through the train six times on the way to Koszeg.

Opposite me in the train sat a young couple with a small child. They seemed ~~to~~ very suspicious to the officer, but he did not detain them. My feeling was that I too was suspicious to them, but they let me proceed.

I got off the train at Koszeg. It was dark and I went out in the direction very carefully. About 100 yds from the rail road station was a crossroad. There I saw two guards with sub-machine guns. I noticed them in time and made a detour in order to avoid them. I tried to enquire which was the way to the border. I knocked on a door, but it was too late and no one answered my knock. Previously at home, I carefully studied the map and knew in which direction Austria was. I proceeded in this direction through vineyards and fields and forests.

Going on the forest road, I noticed in time a border control= consisting of two AVO borderpatrolmen. I stopped behind a bush. He passed me but it was my feeling that they noticed me

only did not wish to take notice of me.

Further on, I again met a border patrol consisting of four men. They had a police dog with them. They stopped me; I had to put up my hands. They searched me. They were looking for arms. They took me into custody.

Soon two other guards brought three gypsies and a gypsy woman who were also detained on their way toward the Austrian border. They marched us in toward the guard house.

This was not far from the Austrian border. I knew that I could easily run, in the darkness, a hundred yards to safety, but I was not certain whether or not all the mines and all the barbed wire fences had been removed along the border.

We were questioned at the guard house. They told us that in the morning we would be transported to ~~Szonbathely~~ YA truck came for us on which there were already three people. We continued to the next guard house, and in a very short time, there were more than twelve prisoners on the truck. We were not hand cuffed.

We were taken to the Szonbathely prison. It was full and very noisy. Most of the prisoners were young people between the ages of 16 and 18. The majority of them from Budapest. Some of them told me, they had already attempted to cross the border three times without success, but they said, they would let us go and they would try again. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

That same day, we were again questioned in Szonbathely. They wanted to know why I wanted to leave the country and whether or not I took part in the revolution. I had to sign a protocol containing my confession. The officer said this protocol would be sent to my place of employment and to the place where I lived and that the next day, we would be set free, taken out to the railroad station and put on the first train to Budapest. He said that if I should try once again to leave the country that then they would turn me over to the public prosecutor and criminal proceedings would start against me.

That afternoon, I became acquainted with two other prisoners, who told me that they had a chauffeur friend in Szonbathely and that that man would assist us in getting out of the country. They advised me to ask the commander of the prison to let me go saying that I had transportation facilities to Budapest and

therefore, did not have to wait for the train.

The ~~w~~ two of them went to see the commander before me and the commander let them go. When finally I went to see the commander he examined me and question~~ed~~ me very closely. I gave him the right answers as the other two had instructed me ~~me/~~ in what to tell him. I gave the commander the address of this chauffeur and finally, he let me go with strict warnign not to attempt the border again.

Outside the prison, I met the other two ex-prisoners and we went to the garage only to find out that our friend, the chauffeur, had already left for Austria and is not expected to return. We went out to the railroad station and wanted to know when the next train would go in the direction o f the border. There at the railroad station, we were accosted by a boy of 16, who asked us whether we wanted to go to Austria . ~~at/~~. He agreed to take us over and we were to meet him at the railroad station the next morning at 4 o'clock.

The boy met us and we boarded the train going only one station. There we got off and went on foot about 13 kilometers toward the border. On the way, we met one or two border guards. Probably they noticed us, but they didn't say anything and we avoided them. All the peasants on the way were very friendly and gave us directions. We succeeded in crossing over to Austria that very day by daylight. Near the border, we ~~stopped~~ saw and other signs that the border guards were patrolling the border district with dogs and on horseback.

From about 150 meters distance, we started to run for the Austrian border which was clearly identified by the Austrian flag. We ran about 50 meters into Austrian territory and stopped only there. This was on the Dec. 4.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father was a school teacher. Before 1945, he taught in a parochial school. From 1942 to 1952, he taught in the government grade school. In 1952, he was transferred to a God-forsaken village and his teaching school there even today. The reason for this transfer was that my father was on the kulak list. The place where he was previously employed gave ~~him~~ 25 acres of land to the teachers and this was considered sufficient to place him on the kulak list since we had a bit of property of our own. My father's education is Teacher's College. My mother completed four years of secondary school. She comes from a teacher's family. I do not know what my father's salary was before entering the war. His last salary before I left Hungary was 1,150 to 2,000 forints a month and free rent. Since the Communists took over, the teachers do not have the use of school land. Before the war, my parents owed 35 ~~catastrophic~~ yokes of farm land. This was nationalized by the Communists in 1948.

cadastral

In 1945, my parents had to flee from the Russians and everything they owned was lost or stolen. When they returned, the village had to support them for one year because they had practically nothing, only the clothes on their ~~backs~~ backs. O

B. The social classes in Hungary are the workers, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia to which belong the officials and the government employees. I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia. Although I, for political reasons, I was unable to get any work other than that of a laborer. I had close contacts with all classes and have a high regard for all three. Before the Communists took over Hungary, every class was represented in political life.

The Hungarian peasantry, with its inherited love for the soil could never be reconciled to Communism. Those agricultural workers who had no land probably sympathized with Communism for a time, but ~~if~~ when the land which was given to them in the course of the land reform was taken away from them, their sympathy for the Communists ceased.

The industrial workers also felt themselves defrauded. They realized that despite slogans to the contrary, their life was far below the minimum of the previous regime. The Communists attempted to create an apparatus based on the industrial and

agricultural workers, but even those peasants and workers who were boosted to civil service jobs soon saw the contradictions between slogans and reality, and realized that the whole thing was a fraud.

The intelligentsia was completely suppressed during the Communists regime. Knowledge and experience did not count. Most of them were ousted because they served under the previous regime. Communists attempted to create a new intelligentsia of their own. In my opinion, under Communism, the intelligentsia was hit the hardest.

C.. The attitude of the peasantry and the industrial workers toward each other can be summed up in the following: most of the peasants were convinced that the industrial workers have an easier life. They thought that the industrial workers not only had a higher standard of living, but that, politically, they are not oppressed so much as the peasantry. On the other hand, ~~ix~~ the industrial workers thought that the peasantry lived better. Both of these classes mistrusted the intelligentsia because the new intelligentsia of the Communists was one which committed the most crimes against them.

The intelligentsia saw very clearly its own position. It realized that its standard of living was comparatively the lowest and that it was exploited the most. Most of the intelligentsia never had any antagonistic feelings toward the other two classes.

E. Concerning the chances of getting ahead in Communist Hungary, the question of talent was only of secondary importance. Of primary importance was the reliable origin of the person concerned and whether or not he was a member of the Party. If a person was able to repeat the Party lines to the satisfaction of the Party then there were unlimited chances of getting ahead.

The social mobility of each class depended largely on the political policy of the government. For example, under the Nagy government, the intelligentsia was not considered as unreliable as before. The children of the intelligentsia were admitted to the schools.

As an individual, the person most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary was of the loafer, big-mouth type. The type which likes to give orders to others. Such persons were usually

able to prove that they were of proletarian origin. In other words, they never appreciated what they earned, but spent it.

F. The principle of paying or rewarding everyone according to his merits, is unheard of in Communist Hungary. A ~~small~~ small proletarian minority which does not like work, ~~and~~ and usually is the scum of the population, is permitted to rule and order around the rest of the people. Such proletarians are available for almost anything. Th

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. In my opinion, Communism did have an effect on family life in Hungary. It changed the strict family way of life of the previous regime. This was due to the constant sense of insecurity, to the poverty and to the hardships of everyday life. Everyone was compelled to worry ~~not~~ only about the today. No one could make secure the future of his family or children. The constant nervous tension in which everyone lived did not have a good effect on family life.

The principle of free love which was propagated by the Communists had also a ~~not~~ detrimental effect on life in Hungary. It undermined the strict moral principles of the previous regime.

The family life of all social classes was affected, but to a different degree. The rural population was probably less affected than the city population. The least affected were the peasants, after that, the intelligentsia and, most affected were the industrial workers of the city. But a decline in the family life of all classes can be noticed.

B. The Communists wanted to indoctrinate, first of all the Hungarian youth. Communist ideology was taught to all age groups. It practically began in kindergarten. Of course, it is another question how successful this was.

The extent to which children disobeyed their parents under the Communist rule is a very complex one. In general, those children who were carefully brought up at home, by their parents, did not disobey them more than before. There was, however, a not4d difference in the group of children who can be considered more neglected by the r parents. Even these could not be won over entirely by the Communists.

C. Due to the constant financial difficulties in which everyone lived in Hungary, people inclined to think twice before getting married. The number of ~~marriages~~ / ~~relationships~~ unsuccessful marriages were surprisingly high. This can be left to the constant financial troubles and that the poor working conditions ruined the lives of the young people.

m

The courtship pattern depended on many factors. For example, origin, education at home, etc., therefore it varied, according to the individual. I think I am too young to make a comparison of what it was like before and during the war,

I do not know much about prostitution. Probably, there were brothels in Budapest, but I do not know from experience. I consider a marriage ideal and am of the opinion that animal instincts should be governed by every individual.

We were often told that love has a different meaning in socialistic ideology than in the capitalistic meaning. Otherwise, I do not know what the official attitude on sexual matters was.

D. Communism did affect friendship. In general, a sharper distinction was made between friends and acquaintances.

For me, it is very unpleasant ~~to~~ to think back of ex-friends who joined the Communist Party. But in general, I can say that whether the person joined the Communist Party from conviction or because he wanted to make a living, I make no distinction between them. In my opinion, a normal and honest person who ~~lives~~ leads a correct life can never be a Communist. If a close friend of mine joined the Communist Party, I would try to talk sense to him, but it would be practically impossible to continue the friendship. It is entirely quite out of the question to keep politics out of a friendship. The reason for this is that politics played such a dominant role in everyday life.

E. The papers did not write much about crime and therefore, it is impossible to form an opinion on this question. I do not think that ordinary crimes increased. There was not anyone to steal from. Everyone was poor. But if a ~~common~~ common crime was committed, very often, the police or the AVO attempted to give it a political tint. For example, my uncle who was considered a kulak, was constantly in jail on economic charges, for not surrendering the quota and so on. In fact, this was only a small economic crime, but it was played up as a political crime because my uncle happened to be a kulak.

