

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTIONS

A. Both the US government and the US public, in general, know much about the Hungarian revolution, but it must be emphasized that the Hungarian revolution was not caused by outside influence. It is the natural consequence of Hungarian economic and political conditions.

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

A. & B. On the evening of October 22, I was in Csongrad. I went to a friend's to listen to the radio. Over the radio, we heard Gero's speech. The old Party line with which he began his speech irritated me so much that I turned the radio off and went home.

The next morning, the radio announced that the revolution had broken out in Budapest. This I learned from a friend. My first reaction was to go immediately to Budapest. Then, however, Imre Nagy announced a state of martial law. My friends and I decided to wait a few days and see what happened. By Thursday/night, we saw that nobody cared a damn about martial law and three friends and I decided to go to Budapest by the night train. At the railroad station, however, the Blue policemen were asking everyone for identification cards. One had to give an acceptable reason to travel. Fearing that we would be arrested, my friends and I decided not to go.

The next day, that was October 26, the young people of Csongrad were organized a demonstration. We staged this demonstration with the assistance of the Csongrad gymnasium students. Csongrad is a town of about 26,000 inhabitants. The entire town was out on the streets to see the demonstration. Almost everyone joined with great enthusiasm. We placed wreaths on the Kossut monument, tore down the Russian monument and removed the Red flags from the premises of the local Communist Party headquarters. A few prominent Communists of the town were beaten up.

On Saturday, October 27, we staged a second demonstration. The crowd flocked to the City Hall and there, to the great delight of everyone, the records concerning the compulsory surrendering of agricultural produce were destroyed.

The next day, Sunday, the 28th, the revived Small Holders Party held its first meeting in Csongrad. The radio announced that the fighting had stopped in Budapest and that the Russians were withdrawing their troops from the capital. Everyone was confident that the revolution had won and a new era would start in Hungary.

During the demonstrations, none of us was afraid. No one thought of repercussions. We were confident that the revolution would win. When the army was ordered out to disperse the demonstrators, we went and talked to the soldiers. We told them to be

ashamed of themselves for pointing arms at Hungarian brothers. They finally decided to join us. We were in constant contact with the neighboring towns and cities and knew that the whole country-side was on the side of the revolution.

After the demonstrations which I mentioned we accepted the 16 points drawn up by the Budapest University students. These were the concessions which we demanded from the government. At that time nothing less than what was contained in the 16 points would have satisfied us.

The ~~majority~~ majority of the demonstrators were young people. The intellectuals among the demonstrators were comparatively few. There were more men than women. All age groups were ~~repre-~~ represented. Even 60 year old men and women were among the demonstrators.

We were in constant touch with the neighboring cities and the young people there. We agreed with them that we too would organize demonstrations in our town, but there was no central organization, nor any central leadership at the time of the demonstrations. The whole thing occurred spontaneously.

In our town there was practically no fighting during the entire revolution. The army which was sent out to curb the ~~demonstrators~~ demonstrators joined them.

Some of the slogans which the crowd shouted were: "Long live the people of Budapest.", "Russkies go home.", "Hang Rakosi and Gero." "Long live Polish-Hungarian Friendship."

On October 28 it was decided to abolish the Blue police in Csongrad. In its place a state militia was formed. Most of the ~~militia~~ militia men were young people, students, and workers, also. We received the arms from the army.

That day the ex-mayor of the town who was ousted by the Communists was placed back in office. He was to give a speech in the afternoon in front of the City Hall. The speech was originally ~~scheduled~~ scheduled for 3 p.m., but fortunately it was delayed until 6 p.m. From the Kecskemet airfield a Hungarian jet fighter came and machine-gunned the square in front of the City Hall. Fortunately few people were in the streets at that time, and those who were there were able to seek cover in gate-ways. It seems that the Communists had gotten wind of the fact that a large-scale meeting was to be held that day and had sent this plane to shoot at the ~~crowd~~ crowd. After the plane had fired several rounds of ammunition it turned around and wanted to fly back in the direction of Kecskemet. For some unknown reason the plane went up in flames and crashed. A closer examination of the plane revealed that it had two pilots, an Hungarian and a Russian.

The Revolutionary Council of the ~~KMMKX~~ town was formed the previous day. Some 30 members were elected to this council. The representatives of the intelligentsia, previous ousted officials, peasants, industrial workers, tradesmen, and also of the army were there, and they elected the ~~KX~~ Revolutionary Council.

There were very few A.V.O. officers in the town. When the demonstrations of the revolution started in Budapest they disappeared. This way there was no fighting whatsoever in Csongrad.

C. On November 4 we heard over the radio that the Russian troops were returning and had started a new attack on Budapest. This news created a great indignation in our city. The entire civilian population went to the barracks of the technical troops stationed in Csongrad demanding arms. Everyone was there from ~~x~~ teen-age boys to a 72 year old man. By noon all the arms and ammunition were distributed. The soldiers decided to lay mine-fields on order to protect the town against a Russian attack.

When they saw that the entire civilian population was being given arms some of the women began to fear for the lives of their husbands and sons. A large ~~xxx~~ number of the women ~~xxx~~ went to the City Hall and demanded that the Revolutionary Council stop the issuing of arms. Under their pressure the Council decided to show no opposition to the Russians if they came to our city.

The population was disgusted by the resolution adopted by the Council. A great confusion arose. No one knew what to do. At the barracks there was no one to take command. As a result the soldiers began throwing away their arms and equipment and started off for home. The civilians followed suit, but many of them took home the arms and ammunition they had received.

Two or three days later a Soviet tank and armored car patrolled the streets of our town and then left. Everything was quiet. The National Guard was still functioning. It was carrying out the work of the Blue police which had been dissolved.

On November 8 we heard that fighting was still going on in ~~x~~. Two friends and I decided to go by bicycle to ~~x~~ and take part in the fighting. On the highway we met bands of disorganized Hungarian soldiers who said they were returning from Budapest. They told us what happened in the Capitol; how the Russians tricked the Hungarian troops into negotiating with them, and attacked ~~xx~~ the troops while

the Hungarian commanders were negotiating with the Russians. They told us that the Russians had gained control of the city and that further fighting was useless. On hearing this news we turned back and went home.

For days we sat beside the radio waiting to hear what would happen. On November 16 I talked the situation over with a doctor friend who advised me to leave the country because of my participation in organizing the demonstrations in Csongrad. I immediately started off on my bicycle that day. I went thru Kecsemet to Dunafoldvar and Zalaegerszeg. I reached the Tisza River on November 22 where I gave my bicycle to a peasant who took me across the river in his rowboat. Two hours later I was in Austria.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

Before November 4 I did not think help from the West was necessary. Only when the re-invasion of Hungary started on November 4 were we in need of Western aid. We expected the United Nations to send paratroopers to Hungary, but perhaps even the presence of United Nations observers would have kept the Russians from returning to Budapest. To send paratroopers to Hungary would have been the only solution. Yugoslavia is Communist and Austria is neutral.

We were also exasperated by the inactivity of the students in Czechoslovakia, and especially in Riaz Poland and Eastern Germany. Had they, too, started their revolutions our own revolution would have been a success.

We expected the West to help Hungary militarily because the West is against Communism and this was an unequalled opportunity to deal World Communism a deadly blow.

From October 23 up to my arrival in Austria I did not meet any Western newspapermen, diplomats, or Western citizens.

Although the revolution had been suppressed and Hungary has suffered heavy losses, nevertheless Hungary had still gained by the revolution. Hungary has shown to the entire world that she does not want Communism and the people at home are more united.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. Before entering the war my father was a peasant who farmed on eight cadastral yokes of his own land. They also owned a small house of two rooms and a kitchen. After the war my father was not forced to join the cooperative and he is farming on his own land even today. Both of my parents have completed only six years of grade school.

B. The ~~xxx~~ three social classes in Hungary are the peasantry, the industrial workers, and the intelligentsia. The small tradesmen and craftsmen should be grouped with the industrial workers. Everyone who has secondary education or is doing intellectual work should be considered a member of the intelligentsia.

