

Interviewre: M. Ivansco
Place; N.Y.
Date: May 27/28, 1957

Interview was conducted on basis of
new questionnaire

I. PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. Name: 53-M
2. Age: 46
3. Sex: Male
4. Marital status: married
5. Religion: Roman Catholic
6. Birthplace: Budapest
7. Spent most of his life in Budapest
8. Before the revolution broke out respondent lived in 12th district on Sas Hegy
9. Was abroad almost every year for vacations before the war in Austria, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland
10. Respondent was reserve officer in Hungarian army before and during World War II. He attained the rank of 1st lieutenant. He performed military service almost every year from 1934 to 1943
11. Respondent was graduated from a Budapest gymnasium in 1930. He acquired a political science degree at the Budapest University in 1934
12. Before 1945 until 1949 respondent was a municipal employee in Budapest. From 1949-1950 he was employed as an office worker by a construction enterprise. For 1½ years he worked for a company making classroom equipment. For about nine months he worked as a

stand-in for the film industry. After that he was employed as a book-keeper by the Council for Industrial Arts. He kept this job until his departure from Hungary.

13. Parents* Mother aged 70 now in Budapest

14. One sister aged 43 also in Budapest

15. No children

16. Left Hungary February 2, 1957

17. Arrived in U.S. May 7, 1957

18. Since his arrival in U.S. he has only been in Union, N.J. and N.Y.C.

19. Respondent has been promised a Rockefeller Institute scholarship to conduct scientific research. His major sphere of interest is history. He is also looking for a permanent job as an industrial draftsman or designer.

20. Since leaving Hungary respondent has been interviewed by Columbia University, Hungarian interview program.

21. He speaks English, German, and French

22. Took part in the demonstrations, but not in the fighting. Helped revive the Peasant Party after the Russian withdrawal. Respondent left Hungary just in February of this year, and is a recent arrival to the U.S. He is an intellectual with upper middle-class background. He is of medium height, muscular, active in sports, and good-looking. Very intelligent. His response was good, but he was inclined to give short answers. Repetition and overlap irritated him. His recollection of the revolutionary events is somewhat blurred. Comparing our interview with the interview he had at Columbia, he claims that our questionnaire is more interesting and more detailed. However, it is more tiring.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AID WARM-UP QUESTION

In connection with the Hungarian revolution the Americans should know that its outbreak was caused not merely by economic conditions in Hungary. National pride and self-respect had as an important a role in this revolution as in 1848.

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

A. On October 20 I heard from a Communist section chief of the Museum for Industrial Art that the following week a students meeting would be held at which the students will discuss their grievances. I did not pay much attention to this because I believed that the meeting was being sponsored by the Communists.

On the evening of October 22 I was at home and did not expect anything unusual to happen the next day.

On the forenoon on October 23 I had some business in the School for Industrial Art. There on the bulletin board I saw a copy of the demands adopted by the students meeting the previous day. I was very glad to read these demands because I thought they were a step in the right direction. I did not believe that much would come of them as long as the Ministry of the Interior was in the hands of the Communists.

In the afternoon of October 23 one of my colleagues in the office received information that a students' demonstration would be held that afternoon. We decided to attend this demonstration. We went to the Petofi Square about 4p.m. Traffic was tied up completely by that time. There was great enthusiasm at Petofi Square, although I was not able to hear any of the speeches because we arrived late and were standing too far from the speakers, and there had been no amplifiers installed. It was my feeling that the events I was now witnessing were perhaps more important than those which took place on March 15, 1848 in Budapest.

A rabid Communist from our office was there with us and he was just as enthusiastic as everyone.

Someone asked him what he was doing there with us. He was taken aback for a minute, but continued to stay with the demonstrators ~~to~~ the Bem statue. I noticed that in the apartment building facing the Square, people were timidly peeping at us from behind curtains. These apartments were occupied by Russian families, employees of the Hungarian-Soviet Danubian shipping company. They went away from the windows simultaneously, as if by command.

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We marched to Buda toward the Bem statue, but because of the large crowd we were unable to get anywhere near it. The demonstrators were mostly students and industrial workers and office workers. Both sexes were represented, but there were comparatively few older people. We carried Hungarian flags, but without the Communist insignia. The slogans which were shouted by the demonstrators gradually became bolder and bolder. At first they were only 'We want Imre Nagy for prime minister', but they gradually developed into 'Russkies go home!' I did not go with the crowd from the Bem statue to Parliament Square. It was getting late, I lived far, and there was no transportation. I did not get home in time to hear Gero's speech.

At home my family informed me of Gero's outrageous speech. I still did not think a revolution would break out. I expected the government would make certain small concessions, such as restoring the Kossuth crest. I expected Imre Nagy to head a new cabinet, but I considered him a Communist just like the others. The only difference being that he was somewhat more realistic.

B. The next morning, October 24, I was awakened by a phone call from a friend who was under treatment in the new St. John's hospital. He warned me to stay at home because fighting was going on in the

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city. From neighbors I heard that the Stalin statue had been demolished. interesting to see that the

Although the radio warned everyone to stay indoors, I decided to go to the city and visit my office. I heard shooting in the distance, but I did not see any fighting. My office was near the Killian barracks and on the forenoon of October 24 everything was peaceful there. I saw armed military patrols in the streets of the city, but they did not do anything, and I did not know on whose side they were.

I first saw Freedom Fighters the next day on Oct. 25. They were boys and girls, mostly students. They wanted to occupy the barracks on Bartok Bela Road. The guards threatened them with sub-machine guns, but did not use the guns. Fire hoses were brought into action, and drenched the crowd. That made the crowd unable to occupy the barracks, but a few days later it was in their possession.

I was in a line before a bakery shop waiting for bread when I heard that a demonstration would take place that day in front of Parliament. I was unable to go because I had to get bread and take it home and there was no bus transportation in the city. I heard details of what took place on Parliament Square from a neighbor who had been there. He talked very reluctantly about what he had witnessed and with a considerable effort. He said that blood was flowing in a steady stream in the gutters just like water after a rain.

On October 26 or 27 I again tried to go into the office. There was already heavy fighting on Ulloi Road. I was unable to cross the street. In front of the Museum Building I saw a Russian tank preparing for an attack against the Killian barracks. Russian tanks were lined up all along the neighboring streets. Further on a Russian

tank was burning. There were many Russian corpses on the streets. It was interesting to see that the Russians first took their tanks away, and only then the bodies.

Seeing that I was unable to approach the office building, I ~~xxx~~ turned around and on side streets I went to the Great Market near the Franz Jozsef Bridge. We were very short of food at home. Marketing was going on despite the fact that the sound of tank guns could be heard from not far off.

On one or two occasions I saw Freedom Fighters, young students, armed with old rifles. They did not have sub-machine guns. They were very enthusiastic.

The only fighting I saw was the occasion when tanks were attacking the Killian barracks. I only saw the Russians. I do not know against whom they fought.

Note: No participation, only onlooker.

The Freedom Fighters I saw now and then were mostly students. I do not know much about how they were organized or from where they got arms. The term 'Freedom Fighters' I think I first heard over the radio.

C. I did not suspect any tactical reasons behind the Russian withdrawal from Budapest. I thought that international pressure was so great that the Soviet Union was compelled to withdraw its forces from Budapest.

In the week preceding the Russian reinv~~as~~ion we were mostly concerned about food problems. I went to the office a few times. It had been heavily damaged. I also participated in the revival of the Hungarian Peasant party, which was now called the Petofi party.

Note: Was not a member of the Peasant Party previously. A friend convinced him this party had the best chance of gaining influence.

We listened constantly to the radio. By then the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Budapest were also interesting.

I first heard about the return of Russian troops on the dawn of November 4. I heard Imre Nagy's dramatic appeal over the radio. We were awakened by artillery fire. The Soviet guns were lined up on the hilltop not far from our home.

When the fighting died down and the radio informed the population that they could go out into the streets during the daytime, I went regularly to our office. We worked for days to clean up the office premises and repair at least one room so that we could make a fire.

In these days one of most important problems was food.

On December 11 I was on Moricz Zsigmond Square and saw the incident which took place when several Budapest streetcar employees decided to disregard the general strike and to take out their cars. The crowd attacked the cars and chased the employees off the streetcars. There were Russians stationed on the Square but the civilians surrounded them so tightly that they were unable to do anything. Police reinforcement came and they fired shots to disperse the crowd. Three persons were killed by ricocheting bullets. Many people were taken into custody and the police even searched the houses facing the Square.

