

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 are the following:

"Above all, Americans should know that not some individuals or groups made up the revolution, but nine million Hungarians against 200,000 to 300,000 Communists. Americans should also know that Hungary has been the bastion for Western culture for a thousand years, and it was due to Hungary's resistance to aggression that the West was able to develop in peace. This historical consciousness played a major role in the heroic resistance of the Hungarian people, who said to each other, 'If our forefathers were able to die for a great cause, we can do the same.'

Americans should also know that the Communists wanted to make a palace revolution in the beginning. This was intended to be an eye-wash. It is also important to know, I think, that the Communist tactics applied to win over youth in the armed forces of Hungary failed completely. The same is true of the so-called 'Socialist cities', like Sztalinvaros or Keszthely. The populations of these Socialist cities fought heroically on the side of the revolution.

Last, but not least, I want to remark that the Hungarian people still expect the West to help them win their fight for freedom."

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

A. When interviewee asked respondent to begin his story on the 22 of October, respondent asked permission to go back to October 16, when the MEFESZ was founded. MEFESZ was the first independent student organization in Communist Hungary and it was founded by the students of Szeged University when they withdrew from the official Communist student organization called DISZ.

On October 16 at the meeting when MEFESZ was founded and DISZ renounced, the students referred to a similar move of the Szeged Univ. students in the beginning of the '40s, when they struck a similar blow to the right-wing student organizations and founded their own independent, democratic student organization. This later became a pattern to the rest of the country's colleges and universities. Now, they intended to do the same and to send delegations to all major colleges and send letters to the others, addressing them to freedom loving Hungarian youth. They wanted to suggest to them that they leave DISZ and form their own democratic organizations.

Founding an independent organization was not their only goal. Even more important than that was making known to the Hungarian people and to the world the demands which later became demands of the entire country. These demands included, even on the 16th of October, the main point, that Russian forces withdraw from Hungary. Also, that Hungary renounce the Warsaw agreement, that free elections be held, and the political system be abolished.

This background information is necessary, respondent thinks, for us to have in mind when he comes to October 22 and tells us that in Szeged university youth was set to go to the streets and voice their demands in a mass demonstration. On October 22 they distributed leaflets and told everyone they would have a demonstration in sympathy with the Polish, and give expression to their own demands. They had no plans for a demonstration of the entire population, only for the students.

On the 23rd. the entire student body was in ferment. Classes were almost empty, and a great many professors promised to go to the demonstrations, which were scheduled to take place in the evening. So, it happened that there were about forty students, including respondent, who started marching, and were soon joined by hundreds and then thousands of people. First they marched to the Kossuth statue and from there out to the Rokus section of the city, where thousands of workers joined them. Two AVO trucks followed them and this irritated that people, who wanted to attack the AVO. But, the AVO officer apologized, saying, "We are here to defend you people,"

The mass of the demonstrators marched to the theatre in Szeged and shouted that the actors go with them. All the people filed out of the theatre, and so did the actors. One of the actors who played the bishop in St. Joan ~~was~~ went in his costume to the balcony of the theatre and recited Petofi's famous poem inciting the Hungarians to stand up for their freedom. At the theatre they got a great many torches which they lighted, and now went to the Kossuth Square together with this actor, where he again recited this poem. There, they also announced the demands of the Professors, and a worker made an impromptu speech about the demands of the workers.

It was about 1:30 a/m. that they heard that fighting had broken out in Budapest. They went home feeling very excited, wondering what would happen next. It happened that same night, but they learned only next day, that some unknown persons threw the statue of Stalin into the _____ River. This statue had been standing not far from the bank of the river in a park. It seems that some people tied ropes ~~around~~ around ~~the~~ the statue from a bull dozer-type tractor and dragged it down to the river. It was only later that people saw that there was an inscription put on the pedestal which read, "The grateful Hungarian people." The people got quite a kick out of seeing the statue dragged into the river and then seeing the inscription.

On October 24, in the morning, the rumors spread that Russian troops were approaching. The people decided that they would hold silent demonstrations by lining up along the routes that the Russian troops were supposed to come by. Respondent claims that 'everybody' was out in the streets and greeted the Russian tanks with angry shouts, defiantly showing them in every way that they were hated and not wanted around.

Evening curfew was ordered, but in spite of it, the students decided to go marching ~~through~~ through the streets, but this time silently. A great many others joined them, and again a large crowd marched from street to street. Girls were in the front row. The AVO turned against the demonstrators, this time with violence. They took many of the demonstrators with them, including the girls, and slapped their faces and beat them at the AVO headquarters. When it came to a clash between the demonstrators and the AVO, the AVO even fired two shots and two workers died. Then the AVO attacked the crowd with rifle butts. At one dormitory a black flag of mourning and a flag with the Kossuth emblem were flown. The AVO entered the building and beat the students, one after the other.

The professors, together with the president of the university, announced that there would be no classes until the Russians left Hungary. There were only ~~two~~^{two} professors known to side with the Communists, and they were the Professors Baroti and Gabor Fodor.

In the evening of October 24 the picture of Szeged showed Russian tanks on street corners and AVO members with sub-machine guns watching in case the people attack the apparatus of power in order to win freedom.

On October 25 respondent wanted to go to Budapest with fifty or sixty other students to help in the fight. They tried to persuade the Russian soldiers, with the help of cigarettes, to take them to Budapest. Respondent was admitted to one of the tanks with three other students. They gave fifty cigarettes each to the soldiers. But, on the way to Budapest they were captured by the AVO not far from Szeged. They were arrested and kept for one and one half days in jail, where slapped again and again, and were given the usual AVO questioning with the trimmings of AVO technique.

In the next two or three days more Russian troops came to Szeged, but meanwhile the oppressed people were defiant and had no notion to give up their fight. ~~Also~~ Also, 250 AVO men also came to help suppress the fight for freedom, and there were many plainclothesmen among them.

It was either on October 28 or 29, respondent recalls, that a

Revolutionary Workers' Council was formed in Szeged, and the dean of the law school, Professor Perbiro, was elected as chairman. The University's military institute distributed arms to the students and gave arms to the Revolutionary Workers' Council, and so did the artillery barracks. A Workers' Guard was formed and party functionaries were kicked out of their offices, and non-Communist elements replaced them. The Workers' Guard took over the printing offices in town. Up to now, because of die-hard elements in every segment of public life, the press had been in their hands ~~until~~ until then. As they took over the printing shops, they printed leaflets and posters demanding that the Russians withdraw and independence be given to Hungary, and the Warsaw Pact be cancelled.

