

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM_UP QUESTIONS

A. Americans should know that a vast number of Hungarians is against Communism. They tolerated it for a long time because up'til now they had no opportunity to express their dissatisfaction.

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

A. On the afternoon of October 22 I heard that a students meeting was to be held at the Budapest Technical University. I decided to attend the meeting. It was already in progress when I arrived. A stuttering student brought up the questions "Why are the Russians still in Hungary?" This question caused a great uproar. From then on the meeting was revolutionary in character. The students demanded that Imre Nagy come and speak to them. Whether he came or not I do not know because at 6:15 I had to leave to attend athletic training.

Training ended at 8P.M. I then went to visit my fiancée who lived in Angvalfold, THE 13th district of Budapest. I told her about my experiences at the Technical University and added that we too would ~~exp~~ probably have a students meeting at our University the next day. I left for home at 10p.m. There was nothing unusual on the streets.

On the morning of October 23 I went to the University. Classes went on as usual. After ~~lunch~~ lunch there was the meeting of the students. ~~At~~ At this meeting the party secretary of our University announced that our university will participate in the sympathy demonstrations to be held that afternoon in honor of the Polish students. While the meeting was still in progress information was received that the Minister of the Interior had ~~banned~~ banned demonstrations for that afternoon.

It was decided to send student delegates to the Minister of the Interior and to request permission for the demonstrations. The assistant dean of the University motioned that the students should meet at 3p.m. at the Petofi statue near the school regardless ~~if~~ if permission had been granted or not. This motion was seconded by the party secretary. After the meeting I went home. My step-mother is a language instructor at the Economic University in Budapest. From her I learned that the university students in her school also were going to participate in the demonstrations that afternoon.

Just before 3p.m. I came to the Petofi monument. A large crowd of students had gathered around it. The Hungarian actor Jozsef Sinkovics recited a patriotic poem by Petofi. Small ribbons with the Hungarian national colors were distributed among the ~~sm~~ students.

We marched in long columns through the main streets of Pest across the market place to the statue of General Bem. We carried only Hungarian flags bearing the Kossuth crest or flags with ~~the~~ the Communist crest ~~was~~ cut out. In the streets the students shouted such slogans as "Put out the Hungarian flag." "Russians go home." "we want freedom and independence" "What is with the Hungarian uranium?"

A very large crowd had collected on the square on which the statue of General Bem stood. On the way there many civilians joined the students. The army barracks facing the square were also decorated with Hungarian flags. The soldiers cheered us from the windows or came out in the square. A Hungarian air-force lieutenant appeared from somewhere and recited patriotic poems from the top of a car. I think that the poems were his own.

When the celebrations in front of the Bem statue were over someone in the crowd suggested to go over to the Parliament. The entire crowd poured over the nearest Danube bridges and gathered in front of the Parliament building. It was getting dark and the Red star on top of the Parliament building was lighted. The crowd demanded that the star be turned off. This demand was not granted at that time but Hungarian flags without the Soviet hammer and sickle were placed on the building. The crowd demanded to hear Imre Nagy.

We waited for about two hours and nothing happened. Then a radio truck with loud-speakers came and someone addressed the crowd. I think it was Peter Veres, but I am not certain. This peasant party leader had served the Communists too well and I was not interested in hearing his speech. Therefore I left Parliament Square and went to the home of my future brother-in-law who lived near-by. Here my fiancée was waiting for me and we had supper together.

Around 10 P.M. we decided to go down to Parliament Square and see what was happening. Soon Imre Nagy came and addressed the crowd. His "Dear comrades" received shouts of protest and cat-calls from the crowd. He then addressed us as "Dear friends". His speech was a great disappointment to everyone. He wanted us to go home quietly. He emphasized the fact that he was not the Prime Minister, had no official authority, and therefore could do nothing by himself. But he assured us that the government would discuss our demands. I forgot to mention that while I was at my brother-in-law's we heard Gero's speech over the radio. The speech ended very abruptly. He finished his sentence but I felt there was more to come. Gero's speech was very sharp. It assailed the demonstrators and branded them fascists. It caused much indignation and everyone turned out onto the streets.

Word was passed on thru the crowd that everyone should go to the radio station. Allegedly students were demanding that their Fifteen Points be read over the radio. The whole crowd started off in the direction of the radio buildings. My brother-in-law and his wife went home but my fiancée and I went with the crowd. We went as far as Rakosi Street. There we stopped when we heard shooting from the direction of the radio studios. It was about 10:30 or 11 p.m. Many people turned around and were now

heading in our direction. We also decided to go home. At the time of the demonstrations I was of the opinion that the government would be compelled to accede to our demands. My brother-in-law was of a different opinion. I was not afraid and I do not think anyone else was. We had nothing to lose, only, as the Communists said, our chains. I did not feel the repercussions because so many people were participating in the demonstrations. During the demonstrations and the scene in front of the Parliament Building I was very enthusiastic. This was probably the first time in my life when I was enthusiastic. When the demonstrations started our original demands were not identical with the demands which were later read over the radio. Our original demands did not go so far. But we did demand a change in government, namely that Imre Nagy take over. We also demanded that teaching of Marxism, Leninism, and Russian language be abolished in all schools, that Hungarian flags and uniforms be restored; and that foreign trade with Russia be conducted on the basis of equality.

When the demonstrations started we did not think it would end up in fighting. My personal opinion at that time was that the government would grant at least a part of our demands. I thought that peaceful negotiations would ensue and that the government would restore basic freedom--at least to a certain extent.

Practically everybody from the age of sixteen to forty-five took part in the demonstrations in Budapest. There were some people who were even older than this. The majority of the demonstrators consisted of men. More than 30 percent of them were women. The demonstrators were mostly students, workers, and intellectuals.

Originally the demonstrations had been organized by the university students. But from the Bem statue on the demonstrations followed an entirely spontaneous course.

B. From here on events are somewhat blurred in my memory. So many things have happened since. I know that there were no classes the next day. Up to November 4 I myself did not participate in anything. I went to the university only on one occasion and that was to elect representatives to student parliament. I do not remember exactly what date this was, but I know that Imre Nagy was already in office.

The demonstrations turned into fighting on the night of Oct. 23. I do not know exactly how this took place. I do not know from where the demonstrators got arms. One thing is certain, that fierce shooting started in front of the radio building. Radio broadcasts ceased. Announcements were made occasionally and it was possible to hear the sound of shooting over the radio. I am convinced that had the government permitted the students to read their

demands over the radio no revolution would have broken out.

Revolutionary slogans were first heard on the afternoon of October 23. Already the crowd yelled "Let us follow the Polish example." We demanded Hungarian flags and insignias, Hungarian uniforms, liberty and freedom to travel. During the demonstrations we shouted all the demands which were originally agreed upon by the students meeting at the Budapest Technical University.

I first heard the word "Freedom fighter" over Radio Free Europe. From October 23 to November 4 I was spent practically the whole time at home beside the ~~xxx~~ radio listening to foreign radio broadcasts. We lived in the 6th district of Budapest. There was no fighting there. On one occasion I saw a young boy armed with a sub-machine gun walking past our house in the street. On another occasion I met a man on the street carrying a steel helmet in his hand and a rifle on his shoulder. Someone asked him "Aren't you afraid now that martial law had been declared?" He answered the Hungarians would not harm him and the Russians were inside the tanks. From him I heard that stiff fighting was going on on Rakosi Road.

In the apartment house where we lived everyone, especially the older people were afraid. They did not know how all ~~this~~ this would end. I did not know who fought during this period. I stayed in during the entire time at home. For this reason I am unable to tell you how the fighters were organized and from where they received arms.

During the first days of fighting the Hungarians radio announced that fighting was going on only at one or two points in the city. Martial law had been declared, but it was very suspicious that the government always kept extending the time limit for the people to surrender their arms. When the government called in Russian troops to subdue the revolution I felt certain that the revolution would be ~~suppressed~~ suppressed. I did not believe the Hungarians would be able to fight against regular Russian troops. I stayed at home all the time and knew only from the radio what was going on in the city.

C. I do not know when exactly the Russians withdrew from the city. I was informed about this only thru the radio. I was a bit confused and did not know what really happened. During that one week of freedom the political parties were revived. Many leaflets, slogans, and posters appeared. The most active were the Social-Democrats, the Small Holders, and the Hungarian Youth Party. The Communists also began to re-organize ~~themselves~~ themselves calling their party the Peoples Party. A new government was formed but it was very peculiar that so many old Communists were in the cabinet. I could not see clearly the situation but I felt that these Communists should not be in the government.