I had close contact with the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and somewhat less contact with the industrial workers.

The Hungarian peasantry is not as united as the industrial workers are. In general the Hungarian peasant is very industrious, good, honest, and very conscientious. They are also very dirty.

The Hungarian industrial workers are more united than the peasants. As people they are about the same as the peasants with the exception that they probably have more schooling, or are better ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ informed on politics and world affairs.

The intelligentsia is the smallest, ~~xxxxxx~~ yet the most divided, class in Hungary. As people they vary according to the individual. As a class they probably have the least backbone.

I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia.

Before the revolution the Hungarian peasantry was the hardest hit by Communism. They were either forced to join farm cooperatives or, if they remained individual farmers, practically all of their farm products had to be given up because of the compulsory surrender of crops and farm products. But since the revolution I think the industrial workers in Hungary are much worse off than the farmers are, because of the heavy damages suffered by many industrial plants and factories. Because of the general disruption of industry in Hungary caused by the revolution, I think that many of the industrial workers now have no jobs.

C. I think, at for a time, the Hungarian industrial workers were more inclined to believe the doctrines of Communism. Then, they probably were inclined to consider the peasants and their respect for private ownership as obstacles to the achievement of Communism. But later the industrial workers realized what a great fraud Communism was and then they became reconciled with the peasantry.

The Hungarian peasantry was sorry to see that the industrial workers were being misled by the Communists. However, they held no feelings against them. The peasants, in general, were also at peace with the intellectuals. The only exception to this were the officials who were in charge of the compulsory surrendering of farm products.

It is very difficult to give a general description of the intelligentsia to the industrial workers and peasants. Such attitudes always depend on the individual. The barriers and distinctions between the intellectuals as a class and the other classes were not so sharp and distinct as before.

D. To get ahead in Communist Hungary one had to speak the language of the Communist Party. Education, talent, and even class origin were of no avail ~~if~~ if one was unable to ~~give~~ give the Communist answers to the Communist ~~questions~~ questions. A change in this respect took place during the first Nagy Imre cabinet. At that time somewhat more emphasis was placed on talent and knowledge, but political indoctrination was important even then.

As an individual the person the most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary is a man without principles and without convictions. Such a person can adjust himself to any ~~political~~ political regime or situation.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism did have a strong effect on family life in Hungary. Many tragedies in family life can be led back to the fact that the mothers were also compelled to work. Looser morals and more divorces were the results. Children were brought up in day nurseries and schools. This provided the Communists a good opportunity to start the indoctrination of the children very early. The education of the children was taken entirely out of the hands of the parents.

B. The education of the children in the state schools was not satisfactory. They lacked the moral examples needed to form their characters. For a long time religion as a subject was abolished in the state schools. Later it became non-compulsory. Under Communism the extent to which a child obeyed or disobeyed his parents depended largely on what kind of education he received at home. This varied according to individual families. In general, however, the children enjoyed much more freedom than before. Perhaps there was more disobedience among the children of the industrial workers. With both parents working the children were left to themselves.

C. I don't think, under Communism, there was much difference in the way young people met, or in courtship. In general, the way to meet people of the opposite sex was to be introduced by mutual friends. Married life, however, was affected by the fact that both husband and wife usually had to work. Marriages were taken somewhat less seriously and divorces were much easier. Extra-marital sexual relations were probably more frequent due to the fact that the Communists abolished prostitution. The number of illegitimate children increased considerably. Contraceptives were available, but few people used them. Just before the revolution abortions were again permitted in cases where the mother had already at least three children.

Prostitution was officially abolished in 1950. Secret prostitution flourished in its place.

The official attitude of the Communist Party in Hungary on sexual matters is summed up in their doctrine of "Communist Morality". Communist party-members were told to conduct their sexual life in such a way as not to scandalize others. Extra-marital sexual relations were frowned upon.

D. If a good friend of mine were to join the Communist Party and become a party secretary the friendship would cease immediately. I would be the one to terminate this friendship. To continue such a friendship without mixing politics into it would be impossible. For example, there was a very

good-looking girl in Csongrad. I wanted very much to be introduced to her. Later I found out that she was a Communist party member, although not a Communist by conviction. I immediately lost interest in her.

E. I don't think that the number of common crimes increased under Communism. Most of the previous criminals became party members and officials. They did not have time for crime.

I believe that under Communism alcoholism declined sharply. Sometimes it was very difficult to purchase alcohol or wine. Wines and liquors were so expensive that you could not buy them even if you found a place where they were obtainable.

I do not remember reading anything in the ~~any~~ newspapers about juvenile delinquency or loafing. I do remember the papers writing about the so-called "Gampac". This was the name given to the members of the young set who imitated Western fashions in clothes and dancing. Young people from 16 to 21 in this set were usually from workers families. They weren't necessarily loafers. I don't think the parents were very pleased by the conduct of such youngsters.

VII RELIGION

A. In my opinion Communist rule did have a deep ~~infl~~ influence on religious life in Hungary. The Communist said that there was religious freedom in Hungary. On the other hand workers and officials were under observation to see which of them went to church and which did not. Those who were seen attending church regularly were often fired from their jobs for this reason. They did not make the same effort to dissuade the peasantry from going to church as they did with the industrial workers and intelligentsia.

The Roman Catholic church was the hardest hit by the Communists because it offered the greatest opposition to Communism in Hungary. I do not know the effect Communism had on the Protestant religion, but I have heard that Protestant priests were also arrested by the communists. I do not know anything about the effects on the Jewish religion. So few Jews were left in Csongrad after 1 45 that the synagogue was not reopened.

B. I think that religion plays a much more important part in my life than it did in the lives of my parents. I think I am ~~was~~ more religious than the people, in general, in Hungary. I go to ~~xxxx~~ church regularly and to confession and communion once a week.

C. I think that church should play an important part in the education of children. Church schools should be allowed to operate. The teaching of religion should be compulsory in all schools.

I think the opinion of the church should be heard in such matters as the censorship of books, films, and plays. Primarily, it is the duty of the church to set and safeguard moral codes. Books and plays can have a very detrimental effect on the morals, especially of the younger generation.

I do not think that it would be good for the church to take an active part in politics in an independent Hungary.

D. I do not think that the Jewish religion had been hurt by Communism. Bokosi, himself, and about 80% of the top Communists in Hungary are Jews. I do not think they would harm or hurt their own religion.

I do not think that the Hungarian Jews, in general, liked Communism because it is opposed to private ownership and free enterprise. There may have been Jews who foresaw the end of free enterprise in Hungary and joined the Communist party in order to get themselves good jobs. I do not know how many Jews were Communists in Hungary. In Csongrad there were very few Jews, but some of them were top Communists. One of them was the director of a local textile factory. He was a close relative of Gero. During the demonstration the workers beat him and kicked him. He was forced to flee from the city. In his house we found three large bookcases filled with Communist books. A vast majority of these books had not been read. Their pages were not even cut.

I think that only those Jews who were top Communists have anything to fear from a new Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. I think the Hungarian youth includes all young people from 15 to 25.

B. I agree that the Hungarian youth took the initiative in the demonstrations in the out-break of the revolution. But during the revolution itself the leadership went over to the hands of industrial workers, experienced political workers, and army officers. After November 4, I think the industrial work workers played the major role in the revolution.

After the Pozan trials and the unrest of the Czechoslovakian university students, the students in Hungary gave vent to their dissatisfaction openly. The demonstrations were organized by the students. The Hungarian student played an important but not leading role in the fighting.

The Hungarian Communists thought they had less to fear from the students. For this reason the students were able to conduct ~~at~~ political meetings, debates, etc. with greater success than the older generation could have done.

During the revolution the older people had great admiration for the Hungarian youth. It had been feared that the youth had been exposed to too much Communist indoctrination and had been lost. The revolution proved the opposite to this, much to the surprise of all.

