

Character description.

Background. As a member of the former middle-class, respondent was prevented from bettering his education at the university level. Fortunately for him, he discovered a valuable technical ability in the field of electricity and did his best to go ahead in that direction. As long as he worked, the regime could not do anything against him.

Character.- After his father's death, respondent remained close to his mother, who provided him with a good education at home. This seems to have counter-balanced the possible harmful effects of Communist indoctrination, and on the whole, respondent is a well-balanced young man with both feet on the ground. He has a positive outlook on things and persons, and does not seem to have too much trouble to adjust himself to his new environment. At the same time, he is very aware of his country's tragedy, and feels he has a mission to fulfill in explaining to the Americans why the Hungarian people rejected Communism in all its manifestations.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE QUESTION

The Americans should know first what caused the atmosphere which lead to the revolution in Hungary. Then they should know how the Russians intervened twice in our affairs, especially on November 4, 1956, and how they trampled down the freedom won by the Hungarian people.

CHRONOLOGY

III. SUMMARY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Since October 10, 1956, I was in cell no. 6 in the Budapest Military prison at Ménessi-ut 28. I had hit my sergeant in the army and was sentenced to 20 days imprisonment. We were 12 in my cell, and maybe 50 in the whole prison: 6 officers, 12 NCOs, the rest, soldiers. They were all imprisoned for disciplinary reasons. On certain days, we were taken out to work in factories or to perform physical work.

On October 23, there was a delay in the change of the guard, which took place at 4.30 P.M. instead on the customary 3 P.M. We were working at that time in the garden. Among the ~~xxx~~ guards, there was a decent soldier whom we knew well. We asked him for the news, and he told us that there was a huge demonstration in front of the Bem barracks, around the statue of the general. The crowd was so thick that the soldiers could hardly get outdoors. The soldier showed us a leaflet containing the 17 demands of the ~~MEPESZ~~. This caused much surprise and enthusiasm among us, and became the topic of discussion, at dinner-time and afterwards. During the night, we heard continual running in the prison, boot-strapping and the noise of cars going out and coming in.

In the morning of October 24, we were waken up at 5 A.M. and taken one by one to the lavatories - and not together -, escorted by a guard. At 8 A.M. the soldier whom we knew told us that an armed revolution had broken out in Budapest and that the AVO and the Russians were fighting against the Hungarian patriots. We became very excited and impatient. The cooks didn't come in and we had to prepare our breakfast ourselves. In addition to the watery coffee, we were given jam for the first time on that day. The control was tightened in every cell.

At 9 A.M. we heard a big ~~xxx~~ shouting at the entrance door, where civilians were exchanging words with the guards. The noise stopped, and began again at 10 A.M. We heard shouts: "Let the prisoners out!" There were already 2 guards before every cell, and they told us not to make any noise. The people broke into the prison, and the guards - who were soldiers like us - got afraid and tried to hide their weapons under their bunks. A group of civilians, led by a 19-20 years old girl, freed us and told us to tear off the star from our caps. We went to the prison office, and took back our personal documents and belongings. When we walked out of the jail, the crowd was singing the national anthem. We were moved to tears. The red star on the tower of the prison - a former cloister - was toppled down, and the crowd spat at it.

I went down to the Moricz Szigmond-körut, where barricades had been set up, and fighting had flared up. I tried to go home, but was caught in a group of armed civilians and given a weapon. I decided to stay with them. We took position at the Boráros square and prevented the Russians from rescuing the AVO-men besieged in the radio building.

October 25.

I went home to Zugló, and was told that the radio had asked the soldiers to join their units. I waited till October 26 and went to report at the Zrínyi Military Academy, knowing that ~~that~~ it had joined the revolutionaries of the XIVth district, under the command of colonel Márton.

On October 27, at 2 A.M. we went to the arm depot at Fót. I was driving one of the cars. We took soldiers there, and brought back ammunition for the VIIIth district. In every locality, the people received us with great joy, gave us apples and cigarettes. There was an AVO barrack near the arm-depot. The day before, the AVOs had come to ask for weapons, the soldiers refused to give them any, and an armed fight developed. Finally the AVO withdrew. On our way back, 14 young people from Dunaharaszti, between 17 and 25 years of age, came with us to fight in Budapest.

On October 28 and 29, we stayed at the József Telephone Exchange. A mother came to us in tears and told us that the Russians had torn in two her 5 years old daughter on the street. We ran to the scene, but the Russians were gone. It was a horrible sight.

The exchange of artillery fire stopped gradually. At 8 A.M. on October 29, before the Russians even began to withdraw, we went to stand guard at every important center of resistance. At 2 P.M. the Russians began to withdraw. We went back to the Zrínyi Academy, helped to distribute food for the state stores. We went back once more to Fót, changed the guards, and brought back more ammunition. The revolution was victorious.

On November 1, I went back for the first time to Erdliget to join my battery (I was in the anti-air craft troops). The three top officers, i.e. the commander, his assistant and the political officer, had been dismissed and replaced by a revolutionary council of 7 members, in which I was also included. The soldiers declared solemnly that they were not willing any more to receive orders from commanders who served Moscow. We established national guards at Diosd and at the Tököly radio station. We were rather isolated however, and didn't know too well what was going on in Budapest.

On November 3, we heard on the radio that the Russians were withdrawing from the country.

The re-invasion.

Early in the morning of November 4, we heard Imre Nagy's radio speech informing the Hungarian people of the treacherous Russian attack. Our telephone lines were out off. Out of the 9 batteries stationed around Budapest, we were the only ones left free, with ~~another~~ another battery at Törökbálint. Both together, we had 16 guns. The battery at Törökbálint, intercepted a Russian order for our annihilation, and told us to join their unit, 4 miles from us. We agreed but had no means of transportation, Before they could send us trucks, the Russians occupied their positions.

We were 72 men, including the cooks and the office personnel. When the Russians approached, the battery decided collectively that we were in a too small number to resist effectively to the Russians. We decided to break up in small groups, dismantled the guns and destroyed our radio. Then, in small groups of 5-6 men, armed for guerilla warfare we went to different directions. We gave our extra ammunition and two guns to the people of Erdliget, who used them later to destroy part of the cement runway of the Tökölly airfield. I went toward Budapest, and learned that at Nagytétény, the Russians occupied the battery with white flags. Many soldiers were not at their guns. The Russians took them to Tökölly for forced labor.

I reached Buda in the evening and went to the Heroes Sigmund square. The people had set up their headquarters in the school, and waited calmly for the Russians. The Russians came on November 5, with two tanks. We had one bazooka and two guns, shot out one tank, while the other escaped. Later, I managed to cross one of the bridges on the Danube to Pest. The Ferenc József bridge was free, as the Russians were unable to hold it, and everybody took advantage of it. Finally, I reached my home in the evening.

On November 6, at noon, I went without my uniform, to the main square at Zugló. The day before, the Russians had abandoned there 1 gun and 3 bazookas because they were damaged. They were repaired during the night and tried in the morning. The gun worked and was placed in a central position commanding all directions. The Russians arrived, and we guided our fire with hand. The first tank was hit, and it crew annihilated when they climbed out of it. In the afternoon, the Russians came back from 3 directions, and stormed the whole place. A large store caught fire and while the people were trying to extinguish it, they were shot at by Russian soldiers posted in the church tower. The people ran up and killed them all, 18 altogether.

Until November 15, there was a complete strike everywhere. On that day I saw on the tracks, near the railway station at Rákosmező, three freight-cars guarded by Russian soldiers. There were already many rumors of deportations in the air. I phoned immediately some friends in the VIIIth district. Ten of them came out with weapons. There were already 5 freight-cars when at 10.30 P.M. we reached the railway tracks. About 10 Russian soldiers stood guard. Two of us attacked them from the front, and distracted their attention. The rest of us attacked them from behind and reached the freight-cars. We began to break them open, young people came out of them and ran away in the darkness. As we were opening the fourth car, the Russians came back

and their fire became so heavy that we had to retreat. I'm sure that we opened four cars, and freed between 80 and 90 young men. Later I had time to speak with two of them. One of them had been arrested by the Russians on the street and taken to the Western railway station with five other young men.

On November 17, the radio called on all soldiers to report to their units, otherwise they will be court-martialed. The order was repeated on the 18th, with a deadline set for the evening. I decided then to leave Hungary, and got started on the 19 by train to Szekesfehervar, then from there by car to Papa. I found myself with four other young men who were also heading toward the border. At Papa, the Russians arrested us, took all our documents, and escorted us to the local police station. As soon as they left, the Hungarian police officer in command gave us our papers back, and told us to get out by the back door. We took the train, which stopped in an open field, some 2 miles from the border. All the passengers climbed out and began to walk. Our group, 30 people together, marched in small groups of 4 or 5. At 600 feet from the border, we were stopped by two armed Hungarian border-guards. First they refused to let us pass, but the people began to press them and to bargain. The discussion lasted quite a while, the people gave them all the money they could gather, some 5,000-6,000 forints. Finally they let us go, and even told us the best place where to cross the border.

B. I heard the word "freedom fighter for the first time on October 24.

(3) Those who fought were mostly the young secondary school students, a few university students, all the workers, a few middle-aged people. The army's role cannot be called ~~xxx~~ active, except when the whole unit sided with the revolutionaries with its commander. It remained passive and didn't shoot at the people. In most cases, the soldiers fought individually. The intellectuals were the smallest group among the active fighters, but they did organizational work.

(4) Many regular police units near the Kilian barracks, joined the revolutionaries, and gave them their weapons. The arm plants were emptied. Also many soldiers gave their weapons to the people. Later the distribution of ammunition became regular. 90% of the army barracks handed over their arms to the people together with ammunition. One officer who tried to stop a truck loaded with weapons was killed by the people.

