

THIS INTERVIEW CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO THE NEW  
QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewee: M. Ivancho  
Date: May 1 & 2, 1957  
Place: N.Y.C.

## I. PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. Respondent's name: Code 43-M
2. Age: 45
3. Sex: male
4. Marital status: married
5. Religion: Jewish
6. Birthplace: Szecsenyovacsi, Nograd County, Hungary
7. Spent most of his life in Budapest
8. At the outbreak of revolution, respondent lived in the 11th district of Budapest
9. In 1936 respondent spent a one month vacation in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In 1948 he was in Paris for 45 days, also on vacation.
10. He served in the Hungarian army for 8 months in 1935 attaining the rank of master sgt. In 1938 and 1939 he served in the army for six months with the same rank. In 1939 the anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary deprived him of his military rank and he served only in the auxiliary labor forces.
11. Education: Respondent graduated from a gymnasium in 1929. He studied law and acquired a doctorate in law at the Budapest University Law School in 1935.
12. Occupation: Before 1945 respondent was a lawyer's apprentice. After 1945 for one year respondent

served as a police officer, in the rank of 1st lieutenant and was assigned to the theft squad of the Budapest Police Headquarters. In 1946 respondent was admitted to the bar and started practice on his own in Budapest.

13. Parents: not living
14. No brothers or sisters
15. Children: one child from a second marriage age 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  residing here with respondent in N.Y.
16. Left Hungary Nov. 24, 1956
17. Arrived in U.S. January 11, 1957
18. Since leaving Camp Kilmer respondent has been only in N.Y.
19. Has no immediate plans
20. Not interviewed
21. Respondent speaks French

Respondant is a middle-aged intellectual with an upper middle-class background. Lived extremely well under the Horthy regime and in the first years of the Communist regime. A victim of racial persecution during World War II and imprisoned by the Communists for five years. ~~xxxx~~ Nevertheless, he is very homesick. Seems to be having great difficulty in adjusting himself to live here in the U.S. He is harassed by the language barrier and has no confidence of ever being able to overcome this. An intelligent person with very logical reasoning. Determined to get ahead in life and to compensate for the hardships and trials he has suffered. On the other hand, he is plagued by the uncertainty of his immediate future. Has a very thorough knowledge of Jewish problems in Hungary.

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## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The American people should know that the political oppression and economic restrictions in Hungary have made the people so embittered and opposed to Communism that the revolution last Fall was their desperate attempt to throw off their Communist slave-holders.



From the Szabad Nep building I went with an ex-prison cellmate toward the Radio Studio building  
III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

B. It was well past 7 p.m. by the time we arrived  
A. On the afternoon of October 22 I was in Budapest and heard from a friend that a large-scale demonstration was scheduled for the next day. I did not attribute great importance to this news because I thought that this demonstration would be another one of the propaganda ones frequently staged by the Communists in Hungary. sounds of shots when we were approaching the Radio Building. Trucks came with  
On October 23, around noontime, I went into the city. I had been freed from prison just three months before, and was not yet employed. For a time I talked with friends in a cafe in the downtown business section of Budapest. Around 2:30 p.m. I witnessed the silent demonstrations staged by the University students. I saw them march by in the direction of Palfy Square where the Bem statue stood. I did not join the demonstrators. They marched by in order and silence. They carried Hungarian flags and small signs with slogans but I do not remember what the slogans were.  
The Radio station Studio, and did not see what was  
That afternoon I saw students posting the fourteen demands on the main streets of Budapest. Only when I read these demands did I realize the importance of the demonstration. I expected it would have far reaching consequences. The least I expected was a New cabinet under Imre Nagy. Everyone was very enthusiastic. I feared that my wife would be worried because of my absence. For this reason, I  
Later in the evening we heard that a large crowd of demonstrators was waiting for Imre Nagy to speak in front of the Parliament. We did not go there, but around 6 p.m. we went to the "Szabad Nep" building because we heard that a special edition listing the fourteen demands had been published. Here, we also met demonstrators but these were mostly industrial workers, and not university students. We formed a militia, began to operate a printing press for leaflets, and other propaganda material, and ousted

5/II

From the Szabad Nep building I went with an ex-prison cellmate toward the Radio Studio building because we heard that a large demonstration was to take place there.

B. It was well past 7p.m. by the time we arrived there. Great crowds thronged the streets in the vicinity of the radio studio building. The situation was very tense and I, as a Jew, feared that the resentment of the crowd against the AVH may turn into a program against the Jews.

We already heard the sounds of shots when we were approaching the Radio Building. Trucks came with industrial workers from Csepel and they brought arms. Later military trucks came and civilians with soldiers began to distribute arms among the crowd. I, too, received a rifle and ammunition. I was surprised to see that the ~~antagonism~~ antagonism of the crowd was aimed only at the AVH. In the general enthusiasm and joy ~~xxxxxx~~ no one feared the consequences, nor thought about them at all.

I also took part in the shooting, but my friend and I were with an armed group some distance away from the Radio ~~station~~ Studio, and did not see what was actually going on there.

The situation there was very uncertain. One minute the AVH cleared the streets of insurgents, the next minute they were in possession of the street again. By morning I was very tired and dirty. My suit had been ruined. I feared that my wife would be worried because of my absence. For this reason, I gave my ~~fight~~ rifle to an unarmed civilian and decided to go home.

The next day on October 24, I decided not to go into the city, but remain at home. I lived in the neighborhood of the Nationalized Dairy Enterprise in Buda. The workers of the dairy plant were very active. They immediately acquired arms, formed a militia, began to operate a printing press for leaflets, and other propaganda material, and ousted

6/II

the top Communists from their plant. They also kept an eye on the dangerous Communists who lived in that neighborhood. Here the workers were being organized by one or two veterans of the Labor movement, ousted Social Democrats, and old workers who seemed to have grievances against the Communist regime. They knew that I was a lawyer who had just been recently freed from prison and asked my advice on a number of questions. I took an active part in the work of this resistance group. However, there was not much fighting in our neighborhood, because the Russians avoided it.

When the Russians interfered on behalf of the Communist government, I thought for a time that the revolution would be crushed. I soon saw that without infantry support, the tanks alone were of little use to the Russians in street fighting.

C. When the Russians withdrew their tanks from Budapest, I was certain that the revolution had won. I immediately took an active part in the revival of the Social Democrat party. I also joined the National Federation of Political Prisoners. With a group of ex-political prisoners and in a car assigned to me by the Social Democrat party, we went to the home of the notorious 'hanging' judge, Jonas. During the Communist regime Jonas had sentenced more political prisoners to death than any two other judges in Hungary. He sent me to prison for life in 1951. Now we arrived to his home one day too late. We were informed that the previous day he had committed suicide by opening the gas jets on the kitchen stove.

On other occasions I went with ex-political prisoners to arrest those civilian foremen who were exceptionally brutal toward prisoners in the prison mines and workshops. The prisoners we captured we took to the headquarters of the Freedom Fighters in Varosmajor Street. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

As I had been recently let out of prison, I was unable to find a house or apartment for my family. We were staying with relatives, but their home was



7/II

very crowded. When the Russians withdrew from Budapest, I immediately made inquiries to find out what had happened to the apartment which the AVH took away from me at the time of my arrest in 1951. My apartment had been in one of the most modern apartment buildings in the downtown section of Budapest. Two families were living in my old apartment, and it would have been impossible to ~~evict~~ evict them. But, I found out from the building superintendent, who, by the way, had been an AVH agent, that there was a modern three room apartment in the building, and it had been occupied by a major in the AVH who had disappeared since the revolution.

The building superintendent seemed very reluctant to have me return to the building, and he tried to stall me by saying that a diplomat from the British legation had already obtained permission from the housing authorities to occupy the flat. I found out that this was not true, and, with the aid of the one time vice-mayor of Budapest, with whom I had been in prison and who had now returned to City Hall, I received permission from the housing authorities to move in. I received the keys of the apartment on November 3. We took an inventory of the furniture and personal belongings which had been left in the apartment. This, too, had been assigned to me as compensation for the property which had been stolen from me by the AVH at the time of my arrest. The ex-tenant of the apartment, Major Farago, had a luxuriously furnished apartment, a ~~well~~ well-stocked wardrobe and a large stock of food supplies, including ~~some~~ such articles as ~~the~~ whiskey, liquors, and champagne.

There was no street-car or bus transportation in Budapest at that time and I was unable to move into my new apartment with my family that day.

On November 4 I got up early because we wanted to move. When ~~I turned on the radio~~ I turned on the radio, however, I heard over Radio Budapest that the Russians had begun their attack on the city and ~~that~~ that Imre Nagy had made his last frantic appeal for aid to the West.

8/II

A short time later we saw large columns of tanks going in the direction of Budapest. This time they were accompanied by motorized infantry. I felt great despair because I realized that this time it would be impossible to halt the Russians or to force them to withdraw again from Budapest.

Nevertheless, I took part in some of the fighting in Peterfi Sandor Street and Bethlen Square. I was not able to take part in the fighting continuously because I had to keep everything a secret from my wife since she was very worried that I would be returned to prison.

To protect the car which was assigned to me by the Social Democratic party, I had it transferred to the name of the Children's Clinic of the Budapest University School of Medicine. For the next ten days I was employed here at the clinic hauling medical supplies, foodstuffs, transporting medical personnel, and delivering messages.