When we saw that no hope can be expected from the West, my wife and I decided to leave Hungary. We had been entertaining such thoughts and plans for years. We were unable to leave immediately because my mother-in-law could not come with us because of her age. We had a two room apartment and we feared that if

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we went West, one of the rooms would be taken away from her. For this reason we decided to change apartments with a friend who had only a one room apartment. The change of apartments and moving took quite some time, so it was already the second half of January when we were able to start.

We made a first try to escape to Austria on January 24. A guide came to get us from Austria. He had been sent by friends. We were supposed to go 42 kilometers by foot. After the first 24 kilometers my wife became completely exhausted and was unable to go any further. It was very difficult to walk in the heavy snow. We were forced to return to Budapest.

On this first trip we were equipped with false documents stating that my wife and I were going to Papa. The soldier who examined our identification was very suspicious, but let us go on. We had to jump off the train before it reached the station because armed guards surrounded the trains immediately upon arrival in a station.

We made a second try on February 2. I had a friend who was a top ranking official of the Hungarian railways. He and his wife were also fleeing to Austria and they had two small children. He wanted my wife and me to go along with them to help with the children.

This railway official was able to dispatch a fast freight train to Hegyeshalom. We boarded the train just outside Budapest and were hidden in the locomotive compartment. My friend had assigned a reliable engineer to run this train. It did not even stop in Gyor. We were able to reach Austria without any incident.

D. Despite the heavy losses, I still think that Hungary has gained by the revolution. The Communists

are very much afraid. None of them dare to expose or compromise themselves in any way. They do not know when the situation can charge again. ~~***~~
~~***~~ Also, Hungary has gained prestige and respect abroad.

Summary of activities:

23 October - Takes part in the demonstration. After the Ben Statue demonstrations, goes home. Not present at Parliament Square, Radio Studio or Stalin Statue.

24 October - Visits office near Killian Barracks, sees and hears some fighting, no participation.

25 October - Sees first attempts to capture barracks on Bartok Bela Road. Hears about plans for a demonstration before Parliament Building, does not go, stays in line for bread.

26 or 27 October - Visits vicinity of Killian Barracks. No participation. Goes marketing.

"Week of peace" - Food problems, visits office, listens to radio and helps revive the Peasant Party. (Is not a former member.)

24 January - Makes first attempt to leave Hungary after swapping apartments and making a careful plan of escape.

2 February - Second attempt, very ingenious, succeeds.

(Note: His lack of participation may cast a very unfavorable light on subject. But there is no doubt at all that he was very enthusiastic over the revolution from the very first.)

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING
THE REVOLUTION

A. During the revolution I expected the Western world to do for Hungary what they did in the Suez crisis for Egypt. We expected that the United Nations would send international police to maintain order and to protect Hungary.

I expected United Nations help because there was already a precedent in the case of Korea.

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During the revolution/before my departure from Hungary, I met Western citizens on two occasions. I spoke to a Swede on the street. He was wearing the uniform of the Swedish Red Cross. I also talked on one occasion to the manager of the Royal Dutch Airlines in Budapest. I did not learn anything of special interest from these two.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Before World War II my father had been a top government official in the Ministry of Industry. His monthly income amounted to about 2200 pengos, equivalent to \$450 dollars at that time. My father owned an apartment building in Budapest. This they sold in 1940 and bought two industrial saw-mills in Transylvania. These mills were nationalized by the Rumanian government after the war.

My father had a law degree, my mother's education ended with the gymnasium.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the intelligentsia and middle class, the peasantry, and the industrial workers. I have had contact with all three classes. The Hungarian intelligentsia and middle class, with the exception of a very few Communists, were strong reactionaries. The Hungarian peasantry became entirely disillusioned with Communism when, after the land reform, the newly granted lands were taken away from them. They were burdened with high taxes and the compulsory ~~and~~ delivery of crops. The industrial workers were constantly dissatisfied and recalled with nostalgia the prewar era.

I consider myself to be a member of the a member of the intelligentsia, in which, naturally the middle class can also be included.

I think that the middle class was the hardest hit by Communism in Hungary.

The Hungarian intelligentsia did not have much contact with the peasantry. There were no differences between them.

In general, I think there has not been much contact between the intelligentsia and the peasantry. Most members of the intelligentsia do not have any

formed opinion about the peasantry.

The industrial workers have respect and sympathy for the members of the intelligentsia, but not for the new ~~members of the~~ intelligentsia. They feel ~~that~~ that the new intelligentsia has disowned them. Some envy is also mingled with their sentiments.

I am unable to tell you what were the feelings of the industrial workers for the peasantry. I do not think there are any great differences between the two groups.

The peasants with whom I had contact had sympathy and respect for the intellectuals. To a certain extent they were wary of the industrial workers because they believed that most of the Communists come from their midsts.

C. Class origin and political views are the most important factors for getting ahead in Hungary. Knowledge and experience are only of secondary importance. Only very rarely is one able to get ahead without the right class origin and a Party membership card; if the person had some important invention or was conducting some exceptionally valuable scientific work.

There were times when less importance was attached to party membership and class origin in favor of knowledge and experience. This was true especially of the first Imre Nagy government.

Persons who had no character or convictions were the most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary. They were not disturbed by the atmosphere of lies in which they had to live.

D. Top ranking AVH officers and Party officials lived extremely well and got comparatively ~~new~~ much more from ~~society~~ society than they deserved. Practically the entire Siofok, for example, was

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evacuated and served as a summer resort on ~~MAHA~~
Lake Balaton exclusively for the use of AVH per-
sonnel.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. My wife and I were married in 1949. We were not able to afford such a wedding as we would have had before the war. We had financial difficulties, both of us had to work. I had to support my mother and she had to support her mother.

In general, in most families the wife was compelled to seek employment regardless of the number of children she had. Long working hours and compulsory extra-curricular activities gave little time to parents for their children. There was also a great conflict between what the child was taught in school and what he learned at home. My general impression was that both men and women were overworked. The women could not spend much time and money on clothes and their appearance as before. The circumstances under which people lived in Hungary did not encourage flirtations or extra-marital sex relations.

I think that our family falls closest to the type II family you mention. It is true that we had no children, but, in general, our family grew closer together than before Communism. I think that this was typical of the average family in Hungary.

Communism effected the education of the children. The children at home were taught to lie and instructed what to say and not to say outside the home. The conflict between home and school left the children with no respect for their teachers but it also effected the prestige of the parents at home. In instruction emphasis was placed on Marxism and military sciences. For example, even the students in Budapest Conservatory of Music had eleven hours of Marxism and military science a week.

We had no children of our own, but in my sister's

family I noticed that they were able to provide the same moral education as before the war. Of course, they were not able to give the children all the things they would have ~~received~~ received under normal conditions.

Some families did not succumb to the Communist education of the children because the parents were able to counterbalance the influence of school, and ~~parents~~ took care in ~~the~~ selecting the children with whom their children associated after school.

B. The Communists did their best to abolish the concepts of love. Neither books, plays nor films had any love scenes. The romantic cult of love was abolished and love was degraded to a physiological necessity.

Under communism marriages deteriorated because both husband and wife were compelled to work. Financial problems and ~~the~~ weariness from long working hours made couples more inclined to be irritated and nervous.

Communism did not mind extra-marital relations of Party members before marriage, but were particular about their conduct after marriage.

The parents did not have much influence on courtships, engagements, and marriages. This was probably due to the fact that most children were compelled to earn their own living at an early age and were dependent on their parents.

The changes in courtships and marriages can be attributed to the Communists' desire to have people work and produce more and love less.

Officially prostitution had been banned by the Communists in Hungary, but there was widespread

secret prostitution.

In a certain sense the Communists were very prudish. They did not tolerate pin-up ~~girl~~ girls, or sexy advertisements. But, I think, in general, the Communists by conviction had less inhibitions concerning their sexual life. Being anti-religious, they had no moral authority to govern their actions.

C. It would be extremely difficult to imagine any of my ~~friend~~ friends joining the Communist party, becoming officials, and Communists by convictions. I don't think our friendship could continue under such ~~xxx~~ circumstances. Cases where one is compelled to join the Party without convictions are entirely different. For example, I had one friend who was forced to join the Party and did ~~xx~~ so on the instructions of his confessor.