(5) The fighting as such was not organized. There was no central leadership, and this was a big disadvantage. The leaders of the local groups were chosen on the spot by the people. Some were former army officers, others, young people. They were chosen for the merits they acquired on the spot.

(6) I had only one thought during the fighting: to free Hungary. I had also a personal desire to take revenge: in 1945, the Commun-

ists tortured and beat to death my father in the Andrassy-ut prison. I felt that it didn't matter to die for my country's freedom.

(7) We didn't think of how the revolution would end. We wanted to drive out the Russians and to overpower the AVO, and were not concerned about the rest. Today, I can see the lacunes of the revolution and why we couldn't consolidate our victory.

(8) I didn't consider Gerö's-or Kadar's - government as my government. They had absolutely no right to call in the Russian troops.

III-C.

(2) First I thought that the Russians' withdrawal was serious, as the revolution was victorious in Budapest and in the rest of the country.

(3) I didn't know that the Russians had stopped. I only saw them coming back and attacking on November 4.

IV:

EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

A. During the first days, there were rumors that Tito was coming to our rescue. Later I saw that the revolution had won without external help, and at that time, I didn't think of foreign assistance.

After November 4, the whole country waited desperately for assistance, not only from the USA, but from the rest of Europe. We would have welcomed any weapons, or a UN armed force, or rather any kind of soldiers.

(B) All the foreign broadcast (VOA, BBC, RFE) gave us the certainty that the West is politically opposed to Communism, and that if a revolution breaks out behind the Iron Curtain, it would help it militarily.

(C) I didn't talk to any foreigner during the revolution.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Family background.

(1) My father was a second-year engineering student at the outbreak of World War I. He fought on the Russian front. After the war, he entered the knitting industry as an apprentice, became factory superintendent in Budapest. Around 1935, he became technical lecturer in the textile industry and was employed by the Material- and Goods Office in Budapest. He went to various knitting factories in the country.

He let build a house at Zugl6 which is still our property today.

My mother went to commercial school after she graduated from secondary school. She became secretary, later department head at the Ministry of Agriculture, was dismissed without pension after 1945. She worked later as a typist and stenographer. In 1955, she was dismissed for political reasons, because she was not a Party member and a brother living in the United States. Today she has found a new job as a secretary.

B. 1. Social classes in Hungary.

a) Elxizintelligenciak

A first group here would be the Party society, i.e. all those who are CP members by conviction. They enjoyed all the material advantages. The Army officers and the AVO-men also belong to this group.

b) The intellectual ruling class (professors, directors of institutes) Some of them were CP members, rather by duty than by conviction. 80% of them were opposed to Communism, but many had been forced to join.

c) The so-called "grey intelligentsia", i.e. the small functionaries, with middle-class inclinations. They were not active during the revolution. Their main worry was their job, but they didn't like the regime either.

d) The students. This was a mixed groups, as the members had various family origins.

The workers can be divided into 3 groups:

- a) the regular workers, always engaged in the production.
- b) the simple and uneducated workers, who came from the country, because attracted by better wages.
- c) the former intelligentsia (former officers, gendarmes, etc.) who did very heavy physical work. This last group was the less reliable one in Communist eyes. They could talk intelligently and become eventually the political leaders of the workers.

- d) the apprentices, who were close to the Party workers. But they took side with the revolution against the regime.
- e) the miners, well organized and warm supporters of the revolution.

Peasantry, in two groups:

- a) Those who had or have their own land and farms, Some of them were hired men under the Eszterhazys, but said it was still much better than to be a collective farm member.
- b) The peasants "in red pants", who were influenced by the Communists as far as collectivization was concerned

(2) I know the best the technical intelligentsia, ie. the group among which I worked. But I had also contacts with the peasantry in the country and with the workers while I worked in factories. (I lived from 1944 till 1947 in Sopron County, in a rural district).

(4) I feel I belong to the technical intelligentsia.

2. Reactions of the different classes to Communism.

Peasantry. The former individual farmers were the biggest enemies of Communism. The Communists could only influence the workers, through the social institutions they created. But they did not pay decent salaries, and the workers retaliated by stealing from the factories.

In 1945, the Communists made a huge propaganda in the villages, without any success. The peasants hated the most the delivery system. They wanted to work and to sell their produces independently. But the state fixed the prices and gathered in the crops. Everything was regulated from a Ministry, and many injustices committed against the peasants.

Workers. The workers who first opposed the regime were those who before Communism were paid in hour-wages. Now the Communists harrassed them with norms and cheated them in many ways. Before, the workers were promoted according to their professional skill, under Communism, CP membership and political views became more important. The regime tried to win over the workers with various social institutions. But if it failed, it is thanks to the group of former intellectuals and pre-war workers who talked and explained a lot to their co-workers.

Intelligentsia. Those who wanted to make a career had to follow the Party. The writers who wanted to see their works published had to let the CP censure their books. Most of the professors were passive. The members of the technical intelligentsia knew that they were needed and never expressed much sympathy toward Communism.

(4) I think that the intelligentsia was hardest hit by Communism, because it didn't have the means to live a normal life, and because it is in that class that the living standard deteriorated the most. Before the war, a university professor could support his family, and his wife could remain at home and bring up their children. This was impossible under Communism.

C. How the different classes felt toward each other.

There was no absolute expression of opinion. The peasants saw that the workers enjoyed an easier situation. Many young peasants left the country and worked in factories. A small fraction of the intelligentsia looked down on the proletarians, the others who worked with them knew them much better.

The workers didn't like too much the intellectuals, and didn't care much about their work, but they recognized their skill and intelligence.

During the revolution, all class differences disappeared. There were only Hungarians, who were all fighting for a common goal: to drive the Russians out and to free themselves.

E. 1. In order to get ahead, an individual had to become a Party member. In the field of technical intelligentsia, the absolutely good and precise work was recognized. Also the excellent performances in sports. The good connections were very important. As for social origin, the workers and peasants were advantaged, and there were more difficulties. The so-called class aliens and reactionaries were completely disadvantaged.

In 1953, there was an amelioration for the intelligentsia, which was raised at the same level as the peasants and the workers. After the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, new evolution which led to the revolution.

Many decent people could go ahead with their mere talent, among the technical intellectuals. A new invention for ex., meant an advantage to the Communist economy.

There were many careerists who thought only of their own interests and denounced other people in order to go ahead. They were spineless people who never thought of the others. They were able to do anything in order to promote their interests. Some husbands would even denounce their wives. This type of man flourished in the army.

F. The greatest material advantages were enjoyed by the top ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXX~~ officers in the army and the secret police, by the intellectual careerists, the athletes and artists (they deserved it in my opinion), the Party officials, functionaries and secretaries, the DISZ secretaries, etc.

The top leaders (Rakosi and the other ministers) can be considered as a special caste which enjoyed much more material advantages than any other Party member.

VI: FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Effects of Communism on family life.

Communism had big and harmful effects on family life. First all the members of the family had to work in order to assure its material subsistence. In addition to her work outside the home, the wife had to cook, wash and iron afterwards - and though the father helped her very often, she had very little time left for educating the children.

Respect for the parents lessened, and a few slaps didn't assure it. The parents worked until the end of the afternoon, while the children came out of school at 1 or 2 P.M. and were free to do what they liked. They often met bad companions at that time, and fell under their influence.

B. The way children are brought up.

The small children were taken in the early morning in the factory nurseries. Thus they couldn't have a normal sleep, and this had harmful effects, too. When they grew older, they were closer to their mother, but were still left by themselves most of the day. In the nursery, they played with Communist games and the nurse had an important role in their education. However, home education still remained more important.

At school, the education had one purpose: to inculcate in them the ideology of world materialism. All the kings were described as reactionaries, and all the school-books were in that spirit. If the child didn't receive at home a religious and cultural education, it could slip easily, and there were plenty of opportunities for that.

When the child entered the Pioneers' organization, he continued to receive big doses of communist doctrine. Only the family education could counter-balance the effects of this. Later the young people went into the DISZ which made huge propaganda, and proclaimed that "youth was the golden reserve" of the country. But the youngsters ~~were~~ had also a thinking of their own, and there were many conflicts in the youth organization.

The changes for the various social groups.

There were changes everywhere. The smallest changes occurred in the families of intellectuals. Though a few youngsters became Communists, most of them got an excellent education at home.

In the other classes, it depended on the family, and also on the school. Many young peasants left their families and became workers.

In my family, my father died in 1945, and my mother had to work hard to support her 3 children. My uncle helped with parcels from the US, but he hardly saw our mother. We all hated the regime, but my younger brother got infected to a certain extent. Though I was a DISZ member, I was older and had had other experiences before Communism, i.e. with the boy-scouts. My brother was very stubborn, listened very little to his mother and to me. He went to see many Communist movies and had no sense of criticism. He also had no religious basis, which is very important in my opinion. This last factor was the biggest deficiency in education under Communism. But my brother fought very bravely during the revolution. My sister listened more to my mother and though she was ~~xxx~~ four years younger than my brother, she noticed many more things than he.

B. 2. Obedience and disobedience.

Obedience was small, because parents and children were hardly together, and because, as a result, the parents had no authority. In several families, political differences put a strain on relations between the various members. Under the age of 15-16, there was religious obedience only if the parents asked the child to ~~be~~ practice his religion. But every sport meeting, movie, etc. was held on Sunday morning at mass time.

For instance, my brother never wanted to do the house-work, and we had to beg him to do his share. Some children kept ~~xxx~~ the change when they were sent out for shopping, and bought cigarettes with it. Many of them could keep late hours without being punished.