C. One of the greatest deficiencies in the educational system in Hungary during the last 10 years was that too much time was lost in such unnecessary subjects as political indoctrination and the Russian language. Russian was the only foreign language taught as a compulsory subject. Other foreign languages could be taught only voluntarily and the grades received did not effect the average grade of the student.

I graduated from the gymnasium in Csongrad in 1953. I began my studies at the Szeged University School of Medicine, but after three months was forced to withdraw for political reasons.

The quality of the education, in general, was fairly good. There was, however, a strong tendency to falsify literature and history. In the gymnasium which I attended the entire staff without exception was "reactionary". Four professors had PhD degrees and one was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Science.

E. It is true that the Communists spend much time and effort to indoctrinate the younger generation. They began this indoctrination in the day nursery and kindergartens and continued all through the ~~university~~ university. They were unable to win the Hungarian youth because the youth were able to see the great difference between theory and practice.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE.

A. My main dissatisfaction with life in Communist Hungary was the uncertainty in which everyone lived.

B. Another cause of dissatisfaction was that people with education and talent were forced to go to work as laborers while ex-workers and peasants, who could hardly read and write were given top government jobs. I was annoyed and irritated by everything that was Red.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. During my last year in Hungary I lived with my ~~parents~~ parents and worked on my father's eight yoke farm. On week-ends I usually played in dance-bands.

We lived fairly well. Our food was simple village food with meat twice a week, perhaps three times a week in the winter months. What I earned at the dances I usually spent ~~tax~~ on clothes. We had a small but comfortable home of our own, which consisted of ~~two~~ two rooms and a kitchen. Five of us lived here: my parents, my brother and his wife, and I. The most difficulty I had was with clothes. Such a thing as a motorcycle was an unobtainable luxury.

Our standard of living after the war was much lower than ~~before~~ before. During the war our standard of living was probably the highest in 1948 and '49. It was the lowest in '51 and '52.

Among my friends the family who lived best of all was the family of a middle peasant. He had just under 25 cadastral yokes of land. This did not make him a kulak. The family consisted of the parents, and a 16 year old daughter. ~~They had their own house with several rooms in the town and also had temporary quarters on the farm. Their house had several rooms and was well furnished. They wore decent clothes. The girl attended the gymnasium, but was ~~dismissed~~ dismissed for political reasons. They ate good food. They owned much less livestock than before and during the war, but ~~still~~ still they had three cows and two horses. The property of this man was, by some mistake, registered as less valuable than it was and, therefore, his compulsory quota of farm products which we had to give up was smaller than it would have been otherwise. He was able to meet his quota easily and still have enough produce to fatten several pigs a year. These he was able to sell at a price of 22 florints per kilogram of live weight. He always had enough income from pigs to pay his taxes and buy anything he needed.~~

In Hungary the standard of living was probably the highest in 1948 and 1949. Since then it showed a constant decline. The deterioration of the standard of living was caused by the fact that the Communists ~~ruined~~ ruined the kulak and middle peasants. Most of the small peasants were ~~forced~~ forced to join the farm cooperatives. This way the Hungarian livestock dwindled. The cooperative farms did not produce as much as the individual farms did.

B. In 1956 the average income of my parents could be estimated at 500 florints per month. But beside this they grew every-

thing on the farm that they needed for the house-hold. I, myself, made about 1000 florints ~~playing in a dance-band~~ per month playing in a dance-band. I paid only about 1% of my income in trade unions dues. I did not subscribe ~~for~~ for any government loan. I did not receive any premiums. I think that the work I did on my father's farm can be considered a second source of income, because in this way I paid nothing for quarters and food. My younger brother and his wife also worked on the family farm.

C. The farm products that were left after the farmers met the compulsory quotas they could sell on the open markets. On the open markets the prices were always somewhat higher than they were in the government stores. However one could obtain everything all the time on the open markets where in the government stores there were periodic shortages.

One could buy custom made clothes ~~only~~ only from private tailors. There were a few tailor cooperatives which made clothes to order. There were no private stores selling ready-made clothes. A better ready-made suit in the government stores sold for about 1000 florints. The same quality suit made to order would cost from 1400 to 2400 florints at the tailor. The government commission stores sold only second-hand goods.

D. The differences in the prices of agricultural products on the open market and in the government stores were always periodical and seasonal. I am not ~~sure~~ aware of greater differences in some years than in others.

I was not in a position to be able to observe the differences in quality of retail goods during the various years.

The Hungarian retail ~~stores~~ stores did not function too well. Very often a customer would be told to come back a week later because they were out of stock. This, however, does not apply to such expensive items as clothes. I don't think there was much difficulty in obtaining such standard spare parts, as for example, bicycle chains.

I do not think there was much spoilage of food.

Tea, coffee, spices, meat, were especially in short supply. In 1 50, 1 51 and 1 52 it was almost impossible to get spices anywhere.

Up to 1 50 there was an extensive black-market operating in Hungary. After 1 50, however, it declined. Such items as food-stuffs, spices, soda, blue stone, cigarette paper, etc. were very much in demand on the black-market. How this black-market operated and how it was organized I do not know. If one

needed anything one would inquire among friends to see if they could get any of the things which were needed. The goods were delivered and paid for and no questions were asked concerning its origin. Prices on the black-market were usually higher than the official store prices. The quality was the same as in the retail outfits. The only difference was the availability of the goods. One could get them on the black-market whereas it was usually almost impossible to get them through the normal retail outlets.

I don't think a salesman or a store-keeper would have dared to ~~xxxx~~ demand more for some commodity that was scarce. It sometimes happened that customers would offer to pay more for such scarce goods. In such cases the store-keeper would go into the bargain only if he thought the customer could be trusted. If he were apprehended the consequences would be too serious. For black-market operations one could get easily from 2 years up imprisonment. During an acute meat shortage in 1950 several butchers were hanged.

D. In the last years before the revolution I worked on my father's farm. In the summer months work could begin often at 4 or 4:30. We stopped working only when it was too dark to see. In the summer months I never slept more than 6 hours a night. I played in a dance-band and usually received 100 florints per evening, and was from 8 p.m. to 1 a.m. I was forced to play in the dance-band and work on the farm because I was unable to obtain any other work. I would have liked very much to study economics. Otherwise, I was satisfied with my work. I was used to farm work and loved to work in the open. I also liked music very much and thought it fun to work in the dance-band.

Working for my father I did not have any social-security benefits. General impression was that the social-security and medical service was fairly good. Pensions, however, were too low. There were no vacation programs for the peasants.

E. In Hungary I would prefer to live in a provincial city such as Szeged. Here one can combine the advantages of country and city life.

I think that in Communist Hungary the agricultural workers had a much better diet than the city workers. The general standard of living was much higher in the country than in the city because life in the country was comparatively cheaper. Political pressure was probably greater in the city. ~~xxxx~~

When the collectivization of farms began in Hungary I was

certain it would ~~not~~ cause a catastrophe. At that time I knew it would not effect us as my father had much less land than what would be ~~not~~ considered as kulot property. In my opinion the collectivization of farms as it was carried out in Hungary can never work out well in practice. Hungarian peasants have a strong feeling for private ownership. I think the Hungarian peasantry, kulots and small peasants alike, opposed the collectivization of farms to the same degree.

~~xxxxxxx~~ I heard from friends and read in the newspapers about farm collectives being dissolved. This happened during the first Imre Nagy cabinet. The peasants saw that the compulsion had ceased to a certain extent and they used this opportunity to get out of the farm collectives.

If I were an agricultural worker in Hungary I would much prefer to work on a private farm.

The agricultural system of an independent Hungary should be based on the private ownership of land. The mechanization of ~~xxxxxxx~~ agriculture should continue but in a more practical way. Artificial fertilizer should be used more extensively.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

A. Before 1948 I was too young to be interested very much in politics. Politics interested me only so far as it effected my choice of a profession in my future. At that time I sympathized with the Hungarian Small-holders party probably because my father was a member of it. Later I became a member of it also.