When everything quieted down we dared to go out in the streets again. One evening I was going thru Izabella Street. In front of an A.V.O. building I saw freedom fighters being exchanged for captured ~~xxxxxx~~ A.V.H. men. I talked with one of the men who was released in this way. He was a signal corps lieutenant. His unit was ~~sax~~ stationed some where outside Budapest and he had gone AWOL to come into the city to see what was going on. The A.V.O. captured him suspecting him to be one of the insurgents. This lieutenant told me that with a large number of other freedom fighters he was kept in the cellar of this AVH building. An A.V.O. officer tore off his ranks and insignia and scolded him bitterly for breaking his military oath and fighting against the government. Otherwise he was not mistreated.

When I heard over the radio that the Russians were ~~ix~~ withdrawing their troops from Budapest at first I thought that their withdrawal would be final. I did not suspect that this was only a tactical maneuver on their part.

I first heard over Radio Free Europe ~~that the Russians~~ that the Russians have stopped their withdrawal from Budapest and were digging in on the outskirts of the city. Many new Hungarian newspapers were being published at that time and they also informed us of what was going on. We heard that the Russians had captured the Hungarian airfield allegedly to insure the withdrawal of their personal by air. This sounded peculiar but not suspicious.

We first heard that the Russians were returning on November 4 at 5P.M. My father heard this announcement over the Hungarian radio and he immediately woke me up. I was very much upset and felt that I too would have to do something.

I dressed myself quickly and at 5:30 I left home. I knew that the local headquarters of the Freedom Fighters ~~was~~ was in ~~x~~ FoTVOS Street. When I got there about 20 civilians had already preceded me. We asked for arms but the personal~~x~~ refused to ~~de~~ give us any saying that they had no orders and that they had no arms. It was evident that they were undecided on what to do.

The twenty of us decided to go to THE KILLIAM barracks for arms. We hailed a passing truck and this truck took us to a school-house which was one of the headquarters of the Freedom Fighters. We were told to wait ~~and~~ and we would be given arms. An officer, I think a lieutenant was in charge here. He assigned us into groups of five or six. The commander of my group was a man in civilian clothes. He was about 25 years old. There were many soldiers

in uniforms among us. They had left their obvious military units.

We were equipped with guns, ammunition, hand-grenades and bottles of Benzine. We went out into the streets and divided up into groups of two and three. We patrolled the vicinity of ~~the~~ Jozsef street and built barricades at the intersection of Jozsef Street and the Korut.

Nothing happened until 7 p.m. Then six tanks showed up on the street. They were approaching in single file shooting both sides of the street. Previously we had been instructed not to shoot with small arms at Russian tanks. Four of us were concealed on the top story of an apartment house. When the last Russian tank was just below us we tossed down a bottle of gasoline on it and shot a few shots at it. The gasoline however did not ignite.

A half hour later the tanks were returning firing volleys of shots into the buildings on both sides of the way. Not far from us the column suddenly stopped. The tracks of one tank had to be repaired. To cover the crew which was repairing the tank the other tanks were shooting constantly. The tank was finally repaired and they started off again. When the last tank in the row was just below us we dropped a bottle of benzine on it. This time ~~it~~ a well aimed hand-grenade exploded the benzine. It was already in flames when it rounded the corner and stopped. The other boys who were in this corner building threw more benzine and more grenades at the tank. It burned out ~~completely~~ completely. I do not know what happened to the crew.

It was quite dark when we went back to the head-quarters where we received the arms. Here we were given food and bandages. We were able to sleep a few hours, but then we were assigned to guard duty. During the night we were compelled to vacate this building because the Russian artillery had found it. We moved to a municipal building a few blocks away.

The next day we were patrolling the streets near Beross Street. Nothing much happened that day. We saw several Russian tanks but the Russians did not stop and leave their tanks.

That night our guard saw Russian foot soldiers approaching. He alerted us. When we started shooting the Russians withdrew. They remained behind their tanks in comparative safety. The tanks did not dare to come into our narrow streets. They remained on the Korut.

By the morning of November 6 I was very tired. I had not been home for more than two days. By then we became completely disorganized. There was no one to give commands. I decided to go

home, wash and rest a bit. The sub-machine gun which I had acquired the previous day I took home with me. My parents were very much concerned because of my absence and because I brought the gun home. It was daylight and many people saw me carrying the gun.

My original plan was to rest a bit and then go back to where we had been fighting. But my parents and some of the friends with whom I had been dissuaded ~~fr~~ me from doing this. They said it was of no use. The Russians were crushing the revolt and the Freedom Fighters had become entirely disorganized. I waited to see what would happen and two days later I threw away my sub-machine gun on the streets. At first I wanted to hide it in the cellar but my ~~xxxxx~~ parents were afraid. We heard that by then the Russians were searching houses for arms. It was the best thing to do to get rid of the gun. During the fighting I caught a severe cold and had to stay in bed for the next ~~the~~ four days. During this time some of my friends visited me and we began discussing plans for our escape. I did not know who may have seen me fighting or when I brought the sub-machine gun home.

It was not very advisable to walk on the streets. On one occasion I saw personally a Russian and an Hungarian in civilian clothes force a young boy into a car and drove off with him. When I first heard about deportations I did not believe this news. But when I saw myself this boy being carried off I realized the rumors concerning deportation of young Hungarians were true. I realized that it was best to get out of Hungary as soon as possible. On November 18 my fiancée and I decided to go West. We started off the next morning from the Kelenfold Railroad Station. That day we went by train as far as Komárom. We had to spend the night there. The next ~~day~~ morning we continued our journey ~~but~~ by train to Győr. ~~the~~ We had not planned an itinerary in advance and had not the faintest idea what to do from there on. But we were fortunate. On the main square of Győr we heard that a bus would start ~~at~~ shortly to the border. Passengers were being solicited quite openly. We went by bus to the Austrian border, crossing the bridge which was exploded the next day. We encountered no Russian or AVG troops. we ~~xxxxx~~ arrived in Austrian territory at 8 pm on November 20.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. I was convinced that the West would help. We expected military aid. I expected that United Nation forces would occupy Hungary and be stationed there to control ~~back~~ the free elections which were to be held.

B. My expectations were based on the foreign radio programs during and before the revolution. I thought that the Western countries would be moved to action when they saw how much we wanted to be free. Before the revolution I did not hear in the Communist radio or press that the West is preparing war against the Soviet Union and the satellite countries. Only during the fighting after November 4 did I hear from a sergeant that we should keep on fighting because the German troops would soon be here.

C. During the demonstrations and the fighting I did not see any foreigners with the exception of the Red Cross truck drivers who brought relief to Hungary.

Although the Hungarian revolution was suppressed, nevertheless I think Hungary profited by it. She has won the admiration of the entire free world. The Hungarian people have made it evident to everyone that Communism was a dictatorship imposed on them against their wills. The Hungarian people were able to unmask Communism for what it was and convinced the Communist sympathizers in the Western world.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Before the war and after 1945 my father was always a ~~school~~ school-teacher. Before the war ~~his~~ his monthly salary was 200 pengos per month. During the war he was compelled to serve in a Jewish labor camp. I do not know what his salary was immediately after 1945. During the inflation this would be hard to say. When the forint was introduced his salary at first was 900 forints per month. Immediately before the revolution his salary was 1000 forints per month. He had been teaching for the past 32 years.

My parents owned no property. Both my parents graduated from teachers college. My step-mother has a university degree. She majored in English, French and German languages.

B. The social classes in Hungary ~~are~~ today are the peasantry, the industrial workers, and the intellectuals. The small tradesmen and craftsmen should be considered in the same class as the industrial workers. The government officials belong to the intelligensia. Before 1945 we also had the aristocracy. After 1945 this class ceased to exist. The industrial workers increased in number because many peasants left their land to go and work in factories. To the intelligensia I would include writers, artists, people with university degrees and officials in government and business administration.

With the exception of the peasantry I had ~~no~~ contact with all classes. The Hungarian peasants are industrious, hospitable, cheerful, people who are very much attached to their land and property. For this reason they were opposed to the collectivization of farms. The Hungarian industrial workers at first sympathized with Communism until they found out what it was in practice. But today I would say that about 90 % of the Hungarian industrial workers are against Communism. The great majority of the Hungarian industrial workers are ~~diverse~~ people and are very well trained. In general they are more ^{DILIGENT} intelligent than the peasants.

All the top members of the intelligensia as a class were Communist Party members. Artists, writers, painters, sculptors, etc. had to work on command. Their work has ~~no~~ absolutely no artistic value. Many young intellectuals were of peasant and industrial worker origin. Some of them became estranged ~~from~~ from their own classes. These were very narrow-minded people. At first many of these young intellectuals were susceptible to ~~Communist~~ Communist doctrines, but they realized their mistake about two years ago. The top intellectuals were probably satisfied. Their desire for freedom was counterbalanced by material advantages. The intelligensia in general were not proud or haughty. They were diligent and industrious people, but many of them lacked character. Being constantly surrounded by A.V.G. spies, many of them were afraid of losing their jobs and because of this they undertook many things which a person of character would not have

I feel that on the basis of my origins and my studies I belong to the intellectuals.