I still had not moved into my new apartment, but on several occasions I had taken away food supplies from there because of the food shortage at home. On the 20th of November, however, the building superintendent maliciously told me that the major who had lived there previously had sent him the monthly rent by mail, and would shortly return. The ~~building~~ superintendent demanded that I give him ~~back~~ the keys. I refused to do so, but deemed it extremely advisable to get away from Budapest, because the AVH major would probably be out to get me if they returned to power. I also was warned that one of the prison foremen whom I had kicked in the pants, but not arrested, had complained against me at the party headquarters. Therefore, my wife and I decided to escape to Austria.

We left Budapest on November 22, arriving in Austria in the early hours of November 24. Our trip was entirely uneventful. We got off a train a long distance from the border, and went by foot, avoiding all villages and settlements.

D. Despite the heavy losses in lives and property, I still think that Hungary has gained an enormous moral victory over the Communists. The Hungarian people proved to the world ~~and~~ that they are against Communism and hate it so much that they were willing to attack Russian tanks with bare hands.



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

I realized the significance of the Hungarian revolution to the West. I knew that it was of immense propagandistic value; that public opinion everywhere in the world had been turned sharply against the Soviet Union. Therefore, the least I expected from the West was to impose such sanctions on the Soviet Union that they would force her to withdraw from Europe, or at least from Hungary. I expected that the plan for a neutral zone along the frontiers of the Soviet Union could now be realized. In the first stage of the revolution, and up to November 4, I did not expect any effective military assistance because, so far, the revolution had been winning. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary, I expected that perhaps the West would send United Nations troops to Hungary to maintain order. I did not expect effective military intervention in Hungary, because I thought that economic and political sanctions against the Soviet Union would be sufficient to achieve the requested aims.

During the revolution until the time of my arrival in Austria I had no contact whatever with foreigners.

# V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

Communism. Some of them, however, (I would estimate this at about 10% or 15%) favored Communism because of friends or

A. My father died in 1933. He had been a fairly prosperous man. He owned twenty yokes of vineyard and 50 yokes of other farm land. He was an agricultural college graduate, and farmed on large estates which he leased.

I inherited my father's real estate property with all agricultural equipment and also had two apartment houses in a provincial city in Budapest. I owned a medium sized villa in the residential section of Budapest.

My father completed the gymnasium and four years of agricultural college. My mother finished only four years of gymnasium.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the intelligentsia, the industrial workers, and the peasants.

The intelligentsia can be divided into two sub-groups. The first group can be called the new Communist-created upper class. To this group belong the Communist party officials, army officers, AVH men, top Communist government officials, etc. The worker aristocracy can also be included in this group.

The other sub-group of the intelligentsia are the victims of Communism; tradesmen, craftsmen, business men, and the old government officials and the members of the old intelligentsia who did not become party members.

I have had contact with all classes. The new Communist upper-class consisted of industrial workers and peasants who had become firm supporters of the Communist regime, and, for their loyalty, had been assigned to lucrative or comparatively lucrative jobs. A good many Jews also belonged to this group. The opportunistic elements of the old middle-class can likewise be included in this group.

The other members of the intelligentsia offered either passive or active resistance against the regime. They were barely able to exist and were hoping against hope that, by some miracle, Communism would collapse.

The vast majority of the industrial workers is opposed to Communism. Some of them, however, (I would estimate this at about 10% or 15%) favored Communism because of friends or relatives who had risen to power. For example, the working peasant whose son had become an army officer. It cannot be denied that, in general, the present industrial worker class in Hungary has a comparatively much higher cultural level than during the Horthy regime.

With very few exceptions, the Hungarian peasants are also opposed to Communism. Comparatively less peasants than industrial workers are supporters of the regime for the reasons mentioned above.

I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia.

The classes which had been hardest hit by Communism in Hungary are the following: the land of the middle-class, the industrial and commercial elements, and finally, the middle peasants.

The intelligentsia, in general, is respected by the industrial workers and peasants, with the exception of the slight minority which favors Communism.

The Hungarian peasantry is regarded with sympathy, both by the intelligentsia and by the industrial workers. Both these classes know that the Hungarian peasantry is strongly anti-Communist and that the interests of all three classes are mutual.

The Hungarian industrial workers are also liked by the other two classes, although the intelligentsia, at one time, distrusted the industrial workers, thinking that they were strongly pro-Communist. In time it turned out that they were mistaken and that the industrial workers could be relied upon. The sympathy of the Hungarian peasants for the industrial workers was expressed during the revolution when the peasants refused to accept money for the abundance of food supplies which they sent to the industrial workers in the cities.

Due to the fact that the Hungarian Communists had introduced eight grades of compulsory grade-school, the educational

level of the peasantry and of the industrial workers increased considerably, while a small decline can be noticed among the children of the intelligentsia. in this respect. It can also ~~now~~ be said that under Communism class barriers practically disappeared.

C. In my opinion class origin was the most important factor which determined what ones chances were of getting ahead in Communist Hungary. Who is of ~~bourgeois~~ ~~bourgeois~~ bourgeois or intelligentsia origin has no chances whatever of getting ahead in Communist Hungary. Talent played no role at all in this respect. I know this from bitter experience, because I too was at a great disadvantage since my parents were well-to-do land owners. I do not know what changes occurred in this respect after 1950, because I was then arrested and ~~freed~~ freed only just before the revolution.

Speaking of him as an individual, the person ~~most~~ most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary is the opportunist with the proper class background. Such a person is willing to do practically anything, and has no principles or convictions.

D. The top Communist officials and party members were the ones who lived extremely well under Communism in Hungary. They lived much better than they deserved.



## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism has ruined my family life intirely. I divorced my first wife in 1946. I remarrned in 1949, just before my arrest. I was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. My wife was sent to the concentration camp in Kistarcsa. She was there for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  years. Our child, my son, was born in a prison hospital. When the baby was one day old he was taken away from my wife. He was placed in an AVH hospital, later, in ~~and nursery~~ state nursery. Our relatives had great difficulty in obtaining the release of the child from the state nursery. There are no names at all on the child's birth certificate; only the prison serial number of myself and my wife. It is stated on the birth certificate that the identity of parents and child had to be kept a secret in compliance with the instructions of the Ministry of the Interior.

But, in general, Communism had a very deteriorating effect on family life in Hungary. Children did not get the basic religious education which they previously received. Both parents were generally obliged to work. Consequently, family life disintegrated. Very few people were able to lead the family life which had been common in Hungary prior and during the war.

My family life does not compare to any one of the examples cited.

The way children were brought up under Communism was greatly effected by ~~the fact~~ whether or not the parents of the children were ~~afraid~~ afraid of the regime.. If the parents were afraid, then they endeavored to educate their children in such a manner as to avoid every slip of the tongue by the child. If they were afraid that the children may involuntarily betray them, they did not speak in front of the child, or, if they spoke, they were not sincere.

However, if the parents were not afraid of the regime, then they brought up thair children openly with anti-communist attitudes. This latter case was the more frequent.

Some industrial worker and peasant families were able to educate their children in the old way.



B. Until 1948 and '49 there was not much change in courtships and marriages in Hungary. I was arrested soon after 1949 and am not able to say how these questions developed later on.

What I know about marriages in communist Hungary is based entirely on hearsay. In general, it is my impression that marriages under Communism were inclined to be treated less seriously than before. The moral values of marriage depreciated considerably, and the inhibitions imposed by religious precepts disappeared. The morals of the women and girls became much more lax than before. They were influenced ~~to~~ to no slight degree by the Communists' views on sexual relations.

In the first years of Communism ~~the~~ ~~the~~ divorces were made much easier by introducing mutual consent as the basis for a divorce. Later on, when the number of divorces increased, in dangerous proportions, the communists then made divorces difficult to obtain.

I think that married people indulge, to a considerable degree, in extra-marital sexual relations more than before. Marriage had ~~not~~ neither the prestige nor the moral force it had previously.

I think that the parents were hardly able to interfere or control the sexual lives of the adolescents. The various youth organizations gave the young people ample ~~opportunity~~ opportunity to indulge in sexual relations.

The Communists' ~~the~~ government banned prostitution in 1949 or '50. Unlicensed prostitution, although it was punished, thrived considerably, especially in the cities.

I think that a Communist by conviction has considerably less inhibitions concerning sexual relations. Later, however, the Communist party demanded strict moral conduct of its party members, especially those who were married.

C. Cases where friendships terminated because one friend was a Communist party member and the other was not were rather numerous. Many of friends who joined the Communist party, later avoided me because I was of bourgeois origin, and a lawyer by profession....a profession which was looked upon with great disfavor by the Communists.

In such instances the friendship would be more likely to be broken off by the Communist party member, because it compromised him to associate with persons who were looked upon with disfavor by the Communists.

I do not think it would be possible to continue a friendship under the condition that politics will not be mixed in it.

D. I have talked to judges who were deemed less reliable by the Communists and therefore assigned to juvenile cases. In ~~their~~ their opinions juvenile delinquency increased in Hungary under Communism. In ~~this~~ this respect he considered only crimes which were termed as such by the criminal code of the previous regime.

Vagrancy was punished much more severely under the Communist regime than before. Two or three years would be given for vagrancy or secret prostitution, whereas during the previous regime, the courts would not give more than two or three weeks. I don't think that vagrancy was very widespread among the juveniles.