I am too young to be able to say whether people drank more than before the war. I think that people in general drank just as much as before. This was despite the fact that the

price of alcoholic beverages was higher. People were inclined to consider life as aimless and without purpose. They ~~though~~ thought they may as well drink away their earnings as it was not sufficient at all for necessities anyhow. Some people drank at home, others in the pubs, but it was not advisable to spend too much money on drinks in public because questions would be asked by the police where one got the money from.

I have heard of hooliganism, but do not know exactly what it means/ If under hooligan, we mean the "gompec" then hooliganism is the copying of everything that is foreign by the youth. Especially, clothes, dances, recreation and so on. Some of the things which come under this, of course, were considered as bad taste in Hungary. But in general, the youth liked to copy foreign fashion, foreign dances, and so on. Compared with the bleak everyday life which the Communists wanted to impose upon them it is only natural that the youth preferred such things as dancing and foreign fashions.

The Communists spent much money and time to train the ~~the~~ youth to their ideology, but without success. The youth organizations also failed to achieve their purpose. Rakosi and his people noticed this and this is the reason why one year before the outbreak of the revolution, they staged a Youth Congress at which such problems were discussed, but the Congress and the resolutions passed there did not affect the situation much.

Hooliganism in the sense in which I understand it is more characteristic of a certain age group rather than of a social class. There were the young people belonging to the intelligentsia, to the industrial workers and even to the peasantry ~~which were considered~~ who could be considered as hooligans. In most cases, the parents did not mind that their children were copying the fashions and the recreation of the foreign youth. In many instances, it was considered the right thing to do just because the government opposed it.

VII. RELIGION

A. In my opinion, the effects of Communism on religious life in Hungary should be considered according to age groups.

In my opinion, Communism had little effect on the religious life of the older age group or better to say, it even increased their degree of religiousness.

But Communism did affect to a considerable degree, the religious life of the younger people. I do not dare to make an estimate to what extent.

Interference in the religious life in Hungary began by abolishing compulsory catechism class in school. Darwinism and materialistic principles were taught to the children in school and they had a great effect on them. I know from my own example. I preferred to accept the scientific explanation for the source of life and so on than the theological explanation. Even today this is an open question to me and I am seeking the right answer. This, in my opinion, is not a question of politics, but it is a question of philosophy.

At home, the clergy and the churches have the same general respect as before.

Catholics were the greatest enemies of Communism. It was a question of survival of either the regime or the church. Because of the difference of the methods used in this struggle, of course, the regime won.

Protestant churches were also persecuted. Religion in Communism is a general principle. Whether it be Judaism or Buddhism is indifferent. Whoever is not a materialist is an enemy of the Communists. This is a capital crime. A good example of this is ~~the~~ Cardinal Mindszenty. He has become an enemy of the government and the people, because he tried in every possible way, that is every way in which morally he could, fight against the Communists for the survival of the Catholic Church.

B. My parents have always been very religious as I've said before, I was more impressed by scientific theories. They regarded with concern, my struggle to find an answer to my religious and philosophical problems. These are problems to which I am still seeking an answer.

Whether one is religious or not is of indifference to me. I do not judge people according to this standard. These are most ly traditions which one inherits, but I do not think that science can give convincing proof which would undermine religion and the churches. Religion is a spiritual necessity to most people. In the 20th century, the basis of religion and the religious life is humanism. In the centuries past, religion was mostly based on ceremony and even today, much of the ceremony is incomprehensible to me. In this respect, the Protestant religion is the most sympathetic to me.

C. My views on the relation between church and state can be summed up in the following: ~~paragraph~~
role

The churches play an important in the society of today. They are a live, existing movement. They must be given full liberty and opportunity to function.

Concerning ecclesiastic schools, I am of the opinion that they should be abolished, but that catechism in religion should be compulsory in the state schools.

In my opinion, churches should have an influence in such things as censorship of films, plays and so on.

(Note: The political role of the church in the state had to be explained)

Yes, in my opinion, members of the clergy should be represented in Parliament and so on. They could hold government offices. But the ~~ideal~~ ideal relationship between church and state in a democratic country should be one of coordinated relationship, not of subordination. The churches can have an indirect influence on political and social life as well.

D. The Jewish religion under Communism is a difficult question. Was it oppressed or did it have to be oppressed at all? After 45, very few Jews remained. Those who remained were placed in important jobs and high government positions. In principle, the Jewish is the same as any other religion.

The simple Jewish citizen did not have exceptional privileges. Commerce was entirely under government control. Business and commerce was in their blood. For this reason, Communism could not have been sympathetic to them. Politically, they lived under the very same pressure as every one else.

Other Jews were able to get ahead because they became Communist members/

I do not quite understand your question about anti-Semitism and Austria. Against whom do you mean, against Hungarian or Austrian Jews? And by whom, the Hungarians or the Austrians?

I heard some talk about the Jews exploiting the favorable circumstances for immigration. It made a very bad impression when one of the Jews on the train laughingly said: "I'm going to America to become a millionaire."

To me, in general, it is of no importance ~~or~~ if one is a Jew or a Christian, but on the whole, I have had many unfavorable experiences with the Jews whom I knew, but this is experience and not principle. I think ~~it~~ it is unjust to pass someone out of society because he happens to belong to this church or that, but it cannot be denied that the Communists leaders in Hungary were ~~mostly~~ mostly Jews. It is also true that the conduct of some of the Jews immediately after ~~World War~~ World War did not serve to increase their popularity.

The attitude of the Jews toward Communism had to change during the past year. If at the beginning, they expected good they were very disillusioned.

The vast majority of my Jewish acquaintances were Communists. They joined the Communist Party for good pay or good positions and for chances of getting ahead. On the basis of my personal experience with my acquaintances, I think that this was a general phenomenon.

During the revolution and demonstrations, those Jews who were in important political assignments or very good jobs were opposed to the whole thing. I have already mentioned our ex-personnel director who, when seeing the Hungarian workers place the flags on the smoke stacks of the power plant, granted it "a Fascist provocation". It is my opinion that the Jews had very little to do with the revolution. I did not see one single Jew either in the demonstrations or the revolution, but this is possible that this was not the situation in Budapest or elsewhere in Hungary.

I do not think the supposition, that Jews in general, are afraid of a change in Hungary, is well founded. The answer to this question naturally depends to great extent, on the policies of the future Hungarian government, that is to what extent the ways of anti-Semitism, ~~will be permitted~~ which from time to time reoccur to a greater or smaller degree, will be tolerated. In Hungary there was and there is some anti-Semitism, but it is not constant and in general, it is more indifference ~~than~~^{or} antipathy than anti-Semitism. But the Jews are clever enough that they can if they want to ~~change~~ change this general feeling to sympathy.

I must repeat that my feelings toward Jews are based on personal experience and have nothing to do with Hitleristic principles or slogans.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. In my opinion, Hungarian youth included the age group from 10 years to 25.

B. I would not say that the Hungarian youth directed the revolution, but I think that they did play an important role in it.

I am not certain of the role of Hungarian youth in the 6 months before the revolution. I was not in their midst, but I can draw conclusions to this question from the revolution itself. I believe that, in general, the Hungarian youth was very restless and wanted a change.

In my opinion, the fact that the Hungarian youth already had a fixed program which they made public in October indicates that there had been some kind of organization among them already before the outbreak of the revolution or before the demonstrations.

The leading role of the youth in the demonstrations and the revolution is evident.

The Hungarian youth played an important role or maybe the leading role in the Hungarian revolution because very probably, it was able to realize the best, the emptiness of the ideology ~~of~~ forced upon them and they saw best the bleak outlooks for the future and also youth, in general, is less hesitant and more impulsive ~~is~~ and is inclined to act quickly without thinking.

In my opinion, the older age groups admired the accomplishments of the youth during and before the revolution. The youth did more than any one could have expected. There must have been general admiration for their open opposition to the government. I think that the Hungarian youth passed a test of political maturity with flying colors.

C. The Communists admitted only those people to school whom they could hope would become the supporters of Communism.

I think that the Communist government did right when ~~it~~ it abolished tuition and other fees in school. All expenses were borne by the state. Students could do much better in school if they had no financial worries about tuition fees, etc.

There system of entrance examinations is good. Rather, it would have been good if only the qualifications of the students had been examined, but when the political questions came to be dominant, these entrance examinations served only to keep up

that is, keep out the undesirable elements from school.

Concerning the quality of education, it was good in some ~~institutes~~ institutes, in some, high, but only in the last few years. In general, the quality of education from 49 to 53 was very poor.

Concerning the school personnel, many teachers and professors were not qualified to teach. They acquired their diplomas and their assignments from political and Party considerations and not on the basis of professional qualifications. The larger the number of such new teachers on the staff, the lower became the level of the institute or school. It ~~was~~ must also be admitted that teachers and professors were over-burdened by superfluous assignments. The level of the staff, in general, could be attributed to the number of teachers who served under the previous regime.

E. The Communists did make an intensive effort to indoctrinate the youth. They spared neither time nor money to win them. The reason for their failure can be attributed mostly to the fact that the youth realized the emptiness and falsehood in Communist ideology. Opposition of the Hungarian youth to Communism increased from time to time and depended always on the extent of Communist ~~oppression~~ oppression. It always depended on how wide the gap was between practice and theory.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. The major dissatisfactions in my every day life while I was in Hungary were the following: poor working conditions, low standard of living, compulsory Communist ideology, the rule of a Communist minority, the freezing feeling of Russian influence//and in all fields of life, Communism in practice was a dictatorship, brutal and inhumane in extreme.

B. People in Hungary, very often complained because of the bureaucracy, the stupidity and the lack of know-how.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. In the first half of 1956, I was employed as a supervisor of an MTH home (Office of Labor Reserve). My salary was 960 forints a month. There was an iron cot in my office and I could sleep there. I had an extra income of 100 forints a month from acting as a gymnastic instructor.

From June til I left the country, I was employed as a laborer in the power plant at Szkoanbariczika. My average monthly income was 1,000 to 1,150 forints a month. The salary was much lower, about 750 per month, the rest I received as production bonuses.

I shared a room with three other people in the workers' barracks of the power plant. I paid 10 forints a day for food. The food was sometimes good and sometimes bad. On such occasions I was forced to buy something to eat from the grocery store.

I would have liked very much to live quietly and save money enough to get married.