I think that the Hungarian businessmen and small tradesmen and craftsmen were the hardest hit by Communism. After that come the peasants whose lands were taken away from them. The intelligentsia was silenced by a constant sense of insecurity. Probably the industrial workers were the least effected by Communism.

C. It is very difficult to say how the various social classes felt about each other. I think that ~~that~~ there were no essential differences between the various social classes in Hungary. All the social classes were united in their opposition to Communism.

I think that the intelligentsia appreciated the Hungarian peasantry and felt sorry for them. The intelligentsia considered the peasantry the backbone of the nation. The members of the intelligentsia did not despise the peasants. In the opinion of the intelligentsia the Hungarian industrial workers received the most from Communism. I do not know how the peasantry and the industrial workers reacted to each other and to the intelligentsia.

D. To get ahead in Communist Hungary one had to be a Party member, an eager beaver and an informer. Talent and experience were not the primary factors for which one got the job. Concerning political views one must make a sharp distinction between what a person ~~is~~ said and what he really believed. To get ahead in Communist Hungary it was not essential for a person to ~~believe~~ believe the views he professed. Class origin was also a very important factor. People of industrial worker origin were given preference ~~and~~ to people of working peasants or middle-peasant origin. Children of the intelligentsia were the least able to get ahead.

From 1945 & 'til 1947 the requirements for making a career in Hungary were fairly normal. That is, knowledge, talent and experience were decisive. From 1948 on the situation which I just described existed.

People without character, people who ^{can} ~~can~~ change their political beliefs wherever this ~~is~~ necessary ~~and~~, people who are selfish, and without regard for others, and people who are capable of doing anything are the ones most likely to succeed in Communist Hungary.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism had a detrimental effect on family life in Hungary because of financial difficulties and because of the new way of life which people were compelled to live. Many marriages went on the rocks. The regime encouraged the young people to marry early. They did so, but without the financial basis required for marriage. Family life in many families was disrupted because of political differences over the party membership of ~~the~~ a member of the family or because ~~of~~ some member of the family, usually the husband, was imprisoned. Something of this kind occurred almost in every family. It was also necessary to sever all contact with relations living abroad. I knew of one case where the son was compelled to disown his father who was living abroad. Communists interfered too much in the family life of ~~private~~ individuals. The compulsory attendance of seminars and political indoctrination classes left no time ~~for~~ to the parents for their families.

B. The members of the intelligentsia, the working peasants and the industrial workers alike were compelled to send their children to day nurseries. The parents had little time left to devote to their children. The older children were subjected to political indoctrination in school. Their heads were crammed with socialistic principles. There was a sharp conflict between school and the home. This did not have a good effect on the formation of the character of the child. The adolescents were compelled to attend political indoctrination classes and to join Communist youth organizations. Their illusions concerning Communism were soon dispelled and they realized that Communism was unable to work in practice.

I do not think there had been any change in the extent to which children obey or disobey their parents.

C. Under Communism young people began their married life under ~~financial~~ financial difficulties. This did not have a good effect on the further course of their marriages. In general, young people got married much earlier than before and ~~at~~ a more irresponsible age. I am unable to compare courtship under Communism ~~with~~ with courtship in the previous pre-war years. I do not know what courtship was like at that time. But I think that a young man had neither the time nor the money to court a girl as it was done before the war. I know for myself that anything more than an occasional cinema ticket or a rare theatre ticket was considered an extravagance which one could not afford.

I don't think the way young people became acquainted with one another changed much under Communism. One would become acquainted with a girl at dances, parties, at the university, in the office, or

any other place. Exxx

I think that sexual behavior changed to a great extent. Although prostitution was officially abolished secret prostitution thrived. Many girls and women were compelled to resort to this because they were unable to make ends meet with their salaries. Extra-marital sexual relations were much more frequent than before. The number of illegitimate children was very high. Exx It was not a shame any more for a girl to have a child out of wedlock. In the last year before the revolution abortions were officially permitted in certain cases. Contraceptives and ~~unofficially~~ prophylactics were always available.

The government's official view on sexual relations was not made public, but there was some talk in the papers about how young couples should live. According to the Communists it was desirable that both the husband and wife should work. Their interests should be mutual. They should be equally interested in Party work. In the last few years the government and the Communist party officially warned the young people not to form hasty marriages.

With respect to sexual inhibitions I do not think there is any difference between the Communists and the non-Communists.

D. If a friend of mine should join the Communist Party and become a party Secretary I think that would be the end of our friendship. As a Party Secretary he has to be Ruthless and cannot have any consideration for anybody else. Sincere friendship cannot exist under such circumstances. That would be the end of our friendship. I think such cases are very frequent. Something of this kind happened to me in connection with a friend with whom I went together to grade school.

In such a case I think that I would be the one to end the friendship. I think it would be impossible to continue the friendship without mixing politics into it.

E. I do not know whether the crime rate of the common crimes increased or remained the same during Communism in Hungary. The papers wrote nothing about crime cases.

But I think that ~~the~~ juvenile delinquency increased in Hungary. I heard this from a friend who was a member of a patronage organization and visited juvenile delinquents regularly. The increase in juvenile delinquency was caused by the fact that family life had become ~~disrupted~~ disrupted in Hungary and the parents were unable to devote time to the education of their children.

I think that alcoholism increased in Hungary during Communism, especially the alcoholism of women.

I don't think the Communist press exaggerated the situation when it ~~was~~ complained about young people not wanting to work. This can be attributed to the fact that young people generally were not able to find jobs of the kind they wanted. If they left ~~their~~ their jobs without permission they had great difficulty in finding new ones. Very ~~often~~ often they would roam from one job to another. I think this was mostly a city phenomena. The children of the intelligentsia and of the peasantry were not effected as much by this as by the children of the industrial workers. But, in general, it was impossible to remain without work for long.

The loafers about whom the Communists complained in the papers would be youngsters from 15-to 19. I do not think that ~~they~~ ~~their~~ ~~avoiding~~ their avoiding work can be considered a criminal act under the existing circumstances. The parents of these youngsters were probably not pleased but very often they perhaps did not even know what the child was doing.

VII. RELIGION

A. I think that Communism had a considerable effect on religious life in Hungary. Very often people were forced to deny their faith. If they were seen attending church that may have caused no end of trouble to them. As a result, many people lost their faith completely because they realized they were able to live without believing in God.

I think that all the religions and all churches were equally hit by Communism. The great majority of Hungary's population was Catholic. For this reason the persecution of the Catholic Church in Hungary under Communism was probably more conspicuous.

B. Before and during the war my father was a very religious man. After 1948 it was not advisable for him to go to the synagogue anymore. He still had respect for Jewish traditions, but he does not really believe in God any more. I myself am not religious and do not attribute much importance to religion. I think that the average person in Hungary has become indifferent to religion. Before 1948 I went regularly to religious services. Since then I have never been there and never pray. I stopped going to church the same time as my father.

C. In my opinion the church should be entirely separated from the state. The church should not have the power to bear moral pressure on individuals. The moral education of children should be entrusted to the churches. Church schools should be restored but their attendance should be voluntary. The censorship of books, plays, and movies should not be entrusted to the churches.

In an independent Hungary I think that the churches should give their moral support to no political party. This of course would not prevent ecclesiastic persons from holding public office or from running in parliamentary elections.

D. In Hungary the Jewish religion was hurt the same extent as other religions. I cannot quote my father as an example. Zionist and other Jewish organizations were banned. No organization was allowed in Hungary which would have promoted fraternal feelings. The attitude of the Jews in Hungary toward Communism varied. Very many Jews who were business men were ruined by Communists. On the other hand there were many Jews who were prominent intellectuals and held excellent jobs. But the vast majority of the Jews were small people. They were always opposed to Communism. Many of them were Zionists. They were deeply religious and ruined financially. However the majority of the Hungarian Communist leaders were Jews by origin. They did not consider themselves Jews but Communists, and the Jews also disowned them. The banning of Zionist organizations and the persecution of Jewish doctors in the Soviet Union turned Jewish public sentiment sharply against Jewish Communist leaders.

Very many Jews nevertheless were members of the Communist Party, but they were not Communists by conviction. This was the only possibility in order to exist under that regime.

During the demonstrations and the revolution many of the Jews, especially the older ones feared that the violences may turn into anti-Semitic programs. On the other hand a great number of young Jews took part in the fighting. I myself experienced practically no anti-Semitism to speak of. Only on one occasion did I hear a drunk man in a crowd of tens and thousands make an anti-Semitic statement. He was immediately silenced by standers-by.

