

But nobody wanted the meeting to end. The evening came down, and everybody stayed. We all felt that we should do something else, that the suppression of the DISZ in these universities was not enough to solve our problems. We felt that we had to do something also for the other young people and the rest of the nation. The problems connected with the democratization of the country were brought up, with the approval of the young workers and intellectuals, i.e. young engineers. Demands were debated and formulated until they were put together in 14 points.

To illustrate how one such demand was decided upon, I'll tell you how one question was debated. Somebody asked first for a new government headed by Imre Nagy. Then I intervened and said I wanted free elections. Somebody else suggested that opposition groups should be allowed to sit in Parliament, i.e. he wanted several parties in the government. Our final demand asked for general free ~~xxx~~ elections, with the participation of several parties, and a government of coalition.

In the meantime, the rector and the professors, who were present, gave us their full support after we had decided to quit the DISZ. When all the demands were formulated, we thought that they would solve the problems of the democratization of the country. Thus a proposal was made to inform the population of the country of our demands. The representatives of the press were present at the meeting. We sent a delegation to the radio with the above mentioned request. The radio sent the demands back, and was willing to read only a few minor ones. A radio representative tried to explain this to the students, but he was thrown out. The press representatives were unwilling to publish the demands. The idea was raised that we should follow Petöfi's example and go to a printing office.

At that point, lieutenant-colonel Marian, the head of the faculty of military science, quitted the students. "Boys, I know your trouble. But we are ~~xxxxxx~~ too small a group to go out, the police would disperse us." Somebody said that the university had a mimeographing machine. We decided to use it though this was illegal. We began to work after we decided to hold a general meeting on October 24 to which we would invite ~~xxx~~ delegations of workers of the plants of Budapest, ~~xxx~~ representatives of the intellectuals and of the other universities of Budapest.

Then we got word that the Writers' Association would put a ~~xxxxx~~ wreath on October 23 on the statue of General Bem, following the events in Poland. At the same time, another news came: the Writers' Association would ask the youth to demonstrate, too. The young communist writer Peter Kuczka said that this was not correct, that only a wreath would be ~~xxx~~ laid at the statue. The students therefore decided to take part independently in the ceremony, and to start from the technical university.

October 23.

By the morning, several thousands copies of the 14 points had been stenciled. Some of the country-side representatives had also written them down. Teaching stopped that morning, and students stood at the doors of the university and distributed the leaflets. Stencils were also sent by motorcycle to the country-side, especially to the mining districts, such as Tatabanya, etc. The taxidrivers were given copies to hand to the whole population of Budapest. The 14 points appeared on public posters, were brought into barracks and plants. Delegations were dispatched to factories. Those who went to Csepel were thrown out by the Party management, but had time to distribute the leaflets to the workers around them.

At 3 P.M. the students met for the demonstration. The radio announced that Minister of Interior Piros had forbidden the demonstration. We immediately sent representatives to him to ask the lifting of the ban. Five minutes later, the interdiction was lifted; this caused great joy among us. By that time, everybody in the city and elsewhere knew that a demonstration was to be held.

An army lieutenant asked us to send a delegation to the Stalin military school where the soldiers wanted to join the demonstration. I went there while the other students left for the statue of General Bem. When I reached the barracks, the soldiers had already decided to join the demonstration and were coming out. I climbed on a bench and explained to them the aims of the demonstration and what the youth expected from the army.

We wanted the demonstrations to be orderly. If a crowd with discipline expresses a common will, it is stronger than if it would shout in all directions. We wanted the demonstration to be silent, and this silence was the expression of the embitterment of the people. I asked the soldiers to behave in the same manner.

When we approached the statue of Bem, the atmosphere had changed and the crowd was singing. At the square, the Petöfi Circle had a car with a loudspeaker, which told news. The army lieutenant said: "The army with the people, the people with the army!" Peter Veress read the demands of the Writers' Association. The crowd sang several times the national anthem. We wanted to get another car with a loudspeaker.

I was standing near the barrack at the square. Two soldiers asked me what was going on. I gave them a leaflet, and they went in to read it to the others. 15 minutes later, national flags appeared at the windows of the barrack, and even on the roof.

Many speeches were still heard, but the square began to prove too small. The flag of 1848 with the Kossuth crest was put on the statue. Around 6 P.M. somebody shouted: let's go to the Parliament, and the big march began. The bridges, especially the Margaret bridge, were full of people going to Pest. When I reached the Parliament building, one thousand people were already there, with a huge Kossuth crest, shouting many slogans: "Russians, Go Home!", "Imre Nagy in the Government, Gero in the Danube!". When finally all the people arrived, the crowd was some 20,000 strong. There was simply no room left.

At the same time, maybe 5 P.M., the people had started their struggle with the statue of Stalin. Before the Parliament, some students returned to the university, ~~xx~~ others stayed. I lived near the radio, and decided to go home for dinner. What happened after my departure before the Parliament was told to me by friends.

slogans/

The crowd kept shouting and waiting for the Government to do something. The people wanted Imre Nagy. Gero came back on the same day from his talks in Belgrad, and was told of the events. He made a short speech which simply was an insult for the demonstrators, and produced the effect of oil thrown into the fire.

The lights were turned off in front of the Parliament building. "Do they think that we are stupid?" shouted the crowd. Imre Nagy arrived and spoke. By that time, the statue of Stalin had fallen and was being pulled down to the National Museum.

A delegation went to the radio building and asked the radio to read the 14 points, as it was the only way to let them know. The commander of the building called for reinforcements from the AVO. On my way home, I saw that the radio was heavily guarded by secret policemen with machine pistols. ~~xx~~ The people asked to be let in into the studio, but the AVO refused. They tried then to climb into the building. The first row of AVO men put on their bayonets, and tear-gas bombs were thrown into the crowd. The people came back, and in the scuffle, a young man of 30 was wounded by a bayonet. An AVO officer ordered the people to disperse, then shot at them, killing one person. Some soldiers, who had weapons, fired back. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Many students ran to the "Freedomfighters' Clubs" in order to get weapons there. When I arrived, a wounded student was just carried away. The fighting was already on. The Russians came in during the night. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

(A)(4)

When I joined the demonstrations, I didn't think of any personal consequences. The university could have been closed, and the students thrown out. I had no fear, only enthusiasm. A particular relief was that the DISZ has ceased ~~ix~~ in fact to exist since October 22. We felt that we could eventually change the road followed until then by the nation, and to embark it on a new road, with the support of all classes of the nation.

(6)

As for the outcome of the demonstrations, I did not think that the Government would accept all the demands. In the ~~xxx~~ afternoon, I felt the mounting tension, and I thought some clash would occur sooner or later, but not necessarily an armed conflict.

(7) Those who didn't take part in the demonstrations either worked or were afraid or not interested. AVO officers were there too, not because they supported us, but in order to observe the demonstrators. All classes were represented, men and woman, boys and girls, young and old alike. At the statue of Bem, many housewives wanted to join the ranks of the university students. A student made a remark, and a woman replied: "We want the same things you want, and we want to demonstrate, too." "You are right", said the students, "but you should then form your own group".

(8) The Writers' Association did not assume any leadership of the demonstrations. The universities decided to make independent demonstrations, also in front of the statue of Bem. Thus there was no central leadership.

(B) The fighting.

The fighting could have been avoided if the Communist politicians had been intelligent enough. Piros made a mistake when he forbade the demonstrations. Gerö could have stepped down in favor of Imre Nagy, and allow the formation of a government with several parties represented. Then the fighting may have been avoided. But actually this is impossible to imagine, because the Party didn't want to relinquish its leadership.