In the apprentices' school, the teachers had already taught before Communism and were not the servants of the regime. There were not only spiritual conflicts between the school and the home. For ex., the parents had to attend certain meetings which were nothing else but Communist propaganda. The schools had programs for Sundays and religious holidays, like ~~xxxx~~ Easter and St. Stephen's Day. Some excursions lasted from Good Thursday till Easter Monday. In every canteen, there was always meat on Friday.

C. Marriage, courtship and sex patterns.

Communism affected marriage in many ways. People got married without any spiritual basis, on first look, usually. Courtship was different in the various social groups, and I think here not only of the places the young people went, but also of the topic of their discussions.

There were many divorces, especially among the young people, because they realized that they couldn't go on with so many material worries, particularly after the first or second child's birth. Many divorced then and looked for a better life.

Marriage was not a problem. The real problem was to get an apartment for the wife and the children. When the young couple had to live with ~~xxx~~ his or her parents, this created only additional quarrels and problems.

The wife was harrassed during pregnancy and she had to resume work immediately after the child's birth. This harmed both family life and the child. If the people would have had more sense, two thirds of the marriages would have never hap ened.

Form the point of view of morals, there was more freedom than before the war, in speech as well as in physical contacts. The young women, divorced or not, were a special class. They often had the big advantage of having an apartment.

2. Legal prostitution was abolished in 1949. Illegal prostitution flourished. Many women needed money. Other wanted to buy things which were considered as luxuries. Some prostitutes were informers for the secret police.

3. The regine discussed these matters only in the frame of marriage. Sexual matters were not discussed in the papers, only slightly after the XXth Soviet CP Congress. For the Party, it didn't matter if one of its members was a homosexual or a depraved person as long as he or she remained a good Communist.

The Communists had lesser morals because Communism was opposed to religion and didn't recognize any moral values or principles. Many Communists didn't even feel they were doing something wrong.

D. Effects of Communism on friendship.

1. People became friendly with those who had the same opinions as they had, and who were in the same situation. A decent boy or girl could not make friends with youngsters who had ~~an~~ lower moral values and education. I ~~xxx~~ trusted my older friends, from the political point of view. Before other people, one couldn't express any frank opinion. Our friendship began at school. We were a small group of four friends who were always together. But it took us more than one year to trust each other completely.

2. If a friend joins the Party, this would certainly influence the friendship. I would find out immediately why he became a CP member. For ex., a second-degree relative of mine, a chief-engineer, was a CP member, and at the same time, a parish-member of his district church. I knew that he had to join the CP because of his wife and three children.

I can't imagine having a ~~fixx~~ friend joining the CP. If he joins, the friendship is broken, and he would become a mere acquaintance. ⁿaybe we would have had reasons to fear each other.

One cannot continue a friendship keeping politics out of it under the present circumstances. Because a real and ideal friendship means that one shares everything and that one's views are identical in every field.

E. Crime and alcoholism.

1. Yes, there was an increase in major crimes because of the economic exploitation. People were knocked down for a winter-coat and a pair of shoes. The many young criminals were more dangerous than their elders. Alcohol influenced greatly the behavior of youth.

Nothing about this was mentioned in the papers. Sooner or later the police was able to find the criminal. But the work of the police was too slow and hampered by bureaucracy.

2. There was much drinking, for two reasons. First, the people had very little money left, and couldn't save it. Secondly, many people drank because they were embittered.

B. Juvenile delinquency.

The Communist conception of the jampecs was stupid, because they were neither reactionary or anti-regime. They saw the Western dresses in the movies and wanted to show up by doing something unusual. They wore extravagant clothes, tight trousers, fantastic jackets and shoes, which they made themselves. Most of them were young workers from the suburbs, and a very few were students. Most of them worked. The regime exaggerated their behavior and persecuted them, especially in 1952. The jampecs were caught by the police, and their pants and their hair were cut.

I think that in a way, the jampecs damaged the prestige of the West. 90% of the girls among them were prostitutes.

The "hooligans" were the bums who didn't work. They stayed one week at a job and were thrown out. Or they were too lazy. They could be found especially in the XIIIth, VIIth and VIIIth districts in Budapest. Officially, they were criminals and if caught without working identification card, they were punished.

The ~~parents~~ children were independent from the parents who could see only their clothes, but didn't know what was going on among the young people. They had to resign themselves. The members of the family couldn't meet together or to go together to social gatherings.

VII. RELIGION

A. Effects of Communism on religious life.

Communism had many effects on religion. It tried to destroy it and persecuted it constantly.

Communism opposed religion and called it an anachronism, something which was not needed any more. Marx based his principles on Materialism. The Communists also felt that those who had a religious basis looked at things more realistically. The effects of religion worried them more than religion itself. As they had no religious basis, the Communists didn't feel when they were doing something wrong.

In practice, religious instruction didn't exist in the schools, though it was guaranteed in the Constitution. To have the child attend religious instruction, both parent's consent was necessary. The parents had to think it over, because of the risk of losing their jobs. Many preferred to give their children religious instruction at home.

The Lutherans wanted to build a ~~much~~ larger church at Zugló. This was refused to them because a park for Pioneers was supposed to be built there in 1960. I had a relative who was a priest, and this was very bad for me.

The Party members, convinced or not, couldn't go to church, couldn't get married ~~there~~ or have their children baptised there. They couldn't have religious burial. Some did this secretly.

(4) The Catholic religion was the hardest hit, because it never gave in to the Communist ideology, with the exception of a few priests, and because of the resistance of Mindszenty and of his followers.

The religious Jews could practice their religion just like before. The Calvinists and Lutherans were more accomodating. Since 1949, their sermons were broadcast on the radio while the Catholics couldn't have any more broadcasts. They contained blessings for the government, and this was probably the reason why they were allowed.

B. Yes, I consider religion an important factor in my life. I hold it essential in order to become a normal and decent person, especially from the ~~my~~ moral point of view.

Religion is as important in my life than in my parents' life. In my own class of age, I think I am more religious than the average, though I didn't go regularly to church. But I never missed a procession which was always considered as a manifestation against the regime.

C. I would like to see a relation of independence between the churches and the state, i.e. complete freedom for the churches outside of politics.

The churches should preach God's words and teachings. Religious instruction should be facultative. The churches may have schools if those schools don't depend on state support.

The churches could express opinions about a book or a movie, and influence the people to reject an immoral one, but they should not ban anything.

The churches should have no political role at all in an independent Hungary.

D. The Jewish religion, in my opinion, was not hurt by the Communist rule. Too many top positions were filled by Jews. After all, Marx and Rakosi were also born in the same faith. Communism was only favorable to them. The Jews were persecuted by the Nazis at the end of the war. They retaliated afterwards with the policy of eye-for-eye, tooth-for-tooth, and managed to get most of the top positions. The majority of them were better off than the average Hungarian people. They received many parcels from the Joint and from their relatives abroad. They took advantage of Communism, though some of them were honest. But their subsistence was more important.

Many became Party members, joining for the money and for their own interests, and some by conviction. Their opinion of the Party must have changed because of the various zig-zags of the Party line, but they remained in the CP because this was essential for their standard of living.

As for my experiences in Austria, I can say that the first planes bound for the US were full of them. They received more money than the other refugees, went with letters of recommendation from the Nazis to the US Consulate, and got preferential treatment. Those who were unable to take advantage of the situation were the stupid ones. We had to witness this with mixed feelings, but we didn't want to quarrel. The Jews themselves felt that this was not quite correct, and made themselves small.

During the revolution, the Jews were another passive group after the Army. They didn't take side with or against it, and waited to see the end. After November 4, they said that it was good that the Russians chased the Fascists. Many of them were thrown out of their jobs when the revolution triumphed.

Why should the Jews be afraid of an independent Hungary? They can live perfectly well in a free Hungary; maybe they would have to work a little more. Among those who left Hungary now, I can say calmly that 80% came out because they can live better abroad than in Hungary, and not because they were persecuted.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. By Hungarian youth, I mean the young peasants, workers and students (secondary schools and universities), from 15-16 to 24.

B. The voice of the youth could be heard everywhere during the revolution. It took the biggest part in the fighting. Youth took the initiative everywhere. When they didn't know how to use a gun, they asked the soldiers to show them.

The older people were more quiet. But the university professors' attitude, for ex., influenced the students when they made up their resolutions. During the revolution, the older people supported the young ones everywhere they could. The youth considered them as companions, even if they remained passive.

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C. Schools and educational system in Hungary during Communism.

While in secondary school, I went to a school in which we were taught by the old, good teachers. In the apprentices' school, 80% of the courses were technical, and the political effects were nil. The technical teachers were excellent, the political ones less convincing. From 1952 on, the director was a CP member, a former turner from Diosgyőr.

I was not admitted to university because I belonged to the middle-class, because we had owned a house, and because I had a relative (my uncle) who lived in the USA. This was of course not told on the notice of refusal.

Those who wanted to go to the university had to do something "pro forma" for the Party. Children of peasant and worker origin, who finished secondary schools, were given preference, especially when they came from a school of human, and not technical sciences. A few intellectuals were admitted too, if they had excellent marks.

There were many restrictions as for the choice of vocation. One of my girl cousin had much skill for drawing, and wanted to study dress designing. She was sent instead to study as a construction engineer! I had a girl friend at the school of electrical sciences who had wanted to become a teacher. The schools sent the children where it pleased them, and the students couldn't refuse.

E. The Communists sacrificed much time and money to indoctrinate the youth. They organized many cultural meetings, dances, movies, sport meetings. The youth took advantage of all this, but never falling for the propaganda behind it. They were taken collectively to the theatre and to operas (the tickets were very hard to get). But they didn't go to see the Russian plays, which were very stupid.