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I think it is an exaggeration to say that Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary. Such fears are entirely unfounded, especially now that the Hungarian revolution has proved that there was no anti-Semitism in Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

A. I think that by Hungarian youth in Hungary one means the group from 10 to 25.

B. It is true that the Hungarian youth took the lead in the revolution. The Hungarian youth was first to raise the issue of changing the Hungarian educational system. Such things as the abolishment of the Russian language in schools had their political significance. Hungarian youth organized the Petofi Circle and it started debates on political questions at the universities. The Hungarian youth organized the demonstrations and the great majority of the demonstrators were students. The Hungarian youth turned the demonstrations into fighting and directed the fighting in the first few days, in as much as these fights can be directed at all.

The older generation had more to fear and more to lose than the youth. Youth in general always strives for a better life, and the Hungarian youth could no longer endure the circumstances under which they were living. The older people are inclined to be more cautious and to deliberate more. They have children and families and this may influence them in their decisions and acts.

I think that during the revolution the older generation was satisfied with and proud of the Hungarian youth. Very often the youth would seek and accept the council of the older generation.

C. One of the great drawbacks of the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years was the constant change in teaching methods and educational subjects. Teaching was not continuous. New text books were issued every year. Text books on history and literature were falsified. In 1956 the Communists admitted this themselves.

Another great mistake in Communist education was that the children were over burdened with subjects.

Restrictions on vocational choice were especially great in 1953 and 1954. For example, after graduating from the gymnasium I wanted to enroll in the department of philology in the Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest. I wanted to choose English, and French as my major subjects, but I was allowed to choose only Russian and Hungarian. My director in the gymnasium told me outright that I could choose no other subjects and that I could not apply to any other university. To make sure he withheld my gymnasium diploma.

I don't think, however, that the quality of education declined under Communism in Hungary. There were very few Communists by conviction among the educators, but they were compelled to carry out instructions or they would have lost their jobs. I think that the great majority of the staff was qualified to teach.

E.

E. It is true that the Communists tried very hard to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth. Such efforts would very often rob much valuable time from the students which they would have ~~used~~ utilized better for their studies. They were unable to win the Hungarian youth because it was so evident that the Communist doctrines were not true. I think that the youth had always rejected Communism but sometimes it was forced to pretend that it ~~was~~ accepted Communism.

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IX. ~~MAJOR~~ MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. My main dissatisfactions with Communism in Hungary were insufficient pay, not enough time devoted to ones family, the fear of informers, constant interference in ones private life, religious persecution.

B. Other annoyances were the constant the constant acting and pretending, the great degree of dependence on ones superiors, the lack of transportation facilities, too little and too expensive food, and the comparatively high cost of the simplest forms of recreation.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. My father and my step-mother both had to work. She was a language instructor at the University for Economics in Budapest. To ~~sup~~ supplement her income she also gave private lessons at home. She worked as much as fourteen to fifteen hours a day and still we were unable to make ends meet. This undermined my step-mother's health considerably.

We ate breakfast at home which consisted of a glass of cold milk and a slice of unbuttered bread. My parents ate lunch at their places of work. My half-brother and half-sister ate in their school and I at the university. These lunches were not very expensive but they were never sufficient. Supper at home consisted of a slice of bread smeared with butter or fat. Sometimes we ate baked potatoes. Very rarely could we afford to eat cheaper cold meats. We practically never ate fruit. We could not afford to eat snacks between meals.

I had two suits, a Sunday suit and a week-day suit. Both were more than six years old. I had been saving my money for over ten years to buy a new suit, and I was unable to buy one.

The five of us lived in a three room flat. We were fortunate in this respect. But we were able to heat only two rooms in the winter as fuel was very expensive.

I ~~was~~ considered it the utmost luxury to be able to eat ten forints ~~was~~ worth of pastry. I was ~~able~~ able to enjoy such luxury only once in every two months.

The problem of clothes and food ~~was~~ caused us the most difficulty.

Compared to our pre-war standards of living it declined considerably after the war. It was impossible to make ends meet out of one's salary. Before the war we were able to live on my father's salary alone. Now after the war we had to ~~sell~~ ~~one~~ ~~by~~ ~~one~~ ~~everything~~ ~~we~~ ~~owned~~. According to my estimates our standard of living was at least 50 percent lower than in the pre-war days. After the war our standard of living was the highest in 1948 and probably the lowest in 1955.

~~The~~ The family which lived best was a young couple. Both of them had years of practice in business administration. They had no children and earned together about ~~2000~~ 3200 forints a month. They received lunch at their place of work. They had a nicely furnished two room apartment and could afford a telephone. They had a well-stocked home library and were able to live fairly well.

The low standard of living during the past eight years can be attributed to ~~Soviet~~ ~~Communism~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~Soviet's~~ ~~Communist~~

unqualified
planned economy, to / _____ people in key positions, and to the
fact that everyone was disinterested in his work.

B. I received a scholarship of 140 forints per month. My father's salary was 2000 forints per month; my mother's 1000 forints per month; my step-mother's 1400. I do not know how much was deducted for trade-union fees or for government loan installments. My parents received a family allowance for the two younger children but this was included in the salaries which I mentioned. My mother gave private language lessons at home. For this she made an additional 400 forints a month. At one time my father received a raise of 100 forints per month. When this was I do not know exactly. This raise was given him in course of a general wage increase.

C. I do not know of any differences in prices of commodities on the free market or in government state stores. The quality of goods available at retail stores was very poor. However sometimes one was able to obtain goods which were originally ear-marked for export purposes but which were rejected for some slight imperfection. The quality of such goods was considerable better. Very rarely could one buy imported goods such as shirts and linen from Czechoslovakia or Eastern Germany. The quality of goods manufactured in Hungary otherwise never changed.

Retail distribution in Hungary was very chaotic. Very often one was unable to buy a certain article on one store and at the same time there would be a large surplus in another store on the same article. In certain stores one was able to obtain only higher priced goods. These goods were essentially of the same quality as the lower priced ones. This was nothing else but a form of blackmail by the government. The supply of retail outlets was very cumbersome and involved much red tape. It was not well organized and never continuous. Very often there would be periodical shortages of certain goods. Not all kinds of spare parts were available. It was my impression that there was practically no spoilage and waste of food in Hungary.

Most items were always available because they were priced so high that very few people could afford them. There were periodical shortages in meat, butter, lard, eggs, and other food stuffs. It was very hard to get citrus fruits. A kilogram of oranges if one could get them cost about 40 forints a kilogram. Chocolates and cocoa were also hard to get.

There was a black market operating in Hungary. I have never purchased anything on the black market but a friend of mine bought a wristwatch from such sources. I don't think there was an organized black-market. Black market sales were only occasional. For example a colleague of mine went to Czechoslovakia

for a week; for a vacation. There he bought nylons, shirts, sweaters, shoes and other articles which were much cheaper and better quality there in Czechoslovakia. When he came home he sold these articles to his friends and colleagues in the office. The quality of items available on the ~~black~~ black-market were mostly much better than those available at home and sometimes the prices were considerably lower. For example, wrist watches smuggled in from Switzerland thru Austria sold ~~for~~ for considerable less on the black-market than in the stores. I do not think the retail outfits ever dared to ask a higher price for any goods from the customers. This would have been too dangerous. I don't think that occasional black-market sales were dangerous. However if ~~anyone~~ one conducted such operations as a profession then the operator was liable to get several years in ~~prison~~ prison and a very stiff fine.

D. (this sub-section cannot be applied to respondent as he had never been employed in Hungary)

E. In Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. Life in the city is not so dull as in the country. Here there are cinemas, theatres, operas and much more social contact. I think that the ~~rural~~ rural population ate better food and more than the city population. But in general the standard of living was higher in the cities than in the country. I do not know where political pressure was easier but I think that everyone everywhere was constantly under observation.

When the collectivization of farms was introduced to Hungary I was only fifteen years old and was not very much concerned about this problem. But I think that the collectivization of farms as it had been conducted in Hungary was a total mistake. The Hungarian peasant in general was very much attached to his land and was very reluctant to farm cooperatively. The farm collectivization program of the Communists has completely disrupted the economy of Hungary. I think all peasants oppose the farm collectivization program to the same degree. I heard of farm cooperatives being dissolved only ~~when~~ during and immediately after the revolution.

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

If Hungary regains her independence I don't think that the large estates should be returned to their owners. The mechanization of agriculture started by the Communists should be continued.

XI. POLITICAL LIFE

about
A. ~~Before~~ Before 1948 I was too young to care anything ^{about} politics. I heard ~~about~~ about the activities of the Communist Party before 1948 only when we studied the history of the Communist Party in school. In course of these studies I also heard about Bela Kun. I think that the 1918-1919 Communism in Hungary broke out because of post-World War I economic conditions. It was my feeling that that version of the history of the Communist Party which was taught to us in school was very distorted. For this reason I have no definite opinion on the activities of the Hungarian Communist Party before 1948. Even in recent years the Communist Party itself had several times changed its attitudes toward pre-1948 events and their significance.