The students sent telegrams to the government spelling out their demands. No classes were held at the university. It was on October 29 exactly, that the Workers' Council decided to remove all Communist administration leaders. Workers' Councils were formed in all plants and the Communists, who, up to then, wanted to have a ~~coalition~~ coalition and laughed at the changes, were either removed or went underground. The same was true of the AVO.

On October 30 respondent decided to go to Budapest. He went on a truck which carried food donations of Szeged to Budapest. He went to Pestszentlorinc and there he joined a friend in the Civilian Guard. (I believe this is called National Guard by the translator) But, I prefer to use the term Civilian Guard so as not to give the idea that this group is anything like our National Guard.) The Civilian Guard 'evacuated' the Party headquarters. The Party functionaries offered no fight. Respondent, together with the others, threw out the political files through the windows or burned them. Later, they performed the duties of highway patrols.

On November 4 respondent heard Imre Nagy's speech over the radio. A terrific excitement swept over the town. There were rumors that Budapest is being completely destroyed, but they in Pestszentlorinc saw no Russian tanks at all.

On November 5 respondent left for home in County Somogy. He had a hard time crossing the bridge to the west side of the Danube, but, under adventurous circumstances, he made it. He went by truck to

Szekefentlorinc where he found Hungarian military units digging trenches. He heard from a reliable source that the military units were ~~split~~ split over the question of whether they should attack the approaching Russians or not. From Szekefentlorinc he went on to Zalaegerszeg, arriving, ~~here~~ after all kinds of adventures, ~~in~~ ~~Szekefentlorinc~~

It was on November 10 that he arrived in his home town. His folks and friends and relatives had thought that he was dead. The Revolutionary Council in his village asked him to organize a Revolutionary Youth organization and to form a Workers Guard. The few Communists who had been stationed in this village had left during the days of the revolution, and there were no local Communists who would have been strong enough to become functionaries, so their village had been completely purified of Communists. The group he organized volunteered to become guerillas if necessary.

After November 10 he organized contact with other revolutionary councils in the neighborhood, and they talked over how they were going to fight the Russians if their area was invaded. So far, that area was not occupied by Russian forces. At the same time, they organized a campaign to provide food for the population of Budapest. People gave very generously, and they collected three full truck loads. Among the many generous gifts they found two ~~at~~ ~~with~~ calves.

On November 15 they, respondent and his youth organization, confiscated weapons, using a clever trick, and they organized for guerilla fighting. Meanwhile, the Communist council chairman returned to the village. Respondent and his friends tried to show him the way out of the village, but he threatened them ~~with~~ with the might of the AVO, and retaliation against the entire village.

It was about November 17 and 18 that any fight appeared hopeless, because the Kadar government was so well backed by the Russian forces. On November 18 respondent and three of his friends left the village. Twice they were captured by the Russians, first turned over to the AVO, which dragged them around to various cities until

they were released after a week. They continued their trip to freedom, but were captured by a Russian patrol. They managed to persuade the Russians to let them go. They left for freedom in Austria on November 27.

A. Personal experiences

Respondent did not expect a revolution to break out as a result of the demonstrations. "I did not think people would unite in a tremendous nationwide ~~xxxxxx~~ effort," respondent reports.

Respondent expected demonstrations not only on the 22nd, but even on the 20th, when the students of Szeged were already preparing for demonstrations to take place on the 23rd.

Respondent reports that the demonstrations were unbelievably well disciplined. The demonstrators were quiet in front of hospitals, and was noisy in front of the prison and the military barracks. They were noisy in their demands that military personnel join them, and in front of prisons they demanded the prisoners be released. In most places the slogan was "If you're a Hungarian, come with us."

Respondent remembers the demonstrations as "the greatest days of my life. We recognized ~~xxxx~~ who was with us and we were overjoyed to see, with very few exceptions, almost everyone was on the side of the revolution." Respondent joined the demonstrations on his own, but through understanding with all of his friends. Nobody had the opportunity to talk him out of joining. His landlady, who was the widow of a colonel, told him only, 'Watch out that you don't get hurt.'

He was not afraid because he was exalted in his happiness, but realistically he appraised the situation and thought that he might be captured by the AVH. He thought that it would be worth it to have said his peace, at least once, and perhaps the world would notice what was going on in Hungary, and that might help.

When respondent was asked if he were elated and, if so, why, he ~~xxxx~~ answers, "The streets echoed what we had ~~xxxxxxx~~ whispered for twelve years!" He thinks that everyone was elated.

At that time he wanted Imre Nagy to be named prime minister and the Russians to leave Hungary at once. He wanted free elections in Hungary and no compromises, but complete independence for his country. When asked whether government concessions would have been acceptable, he says, "By then the wagon had passed the horses." This is an Hungarian expression meaning events had passed too quickly, and no concessions would have quieted the march of events.

Respondent thought the end might be like that in Posnan. But, when he saw the general participation of the population, he expected a full victory for the revolutionaries, and complete independence for Hungary, as set forth in their demands.

Respondent recalls that most of the demonstrators were students, about 60% were men. There were a great many factory workers among them, and also some intellectuals. But, he says, one could see all kinds of people; mothers with baby carriages, etc. It was particularly ~~impressive~~ impressive to see such large numbers of ~~uniformed~~ uniformed railroad men participating.

The leadership of the demonstrations, respondent says, was determined by who had the flags. The flags were the signals, or signs, around which people gathered. Wherever those with the flags went, people followed. They were mostly students, he ~~recalls~~ recalls. Slogans were invented by a great many people on the spur of the moment. If those in the crowd liked what someone was shouting, then the crowd took it up and repeated them. One of the favorite slogans yelled was "The AVH should perish!". Another favorite one was, particularly when in front of the prison, where Rakosi had been imprisoned, "Rakosi to the Csillag prison!" Respondent emphasizes that there was no formal leadership, only informal, throughout the demonstrations.

C. The reinvasion

Respondent has reported to us how he spent the time from Soviet withdrawal to the reinvasion.

Respondent recalls that he was half afraid and half figured with some common sense that the Red army would return.

Asked when he first heard that the Soviet withdrawal had been halted, he answered that on either ~~October~~ November 2 or 3 one of the foreign radio stations he heard that new Russian troops were coming to Hungary.

He saw the Soviet troops returning on November 4, about 10 a/m.

Respondent has told us about his major lines of activity from the time of the Russians return to the time of his escape.

Respondent began planning his escape on the 15th or 16th of November, he recalls, and hastens to add that never before did he think of leaving his beloved country.