I heard the term "freedom fighter" for the first time on RFE on October 24. This word was not used immediately. We simply said: "Ours" and "the AVO-s".

Though I had a pistol received from a police officer, I did not take part in the actual fighting.

When the people who were in front of the Parliament heard of the shooting before the radio building, they all went there. Groups of youths on cars went all around the city, got weapons from the arm plants and distributed them before the parliament. Many weapons came from army barracks, most of them light weapons, with a few machine guns and later, automatic guns. When the National Guards were formed, they were equipped with heavy weapons and tanks. The first tanks which arrived before the radio building on October 24 belonged to Hungarian army units stationed at ~~E~~ Piliscsaba. One of them could use only its machine-gun. Both helped to take over the building.

When the regular policemen took side with the people, many AVO men put on regular police uniforms and created much confusion. The university was empty, because many students were in the fortress at Buda, organizing the national guards. The commander, Marian, had been wounded and ~~he~~ was in bed for three days.

The people began to occupy the public buildings, stormed the radio. In the morning of October 24, most of the public buildings were occupied with the exception of the various AVO barracks, the radio and the Party headquarters in the Vth district. National guards with red-white-green armbands patrolled the streets. The radio fell at 11 A.M. -with the exception of the steel dome-- and the broadcasts ceased.

Russian tanks ~~had~~ held the bridges on the Danube. I spoke to the crew of one of them, telling them that we wanted a better life, and the end of the terror. The Russians put on a Hungarian flag and said they would not shoot. Other tanks displayed white flags. These tanks were withdrawn later, and their crews may well be in Siberia today.

Around October 27 or 28, we put a guard at the university and began to issue identification cards. It was difficult to go out in the streets. The food supply of several universities had difficulties, too. We held a general meeting, as we wanted to establish a directing organ embracing the representatives of all the other universities. Thus we founded the Revolutionary Subcommittee of Buda, which included the university of technical sciences (chemists, mechanics, etc), the faculties of ~~the~~ construction industry and traffic. The commander of the university students battalions was lieutenant-colonel Marian. We had the support of several technicians of the Institute of Military sciences. Some of the students had economic tasks, others, military ones. Personally, I did not accept any leadership. The students were armed in the university. We formed a radio and an information unit. There were messengers who delivered orders, requisitioned gas, etc.

There was no problem with the food. Many foodstuffs came from the country and were distributed free by the peasants. Later, the Red Cross also began to distribute food. Our armed groups did not take part in any major actions, but carried on many surprise-attacks, and helped wherever they could. In general, the students' military training was not complete. Some students remained in army barracks and took part in heavy fighting. But in general, the students' role during the revolution was rather ^{of} political than ~~of~~ military importance.

A remark about the freedom fighters: There was a Communist organization called the "Freedom Fighters" which replaced the former "levents" youth organization. This organization gave military training to the youth. During the revolution, the instructors formed small armed groups with quite successful results.

As to say who fought during which period, this is difficult to say. In our district, they were various groups of freedom fighters. The radio was guarded by army units. Several Hungarian tanks were near the Museum, which wanted to fight but had no ammunition. We sent them to the radio and heard later that they captured ammunition from the Russian and the AVO. Who was armed and who was not? The following story will answer this question: A guard stops a civilian of 40 passing-by with a rifle. "I'm going home for supper", says the man. "Where did you get this gun?" asks the guard. "Today, every honest Hungarian has a gun" replied the man, and the guard let him go. All ages and all classes were represented, and no such distinctions can be made.

(6) As for my feelings, I was not afraid of being shot, though I didn't fight personally. During the first days, the shooting was unusual, later one became quite used to it. Once I was in front of the New York Palace, where some 70 people were queuing in front of a store. Somebody opened fire from a house, hitting the store, and wounding two young men who fell to the ground, covered with blood.

III-C The Re-Invasion

Until the time of the re-invasion, on November 4, I spent my time organizing the university students of the university of technical sciences.

When I saw that the various political parties were reorganized, and when we heard that negotiations had been started with the Russians, we felt ~~xxx~~ more free. But from a military point of view, we could not believe that the Russians were leaving, when they were pouring new troops into Hungary. They had to withdraw their troops from Budapest because they could not use them any more. The people of Budapest were able to express themselves freely, to talk over why they had fought. But they were not fooled by the Russians' withdrawal.

I knew immediately by phone, on October 29, that the Russians were remaining outside Budapest. I was asleep when the Russian tanks came in, and had quite a musical awakening. Our neighborhood was immediately occupied, and ~~xx~~ I couldn't go out.

I had no previous plan to go out to the West, and left Budapest on November 9. Until then, I was still hoping for some chain reaction around Hungary. After Budapest was occupied, and when we heard that several students had been arrested and deported from the students' homes, the situation became hopeless. A friend told me to go to Vienna with him, and I decided to join him.

IV EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A.

I didn't expect Western help, but hoped that a chain reaction would hit Romania, Bulgaria and the other satellites, and also the Soviet Union. This would have solved the problem for Hungary, because without Russian support, the AVO would have been helpless. The army sided with the people, and also the airforce. But the Russians had surrounded the airfields. The Russians would have rushed at home if there would have been some trouble there. In general, the Russians did not like the fighting very much.

During the revolution, I heard a news on the radio that Pope Pius XII had started a crusade of prayers for Hungary. The West could have also sent several wagons of ammunition. But even if one arms a small nation of with 9,5 million inhabitants, it cannot resist against a huge nation with 200 million people. If the West gives military assistance, Hungary would have become a new Korea. The Czechs would have joined the Russians. As for me, I was hoping that the UN, would send ~~its~~ representatives, or rather Hammarskjold himself, into the country.

B. I formed my expectations from conversations with my friends. Since ~~the UN~~ Hungary became a member of the UN, we knew something of the Charter of the organization.

C. I met representatives of the Austrian Red Cross during the revolution, but didn't mention this problem to them.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondant's own family background.

From 1933 till 1945, my father was a milk dealer and the owner of a threshing-machine. In 1945 he went to work in a plant at Salgotarjan as a locksmith. In 1946, he became a maintenance worker with a ground-drilling enterprise. In 1947, he went to a foreman training school and became a drilling-master. In 1955, he was employed by the ground-drilling company of Putnok, a branch of the Miskolc center.

His education: 8 years elementary school.
 locksmith apprentice examination
 dairy technician examination
 drill foreman examination.

My family owns 4 holds of land, and a house.

B. 2. Two classes were in evidence in Hungary: the workers and the peasants.

There were also social groups which were the remains of former classes: the small artisans (in small number). The new groups in the peasantry: the individual farmers, and the collective farmworkers. ~~peasants~~. Finally, the intelligentsia (technical and others, teachers and professors).

Before the war, three groups in the peasantry: small, medium-size and big landowners. The big landowners, called kulaks by the Communists, were persecuted, and their land was taken from them.

I had contacts with the peasants, the small artisans and the technical intelligentsia. The group I knew the least were the collective farm workers.

My family belongs to the workers' class.

The peasantry was the most unfortunate class in Hungary. Because of its isolation, the regime could oppress it much more than the workers. The peasants were the most diligent among all the social classes. In 1947, they saved the country from hunger and starvation. But under Communism they had no more enthusiasm for producing. The surpluses were taken from them by the state at a very low price. As a result, Hungary had to import agricultural products instead of exporting them like before.

The workers were the victims of the economic system of Communism, They were harrassed by work, had high norms and could not earn enough for a decent living.

The intelligentsia.