If, in such cases, a friendship would be broken, the non-Communist would probably be the one to end the friendship. I think it would be impossible to continue the friendship under an agreement that neither one would mix politics into it.

D. Under juvenile delinquency I mean only acts which are considered crimes in all countries. I think that juvenile delinquency increased considerably under Communism. This ~~xxxx~~ must be true of the crime rate in general. However, one is at a disadvantage because the Communist papers did not write much about crimes and therefore it is difficult to say what the crime rate was.

The increase in crime can be attributed to the government's complete disregard for law and order. When a person sees that the government can take away anything from anyone with impunity, one cannot be expected to have respect for the law or the property of others.

I have heard the term 'hooligan' ~~xxxxxx~~ before, but

I do not know exactly what it means.

All my respect goes to the Hungarian jampecs. They can be considered the champions of personal liberty in Hungary. ~~That~~ Their good taste is another question, but they revolted against the large scale interference of the government, even to such questions as how to act or what to dance.

I do not think that the conduct of the jampecs should be termed criminal. Most of the jampecs were young people from 16 to 20. I do not think their parents protested against their conduct. Perhaps they objected to only what their clothes and recreations cost.

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VII. RELIGION

The chief Communist theorist in Hungary openly declared war on religion. The Communists attempted to weaken the influence of religion by closing many seminars and divinity schools by placing the church and church schools under state supervision. It even attempted to weaken the Catholic church by sponsoring a new sect called the Mariovitists, which was basically a national Catholic church independent of Rome. This sect, however, had very few followers and won only ridicule from the public.

All religions were oppressed by the Communists. Priests were imprisoned or forbidden to perform divine rites.

The Catholic church was persecuted the most because it was more dangerous to the Communists due to its ties to Rome. Also, about 80% of Hungary's population was Catholic. The Catholic church was more united and offered stronger resistance to Communism than the other churches.

I do not think that religion was a bulwark against Communism. For this reason I am unable to understand why the Communists took such risk to attack the churches.

B. I think I am more religious than my parents were. There were many people in Hungary who were more religious than I am, or, at least, as ~~religious~~ religious. But, this I cannot say about the general average, despite the fact that the churches were almost always full. Increasing church attendance can be considered a reaction to Communist attempts to suppress the churches.

I say my prayers regularly, go to communion and

confession fairly often, and attend Mass every Sunday and Holydays.

C. Concerning the role of churches in education, I am strongly biased because I attended the gymnasium of Cistercian Monks in Budapest. I have a very high opinion of the secondary schools maintained by the religious orders in Hungary. The same can be said of the Protestant gymnasium in Budapest. I do not know about the other Protestant secondary schools, but I suspect that they were better than the average state schools.

I don't think that the censorship of the churches concerning plays, novels, and films, should be compulsory for everyone.

I do not think that churches in an independent Hungary should play an active political role.

D. Marxism is basically atheistic and is opposed to all churches, Jewish and Catholic alike. The Jewish religion was also effected by the nationalization of church schools, and the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities were also supervised by the state. On one occasion, on the March 15 national holiday, I observed that the Jewish synogogue in Budapest was flying only the Hungarian national flag without the Communist insignia. All other public buildings were decorated with both the Red Communist flag and the Hungarian national flag containing the new Communist insignia.

The attitudes of the Jews toward Communism in Hungary was not unanimous. There were many Jews in top government jobs. On the other hand, I had many Jewish friends who were decidedly opposed to Communism.

I think that the initial attitude of the Jews

toward Communism changed considerably at the time of the nationalization of industries and enterprises. They also experienced that Communism was not the sole guarantee against a repetition of racial persecution. This was true, especially at the time when anti-Semitism broke out in the Soviet Union proper.

Many Jews became members of the Communist party because in the first post-war years they were convinced that the Soviet Union alone had saved them from German extermination. Many Jews were also careerists and opportunists, but this cannot be said of the Jews alone.

The Jews who were not too compromised by Communism were enthusiastic about the revolution. I do not know whether they took part in the fighting, because I, myself, did not. But I saw many Jews at the demonstrations.

I think it is an exaggeration to say that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary. The Jews are afraid of only anti-Semitism. I experienced no trace of anti-Semitism during the revolution.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the young people between 16 and 22.

B. The young people provided the enthusiasm and the irresponsible bravery of the revolution. They acted this way because Communist indoctrination had had no effect on them. They always preferred Western ideals to the ones recommended by the Russians.

It was the Hungarian youth and no other age group which took such an active part in the revolution, because Hungarian tradition expected this of the youth. In 1848 it was the youth again who staged a revolution, that time against the Hapsburgs.

The elder people looked with admiration and surprise at the Hungarian youth during the revolution. Many people had thought that the youth was lost to Communism.

I do not know what the opinion was of the youth in connection of the older people during the revolution.

C. (Not applicable; respondent has no children.)

D. Hungarian youth remained passive all along to Communist attempts to indoctrination. The Communists failed to consider the ~~aggressive~~ ^{progressive} mentality of the Hungarian youth. It is surprising to say that the youth was progressive when the Communists claim this tribute for themselves. But, in reality, Marxist ideology is the most reactionary. It is entirely opposed to modern painting, modern art, modern music etc.

I do not think that the Hungarian youth was ever

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in favor of Communism. Not even in 19 19 and not even
after World War II.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Under the Communist regime I was most dissatisfied with the total absense of the freedom of the press. This also meant a lack of the freedom of criticism. I was also very much annoyed at the restrictions on religious freedom.

B. The industrial workers complained bitterly because of their financial plight. The peasants were embittered because of compulsory crop deliveries and the ruthless collectivization of farms. The intellectuals were dissatisfied with the intellectual and cultural uniformity that Communism demanded.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. DURING the last years of our lives in Communist Hungary, both my wife and I were compelled to work from morning to night to insure the barest necessities of life.

We ate our lunch where we worked. The cafeterias provided cheap lunches, but they were not always tasty nor adequate. At home we ate meat only once a week.

Clothes were our major problem. One was able to buy new clothes only if he sold something which he had from pre-war days or if he embezzled money from the office, or if he received a parcel from friends or relatives living abroad.

We lived in a small apartment consisting of two rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and a small pantry. My mother-in-law lived with us. The apartment was fairly comfortable and not expensive, but we were able to heat only one room in the winter.

We went to the cinema only when we received free passes. It was a luxury to buy a chocolate bar. It was very expensive and we could afford it only rarely.

Our post-war standard of living was so low that it cannot be compared at all to our prewar standard. Before the war I was able to travel, I could afford a car, and to spend summers on Lake Balaton. The only advantage Communism offered was that most people had a deeper spiritual lives.

Our standard of living was the lowest from 1949 to 1953. It improved considerably in the last two years before the revolution. I had a friend who did translations for the Hungarian Academy of

Science from Hungarian into German and French. He and his family lived very well. The wife did not have to work. They were able to go on a two week skiing tour in winter and spend several weeks on Lake Balaton in the summer. They dressed well and were able to entertain their friends. In my estimate this man earned about 10,000 forints a month. It is true, however, that he ~~considered~~ received considerable financial assistance from relatives abroad. They sent him a lot of parcels.

The low standard of living in Hungary during Communism can be attributed to attempts to incorporate Hungary in the Soviet economic system.

B. My average salary in 1956 was 1600 forints per month. From this sum 120 forints were deducted for compulsory government ~~loans~~ loans, and bachelor tax. (Bachelor tax was imposed on couples who had no children, also) I had to pay 14 forints a month for trade union ~~dues~~ dues. I had no secondary source of income.

/Note: It was also a "spinster" tax because girls, women with no children also had to pay it. /

My wife also worked and earned about 900 forints per month.

During the last five years I did have an increase in pay, but this was due not to promotion, but to a change in jobs.

C. We bought most of our food in the state stores. Some little purchasing was done on the free market.

I am unable to tell you anything about the differences in prices and quality because all the purchasing was done either by my mother-in-law or my wife.

I got very little clothes under the Communist system. Most of our clothes were sent to us by relatives living in the United States. Only very little readjustment had to be done, and that was usually done

by a small inexpensive tailor. I did not have to buy any shirts or underclothes, because my father died in 1946 and I inherited his wardrobe.

Very often there were difficulties in supply which could be attributed to the bureaucratic management of the state wholesale stores.