D. Fruits of the revolution

Respondent feels that not only an indescribable disaster came out of the revolution, but also some good. The whole of Hungary has gained because of the revolution. These are the gains he cares to list: "People recognized each other for being what they really are. It was an acid ~~test~~ test of one's loyalty to his nation and to the basic human ideals. It evoked self-respect and awareness of tremendous inner strength and readiness to sacrifice. It prepared Hungarians to trust each other so much that from now on they can engage to carry out illegal activities organized. The ones who were blackmailed into party membership now had a chance to free themselves from their big moral burden. The Hungarian people now proved what they had, until then, only surmised---that ~~it~~ they have to fight all alone for their freedom, although it is not fighting for their own freedom alone, but for a greater cause of world freedom."

Another benefit, respondent estimates, that came out of the Hungarian revolution, is that the French and Italian elections were greatly influenced for the good, and Communist votes have been pushed down as a result of the Hungarians heroic fight, which showed to the world how savage Soviet Communism is. Last, but not least, respondent thinks that even the Russian people are awakening now as they see how factory workers and farmers, and all the small people banded together to fight against oppression. Respondent thinks that Communism cannot be defeated with arms, but with thought. He thinks that the thoughts in peoples minds of how

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the Hungarian people were ready to die for their freedom from
oppression will give a big lift to the democratic forces in all
oppressed people.in the world.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. Respondent thought that the West would give moral and material support would be given to the Freedom Fighters, and would be given instantly. He expected The United Nations to send out a committee to Hungary from the very first moment of the fight, to be where the action was taking place. He expected a tremendous loan to be extended to the Imre Nagy government, and expected its recognition by the United Nations. After November 4, he says, he expected armed help in the form of weapons and volunteers. He thinks this would not have touched off a third world war.

B. The basis for his expectations was, respondent maintains, nothing other than his own convictions that the West would be wise enough to see that the time has come to destroy Communism, it being the greatest menace to every human being on earth.

C. Respondent never came in contact with any foreigners between October 23 and the time of his escape.

Respondent was in the middle class, and he found in Hungary the peasantry, the workers, and the intelligentsia, and the Communist leaders, which comprises the upper crust. This upper crust includes about 20,000 Communist Party leaders and administrative leaders, some 10,000 to 15,000 NKVD, and army officers. The peasantry includes agricultural workers on state farms, members of kol, and poor peasantry, and middle peasantry, the so-called kulaks. Workers include real poor workers, and party pushers, who are governmentals. The intelligentsia includes white collar workers, professional people, and some that, though they are some who don't really belong to the intelligentsia, but who took six months of the Party course. Some people had very little education, but are destined to become the pillars of the system.

Respondent had the following contact with each of the social groups: His folks are peasants, as are most of the masses town of 2000. In this village respondent is 'Yes' to everyone. People in the town still ask his parents if they have heard from Joe, and that he writes from Warsaw.

When respondent worked in plants, he 'forgot' to tell his fellow workers who he really was and tried to mingle freely with the workers. At the same time, he made it a point to try investigate

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

1/ Respondent's father was and is a peasant, a poor one. He had, before the war, seven acres of land and one acre of vineyard. He wasn't given any more land after the land reform. He was practically forced to give up four acres and turn it over to a _____, which was formed when he moved from one village to another. From then on he had only 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land and one of vineyard. But, even when he had all seven acres of land, his income was much smaller than before the war, and it became smaller year after year.

Respondent's father had six grades of elementary school and privately studied two years of junior high school. His mother had six years of grade school.

B. Social classes

Respondent says that the following social classes are to be found in Hungary: The peasantry, the workers, and the intelligentsia, and the Communist leaders, which comprises the upper crust. This upper crust includes about 10,000 Communist Party leaders and administration leaders, some 40,000 to 50,000 AVH, and army officers. The peasantry includes agricultural workers on state farms, members of kol _____, and poor peasantry, and middle peasantry, who are called kulaks. Workers include real poor workers, and party pushers, who are opportunists. The intelligentsia includes white collar workers, professional people, and, among them, there are some who don't actually belong to the intelligentsia, but who took six months of the Party courses. These people had very little education, but are destined to become the pillars of the system.

Respondent had the following contact with each of the social groups: His folks are peasants, as are most of the ~~town~~ town of 2800. In this village respondent is 'Joe' to everyone. People in the town still ask his parents if they have heard from Joe, and what he writes from America.

When respondent worked in plants, he 'forgot' to tell his fellow workers who he really was and tried to mingle freely with the workers. At the same time, he made it a point to ~~not~~ investigate

the reasons for ~~such~~ criminal behavior in so many of the young workers. He discovered that all these young workers, even those who were considered delinquent, had a moral code of their own, and were quite receptive when respondent talked of moral values. He said their horse sense was remarkable and it was possible for him to awaken a more intellectual interests in them. He went to libraries and theatres with them, and held many extremely interesting discussions.

Respondent had ample opportunity to be with members of the intelligentsia in the person of his teachers. He had three personal friends among his teachers, one of them a 72 year old man who taught him. He also found that most of his professors and assistants were very friendly toward him and he had chances to talk to them.

He had a few good acquaintances even in the upper crust, which also included authors and actors whether they were Communists or just trying to 'behave'. Such a person was Gyula Hay.

Talking of his attitudes toward these classes, respondent has this to say: "The workers are the closest knit group. Communism was anxious to appease them, but they always spoke quite openly of their profound disenchantment!" The peasants were particularly oppressed. Per centage wise there were more peasants in prison than workers. It wasn't too hard to oppress them because they were spread out over very large areas.

Respondent says that he cannot decide to which class he belongs. He feels close to all of them.

Respondent thinks that the peasantry was the hardest hit. They lived in the greatest misery and they were really exploited, in the classical sense of the word. There were many stool-pigeons among them, because they did not live in closely knit groups.

C. Classes to each other

As seen by respondent, there was no ~~mutual~~ animosity among the classes for each other, but all of them hated the upper crust.... that is to say, the gears of the machinery of oppression. They called them, in respondent's area of the country, 'the briefcase

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Effects of Communism

people' because the Communist officials went around with briefcases and acted very important.

But, respondent feels he has to add the following information: Just before the revolution the workers in Szeged were deceived by the Communists about the students. So, when the students invited the workers to demonstrate with them against the government, they were told, "You students can go to hell! We don't want an intellectual Parliament and student terror!" By October 23 this picture changed because the workers recognized that they were in the same boat as the students.

B.E. Chances for an individual to get ahead in Communist Hungary were the best for Party members and secondly, for those who were of proletarian origin. By 1955 and '56 this picture changed somewhat for the better. There came relaxations, and talent and skill started playing a bigger role. This was particularly true for artists and writers who had a better chance to write freely.