Under "Jampecs" one meant the young people who copied Western fashion in clothes and liked to dance to American music. I think that the Jampec problem was greatly exaggerated by the Communist government. The Jampecs by age were mostly young people between the ages of 16 to 25. To a considerable extent, their conduct can be attributed to opposition against Communism. The parents were probably indifferent to the conduct of their children. I don't think that the Jampecs were confined to any one social class, but probably they were fewer among the peasants' youth.

## VII. RELIGION

A. From the very beginning all religions offered a stiff opposition to Communism in Hungary. With the ~~the~~ so-called \_\_\_\_\_ tactics, the Communists were able to break down the opposition of the churches. The Catholic higher clergy was imprisoned and so-called "peace priests" were willing to support the Communist regime. In the Protestant and Jewish churches police spies and Communist supervisors were installed. Opposition in the churches ceased almost entirely.

All religions were suppressed by the Communists. Because of its size and organization, the suppression of the Catholic church in Hungary is probably the most obvious. Communist ideology tolerates no religion.

B. I have a respect for all religions. The churches are the arbiters of morals. They formulate a moral code which one strives to achieve.

I think that I am just about as religious as my parents were. I am not bigoted and I try to keep most of the commands of my church. On the other hand, I think that I am somewhat more religious than the average person in Hungary. I go to church regularly and say my prayers twice a day.

C. The ideal relations between church and state can be best summed up in full autonomy for the churches and support, but not interference, in the part of the government. The teaching of religion should be entirely optional in ~~the~~ school, but church schools should be allowed to exist. I think that the churches should be allowed to exercise ~~the~~ censorship over books, plays, and motion ~~picture~~ pictures. I don't think however that the churches should interfere in every day politics.

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D. The Jewish religion and the Jewish church/~~the~~ also been harried by Communism in Hungary. The self-government of the Jewish churches has been suspended and the orthodox and \_\_\_\_\_ churches were forced to unite. The national leadership of the Jewish church was appointed by the Communist government and not elected by the church members as before. It is only natural that the Communists appointed people who were either party members or complied with Communism.



As a reaction to the 1943 to 1945 anti-Jewish persecution in Hungary, some of the Jews in 1945 endeavored to avenge their sufferings and the deaths of their relatives. The Communist party used the bitterness of the Jews and their desire for revenge for its own political purposes. ~~But by waging war against anti-Semitism, and by satisfying the vengeance of the Jews~~ By waging a strong campaign against anti-Semitism and by satisfying the desire for vengeance for the so-called Jewish "Lumpenproletars", the Hungarian Communists won many Jewish supporters.

But, when the Jews saw the liquidation of their commercial and industrial aspirations, they, in large numbers, turned against the regime. Before 1948 Zionist organizations sponsored the illegal exodus of thousands of Hungarian Jews. The Hungarian Communist government was willing to close its eyes to the operations of this Jewish underground railway.

When the state of Israel was formed, the Zionist organizations were outlawed in Hungary. From 1948 on attempts to leave the country illegally were punished more severely. The majority of the people sentenced on such charges were Jews.

Very few of the Jews were Communists by conviction. Many had to join because the nationalization of industries and enterprises left them without a living. I do not know what percentage of the Jews ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> communist party members, but I do not think that their ratio in proportion to their number in Hungary was greater than that of Christian party members.

Very many Jews had been members of the Social Democrat party. Most of them were not excepted in the Communist party when the two parties merged.

The Hungarian Jews were well represented in the demonstrations, and fightings by the Jewish university students. The Jewish church in Budapest made a list of the Jews who were killed during the fighting. According to my knowledge, this has not been made public. I think over 100 Jewish ~~university~~ university students were killed.

It is ~~completely~~ a great mistake to say that the Jews in Hungary fear the creation of an independent Hungary. This can be contradicted by the great number of Jews who took

part in the fighting during the revolution, and by the fact that the vast majority of the persons who played any role in the Petofi Circle were Jews. Jews led the intellectual ferment in Hungary.

At the outbreak of the revolution I feared that the violence may turn into an anti-Jewish program. I was very much surprised to experience that my fears were utterly unfounded. On one occasion I witnessed a scene on a Budapest market square where a simple woman attempted to incite the crowd against the Jews saying that the Jews were the cause of all the troubles under Communism. Armed Freedom Fighters came, arrested the woman, and took her away.

I happened to know that at a meeting of the Students Revolutionary Council and Bartok Bela Read, a resolution was adopted according to which every attempt to create anti-Semitic disorders must be immediately and radically suppressed.

I very strongly denounce the conduct of certain Jews who, on arrival in the United States, attempted to place themselves in the light of "Martyrs" in front of the Jewish relief organizations only in order to obtain more aid from them.



VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the age group from <sup>16</sup>~~14~~ to 26.

B. The Hungarian youth played an important part in the outbreak of the revolution in October, 1956. The demonstrations which later led to the revolution were organized and conducted by the university students, with the industrial youth joining them later.

The majority of the students who were the cause of the outbreak of the revolution favored socialism, and did not want the return of large estates or ~~fixing~~ the placing of so-called key industries into private ownership. But, they were opposed to the Communist regime and even began to become estranged to socialism when the disintegration of the Communist party first became evident under the Imre Nagy government in 1953. The youth ~~then~~ then realized the falsehoods of Communist doctrines, saw a large number of political prisoners held behind bars by the Communists, and heard about the disadvantageous trade relations with the Soviet Union. From then on they became more and more dissatisfied with the Communist regime.

It was the Hungarian youth and not any other age group which turned against the Hungarian communist regime, because youth in general is always more enthusiastic. They were outraged by the injustice of the Soviet dominated Hungarian Communist regime, and they demanded the freedom which had been denied them.

During the revolution the older people were greatly relieved and over-joyed by the conduct of the Hungarian youth. Everyone thought that Soviet indoctrination methods had ~~so~~ estranged the Hungarian youth, and many people were inclined to give them up for lost. The youth, in turn, had respect for the ~~old~~ older generation. But, in my opinion, the mentality of the present Hungarian youth is much more democratic than it had been before.

C. (this sub-section is not applicable as subject is past 30 and had no children of school age.)

D. Until 1953 Hungarian youth could not see clearly and until then it was ~~unsusceptible to Communist~~ susceptible to Communist

indoctrination attempts. Then the indoctrination gradually failed because the Hungarian youth was able to see the contradictions of Communism in theory and in everyday practice. The dissatisfaction of the youth finally culminated in the revolution of 1956.

I think that the young Hungarian industrial workers and the so-called working peasants were the most susceptible to Communism.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. My greatest dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was over the complete absence of political rights and the constant fear in which one was obliged to live. As a lawyer by profession I was considered a member of the exploiting group. I was also able to see the injustice of the courts and police, much better than the average person in Hungary.

B. The other people complained mostly about the political and economic uncertainty in which everyone lived. This uncertainty was constantly increasing from 1948 on.

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X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. I was out of prison for only three months during the last year of my time in Hungary. I was released in June, and until the revolution I was unable to find employment. I acquired a medical ~~statement~~ certificate stating that I was ill and under treatment. I lived from the financial support rendered me by the Israel legation in Budapest. Since her release in 1953, my wife had constantly been supported by the Israel legation. In order to show an acceptable source of income, my wife made shawls at home. With this work and with the ~~work~~ aid of the legation, our average income during the last year in Hungary was about 2500 forints a month.

During the last three months before the revolution, one was able to obtain any kind of food for money. We ate fairly well, and after my prison experience, I gained much weight.

Our most serious problem was clothes. Everything we had was confiscated at the time of our arrest. After my release, I was able to recover two suits of clothes which I had concealed for safety in the home of a friend. In the way of clothes, my wife and son were also very bad off.

We were unable to find an apartment of our own. A distant relative offered us one room of his house.

A one room apartment entirely our own was considered an unobtainable luxury by us at that ~~time~~ time.

Before ~~1948~~ 1945 I had a villa of my own and owned considerable agricultural property which was an extremely good source of income. What I missed most was the peace and quiet of our previous life. Our one time high standard of living and our property ~~if~~ were of secondary importance. Our standard of living has decreased considerably as compared to our pre-war standard. It would be extremely difficult to express the difference in percentage.

My standard of living in post-war Hungary was the highest in 1948. Soon after that I was imprisoned.

I am unable to recall anyone who lived extremely well during



the last year before the revolution. But, until the time of my arrest in 1951, I had known several Budapest attorneys who were able to afford comfortable homes, cars, and who entertained on a large scale. Their standard of living equaled their pre-war standard completely. They were able to live in such a way because they had ~~an~~ extremely good party contacts which assured them a very good income.

I do not know much about the standard of living and its causes during the ~~last five~~ last five years before the revolution, but in the three years which preceded my arrest, the low ~~and~~ standard of living can be attributed to unfavorable trade relations with the Soviet Union, reparation obligations, and the nationalization of industries.

B. The average income of our family during the last year before the revolution was 2500 forints a month. The greater part of this was the financial aid given us by the Israeli legation. The rest was the small sum ~~which~~ which my wife made by making shawls and scarves. During the most of this time I was still in prison, and in the three months I was free, I had been unable to find employment.

C. (this sub-section is not applicable because subject was in prison five years preceding the revolution.)

D. (ditto)

E. In Communist Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. It is practically impossible to conduct my profession in the country.