There was no difficulty in obtaining standard spare parts as, for example, bicycle chains.

There was no shortage of commodities. There was rather a shortage of money with which to buy them. Of course, there were such articles as oranges, chocolates, etc. which were either very expensive or not obtainable at all.

In the last five or six years in Hungary there was very little black-marketing. Sometimes the contents of gift parcels from abroad were sold, but these were not really black-market dealings because the prices obtained were much lower than the official prices in the stores.

I do not know anything about the organization of black-markets in Hungary under Communism.

I don't think there was any difference in the quality of the goods available in the black-market.

I don't think that the storekeepers in Hungary dared to demand a higher price for something they sold. However, there was a ~~tendency~~ tendency to link sales. If you wanted to buy butter, the storekeeper would want you to buy something else beside the butter.

When it still existed, black-marketing was dangerous in Hungary. Sentences from five to ten years were not infrequent. Sometimes the police compelled the storekeeper to stand in his store window with a sign, 'I am a black-marketer,' hanging from his neck.

E. For the last two years before the revolution I was employed as a book-keeper by the Council

for Industrial Art. I worked 48 hours a week, usually from 8:30 to 5; I had a thirty minute paid lunchtime. I usually slept eight hours a night. It usually took me 25 to 30 minutes to reach my office by bus. I was satisfied with my job. This was the best job I had in the twelve years under Communism. I was on very good terms with my colleagues and my superiors.

I ~~feel~~ feel I must point out that my job and the circumstances of my work will not give you a general picture of circumstances of employment in Communist Hungary. The entire office consisted of only six employees and our boss. The conditions there in our small office cannot be compared to these in a large ministry or office.

I don't think that the socialized medical service in Hungary functioned any worse than it did under the Horthy regime. The only difference was that before the war one was able to choose his own doctor, but now there is no choice.

The vacation program of the Trade Union Council is a fraud. One has to pay trade union fees all year long in order to get a two-weeks vacation in the summer. One never knows to which health resort or vacation place one is assigned. You spend the two weeks at some hotel or playground without a penny in your pocket. The Communists want you to forget that normally you would not be able to afford such a vacation if the Trade Union Council were not sponsoring it.

Pensions were very low. For example, my mother received a pension of 250 forints a month. Many pensions were stopped in 1949 and 1950. After the first Imre Nagy government they were restored.

E. As I have lived practically all my life in Budapest, I would not like to live anywhere else in Hungary. I think life there is more comfortable and

the standard of living much higher.

The food supply of the small provincial towns was the worst in Hungary. Many things were obtainable in Budapest when there was an acute shortage of them in the provincial towns.

I think that the standard of living is higher in the city.

I think politically it is easier to live in a large city because one is under less supervision there than in the country.

At the time collectivization of farms started in Hungary I was not personally interested in it because I did not have any agricultural property. I approved of the land reform in 1945. It was something that was long overdue in Hungary. But, I am opposed to collectivization of farms. However, I approve of the Danish-type cooperative. The Hungarian farm cooperatives were formed under compulsion. The cooperative members were unable to influence the affairs of the cooperative.

I think that both small and large peasants alike were opposed to farm collectivization in the same way.

I heard of cooperatives being dissolved only after the revolution. Before that there were rumors of them being dissolved, but I do not know the reasons of such measures.

In an independent Hungary the agricultural system should be entirely free with no compulsory crop deliveries and with free marketing of agricultural products. I am opposed to large estates, but middle-sized farms of 200 or 300 yokes would, I think, operate very efficiently. Farm cooperatives should

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be organized along Scandinavian lines and should be
entirely voluntary.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

Before the war I was not much interested in politics, only, perhaps, in foreign affairs. From 1945 to 1948 I was extremely interested in political events at home and abroad, alike. I became a member of the Small Holders' party only after the war. Until the revolution I had been a member of no other political party. I liked the Small Holders' party because, at that time, I considered the Small Holders' to be the strongest and the most likely opponents to Communism.

Nobody in our family had been a member of a political party before the war.

Before 1948 I loathed the Communist party because of the 1918-1919 Communist rule in Hungary. I ~~am~~ consider Bela Kun to be a murderer. I was opposed to the Communist party even during World War II. I did not like the Germans and wanted a Western victory, but I hated and feared the Communists.

B. Many members of the Communist party joined the party because they were dissatisfied with life in general and were inclined toward extremes. This type of people once favored national socialism for the same reason.

Many people became Communist party members after the merger of the Social Democratic and Communist parties. Many ~~of these~~ people became party members because they feared losing their jobs. Others were opportunists and wanted to get ahead. I think originally comparatively few party members were Communists by conviction. And even many of these lost their convictions in time.

Basically, the party policies of the Communist party did not change under the Communist regime.

Only their methods changed. These changes were caused by instructions from Moscow. The changes in Moscow were caused by economic and political exigencies and tactical necessities in the cold war.

People were aware of the differences of opinion within the Communist party itself. By this I mean differences of opinion among the top leadership.

The few Communist by conviction who had faith and confidence in the Party became entirely disillusioned, especially after Stalin's death. Otherwise, it was very difficult to judge party morale. The party did not tolerate any contrary opinions or criticisms. The Communists were taught to recite fervently 'The party is our brains, our honor, our glorious past and happy future.'

I think that the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party accept Marxist ideology and dialectical materialism. They are ~~soviet~~ convinced that Moscow is the Communist Rome. They are entirely blind to progress and changes of views. They are consistent in their dogmatic inflexibility.

The main purpose of the Hungarian Communist top leaders is to turn Hungary into a member state of the Soviet Union. I think they are Communists by conviction who subordinate their individual aims and aspirations to Party interests and ideology. There ~~may~~ may be top Communists who have become disillusioned and lost their conviction, but it is impossible for them to leave the Party.

I think that the top Communist leaders have no

personalities, and if they do it must be suppressed. They are entirely immoral, have no ~~conscience~~ conscience, and, for them, the end justifies the means. I don't think their motives are primarily material. The material advantages which they enjoy in Hungary are commonplace here in the United States or anywhere else outside the Iron Curtain. With a few exceptions, they are stupid and ~~unintelligent~~ unintelligent.

When Hungary is independent, I think that the greatest punishment for the Hungarian Communists would be to expell them to the Soviet Union.

C. There were various forms of resistance under Co munism in Hungary. There was, for example, the 'steal a tool a day' movement. This was not publicized, but was passed on from worker to worker. There were students who were jailed for printing lithograf leaflets against the regime. Very often one would see intentional misprints in the Communist newspapers. Several printers were arrested for such misprints. Many people were arrested on charges of conspiring to overthrow the Communist regime. My brother-in-law was executed presumably on similar charges. One of the engravers of the Hungarian government mint engraved some anti-Communist words on the plates for the government loan bonds. Besides all this, grumbling and complaints were frequent and numerous.

I do not think that such acts of resistance were generally known in Hungary. I am unable to say whether they were effective or not.

I do not know when opposition behavior was strong and weak during the various years of the Communist regime.

I knew of the intellectual ferment started by the Hungarian writers in 1956. Everyone was surprised

at the brave tone of the "Irodalmi Ujsag" published by them.

I heard about the Petofi Circle only in the summer of 1956 at the time when interesting debates were being conducted there. I read about these debates in the 'Irodalmi Ujsag'.

I do not know of any organized intellectual ferment prior to the Petofi Circle.

The Hungarian intellectuals not only expressed the ideas and views of the people, but they also had something new to add: they offered the public socialism on a ~~nationalistic~~ nationalistic basis. I regard the Hungarian intellectuals as the forerunners of the October revolution. Their views and ideas were realistic.

Intellectuals turn against the regime because they have no artistic or literary freedom.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The top ranking officers of the AVH were Moscovites, many of them Jews. The lower echelon consisted of workers and peasants. The non-commissioned officers and men of the AVH were often recruited for this purpose and served there willingly.

I did not know any AVH men, but the husband of one of my colleagues was an AVH officer. The wife was a simple peasant girl, very secretive and silent. She was the chief of personnel in a small enterprise where I had worked years ago.

I do not know of any AVH officers who were dissatisfied with their work, felt pangs of conscience, or wanted to resign.

When Hungary regains her independence, I think it would be best to deport the top AVH officers to the Soviet Union.