I never had more than two or three suits. ~~These~~, Of these, one was my Sunday suit. For example, the suit in which I left Hungary, I had been wearing since 1948. I could not afford a camera, not to mention a motorcycle. It was a great achievement when I was able to save, after five years, 1,200 for a radio set.

I had to economize both on food and on clothing. If I spent more on clothing, I had to eat less and vice versa.

Our standard of living as compared with pre-war and during the war time changes considerable after 1945. My parents were able to live comfortably on their salaries and from the income of their own property and from the farm land which they got from the school where my father taught.

I started life in 1949 when I finished my studies. After 8 years, I had ten shirts, and three suits of clothes. In 1948 and 1949, the standard of living of living was highest. Since then, it showed a constant decline.

From among my acquaintances, the family who lived best was the neighbors. They had 25 cadastral yokes of farm land. This was just under the level which would make them kulaks. This family had a girl and a son who was married and lived with them.

Their daughter was also married, but did not live in the family. They had decent food and clothing although their standard of living as compared with the pre-war and during the war level, declined at least 66 2/3 %. They were among the first to surrender their crop, but when there was a good crop, some of it was left which they could sell on the free market. From this, they had a considerable income.

The cause of the low standard of living during the past 8 years ~~was~~ was complete anarchy in the economic life and the elimination of private enterprise.

B. My average monthly income on 1956 was 1,150 forints. About 22% of my income was deducted for Trade Union fees, compulsory government loans, etc. This amount included production bonuses as my true salary was only 750 forints per month. The rest was production bonuses. In other words, if for some reason, coal shortage or some technical difficulty, the production declined, our salary income, also declined.

In the first 5 months of last year, I had a part time job after office hours, which gave me an extra income of 100 forints a month. I was a sports instructor,

I was not married, but in my family, only my father worked. I did not live with my parents.

My salary was increased by 22 forints a month in 1955. Until then, it was only 940 forints a month. But this was a general increase in salary.

C. The commissions stores were also government stores and they only sold second hand or used things.

I do not know the differences in prices on the ~~free~~ farm markets and the government stores, but it is my impression that the prices were fixed by the government and were the same on both markets.

The quality of the goods and commodities ~~increased~~ improved the past two or three years, but it must not be forgotten that in 1945, we had to start from practically nothing. From 1944 to 1956, good ~~quality~~ quality goods were available, for instance, textiles, but textiles, for example, were so dear that very few people could afford them. That really was luxury if somebody could afford 220 or 240 forints for a yard of clothing material.

The improvement of the quality of the goods in the past few years can be attributed to better equipment, better organization and to a greater degree of control on the quality of the goods. For example, workers were often fined if their products did not meet the standard requirements.

There never was a shortage in textiles, but from time to time, there was a shortage in food supplies, especially in fats, and meat products. Very often, retail outlets were unable to supply consumers with goods which otherwise

were in abundance. This was due to lack of organization. It was very difficult to get standard spare parts. I don't think there was ever any spoilage of food.

As I said before, from time to time there was a ~~shortage~~ shortage of fat, lard, and meat products; but such items as cocoa, tea, and tropical or citrus fruits were unheard of.

In general, everything could be had, but at a very high price. For such items, there were no purchasers. That is why the display windows were always full, but people were unable to buy goods.

I don't think there was an organized black market in Hungary. If there were black market deals, these had to be conducted in great secrecy, mostly among friends or acquaintances. In 45, 46 and probably the first part of 47, there was some black marketing in food stuffs.

I don't think that retail stores ever refused to sell goods unless buyers paid a higher price. This was too risky. Black market purchases and black market dealing were very strictly punished, from three to five years, and even more for the merchants.

D. When it was my day off, I usually slept 12 hours a day to make up for lost sleep on work days. On such days, I never had more than six or seven hours of sleep. I lived within walking distance of my factory.

My working time always depended upon what shift I ~~was~~ was on. There were three shifts, the day, the night ~~shift~~ and the afternoon. When I was on the day shift, I started to work at 6 A.M. ~~and~~ and worked til 2 P.M. There was no lunch time during this period, from 6 A.M. til 2 P.M. We really had to begin work ten minutes earlier. Ten minutes before the shift, we had to be there and take over from the previous shift. We received a half hour's pay for each day as a paid lunch time, but this was over and above our work period, from 6 A.M. til 2 P.M.

I usually got up at 5 A.M. My breakfast consisted of a slice of bread and some bacon. I had to hurry to work. We had to be punctual, otherwise, we would be fined.

I was able to work only as a day laborer in the power plant getting the ~~the~~ dirtiest and the worst assignments. My last assignment was ~~to~~ to take care of the small boilers which pre-heated the water for the large boiler of the power plant. These pre-heating furnaces were heated with the exhaust steam of the large furnaces.

This is the only kind of work I was able to get at the end. I would have preferred working in the office, but I was not reliable for such work. My family background and social origin were not a good recommendation. When I wanted to get a job as a bookkeeper, I was told that this is an important assignment and only politically reliable people could be employed for such jobs.

I was on good terms with all my colleagues and fellow workers with the exception of one or two Communists. The engineers and the experienced workers had our respect, but not the so-called "nachalnyiks". Such people, we always wanted to avoid.

From among my superiors, there were some with whom I was on very good terms, but there were others whom I feared because of their Communist membership. Concerning their competence, this varies according to the individual.

I was not completely satisfied with my job. I originally wanted to continue my studies, but this was impossible and this was the best job I could find.

Some of my co-workers ~~and~~ and superiors were really experts and skilled workers, but among such people there were always quite a number of politically reliable people who were without any expert knowledge, whatsoever. They were placed in such assignments only to get higher pay. Their task was primarily to keep watch over the others.

Good work was praised as in Russia. The politically reliable ~~rel~~ workers were picked out and praised for good work which, in reality, they did not perform. This was only in order to give them bonuses and medals, etc. On the other hand, the old workers, who were experts in their field, very often praised ~~the~~ some one unofficially, who did good work.

The Hungarian socialized medical service would have been good if it had been managed by experts. As it operates today, very few people have confidence in the health service.

Concerning the vacation programs, very few people realize they are being cheated and are getting nothing from the trade union. ~~If~~ If you count your trade union dues and the amount that you have to pay for the vacations, you could get a vacation for the same price without the help of the trade union.

Concerning pensions, the elder people complain that that they are getting as pensions was not enough to feed them. These elder people who were admitted to the homes for the aged live there in great want and misery.

E. In Hungary, I always lived in the country. As a young man who would like to get married, I would prefer to live in the city. In Hungary, the life in the villages is so bleak and grey, dreary, that it is ~~virtually~~ virtually a prison for a man with some education. After acquiring their diplomas, the young members of the intelligentsia, always feared a village assignment. According to them, a village consists only of mud and dirt.

It is hard to say who had a better diet in Communist Hungary, the agricultural workers or the city workers. In my opinion, there was no basic difference. True, that in the cities, there were more top Army officers, Party officials, and so on, who lead a better life, but these were not the people.

In my opinion, the standard of living, generally, was higher in the cities. Politically, both the city and the village population had an equally difficult time under Communism.

In my opinion, everyone in rural Hungary was strongly opposed to collectivization, but those peasants who grew up on the farms of their parents, objected even more strongly. Some of the farm workers who had no land were in favor of collectivization in the beginning when they still had nothing, but when their lands were taken away from them, then they too objected to collectivization.

When collectivization started, I was of the opinion that this was not a good idea. The Hungarian peasant will never get accustomed to the idea of collective farming. In my opinion, every form of compulsory collective farming will fail. From time to time, while still in Hungary, there was news of some collective farms being dissolved and given back to their owners. This was done probably because the collectives became bankrupt.

If I were an agricultural worker in Hungary, I would not stay on the farm, but would go to the city and get a job as an industrial worker.

In my opinion, the ideal form of farming is the collective farming based on voluntary membership in co-operatives as in Denmark and Holland. The less government interferes in farming, the better.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. I have ~~of~~ always had an interest in politics, but am not old enough to have taken part in political activities myself. After 45, my interest in politics, naturally, increased. I, too, wanted to know what our future would be.

I have never been a member of any ~~left~~ political party. From among the right wing parties, the most sympathetic to me is the Small Holders Party in the composition as in 1945. At that time, the party really meant to represent the interests of the small holders, who in my opinion, are the back bone of Hungary. Regrettably, there were many Communists who infiltrated the left wing of the small holder's party and later, assumed control.

R not,

My ~~parents~~ parents are, and never have been, Party members, but the most sympathetically viewed party is the small holders. The Social Democratic Party has very few followers in rural Hungary. It is confined mostly to the industrial districts.

Before 1945, everybody watched with great concern, the political expansion of the Communist Party,

I have always considered the Communist Party something which we must fear. In my opinion, the Nazi propoganda did not over exaggerate the horrors of Communism. Everything happened as they predicted.

B. My opinion of the Communist Party had not changed since 1948.

My opinion of Communist Party members is that they are blinded beasts who enjoy shedding blood. It is true that many members joined in order to have jobs and to provide for their families.

I had much contact with Party members as Party members were everywhere. Most of the Communist Party members joined not from conviction, but from selfish interests and reasons. Secretly, they laughed at Communism, and did not consider themselves Communists. This is true ~~of~~ in the case of about 90% of the state and government employees, but even within the Party itself, about 70% of the Party officials were not convinced Communists.

The policy of the Communist Party was in constant fluctuation in the past ten years. The line of the Party policy was always determined by economic and political factors. When they deemed it necessary, they made concessions and when no longer necessary, they revoked them.

I was aware of the fact that there differences of opinion within the Party itself. This is a natural sequence of the various types of Party ~~members~~ members, but what differences there were among the Party leadership, I do not know. There was no essential difference between Rakosi and Imre Nagy, only the latter was more humane.

During the past eight or ten years, each type of Party member had his own opinion of how the Party functioned. The Party members, by conviction, followed the Party line blindly. They did not do so and they were branded traitors. The Party did not tolerate any contradiction or private ~~opinion~~ opinion. Imre Nagy, because he tried to express his own views, was ousted from the Party.

All of the leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party were the motley pieces of Soviet interest. In fact, they were Soviet citizens and not Hungarian. They had nothing to do with the Hungarian nation or with Hungarian interests. Their conduct met with our expectations entirely.