Trying to define what kind of an individual would 'get ahead' in Communist Hungary, respondent has this to say, "The one who changed his step to the tune of the official melody, climbers, and such apple polishers ~~fastidiously~~ could get ahead, but they felt quite uneasy when confronted by really ~~smart~~ educated people.

There was a particularly severe problem with youth because the eyes of the state and the school, because they were practically no longer in control, but we got in with society. Instead of the discipline and the thinking of the youth was somewhat different. The entire outlook and life was different. The entire way everyone was affected, these teachings left their print in the soft ground of children's minds.

Even today, the usual day off were assigned for family life because while in the service worked...

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Effects of Communism

There was a tremendous change, respondent reports, in the pattern of daily life for families because of the necessity for both husband and wife to work. This meant that children were not so well supervised, and became quite independent. A great many of them were 'raised in the streets, rather than by parents.' Parents became more and more indifferent to the development of their children. Many families were shattered because the husband or wife became a party member, and not just a nominal one. The ~~main~~ root of the trouble, respondent thinks, was in the social system, and in the general poverty of all common people.

B. Rearing children

"Communism has changed the way children are brought up in the following ways, according to respondent: "If parents were permitted to remain in the intelligentsia, or helped to become members of the intelligentsia, children could not go to religious instructions. In a great many families children went to work at the age of thirteen. They worked in plants for half-pay and even at night. The Communists painted a picture of 19th century capitalists whose system exploited the child in miserable working conditions, but these same conditions could be found in quite a few places in Communist Hungary."

There was a particularly acute problem with youth between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, because they were practically no longer in school, but not yet in adult society. Another underlying change was that the youth was taught materialism and the thinking of sensitive youth was certainly influenced. The entire outlook on life was materialistic and, although not everyone was effected, these teachings left their print in the soft grounds of children's minds.

"Even Sundays, the usual day off, were destroyed for family life because, since both parents worked, it

now was their day to complete chores they did not have time for on other days. So, the influence of parents lessened. The parents, who were busy on Sundays told their children, 'Go to church', but they themselves did not. Of course, this was not a good example for any religious training. The fact that the parents were less strict influenced the children! Attitudes were particularly changed toward religious training, and courting, and the entire atmosphere became less inhibited."

These changes, it seems to respondent, are the same for all social classes.

It seems to respondent that there was no real difference between the roles of grade schools and high schools, but he likes to point to the particularly important role of dormitories. You could find many ~~with~~ ambitious educators in dormitories who were interested in molding youth to the Communist pattern.

C. Sex patterns

Respondent reports that the attitudes toward marriage changed in a great many instances in Hungary during the last ten years. One of the basic factors effecting this change was the fact that both the young man and his wife had to work. This reminds the respondent of an old Hungarian ballad in which it is suggested to a young bachelor that he marry a poor girl. But, he says 'Why should I take two beggars out of one?' This became reality. Home, sweet home did not look so sweet any more and was no longer such a force in society as it had been before.

"Since more and more people made themselves independent of the strict laws of religion, divorce became too easy. In a great many ~~skasus~~ cases immature eighteen and twenty year olds got married hastily and there were a great many divorces between twenty and twenty-five. Another factor to keep in mind is that young couples were usually afraid to have children and practiced control. Lately, even abortions were permissible. Before, five years was the usual sentence for

resorting to those/~~making~~ abortions. I remember very well the article by Clara Fehér in "Szabad Nép" in which she wrote about the plight of the young people who got married and were unable to care for their children. It should also be mentioned, I think, that/the so-called Socialist towns (Sztalinváros, Kázinóbarokk, and Inota) sexual license became quite common. The main reason was that sixteen and seventeen year old girls were staying in poor workers' hostels. This sentence became a proverb in Hungary, "He was born by Sztalinváros and fathered by Socialism." This was the description of a great many illegitimate children."

Respondent says there was no legal prostitution under Communism, but there was quite a bit of secret prostitution in Budapest, as well as the aforementioned Socialist towns. Of course, there were such practices in other small towns as well, but mainly in these towns. People found sexual license scandalous and they often bitterly referred to youth raised by ~~szocializmus~~ Rakosi."

Respondent was asked about the Communist attitude on sexual matters. He answers, "The Communists again and ~~again~~ again referred to 'Communist ethics'. But, they never clearly defined what this was, particularly in sexual matters. Their basic tenet, of course, in every field was 'What's good for the Party is good--What's bad for the Party is no good.' I must admit this tenet was practiced in sex when girls were given the task of making love with someone to get him on some Communist hook. Some tragic cases of mixed up love and Party affiliation often resulted from such affairs. In the youth organization, Diss, it happened often that boys and girls were told about sexual matters, particularly in 1950 to '52. The slogan was 'No secrets from youth.' The tragic thing about these lectures is that no difference was placed on marital and extra-marital relations."

Respondent's opinion whether Communists are more or less inhibited about sexual matters is this: "You can't tell Communists from non-Communists in this respect."

D. Friendship with Communists

When respondent is asked what he thinks of a friendship in which

a friend joined the Communist party after '48 and became a minor functionary. He has this to say: "That fellow might have been an opportunist who is trying to continue getting ahead in the Party. As an apple polisher, I certainly would despise him. If, however, he has an insincere Party allegiance and joined only to earn a bare living, and to avoid torture and prison, I could not really blame him. If he kept his ethical attitude and his political views intact, our friendship could last. But, I certainly cannot imagine a friend with whom I could not share major, fundamental political views."

Respondent knows of instances of this #2 type of change in ~~friend~~ friendship, but the friendship remained intact.

Respondent thinks that one could continue the friendship only if the one is an insincere party member. "How could one be the friend of a scoundrel?"

E. Crimes and alcoholism

Respondent thinks that there has been an increase in major crimes, but he points out that these have not been written about in the Communist papers because the Communist press has to pretend that the Communist moral situation is much better than that of the Capitalist society. But, respondent went often to trials. There were even periods when he went every week to a trial to see what kind of people are standing trial. (Respondent intends to become a psychiatrist, so his interest is understandable.)

Respondent thinks that the increase is due to the falsehood of Communism which, in teaching as well as in everyday manifestations, is based upon lies and more lies.

The sentences meted out to the accused were very different. Party members usually did not receive just punishment. The ones who were considered, from the Communist viewpoint, socially undesirable elements were punished very severely. The Party members were defended by Party headquarters, itself.