2. The Communists failed to indoctrinate the youth because though the Iron Curtain existed, they couldn't suppress other movies, because sports are international. This was enough to keep the youth interested in the West and in the free world.

Those young people who thought could see all the contradictions of the regime. There were too many lies, and they became so apparent that one could see through them. The youth was distrustful and wanted to see everything by itself. It liked comical plays, which in reality, were directed against the regime. Many young workers were taken to seminars after work, but this time was not paid. This can also explain why the regime failed to indoctrinate them.

As for changes over time, the Communists scored some successes in 1948-49. At that time, the attitude of the youth was one of passivity. It began to speak up in 1953 under Imre Nagy, then more strongly after the XXII Part Congress, in 1956. In the whole, youth has always rejected (July) Communism in Hungary.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A. Main dissatisfactions in respondent's life.

First, the complete suppression of the freedom of expression. This kept us nervous and resentful. Then the economical and political consequences which resulted of this situation.

Secondly, our isolation from the free world, and the continual worshipping of the Soviet Union by the Communists. One didn't feel at home in one's own country.

Finally, the continual economic struggle for the daily means of subsistence.

B. People were complaining the most about their salaries which were much too low.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The standard of living.

1. Respondent's family.

Our household consisted of 5 persons, ie my mother, my grand-mother, my sister, my brother and myself. We owned the house in which we lived.

Our income was the following:

My mother earned 950 forints per month, plus 25 for. family allowance; I contributed 800 forints, and an uncle sent 130 forints per month to his mother, i.e. our grand-mother. Thus our monthly income was approximately 2,100 forints.

Our regular expenses were: 114 forints for taxes, 70-80 for gas, water and electricity, 24 for newspapers (Magyar Nemzet, Radio).

Food .

We ate 4 lb. of bread, 2 quarts of milk per day, cost 300 forints per month. Also 3-4 lb. meat per week, plus butter and sour cream, cost 220 per month. 2 lb. lard per week, 140 for., 3 lb. sugar, 65 for., flour, 60 for., noodles (or rice), 70 for., salt, spices, vinegar, etc., 100 for.

We arrive at a total figure of 1,050 forints. In reality, we spend around 1,400 forints per month on food.

Clothing. We received most of our clothing from my uncle in Washington. Spent some 150 for. per month on shoe repairs, thread, etc.

Spent 60 forints for entertainment, 100 forints for transportation (my mother and brother). Without speaking of the house repairs and the new articles we needed in the household. We spent yearly 1,000 forints for fuel , and the same sum for home-canning.

We usually ended the month with a deficit of 100-200 forints. We made up the differences by selling food parcels, and my mother would make extra-hours at work.

I considered a motorcycle a luxury. I could never buy one, as a 250 cc. "Pannonia" cost 14,500 forints. From 1949 to 1956, we couldn't repair or repaint the house. This would have cost between 5,000 and 7,000 forints. I had only one pair of pyjamas. I wanted to buy a black suit, but renounced, because this would have left me without black shoes.

The standard of living fell down since 1948-49. Before we had everything we needed. My mother had more time for her family and for ~~herself~~ herself. Then the prices began to climb and the salaries remained about the same. The living standard was at its highest in 1950-51, at its lowest in 1952-53, during the past 8 years under Communism.

2. I knew a family where the father had a good job in the Ministry of Justice, and the wife worked in a paper-cooperative. They earned 3,000 forints per month, and a 2 1/2 year old daughter. They lived without luxury, but normally, in a 3 room independent apartment.

I also knew the chauffeur of a Ministry, who earned 2,500 forints per month. As he was single, he lived very well, went often on holidays to lake Balaton or in the Matra mountains.

3. What accounted for the standard of living is that it was necessary for the state to decrease the real wages. If the people are not forced to work, they will not produce more with the equipment at their disposal. The Russian and the other neighbors took many things out of the country. For ex., the wheat went to East Germany. No copper was available. But when the Ganz factory had to manufacture cranes for the Soviet Union and Poland, it received copper, to be used exclusively for those cranes. For the ~~xxxixxxx~~ Hungarian cranes, ordinary aluminium was used, which could burn after a few months.

The government had to keep expenses and income balanced. It sold our good-quality produces and bought cheap foreign foodstuffs. The people knew that the orders came from the Kremlin, but officially, nobody knew what was going on behind the scenes. The industrial products were too expensive. A German Leica Contax D cost 6,000 forints, its Soviet imitation, 2,800 forints. But Hungary had to buy the German Contax, too.

B. My own salary in 1955 as a tool-maker and electrical maintenance man was 1,290-1,320 forints per month. Out of this, 90 forints were deducted for peace-loan, ~~xxx~~ 3% old-age tax, and 4% bachelor tax. I had secondary sources of income, but irregularly. My salary rose from an initial 900 forints in 1953 to 1,300 in 1955, at the time I was drafted.

G. There were only slight differences (5 to 10%) between the prices in the state stores (Köszért) and the free market. However, the produces sold on the market were of much better quality. Certain produces could be obtained only on the free market, such as chicken, goose, bacon, nuts, etc.

The individual tailors and shoemakers competed also with the state. They would sell a pair of shoes made on measure for 700-900 forints, while the price of the state store was between 480-620 forints. Shoes ready-to-wear cost from 200 to 380 forints.

A suit, made to measure, cost 1,500 to 2,000 forints in a state store, 2,000 when made by the tailor. Ready-to-wear, it would cost from 500 to 1,300 forints. Shirts, ready-to-wear, 80-220 forints; made to measure, 150 to 300 forints, in state stores and private sector alike. These differences were regular.

For foodstuffs, the prices differences were smaller or greater in some years. In 1952, they were smaller. In general, the prices of the private sector followed the prices of the state. It must not be forgotten that all those who sold on the free market had to pay huge taxes.

An egg cost 1,70 in state store, 2,20 on the free market, lard, 35 forints for 2 lb., but unavailable in state store, 40 forints on free market; nuts, 5 forints versus 5,60, sour cream, 1,70 versus 2,20; apples, 6-9 forints for 2 lb. versus 13 forints (in winter). The prices were usually a few filler higher in the morning.

2. As for the quality, no amelioration could be mentioned. Sometimes, some rejected export produces were available, and were bought out in a few days. In 1956, there was a larger choice of textiles, with higher prices, but no better quality. Three feet of ordinary cloth cost 180-300 forints, of special cloth, 300-450 forints.

3. Everything was owned and planned by the state. The choice was fairly large in the big stores, but the quality was poor. There were periodical shortages of milk, butter, sugar, bread and lard. The produces could be found in one part of the city, not in others, because of bad distribution or difficulties of transportation.

It was very difficult to get standard spare parts. One had often to ask for a letter of allocation, except for a few spare parts for motorcycles. When one bought a new bicycle tire, one had to give the old one. Car tires were allocated by the state.

Because of bad organization, some produces would get spoiled. But one cannot speak of wastage.

4. There were short supplies of pork meat, liver, veal (only for ill people) or when there were many foreigners in Budapest), lard and bacon.

Foreign motorcycles were unavailable. It was impossible to import anything because of the heavy taxes. For such motorcycle, one would have had to pay 12,000 forints taxes. A bath-towel cost 50-80 forints, which was very expensive. A bicycle cost 900-1,400, a washing-machine, 1,500, a Hungarian motorcycle, 14,500. No cars were available.

6. The commission shops were the centers of the black-market. In those stores one could find everything. They bought everything and sold it to the various ~~state~~ state stores. For ex., a fellow would sell a good carpet for a low price, 250 forints for instance. A friend of his would go to the store and buy it for 300 (the store made between 17 and 20% profit). Later, this friend would resell the carpet for its real price, let's say 600 forints.

The small craftsmen needed many tools, which could be found in the commission shop. They paid an extra to the store and got their tools. If I wanted to sell to somebody a tool for 500 forints, I went to the store, sold it and got a receipt for 500. Then my prospective buyer bought the tool for 600. Without the receipt, I couldn't sell anything. The store didn't do any control.

The athletes who travelled abroad brought in razor-blades, matches and nylons. These articles were sold in ~~the~~ expressos among friends, but the practice was dangerous. If caught, one could be imprisoned for 1/2 to ~~XX~~ two-and-half years, depending on the charge, unless one could bribe the police. Many food parcels from abroad were resold in detail.

There was also the "black carriage", done by drivers for the private sector. They got gas on the black market. They also "saved" some gas on their ration and sold it at the end of the month.

In the ~~Közért~~ shops, some employees would put aside the best pieces of meat for their friends. But the managers couldn't change the prices.

D. Working conditions.

1. In the stocking factory, I worked 48 hours a week, i.e. 9 1/2 hours a day, from 7 A.M. till 4 P.M., and until 12.30 P.M. on Saturdays. The work in the factory was done in three shifts, and went on without interruption, Sunday included.

I got my job through a friend after having been unemployed for a period of 3 months.

The electrical personnel consisted of 42 persons. We were 6 for the sewing-machines. My relations with my co-workers were good. We shared the same ideas and this helped a lot, because we could trust each other.

My relations with my superiors were good, too, because we all did some black-marketing together. Moreover, they were not afraid of working, too, and we had thus respect for them. We didn't fear them, except the calculator of norms, who kept harrassing us.

supriors

Many of my ~~supriors~~ were originally skilled workers. After 1945, they tried to work on their own, and went to evening courses. They were not convinced Communists. They were not perfect, but better than ordinary workers.

I was satisfied with my work, though I was in a category which received a basic 900 forints a month, which obliged me to work over the 100% norm.