The Communist Party leaders probably believe in what they are preaching. How else could one explain their willingness to commit such crimes as mass murders, etc. They want world Communism and they do not mind what ways and means they use in achieving their purpose. To them, the lies of other people have no value.

I do not know what kind of people, the Communist leaders are as individuals, I have never met them. About Krushchev, I heard that he drinks much; about Molotov, I know that he is a sadist and likes to eat very much; Farkes is also a sadist. I do not think that wealth is of importance to them. Perhaps, they have an over sized ambition. All of them are puppets. None of them has individual character. For example, Rakosi has no character, but Tito may be a strong personality. That is why Moscow is not satisfied with him. In general, all of the Communist leaders suit the purpose of Moscow.

There must necessarily be a difference in motives of the Communist leadership and in the rank and file members. This follows from the fact that most of the rank and file members are members only for their own interests.

If Hungary is free and independent, there will be no need to ban the Communist Party, because it will have no members.

C. There was opposition to Communism all the time. This opposition was strongest immediately after 1945, As the Communists grew in power, their oppression grew also and this caused a decline of the resistance. This went on

until the cup was filled to the brim, then the revolution broke out.

There were all forms of opposition in all fields of life. Who lived in Hungary since 1945 and knows the situation there must know this. There were all forms of opposition to Communism from grumbling against the government to conspiracies. This opposition was significant in as much as this kept alive the hate against the regime.

It is interesting to note ~~that~~ that the Communists were really blind to ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ what great antipathy they engendered.

I did hear about the intellectual ferment in Hungary. In the article by Thomas Eczel, which I already mentioned, the whole intellectual ferment exploded when Benjamin Laszlo published his poems. At least, that was the opinion of the article.

I heard about the Petofi circles. The Petofi circle was organized within the DISZ because their members were bored and had nothing to do so the DISZ organized everywhere, Petofi circles for open discussions and debates. The first experiences with the activities of the Petofi circles indicated that ~~that~~ their work ~~was~~ was not satisfactory from the point of view of the government. For this reason the subjects of the debates were officially assigned to them. The debates were on social problems, Marxist ideology, etc.

The first debates in the Budapest circle were conducted by Tibor Terdos and by Thomas Eczel. They exercised strong criticism against conditions in Hungary and against the people in power.

I must stress the fact that Petofi circles existed everywhere in Hungary not only in Budapest. I read about this in the newspapers. I believe that the first debate of the Petofi circle which was published in the newspapers was the debate held by the Petofi circle in Szeged. If I remember correctly, even the radio broadcast this debate. This happened, I think, ~~in~~ in the Spring of 1956. Or perhaps, already in February. Everyone knew about this in Hungary at that time.

I think just before the debates of the Petofi circle, there was some kind of international congress in which, from now on, all the writers pledged to write only the truth.

Before 1956, the Hungarian writers were not able to write what they wanted to because of the Communism censorship. Very often, they attempted to write between the lines. And very often, what they wrote, they wrote from compulsion. When the time arrived when they could write what they wanted, they did so and the result was the revolution.

My opinion of the writers and the intellectuals varies according to the individual. For example, I have no regard whatsoever, for Peter Kuczka.

It is ridiculous to ask why the intellectuals and writers opposed the regime. I have already told you several times what the situation was. Evidently, the writers were not satisfied with Communism. Such repetition of questions irritates me.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. In general, the officers of the AVO were people who did not like to work, who liked power and who sold themselves to the regime. The non-commissioned officers, at least a part of them, may form an exception as ~~with~~ some of the AVO men were drafted during the course of compulsory military service.

I did not have any personal contacts with the AVO, but my uncle was persecuted by them very often because he happened to be a kulak.

I was never arrested by the AVO. I was imprisoned for four days while serving in the Hungarian army because I refused to obey my political officer. I was almost court-martialed.

I do not know personally of any AVO officer or AVO man who wanted to leave the service and had remorse, etc. This probably happened. Perhaps not so often among officers as among the men. Very often it happened that the AVO found out that the parents of the person concerned were not willing to enter the collective farming or very often, the parents of AVO men ~~often~~ informed their sons of the situation in the country, giving them a true picture of what Communism was in practice. These people very often would have liked to leave the AVO and sometimes when the conduct of their parents, or their own, indicated that they did not like the regime, they were ousted from the AVO by the AVO itself, but in most cases, this happened only to AV personnel coming from rural Hungary.

It is not an exaggeration to state that the people in Communist Hungary lived in constant anxiety and fear. Every honest Hungarian must hate Communism.

I myself was never an informer, but evidently there were many informers. Even the police ~~was~~ worked on a premium basis, the more results they achieved, the higher their pay. In my opinion, the informers were ~~not~~ mostly the people who sympathized with the regime. The informer system was very wide spread.

Informers were everywhere. I do not know their motives, but it is quite entirely indifferent whether they did this from conviction, for reward, or to accomplish blackmail.

In my opinion, it is impossible for a person to remain out of trouble just by keeping his mouth shut. It is true that a person who is able to keep his mouth shut is liable to get into less trouble but it is enough to be tamed an enemy of the people if one refuses to repeat the slogans of the

Communists.

Maybe it happened that ~~it~~ AVO officers took off their uniforms and fought with the revolutionists. This may have happened, but I know of no such case.

If this did happen, then the motives of the AVO people were probably that they no longer had to fear anything. Previously, many ex-Fascists entered the AVO just to be safe. I can cite you concrete examples of this kind. But, of course, there may have been some who became the solution with Communism disillusioned

If Hungary becomes free and independent, I think it would be best to conduct a strict investigation into the affairs of the AVO personnel. Everyone should be judged individually for anything he did wrong. I am certain that most of their misdeeds will come to light.

In my opinion, no sharp distinction can be made between the AVO and the regular police. Blue police also worked for the KDH. It is difficult to draw a strict line between political and non-political cases because in most non-political cases, there was a tendency to mix in some politics. Some of the most rabid Communists were in charge of the Blue police. They were capable of doing almost anything. You must keep in mind the example which I told you about, the chief of the Mikolc police.

Some of the men on the police force were so stupid that I had to laugh just from looking at them. I do not know of any corruption within the police. It may have been so.

I do not know what role the Blue police played in the revolution, but I have already told you about their role in the demonstrations in Mikolc. Many of the simple policemen tried to dress in civilian clothes and gave their arms to the revolutionists.

B. I do not know much about courts in Communist Hungary, but I know that after Imre Nagy came to power, there was a general tendency to correct the unjust sentences of the Hungarian courts.

I think that in the course of pre-war Hungary, justice was administered to rich and poor equally. I was too young to remember how those courts operated. But these courts received so much abuse in the Communist press that just that fact alone makes them sympathetic to ~~the~~ everyone.

I heard about the People's courts after 1945. It is my opinion that these courts sentenced many innocent people to ~~the~~ death or to long terms of prison unjustly. Of course, there were some who were criminals who deserved their fate, but

the vast majority of the people sentenced by these courts did not.

Hungarian army including the

I myself was never in prison, but my uncle, whom I've already mentioned, was arrested several times. He was considered a kulak and was always in trouble because he was not able to deliver his quota of products. He told me one or two things about his ~~1946/47/48/49/50/51/52/53/54/55/56/57/58/59/60/61/62/63/64/65/66/67/68/69/70/71/72/73/74/75/76/77/78/79/80/81/82/83/84/85/86/87/88/89/90/91/92/93/94/95/96/97/98/99/00~~ prison life, but he was always kept in small county prisons and not in any of the large houses. He complained about sanitation and food in the prison. I do not remember much about the details of his prison life.

C. In my opinion, the vast majority of the army including the officers either sympathized with the revolution or took active part in the fighting. In a certain sense, even those soldiers helped who did not want to take part in it. They helped by casting off their uniforms and going home.

I cannot make any distinction according to origins in the conduct of the soldiers during the revolution. It must be taken into consideration that it was a custom in Hungary, not to let anyone serve in the army near to the place where he lived. This is Stalinist strategy in practice because they do not want soldiers to cast off their uniforms and run home at the first sign of trouble.

There was a difference in the conduct of the enlisted men and of the officers, because the officers, in general, were considered more reliable from the Party's point of view. There were very few Communists among the rank and file in the army. ~~There were more among the non-commissioned officers,~~ but comparatively, not as many as among the officers.

In my opinion, those soldiers and officers who came from rural Hungary, took a more active part in the revolution. During my three years of military service, I did not meet a single officer who belonged to the intelligentsia. I served in the Hungarian army from 1950 until 1953. There was a wide gap between the enlisted men and the officers. Most of the officers were people who did not want to work at home and entered the army for this reason. Reluctant to work, and with the proper class background, they entered the army.

In general, life in the army was not a pleasant one. Food was bad and not enough. There was too much ideology training. Discipline was very poor.

The conduct of the officers toward the enlisted men cannot be generalized. It always depended upon the individual. Not much can be said about the competence of the officers or the non-commissioned officers. This was not important,

but to what extent they were sadists and how much ambition they had, was.

There was a difference between those officers and non-commissioned officers who were and who were not members of the Party. Although I think there were very few who were not. There is also a difference in the conduct of those who lived under better conditions previously and who were more intelligent.

In my opinion, Party members and Party candidates received better treatment in the army.

Concerning the political indoctrination in the army, I wish to quote the words of ex-Minister Farkas. He said, "The army is the largest Party school." The army had the necessary means to force its ideology on anybody, and everybody. Training and military knowledge were secondarily important. Everyone took this political indoctrination in the army. We did everything possible to skip classes. The result of this was general dissatisfaction. Very often, the soldiers would grumble against political indoctrination classes. Sometimes the opposition even led to blank refusal to carry out commands. And, in general, the discipline in the army was very low.

D. It is true that the participation of Russia in the 1848 Hungarian Revolution was not forgotten in Hungary and was also a source of resentment against the Soviet Union, of today. But the primary cause of the unpopularity of the Russian army in Hungary was their conduct in Hungary during the 1944-1945 occupation of Hungary.

I've already told you what the people expected of the Russian army before it came in and none of them were mistaken. The general impression about the Russians and the Russian army has not changed since 1945. Nobody in a Russian uniform can be popular or sympathetic in Hungary. The uniform itself is so loathsome.

My attitude and that of my friends changed since 1945. Since the revolution, we hate them even more than before.