Before 1948 the Hungarian Communist party in my opinion was just as bad as it is today with the exception that at that time it was not yet in ~~power~~ power. I considered it a troublesome party which does not have much concern over the matters it uses to obtain its aims. At that time very many Hungarian ex-Fascists ~~many~~ became turn-coats and joined the Communist party. They did this to avoid prosecution as war criminals and to get jobs.

B. I think that the members of the Hungarian Communist party can be classified into three parties. These are: party members by conviction, members who joined to secure jobs and to avoid dismissal, careerists who joined to get ahead. I had contact with all three types. I knew one Communist by conviction who had been a party member since 1918. When the Communists came to power he became ~~disillusioned~~ disillusioned with their methods and terminated his membership.

The changes which occurred in the party line in the past eight years were caused by economic and political exigencies of the Moscow government. We in Hungary were aware of differences in the party--not only in Moscow but in Budapest. These differences may have been personal or may have been differences of opinion on strategy. Such differences, however, will never effect the basic course of Communist policy.

By party moral I mean ~~the~~ the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of party members with party policy and with the management of party affairs. I think that party moral was probably very low during the past eight years. However for a long time party members did not dare to express their opinions on party matters. All they could do was applaud at party meetings and keep their opinions to themselves. I am not able to tell you what changes occurred in party moral in the past eight years. I was not interested in such questions and had very little contact with Communist party members.

I think that the top leaders of the Communist party are Communists by conviction and believe in what the party teaches. I think that the personalities of the top leaders of the Communist leaders is irrelevant. As individuals some may be good and some may be bad. They are probably guided more by personal ambitions than by material gains.

If a political change occurs in Hungary when Hungary regains her independence the top leader of the Communist party will receive their just punishment.

C. There has always been opposition in Hungary against Communism. The most frequent forms of opposition conduct were grumbling, jokes about their regime, anonymous letters sent to party secretaries and party organs, and often cursing and swearing. Such open acts of opposition such as production slow-downs and sabotage were very rare and very dangerous. But everyone was opposed to the regime and among friends and reliable acquaintances everyone voiced his dissatisfaction, and criticisms. Only about 5% of the population were Communists who were ~~xx~~ satisfied with the present conditions.

The changes, if any, in opposition conduct hinged directly on the extent of police pressure. When the ~~xxxx~~ police were more active the people were more inclined to take care before making any statements. In general, the people in the last few months before the revolution expressed ~~thaxx~~ their ~~xxxx~~ dissatisfaction more openly than before.

I became aware of the activities of the Hungarian intellectuals in the first days of ~~Basaxxaxx~~ September 1956. A friend who was a Budapest University student called my attention to the debates of the PETOFI circle.

Prior to the debates of the PETOFI circle the first sign of intellectual ferment in Hungary was at the Congress of Writers and Newspaper men held Debrecen in the summer of 1956. There, they adopted a resolution to lie no more and to ~~wix~~ write only the truth.

In my opinion the intellectuals did not have essentially anything new to say. Their significance lays in the fact that they dared to write what everybody thought about the regime. My opinion of the Hungarian intellectuals is that they are the forerunners of the Hungarian revolution. ~~judgaxxgx~~ Judging by what they wrote and what they said I do not think the intellectuals are practical people.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. My general opinion of the A.V.O. is that they are people who do not like the work. Neither I nor the members of my family had any personal contact with the A.V.O. My brother's brother-in-law was arrested and beaten by them for two days. They wanted him to admit that he had slaughtered a calf without permission. He was a kulot.

I have not heard of any A.V.O. man having any remorse and wanting to quit the service. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the people in Hungary lived in constant fear and insecurity.

When Hungary regains her independence those people who joined the A.V.O. voluntarily will receive their just punishment. Those of them who tortured people to death will be hanged or receive long terms of imprisonment.

Compared to the A.V.H. the Hungarian Blue police were insignificant. They investigated only common criminal cases. I do not think that the Blue police were as good or as efficient as in the past regime.

Only a small percentage of the Blue policemen were Communists by conviction. At first they opposed the demonstrations and wanted to disperse the crowd. During the first demonstrations in Csongrad on October 25 the Blue police arrested several students, took them into the police station and beat them with black-jacks. Later the majority of the police in Csongrad joined the revolution. The rest, however, hesitated and wanted to be safe on both sides. When the Russians came in again on November 4 the police put back their red stars.

B. I do not know how the Hungarian courts operated in non-political cases and civil law suits.

Before 1945 I think that the Hungarian worker or peasant had an equal chance of obtaining justice against a rich man.

I have heard about the peoples courts in Hungary in 1945 and 1947 but do not know what kind of cases or criminals they tried. I think that some of the law criminals were guilty but I do not know whether the sentences imposed by the Peoples Courts were just.

C. In my opinion the higher officers of the Hungarian army sabotaged the efforts of the lower officers to participate in the revolution. The enlisted men and the non-commissioned officers were unable to do anything by themselves. Some units fought exceedingly well, but about 90% of the army became demoralized and disorganized because of the conduct and attitudes of the higher

Officers.

When the government came into power and the Russians left Budapest the Hungarians army suddenly vowed to defend the achievements of the revolution. But after ~~the~~ November 4 they changed their minds and said it is impossible to fight against tanks and sub-machine guns. They did not dare risk fighting against the Russians when the outlook was not so bright. The higher officers, at least the majority of them, were double-crossers who wanted to play safe both with the revolution and the Russians.

In general it can be said that the enlisted men and the majority of the non-commissioned officers were in favor of the revolution. The higher officers were against the revolution and joined it only seemingly. The lower officers joined the revolution, but did not support it effectively. There were no geographical differences in the conducts of the troops. ~~ALL~~ their effectiveness and conduct depended upon the attitude of their commanding officers. I do not know of any differences ~~between~~ in conduct of soldiers and officers which can be attributed to class origin.

I was not surprised by the armies conduct during the revolution. I expected them to do much more than they did.

I was drafted to do three months of military duty in 1955. I served with the anti-aircraft artillery in Szentes. We were quartered in barracks and these were fairly comfortable. The army fare at that time was good.

On the basis of class origin about 90% of the officers were industrial or agrarian ~~proletarians~~ PROLETARIANS. The remaining 10% were peasants with a few intellectuals. The reenlisted non-commissioned officers were mostly industrial workers and peasants.

The Communist party selected the young workers and working peasants who it deemed fit to become officers. These were sent special training courses where, in the matter of a few months, they achieved the rank of captain or even major. The people selected for such training courses went very readily because being an officer meant good pay and little work. The non-commissioned officers were promoted from among the soldiers who were ~~also~~ called in for compulsory military service.

The high ranking officers were almost without exception convinced Communists. The lower ranking officers had no convictions. They wanted only material advantages. It is impossible to generalize the officers with regard to their conduct toward the enlisted men. This varied according to the individual. During the revolution I think that there was a more closer understanding between the officers and the enlisted men.

The competence of the officers is very questionable. They were among them officers who had only four grades of ~~an~~ elementary schooling. As good Communists they were picked out for special training courses and became officers in a matter of a few months. I have had first lieutenants who could hardly read and write.

It can not be said that, in general, the non-commissioned officers of peasant origin were more severe ~~in~~ towards the men than non-commissioned officers from the city. Also the conduct of an officer towards the men did not depend on whether he was a convinced Communist or not.

Some people did get better treatment in the army than others. These were the people who knew the non-commissioned officers, or the officers from civilian life. They received more privileges; were given leaves of absence more often than the others, for example.

When I was in the army in 1955 we had political indoctrination classes three times a week. Over and above this we had to read many Communist brochures. Enlisted men did not like ~~these~~ these political indoctrination classes and about 60% of them did not even understand what they were all about. Among reliable friends there was much griping about these classes. The army knew that these classes were unpopular, but it was not concerned about this.