Compared to the AVH, the Hungarian Blue police were less formidable. There were reactionary elements on the force, especially among the non-commissioned officers.

The changes which occurred in the Hungarian Blue ~~police~~ police force cannot be attributed to Communism. For example, the modernization of the ~~transportation~~ ^{traffic} section, the changes in uniform and equipment would have taken place regardless of the Communist regime.

It is my impression that the Blue police force under the Communist regime functioned less efficiently than under the Horthy regime. I do not know of any corruption or bribery within the police force.

~~During~~ During the demonstrations and the first stages

of the revolution, the Blue police force behaved completely passive. Later on, they sided with the Freedom Fighters.

B. The courts of the Horthy regime were ~~just~~ just and entirely independent of the regime.

The People's Courts were operating in 1945 to '47. These courts ~~consisted of mostly laymen, tried the war~~ senates, consisting of mostly laymen, tried the war ~~crimes cases.~~ crimes cases. Although the Communists like to accuse the courts of the Horthy regime of class justice, the People's Courts really exercised class justice. Not all of the war criminals were guilty. For example, the execution of Bardossy, the Minister for Foreign Affairs during the war, was very unjust.

C. The greater part of the Hungarian army not only sympathized with the Freedom Fighters, but also fought on their side. In the units which did not fight as a whole on the side of the Freedom Fighters, desertions were very frequent.

I learned about the role of the Hungarian army in the revolution from students and in the Petofi Party.

I do not know of any differences in the behavior of members of the armed forces which could be attributed to geographical, social differences, or to differences of rank.

It is true that some units fought as a whole on the side of the Freedom Fighters, while others did not. This depended entirely on whether there were one or two officers or non-commissioned officers who could influence the others, and direct them.

I was not surprised by the conduct of the Hungarian army during the revolution. I remember that three years before the revolution on one occasion I was

traveling by train in the same compartment with four or five enlisted men who were going home for leave. I was in civilian clothes and they did not know me. One of them gave a big sigh and said, 'If only we could be sitting in a comfortable prisoner-of-war camp.'

(The rest of this sub-section is not applicable as respondent did not serve in Hungarian army during the Communist regime.)

D. I do not think that the events of 1848 prejudiced the Hungarian people against the Russians. The unpopularity of the Soviet troops can be attributed solely to their conduct in 1944 and '45.

Before the Russians came into Hungary, I thought they would receive strict instructions to behave themselves properly in order to win the sympathy of the local population.

I was in Budapest in 1945 when the Russians marched in. The first wave behaved decently because it was busy with the fighting. The Russians who came after that plundered, looted and raped the women. Such conduct on their part continued for months. With my own eyes I saw them do such things and heard credible accounts of their misdeeds from reliable friends.

My unfavorable opinion of the Russian army did not change after 1945, and I am certain that others also regarded them in the same way. Even if the occupation troops were later restricted to their barracks and had orders not to mingle with the Hungarian population, the people-remembering the Soviet army's conduct during the war-were never certain when they would act in the same way again.

I knew that there were Russian army officers in the Hungarian Ministry for Defense and in the Ministry for Heavy Industry, but I had no contact whatever with Russians after 1945. The Russian officers in Hungary were instructed to wear civilian clothes.

I had practically no contact with Russians before, during and after the revolution. I do not know anything about their conduct or their mentality,

E. Sometimes there were officials who were willing to help people in trouble. For example, there was a top official in the Ministry for Education who saved one of my friends from ~~being~~ being fired. The friend, who had a large family, had aristocratic relatives. This official intervened in my friend's behalf voluntarily and probably because my friend had a very large family.

F. It was possible to achieve almost anything in Hungary if one had contact, influential friends, or resorted to bribes. For example, I know of a friend who was able to smuggle out of Hungary thirteen century art treasures by bribing the customs officials. It was possible to use the intervention of friends in getting jobs or to be assigned to a more lucrative job. However, it was impossible to bribe anyone in the AVH or in the Communist party.

I do not know what happened to people or officials giving or accepting bribes. Such things were not published in the papers.

G. I think that the top officers in the AVH were not very intelligent. They were stubbornly consistent and were held under strict discipline.

do
I/~~am~~ not have a very high opinion of the intelligence

top army officers. On one occasion we were being persuaded to accept ranks of reserve officers in the Hungarian Communist army. We were addressed by the most unintelligent officer in the Hungarian army. He must have been a farm hand not long ago. The mere fact that such a man was assigned to address us reflects upon the intelligence of his superiors also.

I have been unable to form an opinion on the intelligence and efficiency of the Soviet army leadership.

In Hungarian public administration there were many intelligent top officials despite the fact that they had comparatively little practice in public administration. Such people as the Minister of Education Jozsef Darvas, and his under-secretary Erno Mihalyfi, were extremely intelligent people.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I think the general trend in European policy is toward a United States of Europe, of which Hungary will also be a member.

For the time being resistance will continue in Hungary. The Communist government will have great difficulty with the industrial workers and their reluctance to work. The Kadar government will last for about a year in all. Who will succeed him will depend largely on the course of world political events. I don't think that Kadar government will revert back to the Stalinist line. Kadar will probably make concessions; minor concessions which will abolish the measures which effect the Hungarian national pride.

The Soviet Union will continue its atomic research and rearmament. It will make concessions and be conciliatory only if she is unable to keep up with The United States in atomic armament and in the economic race.

There is a slight possibility that the Soviet students and other dissatisfied elements will follow the Hungarian example.

War between The ~~Unit~~ United States and the ~~Soviet~~ Union is very possible. It will occur when the United States is willing to undertake such a war. I do not share the worries and concern of the newspapers and statesmen. I am certain that atomic warfare will be abolished completely. Just as in World War II gas was not used, atomic weapons will not be used in World War III. I personally am not in favor of war, but I think that the majority of the people at home, in their bitterness, are willing to risk even the dangers of an atomic war. The

delay in forcing a show-down with the Soviet Union is very dangerous in itself, and it may mean that The United States and the western world will be defeated by the Soviet.

I do not believe that measures other than war will be effective. However, there is some hope that internal changes may occur in the Soviet Union.

B. During the past eight or ten years the people in Hungary were constantly hoping that the Western world would be able, by economic and ~~diplomatic~~ diplomatic pressure, force the Soviet Union to withdraw from satellite countries. Human nature is basically optimistic; there was always something to hope for. There were slight lapses, as, for example, when the Korean War ended in a stalemate. Had we not been constantly optimistic we would have committed suicide long ago.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. I would like to see a true democracy in Hungary, ~~but~~^{with} no restrictions on economic life and with very little guidance from the government in agriculture and industry.

B. I think that Hungary should place emphasis on industry and not agriculture. In a short time, Hungarian agriculture will be unable to support the people of Hungary. A substantial increase in national income can be expected only through the development of industry.

I think that emphasis should be placed on light industry. The raw materials and the resources necessary for the light industry are available in Hungary. But, this ~~xxx~~ does not mean that the entire heavy industry should be dismantled and discontinued. What already exists in Hungary should be continued and developed. I think the Hungarian aluminum and chemical industries have a promising future.

I favor only the nationalization of the key industry, that is the transportation facilities and the iron and steel industry.

All other nationalized enterprises should be placed back into private ownership once Hungary gains her independence.

In an independent Hungary, the farm cooperatives and the government farms should be dissolved. If the Hungarian peasantry wishes to form cooperatives, it should be allowed to do so, but only along Scandinavian lines.

Government owned industries have no competition and for this reason there is a lack in their development. I favor only the nationalization of the transportation facilities and of the heavy industry, but not of the light industry.

In Hungary agricultural restrictions should be abolished. The compulsory delivery of crops has already been abolished by the Kadar regime. The peasants should be allowed to market their crops freely. The government should promote agriculture instructions, research, and animal breeding.

I think the maximum limit of land anyone person or family may own should be established at $\frac{1}{2}$ 200 yokes. This is sufficient to support one family.

If I were to choose between a democracy insuring no acceptable standard of living and a dictatorship with a guaranteed ~~for~~ fair standard of living, I would, without hesitation, choose democracy. In Hungary I did not mind eating meat only once a week, but I missed very much the freedom of the press and opinion.

The outlawing of the Communist party in an independent Hungary would be incompatible with true democracy.

C. The ideal international situation for Hungary would be a neutrality like that of Austria. This bars military alliances with any nation. Ideally Hungary should conduct diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, cultural relations in as much as they do not serve any propaganda purposes, and economic relations, But, on the basis of equality.