Judges, who were Communists themselves, were naturally against people who were considered poor risks for Communists. The judges who were not Communists were afraid of the wrath of the Communists if they did not punish these elements severely. On the other hand, democratic judges were afraid to punish severely any Communists because they were under the protection of their political kin. Respondent quotes these experiences: "There was a nurse who stole forty sheets from the hospital. She was sentenced to six years. There was a Party functionary who stole 750,000 forints and received only a sentence of three months in jail. The Party told in the trial that this person had a very good background and this had been his first offense." "Take the example of the chairman of the town Council in my home town and the Party secretary. They knocked down the parish priest and were going to throw him in a well when neighbors rescued the priest. The Party secretary lost his position. That was the only punishment he received, and the chairman was transferred to a higher position. This is what they call Communist ethics." "Such practices, of course encouraged Communist party members to do what ever they wanted to do. This was one of the reasons for the increase in crimes. There were others who committed crimes that were not morally right, but humanly understandable. There was a chain reaction in embezzlement. Suppose someone embezzled some funds which his superior noticed but did not know how to get the sum back. He had to embezzle to cover up the loss. This went on, because his superior was in the same position."

Respondent goes on to say that small offenses were either not punished at all or punished too severely. Since many went unpunished, others felt encouraged to risk the same crime.

Speaking of the crime rate of women, respondent says that women now were more independent in their daily lives and became more independent minded. There were many sex offenses which started a lawless life in women. As to young people, the young workers did not find their place in life for several years. Seventeen year old boys were told by older workers 'You're children.' At the same time, they did not want to mix with younger boys, so they banned together, establishing their own laws.

Respondent thinks that the government is not doing much to control

the situation. The government focuses its attention on political matters. As long as Communist rule is not challenged, they don't care much. Besides, he remarks, policemen were not permitted to use weapons on criminal cases.

Respondent thinks that drinking has increased in Hungary during the last ten years. Good wine was sold abroad to get foreign currency, so only wine made from old straw and rum were sold at prices people could afford. These were much stronger and more likely to be habit forming. There was a joke about wine in Hungary, among ~~many~~ others, respondent quotes, "Where did you come from, Hungarian wine?-- I was born in a corn field."

As we spoke of juvenile delinquency, respondent says that thefts from factories were commonplace. People came to feel that they took what was theirs when they stole from the state. It seemed to them that the Communist state was the biggest ~~kind~~ thief. Unfortunately, respondent recalls, there were also some rapes which was not committed before. Raping was learned from the Russian troops which had committed so many ~~of~~ in 1945.

When respondent is asked about the 'Jampecs', he says that to an extent the Jampecs were a Communist invention. It was a type of young people who were inclined to an extravagant, superficial way of life. They were the ones to use Hungarian slang, they were people who liked to be admired, they liked wild, boogie-woogie dances, and quite often bullied each other into fights. Most of them, he thinks, were young workers, but a great many of them liked free trade. Free trade, though, was more black-market than anything else.

When asked about the Jampecs in the revolution, respondent becomes very serious and says they were first class fighters. They fought like men.

VII. RELIGION

A. Communist effect

Respondent holds that the Communist rule had much ill effect on religious life in Hungary. "A good Communist cannot be religious!" This was their slogan. They prevented religious instructions by terror and intimidation. They charged every person with 'clerical reaction' if he had his children given religious instructions. 'Clerical reaction' was a very serious charge in Communist Hungary.

Respondent is convinced that the Catholic religion was hardest hit by Communism, because Catholicism is the most opposed to Communism and the least ready to compromise. He adds, the Catholic church was the strongest in Hungary, so the Communists had to strike strong blows to paralyze it.

Respondent says that aside from abolishing religious instructions in schools, perhaps the anti-church propaganda was the strongest factor in the fight of Communism against religion. Party members were by no means allowed to attend church services and particularly not allowed to have church marriages or have their children baptized or ~~have~~ church funerals. This referred to not just party members, but professional people and almost anyone in a good position. Such people had to attend church in another district so they would not be recognized by the stool-pidgions in their town.

Respondent has already talked about the effects of Communism on Catholicism. About Protestantism, he says it was ~~was~~ similarly effected, but perhaps not to such a degree. At the same time, he says, it seemed that the Jewish religion was not so severely hit by Communism because he thinks it was such a minor one, which played no important part, first of all. Secondly, perhaps the people in the regime were not so much after the Jewish religion, because so many of the leading Communists were Jews, like Rakosi, Gero, Munnichi, Hegedus, Piros, Vas, and Raval.

B. Personal religious life

Respondent says, with great emphasis, that religion plays an important part in his life. He thinks it as an important factor in his life as in that of his parents. He thinks it is just as important to the average person in Hungary. About his actual religious life, he says that he attends church regularly on Sundays, and goes to Communion once a month.

C. Church function

The relation between church and state should be exactly as it is in the United States, respondent suggests.

Respondent thinks the church should play an important role in education. First of all, it should have access to give all the children religious instruction. It should have the right to maintain church schools and to have hospitals and missions.

According to respondent, the church should call attention to what is wrong and what is right according to its judgement, but hold no censorship. It should give a realistic, but ethically high, sex education to youth.

Respondent holds that churches should take no active part in politics in an independent Hungary. "The priests should not mingle in worldly affairs. The church should by no means have land holdings and other possessions that would make its spiritual and intellectual role diminish because of its earthly concerns."

D. Jewish minority

Respondent thinks that the Jewish religion was not hurt much by Communism because there was so little of it. Generally, he thinks that Jews are not very religious and so there was little to oppress. The religion itself was more elastic and did not preach against Communism, respondent holds, and he says that most Jews were, practically speaking, non-sectarian.

It was much more of a social custom to attend services than a religious function. Therefore, the Communist did not care much. But, above all, Communism did not bother much about small ~~churches~~ small churches. Respondent thinks the attitude of the Jews toward Communism in Hungary was conditioned by the fact that they suffered from terrible persecution during the Nazi German occupation of Hungary, which started in March, 1944. Jews had the feeling that anything opposing fascism would be better, and some felt that the system opposing fascism the most would be the best. Respondent thinks it is quite understandable that the Jews joined the Communist party more than did the other ~~religions~~ religions in Hungary. Anyone would be grateful to the ones who saved his life, respondent thinks. Of course, he adds, many joined just for material gains and for power. People who were deprived from everything they had gained from industrious work and of any power a decent citizen should have were quite eager to regain as much as possible.

Respondent thinks that the attitude of the Jews underwent changes in the last ten years because there otherwise would not have been any Jews in the revolution.

Respondent says that ten to twelve friends of his participated in the revolution and he saw many more he thought were Jews and heard of others. One of his friends was the son of the famous psychiatrist, Dr. Volgyesi, and so was Professor Hotenyi. These Jews participated in the demonstrations just as enthusiastically as the respondent. He heard of Jews taking part in the revolution, but per centage wise, probably not as many as non-Jews.