They could be compared to chess figures in the Communis economic system. They had no significant role. For ex. the writers were told what to write, and what not to write. The same applies to the sculptors, composers. Together with the office employees, they were mere chess puppets. The teachers were badly paid, with no possibilities to complete their self-training. There was the so-called Party intelligentsia, which included all leading Communists, Party Secretaries, Government members, members of the secret police, etc. These people enjoyed all the material advantages.

The small artisans could go ahead with great difficulties and many restrictions. They were burdened with heavy taxes, and the material they could use as well as their monthly income were fixed by the state. They couldn't do much business, and were quite enable to compete with the big factories in thehands of the state.

2. How did these different classes react to Communism?

In 1945, I was a young child, and can only speak of what happened after that time. The peasants were most of all opposed to the compulsory delivery system, by which they had to deliver a certain amount of their produces to the state, with hardly something left for themselves. The peasants lost all enthusiasm to produce. They rather spent their time working on their own small plot than to sweat fir the state. They called the Communists the dirty ones.

When piece wages were introduced in the factories the workers thought it may be a good thing, because if a worker worker works more, he will get more money. But in the Communist system there was a difference between the production percentage and the forint percentage. If for ex. someone produced 10% more, his earnings increased only by 6 or 7%. If paid inwage hours, the workers would not get his piece wages. The workers were thus cheated and exploited who could not earn more by producing more. ~~xxxxxx~~They would have liked to hrow out of the factories the Party secretary and the Personnel manager.

The so-called Party intelligentsia - Party secretaries, enterprise managers, etc. were not independent men. Through their leaders' orders, they had to follow Moscow's instructions and were restricted in many ways. Only a performance was expedted from them. For the other intellectuals, they were all deprived of their freedom and could hardly earn enough to live.

C. The peasants and workers were closer to each other than before, The construction industry ~~xxxxx~~ built a bridge for the two classes. No opposition of class between them. The workers came to appreciate better the work of the ~~xxxxx~~ peasants. The intelligentsia came also closer, because it suffered together with the other classes.

E. How an individual might advance himself under Communism.

1.

This was possible to a certain point, but depended on who ~~xxx~~ the individual was. Often somebody who had no intelligence or proper training could go ahead if he was a good Communist. In a village, the president of the local council had only 3 years of elementary school. But this depended also on the position to be filled. The decisive factor was always the individual's political views. But when a bridge had to be built over the Danube, this didn't matter too much. When a position could be filled with some talented individual who did not speak up against the regime, the Communists would do it. But this did not apply to the direction and management of the enterprises.

2. Some people can support some ideology - or pretend to support it -- for their own interests, even if they don't always approve or understand it completely. ~~xxxxx~~ Others are able to do anything for money.

F. The privileged groups in Hungary under Communism:

The so-called Party intelligentsia apparatus, the secret policemen and army officers, who are always needed in a terroristic regime, and also the quality inspectors, who could be found everywhere in industry and agriculture alike, and on whom much depended.

A. Effects of Communism on family life.

The father alone was unable to support adequately his family. In order to assure sufficient means of living for the family, the mother was also obliged to work. The parents had thus less time to bring up their children, and also less time for distractions. At the same time, all the material conditions were not even solved. Many families were obliged in homes which declared unhealthy by the medical authorities, because they were unable to move to better places. There was never money enough, and a continual struggle for the daily life.

Some members of the family became eventually CP members, and differences of views arose between children and parents, or between wife and husband. This had especially bad effects on the children, as quarrelling parents can't give a normal education to their children. Many divorces resulted also of this situation. I knew several women who left their husbands when the latter became members of the AVO.

In the peasantry, the parents and the children stayed closer to each other as the peasants gave work to their children. With the workers were not so much under the influence of the parents and of family education. They either worked or loafed on the streets and fell under the influence of bad companions.

B. 1. Yes, Communism changed the way children are brought up. In school, the children don't receive physical punishment. Thus the children criticize their teachers. But at home, the situation is probably the same as before Communism.

2. As for the extent to which children obey or disobey their parents, this is a question difficult to answer. If the child gets a serious education, he'll be serious. If the family is broken, the child can fall under bad influences (alcohol, etc.). This will naturally affect the child's life.

There were frequent conflict between school and parental values on the religious line. The parents tried to give their children a religious education which was in conflict with the materialistic spirit of school education.

C. Marriage, courtship and sex patterns.

There were less problems involved when people wanted to get married. After marriage, if the partner proved to be unsatisfactory, one could get a divorce and get married again. No more differences of class or of fortune affected marriage. This was evident especially in the country, among the peasants who owned more or less land, as the land was no more a big fortune but sometimes a burden. In the city, there were no rich people either. But there were also new obstacles, such differences of ideology between the wife and husband, or between their parents or relatives. The religious question also became less important a problem. Many couples had only a civil wedding.

Sex behavior.- In my circle of friends, we had no such problems. During the war, I was a child. And when I was in Budapest, I didn't know what the situation was there before.

Under Communism, the moral laws were not taken into consideration. As a result, the feeling of sin disappeared in the people. In that respect, the young girls were not held responsible. For this, the communist system is first of all responsible. A few years more, and the situation would have been much worse.

Prostitution was not official, but was practiced illegally. In the Royal restaurant, several persons were arrested for that reason. Before the revolution, the Ministry of the Interior ordered the demolition of a meeting place called "Ilkovits". The papers wrote about ~~sexual matters~~ sexual matters, and the problems connected with them.

D. Yes, Communism affected friendship. Now, someone had more friends than before. The various classes, because of their common fate, came closer to each other. But there were also obstacles, such as differences in political views. But this did not manifest itself ~~in~~ among people of common interests. There were no more rich or poor people. Only ideological obstacles.

2. This is a good question in my opinion. If I don't like that he joins the Party, and if he is my friend, he'll tell me before he joins it. If I oppose his joining, and if he becomes a member, then he is not my friend any more. I think one could continue a friendship keeping politics out of it, unless one party is a fanatical communist or ~~is~~ a fanatical anti-communist.

E. Crime and alcoholism.

1. I can't tell you whether there has been an increase or not. Many thefts were committed in the factories, but these were not considered as crimes. If the plant is mine, reasoned the worker, and if the state does not pay me enough wages to support my family, I'll help myself. Many people were on the streets and could not get any decent job. In most cases, they touched to the property of the state. One of these people, a man nick-named "Dönci" was chased for the years by the police of Budapest which was unable to catch him.

The police was not very efficient. When a shop-window was plundered, an ad would appear in the papers, asking the neighbors to help the police in finding the guilty one. Or when a man was killed, the police called for the co-operation of those who were eventually present at the scene of the crime. The AVG worked better, but it was too busy with political crimes.

The many robberies of stores can be explained also that way: several store managers could not give proper accounts for their money as well as foodstuffs in time of inventory. They often solved the problem by "arranging" a robbery of the store.

2. People drink more beer than wine because the beer is cheaper. More people are drinking today than before. They see that they can't get anything for what they earn, and are discouraged to save money. So in their despair they drink their money, or rather what's left of it.

3. Juvenile delinquency.

Under Communism in Hungary everybody had to work, it was declared a right. An interesting group among the youth were the so-called "jampecs". They imitated the West in the way they dressed, and they also showed that way that they didn't agree with the regime. Most of them worked, but some of them had no professional working permit, and had a small business of their own. As they didn't work for the state, they became the so-called hooligans. Among the girls, there were many prostitutes.