B. The members of the Communist Party can be classified as Idealists, ~~or~~ careerists, or simple members who are afraid of losing their jobs, and for this reason have joined the Communist Party. I have known several members of all three kinds. My first contact with a careerist was at the age of fourteen. A classmate in school decided to be a Communist although his political beliefs at that time were the contrary. Since then he had become an assistant professor at the university.

During the last eight years there was a constant change in the party policies. The changes in Hungary were the direct results of instructions sent from Moscow. There, in turn, the party line was determined by the political and economic exigencies of the Soviet Union. We were also aware of differences of opinions in the Party itself. For example, we knew that Nagy Imre was opposed to the policies of Rakosi and vice-versa.

Party morale is something the Communists have invented. It never ~~has~~ existed. The members of the Communist Party must accept its policies unanimously. No difference of opinion is ever tolerated. Most of the Communist Party members never liked how the party was ~~functioning~~ functioning and many of them did not even care about this.

I don't think that the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party believed what they are teaching. They changed their views and policies constantly according to necessity. They are mere puppets who are cruel, ruthless, and wicked. They are doing what they are told for material advantages. If they were capable and talented they would not have committed so many blunders. The difference between the top leaders and the ordinary Communist party members is that the top leaders became what they are for personal ambition and material gains. Whereas the ordinary Party member became a member only by compulsion. If there is a ~~political~~ political change in Hungary then the present top leaders ~~of~~ of the Communist Party should be brought to justice.

C. There was opposition to Communism back home during the past ten years. People complained and criticized the regime. In many places work became very sloppy. But open sabotage was very rare. This was too dangerous and also impossible where the workers worked on a piece basis. Perhaps the peasants had the greatest opportunity to sabotage. Seeing that everything was being taken away from them they were inclined to neglect their farms and grow only enough for themselves. Such opposition behavior was generally known to everyone but they were not very effective.

There were times when opposition behavior was more open than at other times. This depended on how much freedom the government allowed and how much the people dared to talk. Opposition behavior was probably the lowest in 1950 when the terror was at its height. It was most evident in 1953 and 1956.

During the entire period there was not much change in the types of opposition. In the first years opposition was strongest on the part of the peasantry. Later the industrial workers took over the leading role and finally the intellectuals immediately before the revolution. We cannot very well speak of opposition before 1948 as at that time the Communists were not yet in power.

For a very long time the intellectuals were the obedient servants of the Communist regime. A change can be noted in their attitude at the end of 1955 and early 1956. Finally they came to open conflicts with the Communist regime. I heard about the debates of the ~~peasants~~ Petofi Circle. In the course of these debates sharp criticism was ~~exercised~~ exercised against the Communists and their political and economical policies. I read about the meetings of the Petofi Circle in the newspapers and ~~was~~ also heard about them from my father who attended one of these meetings.

There were signs of an intellectual ferment even before the meetings of the Petofi Circle began. Such writers as Tabor Tardos, Gyula Illyes, Tamas Aczel and Lazzio Benjamin gradually changed the tone of their writings after the death of Stalin. This was something that everyone noticed immediately.

The intellectuals did not really have anything new to say. They only expressed what the great majority of the people thought in Hungary. Otherwise, I have not too high an opinion about them. They have already changed their views too often. I do not consider their literary works of much value. Perhaps only Illyes and ACZEL are exceptions to this rule. It is very difficult to determine the general attitude of people toward intellectuals in Hungary. This always depends on the individual.

The intellectuals turned against Communism because they realized that the entire nation was against the regime.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. I have never had any contact with the A.V.O. A close friend of mine was arrested by them but I do not know anything about the treatment he received or what happened to him. My friend was freed from prison during the revolution, but I have not met him since.

However, the general belief about the A.V.H. was that they were very cruel people.

I have heard only of one case where ~~that~~ an A.V.O. officer wanted to leave the service. This happened during the revolution. On the street the crowd recognized an A.V.H. officer. When confronted he admitted that he previously had been an A.V.H. officer, but he had resigned six months ago. The Freedom Fighters took him off to prison and to have his case investigated.

I do not think that it is an exaggeration to say that Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear. Everyone was constantly in financial difficulty and had to fear informers.

When Hungary is independent I think that the members of the A.V.H. should be brought to justice.

In comparison to the A.V.H. the Hungarian Blue Police were much more humane. During the revolution the majority of the Blue policemen sided with the revolution. When the demonstrations started on October 21, one of the students went up to a traffic policeman regulating traffic on MARY Square and pinned ~~some~~ an Hungarian ribbon ~~on~~ on his lapel. It could be seen that he was very pleased. Later, during the revolution, I met many Freedom Fighters in police uniforms.

In general I think the Hungarian Blue Police were less efficient than the police force during the previous regime.

B. I do not know ~~how~~ much about the Hungarian courts, but I think that under Communism the Hungarian courts in non-political cases acted fairly justly. I think that under the previous regime a rich man and a poor man had equal chance before the courts.

The people's courts were set up in Hungary in 1945 to try war criminals and Nazis. I think that all the war criminals were really guilty and ~~that~~ that the People's courts were just.

C. During the Hungarian revolution the various military units behaved differently. The greater part of the army was undecided and took a wait-and-see attitude. Many units became disorganized and the officers and men either went home or took part in the fightings. I think very few units as such fought in the revolution. The behavior of the troops depended mostly on the attitude of the officer. When the officers ~~and~~ decided in favor of the ~~revolution~~ revolution the troops went with them. But there was great chaos,

indecision, and hesitation in the Dept. of War and the army itself.

I base my opinion on the information which I received from a friend. He was stationed north of Budapest. His unit disintegrated and he took part in the fightings of the city. I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the army based on rank, class origin, or geographical distribution.

I was surprised by the conduct of the Hungarian army during the revolution. On the basis of my previous experience with the army I thought that the soldiers would carry out orders and instructions and fight against the revolutionists. It must not be forgotten that there was political terror also inside the army. But it seems that the Hungarian soldiers were unable to fight against their own people. They too hated the Soviet regime and the ~~Communists~~ Communists.

I was drafted for compulsory military service for one month in 1954 and for one month in the summer in 1955. We were quartered in tents in a summer camp near Bakescsaba. Conditions in camp were very miserable. There was no drinking water and the food was extremely bad. Our equipment was insufficient. We had to get up at 5 every morning. Infantry drills were conducted from six to noon. We went back to camp for lunch and there theoretical training about arms and military regulations continued the whole afternoon.

The officers and non-commissioned officers were of industrial worker and peasant origin. They were chosen to attend officer training courses by the Communist Party because they were deemed reliable. ~~They~~ Promises of more pay and an easier life induced them to attend these training courses. When they became officers many of them became disillusioned. They did not get what they hoped for. In general such officers were not very intelligent people. The non-commissioned officers re-enlisted for further service because they had no trade or profession and they considered life in the army easy.

There were many Communist members among the officers and the non-commissioned officers but I think very few of them were Communists by conviction. However some officers for example, the ~~most~~ political officers were hand picked Communists.

The officers and the non-commissioned officers demanded strict military discipline of the men. Very often they gave confusing and contradicting commands. They treated the men in the usual army fashion. The enlisted men did not like army life and did not like their commanding officers. There were very few capable officers among them. These were mostly officers who had served during the previous regime and by some accident were able to ~~remain~~ remain in the army.

Some officers and ~~non-commissioned~~ non-commissioned officers were better than others, but this depended on the individual and had nothing to do

with party membership or class origin. Perhaps the non-commissioned officers of peasant origin were somewhat better than the n.c.o. s of industrial worker origins. But I don't think that anyone got better treatment in the army than an enlisted man.

We had political indoctrination classes and discussions in small groups twice a week for one or two hours. These sessions were not very popular with the enlisted men. ~~They~~ They grumbled much and were completely indifferent to such indoctrination.

D. I think that the unpopularity of the Soviet troops may be based ~~somehow~~ to a certain extent on the conduct of the Russian troops in the 1848 Revolution. But it can be mostly attributed to the conduct of the Soviet troops in 1945. At that time we expected them to come as liberators but instead they came as robbers. In 1945 I personally saw them rob, rape, and murder without discrimination for no apparent reason.

The troops which were stationed in Hungary after 1945 seemed less wild, more disciplined, and behaved much better. However, neither I nor my friends have had any contact with either the enlisted men or their officers. For this reason I am unable to describe their life in Hungary or to tell you anything about their views. I don't think there was any social contact between the Russians and ~~the~~ the Hungarians. The Hungarians hated them very much and the Russians had orders to keep to themselves. The ~~Russian~~ Russian children had schools of their own, and only the children of top Hungarian Communists were allowed to attend these schools. I don't think there was any courtship between Hungarians and Russians and I think ~~that~~ marriages were entirely out of the question.

During and after the ~~revolution~~ revolution I had no contact with the Russians whatever and what I know about their conduct during this period is based only on hearsay. On one occasion I personally saw the Russians shoot down and kill ^{UN} a ~~six~~ sixteen year old Hungarian boy on the street. He was ~~armed~~ armed.