The same is true about relations with the neighboring satellite countries.

Hungary should maintain close cultural, economic, and diplomatic ties with The United States and other western European countries.

Once or twice at home we spoke of plans for a federation of the Danubian states, but such ideas are obsolete because a formation of a United States of Europe is more probably. However, I think it would be possible to form a federation of Danubian states and I would accept Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, as members. I would ~~ins~~ insist, however, that Sub-Carpathian ~~and~~ Ukrania, the territory which once belonged to Hungary, should be placed under Hungarian public administration. Czechoslovakia has ceded all rights to this territory to the Soviet Union. This is the only place where the Soviet Union has a foothold in the Great Hungarian Base beyond the Karpathian Mountains.

I think the people at home would welcome the idea of a Danubian federation.

I do not find Hungary's present borders acceptable. I would want Hungary to regain all her territories which she lost after World War II. It would be impossible to regain those lost after World War I. Such territorial changes, however, could be ~~achieved~~ achieved on the basis of peaceful negotiations.

I am very much concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minority in the neighboring countries. There is nothing much that can be done now. If the United Nations has any sub-committee dealing with minorities, the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the bordering countries should be drawn to the attention of this committee.

These problems are very vital for every Hungarian, although at present at home they are outweighed by problems even more urgent and important.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. We heard about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Congress in the Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radios. Some of it leaked out even in the Communist newspapers. At that time, we were overjoyed and hoped that it would mean a change in our lives as well.

At home we heard about Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee. The Hungarian Communist newspapers wrote very sharply about both. From the infuriation of the Communists, we judged that Senator McCarthy and his Committee were doing excellent work.

We heard about Peron's downfall; even the Hungarian newspapers mentioned it. But, we were not much interested in events in far-off So. America.

Before the revolution we had heard rumors about Rakosi's private life. We knew that he was living in a villa in great luxury. The Trade Union presented him with a private swimming pool. The company which I worked for at the time built it. I met his wife several times. Mrs. Rakosi was an ~~amateur~~ amateur artist and received several awards for painting cups and saucers. She came in person to collect the money in the Council of Industrial Arts. The prizes she received never exceeded 2000 to 3000 forints. She always came with a body-guard, a man named Gergely.

(Incidentally, the ~~brother of this man~~ sister of this man, Vilma Gergely has an exclusive millinery shop in Budapest and does much business with the diplomatic corps.) She is a quiet woman who speaks Hungarian with a slight accent. She is very ugly and bow-legged. On one occasion there was a small reception in honor of the winners of the awards.

Mrs. Rakosi was also present. She drank some tea and ate some sandwiches and cakes. After midnight my boss was rudely awakened by the AVH and taken to AVH headquarters for questioning. It turned out that that night Mrs. Rakosi had diarrhea, and the AVH immediately conducted an investigation to determine whether or not she had been poisoned. It turned out that she ~~ate too much~~ had eaten too much.

B. During the past ten years I received most of my information from foreign radio broadcasts and from the Hungarian Communist newspapers. My most important source of information was the foreign radio broadcasts.

C. ~~I~~ I received very little news by word of mouth, mostly accounts of radio broadcasts which I was unable to list~~en~~ to personally.

I received such news by word of mouth from my colleagues and friends. There were persons who were inclined to exaggerate and include some wishful thinking in the news. But, in general, the accounts of foreign radio broadcasts were accurate.

D. Before and during the war I regularly read the two Hungarian dailies, ~~az éjszakai lap~~ 'Pesti Hírlap' and 'Új Nemzedék'. I also subscribed to the Hungarian magazines 'Híd', 'Új Idők', and 'Magyar Nemzet'. I also read many books. At that time I was mostly interested in fiction. I read German and French novels in original. Before the war and in the first stages of the war, I was satisfied with the books which were available at that time. Toward the end of the war there were restrictions which must be considered natural because of the war.

After 1945 I regularly read the 'Szabad Nep' and also the 'Magyar Nemzet'. I also subscribed to two Catholic weekly newspapers, 'Új Ember' and 'Vigilia'

I read the newspapers fairly carefully. I only omitted the Party news. What I read I accepted only conditionally. I was always searching for the purpose behind the article. The question was always 'Why did the Communists write this?' The only thing one could believe unconditionally was the sports news and perhaps the radio program. The Communist newspaper editors had no moral inhibitions. All they cared about was the instructions they received from the Party. What they wrote about events outside of Hungary, especially about the political aims and purposes of the Western states, could not be believed at all.

What I read in the Hungarian newspapers I was able to use as a basis of comparison when I listened to the foreign radio broadcasts. Sometimes we were also able to read in between the lines.

Neither I nor my friends read any publications from the Soviet Union or the satellite countries, including Yugoslavia. Such publications were available in Budapest, at newsstands, but I am not certain about the Yugoslav publications.

Western Communist and Socialist newspapers were available in Hungary. For example, 'Lettres Francaises', 'l'Humanite', 'Volksblatt', 'Daily Worker', and others. Sometimes I purchased and read them. For about six months in 1951 I received regularly 'Die Presse' from friends in Austria by mail.

The only illegal publications which we read in Hungary were manuscripts of anti-Communist poems or novels. These were never printed.

Practically all of the Western best sellers were placed on the index by the Communists. I did not

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bother to check how many of my 1400 books were on the index. There were one or two which I hid, but the others remained on my book stand. We talked about such books with friends. I loaned many of mine to them, and received books from them in turn. The books which had been surrendered to the authorities after the index was published were used for paper manufacturing.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I think there are fairly good chances of an internal change in Russia which may lead to the liberation of Hungary. I think that in the Soviet Union many Soviet citizens are disillusioned with Communism. This I have already experienced during World War II. But, it must not be forgotten that Communism and nationalism in the Soviet are identical. Essentially, the Soviet Union is also a national Communist country.

I think that changes in the Soviet Union will probably occur thru gradual liberation. This will occur in a comparatively short time and still it will not be a revolution.

I think that if free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union there would still remain a strong Communist party, unless other parties would have the opportunity to organize and to campaign. In this case probably the Social Democratic party would come top power.

I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Union are the personifications of Pan-Slav imperialism. Their aim is to dominate the world. The Soviet Communist leaders are trying to achieve today what Peter the Great tried to do in the 16th century.

I do not know what they are like as individuals. Their persons are surrounded by so much propaganda that it is hardly possible to outline the person himself. For example, on the basis of what I heard and read I formed an entirely false picture of Stalin.

The only difference between the Russian and Hungarian Communist leadership is that the Russians are patriots, whereas the Hungarian Communists are closer to Marxism than the Russians themselves.

Of the countries listed Poland is the most popular, and East Germany second most. Poland is popular because Polish-Hungarian friendship is traditional. East Germany is popular because of its high culture. The least popular of the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ Czechs and the Rumanians, because of their treatment of Hungarian minorities.

If free elections were to be held in these countries, Communism would be overthrown in all, with the possible exception of Yugoslavia. There Communism and nationalism are linked so strongly together it would be almost impossible to say whether Tito would remain or be defeated.

Of the countries mentioned, I think that East Germany has the highest standard of living with Czechoslovakia second. Rumania and Bulgaria have the two lowest standards of living.

C. I think that the only reason why a drastic change has not occurred in Poland is the present Polish-German boundary. The Poles are afraid of the Germans and this is why they have not swept away Gomulka and his government.

I have a very good opinion of Gomulka. I think that in a similar situation Gomulka would behave exactly as Imre Nagy behaved. I approve of his policy of gradualism.

Since my departure from Hungary my impression is that Gomulka has suffered a considerable set back. He is forced to tow the Moscow line more than before.

There is no question that events in Poland had a decisive effects on events in Hungary. The riots in Poznan occurred at the time of the 20th Congress. For this reason the entire incident was handled very carefully. It was an example later to be followed by the Hungarians.

During the revolution I was disillusioned because I thought that the Poles would follow suit and attack the Russians.

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I think that even/Gomulka's rise to power/ there was considerably more freedom in Poland than in Hungary. One must not forget that Poland was treated as a victorious nation by the Soviet Union after World War II. She had a positive advantage over Hungary there. The presence of Soviet troops in Poland formally meant something else than in Hungary. I think that the Poles had more religious freedom all along than the Hungarians had.