2. Those workers who dealt with the sewing-machines had a good technical knowledge. Other workers were still learning. All skilled workers in the factory were good, and this was shown by the fact that we could operate with a small staff. The work had to be good, otherwise it was refused.

3. The holiday program was a publicity action of the trade-unions. They spent part of the huge fees collected from the members to send some workers on vacations. Husband and wife were sent to different places, people were sent to lake Balaton in the winter-time, etc. The Party members had an advantage on others, but protection and personal connections helped, too.

The medical insurance program was good on the paper, but not in practice. It didn't matter to the doctors whether they had 20 or 50 patients. Everything depended on the doctor's conscience. Professionally, the older doctors were better than the young ones.

The pensions were just enough to starve. I knew a former judge whose pension went down from 500 forints in 1950 to 175 today. My grand-mother received 270 forints, but many people had to live on with pensions as low as 150 a month.

3. II. I prefer to live in the city, I was born and brought up there. I liked the city and was used to it.

The diet was better for the agricultural workers, as they produced themselves. But the workers in the city had also to be given the food for which they worked.

As for the general living standard, a peasant has less needs than the people who live in the city. The general standard of living was lower than in 1945 or 1938.

Politically, the situation of the country was better, because of its isolation. Thus the Communists had more difficulties to reach the peasants politically.

2. My initial opinion about collectivization was that it would be an unhealthy system. I lived from 1944 till 1947 in the country and knew that the majority of the peasants would not like it.

Today I can see that the land in Hungary has been ruined for ten years to come. The system took also away from the peasants their enthusiasm to produce, and to take good care of their land. Today they are not interested in producing more, and let the produces rot in the fields.

Collectivization was opposed by all those who were independent farmers, whether they had 8 or 75 acres of land. In brief, the large majority of the Hungarian peasants opposed collectivization.

Yes, I heard of collectives being dissolved, after that Nagy took office in 1953, and after October 23, 1956. As soon as the pressure relaxed, the peasants got out of the collective farms.

3. Although all three possibilities are not good under Communism, I would still chose working on a private farm, in spite of the heavy taxes.

4. In an independent Hungary, I would like to see private and individual farming. This is absolutely needed. Local peasant co-operatives should be set up under adequate management in order to carry on large-scale agriculture on 50% of the land in the country. The same should apply to animal-breeding. The other 50% of the land may be cultivated by individuals.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. 1. Before 1949, I was interested in the Smallholders' Party. I liked it because I was its victory in the national elections of 1945, and because it opposed the Communists' ~~program~~ program.

2. I knew little about the Communist Party. I thought it was a workers' party. Later I came to hate it, because it lied, made false propaganda and countless contradictions. Thus this Party could neither be trusted nor believed in.

I knew about Bela Kun and the CP of 1919 from my school books. That regime was just as bloody as the revolution in Russia, and caused much hate against Communism in Hungary. After 1945, the Communists tried to wash the whole story white.

B. The Party members.

About 15% were really reliable. The members had various reasons for entering. Most of them were stupid, they were taught and indoctrinated by the Party. Other wanted to make a career and thought only of their selfish interests.

Most ~~office~~ office and factory managers were CP members by necessity. All those who did non-productive work can be added to them. They lived in the fear of losing their daily bread, but there were also many opportunists among them.

There were also the old Party members of 1919. These were gradually removed and pushed aside, because they leaned more toward Marx than toward Lenin and Stalin.

A Party member cannot say anything against the Party, and had to say what he was told to say. On the other hand, to leave the Party was the equivalent of to commit suicide. The SP members who was thrown out of the Party had to take the poorest jobs.

¶. Many changes occurred in Party policies during the last eight years. The Soviet Union first recognized that Stalin's policy was a failure, then it withdrew its declaration. The fate of the country depended on the Party's policy. At all times, the Party was fighting against some inner enemy or class. It wanted to put the people against each other, to prevent them from thinking of their economic troubles. In 1952, ~~the~~ the kulaks were persecuted and deported.

Rákosi, Gerő and Co. received their instructions from Moscow, and were the grandmasters behind the scenes, with other lackeys like Dobi and Révai. When they committed mistakes, they always found some scape-goats.

Officially, there were no differences within the Party. What the Party said was sacred, and everybody had to accept it. Individual opinion and thinking were not tolerated and were suppressed.

3. Whether they liked it or not, the members had to accept what the Party said. They had to stay in the foreground if they wanted to get the advantages they wanted. The Party morale was the fear which kept all the members together, fear from each other and fear from the leaders.

4. The top leaders were in direct contact with Moscow. Often, they were Hungarians only nominally, but never felt like Hungarians do feel. They only thought as Communists and according to their own logic, did everything in order to satisfy the Kremlin. ~~But~~ They were depending on the Russians and could be fired if they didn't do their job well. They must believe in their ideology, otherwise they would not have been able to find so many explanations for it.

Rakosi, who was an intelligent man, got in contact with the workers and became a convinced Communist. Later he went too far, but he always thought that what he was doing was correct. He opposed the former regime, and after the war, succeeded to grab the country by force. In brief, the motives of the top leaders are very different from those of those of the rank-and-file members.

C. Opposition to the Communist government.

1. No strike was possible, because this right was denied to the workers. There were complaints in certain factories where the work was slowed down. Sometimes the machines were damaged. For instance, in 1953 in the machine factory at Csepel the grinders walked out because of a change of norms. There were many thefts in the factories, it was almost a sport to cause a damage to the state in this manner. As for the peasants, they hid their produces, or sold them themselves.

The workers were the most active as far as this behavior was concerned. But this opposition was not very effective. The state simply fired a few people who, it thought, were responsible for the troubles.

The opposition behavior increased generally when the norms were raised, or when some restrictions were introduced. But I can't mention here any particular year or date.

3. Activities of the intellectuals.

K

Those intellectuals we could read and hear were censured and served the regime. We didn't read their works with pleasure.

I heard of the Petöfi Circle. It was an intellectual circle which, after the 20th Soviet CP Congress, began to criticize the mistakes of the regime, to discuss the problems of education and of the family, something what couldn't be done before. I heard of Dery's and Tardos' rebellion, then nothing until the summer of 1956. The debates of the Petöfi Circle were mentioned in the press and on the radio.

The intellectuals said what others could not have expressed, but they said nothing new. As was quite pleased, because before we were not interested at all in them, as they were the mere spokesmen of the regime. I think the technical intelligentsia was the group which was the most capable to act, and that it thought differently from the pure intellectuals.

The intellectuals turned against the regime because their children were persecuted, and because their standard of living fell much more than that of the workers and peasants.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

A6. The secret police or AVH

1. Until 1951, its members were all volunteers, selected among people of low cultural level whom the regime tried to educate into faithful servants.

After 1951, when the green AVH, i.e. the border-guard units, ~~was~~ was created, soldiers were drafted into the organization. The regime closed the Western and Southern borders and created border-zones and border-zone permits. Some green AVH-s were shot by Yugoslav border-guards, who never shot at Hungarian soldiers!

I was arrested twice in such border-zones, in 1951 and 1954, when I went to visit some relatives. The first time, I was taken to Szombathely, tripped and kept under arrest for 1 1/2 day. In 1954, I was detained for half-a-day near Csurgó, near the Yugoslav border, where I was sent without the necessary permit by my enterprise. Otherwise, I avoided the AVH as well as I could. The blue secret policement were the most dangerous ones, they dealt with nothing but political crimes.

Some of my friends were deported to the country in 1951-52. One of my uncles was thrown out of his apartment with his wife and four children.

4. People in Hungary lived in constant anxiety and fear because in addition to the many economic hardships, they were afraid of each others. One reason for this was the large number of informers. It resulted also from the feeling of animosity the regime tried to stir against a certain group, like the kulaks or the "jampecs", for ex.

5. There were many informers, one for every four Hungarians, it was said. They worked only for financial interests. Some were built in in factories, and often couldn't be recognized. But they would also betray themselves, by always approving everything one said, or by being present everywhere and listening to everything. In the country-side, people knew each other much more, and the number of informers was smaller. They were wide-spread in the cities. Some were forced by the AVH to spy on others. They all disgusted me, and I think they should be rendered harmless once for all.

6. The best policy is to keep one's mouth shut, but it was not a life-insurance.

7. Perhaps some soldiers drafted into the AVH got rid of their uniforms. But there must have been very few of them as their pay was 170 forints, and not 40, like in the Army. They also got better food.

8. The secret policemen should be punished severely. They should be executed or deported so that they can't do any more harm.

9. The regular police.

This organ will always be necessary. It was strongly under the influence of the Party, in the same manner as the Army.

Its work was slow and bureaucratic, but it solved many problems and cases. The blue policemen were mostly involved in traffic control, which was very strict. A pedestrian who crossed at a red light was fined 10 forints on the spot. If he could not pay, it was 20 forints or two days in jail. For a driver, the fine was from 40 to 100 forints, and the police could take away his license. There were 2 to 4 policemen at every intersection. In my opinion, this was exaggerated and unnecessary. The police could be bribed, as they were poorly paid.

During the revolution, the regular police remained passive, even more than the Army. They gave their weapons to the people, but didn't do a thing as an armed unit.

B. The courts.

1. As I was too young at that time, I don't know well the courts which existed before 1945.

The courts which existed after 1945 were unjust. They had instructions to annihilate all those who had or could have opposed the Communist system. The people who appeared before them had to be sentenced.

I knew a grocery owner who spent 7 years in jail (1945-1952) for alleged action against the people before 1945. He was terribly tortured physically and morally, they put hot needles under his nails, and so on. He was also tortured by a sadist woman.

C. The Hungarian Army.

1. The whole revolution would have been different if a fraction of the officers could have been won over, and if a central command could have been established, to give orders to the soldiers. Because this didn't happen, the role of the army was passive. Where the officers sided with the revolution, the soldiers sided, too.