The conduct of the Russian troops which were stationed in Hungary, before the revolution was essentially different than their conduct in 1945. At that time, they were allowed to do everything; to commit murder, to rob or to rape, but now they had instructions to act ~~as~~ as civilized Europeans. They were not allowed to mingle with civilians and there were no friendships between civilians and Russians. The last months before the revolution, some of the Russians, men and officers, could act surprisingly normally. By this, I mean they had acceptable manners and were almost European.

I personally had no contacts with Russians, neither during the war or before the revolution.

In my opinion, courtship and marriage between Russians and Hungarians was quite out of the question. There may have been some talk of marriages or courtship in 1945, or 1946.

The Russian officers could be seen more often than the men who were mostly confined to their barracks. I do not know of any cases of friendship or social contact between Hungarians and Russian officers. Probably, some of them may have been on good terms with Hungarian Communists. They must have had very strict non-fraternization orders.

I do not know anything of the views of the Russian officers or men, on patriotism, Russia, Hungary or the Hungarian people. ~~They had only the~~
~~which differed from the official~~ If they had opinions which differed from the official Party line, I do not think they were able to or dared express them. Concerning Hungarians, they called everyone Tovarich, but what their true opinions of Hungarians were, I do not know.

I can give you no first hand account of the conduct of the Russians during the revolution, but ~~what~~ what I know of them is only based on hearsay. But it is certain that they have always been and will remain our foes. Now they have again shown their true selves to us.

No rumors to the effect that officers, Russian officers, also joined the revolution. There may have been some soldiers who did, but I do not know of any difference in the conduct of the Russians according to their rank or age. It is true that the first Russians, the ones who were in Hungary at the time of the outbreak of the October revolution, were Europeans in appearance and acted better. The second batch of Russians appeared to be Asiatics.

I do not know of any cases myself where Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians. Or where Soviet soldiers refused to obey their superiors, deserted or fought against the AVO or against each other. I have already told you what I, myself, experienced: the two Russians who were guarded so closely at the railway station. I believe that they were deserters.

E. In general, the bureaucrats and government and Party officials were always overwhelmed by their own sense of importance. They spoke with everyone using a very haughty attitude. They made everyone feel that the Party is behind them.

I had very little contact with trade union officials. They were of no great importance, mostly they were puppets who did only what the Party told them. Among the trade union officials, I knew of only one man, a trade union trustee who was an engineer in our power plant. He was a very nice man and altruistic.

who always was concerned ~~with~~ with the welfare of the others.

The ex-Party secretary of our power plant worked beside me, but I do not know very much about him. He was deposed ~~of~~ because he, allegedly, did not work enough to satisfy the Party. I have already told you how worried he was when the revolution broke out and how hard he tried to make himself appear as a decent man, but on the other hand, he threatened retaliations against those workers who tore down the red star above the entrance of the power plant.

In general, the Party secretary was always a person who ruthlessly followed the Party line and carried out his instructions to the letter. This was in his own interest. He received very good pay from the Party and he can thank the Party for his present standard of living.

At every place where I worked, I was always in difficulty with the Party secretaries. They ~~used to~~ pushed me around giving me the worst assignments they could possibly think of. I never lasted more than four or five months in one place. This was because of my background and class origin. My cadre reports even objected to the fact that I am of a contemplative nature. I know of no Party secretary or government official who opposed the Partyline in the interest of the people. The trade union trustee whom I mentioned was the only person who was interested in the welfare of his fellow workers.

My opinion of the ~~so-called~~ Communist so-called self-criticism is a very ~~poor~~ poor one. Only the criticism of those persons is accepted who are Communists and if they exercise criticism in connection with their work they are placed on a black list and the criticism of a person on a black list is not worth anything.

F. In my opinion, a Party membership card meant ~~the~~ the greatest pull in Communist Hungary. The circumvention of government regulations and laws was very dangerous. I do not know about corruption in government or in the Party, but probably there was.

Those people who only pretended to be Communists sometimes helped a person, but I had bad luck; I never encountered such a man.

G. In general, it cannot be said of the Party and government officials that they are intelligent or that they are smart. I think that they word crafty would suit them and describe them better. The standard by which they were measured was how well they could trick ~~the~~ the people.

This also applies to the AVO officers.

Concerning the army officers, military knowledge was of secondary importance because they were not independent commanders at all. Each commander had beside him an expert, a Russian. The Russian experts are needed in the Hungarian

army because the officers themselves are not worth much.

My opinion of the Russian officers is based on their role in World War II. Then it was evident that they are not geniuses or the strategists that they are now said to be.

Concerning the bureaucrats, my opinion of them is that they lack competence and are very badly trained. Most of the ~~new~~ new bureaucrats ~~had~~ ~~did~~ attended only short training courses and ~~had~~ their entire qualification is based upon such courses.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. In my opinion, the situation in Hungary depends entirely on the course of international politics. It will depend mostly on what kind of pressure the UNO and the Western nations can bring to bear upon the Russians and their satellites. What if the UN continues to act as it did up til now. I do not think there is much hope for a change.

I sincerely hope that Kadar will not follow entirely the old Rakosi line. He will stop somewhere between Stalinism and Titoism. Without aid from the West and as long as Russian soldiers are stationed in Hungary, Hungary will remain Communist.

The conduct of the West during and after the revolution was a source of great disappointment to even the most revolutionary elements. The West did not help at all except by giving medical supplies, food supplies to the ~~refugees~~ refugees and to Hungary and by accepting them as immigrants. Only a joint over-all action primarily against the Soviet Union can save Hungary. Isolated and alone, Hungary by itself can do nothing especially when it gets no assistance.

From reports I read in Hungary about conditions in Poland, I do not have a complete picture of the situation there. Nevertheless, if it were a choice, I think that a Polish revolution would be the lesser of two evils.

I suspect that some kind of a revolutionary outbreak can be expected for March 15. The Hungarian national holiday, the anniversary of the 1848 revolution, but I do not think that a new revolution, the kind that can be expected, can bring any results. It will result only in a lot of blood-shed. and will provoke a new wave of terror on the part of the government. The Western world should do something to help.

I think a war between the USSR and the United States is very probable. I do not desire, but I fear it is unavoidable. Everybody is more or less afraid of the hydrogen bomb and its effects. The later it takes place, the more dangerous it will probably be. It is very hard to predict when ~~a~~ such a war ~~will~~ will break out, but I think it cannot be avoided. I have very little hope that the Russian students will cause a revolution of their own at home. I think it would have been much wiser to stage a war against the Soviet Union at the time when, according to General MacArthur, the Soviet Union still did not have the hydrogen bomb.

I think that Russian foreign policy is very risky, but they are willing to take risks. They probably know how far they can go. I think that pressure from the Western world, either through the UN or otherwise, would have very little effect.

They are able to trick and out-wit everyone.

I have heard very little about internal strife in the Soviet leadership and I do not expect a change in the Soviet Union itself. The terror is too great.

B. During the past 8 years, the future ~~of~~ outlook for Hungary seemed very dark and gloomy. With the increase of dictatorship and oppression, there was not much chance of expecting any change. However, we always hoped that the UN would do something. This was not only my opinion, but also the opinion, of others.

In 1952, the Szabad Nep printed a full account of Eisenhower's speech. ~~It~~ We attached much hope to it and also to the meeting in Bermuda.

The hopes of a person always depended on the mood he was in, but, in general, the hopes showed a declining tendency in time.

C. One does not like to think about such things as a hydrogen bomb, ~~but~~ but one can never know in advance what the hydrogen bomb is really like. It must be terrible. It would be a good idea to impress upon the Russian people that time is running short.

XIV. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. (Note: This question was not asked of respondent as, in my copy, it was earmarked to be left out.)

B. Concerning the future economy of an independent Hungary, I think it would be ideal to restore free enterprise. Co-operatives could exist, but only on the basis of voluntary membership. Economic life should not be regulated by the government. The further expansion of heavy industry should cease. The main emphasis should be placed on agriculture.

Allegedly, our uranium deposits are vast. For ~~my~~ uranium, we could get anything that we wanted. In my opinion, the ~~economic~~ economic disaster of Hungary was caused by the forced expansion of the heavy industry. The industrialization of Hungary should proceed only so far as the existing resources permit.

If the Communist regime were overthrown, in my opinion, the large enterprises such as coal mines, iron and steel works, banks, etc. should remain in the hands of the government. The small enterprises should be restored to private owners. It would be necessary to grant government support to the small industry and to the small trade.

In an independent Hungary, the present government farms and farm co-operatives should be divided among the peasants. I do not think there should be a maximum limit set to the amount of land that any one person or family may own. In an independent Hungary, private ownership should be fully restored and recognized with no restrictions.

My answer to your question concerning the choice between a totalitarian government insuring a fair standard of living and a free government insuring political freedom, but unable to provide work is the following: neither alternative is acceptable, but if there is freedom, then one should be able to make a living. On the other hand, if there is a dictatorship, then life isn't worth living.

In an independent Hungary, it would not be necessary to out-law the Communist Party. As soon as the Soviet Bolshevik threat had ceased, the Communist Party in Hungary will have no members.

C. Concerning the ideal political position for Hungary, it is my opinion, that, as long as Russian Communism is not finally liquidated, Hungary should not ~~be~~ remain neutral. Hungary should have a military alliance with the West, the same as Western Germany. Hungary's relations with the Soviet Union should be the same as that of the Western nations. This applies also to the other Communist governments of Eastern Europe, but it is my opinion, that if by some miracle, Hungary became independent, the other satellite countries of

Eastern Europe would also over-throw Communism.

Close cultural, economic and military ties with the United States and the other Western countries would be very desirable for Hungary.

There has been talk of a federation of Danubian states for over a hundred years. Kossuth made public a plan for such a federation over a hundred years ago. Recently, there had been again talk about such a federation, but how it was planned, I do not know exactly. I think that the Soviets want to accomplish such a federation, but it would be a Communist one.

~~Nevertheless~~ However, if a federation of free Danubian countries could be formed, economically, it would be a very sound unit. It would be also of military importance against the Soviet Union.

I would include all countries which want to join, as long as Russia is not in it.

In Hungary, the opinions of people on this question are varied, but I think that most people share my views.