D. I think that the unpopularity of the Russian troops in Hungary was due mostly to their conduct in 1944 and 1945. When the Russians came into our town ~~as~~ we were not one bit surprised by the way they acted. We were told in advance that they would act the way that they did. They took away ~~of~~ everything we had-- horses, cattle, wagons, our clothes and even our food supplies. In our vicinity they acted as ~~though~~ everywhere else, looting, plundering and raping. My opinion of the Russians has not changed since 1945.

I have had no direct contact with the Russian occupying troops in Hungary. However I have a brother-in-law who was a lieutenant in the Hungarian army from 1949 to 1953. He complained that at that time there was friction between the Hungarian and the Russian armies. The Russians of inferior rank were unwilling to salute a Hungarian officer of a superior rank. On the other hand the Russians demanded that the Hungarians salute superior ranking Russians.

There was very little contact between the Hungarian people and the occupying Russian soldiers and officers. In general, the people detested the Russians. They were considered as parasites.

who were sponging on our resources. I have not heard of any contact between Russians and Hungarians, at all. Russian children did not frequent Hungarian schools. They had schools of their own. Russian soldiers or officers were not permitted to court Hungarian girls. Marrying them was quite out of the question. There was no contact, neither with Russian officers nor with enlisted men.

According to an ex-classmate of mine who had had some contact with Russian soldiers and officers, there are more Russians than Communists. But I do not know what the opinions of the Russians of Russia are of the Hungarian people's politics and economics.

During the revolution I did not have any direct contact with the Russians, but some of my reliable friends did have, and they gave me first hand accounts of their experiences.

The Russian troops which were in Hungary at the time the revolution broke out were mostly young recruited men. They were White Russians and some Ukrainians. The Russians did not fight at all or fought very unwillingly against the Hungarians. This is why they had to be replaced with Mongolian troops.

A reliable class-mate told me that after November 4 he encountered Soviet tanks on the highway near . The tanks ran out of fuel and the Russian soldiers were there three days without any food. At the end they traded the tanks and ammunition for bread and other food supplies. From these Russians my friend learned that they had been issued strict orders not to talk to any Hungarians.

Another friend told me that he saw three Russian tanks go over to the Hungarians in October in Budapest. He also told me that even on November 4 a few Russian tanks went over to the side of the Hungarians.

I know only from hearsay that Soviet soldiers refused to obey their superiors, deserted, and fought on the side of the Hungarians against the A.V.H. and fought against each other.

I did not hear of any cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the Revolution.

E. As peasants we had constant difficulty with the bureaucrats who were in charge of the section which controlled the compulsory surrender of agricultural products. These bureaucrats were malicious, cruel Communists by conviction. Their primary purpose was to annihilate the kulaks. They were extremely unjust. As officials they had very little competence and no ability at all. Previously they had been army officers of the new type or industrial or agricultural workers. The almost illiterate officials were gradually replaced by young Communists who already had some schooling. But they had practically no knowledge and experience of public administration.

In 1954 we had a great draught and my father was unable to meet the compulsory quota. He tried to have his quota reduced because of the draught, but he did not succeed. They came and took our crops away leaving us not even enough to ~~save~~ save the family needs.

F. It was possible to circumvent government regulations with the aid of bribes and influence. For example, petitions for the reduction of compulsory ~~quotas~~ quotas because of draught were granted only if the person gave one of the officials a considerable bribe. If such ~~an~~ an official ~~was~~ caught accepting ~~an~~ a bribe, and if he were not an ~~influential~~ influential Communist, disciplinary and perhaps even criminal proceedings would follow.

G. I did not know any secret-police officers but I think that the officers of the A.V.H. were not intelligent nor competent.

The army officers were probably even less efficient and competent than were the A.V.H. officers. This is true especially of those army officers who had no previous education and became officers after completing a comparatively short training course. For example the major who was in command of our artillery division had only six years of grade school. ~~He~~ Previous to the army he was in charge of one of farm cooperatives. He could hardly read and write.

I am unable to give an opinion of the Russian army's competence in leadership but I think they were much better than the Hungarian army officers.

When the Communists came to ~~power~~ power about 80% of the new public administration officials were people who were almost illiterate. Gradually they had been replaced by new officials; young Communists. But still, in 1956, I think about 30% of the officials were almost illiterate.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. I do not know what the ~~immediate~~ immediate future of Hungary will be. The Bolshevisation of Hungary will probably continue unless ~~and~~ an internal collapse in the Soviet Union occurs. This is something that will come, but it is hard to say when.

I do not think that the Kadar government can make any concessions. If it does so, it will mean another revolution. Even ~~as~~ ^{while} telling this, a new revolution may break-out on Hungary on March 15. This is ~~now~~ the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Hungary must have complete independence. A Polish-like solution is not acceptable. I think this is the opinion of the people at home, also. Independence for Hungary can be achieved only if the Russians will move out of the country.

In my opinion, war between the United States and the Soviet Union is inevitable. It can be avoided only if the internal collapse of the Soviet Union occurs sooner. The Soviet Union is preparing for war against the United States, and is waiting only for a favorable period. I do not think that the international situation can be solved by international pressure on the Soviet Union through the United Nations. Our only hope may be a revolution within the Soviet Union.

B. During the last 10 years our outlook at home was very bleak. We thought that we were going to share the fate of the Baltic States which were engulfed by the Soviet Union. Our only hope was that the Western countries, especially the United States, would not tolerate this, or

~~was~~ that free elections would be held in Hungary under international supervision. This would have meant the over-throw of Communism. During the past ten years we ~~have~~ always set dates for something to happen in that time. ~~xxxxxx~~ When the dates expired and nothing had happened, we set new dates. We were constantly hoping for something.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECOINICAL IDEOLOGY.

A. If Hungary gains her independence I would like her to have the same kind of form of government that exists today in Austria. Hungarian economic life should be based on private ownership and free enterprise. If Hungary will not regain any of her lost territory than the main emphasis should be laid on farming. If Hungary regains some of her lost territories, then we will have to resort to develop our heavy and light industries. Now Hungary should continue to grow wheat because Hungarian wheat is the best of its kind. But the mechanization of agriculture is essential. Our ~~armament~~ armament industry should be discontinued. All such industries where production costs are comparatively high should be discontinued.

If the Communist regime were overthrown in Hungary, those national enterprises which employed more than 200 or 300 persons should remain under state management. All other national enterprises should be given over to private enterprise. The farm cooperatives should be dissolved unless the members themselves wish to continue them. Those state farms which were in state possession during and before the war should, naturally, remain to the state. Those state farms which were formed on property confiscated from others should also remain if the property confiscated from one person exceeds the 500 cadastral yokes. Only the farms under this limit should be returned to the owners. Some of the farms should be distributed among the landless peasants. Whether or not a government farm should be distributed or kept under state management depends largely on the installations and agriculture equipment on these farms.

Transportation facilities should be owned by the state. This includes railroads, buss lines, street-cars, and suburban railroads. The small industry should be owned by private persons, or companies. The larger industries should be owned by the state if they exceed 200 or 300 employees or by private persons or companies if they ~~are~~ have less than 200 or 300 employees.

The government should conduct an agricultural information service for the benefit of the peasants and farmers. But the government should not control agriculture production. It should interfere to the least possible extent in agriculture.

I think that a maximum limit of 500 cadastral yokes per family should be set. No one should be allowed to own more land than this.

If I ~~am~~ were to choose between a dictatorship with a good standard of living and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a country with personal freedom but no guaranteed standard of living I would prefer freedom. I would favor out-lawing of the Communist party and also Fellow Traveling organizations. There

is no need for either of them. If the Communists outlawed our parties and organizations then we should do the same to theirs.

C. I think that the ideal political position for Hungary would be an alliance with the West like that of Western Germany. I would not desire any relations whatsoever with the Soviet Union. I would want economic and cultural relations with the Eastern European countries and economic, cultural, and military relations with the Western European countries and with the United States.