E. I have had some difficulties with the local Party Secretary at our university. He was a young man who had just finished his studies. I considered him very narrow minded. He was a so-called ~~&~~ "independent" Party Secretary. This meant that he worked for the Party ~~as~~ as a full time job. His salary was perhaps 1800 ~~forints~~ forints a month. We considered him a very disagreeable fellow. He stuck his nose into everything. He could have ~~expelled~~ anyone he wanted to expelled from the university. With the aid of informers he kept a close watch on the private lives of everyone, professors and students alike. On one occasion he criticized me for not having enough collective feeling. He criticized me ~~for~~ for shunning the company of my classmates.

I have never heard of any official who disregarded party instructions and regulations for the benefit of the people.

F. I don't think there was much possibility to circumvent regulations in Communist Hungary. Sometimes connections may have helped and there might have been a few cases of bribery. Proper connections were especially important when one was seeking a job. Perhaps sometimes state storekeepers were bribed to provide customers with scarce commodities.

G. I do not think that even the top leaders of the A.V.H. were competent or intelligent. The situation was even worse in the army. My impression is that the Russian army leadership is however very capable. I think the situation in Hungarian public administration was somewhat better than in the Hungarian army or A.V.H.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I don't think that Hungary can regain her independence without the assistance of the Western powers. Unless a third world war breaks out the terror in Hungary will continue. I don't think there will be any further open resistance in Hungary. Kadar will continue his reign of terror. He will not make any concessions, at least not at the present.

Outside Hungary I expect the Western world to tighten its policy against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will probably attempt to regain its lost prestige in the Communist parties of the Western world. I hope that internal changes will take place within the Soviet Union and this will effect the situation of Hungary. I think a compromise ~~xx~~ as in Poland would be very desirable for our country. I think the people at home would consider such a compromise as the first step toward a Western type democracy.

A war now between the United States and the Soviet Union would very likely end with an American victory but I think that neither I nor the people of Hungary desire such a war. It may ~~and~~ destroy the entire world. Such a war is not likely to break out at the present. The Soviet Union will be the one to decide when a third world war will ~~break~~ out. The Soviet Communist leaders will resort to war only when they feel strong enough to conquer the Western world. But in my opinion such a war is inevitable.

B. After 1945 the people in Hungary hoped that a Western type democracy would be developed in Hungary. By the end of 1948 it was evident that the Communists wanted to ~~xx~~ turn Hungary into a Communist state. Then we began to hope that some internal change would take place within the Soviet Union. We also hoped for some political development in Hungary which would free it from the clutches of the Soviet Union. Even Titoism looked better than Soviet Communism. Our hopes were the highest in 1953 and 1956. That was under the first Imre Nagy government and just before the revolution when more freedom was granted to the people.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. In an independent Hungary I would like to see free enterprise, private ownership with progressive taxation.

B. The economic system of Hungary must be determined by her natural resources. For this reason great emphasis must be put on agriculture. The gradual development in Hungarian light industries should continue, but there are no resources which can justify the existence of a heavy industry in Hungary.

When Hungary becomes independent I think that the national enterprises should be given back to their previous owners. Until the owners claim them and prove their rights the government should appoint managers to take charge of these enterprises. The unclaimed national enterprises should be either sold or leased to private interests.

The farm cooperatives and the state farms should be dissolved and the land distributed among the peasants. The ex-owners of the large estates should not get back their property but should get a limited compensation.

I am not in favor of nationalization in any form. Everything should be restored to private ownership. This refers to both the heavy and light industries. I think the government should not prescribe what the farmers should grow. It can give advice and suggestions to the farmers but should not interfere directly. I would set the maximum ownership of ~~arable~~ ARABLE land at 200 cadastral yokes per family.

~~If~~ If I had to choose between freedom with no employment and a dictatorship with an insured high standard of living I would prefer freedom.

In independent Hungary I would favor outlawing the Communist Party. Our present experience has proved that neither the purpose nor the means of a Communist Party are acceptable. However, I would not outlaw the Fellow Travelers organizations. There is a great difference in being Communist and only sympathizing with it.

C. A neutrality like Austria's would be the ideal position for Hungary. History shows that her geographical position always involves Hungary in wars. For this reason it would be best for Hungary to remain strictly neutral.

For Hungary I would desire only economic relations with the Soviet Union. Relations with the other Eastern European countries would be determined by their political systems. If they succeed

In breaking away from Russia and ending Communism, then both economic and cultural relations would be advisable. Military non-aggression pacts should be also concluded with them to insure Hungarian neutrality. However if they remain Communist then our contact with them should be limited to economic relations only. With the United States and the Western European countries we should have the closest possible relations economically and culturally, and such military pacts which would insure Hungary's neutrality.

I think that the formation of a Danubian states federation would be very sound. I first heard about this after World War II. It would facilitate the rapid economic development of the Danubian states. We talked about such a solution, not only in history classes but also among ourselves at the university. Such a federation would be very desirable and it is possible. It should include all the Danubian states with the exception of Germany. I think that the average person in Hungary has heard very little about such plans but in general I believe that people would approve.

I find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. I do not wish any territorial readjustments. Opinions about this at home are divided. I am not worried about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. This entire question is of no great importance to me.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I have not heard anything about Khrushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress.

(Subject was informed that the speech was referred to contained a denunciation of Stalin and his policies.)

Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin was not a secret speech. It was made public after the Twentieth Congress. We heard about it immediately after the Congress ended.

I heard about ~~xxxxxx~~ Senator McCarthy in the Communist press. Allegedly he wanted to install a reign of terror here in America by bringing practically everyone before his Committee to be investigated.

I read in the Hungarian newspapers that Peron had been overthrown in Argentina and he left the country.

Before the revolution I knew practically nothing about Rakosi's private life. We knew only what was contained in his official biography.

B. Before the War my father subscribed to the daily newspaper "Az Újság". He also purchased regularly the weekly magazines "A Het", "Tolnai Világlapja". He read much from Hungarian and foreign classics and modern writers. He read one or two hours every night. Being able to read anything that interested him my father, I think, was satisfied with the books and periodicals obtainable before the War. During the War he was drafted for compulsory labor service and did not have much time to read.

After the War we first subscribed for the daily newspaper "Világ". Later for the "Magyar Nemzet". When Communist pressure increased we discontinued subscriptions for these newspapers and subscribed only for the "Szabad Iep". We also purchased two weekly publications "Figyelő" and ~~the~~ later on the "Irodalmi Újság". We also had a popular science magazine called "Let és Tudomány."

We always read the newspapers in great detail. Until about the middle of 1947 everything was published in the papers could be believed. The tone of the newspapers however changed suddenly. We lost our confidence because we still remembered what the papers wrote not so long before and also because we listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts. Some items of domestic news could be believed. Still it was worthwhile to read the papers in detail because sometimes a short allusion to something

explained much.

Papers and periodicals from the Soviet Union and the satellite countries (with the exception of Yugoslavia) were obtainable in Hungary. I sometimes purchased copies of the PRAVDA for practice in Russian. Its contents was practically identical with that of the "Szabad nap" or vice-versa.

While we were in Hungary neither I nor my friends read any publications from the West, either legal or illegal. However, we did read many books, of fiction which were placed on the index by the Communist government. We borrowed such books from our friends. To possess such books was not a criminal act in itself. Placing them on the index meant only that they were weeded out from public libraries. We had such books at home. We did not hide them but kept them in a book-shelf with our other books. The proscribed books in general were either destroyed, handed over to the authorities, or kept, especially the fiction.

Reliable friends and relatives would always exchange the news which they heard, but I never received any news by word of mouth which did not originate from either the Hungarian or foreign radio broadcasts or from the Hungarian newspaper. News received by word of mouth was very often distorted. It always depended from whom one received the news. Persons from high government posts were always better informed. I myself always passed on the news which I heard or read. This was always done in course of private conversations with reliable people. We had to take care not to be overheard, or not to get suspicious.

I went to the cinema once every week and to a theatre once every three weeks. I saw only Western films. I haven't seen a Soviet film since 1946. In plays I preferred Hungarian and Western classics. The two things which I liked best during the recent years were an Italian film "Unfaithful Lover" and a French film "Papa, Mama, She and I". I liked the artistic performance and the Western atmosphere of these films. The two plays which I liked most were Shakespeare's "Richard III" and Shaw's "Saint Joan".

*Western in the sense of West European or American, not "Wild-West."

XVI.

A. Up to the very out-break of the Hungarian revolution I believed that internal ~~changes~~ charge within the Soviet Union is possible. But now I am convinced that ~~change~~ their policy of liberalization is only camouflage. I do not know what the feelings of the Russian people at home are, but I think that the ~~change~~ vast majority of the Russians are opposed to Communism. Internal charges in the Soviet Union would be most likely to occur through a revolution. But in my opinion there is a very remote possibility for this to happen.