I do not consider Hungary's ~~present~~ present boundaries acceptable. I should like to see all the territories re-annexed to Hungary which had been taken away from her after World War I. I think that some international body or an international conference should attempt to seek a just solution to this question, something like in the Saar district. The minority in the neighbor countries should decide whether they want to stay or be re-annexed to Hungary, but the forced re-settlement and re-patriation of Hungarians, especially from Slovakia, should also be taken into consideration.

This whole question is of considerable importance.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. While in Hungary, I heard about Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Party Congress, but I know very little about it. I know about it from the foreign radio broadcasts. The reports and speeches of the Congress were published and I, too, had to buy a paper-backed copy of it, but I do not know what was in the report. Nobody ever read such things.

I read about Senator McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee in the Hungarian papers. He was the man who hated most the Bolsheviks. He opposed the policy of appeasement and demanded the immediate liquidation of Communism. He must be a very active and brave man.

I do not know much about Peron. I know that he was a dictator in South America, probably in Argentina. I heard about him only in the Hungarian radio and press.

We did not know much about Rakosi's private life. I know that he was in constant fear of his life and was always very closely guarded. They say that Rakosi was afraid of appearing in public, for example, to deliver a speech and it took him a considerable effort to conquer this fear.

B. Before the war, my father subscribed to the Pesti Hirlap. During the war, he also subscribed to the Magyar Élet. After the war, my father subscribed to the Igazság Kis Újság. Later, he also ran the Szabad Föld and at the end when it was compulsory, he also subscribed to the Szabad Nép.

I myself in the first years after the war, bought a newspaper, but no Communist paper. Later, I too, was compelled to subscribe to the Szabad Nép.

Concerning books and novels, during the ten years of Communism, I did not read more Communist books than you can count on one hand, but I was compelled to read these.

In general, people read more after the war. That was the cheapest past-time available.

I knew many people who had the patience to read the translated Russian novels. They were published in large numbers and could be obtained very cheap. After five or six Russians translated books, you could get one or two Hungarian books, classics.

The bourgeois books of the Horthy regime were thrown out from the Hungarian libraries, but many people had such books at home although it was not advisable to be seen owning such a book. From such signs, the Communists were inclined to draw their own conclusions.

At one time, I was in charge of the library in the ~~work~~ home for young workers. The library had about 1,200 books. Of these, 300 volumes were strictly on political subjects. About half of the remaining 900 books were novels by foreign writers. The great majority of these writers were Russian or Soviet writers. The rest were Bohemians, Poles, Rumanians, etc. In 1956, some plays by Shakespeare were published. Until then, you could not get them. There were very few Western books, most of them were Western classics.

The same probably applies to all school libraries.

I think that the peasants read more than before. They read anything they could put their hands on. The reading habits of the intelligentsia did not change much. They read the novels and books published in the previous regime which they could get from one another.

I never trusted the Hungarian Communist newspapers completely. I knew that they were the mouth-pieces of the Hungarian Communist Party, but I was always interested in what could be read in between the lines and what conclusions could be drawn from the articles published in the newspapers.

I had a radio only since February, 1956.

Statistics and articles on industrial development did not interest me much. The figures quoted there were always in per centages. That was a precaution because the Communists said that the enemies are also reading our newspapers.

Neither I nor my friends read periodicals or books published in Russian or in other iron-curtain country languages. Such publications were obtainable at the stands of the government news company. This also refers to Yugoslav publications. Western publications were not obtainable and I know nothing about illegal publications published in the West.

I once saw an illegal leaflet dropped probably by plane or balloon. An industrial apprentice showed it to me. Regrettably, it was written in Bohemian and I could not understand it.

I heard that many such leaflets were being dropped by balloon and planes, but I did not see any personally. I do not know anything about other illegal publications or illegal books.

C. We always discussed politics among friends, at home and among persons of the same mentality as we were. We always exchanged the news that we heard.

The foreign radio broadcasts, that is the Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radio were the most reliable source of information. We always discussed among ourselves what each one of us had heard. The information we received by word of mouth from friends was deemed reliable. I, too, passed on information and news that I heard, but always with caution and only to persons whom I felt I could trust.

D. We had to be very careful when discussing politics ~~for~~ exchanging news. We always looked around to see if anyone suspicious was around. We never talked about news or politics over the telephone, because everyone knew that the telephone conversations were being taped. We developed a certain sixth sense, ~~by~~ by which we could tell whom we could trust and whom we could not.

F. I saw very many films, but did not have the opportunity to go often to the theatre. Theatre tickets were more expensive. I saw plays, perhaps once every six months or once in a year.

The two films which I liked most were a British film, "The Cruel Sea" and a French film of the life of Bernadette.

It is very difficult to say which plays I liked best, even the Hungarian national plays were full of propaganda and what was not good for the regime was censored from the plays. During the past ten years, I was not more than 8 or 10 times in a theatre.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. It would be excellent if a political change would take place inside Russia, but I do not believe that one will. Russia has had a strong and cruel dictatorship and oppression ~~since~~ for 40 years. There was some news of unrest in Russia, but this I consider insignificant. On the other hand I do not know how much news leaks into Russia from the West.

I do not know anything about the liberization in Russia. At one ~~the~~ time, the regime did make certain concessions, but ~~that~~ these were withdrawn. Khrushchev's policy of appeasement wanted to remedy only the so-called "extremes" of the Stalin regime, but now they are going back to the old Stalin line.

In my opinion, a revolution in Russia is very unlikely.

If free elections were held in Russia and the Russian people really believed that they had nothing to fear, the result, in my opinion, would be very surprising. It would mean the end of Bolshevism and it would never return. However, I do not think that in such a case, a right-wing government would be formed in Russia. Probably, their government would be something like the Social-Democrat government of England at one time. This would be because the Russians have become used to the idea of the leadership of the industrial ~~workers~~ workers in politics.

The top leaders of the Russian Communist Party are probably the type of people whom the Communists deem as ideal.

Very likely, there may be a difference between the Hungarian and the Soviet Communist leaders. The Hungarians do not have as much experience as the Russian Communist leaders have. They are blackguards and are even more ruthless than their Soviet masters. The rank and file, however, of the Communist Party consists of the same types of people in Hungary as in the Soviet Union or anywhere else where Communism exists.

Friendly relations could exist between Hungary and Russia, only when and if Communism is entirely wiped out and both nations are free.

B. Among the countries listed, Poland and Eastern Germany are the most sympathetic in Hungary. There is not much difference among the other three. However, it must be admitted that economically, Czechoslovakia is far more developed than the other two.

If free elections were held in the Iron Curtain countries, it would result unquestionably in the defeat of Communism.

In my opinion, the standard of living is highest in Czechoslovakia and Hungary or Eastern Germany. The standard of living is the lowest in Rumania and Bulgaria.

C. While still in Hungary, I was informed of the situation in Poland thru the Hungarian papers and the foreign radio broadcasts. It seemed to me that the Gomulka ~~govt~~ government in Poland is not as red as the previous governments were.

What the future outlooks are for the Gomulka government are, I think Gomulka himself, does not know. Gomulka must be an interesting person and no doubt, he did make concessions. Whether he can be ~~compared~~ compared with Imre Nagy, or not, I do not know. I think, had he been in the same position as Imre Nagy, he would have acted likewise.

I think that Gomulka's future is very uncertain. As long as he follows the nationalist line, he will be popular in Poland. Should he try to turn back to the old Party, ^{line} then he will lose his popularity.

I do not think there was any freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka. I do not ~~think~~ think there is such freedom even today.

We heard about the Poznan trial, in Hungary. The Hungarian ~~papers~~ newspapers wrote about it and we ~~also~~ also heard about them in the foreign broadcasts. The gist of the Poznan trial was that the workers in Poland took up arms in their embitterment against the conditions in Poland. This riot was squashed by Moscow methods. The leaders and the participants in the riots were sentenced by the courts. Probably most of them got life in prison or long terms. It is also possible that the leaders of this riot were hanged. We heard that many workers had been arrested in Poland and hanged.

Now after the revolution, it seems that a Polish -like ~~solution~~ solution would have been a better one. Several hundred thousand Hungarians, the most valuable ones, had to leave the country. Many tens of thousands of even more valuable patriots, had to die in the revolution. How many Hungarians will become the victims of retaliations and revenge, it is hard to say. And it is very rightly that ~~many~~ many thousands of Hungarians will be deported to Siberian and China.

Taking all these facts into consideration, and probably now after the revolution one can say that the Polish solution would have been a better one. But the decisions had to be made in the first days of the revolution and at that time, our way seemed to be the better one.

D. In my opinion, Yugoslavia and Tito do have influence on Eastern Europe. I am unable to form a definite opinion about the Marshal Tito. He must be a talented man. National Communism, I think, is much better than the Russian form of Communism. Should Hungary become free and independent, it would be

easier and better to maintain close relations with Tito, than with the Soviet Union.

In general, there is a different view on Tito in the satellite countries than in the Soviet Union.

In the satellite countries, people are inclined to regard Tito and his brand of national Communism as the ideal which is the most that can be accomplished under the present Soviet oppression. This would be a great achievement compared with what was and what is now in the satellite countries.

In the Soviet Union, they look upon Tito with concern. They regard him as a threat to Stalinistic Communism.

Tito may be a brave man or he may be an imposter or a mixture of both. It seems that he is not certain about his position. When he saw that the Hungarian revolution may threaten his own position inside Yugoslavia, he turned against us.

Tito, in a certain sense, is popular in Yugoslavia today. He has acquired for Yugoslavia a certain degree of independence and better economic conditions. He does not show a tendency to return to the Stalinist line, but I think, that the Yugoslavs consider Tito only as a temporary solution. They are probably satisfied with the economic aid which Tito acquired for his country from the West. This, naturally, means better living conditions in Yugoslavia.

E. Mao Chi Tung and his Communist leaders were trained in the Soviet Union. ~~The/They~~ They were sent home to undermine the Chiang Kai Chek government and to win control over China. At that time, China was weakened by the China-Japanese war. The Communist leaders got, from Moscow, all the military and economic aid that they needed to overthrow Chiang Kai Chek.

There is some talk about China being more independent than the other Soviet satellites, but I do not know whether this is true. For example, Chou En Lai was not permitted to show even as much sympathy as Tito did for the Hungarian revolution.

Probably, the Chinese Communist leaders, as the Communist leaders everywhere, would like to acquire independence to a certain extent. This would mean greater popularity for them at home.