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I was able to piece together/the situation in Poland on the basis of what I read in the Communist press and what I heard over foreign radios.

I still think that Hungary has gained more by the revolution. Hungary has rendered a greater service to the world because the Hungarian example served to turn public opinion everywhere against the Soviet Union. It has won considerable fame for Hungary everywhere abroad.

D. Tito and Yugoslavia have a small influence on ~~the~~ eastern Europe and Hungary.

I do not consider Tito the originator of national Communism. Basically, Hitler's national socialism was national Communism. Also, Communism in Moscow is national Communism.

National Communism can exist in Yugoslavia if Tito is able to keep patriotism at an intensely high level. Patriotism and nationalism are getting out of fashion in Europe. For this reason I think that national Communism can only be a temporary solution.

Tito is very fortunate that he has no direct frontiers with the Soviet Union. In this way he can be more independent of Soviet brand Communism. Otherwise the relations between the Soviet Union and

Tito are always influenced by political exigencies. The Soviet Union did its best to patch up differences with ~~Txx~~ Tito. The Soviet policy also determines Tito's relations to the other satellite countries.

I think that both Tito and the West are trying to get the advantage of the other. Tito's attitude toward the Hungarian revolution was very admirable. He not only scorned and criticized the ^Aussians/ in their attack on Hungary, but he also gave refuge to Imre Nagy and to thousands of Hungarian refugees.

I think that about 35% to 40% of the people in Yugoslavia support Tito. They do so not out of Communist convictions, but for nationalistic reasons. My impression of Yugoslavia is that conditions there ~~are~~ are much worse than in Hungary, but at least there is no ~~suppression~~ suppression of nationalism. The Yugoslavs are probably proud that their country has become a great power.

I formed my opinion on conditions in Yugoslavia from the radio and newspapers. I also had friends who fled from Yugoslavia and wrote to me from Abyssinia.

I think that the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt was justified. Nasser did not have any right to nationalize the Suez Canal. Regrettably, events in Egypt had a tragic effect on the outcome of the revolution in Hungary. The Suez crisis served to distract the attention of the Western world. ~~But for the Egypt~~ But for the Egypt crisis the Soviet would have behaved differently in Hungary.

F. I think that the standard of living in West Germany is very ~~g~~ high.

I do not think that the Germans are dangerous and will provoke a ~~that~~ third world war.

I approve of German rearmament. The Germans are very good soldiers and there is no question of their feelings toward the Soviet Union.

I do not think that the West German armed forces are stronger or as strong as either the French or British armed forces. The length of military service in West Germany is probably two years.

There is no question that the Russian occupation of Hungary was more unpopular than the German occupation during World War II. The Germans are cultured people and both their officers and ~~men~~ men behaved much better and were well disciplined. The only persons who regard the two occupations differently are the Jews. This can be explained by the fact that the Russians freed them from extermination.

G. I was very glad to hear that NATO had been formed. I think it is necessary to curb Russian expansion in Europe. The Warsaw Pact was the Russian answer to NATO. However, it must not be forgotten that there is a basic difference between the two because the Russians are virtually occupying the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

I sympathize with the British Labor Party. It ~~is~~ is the prototype of the Social Democratic party.

I think that West Germany has the highest standard of living, Great ~~Brit~~ Britain second, Italy third, Greece fourth, Egypt fifth and Soviet Union sixth.

H. On my arrival to the United States I was impressed by the great number of cars and the dense traffic everywhere.

I am very dissatisfied with the United States foreign policy in connection with eastern Europe. The U.S. government should not let the Soviet obliterate the Hungarian revolution from the pages of history. The U.S. government should

compel the Russian government to answer before the United Nations for the violation of the peace treaty.

I think that the United States government should give loans to Poland and Yugoslavia. But, America should not recognize the Kadar government, nor give him any economic aid.

I have been in the U.S. only two weeks and my views on these ~~xxx~~ questions have not changed.

I think that the people at home would like to see more Western visitors, if for no other reason than to complain to them. I have no ~~xxxxx~~ special choice in visitors. The Western visitors should ~~be~~ be told to be aware of the special guides assigned to them by the Communist government.

The people at home would most certainly like to see more publications. However, I do not think that the Kadar government would permit the sending of Western publications to Hungary by post. The only possible solution is to send these publications to the Western legations in Budapest and have them distribute them either by mail or displaying them in the reading rooms, which they maintain. I think it would be a good idea to have recent refugees associated with such activities as the instructing of prospective Western visitors to Hungary and the sending of publications. The people of Hungary would realize that the refugees had not forgotten them.

The purpose of the Marshall Plan was to curb expansion. Communism can thrive only in poverty and want. For this reason the United States, through the Marshall Plan, wanted to help the disrupted economies of war-torn Europe. I do not know of any political conditions attached to Marshall loan grants.

The United States became involved in the Korean

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War because ~~strategically~~ strategetically it was important to stop the Communists from occupying the entire Korean peninsula. Since the Hungarian revolution, I do not believe that the U.S. at the time had any idealistic motives.

J. As long as the United Nations lacks the physical means of asserting its will there can be no hope of settling differences of East and West peacefully thru the U.N.

In 1956 the United Nations should have taken the same action on Hungary that it took on the Suez. The UN should have sent an international police force to Hungary to maintain order.

I do not see any possibilities for effective UN action on Hungary in the near future.

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XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED
PERSONALITIES

A. THIS is a very difficult question to answer, but I think that probably Karoly Rassay is best qualified for the ~~title~~ title of the greatest living Hungarian.

B. Since ~~in~~ November 4 I consider Imre Nagy an honest Hungarian and patriot.

Cardinal Mydzenty is a strong character, brave and has been exposed to brutal torture by the Communists. But, he's not a good politician.

Lazlo Rajk is a scoundral.

Erno Gero is another scoundral.

Janos Kadar is also a scoundral, but I doubt if he is normal.

I do not know anything aboutt General Kiraly. At home no one knew of him.

Anna Kathly is a well intentioned Social Democratic leader.

I have great respect and admiration for President Eisenhower. He was the symbol of our liberation. We were not interested in his other qualities.

Secretary-General Hammarskjold is a capable diplomat, but I am unable to understand his conduct in connection with the Hungarian situation.

Secretary of State Dulles is very sympathetic. His anti-Soviet policy and sentiment are dear to everyone.

I did not like Prime Minister Eden because in the 30's as foreign secretary he was against Hungary.

My opinion of President Truman is the same as of President Eisenhower.

My opinion of these statesmen have not changed in the two weeks I've been in America.

Mikoyan is a politbureau member who had been dropped from power because of his willingness to grant more concessions at home and to the West.

Nehru has regard only for his country.

I hope that Generalissimo Chiang kai Shek will be able to oust the Communists from China.

Ferenc Nagy is a sympathetic politician. I do not think that he could have acted other than how he did.

President Roosevelt's foreign policy is the cause of the Soviet's penetration of Europe.

I have a very high regard for Chancellor Adenauer. He is a prominent scientist and an excellent statesman.

Stalin was a merciless hangman, but no statesman.

I have no opinion at all about Molotov.

Generalissimo Franco has ousted the Communist from Spain. ~~xxxxxx~~

I do not know much about Bevan. He is one of the leaders of the British Labor Party.

Khrushchev is a capable and skillful statesman.

Malenkov is a Stalinist.

Ollenhauer, I think, will not differ with Adenauer on vitally important issues.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of our time. He is the chief ideologist of the Western world.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AID EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The refugees who left Hungary during and after the October revolution can be divided into two large ~~the~~ classes: Those who left for political reasons, and those who left for economic reasons.

The Freedom Fighters and soldiers who took part in the revolution fled Hungary for their lives. The same is true for the people who took an active part in the demonstrations or helped to create the intellectual ferment which led to the revolution.

The people who left Hungary for economic reasons are those who were unable to support themselves and their families in Hungary, who saw the future entirely hopeless, and who had planned to leave years ago but did not have the chance.

Most ~~th~~ of the refugees come from the TransDanubian districts from along the Hungarian-Austrian ~~border~~ border. After that, most ~~of~~ of them come from Budapest and some from the district of Miskolc. Most of the refugees are peasants, many middle-class persons, and few industrial workers. The vast majority are young people. I think that both sexes are equally represented.