I think that the agricultural workers in Hungary ate more and better food than the city workers did. The general standard of living was higher in the country than in the city. On the other hand, it was politically easier to live in the city than in the country because people were less under observation in the city than in the country.

After 1945 that part of my real ~~estate~~ property which was on Czechoslovakian territory had been confiscated by the Czechoslovak government. Some 5 Or 6 yokes of farm land remained here in Hungary and at the time of the collectivization program I expected that it would finally be taken away from me. I leased this land to ~~the~~ tenants. It was confiscated only in 1950 at the time of my arrest.



When the collectivization of farms began in Hungary, I realized that it would <sup>lead</sup> ~~be~~ to a considerable decline in agricultural production because the incentives of private ownership and private profit were lacking.

I have a very poor opinion of the collectivization of farms as it was conducted in Hungary. There were no agriculture experts on the large ~~estate~~ farms which had been formed. In this way the advantages of large scale farming could not be realized. The farm cooperative production groups and farm cooperatives were formed on a compulsory basis. People were less willing to work here than on their own farms. There was much red tape, too much arguing over what should be done, petty thefts, and political indoctrination which caused the cooperative members to be disgusted with cooperative farming.

When the large scale collectivization program was launched after 1948, all peasants objected equally to it. Most of the kulaks had already been eliminated by some way or other by that time.

There was some talk of dissolving farm cooperatives and cooperative production groups in 1953, at the time of the first Imre Nagy government. Rakosi did everything to check the disintegration of cooperative farming. In many ~~part~~ places the AVH had to intervene to compel the members to continue collective farming.

The ideal agricultural ~~system~~ system would abolish the compulsory delivery of crops, and would end government interference in agriculture. The maximum for real estate property should be set at 2000 yokes. I would even abolish the system of tractor stations which had been introduced by the Hungarian Communists.

Ex

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. ~~Before~~ Before 1948 I was generally interested in politics, but did not have any political ambitions. Before the war I was not a member of any political party. After the war in 1945 I joined the Hungarian Social Democratic party. I liked the political program represented by the right wing of the Social Democratic party. However, in the 1947 elections I voted for the Bourgeois Democratic party (the Supka party). I joined the Social Democratic party out of necessity. I needed to have party influence for my profession. I did not want to join the Communist party and the only other party of influence at that time was the Social Democratic party.

I had a very low opinion of the Communist party before 1948. The Communists almost hanged my father in 1919. He was freed from the gallows by the Czechoslovak army when it came marching in. Until his death, my father was an ardent supporter of the Horthy government.

I took part in the underground movement during World War II and in this way I had some contact with Communists. But even then I was wary of them because I feared that if they come to power my property would be confiscated. However, I was willing to cooperate with them as far as defeating the Germans went. It must be admitted that at time I did not exactly know just what communism was. Communism in Hungary unveiled its true face only between 1945 and 1948.

B. I think that Communist party members can be divided into two groups. To the first group belong Communist party members who are Communist by conviction. The second, and much larger group, are membership card holders only. They pretend to be Communists in order to get ahead (opportunists) or are compelled to be members in order to make a living. Many Communists by conviction became disillusioned by Communism when they saw the series of blunders committed by the party leadership.

During the last eight years the policy of the Hungarian Communist party varied considerably. These changes in every case were dictated by Moscow and reflected changes within the Moscow politbureau itself.

I have never been a member of the Communist party, and know

~~stealing~~ nothing about the party morale.

The top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party are, without exception, Moscow puppets who accept and carry out instructions given to them by Moscow.

The primary purpose of the Hungarian Communist leadership is to strengthen Communism and to isolate Hungary both physically and psychologically from the West. Their individual aims are to live well, to preserve their power, and all the advantages which come with it. I think only a small percentage of the top Hungarian leadership is Communist by conviction who believes everything that the Communist party teaches or says. The others see clearly the deceits of Communism. They also realize that the Communist economic structure is not sound and cannot operate well. The majority of them are evil-minded, diabolic people. A slight majority is misled and means well.

When Hungary becomes independent, all of the top Communists leaders should be brought to justice, and tried by a court.

C. There was opposition to Communism in Hungary from the very beginning. This is evidenced by a series of conspiracies, smaller opposition groups whose purpose was to publish and distribute illegal leaflets against the regime, to free the political prisoners, to acquire arms and take part in the liberation of Hungary when the time comes. The general public in Hungary knew very little about such resistance movements or groups. I met most of them in prison. There was also a Zionist underground movement which was very active.

Other forms of opposition were grumbling, and dissatisfaction with the regime, the circulation of anti-Communist rumors, and silent sabotage within the industrial plants. Open strikes were quite out of the question.

All social classes participated in this opposition to Communism. Most active were the social classes most affected by Communism: the middle class and the upper class. These later forms of opposition were generally known to everyone. Such opposition behavior does not seem of too great ~~importance~~ importance, but it paved the way to the

1956 revolution.

The degree of opposition behavior is in direct proportion to the degree of terror and oppression. Opposition on a larger scale began in 1948, and was conducted by the upper class and the middle class. Later it spread to the peasantry and, after 1953, even to the industrial workers.

The opposition behavior of the intelligentsia was probably the strongest because this was the class which was most oppressed.

I heard rumors concerning the activities of the Petofi Circle in the Spring of 1956 when I was still in prison. I was able to read a copy of the "Irodalmi Ujsag" which was smuggled into the prison labor camp. I was completely surprised by the daring tone of this newspaper. I obtained further details of the Petofi Circle after my release in June, 1956. I have no knowledge whatever of the intellectual ferment even before the Petofi Circle.

The significance of the Petofi Circle lies in their daring to criticize the regime openly, to point out the political and economic mistakes committed by the Moscow government, and to oppose the liquidation of a large number of political enemies.

I think that the Hungarian intellectuals were the forerunners of the Hungarian revolution.

I have no general opinion of the intellectuals. It varies according to the individual. Some of the Hungarian intellectuals behaved very decently and dared to oppose communism. I think many of them are realistic people and not impractical dreamers. But, perhaps the majority of the writers and intellectuals were opportunists at one time or another.

The intellectuals were able to stand up against the regime because they had occupied an exceptional position all along during Communism. The regime was more careful of how it handled them. Brutal methods could not be applied against them. Because of their exceptional position and because of their intellectual superiority, they were able to start and promote the intellectual ferment which led to the revolution.



## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The AVO officers were murderers and thieves. They were gangsters willing to do anything. The scum of the peasantry and of the industrial workers who did not want to work at home, were lazy, went and became AVH officers. Many "Lumpenproletar" Jews also joined the AVH.

Both my wife and I were arrested in 1951 on charges of espionage. I was sentenced to life imprisonment, but was placed on parole in 1956, three months before the revolution. My wife was in a concentration camp for ~~three and~~  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years. As I have already mentioned, our son had been born in a prison hospital and taken away from my wife immediately after birth. The AVH robbed our house of everything in it.

I did not meet any AVH officers who had pangs of conscience or who wanted to leave the service, but I met some of the AVH guards who drafted for this duty. They wanted ~~desperat~~ desperately to leave the service.

When and if Hungary regains her independence, then all the members of the AVH should be very carefully screened. Their activities during their service in the AVH should be carefully investigated. A similar screening procedure should be applied like the one in 1945 for the members of the Hungarian gendarmerie. Only those members should escape responsibility for having served in the AVH who can prove that they actively took part in the fight against communism. ~~/~~

In 1945 and 1946 I served twelve months with the Hungarian Blue Police in Budapest. I left the service because I saw that I had no chance for promotion due to the fact that I was of bourgeois origin. Simple workers who were good Communist party members who had no education at all were assigned to top positions within the Blue Police force. On the other hand, people with law training were assigned to insignificant, minor posts. During the first years of the Communist regime many officers of the Horthy regime were retained in the police force, and therefore, the force functioned very effectively. Later on these police officers were ousted from the force and there was a general decline in the efficiency of the police. After '48 all non-party members were ousted from

the police force.

During the revolution, the Blue policemen everywhere sided with the insurgents. They gave them arms and even supported them actively. I know many police officers, who, even before the revolution, were embittered enemies of the Communist regime, despite the fact that they were party members. There was strong antagonism in the Blue Police force against the AVH.

B. Before 1945 the Hungarian courts functioned excellently. Charges of class justice are utterly unfounded. The People's Courts which functioned in 1945 to 1947 tried war criminals and the so-called "crimes against the people." The sentences imposed on war criminals sometimes were very severe, and not all of the people sentenced on war crimes charges were guilty. On the other hand, the so-called "criminals against the people" (this included crimes against communists, Jews, membership in fascist organizations, etc.) were really guilty. The sentences imposed on them by the People's Courts were, almost without exception, just.

C. During the revolution, in most places the Hungarian army sided with the Freedom Fighters. In a very few places, at first, the army fought against the insurgents. Where the army did not as a unit side with the revolution, the soldiers escaped and joined the Freedom Fighters individually, or behave entirely passively.

I do not know of any cases where the conduct of an army unit could be attributed to geographic differences.

From the point of view of rank, it can be said in general that the enlisted men and the vast majority of the non-commissioned officers sided with the revolution. There were comparatively less supporters of the revolution among the army officers.