If free ~~elections~~ elections were to be held in Russia I am certain that the Communist Party would be defeated and a Social Democratic government would take over.

I think that the primary aim of the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party is to achieve world domination. They are probably motivated by desire for power. I think that they are very corrupt, and very cruel people. The ~~change~~ top Soviet Communist leaders differ from the Hungarian Communist leaders only in one respect: the Soviet Communists have more power. Otherwise there is no difference in motives, feelings, or characteristic traits.

B. I think that from among these nations probably Poland would be the most popular in Hungary and Eastern Germany would tie with Czechoslovakia for second place. Their popularity would be due to their governments and to their economic conditions. ~~ix~~ The least popular would be ~~Russia~~ Romania and Bulgaria. Romania is unpopular because of territorial disputes ~~ix~~; Bulgaria because of extremely poor economic conditions. But there had been very little contact between Bulgaria and Hungary. I personally have never had any contact with these countries.

If free elections were to be held in these countries I am certain that Communism would be defeated everywhere. In this respect there would be no difference in the countries mentioned.

The standard of living is probably the highest in Czechoslovakia and in Eastern Germany. It is lowest in Romania and Bulgaria.

C. I think that the governments ~~change~~ now in power in Poland represents a change for the better in this country. Until now ~~change~~ Gomulka has strived to gradually sever ties with the Soviet Union and establish friendly relations with the Western countries. I approve of Gomulka's policy of gradualism because it represents a change. It may have been curbed somewhat by the present state of foreign affairs but I believe that it will continue. The future prospects for Poland are I think good. Gomulka will continue his policy of liberalization. During the last few months my views on this question have not changed.

Events in Poland had a decisive effect on the out-break of the Hungarian revolution. The revolution itself began as demonstrations in sympathy with the Polish students. We knew then that they were able to ~~basicall~~ change their form of higher education and ~~and~~ were now striving for more independence in their foreign policy.

I did not know that more freedom was given to ~~many~~ people in Poland even before Gomulka's rise to power. But we were informed of the events in Poznan by the Communist press and foreign radio broadcasts.

Now in retrospect I would favor a Polish-like solution in Hungary instead of the revolution. This would have avoided much ~~mass~~ bloodshed.

Communism

D. I think that Marshall Tito is ~~the~~ originator of national Communism. In practice national ~~ism~~ means independence of Moscow in foreign affairs and somewhat less terror. I think that Marshall Tito is a very crafty politician. He is trying to be on good terms with both the East and West and reaping the advantages of both sides. However, I have great respect for his war record during World War II. I think that basically he is against capitalism although he would like economic aid and loans from the West. His relations with the Soviet Union show constant fluctuation. Personally I think that he is not on very good terms with Moscow nor with the other satellite countries. Probably Poland is the only exception in this respect. His brand of National Communism ~~is~~ may be popular in the satellite countries only because it is slightly better than complete Soviet Communism. Tito is probably popular at home because Yugoslavs consider him the lesser of two evils. They think that they are still better off than the rest of Eastern Europe. I think that the standard of living in Yugoslavia is probably the same as it was in Hungary just before the revolution. The Yugoslavs may have somewhat more liberty than existed in Hungary and they are independent in their foreign policy.

E. I think that the Communists were able to gain control of entire China because the deplorable economic conditions in the country favored Communist propaganda. To a certain extent China may be more independent than the other satellite countries. The reasons for this is that China itself is a vast country. Without China the Soviet Union is unable to achieve its plans of world Communism.

I think that India is gradually severing all ties with the British Commonwealth.

In my opinion Nasser's policy in Egypt is a threat to world peace. Israel had a moral and legal right to invade Egypt because her troops operating from Egyptian bases were invading Israel and causing much trouble. But in my opinion there was no basis for the ~~English~~ English and French invasion of Egypt. The Suez crisis could have been solved by means other than war.

I do not think that Egypt was right in nationalizing the Suez Canal. She was under international obligations to continue to permit the international operation of the Canal.

Regretably the events in Egypt had a great effect on developments in Hungary during the autumn of 1956. They gave moral justification to the Soviet Union to bring new troops into Hungary.

F. In Hungary everyone believed the standard of Western Germany to be the highest in Europe. There may be considerable reason to believe that Germany may be dangerous with respect to causing a new world war. She has been the immediate cause of the outbreak of World War I and World War II.

I think that under the prevailing political circumstances the rearmament of Western Germany is proper. In my opinion the army of Western Germany is not as strong as that of Great Britain or France. I think that the length of military service in Western Germany is about one year.

I think that both the German and the Russian occupation of Hungary was equally distasteful to me. However, I must admit that the German soldiers and officers were much better disciplined than the Russians. In my opinion the Russian occupation forces were more unpopular in Hungary than the Germans.

G. I am satisfied with the policies of the British Labor party. Its continental counterpart would be the Social Democratic party. I don't think that the British Labor party likes the Communists at all.

Among these countries probably Western Germany has the highest standard of living. Next comes Great Britain, Italy, the Soviet Union, Greece, and finally Egypt.

H. What surprised me most after my arrival in the United States was the willingness of the American people to help us and the apparently high standard of living.

In general I am satisfied with U.S. foreign policy, but the United States government should force Lasser's government to behave. The immediate aims of U.S. foreign policy should be the unconditional liquidation of Communism in the satellite countries, and to exert pressure on the Soviet Union to make her withdraw from these countries. U.S. government should give only limited economic aid to the Polish government and none to

Yugoslavia. It is very uncertain to what purposes these loans would be applied. The United States should sever ~~its~~ diplomatic relations with the Kadar government and should give no government loans to the present regime.

I think that the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors. This would give them an opportunity to learn more about the West and to explain to the visitors the situation there. Tourists, politicians, and newspaper writers would be preferred. Trade union people may be received with some suspicion because they may be Communist sympathizers. Before ~~going~~ going to Hungary visitors should be advised to tell only the truth about the Western world and about their experiences in Hungary. I think that the most recent refugees would be able to give prospective visitors the information about the conditions at home.

I am certain that the people at home would like very much to get Western publications and books. But it would be impossible to send such publications to private persons. Perhaps the Western legations in Budapest may find some way of distributing such publications.

I think it would be desirable to have exiles associated with such activities.

I think that the purpose of the Marshall Plan was to help the disrupted economies of the European countries after the World War II. I do not believe any political strings were tied to Marshall loans. The motives of the United States government were only a desire to aid. Communists ~~accused~~ accused the American government of wanting to be a political influence over the entire Europe thru Marshall loans. I do not believe this.

The United States got involved in the Korean War because the U.S. government wanted to curb the expansion of Communism in Asia. ~~I do not know of any other motives.~~ I do not know of any other motives.

I do not think now that the United Nations could have effected decisively the situation in Hungary last Fall. The United Nations is something very nice on paper but it just does not work in practice. It should be reorganized to make it more effective. Last Fall the United Nations should have been able to expell the Soviet Union from its organization and to send military aid to Hungary. I do not expect any effective action from the United Nations for Hungary in the near future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. I consider Bela Kovacs to be the greatest Hungarian living today. He has excellent character and clings to his views and convictions under all circumstances.

B. Imre Nagy I think is an honest Hungarian. His last appeal to the free world is something that will always be remembered in Hungarian history.

I have the utmost respect for Cardinal ^{Mindszenty} ~~Mindszenti~~. He fought bravely for the freedom ~~of~~ of the Church and of his country. He has not left the country despite the fact that he could have easily done so.

The role of Laslo ~~Nijk~~ is somewhat hazy. I am ~~unable~~ unable to form a definite opinion about him.

I would like to see Erno Gero hanged.

This applies also to Janos Kadar.

President Eisenhower appeals to me very much, both as a person and as a statesman. He should have more understanding for Israel's problems and his foreign policy in Eastern Europe should be more forceful.

Secretary General Hammarskjold is taking great pains to appease the Soviet Union. He should not hesitate so much and should pound the table.

State Secretary Dulles is a good statesman but in a very ~~difficult~~ difficult job.

Ex-Prime Minister Eden committed a great blunder in attacking Egypt.

I think that the foreign policy of President ~~Truman~~ Truman was very good.

Mikoyan is a Soviet Communist leader but I just do not know exactly who he is.

Nehru is the Prime Minister of India. He sympathizes too much with the Soviet Union.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek is to be blamed because the free world has lost China.

Ferenc Nagy is a good Hungarian statesman.

President Roosevelt went too far in making concessions to Stalin.

Chancellor Adenauer is an excellent statesman.

It is very regrettable that Stalin did not die sooner...at least 75 years ago.

~~Malenkov~~ Malenkov was not a very successful politician.

Generalissimo Franco is a dictator and I don't like dictators.

Bevan belongs to the British Labor Party but I do not know exactly who he is.