This behavior was exaggerated by the Communists. They ~~xxxx~~ tried to make these young people unpopular before the eyes of the others. All social classes were represented among these young people, whose average age ranged from 17 to 25.

I don't consider their acts criminal, though I don't agree with them either. These people were not under the influence of their parents.

VII. RELIGION

A. Effects of Communist rule on religion.

The ideological basis of the Communist system is materialism. The whole system is based on a huge ideological struggle of materialism against all other principles or ideals. Religion is the main obstacle to the spreading of materialism. In order to spread materialism, the Communists persecuted the religions. In theory, the freedom of religion was guaranteed in the Constitution, but in practice the state kept an eye on the citizens' religious life.

For ex., if a student is too religious, it becomes clear that he does not agree with what he is taught, as most of ~~xxx~~ the instruction was based upon materialism.

The religious schools were nationalized. The priests who opposed this measure were persecuted. I knew one priest like this, who was interned allegedly for having punished a child who didn't know his lesson. The regime wanted to deprive the new generation of all religious instruction. Often motorcycle races were organized on Sundays around churches. The Communists tried to divide the forces of religion with the introduction of the so-called peace priests, but the results were not very successful.

The ~~xxxxx~~ Catholic religion was the hardest hit, because it was the largest religious group in Hungary, which offered the strongest unity and the strongest resistance.

B. Religion is not the most important factor in my life. It is less important a factor than in my parents' life. I guess I'm like the average person of my kind in Hungary. It was not so dangerous to go to church. For the students, it was a bad sign in their cadre file.

C. The churches should function in complete freedom of religion. They should always stay away from politics and from the government. I think religious instruction should be compulsory in the elementary schools, but not necessarily in the secondary schools.

A film or a play, etc. always try to reflect the spirit of a period. If the period's spirit is immoral, censorship would not help in any way. In a complete democracy, everybody should write as he pleases. Criticism only should be permitted, but no censorship.

D. The Jewish religion was also hurt by Communism. I hardly knew a few Jews, and those were not religious.

There were two types of Jews, those who were religious, and those who were non-religious, a man like Gerö, for ex. I think that many Jews were CP members, but I don't know well their motives and mentality.

During the revolution, religion was not important ~~should~~. Everybody fought.

I don't think the Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary. If they had to be afraid of a new Hungary, that Hungary won't be independent.

VIII THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. By Hungarian youth, people mean the young workers, peasants intellectuals and students (high schools and university), from 15 to 28 years of age.

B. Did the youth of Hungary take the lead in the revolution?

The Hungarian revolution had no central leadership. But the fighting was conducted by young people, the majority of the local commanders were under 30.

They took the lead for several reasons. Marxism-Leninism was compulsory in the schools. We all thought it was the biggest senselessness. This philosophy has no steady basis. Many of its principles could not be explained adequately, because they could not be realized in practice, in Russia as well as in Hungary. We saw that the practice was the opposite of the theory. Therefore the students were those who saw the best between theory and practice.

The older people can't change much in life. But the chances and opportunities were restricted.

During the revolution, the older people were totally moved by the actions and behavior of the youth. They also joined the revolution. Maybe some of them were afraid. But on the other hand, the young ~~people~~ people didn't have to fear too much of losing their job.

C. Schools and educational system in Hungary during the past 10 years.

In the universities, the students didn't like to have too many compulsory branches, which they disliked or did not need, but still had to study. The students should be able to choose their demands themselves.

Could go to a university those who had a good cadre file, a good diploma or a protection. To have a good cadre file meant that one was not a class alien, i.e. an enemy of the existing social system. (like the children of kulaks, for ex.). With Party protection, some weak students could enter too. But chances existed that a non-Communist teacher might throw them out at the examinations.

In the university, the student could not go where he wanted, but where there was room, and where he was sent. He could say very little. When the students had completed their studies, they had to wait before being sent somewhere to fill a vacant position.

The quality of the education.-

We had most of the professors of before 1945. Many young teachers had also achieved their studies before 1945. So there was not so much difference in the quality of the teaching. But compared to 1945, the system was less independent. The individual discussion system was introduced, for those who didn't understand the courses. The university education thus fell back towards the level of the secondary schools. Lately most of the courses were printed. As for the technical branches, the notes and books were good.

For the teachers, it was not always essential to be a good Communist in order to go ahead. Talent and knowledge were the essential factors. Class aliens couldn't teach, unless they were irreplaceable. Some good Party members could eventually assistant-professors, but they realized soon how much they were ignorant, and that they could earn more in a factory.

E. The Communists devoted much time to indoctrinate the youth. But they failed to indoctrinate it because they just bored them and were wasting their time. Their ideology didn't offer adequate ground to the youth. It was far from being perfect, and the practice was not similar to the theory.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A. I was dissatisfied with the system of education, by the oppression of cultural and artistical life. By the internal situation of the country, the tax system, the difficulties for employment, the ban on the Western press, the activities of the secret police.

B. People were complaining mostly about their small earnings and the little value of money.

I. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. 1. Standard of living.

I lived in a students' home in Budapest. We were 8 students in one room which was not even very large. It had four bunks, four tables and four wardrobes. I paid 50 forints per month for my room. It was impossible to learn, especially to draw, and one had to do it in the library of the technical university.

I took my meals at the students' canteen. Had only lunch and dinner, as I didn't have enough money for breakfast. The dinner cost 120 forints per month, the lunch, 80 forints. (the breakfast was 27). The food was of poor quality, and one had to supplement it with parcels received from home.

My parents had to buy all my clothes, this caused the most difficulty.

My monthly budget was as follows: 140 for. scholarship (this amount depended on one's marks), and 90 for. social allowance (depended on one's fortune). The students from the country received an extra 50 forints allowance to pay their rent. I spent 200 forints on my meals, and the remaining 30 on books, etc. I had to secure my pocket-money, and my parents bought my clothes.

To buy a radio or a motorcycle was a luxury for a student. Or to travel by plane instead of the train.

My family's standard of living changed a lot. Today my father earns only two thirds of what he earned before the war, and his has great difficulties in supporting everybody. My brother, who was also studying at a university, needed clothes, too.

There are less wages today, and the living standard increased at least by minus 20% ! From 1948 on, the living standard declined, and one had to look for more money. ~~xxxxx~~. It fell down in 1945, and today, it has reached only the two thirds of the standard of that time.

2. Yes, I saw well-furnished apartments, with plenty of food in the storage-chamber. One of these people was an independent tailor who was a good worker. The other was family was that of an AVO captain, wh~~a~~ lived in a villa paid for by the regime.

3. What accounts for the standard of living during the last eight years?

The economic system of the whole Soviet empire. Hungary's economic policy depended ~~of~~ of the Kremlin's economic policy. One year interval was left between the Russian and the Hungarian five-year plan, so that the Communist leaders ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ could find out the needs of the Soviet economy and orientate the Hungarian economy accordingly.

We sold products for fillers to the Soviet Union, and other countries. For ex. the "April 4" machine factory manufactured furnaces for Egypt. Egypt only paid the value of the goods, and a part of the work. The rest was paid by the state which lost huge sums in that business deal, which was probably done for propaganda purposes.

The workers were not interested in the production, as the state did not increase their income. Often the money invested by the state did not yield any profit. For ex. the Stalin iron works had to be erected near the Yugoslav border, at Mohacs. After the quarrel with Tito, it was built up at Dunapentele. Millions of forints were wasted on expansion projects. For the four years I lived in ~~the~~ students' homes, the building was continually under repair, the pipes were dripping, the plaster fell down from the ceiling and the walls. The Budapest subway project cost also millions to the state which finally had to abandon it. Because of bad management, many factories lacked of raw materials, energy, etc. and operated with a deficit.