The difference of the conduct of the army can be attributed mostly to the course the revolution took in that vicinity. Where there were no demonstrations or fighting against the AVH and the Russians, the army was more inclined to remain entirely passive. In some units the Communist officers were able to maintain control over the men/ all along.

I was completely surprised by the conduct of the army during the revolution. I thought that on one hand military discipline, and on

the other, ~~xxxxxx~~ Communist indoctrination would compel the soldiers and the army in general to oppose any revolution.

(The second part of the section cannot be applied since the respondent did not perform military service in the army under the Communists. regime.)

D. The Hungarian feelings about the Russian army can be attributed not to the 1848 events, but ~~only~~ solely to the conduct of the Russian troops when they invaded Hungary in 1944 and '45.

Before they came into the country we Jews expected them to put an end to the fascist dictatorship and terror, to oust the Germans from the country. But, when they came we experienced further atrocities on the part of the Russian troops. We feared for our wives, our property, and our lives. My attitude toward the Russian army has not changed since 1945.

( Respondent has had no contact with the Russian occupation troops other than fighting during the revolution)

During the revolution I had some limited contact with the Russians. Some of the boys in my group were able to speak Russian and they talked to some of the Russians who came in after the re-occupation of Budapest. The Russians did not know where they were. They asked ~~us if the Suez Canal was far, whether the Suez Canal~~ whether the Suez Canal was far. In many places during the revolution, the Russian enlisted men tried to be friendly with the Hungarian civilian population. I do not know anything about the attitudes of the Russian officers.

I have not noticed any difference in the conduct of the Russians during the revolution which could be attributed to differences of age, nationality, or the length of their stay in Hungary. The troops with whom I had this limited contact were fresh troops which had arrived recently from the Soviet Union.

I do not remember exactly on what date this occurred, but it was well before November ~~the~~ 4. I witnessed a scene where two Russian tanks went over to the side of the revolutionists. Their tanks were decorated with flowers and Hungarian flags.

I do not know of any other cases where the Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, refused to obey their superiors, deserted, fought on the side of the Hungarians, fought against the AVH, or fought against each other.



I have not heard of any cases where the Soviet soldiers committed individual acts of cruelty or torture against Hungarian or civilians.

E. It is true that sometimes local government officials would be willing to forget regulations and help the people. For example, in 1949 and 1950 I experienced that some of the judges imposed very ~~lenient~~ lenient sentences on people who were caught in attempting to escape from Hungary. Such leniency was shown not only by the judges who had served under the previous regime, but also by the new judges.

F. In the Hungarian Blue Police force and in the Hungarian courts ~~in~~ I noticed sometimes that some of the officials were willing to listen to reason. But, intervention was only possible ~~in~~ in insignificant cases.

It was possible to circumvent regulations and to resort to bribing, especially in public administration, in tax and customs administration, in the Blue Police force, and at the courts. Both the person giving a bribe and the one accepting the bribe would be punished severely if they were caught.

G. My opinion of the top officers of the AVH is that they were not intelligent not efficient. Probably the same was the situation in Hungarian army. I do not know what the Russian army leadership was like. The Hungarian public administration officials were also very inferior. Most of the senior officials who had served under the Horthy regime were dismissed by the Communists, and their places were filled with young peasants and workers who had neither the intelligence nor the education required.



### XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. The immediate future of Hungary hinges entirely on the course of world politics, especially on the relations between East and West. Hungary is only one of the many problems that are to be solved. It is possible that in the near future the East and West will agree upon the creation of a neutral nonmilitarized block in central Europe in accordance with the Eden plan proposed at the Geneva Summit conference in 1955.

Within Hungary I think that Kadar will stay in power for some time. He may be replaced by another Soviet puppet, but he or his successor are insignificant. A slight easing of the situation within Hungary can be expected.

For the time being, the stubborn and impertinent policy of the Soviet Union will continue to gain for her diplomatic advantages. But, the Soviet Union will only go so far as she deems it safe without provoking the West in a world war. The loosening of control over the satellite countries will open the road for economic penetration by the West. American and Western economic penetration into the satellite countries will gradually be accompanied by political penetration as well.

I hope that the Western world will be able to ~~xxx~~ localize Communism and confine it within its own borders. The internal situation within the Soviet Union will then probably cause a collapse, both economical and political.

A war between the Soviet Union and the United States is possible. I do not deem it desirable because it would cause perhaps the ruin of the entire civilized world. I don't think that the people at home desire such a war, although they may not be as well informed of the possible outcome of such a nuclear war as the people here in the West are. If war breaks out between East and West, the war will likely start within my own lifetime. This war could be avoided by strong international pressure upon the Soviet Union, but the American foreign policy is too hesitant and vacillating.

Perhaps in connection with the settlement with the German problem, the Soviet Union will be willing to neutralize the present satellite countries.

B. During the past ~~ten~~ ten years we in Hungary hoped that after the signing of ~~the signing of~~ the Austrian Peace Treaty the Soviet Union would be forced to withdraw its troops from Hungary. The German issue was also ~~not~~ another problem in the frame work of which the occupation of Hungary may also be solved. Our hopes were high, especially after Stalin's death when we saw that the Americans together with Western Europe were conducting a more decisive policy toward the Soviet Union.

Our hopes were diminishing after the peaceful settlement of the Berlin problem in 1949. We then hoped that a showdown between East and West could not be avoided. Our hopes were high at the time of the Geneva Summit Conference and declined again after the conference.

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

A. An independent Hungary should be truly democratic and neutral. She should conduct trade and economic relations with all countries if this is advantageous to her.

B. Hungary should put great emphasis on developing her industries. Even in case of an exceptionally poor crop, Hungary can always grow enough to supply her home demand. Emphasis should be put on developing her light industries since Hungary is unable to compete with the heavy industry of the West or America. The textile and chemical industries have great possibilities in Hungary. In connection with this, Hungarian agriculture should specialize in industrial crops. All industries which serve only war purposes should be abolished. The expansion of the Hungarian locomotive industry and agricultural machine industry should be continued. More home appliances should also be manufactured. This branch of industry is very neglected in Hungary.

When Communism is overthrown in Hungary the nationalized enterprises should gradually be restored to private ownership. The money derived from the sale or leasing of national enterprises should be placed in a special fund, the ~~for~~ purpose of which would be to compensate the owners who had been nationalized.

In an independent Hungary the farm cooperatives should be abolished, but the state farms should continue. Large state farms are necessary for experimenting and to serve as model farms.

Government management and ownership should continue only with regard to transportation facilities, coal mines, and one or two large industries. Otherwise, private ownership should be restored. I am opposed to the nationalization of light industries.

The ~~government's government's~~ government farms should continue to function. The owners of private estates should not be given back more than 1 2000 yokes. The compulsory surrendering of crops should be abolished. Government interference in agriculture should cease.



If I were to choose between ~~the~~ a democracy which did not insure a fair standard of living, and a dictatorship ~~which~~ which gives no freedom, but insures a fair standard of living, I would choose democracy. I value freedom more than a guaranteed standard of living.

I would not be in favor of outlawing the Communist party in an independent Hungary. An underground Communist party can be more dangerous than when it operates above ground.

C. In alliance with the West is desirable for Hungary, but perhaps due to Hungary's geographical location, I think that a neutrality like Austria's would be more advantageous. With the Soviet Union and the satellite countries Hungary should have no military or cultural relations. Economic relations should be based on mutual economic interests.

Hungary should conduct ~~a~~ lively cultural and economical relations with the western European countries and with The United States.

I had first heard about a plan for the federation of the Danubian countries in the writings of Kossuth. I was very much impressed by this plan. We discussed such questions among friends at home. Very many people in Hungary are in favor of such a federation. I myself am strongly for it. I think that such a federation is possible.

If such a Danubian federation should be formed, I would like to have Austria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia participate in it. I would not want Bulgaria to be in it.

The great masses of the people at home would favor such a plan. Perhaps only the conservative elements of the middle class would be opposed to ~~it~~ it.

I consider Hungary's present boundaries very unjust. I would want territorial adjustments along the Czechoslovak border, I would want the return of Transylvania, and of the Hungarian inhabited districts of Yugoslavia. I think the territorial adjustments ~~can~~ can be realized only in course of a peaceful settlement of central and eastern Europe.

fate

I am concerned about the ~~fate~~ fate of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. Language and cultural privileges should be secured for them.



I consider both the question of the Hungarian boundaries and of the Hungarian minorities very important. I think the vast majority of the people in Hungary share my views.

## XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Before the revolution I did not know anything about Khrushchev's secret speech.

While I was in Hungary heard about Senator McCarthy's fight against Communism here in the United States. I sympathised with him and considered his activities very useful and fruitful.

I heard about the fall of Peron while I was in Hungary, but did not attach any importance to it.

Before the revolution we heard rumors to the effect that Rakosi's private life was just as luxurious as that of Hitler. We did not know any details about him.

B. Before my arrest I was in contact with the Israeli legation. I received my most reliable information concerning the world situation and world political events from diplomatic sources. The second most ~~important~~ important source of information were the foreign radio broadcasts. The first source I considered very reliable. The second fairly reliable.

C. During my years in prison, that is from 1951 to 1956, I was able to get information concerning political events from the civilian foremen employed in the Hungarian slave mines. They gave us an account of what the foreign radios were broadcasting. These accounts were not always reliable because very often they ~~distorted~~ distorted facts. Many times they mixed wishful thinking for facts.