Khrushchev continues Stalin's policies under the guise of more freedom.

We have already discussed Tito and Peron.

~~Malenkov~~ Malenkov is a very good Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is too bad that he is not on our side.

Ellenauer is the leader of the Western German Social Democratic Party. I do not know much about him.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of our times.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILES' ACTIVITIES.

A. The persons who left Hungary after the ~~1948~~ revolution were the ones who had to fear retaliations and who desired to lead a better life. I think that all social classes are represented among the refugees. ~~But~~ Probably their ~~majority~~ majority are members of the intelligentsia. After that the industrial workers, and last the peasants. The majority of the ~~refugees~~ of the refugees are probably under 30 years old.

The people who remained in Hungary either did not have the opportunity to leave, could not leave for family reasons, or were too much afraid of the Russians. I pity those who had to stay. I think that they are glad to know that at least we are in safety.

If everyone had a chance to escape ~~from~~ from Hungary I think that only those few people who know comparatively very little about the Western world would remain.

B. While I was in Hungary the only exile organization I heard about was Radio Free Europe. The only exile ~~politician~~ politician I heard of was Bela Varga. I do not know anything about him.

(see list of organizations and individuals)

C. I have heard about the Hungarian National Council and of the ~~the~~ American Hungarian Federation only here in America.

Bela Varga was ~~one~~ one of the leaders of the Hungarian Small Holders Party. He is the chairman of the Hungarian National Council.

We have already discussed Ferenc Nagy. He is living now in Virginia and owns a large dairy farm there.

Tibor Eckhardt was one of the leaders of ~~the~~ the Hungarian Small Holders Party before and during World War II. He emigrated to the United States during the War.

Paul Auer used to be the Hungarian ~~Minister~~ Minister in Paris.

I have heard about Imre Szelig only here in America. He is a Social Democrat.

Charles Peyer has died. He was the leader of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party.

Zoltan Pfeiffer and Istvan Barankovics were opposition leaders in Hungary who had to leave the country in 1948.

Niklos Kallay was one time Prime Minister of Hungary.

Otto is the pretender to the Hungarian ~~throne~~ throne.

Admiral Horthy has died recently.

I think that the Hungarian exiles tried to get moral, political, and economic support for our country. I do not think they have accomplished much, but I don't know what they should have done. I did not think of the exiles at all during the revolution.

C. I do not know anyone personally who has left Hungary after 1945 and returned later on. I have heard, however, of such people. I think they very much regret having returned. Most of them were probably simple people who felt very homesick.

I have heard of the Communist re-^{de}affection campaign. The whole thing is quite ridiculous and it serves only domestic and foreign propaganda purposes.

D. The people in Hungary would probably like to know, and they should know, ~~how~~ how the ex-refugees are able to adjust themselves to life outside their country. I think that it is now the duty of the exiles to influence public opinion and the governments of the Western countries to do something for our people at home. I myself, personally can do only one thing: I must strive to prove by conduct and life that Hungarians are diligent, honest, and freedom loving people.

I would like to join an Hungarian exile organization but only later on. I would prefer to join the organization headed by General Bela KIRALY. The purpose of this organization should be to unite the exiles and to help the people at home by influencing the Western governments. I would not have any objections to earlier political exiles who wished to join this organization.

I approve of every political party if its program does not tend toward extremes. Best of all I like the program of the Hungarian Small Holders Party. I do not know anything about the Hungarian political parties in exile. During the revolution we heard about the revival of the ~~RT~~ political parties at home. I approved of this. I do not think it would have been good for political exiles and groups which had left Hungary long before the revolution to have come back and participated in the revival parties.

E. I do not wish to return to Hungary and I do not insist on my children learning Hungarian here in America.

XIX. ~~ANNEKKE~~ AUDIENCES REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. WHILE I was in Hungary I listened regularly to the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and the B.B.C. These programs were usually jammed but it was possible to receive them. Probably the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America programs were jammed the most. I usually listened to broadcasts in Hungarian, but sometimes listened also to those in English. I usually listened every other day between 8 to 10 p.m. I preferred the Radio Free Europe programs in Hungarian because Radio Free Europe was ~~xxxx~~ broadcasting a constant Hungarian program. What I heard over the radio I usually told my relative and reliable friends.

I listened to these programs in the company of my parents. We heard them over our ~~xxxxxx~~ own radio at home. We did not take any special precautions but we did not tune the radio too loud.

My friends and acquaintances almost every day informed me what they had heard over the radio.

Listening to ~~xxxxxx~~ foreign radio broadcasts was dangerous. One could never tell in advance the consequences if one was caught listening to the radio or talking about it. Sometimes they would let a person go only with a warning. More often there would be criminal proceedings for spreading false news and rumors and for inciting against the democracy. Sometimes the AVO jumped to conclusions and thought that a person listening to a foreign radio broadcast was necessarily a spy. I know all this only from hearsay. None of my friends or relatives were ever apprehended while listening to foreign radio programs or talking about them.

I do not think that the danger involved deterred people ~~xxxx~~ from listening radio broadcasts or talking about them. It made them only more careful.

At home I was very glad to be able to listen to these radio programs. Sometimes they were our ~~xxxx~~ only source of news, but the foreign radio stations should take greater care concerning the accuracy of ~~xxxx~~ their news, especially in the cases of news happening behind the iron curtain. Very often their information turned out to be false. My views in this respect have not changed since I have left Hungary.

I preferred the Hungarian programs of the B.B.C. I preferred them ~~xx~~ for their reliability, but the Radio Free Europe programs had the advantage of giving continuous Hungarian programs. I never doubted anything which was reported from outside the iron curtain, but what the foreign radio reported as events occurring inside the iron curtain I always accepted with certain criticism. One

was always able to control to certain extents the veracity of such news. If not immediately, then perhaps later on.

The Hungarian programs of the foreign radios were appreciated at home because they were very often the only available source of news. This was especially true during the revolution.

There is some truth to the allegation that Radio Free Europe incited the Hungarian people by holding up promises of Western help. On the basis of what the radio was saying all along for months before the revolution it was hoped that we would get effective military help from the West once we told the world that we wanted to get rid of our Communist masters.

I think that the Radio Free Europe should continue Hungarian broadcasts. It is necessary to inform the people at home about events outside the iron curtain, about articles appearing in Western newspapers, and about events taking place in other countries behind the iron curtain. It is also necessary to analyse the political situation behind the iron curtain but the tone of the broadcasts should be restrained. It should contain no inciting anti-Communist propaganda. Most important would be straight news about political and economical events.

B. I have never heard of the N.E.M. before. I have heard about the Twelve Demands, but there were so many demands published I do not know exactly which one you mean. Some demands listed twelve points and some fifteen. I do not know anything about the twelve demands issued by Free Europe Press.

C. I have never seen nor heard about Free Europe leaflets. I do not think it was very dangerous to pick up such leaflets, to talk about them or to pass them on. I am unable to give you any opinion on them because I have never seen any.

I think it would be advisable to continue such leaflets into Hungary. Their primary purpose would be to keep alive the hopes of the people at home and to spread news. But these leaflets too should stick only to the facts. The people at home would want to know most of all what the West is doing in their behalf.

D. The purpose of the Western organizations in sending leaflets and broadcasts into the countries behind the iron curtain is primarily to counter-balance the influence of Communism and to explain to them what really is happening in the world. I do not see any difference in the objectives of the various Western organizations.

XX. CHILD REARING AND HIS DISCIPLINE

A. The most important thing in the education of children is to develop their moral character. It is also necessary to awaken their curiosity and make them like studying. It is essential to teach children discipline. To do this it may sometimes be necessary to use physical punishment. In my opinion the treatment of girls and boys should be the same from the point of view of discipline. As the children grow older and their reasoning develops punishment can be abolished and it may be sufficient to appeal to their reasoning. When I was a child my parents did not resort to physical punishment but very rarely. When I was nine years old my mother caught me smoking a cigarette. She gave me a terrible scolding and did not speak to me a whole day. My father on the other hand offered me a cigarette. When he did this smoking immediately lost its appeal to me.

I do not think that in the case of children six years or older the sex or age of the child had anything to do with which parent would punish it. I don't think there was any difference in this respect among the various social classes. Changes in this during the last ten years are very unlikely.

In general physical punishment was abandoned at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and probably at the same age for girls.

Punishment in general was abandoned for both girls and boys at the age of seventeen.

I don't think Communism has brought any changes in the frequency of parental punishment. However the frequency of ~~sexual~~ physical punishment probably has declined under Communism. The age at which punishment and physical punishment are abandoned had not been influenced by Communism.

Under Communism physical punishment for school children had been abolished for all age groups. Instead of physical punishment children are punished by bad grades and scolding.

I think that an ideal friend should be reliable even under the most trying circumstances. He must have character, and be brave, and truthful. I think that under Communism many friendships ceased.

THE END