When respondent is told that ~~of~~ some people say the Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary, he says Jewish Communist party leaders and administration leaders and all those who compromised themselves are afraid, ~~and~~ the ones who worked in the party beyond the part that was necessary to save their lives. But, the Jews on the whole are unafraid. They are more afraid of a Communist regime. This fact was amply demonstrated by the large number of Jews who fled after Kadar took over in Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Respondent thinks that people between the ages of eighteen to thirty represent the Hungarian youth.

B. Youth in the revolution

Respondent speaks very enthusiastically about the 'decisive role' of youth in both preparing of the revolution and in carrying it out. The Petofi Circle was visited mostly by youth. It was the youth, the students, who ~~from~~ formed the Mefesz, the first independent democratic student organization founded on November 16, at Szeged University. It was a worthy successor of Hungary's first independent, democratic student organization which had been founded by students of the Szeged University in 1940. It was Mefesz which formulated the sixteen points which became the basis of all demands and the key note of the revolution.

Respondent says youth had a decisive role in the demonstrations and the same in the beginning of the fighting. Later, he says, the workers had a greater part in the actual fighting because they were better organized, and above all, they had much larger numbers. There were only 31,500 students in the country.

Asked why it was the youth who took the lead instead of the older people, respondent replies, "Youth is always easier to enthuse, and youth, by its nature, is more valient, and more independent minded!" However, he thinks youth was not more dissatisfied than any other group of society. At the same time, youth had less to lose, but everything to gain.

During the revolution the older people thought and said again and again the the youth was wonderful and they were proud of them. Many old people said that they could now die happy because they have seen how great Hungarian youth is. Respondent

recalls that the youth was also very proud of the older people, because they saw that the older people were with them body and soul.

C. Educational system

Respondent's attitude ~~was~~ toward education in Hungary, particularly in the high schools and university level, is well expressed in these words, "If the official line had been followed Hungary might have a Communist ~~for~~ youth. But, since about 70% of the faculty was not Communist, but had democratic ideals and cautiously let their feelings to known to the youth, the students are sold on democracy. Many teachers faithfully taught what they had to, but then they made remarks like 'according to the book', and such remarks made it very clear that they did not believe it. Many of them found opportunities to let us know their own views, but there were teachers who were 'newly, quickly trained' type who were different and gave the students a hard time ~~in~~ teaching Communism."

Respondent says the restrictions on vocational choice was great in Communist Hungary. The government designated how many could choose a field and these prescriptions varied every year. Universities were given the number of admissions and they sent them to the county departments of education, then to the principals of the high schools in their county. The high school principals got together with the DISZ secretary, the party secretary, the local councils of the department of education, and, often, with the Communist women's organization called MNDSZ. If they did not get personally together, they passed their recommendations. It was by the decisions of these people that one was selected for admission to universities and colleges. In a great many cases even the reading habits and other personal habits were mentioned in the political files which passed through the hands of these people. These factors contributed to the decision whether one was or was not admitted to a college."

When asked about changes Respondent admits that in 1955 or '56, rather in '56 he thinks, the political files became some-

what less important and competence weighed a little more in deciding who would be admitted to college.

Respondent says that the level of education in the strictly scientific sense was quite good. He had the impression that his teachers kept up with all the scientific discoveries in the Western world. Thus, bio-chemistry, medicine, surgery, etc. were filled by competent professors who were second to none, respondent estimates. But, in the ideological field, respondent adds there were so many falsifications that it wasn't funny. Textbooks were, in ideological fields, 'actualized'. What actualization means may be illustrated, perhaps, by these examples: The 'fact' that Petofi was the Bolshevic of his age, or the 'fact' that real life in the world began only in 1818, when Communism really started organizing its masses.

Respondent thinks that most of the professors were all right and, professionally, they were all competent.

E. Indoctrination

Respondent thinks that the Communist have every right to brag about how much time they devote to indoctrinating the younger generation. In the years between 1950 and '54 respondent recalls "Not a day passed without a meeting, a session, or a celebration." Even a Soviet poet called Mayakovskij wrote an ironical poem about the 'session suicide people'. Of course, youth had its antidotes and lapsed into passive resistance, respondent emphasizes. Many jokes circulated about the passive participation of youth in meetings. Respondent recalls that it happened regularly, in his school and in the university as well, that one had to stand up when the so-called sacred names were mentioned, such as Stalin, The Soviet Union, the Red army, or Rakosi. The students made a big joke out of this by clapping

their hands rhythmically and shouting in chorus, 'Long live Rakosi, the great Rakosi,' and things like that. They also poked fun at mandatory singing of the marches of Communism. They sang them very slowly, like funeral marches.

When respondent is asked why he thinks they failed to indoctrinate the youth, he bursts out in loud laughter and says, "Well, everyone laughed at them. The Iron Curtain wasn't completely sealed; there were radios which pierced it, and we knew the contrary of many lies. The older people told us many stories. There were also so-called illegal books, books of old, which told about life which was very different from the Communist view.

"The dormitories were instrumental in growing resentment against Communism, because there were enough students in closely knit groups to take each other into confidence and they recognized that their similar views were opposed to the official lines. They saw that the organizations and the authorities were living only from the grace of the regime. If a teacher believed to be Communist was not careful enough and said something which made it clear he was not a Communist, this was an indication of a broken link in the chain. Everyone with some measure of horse sense can see that human beings are only human and not demigods, and we were presented with Stalin and other leaders of Communism as demigods. The same is true about the basic tenet of Communism: 'What's good for the Party is good for everyone.' Anyone could see that this was an impertinent lie. There were even such proportionately little facts, such as the fact that we found Lenin's works were misprinted and falsified. We found old 1929 editions when they were not so careful and printed things as they were written. Then we found great discrepancies in the 1950 editions. Even such little annoying facts that demigod Stalin stuck his nose into everything and tried to preach everything as if he had invented it.

"The great changes in the programs, like the program of Imre Nagy in 1953, or the program of the central leadership, or the 20th Party Congress, all went to prove that Communism was not something as absolute as they pretended.

Communist teachings held that it is not heroes who shape history, but history which shapes heroes. We were convinced that this was not true, but believed the direct opposite. At seminars on Marxism very embarrassing questions were thrown to the teachers, such as questions on heroes versing history. The teachers were usually not equipped to answer these questions. The theory of materialistic development of the world without God looked like stupid nonsense to most of us.