D. Before and during the war I read all of the newspapers which were being published in Hungary. I went everyday to a cafe and there all the newspapers were available. I also regularly read one or two literary and political magazines. I also read many books, both novels and law books. I read both classic and modern authors, not only Hungarian, but also foreign. The French writers I read in the original text, the others I read in Hungarian translations. I was

well ~~am~~ satisfied with the kind of reading material which was available at that time. However, during World War II, it became more and more difficult to obtain Western publications.

After the war and before my imprisonment I read all of the Hungarian daily newspapers and was also able to obtain French and Swiss newspapers. Such papers I received from foreign ~~diplomats~~ diplomats stationed in Budapest. During my imprisonment I was able to get copies of the "Szabad Nep" once or twice, ~~which~~ which were smuggled in to the prison labor camp by the civilian employees.

The political articles in these newspapers I always read in great detail. From 1948 on I was wary about everything which I read in the Hungarian newspapers. Not even statistical reports could be accepted as reliable. One only had a basis for speculation. Sometimes, however, one was able to read between the lines.

Neither I nor my friends read any publication from the Soviet Union or from the other satellite countries. Such publications were available, with the exception of the Yugoslav ones.

Before my arrest I read Swiss and French newspapers which I obtained from the Israeli legation in Budapest. Otherwise, only communist newspapers, for example, the "Humanité" or "Ce Soir" were available at government newsstands. But, even these newspapers contained some news items which were not published in the Hungarian Communist newspapers.

I did not read any illegal publications from the West. The only exceptions were the Radio Free Europe leaflets.

We read books placed on the index by the Hungarian Communist government. These were very hard to obtain. When the books were placed on index, they were withdrawn from circulation, that is, from book stores and libraries. But, the surrendering of these books by private individuals was not taken very seriously. I had such books in my possession, but they were not placed in the front row of my bookshelf. We talked about such books and exchanged them among friends.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I think there are chances of an internal change in the Soviet Union. Economic changes and more cultural changes, and more cultural contact with the Western world may develop which would ~~give~~ influence the mentality of the people ~~at~~ ~~home~~ in the Soviet Union. I think that the possibility of a revolution in the Soviet Union like the one in Hungary is not to be entirely excluded.

In my opinion the vast majority of the people in the Soviet Union are against Communism. I form my opinion on the basis of what I heard from people who were prisoners of war in the Soviet Union, or who were there for some time.

Both gradual liberation and revolution are possible. Once the dictatorship relaxes its hold on the people, then the avalanche of liberation cannot be stopped.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, I think that the Communists would be overthrown. Some worker and peasant parties along Social Democratic lines would come to power.

I think that some of the top leaders of the Soviet Union are Communists by conviction. Their collective aim is to create world communism and to maintain the territories which they have allowed acquired. They are motivated by Russian imperialistic aims.

As individuals I think that the members of the Soviet politbureau are malicious, diabolic people who are primarily interested in material gains, and in maintaining their power over the advantages which it gives them. They differ from the Hungarian Communist leaders in as much as they have more power and are more intelligent.

B. Of the countries mentioned, Yugoslavia is the most popular because of its opposition to Moscow. Poland is second most



popular because of traditional Hungarian friendship and because of the events during the revolution.

The least popular are Czechoslovakia and Rumania because of their conduct toward Hungarian minorities before World War II and immediately after it.

If free elections were to be held in these countries, I think that Communism would be overthrown everywhere, and a Bourgeois Social Democratic party would come to power.

I think that of the countries mentioned East Germany and Czechoslovakia have the highest standards of living, with Poland and Bulgaria the lowest.

C. I think that the vast majority of the people in Poland are opposed to Communism and would like to be free of Soviet ties. The Gomulka government is walking the tight-rope between Soviet Communism and independence. I think economic aid for the Gomulka government is essential. This government represents a virtual change, and improvement. His stay in power will depend largely on the further course of political events...namely, the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

My views on the Polish situation have not changed since my departure from Hungary.

Events in Poland had an effect on Hungary. The people in Hungary knew about the thaw in Poland which meant amnesty for political prisoners, economic and political concessions, and also the replacement of Stalinists. This served to encourage the resistance of the people in Hungary. The situation in Poland was the direct cause of the demonstrations in Budapest and these demonstrations later led to the outbreak of the revolution.

The foreign radios and also the Hungarian newspapers wrote about a change in Poland even before the Poznan trial.

With ~~respect~~ respect to the loss of lives and the enormous suffering of the people at home, it probably would have been better had the Hungarian revolution taken the same course as

Polish revolution. However, it cannot be denied that the moral victory of Hungary is greater, and that the old Moscow policy can never again return.

D. Tito and Yugoslavia had a great influence on the eastern European satellite countries. Namely, after Tito had severed ties with the Soviet Union and established friendly relations with the West, especially with the United States, the conditions in Yugoslavia improved considerably. In this way Yugoslavia became an example to be followed by the satellite countries. As the lesser of two evils, the people in these countries would have preferred national communism instead of Stalinist international Communism.

I think that Tito is the originator of national Communism. I do not approve of national Communism either, because it is ~~basically~~ still Communism. However, it cannot be denied that it is the lesser of two evils. It can be considered a transition from international Communism to democracy. As such, it can exist only temporarily.

Tito's relations with the other eastern European countries are good because secretly they sympathize with him. However, the official policy of the other eastern European countries is always determined by the line which Moscow takes toward Tito.

Tito's relations to Moscow always change. At present, it seems that the relations between them have improved considerably in comparison to what they were in 1948.

Tito is conducting close trade relations with the Western world and is a member of some sort of military alliance, also. ~~Tito's~~ Tito's attitude toward the Hungarian revolution changed during the revolution itself. Basically Tito blamed the Soviet Union for causing the outbreak of the revolution in Hungary. On the other hand, he feared that the Hungarian example would be followed by his communists at home.

There are Titoists in the other eastern European countries who may rise to power. This depends largely on the course of world events.

I think that Tito has supporters in Yugoslavia, nevertheless,

he would be defeated in free elections, were free elections to be held in Yugoslavia. X

I know comparatively little about the internal situations in Yugoslavia. I think that the standard of living is probably higher than it was in Hungary before the revolution, and there is more political freedom. I formed my opinion on what I heard from Yugoslavs, because I met a good many of them while I was in prison.

E. I approve of the English-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt. They would have defeated Nasser had not the United States intervened.

I ~~don't~~ don't think the Egyptian government had the right to nationalize ~~this~~ the Suez Canal because ~~the~~ Egypt was bound by international agreements to respect the rights of the commercial companies which were in charge of the canal. The canal is very vital for the economy of both Asia and Europe. It cannot be under the control of one government alone.

Developments in Egypt had a positive effect on the course of the Hungarian revolution. World opinion in the United Nations could not give their ~~undivided~~ undivided attention to Hungary.

The standard of living in West Germany is high~~er~~, probably even higher than in the United States.

I approve of German rearmament because everything should be done to bring about the liquidation of international communism. Germany should be rearmed even if this means the possible danger of a third world war.

I do not think that the West Germany army is stronger than the armed forces of either Britain or France. In my opinion the length of military service in West Germany is probably two years.

Both the German and the Russian ~~occupations~~ occupation of Hungary

were equally ~~distasteful~~ distasteful to me. The Germans killed my mother and many members of my family. The Russians took away my property,ruined me financially,and cast me into prison.

The Russian occupation troops were undisciplined and robbed and plundered,while the Germans did the same thing,only in a more disciplined manner.

I think that to the people in Hungary both occupation forces are equally unpopular.

G. I heard about the NATO in Hungary,and know of its aims and purposes. I approve of its existance and deem its military strength essential.

The Warsaw Pact was signed to counter-balance the NATO.

I approve entirely of the policy of the right wing in the British Labor party. The party is against Communism and has a great influence on the Social Democratic parties of continental Europe. I was extremely pleased by the fiasco of the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to London in 1956. Gaitskell, and other members of the British labor party gave them their frank opinions on the situation in the Soviet Union.

I think that the highest standard of living from among the countries mentioned is in Britain,with Italy second,Greece third,East Germany fourth,and the Soviet Union fifthe,and Egypt last.

H. On my arrival in the United States I saw immediately that live high is entirely different from what it was in Europe. People work more and faster, live better, have more time for recreation, but their cultural life is poorer than in Europe. The dollar is the most improtant thing in The United States, and everything centers around it.

I have a very poor opinion of The United States' foreign policy. It is too conciliatory toward the Soviet Union. It is very indecisive.



I think that the United States should give economic aid to the Soviet satellites, because in this way it can isolate them from the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet Union.

close

The United States should conduct ~~with~~ diplomatic, cultural, and commercial relations with Hungary. In this way The United States government has more opportunity to influence the conditions back at home. But, if possible, The United States should not recognize the Kadar government, or should request Kadar's replacement as a condition for economic aid. Since my arrival in the United States, I think that the United States should try to influence the United Nations to conduct a more effective policy against Soviet oppression.

I think the people at home would like to see more Western visitors of all kinds. They would be able to get a better knowledge of the conditions in Hungary and of the mentality of the Hungarian people. Perhaps they would then to something in the interests of our country back at home.