With a few exceptions, all the soldiers were on the side of the revolution, but in practice, they were prevented by their officers to do something practical. They had learned to fear and to obey their officers.

If the officers didn't take position or remained passive, the soldiers did the same thing. At the Zrinyi Officers' Training School, 900 officers and 600 soldiers sided with the revolutionaries, but this was an exceptional development.

The officers were afraid to fight against the Russians. They also had to obey to their superiors, who turned against the revolution. This was due to Jansa, who since 1951-52, was always a creature of Rakosi and a wild Communist. His orders disorganized the army. Independently of what he was or did, Maleter was unable to give any effective orders and to reorganize in time the Ministry of Defense.

I was not surprised by the army's actions. Everywhere we went, we were greeted with the greatest sympathy, when the people saw that we were on their side, and did not support the regime.

2. Life in the army.

In general, the soldiers hated the officers because they were arrogant and rough, thus hurting the soldiers' feelings. But the superiors treated the officers in the same manner.

Most of the time one spent in the army was wasted. Men of various degrees of intelligence were put together, and the instruction had to be lowered to the level of the last idiot. People like me slept as much as they could during those instruction courses. In my opinion, one could have learned in one -and-half year what they tried to teach us in 3 years.

The majority of the officers were primitive men. Our battery commander, László Szabó, had been a chimney-cleaner assistant in a liquor factory. In the spring of 1956, it was decided that all officers should possess in the future a secondary school diploma. The first group of officers educated in the new spirit was to graduate from military academy in 1957. They studied since 1951, and spent 10 months in Moscow. The officers were all Communists and didn't talk politics before the soldiers.

During the revolution, some officers tried to behave better toward the soldiers, and even made auto-criticisms. But we told them to go to hell...

From the military point of view, the officers were not competent, because they couldn't take any independent action. In 1951 or 1952, an American plane flew over Hungary. The news was phoned from Szeged and when it finally reached the Ministry of Defense, and when the order to shoot down the plane was issued, it had already left the country. After this incident, the commander of the anti air-craft units was dismissed. We had shooting exercise once a year. The precision was poor, and the new soldiers had never seen a gun or fired a shot before.

The soldiers who were friendly with the officers got sometimes better treatment. The reasons were not always political; sometimes soldiers rendered some small services to the officers.

The level of the political instruction was very low. It consisted of a mixture of Hungarian, and Party history, and of Marxism. There were examinations every two months, together with the military branches. The political part was very easy, as one knew already many things from secondary school.

There could be no opposition behavior in the army. The discipline was made of iron, and the smallest disobedience was punished with jail, and a minimum of 2 months without leave.

D. The Russian troops in Hungary.

It is non-sense to say that the Hungarian feelings are due to the events of 1848. After their depredations of 1945, the Russian troops didn't harm the population. But they were the representatives of a foreign occupation power, ~~xxxx~~ namely the Soviet Union, which helped the Communists to seize the power in Hungary.

In 1945, I didn't expect anything good from the Russians. I was afraid of them when they came into our house, they were odd and frightening. My mother and aunt had to hide. The Russians raped many women, got drunk, stole everything, especially watches and jewellery. They were very primitive and uneducated, especially in their manners.

Since 1945, I never sympathized with the Russians, and so did the whole Hungarian nation. While in the army, I met "officially" some Russian officers - the so-called advisers - and could see that the Hungarian culture was much higher than the Russian one. The Russian officers' uniform and boots were clean, but they had nothing else besides.

The troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution came in 1950. They had canteens in Budapest where they could obtain everything for very low prices (lemons, cameras, watches). The civilians who worked there bought things from them and resold it on the black-market.

The Russian soldiers didn't want to go home. A Russian woman offered 75,000 forints to a Hungarian soldier whom I knew ~~xxx~~ well, if he would marry her, thus allowing her to remain in Hungary as the nominal wife of a Hungarian national. The soldier refused the offer! Many Russian soldiers brought back from Hungary were not taken back to their homes, if they were not deported. Because for the Russians, Hungary was the West.

The Russian soldiers liked the Hungarian people as such. They thought they were in a good country, and they liked to stay there. Those Russians I could speak with told me this. When they were asked about their own country, they just waived with their hands and said nothing.

4. During the revolution, the soldiers obeyed the orders they received. They committed many atrocities, because of the limited level of their intelligence. All the blame goes to their commanders, to the Hungarian Communist leaders and to those in the Kremlin. The Russians didn't know the real situation, they looked everywhere for Fascists, Americans and the Suez Canal. At Szombathely, on October 24, the Soviet city commander declared that he would not do anything against the Hungarians. He was replaced the same evening.

The fresh troops were much worse than the old ones. I also saw on October 28 or 29 Rumanian soldiers in uniform - maybe 500 of them - at the Eastern Railway station. They were supposed to maintain order after the Russians' withdrawal, but were not used.

5. I heard of Russian soldiers helping Hungarians, but not of refusing to obey their superiors. I also heard that 2 Russian soldiers went to Vienna. I didn't hear of desertions or of Russian soldiers fighting against the AVH. But they fought each other once, by mistake.

A Soviet army unit besieging the Kilian barracks was attacked by the Russian troops coming from Soroksár. Moreover, Russian and Hungarian tanks were very similar, and there were Hungarian in Russian tanks, and Russians in Hungarian tanks.

6. The only case of individual brutality I know of and witnessed personally is the one I mentioned earlier, when a 5 year-old girl was torn apart by Russian soldiers.

E. The Bureaucracy.

1.

It was a necessary ordeal one had to go through. It all depended on the case and how often one went to look after it. The functionaries were needed, but their number was of the competence of the state. The state had set up a huge bureaucracy, with one office controlling the next one, and an office on the top of the pyramid which controlled all the others. In some case, one single office could have replaced six various offices. When a machine was planned, for ex., the plans were sent to four different offices, and two additional copies to the enterprises interested. In brief, there was too much centralization.

Some functionaries tried to look out for the people's interests, but they couldn't do much.

2. In theory, self-criticism is good, but it was comical under Communism. Everybody had to do it because of the always-changing line of the Party.

F. Yes, it was possible to get around some of the regulations. Because there were many regulations, it was possible to violate them, especially the tax declarations. But it was impossible to get a dispense from the army, for instance. The artful functionaries were not caught because they did these things always after work.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I hope one thing: that the Russians will go home and that Hungary will become a free and independent country, enjoying the same rights as any other country. We must try to achieve this goal. Once the Russians have left, the people will decide through free and secret-ballot elections the kind of government they want.

The West should try to achieve at least a part of this goal. As for us, Hungarians, we should carry on a work of information in American circles. Public opinion should be influenced so that it will press the free world and the UN and keep their attention on the Hungarian problem.

Last fall, the US and the UN could have forced the Russians to withdraw from Hungary. Now it's too late. The Hungarian people's confidence in the West is badly shaken, and they will think it over before rebelling again. We all waited for effective help in November.

In Hungary, some people don't care whether they will die in a minute in a new war or slowly under Communism. I consider a new war very possible. The West could send people to Hungary in order to prepare a new revolt which it would be prepared to back. But for this, one needs money, men and time.

At present, only some internal changes in the Soviet Union could bring some amelioration for the Hungarian nation. The rest is just nice words.

B. Before the revolution, I hoped that some day, there will be a united Eastern Europe, some kind of Danubian Federation. Others hoped for a war which might have changed everything. Still others were awaiting internal struggles in the Kremlin and the internal disintegration of the Soviet regime. These hopes fluctuated with the international conferences, and the evolution of the West German, and the Middle-East problems.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY.

A. Economy in an independent Hungary.

In a free and independent Hungary, the country's normal economic picture should be reestablished. Priority should be given to agriculture, and light industry should be developed, but not the heavy industry. In this manner, Hungary could compete economically with the other European countries. The economy must be neither planned nor centralized. The enterprises and factories must be independent and in mutual competition. The industry must produce only what is necessary to the country.

I would put the stress on electrical industry (radios, motors, instruments, etc.) for engines and cranes.

In agriculture, wheat, wine, pork, lard, ham, etc.

As for the "national enterprises", if they are not too large, they should return to their former owners if they are in Hungary at that time. The large enterprises should be managed by a trust, which would issue stocks and bonds. I would like to have a progressive tax system like in the US. The state should however have little influence on the factories. The motorcycle and sewing-machine industries should be suppressed, as they have no foundations in Hungary.

The large state farms should also be placed under the management of some kind of council. The collective farms can dissolve if the members want it. In my opinion, all will.

In my opinion, nationalization is not necessary, especially not for light industry.

The role of the state should be limited to ~~play~~ foreign trade. It could buy directly from the peasants, or through a market in private hands which would be an intermediary between the peasants and the state.

It will not be necessary to set a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own.

2. I can't imagine a situation in which I would have to choose between two governments of that kind. I would toss up a dime...

c. I would not outlaw the Communist Party, it will become an insignificant political factor.

C. If Hungary alone is free, I would like her to be a neutral country like Austria. If the other Eastern European countries are free, too, Hungary could become a member in an East European or European Federation. Should maintain complete political and economic independence, especially toward the Soviet Union. Broad and frequent economic exchanges will be most beneficial to Hungary.

3. The idea of a Danubian Federation is not bad, but its realization presents many problems. I heard of the idea when studying our national history and the various plans of Kossuth. One of my acquaintances told me a great deal about it. Personally I think it can be realized.

In such a federation, I would welcome only the Danubian states, i.e. Hungary, Austria, a democratic Yugoslavia (not Tito's), I would include the Slovaks, but not the Czechs. Under these conditions, I think many people in Hungary would approve such a federation.