The land also was not utilized well. The state farms worked with a deficit, and the individual farmers were not interested to produce the maximum. The kolkhozes ate up huge sums of money, with no profit for the state. In theory we learned that politics are determined by economy, but in the practice, we saw just the opposite: the economy was determined by politics.

B. My father earned about 1,200 per month as a drilling-master. He got a raise in 1956. But my mother had also to work (agriculture).

C. I don't know well the prices as I never did any shopping. But I remember paying 1,350 forints in a state store for my last suit. The value of the forint went down continually. For the same amount of money, one would get less goods as time passed by.

2. It was not important ~~xxxx~~ whether what goods were bought or what their quality was. The main thing was to be able to obtain every article. Therefore quality was not essential. The state had no competitors, and the people had to buy what they had, and they did not have very much choice. Thus the quality only deteriorated. Only in some technical products did it increase.

3. The stores were not well furnished in Budapest. One could tell what goods such and such store was selling. The prices were fixed by the state which owned all stores. The market place of Budapest was the emplacement of ~~from~~ the free market, together with the other markets. The produces were more expensive there, but they were of better quality. They could not be sold at lesser prices, as it was impossible to compete with the state. The state simply took away the produces from the peasants. It paid them 10 to 20 fillers for an egg, and resold it for 1,20 forints or more. It paid 80 fillers for a quart of good wine, and sold it for 16-18 forints.

3. Yes, in many cases, the consumers were not supplied adequately. For ex. the bread would arrive on Saturday at closing time, and very few people would be able to get it. There were many shortages, and queues. In 1954-55, for ex., the meat was the biggest problem. People had sometimes to queue all night in order to be the first ones to be in the store when it opened.

Spare parts could be obtained only for machines manufactured in Hungary. But for an American radio, for ex., this was absolutely impossible.

I didn't see any spoilage of food. I only saw food wastage in the USA, where the producers would be much poorer otherwise.

4. The commodities which were especially in short supply were meat, lard, wine (for a long time), lemons.

5. Were unavailable colonial fruits, or too expensive, TV sets, refrigerators, electrical appliances, vacuum cleaners.

6. There was a black-market for razor blades (Gillettes), nylons, knitted wear. I didn't know much about it.

E. 1. I preferred to live in Budapest, where I could study and could benefit from many other cultural opportunities, such as movies, theatre, etc.

The agricultural workers had a better diet, but the city people were dressed better and had more distractions. The general standard of living was maybe higher in the cities. Politically, one had an easier time in the country.

2. Opinion on collectivization.

Near our village, some people had been prisoners in the Soviet Union and knew the kolkhose system. The people thought it was terrible and I was also very afraid of it.

~~xxxx~~ Extensive farming is more practical than farming on small estates, because of the possibilities of mechanization. This means that collective farming may be a good thing. In Hungary, a few kolkhoses were good and gave good revenues. But they were created by means of coercion, and also did not use adequate means of production. It couldn't interest the peasants to produce as much as possible, because the work they did besides the cooperative work gave them more revenue. ~~xxxx~~ Thus they neglected the latter one.

There was a lack of experts, and no advantage was taken of the natural resources of the land. There was also lack of capital. The land and the water were there, but the possibilities were not exploited.

Most of the peasants opposed collectivization, especially the large landowners, followed by those who had medium-size, then small lands.

In several cases I heard of collectives being dissolved. In our village, a collective farm was established for two years (1952 to 1954). It was dissolved because there was no more income. There was too much land, which could not be cultivated.

3. If I could choose, I would choose private farming.

4. Agricultural system in a free Hungary.

I want a free market, and complete freedom for production. Today, production is determined only on the basis of contracts with the state. The land must belong to the peasants who cultivate it. The state could only levy some tax on the land.

Under Communism, the land lost its former value in Hungary. Before 1945, to buy 2 holds (1 acre) of land was a big thing. Many peasants kept working their small land so that it would not go to a kolkhose. Under ImrevNagy, there was a short relaxation, but not a substantial change occurred.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

A. 1. Before 1948.

In 1947, I heard Rakosi in person (with Mrs. Tildy) tell the miners at Salgotarjan: "Miners, I gave you a good forint. Be careful that the speculators don't impair it". He also mentioned and praised the British and American democracies together with Tito.

I am not interested in politics, like my father and grandfather who were smallholders.

At that time, a Communist in our mind was similar to a bad man. And I was amazed to see that those people were not ashamed to go out on the street and to tell that they were Communists.

B. Views on the Party since 1948.

1. First there were the convinced Communists. In 1945, they got 17% of the votes at the elections. In 1948, many Social Democrats became automatically Communists with the merger of the two parties. Many joined the Party after 1948, when it held the power, and could assure them a career.

Today, a few Party members are still convinced ones. Then come the stupid ones, who are fooled. Then those who like to believe everything. Others are Communists for material interests, and most of the leaders belonged to that category (Rakosi, Gerö, etc). Maybe a few were also convinced Communists. Finally come those who were

forced to join the Party. They had for ex. a good job, and were asked by the Party secretary to join. If they refused, they ~~was~~ exposed themselves to be fired, in ~~xxxx~~ which case they became class aliens and found great difficulties to get a new job. If he was not fired, the person invited to join the CP was often put into a smaller job if he declined the invitation.

2. Party policies.

The Party began officially to play the leading political role after 1948. Its policy underwent as many changes as asked by the Kremlin. But the Communists continued to promise as much as they did ~~in~~ before 1948. In Moscow, the leaders of the Soviet CP had also to change their policies according to the evolution of the international situation.

There was a serious struggle within the Party about the organization of the agricultural system, and the reforms of the economic system. In 1953, the majority wanted economic reforms, but later, the others took over again the leadership.

3. It didn't matter whether or not the Party member liked what the Party said or did. His only duty was to submit himself to the leadership of the Party, to say what the Party said, to obey and to execute its orders.

The Party morale. Within the Party, the atmosphere was such that nobody could express frankly his opinion or criticize the Party, though every member was said to enjoy the same advantages and opportunities.

4. The leaders of the Communist Party.

These people were CP members trained in the Soviet Union. Their task was to execute the Kremlin's orders in their own sphere of competence. This was Rakosi's and Gerö's aim. Most of them believed in what they did. But these puppets also wanted to enjoy all the material advantages of their system. In this respect, every person is somewhat different. Rakosi probably suffered from megalomania. But some leaders were also intelligent, maybe too cunning.

C. Opposition to Communism.

There were many demonstrations, even a strike in ⁴Tatabánya. In 1954, people began to demonstrate in the streets of Budapest after Hungary lost the soccer world championship. It ended with a few CP members beaten up, and the police dispersing the crowds.

In Viskolc, there was another demonstrations, but I can't remember any details. I learned of these things from acquaintances. Then we had last year the debates of the Petöfi Circle.

In the enterprises, there were so-called ~~xxx~~ acts of sabotage and many thefts. The peasants, on the other hand, didn't not make the deliveries regularly.

As for the effectiveness, the state certainly suffered some losses. Therefore this kind of opposition also contributed to undermine the regime, first of all economically.

Sabotage was replaced with time by thefts from the factories. Among themselves the people criticized the regime at all times.

3. The activities of the intellectuals.

For the past years, few works of young writers were published in the magazines and ~~xxx~~ newspapers, and the more talented writers were silenced or could not publish their works. Something could be felt in the air, and a reaction was about to happen. First in 1953, but only for a very short time, because the censorship was maintained. After the 20th Party Congress, serious changes occurred.