Danubian states

I first heard of the federation of the ~~Danubian states~~ from my history professor in school in 1953. He thought that both politically and economically it would be a very sound idea. But he, too, was unable to say how to go about achieving it in practice. I am in favor of such a federation and I think it is possible. All the Danubian countries should be in it. I did not hear much talk about this in Hungary. But everyone thinks that the Austro-Hungarian federation would be good. Allegedly the highest standard of living and the greatest prosperity existed in Hungary prior to World War I in the framework of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

I don't think that the present boundaries are acceptable. On historical grounds we have a right to all territories that were taken away from Hungary in 1918. I think that the people at home feel the same way about this question. I am concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries and I think the only solution is to re-annex these territories to Hungary. These questions are very important not only to me but to everyone else in Hungary.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party's conference two or three months after it was delivered. I heard about it from a barber who listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts.

While I was in Hungary I heard nothing about Senator McCarthy, nor of the House Un-American Activities Committee, nor about ~~Richard~~ Peron. I do not know who Peron is.

At home I heard very little about Rakosi's private life. It was rumored that he is an illegitimate child and is half Jew. We of course had to study his biography in school during the ~~industrial-~~
~~ization~~ indoctrination courses.

Q. B. Before and during the war my father bought the Sunday edition of the "Friss Ujsag" every week. He also purchased regularly copies of a ~~local~~ local newspaper. The magazines we read before and during the ~~the~~ War were the "Magyar Futar" and the "Eolnai Vilaglapja". My father also read books-over thirty a year. These included agricultural books and fiction.

During the past 10 years we did not subscribe to any newspaper, but bought regularly copies of the "Szabad NÉP" and the local newspaper "Viharsarok". We also bought "Szabad Fold" and the magazine "Elet es Tudomány". It was necessary to buy the newspapers in order to read the agriculture regulations and decrees which were issued. In the newspapers we read only the political news and public announcements. The articles on productions and labor competition were not interesting at all. I never had much trust in what the Hungarian newspapers wrote. This ~~applies~~ applies first of all to foreign political news. I did not even believe the statistical reports published in the newspapers.

We did not read any publications from the Soviet Union or other ~~satellite~~ satellite countries ~~or~~ or from Yugoslavia. With the exception of Yugoslav publications all other publications were available, but not in Csongrad. We did not read any legal Western publications. The only illegal Western publications we saw were the "Free Europe" leaflets.

During the Communist regime we did read many old books which were placed on index by the Communists when they came to power. One such book I read was called "The Bolshevization of Russia". It accused Lenin and Stalin of ~~murdering~~ murdering over 13 million people in Russia. It was recommended to me by a friend. It was his property and he concealed it at the time when the decree was issued concerning the annihilation of books on index was issued.

Practically all the good books were placed on index by the Communists. We, too, had about three or four such books at home which we did not destroy, but concealed them in the bottom of our clothes cabinet. When the decree was issued concerning the destruction of such books some people destroyed their books, but most of them either hid the books or, if they were afraid to keep them, gave them to others.

C. While I was in Hungary we did get news by word of mouth. For example, I was first informed of Khrushchev's speech by my barber. We did not have a radio of our own because we had no electricity. We were forced to inquire about news from others. But we talked about such things only among reliable people.

In general, radio was more reliable news source than hearsay. There were some people who, although they were politically reliable, nevertheless distorted the news ~~and~~ they heard unintentionally.

What news we heard we always passed on to others. But these persons always had to be politically reliable. They always took care that no one should overhear.

D. I went to the cinema about once or twice every week. I did not go so frequently to the theatre because there was no permanent theatre group in Csongrad. Theatre companies would come from Budapest or Szeged to play once or twice a month.

I preferred the Hungarian and Western cinemas and plays. I did not like the Russian or Communist plays or films. There were only one or two Russian films which had no politics in them. The two films I liked the best were the Hungarian film "Life of Erkel" and an Italian film "Life of Verdi". I also liked opera "Janos Vitez" by Kacsó-Pongrácz and the opera "Bank Ban" by Erkel.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. If the Russian people are given more liberty and the N.V.D. relaxes its hold on the people, then a revolution as in Hungary may result. This is, however, clear to the polit-bureau and for this reason they are going back to the Stalin line. A majority of the ~~polit~~ polit-bureau members favor Stalinism, but I don't think they are all in favor of this policy.

I think that the overwhelming majority of the Russian people hate Communism. Perhaps only about 20% favor it. But the Russians are afraid to start a revolution because their police are very strong.

If free elections were held in the Soviet Union I think that the Communist party would be defeated and a Social-Democratic party would come to power.

The top leaders of the Communist party are dictators, cheaters, crooks, ~~thieves~~ thieves, murderers, and Communists by conviction. Their aim is to achieve world rule. The only difference between the Russian and Hungarian top Communists is that the Russians are probably more intelligent and they are the ones who give orders.

B. Of the nations mentioned I think that Poland and Eastern Germany are the two most popular with Hungary, while Romania and Czechoslovakia are the least popular. Hungary ~~has~~ had a traditional friendship with Poland. We also have a deep respect for German scientific knowledge and German character. On the other hand, we have territorial disputes with Romania and Czechoslovakia, and for a long time the Hungarian minorities in these countries were persecuted. I think that this is the general feeling at home. I, personally, have never had contact with these countries or people.

If free elections were to be held in these countries I think Communists would be defeated everywhere. The standard of living is probably the highest in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia. It is probably the lowest in Poland and in Hungary.

Gromulka

C. The ~~Communist~~ government has not brought about the basic change in Poland. The country continues to be Communist. I do not know to what extent Gromulka is under Soviet influence. I hope I thought that he was not a puppet, but now I am not certain. Gromulka's policy may be a step in the right direction, but only a very small step. The policy of gradualism is too slow to please me.

The insurrection in Poznan and the demonstrations of the Polish students ~~in~~ October, 1956 did have a great effect on the Hungarian revolution. I do not think that more

freedom had been granted in Poland to the people, even before Gomulka's rise to power. If this were so I have heard nothing about it.

I would not have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take the same course as the Polish developments. Poland continues to be Communist. National Communism is not enough to satisfy the people of Hungary.

D. Probably Tito is the originator of National Communism, but though it may be National it is still Communism. The Moscow government does not permit the other nations of Eastern Europe to maintain friendly relations with Tito. In these countries he may be popular being, in a way, a symbol of resistance to Moscow. Moscow hates and distrusts Tito. It fears that Tito and his National Communism may undermine Moscow's plan for world rule. Since Khrushchev came to power in the Soviet Union there has been a tendency to appease Tito and maintain friendly relations with him. But since the Hungarian revolution I think that relations between the Soviet Union and Tito are again strained. I did not know what exactly are the relations of Tito with the West.

I think that Rijk, Szlanski, and the ~~rest~~ other Titoists are the same kind of ~~scoundrals~~ scoundrals as the other Communists.

I do not know exactly how popular Tito is in Yugoslavia. I have heard that he is popular to some people and unpopular to others. I know very little about conditions in Yugoslavia. The Hungarian papers wrote practically nothing about this. From a friend who has been in Yugoslavia in 1955 for a brief visit I learned that the standard of living there is lower than in Hungary, although there is somewhat more political freedom ~~than~~ there than there was in Hungary.

E. China had a very dense population and the people are very poor. They became the victims of Soviet propaganda. The Chinese Communists came to power with the backing and blessings of the Moscow Communists. I do not think that the Chinese Communists are more independent from Moscow than the other Communist countries. Communist China can do nothing by herself. She must always have the permission, consent or advise of the Moscow regime.

I know that India had been a colony of England. I remembered that there were armed uprisings and revolts in India, but I do not ~~remember~~ remember if there was a revolution or not. I do not know exactly how India gained its independence. I think that relations between India and England are fair now.