I think that India mis-trusts Britain and the other Western countries. This can be attributed to historic reasons.

The situation in Egypt and the Suez Zone is a complex one. Many events have taken place there during the past 6 years.

I think that the re-invasion of Suez did have an effect on the Hungarian revolution. The Western countries were more concerned with the Near East oil than with Hungary.

F. Since the end of World War II, Western Germany has undergone a great economic development. I think that the Western German standard of living is one of the highest in Europe today. It probably is as good as the standard of living in Denmark or Holland or any of the other countries.

There are Social-Democrats in Western Germany. ~~Ad~~ Olenauer is their leader. He leads the opposition. It is a strong party and has great influence on the government. There may be differences between the Social-Democrats and the government concerning domestic policy, but ~~their~~ their stand on foreign events and foreign policy is the same.

I do not think that in the near future, Western Germany will start another war unless it will be a war against the Soviet Union, but this may cause the outbreak of the third world war. I think that Germany will be the first one to strike out at the Russians.

The answer to the question on West Germany re-armament is "Yes" and "No". ~~The equipment of the NATO~~ The re-armament of German troops for NATO has always been delayed. Talks among the Western allies concerning the re-armament have been going on for the past two or three years. But under the influence of the Hungarian events, Adenauer and his government have realized that the re-armament of West Germany cannot be postponed any longer. What happened in the question of re-armament since that time, I do not know.

I do not think that the West German army is better than the British army. The Germans are probably better soldiers than the French, but the French have increased their armed forces because of the troubles in the colonies.

I think that the length of military service in Germany is about one and a half or two years. I remember that the Szabad Nep complained that that military service was being increased from one year to more.

I think that the German occupation, as compared to the Russian occupation of Hungary, was the lesser of two evils. The Germans did not cause so much damage as the Russians did. They were well disciplined. The bridges that were bombed by the Germans can be rebuilt, but the conduct of the Russian troops in Hungary in 1945 will be something that will be remembered even in a thousand years from now.

G/ I do not know much about the British Labor Party, I know that Attlee's successor is ~~A~~ Gaitskill and he is now its leader. I know that the British Labor Party is not Communist. It can be ~~expressed~~ described as a Social-Democratic party.

I think that the standard of living is highest in Great Britain. After that comes Western Germany, then Italy, Greece, Egypt and the Soviet Union. It is difficult to differentiate between Egypt and the Soviet Union. Social and economic conditions are different. Nevertheless, I would prefer to live in Cairo than in the Soviet Union, in Moscow. However, I do think that there is not much difference between Nasser, Gero, Gomulka or Titó.

H. What impressed me most on my arrival in the United States was the high standard of living.

The US government had taken mere cognizance of the events in Hungary, but compared to its international prestige as a great power it has done comparatively very little. I think that events in Hungary took the US government entirely unaware. Or perhaps, the government considered the Suez ~~conditions~~ events even more important. Both these crises ~~of the threat of a~~ bore the threat of an atomic war, but the sooner Communism is liquidated, the better. In the case of Hungary, the US should not have hesitated. It should have taken such a firm stand as it is now taking in the ~~middle~~ East. problems.

near

It is interesting that the US is willing to curb Soviet expansion in the near-East, but it was not willing to do so in Hungary. If the American government wants to wait for Communism to collapse by itself, US aid to Hungary to establish its independence would have helped to weaken the Soviet structure.

I think that the US should continue to give economic aid and relief to the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. Whether the US should maintain diplomatic relations with the Kadar regime, I do not know, but even if it severs diplomatic relations with Hungary, it should continue relief work for the Hungarian people.

Since my stay in the US, my opinion on American foreign policy has changed. I have noticed a series of blunders committed by State Secretary Dulles. America does not want war. This is something that the Soviets are glad to hear. If America really does not want war, it would be much better policy not to make its intentions public. During the cold war, the Russians behaved themselves much better than they do now because they feared the West.

Yes, I do think that people in Hungary would like to see Western visitors and especially visitors from the US. Every family would be glad to accommodate ~~two~~ two or three American soldiers. There is not much need for a trade union and newspaper officials to go there. But, as long as the present conditions in Hungary continue, there will not be much chance of Western visitors coming into the country.

Hungary refused to let even the UNO observers come into the country.

Yes, I think that the people in Hungary would like to receive books and publications from the West, but there is not much chance of supplying them with these. Just before the revolution, negotiations were going on between the American film companies and the Hungarian government to let in more American films, but as I understand, these discussions lead to no result.

AS THERE IS NO CHANCE OF Western visitors going into Hungary, the question concerning exiles and information to visitors is of no practical value.

The purpose of the Marshall plan and Marshall Plan Aid was to curb expansion of Communism. It is something that everyone knows mainly Communism thrives in poverty.

The US got involved in the Korean War because the Russians wanted to occupy strategically important positions on the Pacific coast and also the same kind of "war of liberation" could be expected at that time in Korea as the ones in China and Vietnam. But in my opinion, the situation in Hungary during the revolution was just as important as the situation in Korea at that time.

I. During my stay in New York, I had the opportunity to see several bums and people who were ill-clad. These people were probably the cause of their own plight. As I see the situation here in New York and in the US, everyone who wants to, can get ahead. I was very surprised to see that the small families live in virtual luxury.

I do not think there is a very great difference between the standard of living of the middle class and of the rich people. Probably the rich spend more for amusement and for recreation.

I realize that the trade unions in the US are very powerful. They are able to do much for their members. Collective bargaining has undoubtedly great advantages. My opinion of the American trade Unions is the same today as it was in Hungary.

I think that the members of the trade unions are in great majority not Communists. But we have heard that the Communists are inclined to infiltrate such key positions as trade union posts. In my opinion, it is not necessary to curb the power of the trade unions.

There was much more talk about American gangsters in the Hungarian newspapers than there is here.

I do not know how American universities and schools of higher education compare to their kind in Europe. I have heard that European schools were better, but I hope to be able to find out for myself.

As I see it, Americans do have much spare time. They enjoy themselves on Saturday and rest on Sunday.

J. The prestige of the UN is rapidly declining. This is evident now in the Suez crisis. It is the US government and not the UN that is making order in the near-East.

During the Hungarian revolution, the UN organization acted too slowly and it had too much red tape to untangle. The UN will have an opportunity to do something for Hungary after the Hungarian fact-finding committee hands in its report. But this is something which is going very slowly. It will require about two or three months. ~~It~~ In that time, the Hungarian revolution will be completely forgotten. And the whole thing will go stale. This is something which the Russians know and rely upon.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. It is very difficult to say who, today, is the greatest living Hungarian. Probably, Cardinal Mindszenty.

B. I cannot form a definite opinion of Imre Nagy. There are so many contradictory things being said about him/

Cardinal Mindszenty is one of the greatest figures in the history of the church and of the country. He has great moral prestige. How much of a politician he is, I do not know.

Laszlo Racht, he has been hanged and he deserved it. Erno Gero, I hope that I can say this, too, about Gero in the near future. He is not one bit different than Racht. or Rakosi.

Janos Kadar is the same as the other Communist leaders, only his name is different.

President Eisenhower is one of the greatest figures in world politics today. Everyone attaches much hope to his decisions. For myself, I hope that he will show the same courage against Communism as he showed against the Nazis in the World War.

Hammerschild is an excellent official of the UN.

I had much more regard for State Secretary Dulles at home than I do here. The way the Suez crisis had been conducted is not another advantage to him.

Prime Minister Eden was a capable successor to Churchill. I think British foreign policy is much better than that of the US. It was a pity to make Eden resign.

President Truman, during his administration, missed all the chances of curbing Communism. Here in the US, the leading politicians are inclined to think only about prosperity during their terms in office. They do not think much about the future.

Mikoyan is a great contrast to the previous question. He has his Communist merits and is reliable from the communist point of view.

I think that Nehru is a very cautious politician, but he is too gullible as far as Communists are concerned. Maybe one day, he will realize his mistakes.

General Chiang Kai Chek is maintaining a firm stand on Formosa. If he gets a chance and assistance, he will be able to maintain order in entire China. The general opinion on Ferenz Nady at home was that he was too afraid to take a firm stand against the Russians.

President Roosevelt restored prosperity to the US, but he committed very many blunders in his foreign policy. =

Chancellor Adenauer is one of the greatest politicians of today.

What is the use of asking my opinion about Stalin when I expressed my views on him many times before?

Malenkov is a worthy pupil of Stalin.

General Franco is a nice guy.

Peron is the leader of the left-wing of the British Labor Party. I think he has been ousted from the Party.

I do not know much about Kruschev as a person. I heard that he drinks too much.

We have already discussed Marshall Tito.

I do not know exactly in which South American country, Peron was the dictator.

Molotov is the loudest mouth-piece of the Stalinist policy.

Olenauer is a true convinced Social-Democrat.

Churchill is one of the greatest persons living today.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. After the revolution, the first ones to leave were the people who had reason to fear revenge and retaliation by the Communists. Many people came because of the economic conditions in Hungary. After the revolution, life in Hungary seemed even more hopeless than after 1945.

A small per centage of the refugees was motivated by a desire for adventure. Communist propaganda did much harm in this way.

Those who stayed did so because they were unwilling to undertake and risk the uncertainty of starting life anew. Many ~~exp~~ people were unwilling to part with their few pssessions. A person who owned a small house or a few acres of land would most certainly remain unless he feared retaliation.

Almost all the people who had enough opportunity attempted to do so. It must not be forgotten that very many people tried to get out of the country, but were unable to do ~~so~~ so and returned.

The people in Hungary are probably glad to know that those who left the country are now safe from Communists. They realize that the refugees will be able to start a much better life than they had in Hungary.=

The very fact that the frontiers are open and everyone can go out of the country if he wishes to do so would mean that the situation at home has changed entirely and there is no need to leave the country,

In Hungary, I have heard only about the natioanl Hungarian council. It was formed by Hungarian politicians who had escaped from Hungary before the revolution. The head of the council is Father Bela Varga. The purpose of the council is to inform the foreign governments and foregin public opinion about events in Hungary.

I had heard about the American-Hungarian Federation only after my arrival here in the US.

I have not heard anything about the other organizations listed. N either here not at homw.

Father Bela Varga was one of the leaders of ~~the~~ the Hungarian small holders party, before the Communists took it over. He is very sympathetic. I think that he is popular also, at home.