A freer atmosphere was created inside the Writers' Association and the newspapers. The writers began publishing articles which contained many criticisms of the regime and of its lackeys. The people followed the example. On October 1, 1956, a new paper, the "Monday Gazette" said that it would not write any more lies, and would be a "clean" paper. There were no Communists among those who wrote it, and its success was considerable. On Sunday evening, the people of Budapest had to queue in order to buy it.

The Patófi Circle, consisted of young writers, journalists and students. Efforts were made to report the debates of the Circle to the press. Many circles became interested in the same problems and in the fate of the country. The nation realized that it could criticize and speak freely. The impression was that the Party was withdrawing and was letting the people take their own decisions. There were no restrictions until Piros banned the students' demonstration. At that point, the people woke up completely, and so did the Communists, who realized that otherwise that would have been the end for them.

The intellectuals expressed, in literary language, what the people could not say. Many intellectuals saw clearly everything which was wrong in Hungary. In that sense, they can be considered as primarily responsible for the evolution leading to the revolution.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The Hungarian secret police.

1. What sort of people were they?

Some of the AVO men were drafted into the secret-police, and had to serve 3 years there. The real AVOs were those who served permanently in the force. The green AVOs were border-guards only. The real AVOs were the blue AVOs.

Most of them were rascals. Many joined because of the high salaries. A lieutenant would get 10,000 forints a month. I had no personal experience with the AVO. Neither did I know of secret policemen who wanted to leave the force, but I think ~~that~~ that such cases existed.

4. Not everybody lived in constant fear and ~~was~~ anxiety in Hungary. But many lived in constant fear and even more in constant anxiety.

5. The informer system.-

Most of the janitors spied on the inhabitants of the house, and reported to the AVO. A spy was built in everywhere, in universities, schools, factories. Many personal differences also resulted in spying. Some spies wanted to win personal merits. Other people hoped to get somebody's else job and spied on him. The informers' motives were usually material advantages in their own interests.

6. Not necessarily.

7. During the revolution, I saw a group of AVOs - drafted privates - ~~who~~ defended the radio building, and who surrendered. The people spat at them, and they tore off their uniforms and said they were no more members of the secret police. Another group came out, with their hands tied behind their back. Those had refused to shoot at the people, and had been tied by their officers in the building. As the AVO-men had no identification card, they didn't dare to go among the civilians. I didn't hear or see that any of them fought with the people.

8.

When Hungary is independent, they should be sent to the USSR. Or they should be forced to build a prison in which they would remain for the rest of their life.

9. The regular policemen were rough-necks. They never did know where the streets were and would always say: "I'm sorry, I'm in Budapest for a few months only." They were unable to catch the thieves and the criminals, and lately became bureaucrats.

During the revolution, they gave their weapons to the people, together with the green AVOs. I got my weapon from them, like most of the students.

The courts.

B. Yes, before 1945 a poor peasant could get fair treatment from the courts in a case against a rich man.

I know a concrete case which I was told by the party himself. Around 1935, a smith rented a threshing-machine, and after signing a contract with a certain big landowner, he sold him wheat. The wheat had to be delivered at a given time specified in the contract. But when the wheat was delivered, the landowner was not home. As the transportation cost money, the peasant ~~xxx~~ could not abandon the wheat, ~~xxx~~ took it back and sold it.

The landowner brought a suit against him. The peasant had a good defense, and won the suit. The judge even had the landowner pay for the transportation. The same peasant won a second suit against the same landowner the next year.

2. I don't know much of the People's Courts of 1945-1947.

4. There were many prisons in Hungary, in which the conditions were very difficult and unhealthy. They were also equipped with the most modern instruments of torture.

C. The Hungarian army.

1. Role played during the revolution.

I don't dare to speak too much of the army, as it disintegrated during the revolution. The officers were cowards, and none among them had the courage to fight, especially among those who were in the Ministry of Defense. The soldiers sided in most cases with the people. Many fled from their barracks. This gave enthusiasm to the freedom fighters and strengthened them militarily, as they had now trained men among their ranks.

I was not surprised by the army's actions, ~~xxx~~ But I was surprised to see so many cowardly officers.

2. Every-day life in the army.

I spent one month in the army at Debrecen, in the summer of 1956. We bathed four times and had to jump six times in muddy ditches. We also learned how to drink burning coffee, this only during the last three days of our stay. We washed floors at least 30 times. We also did some shooting with rifles and mortars. Most of all, we had political lectures which we all had to attend. Then we could all sit down in the fresh forests and have a good rest!

We were supposed to become reserve officers. There were many peasants among the officers, and some of them possessed a very low cultural level. Before us, students, they tried to show how intelligent they were. Some had been sent to military schools because they couldn't enter any university. The political officers had the same powers as the commandant of the regiment. The situation was the same in the battalions and divisions. These officers were all CP members.

2. The Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to its arrival in 1945. The tsarist army of 1848 had nothing in common with the present Soviet army.

I remember that ~~km~~ a Russian soldier wanted to shoot my father, when the latter tried to prevent him from stealing our last goose. Other soldiers intervened, but we lost the goose anyway. In our village, they shot a man who refused to give them his wine. Then the soldiers got drowned in the wine cellar. Some women were raped.

In my opinion, they were more afraid during the revolution of October 1956 than in 1945.

Relations between the Hungarian population and the occupation troops. I don't know too much, but they were far from being satisfactory. Around 1950-51, two Russian soldiers ordered two complete meals in a restaurant in Budapest, and left without paying the bill. The waiter ran after them and hit one of them with an empty bottle. The passers-by helped the waiter, but after a short scuffle, the Russians escaped. In brief, the Hungarians didn't like at all the Russian troops.

During the revolution, the occupation forces didn't show too much enthusiasm in shooting at the Hungarians. I think many knew that they were not doing right ~~at~~ when shooting at us, and some approved our demands. I'm sorry we didn't translate the 14 points into Russian!

The fresh troops had more modern weapons. They didn't know the real situation in Hungary. When I crossed a bridge on the Danube, I heard a Russian tell to a Hungarian worker: "There are so many Fascists in Budapest that we can't get them all, but we won't shoot you, because you're a worker!"

5. Yes to all six questions. In front of the parliament, the Russian tanks shot at the AVO, after one of their colonels was killed when the secret policemen opened fire on the crowd.

~~Some~~ A few Soviet tanks were taken by Hungarians, who drove them among the Russian tanks, thus creating much confusion. The Russians got panicky and began to shoot at each other.

I don't know of cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E. The bareaurocracy.

1. The whole administrative system was much too complicated. One was always told by an office to go to another office. The functionaries were simple rubber-stamps. There were too many papers. The bareaurocracy in the plants was terrible. The administrative section would sometimes occupy more space than the machines!

Some functionaries would try to help the people. Personally, I never had too much trouble with any of them. I had no personal friendship with any of them.

2. Self-criticism was just a good pleasantry. Its purpose was to have the people tell that they were willing to work better in the future. It always enjoyed Rakosi's favor.

F. It was always possible to get arpund some of the regulations. There was protection and there was corruption. For ex. a farmer has a license to kill a pig, and wants to kill another one, so he'll try to get the consent of the local council chairman. It was difficult to catch the people, because too many of them did the same thing.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Hungary will never be a strong member of the Coomunist camp. If the Russians continue to remain hhere, Hungary's economic situation and living standard will continue to deteriorate. Kadar's promises wân't raise the production, and the present economic policy will never compensate the losses suffered by the country. I don't think Kadar can stay too long in power. He ruins the country as well as the people.