Hungary is interested in all territories where Hungarians live. A plebiscite, with secret ballot, should decide whether these territories want to be re-united with Hungary or not. I'm concerned over the Hungarian minorities, 40 years is a long time, and the sooner they will be helped, the better. If all neighboring countries are free, a satisfactory solution should be reached.

IV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION:

I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress through RFE and VOA.

I heard of McCarthy in 1951-52.

The study of Rakosi's biography was a compulsory subject in school, with a special examination. It was a nice story, but I don't know how much of it was true. We knew that Rakosi had many villas which were all guarded by the AVI.

B. I read the "Magyar Nemzet", "Sport" and the technical magazine "Auto-Motor". As for books, I read Hungarian classics: Madach, Mikszath, Jokai, and foreign authors like Dumas, Hugo, Shakespeare. I like these books very much.

I used to read more when I was a student. My mother didn't have time enough to read, and read much less than before and during the war. The same remark applies to the whole population. Also there were very few good books. Many modern Russian novels were offered on sale, but they didn't interest the people. The workers read little, usually the newspapers only. The peasants read even less.

3. I read "Magyar Nemzet" because it was the most objective of all the newspapers, and was not too political. It contained various articles of public interest. I read the foreign news, and found out sooner or later from the Western broadcasts whether ~~what was~~ true or false.

Publications from the USSR and the other satellites were available, I never read them.

I read the French sport magazine "Miroir-Sprint". There were also some Austrian and West German newspapers, but they were Communists. I got some catalogs and publications from the American and British Legations. They were in English, and dealt with non-political matters, such as the American family, etc. In 1952/53, it became dangerous to go to these Legations. At the British Legation, there were movies twice a week, mostly documentary films.

4. Some books were "illegal", such as "Gone with the Wind", by Mitchell, the book on Rommel, and others. The books which described a quiet, harmonious family life were also put on the index by the Communists, together with the books on religion. The people kept them in their homes. It was possible to get them in secret from reliable friends. Naturally, they could not be found in any library.

C. One would get by word of mouth most news given by the Western radio broadcasts. Usually my mother or a few close friends would tell me such news. In trusted the news, generally, I also told such news to my close friends.

D. In Hungary, everybody talked about politics. But the people did this always together in ~~their~~ their own circle of friends, at home or in espressos. When strangers were also present, there were no political discussions.

When the people wrote letters abriad, they wrote between the lines. In Hungary, the mail inside the country was not censored.

F. During the theatre season, from October to June, I went once a month to see a play or to hear an opera. I went every two or three weeks to the movies. I didn't see any Russian films, but liked the French, Italian, German and English ones.

I liked particularly the "Tragedy of Man" by Madach, and Faust. As for the movies, "Rigoletto", an Italian film, and "Public Enemy No 1", a French film with Fernandel.

IVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY.

A. I have hopes for changes inside Russia, but I don't know what will happen. The members of the government will struggle among themselves, and this may lead to a revolution. But from what I heard from the Russians I met in Hungary, I wonder if this will happen. Those Russians who were abroad then returned to their country are not satisfied, but they are taken to ~~far~~ remote regions, some even to labor camps.

I don't know how the Russian people feel about the Communist regime, as they cannot compare it with any other regime. Thus I don't know what would be the outcome of a free election.

The Russian leaders' aims are still the same. Since Stalin's death, each of them tries to take advantage of the situation and to better his position. They want to "unite the proletarians of the ~~max~~ world", as they say. In reality, they want to achieve world domination.

B. 1. Since the revolt of 1953, East Germany is quite popular in Hungary, also because of her industrial products. Poland is popular, too, especially since the revolt in Poznan. The Czechs are the most unpopular because of their behavior and insults during the revolution, and for the manner in which they treated the Hungarian minorities between 1945 and 1948.

Free elections in the East European countries would abolish the Communist regimes and state capitalism, perhaps with the exception of Czechoslovakia.

3. Economically, East Germany and Czechoslovakia have the best standard of living, Romania the worst.

C. Poland. Gomulka is neither a Stalinist nor a democrat. He ~~has~~ gives the appearance of independence. But in my opinion, he will either be killed or overthrown soon. For the Poles, he is still better than a Kadar or a Tito.

The events in Poland had a good influence on the events in Hungary. They showed that the Poles were not afraid to make demands to the Russians.

I didn't know of the freedom of expression in Poland before the riots ~~was~~ in Poznan. One of my friends was at that time in Poland for the Gans factory. After his return, he told me a lot which was neither mentioned in the Hungarian press nor the Western broadcasts.

I think the Hungarian revolution was beautiful and good. What the Poles did is another thing...

D. Yugoslavia.- Tito has been influential in Eastern Europe since he broke away from the Communist camp, and thus changed the plans of the leaders of the Kremlin. However, Tito is a Communist dictator like any other one. His policies are more flexible between West and East, in comparison with Stalin's rigid policies.

Tito approved the Hungarian revolution, he approved Imre Nagy, then Kadar, then he let in the Hungarian refugees. He didn't but talk...

The Russian leaders went to Belgrad because Tito's "chains" didn't reach Moscow. They made sacrifices in order to have peace, and the other satellites followed. Economically, it is advantageous for Hungary to have normal relations with Yugoslavia (copper, etc.).

Yugoslavia's standard of living is not good, and the political regime is one of dictatorship. Tito is at least more popular than Rakosi. Two students who were in Yugoslavia told me their experiences there.

E. Under Moscow's direction, the Communists gained control of China. Mao-tse-Tsung was a smart man. I'm afraid that some day he will attack the Russians and play the main role in the world.

It is true that China is more independent from Moscow than any other Communist country. The articles about China never describe her as leaning on the Soviet Union. But China needs the Soviet machines and technicians. Nevertheless, the country is too big and too far for the Kremlin to be controlled entirely.

5. As a world power, Great Britain was the biggest loser of World War II. As a consequence, it lost India. If Nehru succeeds to increase India's role in the world, it will ~~be~~ be primarily thanks to Gandhi.

6. In my opinion, Egypt did not have the right to nationalize the Suez canal. The Anglo-French intervention influenced the situation in Hungary. We were shocked to see that Suez was more important to the Western Powers than Hungary. The invasion took away the attention of the UN and of the US, and the Soviet diplomacy took advantage of it. This caused much distrust toward the West in Hungary.

F. West Germany.

1. The West German standard of living is much higher than the East German. In fact, it is the highest in Europe today.

2. I know of the West German Social Democratic Party and I don't sympathize with it, as it is Socialist.

3. West Germany alone cannot start another war. Moreover, she is a member in a collective military ~~xxxxx~~ alliance.

4. West German rearmament is a good thing, because Europe needs a strong state which can resist against an eventual Russian attack, and save time for the Americans to come to Europe's rescue. The Russians know this well.

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5. The German army is superior to the Russian army in every field. The German troops were more disciplined and ~~more~~ had more culture. The Russian occupation force was much more unpopular in Hungary.

G. Western Europe.

I have no opinion about the British Labor Party.

West Germany, then Britain have the highest standard of living, Greece and Italy the lowest.

H. The United States.

1. As far as culture is concerned, I expected much more from the average American men.

2. It is difficult today for the US to do something for the people of Eastern Europe. It could have done something when it had the opportunity. I don't approve loans to Yugoslavia and Poland. In the latter's case, most of the money will go to Moscow, whether there is a Gomulka or not, as the Poles have tight agreements with the Soviet Union.

3. The US must not recognize the Kadar government. On the other hand, they should try to put pressure on the Soviet Union, this could alleviate the present situation in Hungary.

4. Foreign visitors will always be welcome in Hungary. Not only for the economical benefits, but for what they will tell about the free world. For the same reasons, Western books and periodicals will also be most welcome, especially that they are prohibited today.

5. If Hungarian exiles who left the country now were associated with such activities, it would make no differences to the people at home.

7. The Marshall plan repaired Western Europe's bad economical situation following the war. The main reason of the US was to prevent the East from gaining over these countries. But the plan was not a bad business for the US.

8. By intervening in Korea, the US intended to stop the advance of Communism and to localize a war.

I. Impressions of the American domestic scene.

1. In Hungary the poor people were the beggars. In the US, there are also poor people in every people, but if they don't have a car or their own house, they don't have to beg. There is an unemployment insurance of \$35.00 a week. The contrast between rich and poor people is smaller when everybody gets good salaries.
2. The American trade unions are the only ones in the world which really fight for the workers' rights. They raise their pay, help them in case of unemployment, support the legal strikes. Some may lean toward the left, but the labor unions are not Communist.
3. I don't know the statistics ~~xxxx~~ on crimes. The Hungarian communist papers wrote a lot about juvenile delinquency in the West, but until now I didn't see any of this. All I saw was the cowboy romanticism in the movies and elsewhere.
4. Secondary schools in the US are weaker than in Europe. The Americans are trying to ameliorate the situation by improving the universities.
5. There are countless ways to spend one's free time: to listen to the radio, play golf, watch TV or sit in a bar...

J. The United Nations.

The UN will sooner or later have the same fate as the League of Nations because of the mistakes of the United States. It should have sent a police force to Hungary after the second Russian attack. Today the UN would find it hard to change a defeat into a victory. If the delegates ~~xx~~ continue to be afraid of the Soviets, they can soon rename the building in which they sit.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I think Bela Kiraly is the greatest living Hungarian today, for the little he did at home, and for the more he'll do here.

B. 1. a) Imre Nagy. The man had good will, but his thinking was too slow.

b) Mindszenty. Wanted nothing but good for his country. Through religion, he wants to lead Hungary to peace and happiness.

c) Rajk. A Communist like the others. Was liquidated. His reburial played a role in the revolution.

d) Gerö. Muscovite 100%.

e) Kadar. He is even worse.