Before departing for Hungary, Western visitors should be warned not to cause trouble for the people at home. They must realize they are under constant police supervision and that every contact with the people at home may be dangerous for them.

I think that the most recent Hungarian refugees should be the ones to inform Western visitors about conditions at home, because they probably have the best knowledge of what life is like.

The ~~now~~ people at home are very much interested in Western publications. However, it is a difficult question how to get these publications to them. I do not think that the present Hungarian government would permit the shipment of Western publications by mail. Perhaps the Western legations in Hungary could find some way of distributing these publications.

I think

I do not know details about the Marshall Plan which was launched by the United States government in 1948. Its purpose was to aid the disrupted economies of war ridden Europe. Its secondary purpose may have been to sustain post-war boom within the United States. I do not know of any political conditions attached to the Marshall ~~aid~~ aid.

In 1950 Communist North Korea wanted to incorporate democratic South Korea. The United States interfered in the Korean war because it wanted to curb Soviet expansion. I do not know of any other ~~pur~~ purposes the United States may have had.

J. The United Nations must be basically reorganized to make it more operative and effective. Now it stands in the same category as the one time League of Nations.

In the autumn of 1956 the United Nations should have adopted effective sanctions against the Soviet Union which would have compelled the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Hungary, and perhaps also from the other satellite countries.

I do not expect any effective action by the United Nations which would favor Hungary/ ~~it~~ in the future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. There is no one I would call the greatest living Hungarian today.

B. Imre Nagy is a Communist. I do not distinguish between Communists who are idealists and who are not. However, Imre Nagy has opposed the Soviet Union and has deviated to a certain extent toward bourgeois democracy. He would have been only a temporary solution in the progress ~~toward~~ toward the creation of a Western-type democracy in Hungary.

Before he was raised to the dignity of cardinal, some of the people who knew Cardinal Mydzenty as a simple village priest did not have the best opinion of him. They considered him a determined, stubborn person. But, I have a very ~~gk~~ high regard for Cardinal Mydzenty because he dared to oppose the constantly increasing Communist terror. His radio address on November 3 was very ill-timed and not very political.

Lazlo Rajk is the same kind of Communist as the others. The time when he was the ~~Min~~ minister of interior in Hungary, he committed many atrocities.

Erno Gero is the prototype of Hungarian Communist who serves Moscow.

Kadar was responsible for the atrocities of the AVH at the time when he was minister of the interior. He also took an active part in planning some of the show-case trials. He is very easy to influence and very indecisive. He gives the impression of being very nervous.

I became acquainted with ~~General~~ General Bela Kiraly in prison. He is anti-communist and was able to give me an acceptable explanation of his reasons for joining the Communist party at that time. He hated fascism and communism in the same way. His

way of thinking is very democratic.

Anna Kethly is the leader of the Social Democratic party's right wing. She is against Communism, and behave excellently while in prison. Her speech in Madison Square Garden during the Hungarian revolution was very ill-advised and can be attributed to the influence of Imre Szelig.

I have great respect for President Eisenhower as a soldier, but I do not value him much as a statesman.

I have a very poor opinion of Secretary-General ~~Hammar~~ Hammarskjold. The office of Secretary-General in the United Nations should be in much more capable hands.

Mr. Dulles is not a good state secretary. I have a very poor opinion of his ~~foreign~~ foreign policy with respect to France, England, and the Soviet Union. He is also to be blamed for United Nations' inactivity during the Hungarian revolution.

I do not think that Eden's policy was very clever in the Near East, but I approve of his actions regarding the Suez Canal in 1956.

ex-

I have a much higher opinion of President ~~Truman~~ Truman as a statesman than of President Eisenhower.

My opinion of President Eisenhower, State Secretary Dulles, and The United States' foreign policy has changed since my arrival in the United States. I consider them more to blame for events in Hungary than I did at home.

I know who Mikoyan is, but I am unable to form an opinion of him.

Nehru is a very skillful diplomat, but his attitude toward the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet Union is great mistake.

I have a good opinion of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, and I hope that he will be able to liberate Communist China.

Ferenc Nagy is a controversial figure. I do not know what is true about his telephone conversation with Rakosi. Allegedly, he



demanded money for his resignation at that time. Maybe this is only an unfounded rumor. It is possible that ~~Ferenc~~ Ferenc Nagy did the best he could under the existing circumstances.

President Roosevelt committed a series of mistakes in his foreign policy toward The Soviet Union. He made a number of concessions at the conferences with Stalin which dug the grave of post-war Europe, and were the seeds of political difficulties in Europe. He was too gullible toward the Russians.

Chancellor Adenauer is a very wise statesman.

Stalin has committed the same kind of atrocities against humanity as Hitler did.

Malenkov is one of the few Soviet statesmen who favors agreement with the West.

I have no opinion of Generalissimo Franco.

I do not approve of ~~Bevin~~ Bevin's policy toward the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev's visit to \_\_\_\_\_ proved that he does not have the qualities which can enable him to solve the political questions and problems of Europe ~~and~~ today.

Molotov is the most prominent representative of the Stalin policy within the politbureau today. He is a talented diplomat and statesman.

M I approve of Ollenhauer's policy toward the Soviet Union, but he should be more conciliatory toward Chancellor Adenauer.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of Europe. It is very regrettable that he was unable to ~~assert~~ <sup>assert</sup> his views at the international conferences where the fate of Europe was decided.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. Before November 4 only suspicious elements who were probably afraid of ~~exile~~ the consequences of a victorious revolution left Hungary. Also, opportunists went away who were interested only in leading a better life than they had been living in Hungary.

After November 4 the people who left were those who had taken part in the fighting and had to fear retaliation. Those who took part in the intellectual ferment which led to the revolution also fled. Political prisoners who were freed by the revolution also feared that the suppression of the revolution would mean their return to prison.

Most of the refugees came from western Hungary and from Budapest. I do not have any statistics on the refugees, but I think all social classes and all age groups were equally represented.

The people who remained at home either did not have cause to fear retaliation, or had good jobs, real estate which they did not want to lose, and many people did not come out because they were too old for such adventures, or because they had to stay for family reasons.

I am very sorry for those who did not have the political foresight to see the situation and decided to remain.

I know of cases where people could have come out of Hungary, but did not wish to do so because they had small real estate, or did not want to leave their families. I also knew of a plumber who deemed it his patriotic duty to ~~remain~~ remain.

The people ~~who~~ at home probably envy us and also are glad that at least we are safe. They may think that we have a mission to fill in the liberation of Hungary.

If it were possible for everyone to leave Hungary, I think about 60% of the people now at home would still decide to remain. They would be motivated by age, property, homesickness, and jobs.

B. While I was still in Hungary I knew and heard about such exile organizations as, for example, the Hungarian National Committee. I knew that Bela ~~Harga~~ Varga was its chairman, and it included such Hungarians and politicians as Pfeiffer, Eckhardt, and Kallay.

Since arriving in The United States, I have had no contact with any exile organizations of politicians.

I heard about the Hungarian National Committee in Hungary. It is an organization of democratic Hungarian politicians who are best qualified to represent Hungary abroad.

I have heard about the MHBK at home. It is basically a military organization consisting of fascist army officers.

At home I heard that Bela Varga, one time chairman of the house in parliament in Hungary, and an eminent member of the Hungarian Small Holders party, was the chairman of the Hungarian National Committee here in the U.S.

I have a very high regard for Dr. Tibor Eckhardt. He was an oppositionary politician in Hungary during the Horthy regime, and was sent out by Horthy himself/ when the governor feared that the Germans would overrun Hungary. Eckhardt's mission here in the United States ~~is~~ during World War II was to represent Hungary ~~in~~ if the Germans occupied it, and to form anti-German cabinet in exile.

I have heard about Imre Kovacs at home. He was a Peasant party Parliament member, a writer, and a democrat.

Imre Szelig is a member of the Social Democratic party. He is one of the theorist of the party.

Peyer was the leader of the Hungarian Social Democratic party at home. He was not very popular among the Social Democratic workers because he escaped from Hungary.

Miklos Kallay was one time prime ~~minist~~ minister of Hungary. He tried to oppose the Germans in every way possible.

Zoltan Pfeiffer was one time under-secretary in the Ministry



of Justice. He was not very popular.

Istvan Barankovics is an excellent newspaper man and a politician.

Josef Kozi-Horvath is a priest who was a parliament member for the Small Holders party.

Bela Fabian is a ridiculous person who, as a Jewish lawyer and one time member of the Hungarian parliament, tries to play himself up here in America as the true representative of the Hungarian Jews. Many people resent his activities during the Horthy regime and his conduct in German concentration camps.

General Ferenc Farkas was one time commander of the Hungarian army officers' academy in Budapest. Under the existing circumstances, his way of thinking at that time was democratic. However, he played a role under the government and this has disqualified him for any further political role.

Otto of Hapsburg is a democratic member of the Hapsburg family. I don't think he will return to the Hungarian ~~throne~~ throne.

Horthy's policy against the Communists was ~~not~~ proper and for a long time successful. He was in a difficult position during World War II and succeeded in forestalling the German occupation of Hungary.

I don't think that the politicians in exile were able to ~~accomplish anything at all~~ achieve practically nothing for Hungary. They have lost all contact with the Hungarian people and are only political mummies.