The 1956 invasion of Egypt was caused by Egypt's frequent provocations against Israel and ~~in~~ by the fear by French and British governments that the Soviet would occupy Egypt. I do not think that the Egyptian government had a right to cease control of the Suez Canal. The Suez Canal is an international

water-way which is needed for the ships of all countries. The events in Egypt in 1956 did have an effect on the Hungarian revolution. Hungary became a secondary issue. Egypt was more important.

F. I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is one of the highest in all Europe. I do not think that Western Germany may start another war now. Although the possibility of a third world war cannot be outruled when and if an attempt is made to unify Western and Eastern Germany.

I do not know much about the re-armament of Western Germany. I think that the Western German army is much stronger than the army of either Britain or France. The length of military service in Western Germany is probably two years.

I think that the Russian army was more unpopular in Hungary than the German army had been previously. The Russians committed many atrocities; they robbed and plundered rich and poor alike and they raped many Hungarian girls and women. The Germans were much more disciplined, both the enlisted men and the officers.

G. I do not know much about the British Labor Party. I think it is the equivalent of the Social-Democratic Party elsewhere in Europe. I don't think that the British Labor Party has much love for Communism.

With regard to a higher standard of living the countries mentioned can be classed in the following order:

Western Germany
Great Britain
Italy
Greece
Soviet Union
Egypt

H. What impressed me most on my arrival to the United States is the wealth and the high standard of living in this country.

I think that the foreign policy of the United States is very weak. Its primary aim in Eastern Europe should be to curb the expansion of Communism and to liquidate Communism in the existing satellite countries. The United States government should give no aid to the present governments in Eastern Europe. Diplomatic relations with the Kadar government should be severed. Economic aid to the Kadar government should be quite out of the question. But relief work for the people should be continued. To this day I do not know what exactly is the foreign policy of the United States government concerning Eastern Europe. I do not think that the United States government itself knows.

I think that the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors. These visitors should be tourists, newspapermen and diplomats. There is no need for trade union officials. All these people should be given an opportunity to study conditions in Hungary. These visitors should be told in advance not to believe Communist propaganda but to see everything for themselves. The right people to inform them on conditions in Hungary would be the people who came from there recently.

I think that the people in Hungary would welcome Western publications. The only way to supply them with such publications is to ~~force~~ force the Hungarian government to admit such publications and permit their sale at newsstands and book-stores. If Hungarian exiles had anything to do with Western visitors to Hungary and with Western publications for Hungary it should be exiles who have come from there recently and who know the situation at home the best.

I have heard about the Marshall Plan but I do not know what it was or what its purpose was.

~~I~~The United States got involved in the Korean War because the Communists wanted to overrun Southern Korea. Had America taken no action at that time the entire Asia would have become Communist.

J. The United Nations had no practical purpose which can justify its existence. When Imre Nagy requested the United Nations to send observers and troops the United Nations should have acted immediately. There is ~~perhaps~~ a very slight chance the United Nations may compel Hungary to hold free elections under international supervision. How free these elections will be and how effective international supervision are other questions.

OF
XVII. KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ~~SEVERAL~~ SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I think Imre Nagy is entirely out of the question to be considered as the greatest living Hungarian. My choice for this title would be Cardinal Mindszenty.

B. It is very hard to give an opinion of Imre Nagy, I do not know how much freedom of action he had. He may have been compelled to do some of the things he did.

Cardinal Mindszenty is a very good priest, a true, firm character, and an excellent loyal Hungarian.

Laslo Rijk is a Communist scoundrel like the other Communist leaders. He was responsible for the extermination and imprisonment of thousands of Hungarians.

Gero is even worse than Rijk was. He called in the Russians during the demonstrations and he is responsible for the murder of thousands of demonstrators and revolutionists.

I am unable to give a definite opinion on *JANAS* Kadar. ~~By~~ I sometimes have the feeling that he was compelled by the Russians to ~~take~~ take over the government.

I think President Eisenhower is a good statesman, but it would be better if he played less golf and paid more attention to foreign affairs.

I think that Secretary General Hammarskjold should be much firmer than he is.

I think that Mr. Dulles is a very weak State Secretary.

Mr. Eden is a good statesman but he caused us a lot of trouble by starting the war in Egypt.

Mr. ~~Franklin D.~~ Truman did not realize how great ~~is~~ is the ~~the~~ threat and terror of Communism.

I know that *MIKOYAN* is a Russian Communist, but I do not know exactly who he is.

Nehru is a two-timer.

I know that Chiang *KAI-CHENG* is the General who is the head of ~~the Communist Section of~~ Nationalist China. I do not know much about him.

My opinion of *FERENC NAGY* is neither good nor bad.

Roosevelt is the cause of all our troubles, by agreeing at Yalta to giving Hungary over to Russian occupation forces.

Chancellor Adenauer is a very good statesman.

Stalin is the leader of all the devils.

Malenkov is his pupil.

Generalissimo Franco rules Spain. I do not know much about him.

I do not know who Peron is.

Kruschev is a scoundrel.

Tito is a good politician but ~~stank~~ cloak-changer.

MOLOTOV is a ~~murderer~~ murderer.

I do not know who *OLLENAUER* is.

I think that Churchill is the greatest statesman of our time.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The people who escaped from Hungary during and after the revolution were the people who had to escape for political reasons or for fear of repercussions and those ~~were~~ who were tired of living under the conditions that existed in Hungary.

I think the great ~~in~~ majority of the refugees ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ belong to the intelligensia. There are very few industrial workers. Peasants are comparatively few in ~~the~~ number. Most of the refugees are young people between the ages of 18 to 35. The majority of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the refugees are men. Most of them come from Budapest and the Trans-Danubian districts.

The people who stayed at home were the ones who had nothing to fear from the A.V.O., who were reluctant to leave everything they possessed, and those who did not dare risk the dangers involved in escaping from Hungary.

I think it was better for those people who had no fear or reason to fear repercussions to stay at home. I know one man who came with us as far as Vienna. Before reaching the city he turned back and went home. He had left a wife and two small children in Hungary and was very much concerned about them. I do not think the people at home ~~think~~ feel any resentment toward those who fled from Hungary. They ~~probably~~ probably realize that these refugees can be of more use to Hungary outside of Hungary than at home, in prison, or dead.

Assuming that everyone had a chance to come West I think about 90% of the peasants who own some property would remain. But the majority of the industrial workers and intelligensia would leave Hungary.

B. While I was in Hungary I knew or heard practically nothing about politicians and organizations in exile. Since my arrival in the United States I have become a member of the Federation of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters which had been formed here in New York. Its ~~chairman~~ chairman is ~~General~~ General Bela Kiraly.

C. Of these organizations I have heard only of the Hungarian National Council. This was the organization which sponsored the leaflets which were sent over to Hungary.

Of the individuals mentioned I ~~have~~ have heard about ~~FERRAS and~~ TIBOR ECKHARDT, PAUL AVER, MIKLOS KALLAY but I do not know who they are.

Monseigneur Bela VARGAS is the chairman of the Hungarian National Council. I know this from the illegal leaflets which were thrown over Hungary. I do not know anything else about him

We have already discussed *FERENC NAGY*
ZOLTAN PFEIFFER & *J. BARON-KOVACS*
in Communist Hungary and had to leave the country. were opposition party leaders

OTTO is the pretender to the Hungarian and Austrian thrones but I do ~~not~~ think he will become king.

Admiral *HORTHY* was an honest man,

I have not heard of any of the other individuals mentioned.

The people who left Hungary before 1956 were unable to foresee the future and I do not blame them for leaving Hungary. But I have a very poor opinion of those who left Hungary between October 26 and November 4. At that time everyone was needed at home.

I think that the Hungarian exiles did their best to inform public opinion about events in Hungary and to create a favorable public opinion everywhere in the West. Many of them ask for arms and for permission to be sent back to Hungary. This was refused. They did a good job of organizing the pro-Hungarian demonstrations everywhere. During the revolution we expected many of the exiles to come back with arms and fight with us. Previously we had heard that there were armed Hungarian exiles in Germany and Austria.