"Or take the basic charge of Communism against capitalism--I mean that of cruel exploitation which destroys the worker; the norms that Communism set and raised again and again were much worse than any worker could ever remember from the time of capitalism."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Respondent's main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary were the following: "In 1953 and '54 there was the simple complaint of lack of bread and the concealed rise in prices; The many well concealed, but still apparent, deductions from ones wages, the stool-pidgeon system in which you never know when it was your turn to be reported to the police, and, of course, lies, lies, lies, everywhere. The isolation from Western culture was very annoying, too, and so were the mandatory praises for the Soviet Union, when everyone had just complaints and disgust for it."

B. Respondent goes on to say: "People complained most about the things I just mentioned in Communist Hungary, and also of shortages, and the terrific amount of over work, the unending drudgery, and the so-called labor competition."

I. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The standard of living

This is how respondent got along financially during the last years in Hungary: Respondent studied at the University of Szeged. He had a scholarship which consisted of two parts, one for his scholarly achievements which amounted to 200 forints a month, which took care of his lunch and dinners. The other part of his scholarship was 140 forints which was called a social scholarship. From that, 100 forints went for his dormitory where twelve students were crowded in one room. Respondent now had to live within the 40 forints that remained, and there were also several small *személyes* items to be covered by this also. Among *személyes* others he had to order the *DISZ* paper. He also had to give 10% of this scholarship to take part in a peace loan. He had to work hard in the summer to take care of his clothing, which cost about 2500 forints.

Respondent considered it a luxury to have a car or a motorcycle, to go on a summer vacation, to sit in the *színház* orchestra for the opera, to have evening clothes, to have gold jewelry, to have a leather coat, and he could name many more such items. But, all of them were beyond his reach, far beyond. The most difficult for him to get was clothing.

Respondent's standard of living, as well as that of his folks, deteriorated year after year. His folks had to work very hard, in fact, respondent says, twice as hard as before. His mother had to raise a great many chickens, and ducks to provide food and pin money for the family. Between 1950 to '54 his folks managed to have a pig for butchering, which is considered the basic source of food. It was between 1948 and 1950 that respondent's family's living standard was the highest. It was 1952 - '54 that it was the lowest.

Respondent tries to recall a family among his acquaintances who were better off than any other and quotes this example: "my

God-father was a principle in an elementary school. He and his wife taught at the school. They had two children. The salaries they made plus the vegetable garden, orchard, pigs and poultry they raised, they managed to go on summer vacations. His wife was able to keep abreast of the fashions. They had a plane, and could go to good places."

Respondent thinks that the low Hungarian standard of living in the last eight years is due to the following factors: the terrific amount of export to Moscow at ridiculously low prices. During the revolution respondent had a paper in his hands in which figures clearly showed the validity of this statement. He remembers, for instance, the following item: one pound of newly built ship was sold to the Russians for one pound of Russian coal, or one pound of Russian coal."

C. Retail prices

In an attempt to compare merchandise in state stores and in farm markets, respondent points out that there was a big difference between many types of merchandise in one place and another. But, on the whole, you may say that the quality of the farm markets was far superior to that of state stores. Where one could buy fresh eggs in a farm market, this was completely impossible in a state store. One could get good lard in farm markets and poor margarine in state stores. One could get good cottage cheese in a farm market and no good cottage cheese in state stores. However, this was not always the case, but if there were any differences, they were along these lines.

Respondent would not know much about any details in this field.

Speaking about retail distribution, respondent says that he knows of one case when confectioners received the materials for ice-cream in September which ought to have been available in the summer. He claims that the difficulties encountered in 1953 were mainly due to distribution failures and breakdowns.

Respondent thinks that, on the whole, it is possible to get

fairly standard spare parts, but, of course, not always and not everything. Respondent doesn't think there was much spoilage of food, because everyone was happy to get something to eat.

Respondent says that food was in especially short supply in between 1952 and '53. The supply of good and not too expensive clothing has been a major difficulty for all the eight years of Communist rule.

There were some goods which were simply unavailable, like citrus fruits, bananas, coconuts, and fruits which are usually called in Hungary colonial fruits. Good clothing was available, but too expensive for regular purchasing.

Respondent does not know much about the black-market. He heard again and again that sportsmen coming from foreign countries brought black-market items with them. He read in "szabad Nép" about a store dealing in nylon stockings and making more than a million forint business. There were eight or nine persons involved in it.

Respondent does not know anything about an organized black-market.

Speaking of the quality of black-market items, respondent says he heard that people thought very much about smuggled watches and about British material in general.

Respondent doesn't think that legal outlets ever refused to sell goods unless buyers paid a higher price than that authorized.

Respondent thinks that black-marketing was dangerous only if it was about large amounts. He heard of one of the members of the Hungarian soccer team which had been abroad who brought back twenty pairs of nylons with him. Of course, respondent remarks, that the penalties varied very much, depending whether or not the political dossier of that person involved was all right.

D. Working conditions

E. Agriculture

Respondent likes variety and so his ^{earned} living during the summer months in his home town, basically an agricultural community, and a large city during the school year was perfectly all right with him.

He thinks a city worker could get various types of merchandise easier. On the other hand, agricultural workers managed not to deliver everything and kept a few items. So, it's very hard for respondent to decide which of the two had a better diet in Communist Hungary. He is inclined to think an agricultural worker had somewhat of the advantage.

On the whole, he thinks that a city worker has a higher standard of living. Politically, he thinks that an agricultural worker had an easier time.

When collectivization was introduced in Hungary, respondent thought that the effects would be as disastrous as they were in Russia.

Respondent's current opinion of collectivization as it was practiced in Hungary is that it underwent only pretended relaxations and easing of tensions. He can only condemn collectivization as it was practiced and he doesn't think the idea is workable or desirable.

Respondent, being a peasant boy and growing up in a farm community, says, very emphatically, that everyone he can think of objected to collectivization, the well-to-do peasants as well as the poorer ones.

Respondent heard of collectives being dissolved in 1953 in the Imre Nagy program and his own village collective was dissolved. It included forty-nine families and it was dissolved because most of the beneficiaries left as they were not farm minded people. They had been hired day workers all their lives.

and they could not get used to farming in such a way, and they left one after the other. So, that collective was, at long last, dissolved. Collective farms were very ineffective, except for the few which were favored by the government, respondent says, because they received such favorable treatment and, in fact, a lot of subsidies. There were a lot of conflicts within such collective farms. Mostly leaders did not work and, in some instances, he heard, that if the leaders had to leave the city for a meeting, they charged double pay, and their associates did not like this. The wives of the leaders did not usually work and the wives of the others did. This was another point of great disagreement. Among many other difficulties, there was one worth mentioning, respondent suggests, and that was the fact that the members on a collective farm received money only once a year. It was a super-human task, he thinks, to live on that one lump sum throughout the year.