I do hope that the Russian policy of force will fail in Hungary. In spite of the terror, the people can't be forced to work indefinitely, and they will remain dissatisfied. I have no hopes, only pressentiments.

(h) Passive resistance will continue in Hungary. The people don't want a war, but they know that the only way to talk to the Soviets is with the fist. They can also hope that there will be some inter-nak changes in the Soviet Union, but they might have to wait for a long time.

B. Before the revolution, I saw the following prospects for Hungary:
 a) independence in the frame of a united Eurápe b) in the frame of an association of the Danubian nations, similar to the idea of the confederation of Kossuth. I didn't think of war.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY.

A. I want a democratic, free and independent Hungary.

B. Our foreign trade should be completely free. The production must depend on the internal needs, not on those of the Soviets. Production must be adapted to the existing conditions.

Hungary has enough raw material and labor for light industry, but not for heavy industry. This should be developed together with agriculture. Production of instruments of precision should be developed.

(3) the national enterprises can remain in the hands of the state if they yield a good profit, the others should be sold to the public. Former owners would get proper compensations. The collective farms should be given in rent or distributed among those who want to cultivate them. The forests should be given to the people.

As for the industry, the big enterprises should remain ^{in/} the hands of the state. With this source of income, plus the taxes, the state should insure the budget and pay its functionaries. Small industry should go to private individuals.

c. If the government sets a maximum limit to the amount of land one person may own, this is no more democracy. The danger of possessing too much land could be corrected with an adequate taxation system.

2. The government of an independent Hungary.

I would prefer the first type of government, because the people could go before Parliament and claim for work until they would get it. With the other type of government, they would have no right to criticise it, and the government could reduce their salaries, and the people couldn't do a thing about it.

I would not outlaw the communist Party as long as ~~it~~ ~~it~~ doesn't oppose the existence of a free and democratic Hungary.

C. International position for an independent Hungary.

Neutrality, like Austria's and Switzerland. Free foreign trade.

I heard of the idea of a federation of Danubian states from my history teacher. Such a federation could solve the problem of the Danubian countries. I think many people in Hungary like this idea.

4. I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. The border should be corrected with Romania, the USSR (Carpatho-Ukraine), and Czechoslovakia (Kassa and Losonc). In a ~~future~~ Danubian federation, the borders would become unimportant. One obstacle: the populations are too mixed.

The most important problem remains however the creation of a free, democratic and independent Hungary.

IV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

A.

2. I didn't know of Khrushchev's secret speech.
3. I remember only the name of McCarthy from a few press articles.
8. I knew Rakosi had a Mongolian wife. His earlier career was written, in embellished form, in the school-books. He was supposed to have fought in 1919 in Salgotarjan. But people who fought there at that time told me that they had never met such a man.

B. I read several newspapers, such as Szabad Nep, Szabad Ifjusag (Free Youth), the Literary Journal, Nepszava, Szabad Fold (Free Land). All these papers could be found at the students' home.

As for the books, I read Hungarian classics, such as Mikszath, Moricz, and French ones, like Balzac, Stendhal. I read quite a lot, because I had to prepare examinations. Many books were written by Communists without any talent. I remember the novel "Reconciliation" (I don't remember the author's name) which won a Stalin prize. (It was Tamás Acel.-Interviewer).

2. People in Hungary read a great deal, but I don't know how much and how often before and after Communism.

3. I didn't trust what the newspapers said. It contained nothing but/news, but one tried to read between the lines. We would also official/ often "read" the opposite of what the paper said.

We read sometimes "Pravda" at the Russian language course.

There were no Western ~~press~~ publications. In that respect, Hungary was completely isolated. Those who travelled abroad were searched at the border.

4. There were books which were in the index, and were placed in a special chest. It contained religious books by Pazmany, and also anti-communist books. In the libraries, these books could not be found at all. Those who possessed them hid them at home, and borrowed them from each other.

C. All kinds of news was given by word of mouth. News about internal politics, foreign politics, economy, etc. People got the news from their friends. As for their reliability, this depended of the person who told it, and of the nature of the news. Of course, I did pass on information by word of mouth. What a naive question!

D. People talked about politics? Everybody, everywhere, from the simplest man to the ministers.

see/

F. I went often to the movies, and rarely to operas or operettas. I went to see all the new films. I liked a few French, Italian and Swedish films. I liked particularly "One Summer of Happiness" (Swedish) and an Indian film entitled "The Bum". I liked operas like "Madame Butterfly" and "Armen" and the ballet "The Fountain of the ~~Bakshi~~ Bakshi Seraglio".

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I hoped during the revolution that a similar reaction would
1. break out in the Soviet Union. I still hope that this will happen later.

2. I don't know the result of such free elections.

3. The top leaders of the Soviet Union aim at conquering the five continents for Communism.

B. 2. If free elections were held in Eastern Europe, the communists would lose them. In Hungary, the most popular of those countries is Poland, the less popular, I don't know, maybe Czechoslovakia. As for their standard of living, Czechoslovakia had the highest, Poland the lowest.

C. The solution in Poland cannot be final, and I don't know what the outcome will be.

The demonstrations in Budapest followed the events in Poland. Before that, few people knew what was going on in Poland. The Poznan riots were distorted by the communist press.

5. If I answer "yes", because I didn't want so many people to die, you would think that I didn't want the end of Communism. If I say "no", you would think that I didn't mind that so many Hungarians died. This is a demagog's question!

D. Tito has been influential in Eastern Europe, because he showed that it was possible to exist independently from the Russians, and to defy them. I knew that he would not help us during the revolution, the moment he heard the sound of the guns in Budapest and of the collapse of Communism, he was not happy.

E. 3. Yugoslavia is more independent than China. But China is more independent than the Eastern European states.

5. No opinion on the relations between England and India.

6. The invasion of Egypt influenced the events in Hungary. The invasion created much bitterness in Hungary, because the nation saw that the events of Suez were more important to the USA and the West than the revolution in Hungary.

F. West Germany.

1. I heard that West Germany's living standard is very high, the highest in Europe.
2. The West German Social Democratic Party sent money to the Red Cross for the Hungarian relief.
3. For the moment, the atmosphere is against a war in Germany.
4. If Germany wants to achieve her unity, she needs an army to support her demands.
5. The German and the Russian army can't be compared. The German army was more modern, its soldiers more cultured, though the S.S. were very cruel with those they didn't like. In brief, the Germans are much better soldiers than the Russians.

G. Western Europe.

2. No opinion about the British Labor Party.
3. West Germany has the highest living standard, the lowest, I don't know.

H. The United States.

1. What surprised me particularly was to see how many things the Americans are wasting.
2. The USA should threaten the Soviet Union politically, like the Russians threatened the French and the British during the invasion of Egypt.
3. They should not recognize Kadar's government.
4. Of course, the Hungarians would like to see more Western visitors, in order to be informed of the events outside the country.
5. Yes, they would like to receive Western books and periodicals.
6. It would not matter if Hungarian exiles are associated with such activities and publications.
7. The Marshall Plan. I heard of it, and think it was some kind of loan to the European countries.
8. I don't know why America became involved in the Korean war.
1. I don't know who is rich and who is poor in the US. Here, the poor are like the rich in Hungary.
2. The American trade unions possess huge economic powers, I already knew this while I was in Hungary.
3. I don't know what the crime situation is in the US.

4. There are big differences between American and European schools and universities. They use different methods of education.

5. ~~AMERICANS~~ Those Americans I saw spent their free time playing with pin-ball machines.