The persons who stayed at home were either too old to come or had to remain for family reasons, that is, they had friends or relatives they had to support and were unable to take with them, had young children, or expectant mothers, etc. I am very sorry for the people who remained at home. On the other hand, it is good that some of them remained, because the refugees who left Hungary may never return home again.

I knew people who had the chance to come West, but did not do so because they were Communists.

I think that the people who at home envy us. They regret that they did not have the courage to risk fleeing to the West.

For emotional reasons such as patriotism, homesickness, etc. I think that only 40%-50% of the people there would leave Hungary, if everyone were permitted to do so.

B. At home we knew that such Hungarian politicians as Tibor Eckhardt, Miklos Kalley, Bela Fabian, Ferenc Nagy were in the U.S. and were active. We also heard that they had formed a sort of Hungarian government in exile under the name of Hungarian National Council. Its chairman is Bela Varga. But, we did not know much about them nor their activities. We only knew that they existed.

Since my arrival in the U.S. I have had no contact whatever with exile politicians or political organizations.

At home I knew that Bela Varge was a priest, a one-time member of the Hungarian parliament, and chairman of the house.

Tibor Eckhardt was an oppositionary politician under the Horthy regime. He is a very good patriot and an intelligent person and a clever politician.

Paul Auer was a member of parliament and later the Hungarian Minister to France. He was a lawyer in Budapest and I very much enjoyed the political articles he wrote in the newspapers.

Charles Peyor was the Hungarian Bevan in the Social Democratic party.

I have great respect for Miklos Kalley who, as Prime Minister of Hungary, did his best to evade the Germans.

Zoltan Pfeiffer and Istvan Barankovics are right-wing politicians who opposed the Communists in 1948. I have an especially high regard for Barankovics.

Bela Fabian was an old member of the Hungarian parliament. He was very popular at home.

Governor Horthy was a brave man, a gentleman, but not a statesman. He was very opposed to the Germans.

I think that the political exiles who came to the West before 1956 tried to influence the Western government in favor of the Hungarian problem. Perhaps they ~~may~~ were able to achieve something, but under the existing conditions, I don't think there was much they could have done. ~~I think that the~~
~~political exiles who came to the West before 1956~~

I did not think of the Hungarian exiles during the revolution.

C. I have not known anyone personally who left ~~the~~ Hungary after 1945 and later returned. I think that purpose of the Communist redefection campaign was to get propaganda material to be used both abroad and at home. The Communists wanted to show the Western world that people are happier in Hungary than abroad, and they also wanted to show the people at home that life in Hungary is better because everyone is returning.

The people at home consider those who returned to be entirely misled and to be pitied.

D. I think the people at home should know how the exiles are faring and that the exiles have not been disappointed by what they found in the West. I think that every exile should now try to earn his living and to tell the American public what Communism is really like, and what caused the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution.

I would like to join an exile organization, but perhaps later on. I would not mind if exiles who left Hungary before us were also members of this organization.

Before 1948 I sympathized with the Hungarian Small Holders' party.

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

I knew that political parties were being revived during the revolution. I also took part in the revival of the Hungarian Peasant party, which was then called the Petofi party. I approved of the activities of the Hungarian political parties during the revolution. It was necessary to prepare the free elections and ~~the~~ form a government which truly represented the people.

During the revolution there was no possibility of the Hungarian exile politicians returning home. They should have returned later and if the revolution had succeeded.

E. I wish to return to Hungary only if Communism is overthrown. Until then I want my children to learn Hungarian in the U.S.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. While I was in Hungary I listened regularly to the Hungarian broadcasts of the B.B.C., the R.F.E., the V.O.A., and the French radio. Reception was best for the BBC programs. All programs were jammed, especially the Voice of America. I also sometimes listened to the German programs of these radios. I listened to the almost every day. I discussed them with my friends and they ~~informed~~ informed me of the news whenever I was unable to listen.

I listened to these broadcasts on my own radio in the company of my family. We were careful to lock doors and windows.

It was dangerous to listen to foreign broadcasts or to talk about them. Listening itself was not considered a crime, but it would aroused the suspicions of the authorities and sometimes one was likely to lose his job. I do not think this deterred many people from listening to ~~foreign~~ foreign radio broadcasts. Perhaps it deterred them only from speaking about them. I do not know of any changes in this respect, however, the few months before the revolution everyone listened to them openly.

These broadcasts were very useful because they spread hope among the people at home. I preferred the BBC programs because they were less biased and more impartial. Also, because reception was better. The Hungarian news of Radio Free Europe was sometimes very surprisingly accurate and sometimes very inaccurate. London radio broadcasted mostly events which occurred outside Hungary. Its commentaries on Hungarian events were, however, very interesting.

It was impossible to determine the accuracy of these broadcasts. One could judge only the tone of them.

During the revolution everyone clung to his radio and listened to foreign broadcasting stations.

Many people were informed of events at home thru only Radio Free Europe and other broadcasting stations.

I do not believe that Radio Free Europe and other foreign radios helped to incite the Hungarians by promising Western help. I, myself, never heard such promises made.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue its Hungarian programs into Hungary. These programs are useful and helped to inform the people at home.

I think that the most important would be to broadcast programs of straight political and economic news and programs about life in Europe and in U.S. This in itself would be sufficient propaganda against the Communists.

B. I have never heard of the initials N.E.M., nor have I read or heard about the Twelve Demands.

C. I saw an illegal leaflet shortly before the revolution. I do not know whether it was sent by Free Europe or not, nor do I remember the contents of the leaflet. I received it from a friend who picked it up in Budapest. I was ~~unable~~ unable to pass it on because I had to return it to the person who had shown it to me.

I have heard about Free Europe leaflets but they did not come into Hungary in sufficient number to have any great effect. I heard about these leaflets from friends, also, sometimes, the Hungarian newspapers and radio complained about the U.S. sending leaflets into Hungary with the aid of balloons.

I think that the risk involved in picking up leaflets, keeping them, or talking about them is much greater than to listen or talk about radio broadcasts. I think that this danger did not deter people from picking leaflets up, but it

kept them from passing them on or talking about them. I do not know of any change in this respect during the last ten years.

I don't think that the Free Europe leaflets played any significant role in Hungary. Too few leaflets on too few occasions have been sent to Hungary. However, I consider sending such leaflets to Hungary useful, because everything is useful which helped to keep up the morale of the people and strengthens resistance to Communism.

I do not know of any special role the leaflets played in the Hungarian revolution.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue dropping leaflets into Hungary, if for no other reason than to exasperate the Communists.

I think that in these leaflets the intentions of the Communists, the Soviet exploitation of Hungary should be stressed, and they should also contain ^{advice} on how to conduct sabotage.

D. I think that the purpose of all broadcasting ~~stations~~ corporations and radio stations is to inform the people behind the Iron Curtain about what is happening in the world, and to strengthen their resistance to Communists.

I do not know of any differences in the intentions of the various broadcasting organizations.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important things that a child should be taught are to be honest, to be religious, to be a patriot, and to have respect for other people.

I think that all children should be disciplined, however physical punishment is permissible only at a very early age when a child is unable to listen to reason.

I think there should be a difference between the disciplining of boys and that of girls. Boys must be dealt with more vigorously, the girls are more sensitive by nature.

As the children grow older, I think that their disciplining should be based on logic and reason.

I was ten years old when I went to play football, took off my coat and forgot about it. The coat disappeared. When I went home, I was spanked by my father.

I don't think the punishment of the children in the family is assigned to any one parent ~~any~~ alone. I think that both parents punish the children depending on which one catches them first. I don't think the sex, age, or social class of the child has anything to do with which parent punishes him. Parental punishment under Communism has probably become less frequent due to the fact that both parents were compelled to work and had less time for their family ~~xxx~~.

I think that physical punishment for boys is abandoned at the age of 12, for girls at the age of 10. But, sometimes even a sixteen year old boy will get a slap from his father or mother.

Punishment, in general, for both boys and girls is

abandoned at the age of seventeen.

I think that among the peasants and industrial workers parental punishment is abandoned sooner than in the middle class or intelligentsia.

I don't think Communism has brought any changes in the kind of punishment or at the age at which it is ~~abandoned~~ abandoned.

I don't think the way children are punished in school changed much under Communism. There may have been less physical punishment in the schools, but it was not entirely abolished.

Characteristic traits which I value most in a friend are loyalty, identity of views and principles, reliability.

T H E E N D