The Hungarian politicians in exile, especially the Hungarian National Council, should have prevailed on American public opinion and used its influence on the United Nations, ~~to~~ to have them change their attitude toward Hungary, and pressure them into taking a firmer standpoint in the Hungarian question. Before the revolution the Hungarian politicians in exile failed to impress upon Western public opinion the almost unanimous unpopularity of the Communist regime at home.



Many people ~~xxxxxxx~~ here in The United States thought that before the revolution the Hungarians were in favor of Communism.

C. I have not met any Hungarians who left for the West after 1945 and later returned. But, I have heard of the Communist ~~redemption campaign~~ campaign. I think it is simply propaganda on the part of the Communists. They misled the Hungarian immigrants and lured them back home. Later on, most of them were imprisoned.

D. The people at home should like to know how the Hungarian refugees are faring in the West, and especially in the United States, and what kind of aid or support they are getting from the Western governments and organizations. They should not be told the truth, namely, to what extent the West and Western relief organizations have failed to assist the Hungarians.

The Hungarian exiles should try to adjust themselves to live in the United States and in the other Western countries as ~~soon~~ soon as possible. Everyone should try to support himself and not ~~be~~ be compelled to rely upon the aid of refugee organizations.

I have already joined the Hungarian Federation of Freedom Fighters here in the United States. The purpose of this organization should be to prepare the liberation of Hungary, and to fulfill the democratic demands which had been formulated during the Hungarian revolution. I have no objections against earlier Hungarian refugees joining this organization as long as they are neither Communists nor fascists.

I do not know ~~if~~ about the activities of Hungarian political parties in exile. I only know that some of the Hungarian fascists are organizing a new fascist Hungarian party here in America, and are already publishing a newspaper called "Szabad Magyarorszag". It is regrettable that the American authorities tolerate such activities.

During the revolution I knew about the revival of the Hungarian political parties. I took active part in the revival of the Social Democratic party. I approved of such political activities because it was necessary to elect a new parliament and to form a new government. Without the revival of the parties elections could not be held.

I don't think that the politicians who went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revived parties.

E. When and if Hungary is liberated from Communist rule, I want to return home.

I insist that my son study Hungarian here in the United States.

#### XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Until my arrest in 1951 I listened regularly to the Hungarian broadcasts of the B.B.C., Radio Paris, Voice of America, and also to Radio Free Europe broadcasts after it was organized, I think in 1950. During the three months that I was free in 1956, I listened to all these radios, and also to the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Israel.

Reception was the best on Radio Free Europe broadcasts, because these programs were broadcast on several wave lengths simultaneously.

All stations were jammed, but because Radio Free Europe broadcasted programs simultaneously on several wave lengths, it was sometimes possible to receive the program on one wave length which was less jammed than the others.

I always listened to the Hungarian broadcasts, sometimes to French broadcasts of Radio Paris.

I ~~we~~ listened to these broadcasts regularly every day, usually in the evening after 8 o'clock. We discussed the programs every day among reliable friends.

I did not have a radio when I was freed from prison and therefore I was compelled to listen to these broadcasts on the radio of the relative in whose home we were temporarily living. Usually the entire family listened together to the foreign radio broadcasts. We took care to close all windows and doors before turning on the radio.

Sometimes I heard about the foreign radio broadcasts when I was not able to listen to them ~~myself~~ myself. It was a general topic of conversation among friends.

Up to the time of my arrest it was dangerous to listen to foreign radio broadcasts and to talk about them. In principle, listening to the foreign radio programs in itself was not punishable, but if a person was apprehended in doing this, then it was usually supposed that he also talked about the programs.

to others. Talking of the programs was considered a crime of inciting against the peoples democracy. It usually meant a sentence of six months to five years, depending upon the class origin of the person apprehended. However, I think that this danger deterred only very few people from listening to the radio broadcasts. It is said that one year before the revolution it became comparatively safe to listen openly to ~~for~~ foreign radio broadcasts and to talk about them.

Some of the promises made by the foreign radios, especially during the revolution, were utterly unfounded. This has created a certain reaction against foreign radio broadcasts when it became evident that Western aid and military assistance was not forthcoming.

I did not have any preference to stations.

The foreign radio broadcasts were not always reliable. For example, before my arrest I, myself, heard ~~xxx~~ over the radio that a certain politician had died. I met him the next day on the street. We usually tried to check the credibility of the news which was domestic and could be checked. This was not possible in the case of news concerning foreign events.

Before the revolution foreign radio broadcasts helped to keep the people of Hungary informed about world events and it gave them versions other than the Communist one. People were more inclined to believe Western news broadcasts ~~xxx~~ than domestic Communist broadcasts because one is always more inclined to believe what one desires.

During the revolution foreign radio broadcasts served to increase the enthusiasm of the people and also helped to keep them abreast of what was going on in Hungary. But, there was strong antipathy toward foreign radio broadcasts from the moment that it became evident that neither the United Nations nor the Western powers were going to help Hungary effectively.

What I have just now said refers primarily to Radio Free Europe. The B.B.C. and the French broadcasts were more impartial and more moderate in tone. I think that promises were made not only by the Free Europe broadcasts, but also by ~~xxx~~ other radio stations. Very often these were not direct promises, but more or less implied ones. Due to the fact that



the majority of the people listened to Radio Free Europe broadcasts after the suppression ~~was the~~ of the revolution, resentment was the strongest against Radio Free Europe.

I think it is very important to have Radio Free Europe continue its broadcasts. It is vital for the people in Hungary to get reliable news on what is going on outside and within Hungary. This is very important because there is no freedom of press in Hungary whatever.

I think that Radio Free Europe programs should strive to reveal to the people at home what is going on behind the political scenes in Soviet and ~~the~~ satellite politics. It is necessary to point out the Soviet imperialistic plan of the Moscow politbureau, and to contradict the lies spread by the Communists.

I think that anti-Bolshevist propaganda is the most essential item on the present Radio Free Europe programs. It is also necessary to stress the high standard of living of the industrial workers, and to compare their lives with the standard of living of the workers behind the iron curtain.

B. I have heard of the initials N.E.M. They represent the Hungarian national resistance movement. I saw them on a leaflet containing the twelve demands. This was in 1955 at the time when I was ~~employed~~ <sup>working</sup> in the prison coal mine in Tatabanya.

saw

C. I ~~have seen~~ Radio Free Europe leaflets in 1954 and 1955. At that time I was working in the prison coal mine in Tatabanya and in \_\_\_\_\_. Civilian miners had picked up these leaflets and smuggled them to us in the prison. One of the leaflets contained the twelve demands, another dealt with the person of Rakosi, and contained anti-Bolshevist propaganda. I received such leaflets on five or six occasions from civilian miners and passed them on to other prisoners who were reliable. I have not heard of any other Free Europe leaflets other than the ones I read.

It was very dangerous to pick up, ~~to~~ keep, or to pass on such leaflets. It was more dangerous than listening or talking about radio broadcasts. Even prisoners who were behind bars were brought before the court and sentenced for keeping or passing on such leaflets. One of the civilian miners who

was caught smuggling in leaflets into the prison camp was sentenced to eight years in prison.

The comparatively greater danger of possessing or passing on illegal leaflets deterred some people from keeping them or passing them on. I think that the severity with which such acts were punished declined somewhat before the revolution.

I approve of the leaflets and I think that Free Europe Committee should continue to drop such leaflets into Hungary. Such leaflets create a certain enthusiasm among the people at home because they see that the West has not lost interest in their case. It had an enormous effect on us prisoners. They were very ~~useful~~ useful at that time and the people readily ~~accepted~~ accepted the contents of these leaflets as true.

The leaflets should contain revelations concerning the suppression of liberties under the Communist system, and it should point out the obsolescence and disadvantages of state capitalism.

D. The purpose of all the Western organizations and radio stations broadcasting news and sending leaflets into Hungary is to keep awake in the Hungarian people the desire for freedom, to keep up their hopes of liberation, and to reveal to them the oppression and dictatorship of the Communist system.

I see basically no difference between the intentions and motives of the various Western organizations and radio stations.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. The most important two things which a child should be taught are patriotism and religion.

It is necessary to discipline children, and for this purpose it may sometimes be necessary to resort to physical punishment. I don't think that there should be any difference between the treatment of boys and girls from the point of discipline. However, with the increase of age, blind obedience should be replaced with reasoning.

I was fifteen years old when on one occasion I stole a cigar from my father. He caught me smoking it and slapped me.

In the families which I know in Hungary the children are usually punished by either parent. The age of the child does not play any role in this respect.

I do not know of any changes with regard to which parent punishes the children in the family in the various social classes.

I do not know of any changes during the Communist regime in this respect.

I think that the physical punishment is abandoned by the parents when boys are fifteen or sixteen and at the age of fourteen for girls.

Punishment in general is abandoned after a child graduates from gymnasium. In the case of girls this happens one or two years earlier.

I think that the lower social classes are inclined abandon punishment at a later stage.

I think that under Communism the children were less under the control of the parents. Consequently, punishment of children by the parents was rarer and ceased sooner.



I heard in Hungary that physical punishment was abolished in the schools. I do not know what forms of punishment replaced this.

The characteristics which I value most in a friend are a willingness to help under all circumstances, reliability and ability to keep a secret.

I think Communism did effect ~~friendships~~ friendships in as much as persons who joined the Communist party were inclined to sever contact with friends who did not become Communists.

-- THE END --