J. Yes, the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary. Hammarskjold could have come at least to Vienna or to the Austrian border, or even better, to Budapest when Imre Nagy was head of the government. Maybe the Russians would not have attacked then on November 4.

The United Nations should organize and control free elections in Hungary.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. The greatest living Hungarian? I don't know.

B. 1. Imre ^{the} Nagy. I didn't have too much sympathy for him.

Cardinal Mindszenty. A great man.

Rajk. Neither a great man nor a martyr.

Gerö. An idiot.

Kadar. A child.

2. Eisenhower. His hand was too weak in the Hungarian affairs. In Hungary, we called him "Eisenhaver" (haver, in popular slang, means friend).

Hammarskjold. Too weak.

Dulles. His policy is too rigid.

Eden. Shop politician.

Truman. No opinion.

3. Mikoyan. No opinion
 Nehru. Good politician.
 Chiang Kai-Shek. no opinion.
 Ferenc Nagy. Not very popular in Hungary.
 Roosevelt. Same opinion.
 Adenauer. A man with a ~~xxx~~ firm hand.
 Stalin. He was crazy.
 Malenkov. No opinion.
 Franco. " "
 Bevan. I don't know him.
 Khrushchev. A tourist.
 Tito. A turn-coat.

Peron. No opinion.
 Molotov. No opinion.
 Churchill. An intelligent man.

XVIII ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES:

A. Those who escaped.

1. Many groups came out. First all, those who took part in the revolution and would have suffered the consequences of it. Those who were tired of their hard life under communism, those who could not find a decent living and were hoping for a better life in the West. Those who for a long time, had been waiting for an opportunity to leave the country, and those who think they can help better Hungary from abroad than at home.

The refugees are mostly young and middle-aged people.

The Communists stayed home, with those who were unable to escape, because they had large families, or a sick relative, etc. Those who thought that they could do more for their country at home than from abroad. Maybe they were right.

Practically all the young people who would have wanted to escape could have crossed the border. But many stayed in their country. Those who stayed home have no resentment against those who left.

2. I don't know what percentage would have stayed, if all Hungarians would have ~~xxxxxxx~~ had a chance to come to the West.

B. I had rather little knowledge of the exile organizations. I knew of Ferenc Nagy and of his friends in the Hungarian National Council. I thought these organizations were necessary.

3. I don't think they achieved many results, but I believe that they tried to do something in order to win friends and supporters for Hungary among the other nations, by putting the country's problems before the international forums, and by informing the world about the situation and the developments in Hungary.

I did not think much of the exiles during the revolution. But we expected that they would always stir the conscience of the free world, and bring Hungary to its attention.

C. No, I never ~~was~~ did meet such Hungarians. Those who went back were probably homesick.

D. 1. The Budapest radio gives false news. People in Hungary should be reassured about the fate of those who escaped, and told that they are treated decently.

2. They should also know that we won't let them down.

3. Those who came out should first of all learn the language of the country where they went, in order to become fully useful.

They should show with their behavior, work and attitude that the Hungarians can stand on their feet.

4. Alone, I couldn't do very much at the present.

5. I would not like to join an exile organization as long as I don't know them. I don't exclude the idea of an organization with only new refugees.

6. I didn't know well the political parties before 1948, as I was 10 years old.

When the parties were revived during the revolution, I was rather happy, because this meant real democratization.

The exiles could have sent home a few representatives. But they were not absolutely needed.

E. Own plans for the future.

1. I'll go back to Hungary as soon as the country will be free.

2. I don't want to have children in the US.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. Radio.

1. I listened to VOA, BBC, RFE. They were always jammed (what a silly question to ask!). I listened during the night, not very often. I didn't tell others everything, because I didn't believe everything either. I heard ~~many~~ stupid news.

much

I had my own radio, and listened to the news with others.

2. There was not too much risk involved in listening to the broadcasts. The spreading of the news was more dangerous. This was called "agitation for the West against the state".

3. The news was not always accurate. I listened only to the news. The fastest news was that of RFE, the most accurate, that of the BBC. I did not prefer one station to the other.

4. The broadcasts had many effects in Hungary. During the revolution, we all listened to them. I wish I had never listened to them now. We were just disappointed hour after hour. RFE ~~was~~ rendered a good service because the news was able to reach the whole country. It gave very valuable, and very accurate information.

5. RFE didn't promise any Western help, but ^{it} ~~they~~ encouraged the people.

6. ⁴ Yes, RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary. Many people are interested in the broadcasts.

7. Programs to be broadcast in particular:

News, without comments; programs about life in Western Europe and USA.

Leaflets.

B. I never heard the initials N.E.M. or of the Twelve Demands.

C. In 1956, I saw some leaflets in Hungarian, German and English. I got them from friends

2. I heard of Free Europe leaflets. Many leaflets also fell in the Soviet Union. The Russians organized an exhibition of these balloons (this was shown in the movies) and sent many notes of protest.

3. It was dangerous to pick them up, even more dangerous to circulate them.

4. In my opinion, these leaflets were useful.

5. One should continue to drop them, but only if they bring very important news, not only nice words.

D. Today I don't know well why all these organisations broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary. When Hungary finally wanted to break her chains, the West let her down. I don't know all their motives, but I think they are all trying to get Hungary out of the Soviet empire.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. A child should be taught to love his parents, his country, his mother-tongue. To honor his fellow-men, to have religion, and to acquire basic intellectual knowledge.

2. A child must be taught discipline. If he learns all that, he'll be a well educated child. The parents must have prestige enough so that their children will obey their orders. I don't approve physical punishment.

Boys and girls should receive a different treatment, as their ways of thinking and their interests are different.

3. I was never punished by my parents, I was very quiet and made little trouble. When I once broke a plate, my father was almost happy that I was doing something.

4. The mother punished the children of both sexes. Under Communism, her importance diminished somewhat, as she had to work.

5. Physical punishment, before Communism, was abandoned at the age of 11-12 for the girls, 13 for the boys, punishment in general was abandoned at 14 for the girls, 17 for the boys.

The intellectuals abandoned punishment first, or often they did not use physical punishment. The children of peasants were punished much more.

Under Communism, children had to be punished more often, as it was the only effective way to discipline them. Physical punishment was abandoned when the children began to go to school, between the ages of 7 and 10.

6. Physical punishment before Communism; under Communism, scoldings only.

7. The characteristics I value most in a friend are:

He should be modest and not pompous, selfless, intelligent and with a strong will.

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is a worker's son who spent the last five years away from his home and family. There is reason to believe that this situation, together with negative circumstances of the Communist educational system, is responsible for his attributing so little importance to religion, and probably moral values as well.

Respondent appeared to be of the opportunistic type. Thanks to his family origin and good cadre file, he succeeded in gaining admission to a university. He appears neither to have disliked Communism nor to have spoken against it, and seems to have belonged to those who "can support some ideology, or pretend to support it, for their own interests, even if they don't always approve or understand it completely."
(p. 12)

*This guy
a Communist?*

Respondent admits that he took no part in the fighting, and has no explanation for this. His claim that the students' role during the revolution was more a political than a military one is contradicted by the actions of many other students. He states further that he came to the West for fear of being deported, but this interviewer has good reasons to believe that he simply wanted to know the free world and was led by the desire, legitimate in itself, to take a chance and to ameliorate his material existence.

He is more resourceful than intelligent, and his behavior during the interview revealed a certain tendency toward opportunism. He was cooperative and willing to answer all questions. On the whole, his opinions are frank even if they show a certain degree of self-consciousness.