D. I have known many people who in 1944 and 1945 left Hungary and later returned. Most of them were married men with families. Some of them had evacuated their families to Austria and Germany in fear of the advancing Russian troops. They came back because they were homesick and considered life in Western camps very insecure. In 1945 and 1946 they were unable to foresee the future.

I do not know why the Communists started their re-*DEFECTION* campaign. The people at home considered this campaign ridiculous.

E. I think that the people in Hungary would like to know what the exiles are doing in their behalf. They should know that distance cannot separate us from them and that we are one in soul. I think that the exiles should join a common organization and not be separated into numerous small organizations. I myself would like to join such a political organization. There is no organization already existing which I would like to join. The ~~purpose~~ purpose of this organization ~~should~~ should be to unite all exiles. It should also make all Americans familiar with the conditions in Hungary and with the problems concerning Hungary. It should spread destructive propaganda against Communism. It is entirely indifferent to me whether older ~~exiles~~ exiles should also join this ~~organization~~ organization or not.

Of the Hungarian political which existed before 1948 I sympathised the most with the Hungarian Small-holders party. I do not know anything about the parties in exile.

During the revolution we knew about the revival of the political parties in Hungary. At first it seemed as if the political parties would split the unity of the revolution but later an agreement was reached between the ~~Small~~ Social-Democrats and the Small-Holders parties not to oppose each other. I think that the groups and politicians which went into exile previously could have returned to Hungary to participate in the revival of the parties but they would not have been acknowledged as leaders. For example if Nagy ~~FERENC~~ would have returned to Hungary during the revolution he would have had to win the approval of the people to be declared leader of the Small-Holders party.

F. Should the conditions change in Hungary I would return home to stay. If I had children here in the United States I would insist that they learn Hungarian.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. When I was in Hungary I frequently listened to the Hungarian broadcasts ~~of~~ of Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corp. and the French Radio. Reception of these programs always depended on what kind of radio one had and ~~xxxxx~~ on the weather. In general reception late at night or very early in the morning was always better. All such broadcasts were jammed, but perhaps most of all the Voice of America broadcasts ~~xxxxx~~ were jammed the most. I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts. This was about two or three times a week. What I heard I always told the others, but of course only to reliable acquaintances and friends. We had very few radios in our vicinity because we had no electricity.

I listened to these broadcasts always on the radios of some friends. Five or six of us would sometimes get together. No special precautions were necessary because there were no neighbors near-by.

When I was unable to listen myself to these broadcasts I was forced to rely on second-hand accounts of these programs. Reliable friends always told one another what was news on the radio. There was considerable risk in listening to these radio broadcasts and talking about them. I have heard that people were being punished for such things, but none of my personal acquaintances ever got into trouble because of listening to the radio or talking about it. I do not think ~~that~~ that the risk involved served to deter people from listening to the radio or talking about it. It probably made the people more careful. In 1955 and 1956 people listened more openly to these broadcasts and talked more freely about them.

My general attitude toward these broadcasts is that there was too much propoganda, too much ~~in~~ instigation and very little action.

I preferred the broadcasts of the B.B.C. because I considered them the most reliable. The B.B.C. gave only facts. It never promised anything. I think this ~~was~~ was the general opinion of ~~all~~ the broadcasts of the foreign radios. But I was unable to ~~judge~~ ^{JUDGE} whether the B.B.C. was really the most popular.

These broadcasts served to keep up the hopes of the people in Hungary. During the revolution it kept us fighting because we heard about events abroad and hoped we would get ~~our~~ foreign aid.

I don't think that the Radio Free Europe could have ~~inspired~~ ^{INCITED} the Hungarian revolution. The outbreak of the revolution was spontaneous. No one could ~~for~~ foretell it and no one inspired the people to start it. I don't think that anyone really knew that on October 22 a revolution would break out.

I think Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts to Hungary. But it should alter slightly ~~it~~ the tone of its broadcasts and its material. Straight political and economic news should be of most importance. Life in the Western European countries and in the United States would also interest the people at home very much.

B. I have never heard of the initials N.E.M.

I have read the Twelve Demands on a Free Europe leaflet. I do not remember exactly what were in the Twelve Demands. There have been so many demands since.

C. I myself feel ~~that~~ found Free Europe leaflets several times at home and have also seen such leaflets when found by others. Some of these leaflets told us how some of the singers of the Hungarian army's ~~mixer mixer~~ choir fled to West Berlin when they were performing in East Berlin. We were also told about the price of machinery in the West and about the standard of living in America and the Western European countries. We learned the many items of foreign news which did not appear in the papers at home.

From 1953 or 1954 on I found such leaflets ~~for~~ four or five times a year. I always passed them on to others ~~or~~ showed them to others. Some leaflets which I had not found were shown to me by others. It was no secret that such leaflets existed. Even the Communist press complained about them.

The risk involved in picking up these leaflets, keeping them, or talking about them was even greater than the risk involved in listening or talking about ~~foreign~~ foreign radio broadcasts. But I don't think this deterred people from picking up or leaflets and passing them on. I am not aware of any change in this respect during the past ten years. These leaflets were useful in as much as they informed the public ~~about~~ at home about events which they did not read about in the Hungarian newspapers. Not everyone had radios and it also angered the Communists. Before the revolution we were informed from these leaflets about the revolt in Pozran and about the demonstrations of the Czech students. I do not know what role they played in the revolution itself.

I think that the Free Europe Committee should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary because it serves to inform the people and it also angers the Communists. These leaflets should contain first of all an account of political events which do not appear in the Hungarian newspapers. But I think these leaflets should contain nothing which is not directly related to Hungary.

D. I think that the primary ~~and~~ purpose of all Western organizations which broadcast news into Hungary is to over-throw Communism. I am not aware of any differences in the motives of these various organizations.

xx.CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

A.I think that every child should be taught good behavior, respect for others, restness, and honesty.

It is necessary to discipline children in and for this reason sometimes physical punishment is also required. With regards to discipline the treatment of both boys and girls should be the same. The treatment of children should change ~~xxx~~ as they grow older because by becoming more intelligent the children are able to understand the reason of their conduct required of them.

When I was a child I liked to make things very much. On one occasion I borrowed my father's saw ~~th~~ saw something. The saw broke and I put it back without saying anything about it. The next day I went off to school as usual. When I came home my father was waiting for me. He had a switch in his hand. When I greeted him he whipped me for breaking the saw. As a rule it was my father who punished the children in our family. My mother beat us very rarely.

In the families which I knew the parents were the ones to punish the children...that is, children six years old or older. I think that the sex or age of the child had nothing to do with which parent was to administer the punishment. I do not know about the other social classes, but in our family both parents administered the punishment to the children, but my father did so more frequently than my mother. During the past ten years with both parents working, parents in general had less time to discipline their children.

I think that physical punishment was stopped at the age of twelve for boys and eleven or twelve for girls. Punishment in general was ~~ended~~ ABANDONED for boys at the age of fourteen or fifteen, for girls at the age of thirteen. I do not know of any variations according to social class. I do not think that Communism had brought ~~xxx~~ any changes in this respect.

Allegedly the Communists abolished corporal punishment in schools. Instead of physical punishment misbehaving students received bad marks or were expelled from school.

The traits which I most value in a friend are honesty, loyalty, punctuality, conscientiousness. I am not aware of any changes in friendship under Communism.

END

12-M

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Subject is a young man of middle peasant background who -- because of his gymnasium studies -- considers himself to be a member of the intelligentsia. Not very intelligent. Was unable to continue his studies for political reasons. This and his inability to find suitable employment, explain his feeling of frustration. Very handsome and very vain, cares much about clothes and personal appearance. Wants to be very active during the revolution, but always stops when things begin to get dangerous. (See planned trip to Budapest to participate in the fighting, actions on November 4, etc.) Likes music and plays in a jazz band on weekends. This is his main source of income. During the week he works very reluctantly on his father's farm.