2. Eisenhower. His first real initiative is the so-called Eisenhower doctrine. Should do more in order to deserve to lead the greatest power of the world.

Hammarskjöld. He is not a bad man, but for him, too, Suez was more important than Hungary.

Dulles. He follows Eisenhower's policy.

Eden. Great politician, but slipped at Suez.

Truman. No opinion.

3. Mikoyan. A scoundrel.

Nehru. A great statesman.

Chiang-Kai-Shek. Some consider him as a Chinese leader.

Ferenc Nagy. Since he left Hungary, worthless as far as Hungarian politics are concerned.

Roosevelt. Sold Hungary at Yalta to the Soviet Union.

Adenauer. One of the ablest leaders of Europe upon whom one can rely against Communism.

Stalin. A very artful dictator.

Malenkov. His weak disciple.

Franco. A dictator I don't like.

Bevan. No opinion.

Khrushchev. Tried to consolidate the Communist camp, but the Hungarian revolution ruined his plans. He must not be underestimated as a politician.

Tito. A Communist dictator with independent ideas, I don't like him.

Peron. I don't know him.

Molotov. A clever Soviet diplomat.

Churchill. He settled two world wars, and marked the history of this century.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES:

A. Characterization of escapees.

Those who left Hungary were: the former political prisoners released during the revolution and who fought during it; the freedom fighters who took active or leading part in the revolution, and who feared deportation; those who had great difficulties to survive economically and who saw in the West the only place where they could start a decent life; those who came out for adventures, and can't be relied upon; a handful of criminals.

Those who remained at home are Kadar, the AVH and the Communists. Then those people who had no leading role in the revolution. Many students and workers simply did not want to leave their country. Other people had large families. The peasants were attached to their land and had not taken active part in the fighting.

One of my friends had the opportunity to escape, but remained in Hungary, saying that things will change, and that he will wait for a while.

The people in Hungary with whom I correspond are not resentful at all, because they have great hopes in us. I feel sorry for them and want to help them. At the same I know that 9.5 million could not all escape.

Assuming everybody had a chance to come to the West, still most peasants would have stayed home, together with the true patriots and the lower intelligentsia. It's hard to guess an percentage in this connection.

B. Hungarian exiles and exile organizations.

I. I knew about the Hungarian-American Federation, through my uncle's letters. I was glad to know that the Hungarians remained together abroad, but I didn't know their activities.

They certainly did something for Hungary, but I don't know whether they did enough or not. They certainly tried to let the world know that there was a Hungary and a Hungarian nation. Many Americans still don't seem to realize this. Today, this is even more important than ten years ago. The exiles are also responsible for the permanent radio broadcasts in Hungarian at RFE and VOA.

During the revolution, the Hungarians who had relatives abroad thought of them. Otherwise we didn't feel they had to do something. After November 4, we wondered what they could do in order to help us, without anything clear in mind.

C. I met no Hungarians who came back from the West. But I knew about the Communist redefection campaign which was mere propaganda. Some people came back because they were not able to make much money abroad. Some became Communists. But the Hungarian people knew perfectly well that they did not come back for the reasons told in the newspapers.

D. The people in Hungary would like to know the circumstances in which the refugees live and want to follow their relatives' fate.

2. In any case, they should know the real situation here.

3. The exiles should make a strong propaganda against the Soviet Union and Communism, and for Hungary's cause.

4. The same thing as at present. I'll support any organization which promotes the aims of the revolution.

5. I have joined the Freedom Fighters' Association, lead by Bela Kiraly. Pre-revolution exiles can also join if they accept the principles of the revolution of October, 1956, and fought or were persecuted earlier by the Communists.

6. Many Hungarian organizations remained in the spirit in which they immigrated. Some tried to follow an up-to-date policy, others remained passive. The divisions were not healthy, but it was still better than to have one single organizations with lots of quarrels inside it.

It was too early to revive the political parties ~~many~~ at the beginning of November, 1956, and there were too many parties.

I don't think that the former exiles could have adjusted themselves to their parties, or they would have wanted to play the first roles. But those who loved their country and were bringing Western culture with them would have been most welcome.

8. 1. With an armed group, I would go back to Hungary. But if I succeed to get settled here, after 5 or 6 years, with a good job, I'll think more of it.

2. My children will learn Hungarian, as my wife will be Hungarian, too, if this is possible.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. Radio.

1. I listened to RFE, VOA, BBC, Paris. In the late evening, the exception of the BB was better. All stations were jammed especially RFE and VOA.

I listened to the broadcasts every day, sometimes once a week. I used to tell the interesting news to my friends. We had our own radio around which the whole family would sit. In the army, we listened to the radio in secret, together with 4 or 6 other soldiers, and also one officer who became later Maletier's assistant.

2. It was rather dangerous to listen to the radio broadcasts because this was an excellent accusation when the Communists wanted to get rid of somebody. It was always dangerous to listen to the foreign radio broadcasts. A colleague of my mother, a girl of 26, was denounced in 1953 by her room-mate and condemned to forced labor.

3. The broadcasts tried to explain to the Hungarian people from the other side the same news they learned from the Communist side. This way we were able to compare them, and to believe or disbelieve them. It was an excellent counter-propaganda which helped to maintain high the people's morale.

But on the basis of the broadcasts, everybody thought that the West would support the Hungarian revolution. Hungary did not need advice, but effective help. We thought the radios had strong influence on the governments.

I preferred the BBC, because the programs were realistic, and without too many commentaries.

The news was fairly accurate. The less accurate ones were those of Radio Madrid.

The radio broadcasts counter-balanced the Communist propaganda and were a real advantage. During the revolution, the radios didn't know what to do, had no definite programs. What they told us then was nothing new, only the news was interesting.

4. I realized that RFE could not do much during the revolution. Some programs were interesting, but there were not too many differences between the various stations.

5. Ideologically, the Western radios supported the Hungarian people, but they did not incite them to revolt. The revolution broke out for other reasons.

6. RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary. It must be a realistic means of information, and must inform accurately the country of the events which take place in the world. It should have twice or three times a week a program about ~~the~~ those who left the country now.

7. I would put the emphasis on a realistic news service, a good literary program, but before that, a high-level freedom-fighters' program.

B. Yes, I heard about the initials N.E.M. and about the Twelve demands.

C. FEP Leaflets.

1. A friend of mine gave me leaflets in 1954/55, and also Rakosi stickers last summer. I passed them further. It was in the army at that time, when an old man came to us and told us that a balloon had landed in a field. We all ran there with our officer, and we collected them, but had time to hid some in our boots. The contents of the balloon were handed over to our political officer at Erdliget, near Budapest.

2. We heard of Free Europe leaflets, first of all from the Communist press, which called them an "imperialistic provocation".

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3. It was very dangerous to pick the leaflets, and many people were afraid to do so.

4. Their effect could have been increased. But if they have no goal and if their distribution is not regular, they are of no use. Much depends of course on the text. The leaflets played no role during the revolution. Before it, the word "resistance" remained in the people's mind, as well as a few good jokes.

5. Leaflets could still be dropped, if the atmosphere is favorable to a new uprising or popular movement against the regime. But one should be careful with the text. Other remark: the text should not be too complicated.

6. What should be stressed depends on the circumstances of the moment.

D. Why the Western organisations broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary? This is the big question... Before the revolution, I was convinced that the West would not let us down. Today, I don't know. There is a huge contradiction between what had been said and what has happened. The VOA is the official mouthpiece of the US Government, the BBC is objective, RFE more independent than VOA. But their goals are similar. VOA was more dry, RFE made more comments.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. I think the role of the family is essential, especially how much time the mother spends with the children. The children should receive a religious education, should be taught to tell the truth and to be honest toward their parents. They should develop morally and physically.

2. Children must be disciplined. But I am against using physical punishment which should be only for exceptional cases. In his early years, the child should be taught so well that mere words will be sufficient to make him obey. Boys and girls should get the same treatment, but the girls give less reasons for punishment. Instead of beating the child, I would deprive him of something he likes.

3. When I was 7, I didn't say "good morning" one day to my father who made a remark to which I paid no attention. On that Sunday, he didn't take me to swim, as he always used to do, and I felt very miserable, because I liked the water very much.

When I was 5, I went away one day on a sand carriage and came home very late. My mother beat me with a spoon. In our family, my father did the punishing. My sister was also punished, but not very often.

4. Among the people I knew, the father usually did the punishing. Among workers, the physical punishment was used to a greater extent. The peasants' children were more obedient. Under Communism, the parents' influence diminished, because parents and children were not as close to each other as before. My friend who went to Czechoslovakia told me that the children are picked up by a bus on Monday and taken to a nursery for the whole week.

5. Physical punishment is abandoned at the age of 9-10 for girls, 13-15 for boys. Punishment in general is abandoned after 18 (when the child becomes major) or 17.

~~xxxxxx~~ Punishment was abandoned earlier for the children of workers and peasants, as they became independent earlier and went to work. Under Communism, punishment was abandoned earlier, but the children didn't obey. The main reason for this was that the parents had little time to spend with their children.

6. Before the war, a teacher in an elementary school could use physical punishment. This was prohibited under Communism. The result was that school discipline went down, the children learned less. The teachers were nervous but could do nothing effective in order to punish the children. A 28 years old girl friend of mine, who was a school-teacher, became neurotic.

7. One makes friends with those who share our outlook on life, and have the same ways of thinking. I want my friend to be completely sincere. I want to be able to trust him. We would be both unselfish and help each other in the small and big things.