Ferenc Nady is Prime Minister of Hungary in 1947. He came away at that time. I have already mentioned him.

Dr. Tibor Eckhard was a prominent politician at home. I heard much about him from my brother who is five years older than I am. My brother talked very highly of Mr. Eckhard. I have heard the name of Powell Auer before, but I do not know who he is.

Paul

I do not know who Imre Kovacs is.

I saw Mr. Imre Salig at one of the UNO meetings, but I never heard of him before.

Charles Priyer is a Social-Democratic leader who was very often denounced as a traitor, by the Communists.

I have never heard the name of Laszlo Tolfinger, ~~but~~

~~Miklos~~ Miklos Kale was the Prime Minister of Hungary until the Germans moved in. They wanted to arrest him, but he fled to the Turkish Embassy.

Szoltan Pipar was one of the last Party leaders who could exist in Hungary. He had to escape. We had much hope when his Party was in action.

Istvan Baronkovics was the leader of the Catholic Party. He was much against Communism.

Father Kusze Horvat, I do not know, I never heard his name before.

Neither have I heard of Bela Favian, General Szako, or Ferenc Farkas.

Otto Hapsburg is the pretender to the Austro-Hungarian throne. He is anti-Communist, of course.

I would like to write my parents at home that Admiral Horthy has died. They would be interested in hearing this. I do not think they have heard or know about this.

I do not know much about the activities of the Hungarian exiles who left Hungary before the revolution, but I presume that they did everything they could. If, during the revolution, the Hungarian exiles did not do enough for Hungary, it was not because they didn't want to do so.

C. There were many people who fled from Hungary after World War II and later returned. For example, there is the Hungarian actor, Antár Páger, but I don't think he came home because he wants to be a Communist. Probably, he was very homesick, and hoped that in the policy of appeasement, they would let him live and work at home.

I think that everyone who returned to Hungary from the West, regretted doing so.

In my opinion, the "come home" program of the Hungarian government ~~suffered~~ served only propaganda purposes. In this way, by citing examples, the Communists wanted to ~~per~~ dissuade the people from leaving the country.

D. I think that the people at home know everything about the refugees, where they are and how they are living. It was possible to exchange letters with the people at home. I don't think there is anything special that they should know and do not know.

In my opinion, it is the duty of every honest Hungarian now in exile to spread the real facts of the Hungarian revolution and of conditions at home. It is necessary to keep the attention of the rest of the world focused on Hungary and what is going on there now, it is necessary to explain to the American people and to the rest of the civilized world that they should not be afraid of the Russians because the Russians are even more afraid of them. People must be made to realize that time is playing for the Russians. It is my opinion, that the people of the US would have done much more for Hungary than the official American government.

Yes, I think I would like to join a political organization of exiles here in the US. But I know very little about the organizations which exist now. It would be preferable to have new exiles in such a political organization, because they know better the events which took place during the past ten years in Hungary, but it is entirely indifferent to me if previous, older exiles also would be members of a political organization.

In the first years after the war, I fostered much hope in the small holders party.

I do not know what political Hungarian parties are here in the exile.

During the revolution, we heard about the activities of the various political parties in Hungary. I approve their activities, but feared

that many Communists infiltrated the parties like in 1945.

it is a stupid question to ask should the previous Hungarian exiles have returned to Hungary during the revolution.

it is stupid to ask should the previous political exiles have returned to Hungary to participate in the new parties. Anyone who knows what the situation was before and during the revolution knows that the return of these ~~political/exiles~~ politicians would have been impossible.

E. When I left Hungary I made up my mind never to return, only maybe, perhaps, once, for a visit. I hope that I will be able to bring my parents over here to live with me.

I think I will want my children to learn Hungarian here in the US.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. I listened regularly to the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, the BBC, the Turkish Radio and the Radio Paris. Reception varied according to the time of day and to the weather. it is a stupid question to ask whether or not these stations or programs were jammed. All of the stations were jammed equally. i listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts of these stations.

i consider the broadcast of the BBC and of the Voice of America, more ~~reliable~~ reliable. i prefer to listen to these broadcasts, but very often, i listened to the others as well. We discussed the radio broadcasts, but only among reliable friends or in the family.

i was able to buy a radio only in the spring of 1956. Up to then, i often went to listen to a radio at the house of some friends. After that i listened regularly on my own radio. Very often, other friends would drop in and listen to my radio, but they had to be very reliable friends and we had

i did hear about the Western broadcasts from other people, but these ~~people~~ too, had to be reliable persons. it was very dangerous to talk about or to listen to foreign broadcasts. if one was caught, the consequences ~~were~~ were very serious. ~~A~~ The least one could expect was to be thrown out of his job and ousted from the Party. The fear of being caught or informed upon deterred many people from listening to foreign radio broadcasts or talking about them.

it is interesting to note that during the revolution no one cared about being caught listening to foreign broadcasts. Every one listened to the Hungarian programs of the foreign radios, without fear. People openly told each other what they heard over the radio when they met on the street.

in my opinion, the Hungarian programs of the BBC, the Voice of America and of the Free Europe Radio had very little Hungarian home news. These radios should realize that people at home know very little about what is happening inside the country. Programs are very short and very brief. it would be better if these radios would not repeat their news so many times.

In my opinion, the broadcasts of the BBC were the most reliable. One could check the reliability of the news over the radio by subsequent

events.

I ~~never~~ would not dare to say that before the revolution, the Hungarian programs of the foreign radios were entirely unnecessary. Many people said that they were, nevertheless, they still listened to these programs.

During the revolution, the activities of the foreign radio stations, especially of the Radio Free Europe, were of great importance to the revolutionists. One had to rely mostly on the foreign broadcasts to know what was happening. The advice given by the Radio Free Europe to the leaders of the Hungarian revolution was of immense value to them, but in many cases, Radio Free Europe went further than the revolutionists wanted to go. For example, when Cardinal Mindszenty was interviewed and asked whether he wanted to be Prime Minister or not, they should have known that Mindszenty as a Catholic Cardinal cannot accept the post of Prime Minister.

I listened to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe thru the whole revolution. I do not remember that it offered assistance specifically aid to the revolutionists.

I do not know whether Radio Free Europe is a government organization or a private enterprise. Whatever it is, it has done what it should have done up til now.

Radio Free Europe should continue its medical advisory service over radio. It would be advisable to broadcast fresh news every hour instead of repeating previous broadcasts. It would be better to give news in more detail, a little every hour.

~~The Voice of America~~ Radio Free Europe should continue its present program as it is now, but so much anti-Communist propaganda is not necessary. We there know very well what Communism is. Perhaps better than people in other countries know.

B. I have never heard of the initials, NEM before.

The twelve demands were the demands of the Budapest university students which they wanted read over the Budapest radio at the very outbreak of the revolution.

C. I have never seen a Free Europe leaflet ~~with~~ with the exception of the one Bohemian one which I've already mentioned. I do speak Bohemian and therefore did not understand what it said.

The Communist papers complained that the Americans were sending leaflets over Hungary in balloons, I also heard that from friends of the existence of such balloons, but I never saw one, only the one which I mentioned already.

The risk in picking up and keeping Free Europe leaflets is even greater than the risk involved in listening to the Foreign Radio broadcasts. This naturally served to deter people in picking up or keeping such leaflets, I do not know of any change

in this during the last ten years.

In my opinion, it is unnecessary to send such leaflets over Iron Curtain countries constantly. The risk involved is too great and it will get too many people into trouble. The radio is much better suited for this purpose.

Concerning the contents of these leaflets, it is quite unnecessary to send political propaganda in this way. For example, it is entirely unnecessary to convince the peasant who is working in a farm cooperative that life in the farm cooperative or on the government state farms isn't good. He knows much better than the person who wrote the leaflet.

I have not heard of any Free Europe leaflets being dropped in Hungary during the revolution.

D. The motives of the Western groups are secondary in importance. The main thing is what is done should be done well.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. The most important things that children should be taught are the proper moral code, self discipline and respect for others.

Discipline is very important for the children and, of course, in this, the use of physical punishment is sometimes necessary, but the most vital thing is that the parents who punish the children should themselves be intelligent. There should be no difference in the treatment of boys and girls. How the treatment of children should change as they grow older is a very complex question and I do not wish to discuss it now.

My parents were very strict with me and I was very often punished. But this is something which I do not like to think about now.

When I went to the gymnasium, I lived in the home of the Protestant students. Strict discipline was maintained there. For example, I was 15 years old when I was slapped for being impertinent to one of the supervisors.

In the same students' home, an 18 year old boy was beaten by the director for being extremely nasty. He was rolling empty shoe polish boxes down the steps just to annoy one of the supervisors. He was extremely impertinent to the director. This happened in 1947. During the Communists' regime, the ~~use~~ use of physical punishment was abolished in schools and student homes.

In the case of children over 6 years old, physical punishment to the girls would be administered mostly by the mother. Physical punishment to the boys could be administered either by the mother or father or by both.

The punishment of children of 6 years or older did vary according to social class. But in many instances, the poor peasant educated his child better than a member of the intelligentsia. In general, during the last ten years, the ~~use~~ use of corporal punishment declined, in the older age groups. Since the Communists abolished physical punishment in schools and student homes, its use also declined at home in all age groups. As a consequence, a father would never administer physical punishment to a daughter. Teen-age boys also received less physical punishment and the age limit for physical punishment dropped in both sexes.

In general, parents ~~did~~ did not resort to physical punishment of children unless there was a great reason to do so.

I think that physical punishment for boys ceased between the ages of 8 and 9. Girls sometimes received physical punishment even beyond this age, but only from the mother.

In the rural Hungary, punishment in general, was abandoned at about 14 or 15. This happens sometimes earlier in the cities. But the girls in the villages were kept

very strictly. A girl who is engaged and will be married next week will sometimes be slapped by her mother for going out or not coming home when it is dark.

The age limit for punishing children is higher in the cases of children who are studying. It is lower in the cases of children who begin to work and contribute to the support of their family.

The Communists have abolished physical punishment in schools. Their methods of educating children is based on trying to convince them. A good description of Communist methods can be found in the works of Makarenko and Kalinyin.

My friends must have the same political and moral points of view that I have. They must be completely trustworthy and reliable.

Under Communism, many people have lost their best friends. On the other hand, a person met many thru

In general, people are inclined to be more suspicious of each other