As respondent tries to compare the lot of a member of a collective farm with that of an independent farmer, or an employee on a state farm, he makes these remarks: "One of the most horrifying facts of the state farms was that they had planned kitchens. The workers did not cook for themselves, but were all fed from the same kitchen. They never had enough to eat and were always hungry, and were never satisfied with the food. There were 60,000 acres in one of these state farms in Nagyberék, and the employees were bitter about the conditions. As I looked around, I saw no sign of elementary hygiene, and saw terrible working conditions everywhere."

Respondent refers his statement above and says about private farms that they were so oppressed by the government that it was not funny. As a result, respondent decides that he cannot prefer any of these bad conditions to another.

Ideally, respondent would prefer the agricultural system of private farms. At the same time, he would like to have a very high standard and special agricultural schools with model farms so as to raise the competence of the farmers to a very high level.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

ALTHOUGH a very young boy, respondent started getting interested in the events of his country and of the world during the war. He started reading newspapers quite regularly. It was more so after the war that he became a regular newspaper reader, and was greatly interested in domestic policies and well as foreign policy. He was prompted even more so by the history making events in his own town. In the last few months of the war his village changed hands six times. The Russian army moved forward and then were pushed back by the Germans six times. He could not decide to favor on political party while he was interested in the struggles of all these. His main concern was that the Communists should not win.

His father, though not a party member, always voted for the Small Holders' Party until the 'betrayal' of 1947. Respondent used this word for the change in party leadership, when Ferenc Nagy resigned and handed over the party to Dinayot. From then on it was no longer the Small Holders' Party, respondent insists, but became as a branch of the Communist party.

When asked about his overall political views, respondent has this to say: "In 1947 and '48, after the Hungarian Peace Treaty was concluded, it became apparent that Hungary was betrayed by the Western powers, that they meant literally what they had signed in Yalta; that is, the division of the world into two spheres of influence. The same mistake was committed as it after the first World War. That is, people were disposed without their consent, quite to the contrary of the basic tenets of democracy. I was all the more bitter and angry because I saw _____ washing his hands in innocence."

When respondent is asked about his knowledge of Bela Kun and the Communist party of 1918 and '19, he answers: "I have pretty concrete recollections of Bela Kun's regime of terror of 1919."

17 years
before his birth!

I heard a great deal from older people about those terrible months, but I should remember those months all the more since there was a priest who was closely related to us. He became a well-meaning Communist in those days and he was killed by the anti-Communists in the sweep of the short-lived white terror. Another relative, a teacher, was also killed by mistake by the White Terror. They thought that he was one of the Communists that they were after. I hated Communist terror which is the prime reason for the suffering all my people went through, and I hated White Terror and anti-Semitism, and everything that went with it, because, in effect, it was the same as Communism, but with a different flag sign. There was no revival of White Terror, but there was a terrible revival of Communism. I decided to fight against its body and soul. After I experienced Communism in my personal life, it was possible that I hated them even more.

B. Communist party after 1948

Respondent has this explanation for why people joined the Communist party: in the beginning, he says, there were many decent people who were blackmailed into becoming Party members. They were faced with prison or become Party members. Others were forced to join or lose their jobs, without the chance of finding any others. These people were mainly civil service employees, but many industrial leaders were in the same position. So, under the threat of imprisonment or losing their jobs, many joined the party. Another group are those who had been persecuted by the Nazis and now took haven with those who had driven out the Nazis. There were many Jews in this group, but not exclusively... there were those who just thought that the direct opposite of Nazism would be the right solution. A third group are the persons who were 'good' Nazis who saw something similar in Communism, especially since to join the Communist meant saving their own lives. A fourth group were those who actually did believe in Communism because they were deceived by the beautiful promises made.

Respondent did not have any Communists among his friends or neighbors. There were only a handful of Communist in his village, and they were not considered suitable for any leading positions by the Communists. However, the principle of his high school, the manager of his dormitory, and the Party secretary of his village (who had come from another town), the BISZ secretary were all Party members and were in leading positions. Respondent had only official dealings with them. For instance, he has already mentioned the Party secretary who had to give him reference when he wanted to go to college, and who came back to the village after the Communist government became strong again with the help of the Russian army in November, 1956.

When respondent is asked of the sskink attitudes of the members to the Party, he replies: "According to Kadar, there are 200,000 members now in the Communist party. Previously there had been 800,000, so you can judge for yourself how many of the 800,000 had been sincere Party members. And still I would say, of these 200,000 members, not more than 100,000 are real Communists. Of these 100,000 there are 32,000 to 35,000 AVH members and the others are in key positions."

When respondent was faced with the question of whether Party policies changed during the last eight years, he quotes a Communist saying: "Strategy did not change, but tactics did." There were various Party programs. The Imre Nagy program, later, the central leadership program, the 20th Party Congress program; but, none of these were real programs, they were all kinds of eye-washes, except perhaps some honest efforts on the part of Imre Nagy. Only the scapots believed, and whenever a new program was announced, tension eased for awhile. Then things went right back into the same old rut. Respondent quotes another basic tenet of Communism: "The Party cannot be mistaken." Consequently, persons were blamed instead of the actual Party thinking behind the terrible mistakes they made again and again.

Respondent says that he was aware of difference within the Party and so were most Hungarians, because they saw Communist Party members, and particularly local leaders, as well as the high leaders, be very jealous of one another, and try to push the other fellow out of the way, such as one expects pushers to behave.

When respondent is asked about Party morale, he reiterates his former statement that there were no ideological differences between the leaders of the Party, but rather personal jealousies, and fears of each other. Respondent maintains that he heard of good Communist Party morale only from Communist leaders and read about it in Communist newspapers and brochures of the DISZ. He suggests that we judge for ourselves what the morale was like when there were an estimated 200,000 people at Rak's funeral. One might think that these people were Communists who were the adherents of Rak. However, the truth was that very few of them were such, and most of them were Hungarians who took advantage of the situation to demonstrate against the leadership.

Respondent has a very low opinion of the top Communist leaders in Hungary. He says they are very low characters, they are puppets, yes-men, who are power mad and want to obtain perfect obedience to Moscow and undisputed rule in Hungary. They are like a bicyclist, he says. They bend to the higher-ups and kick down the ones under them.

Respondent is somewhat hesitant to try to guess whether the Communist Party leaders are convinced, then judging them from their statements and actions, one may be inclined to think that they do believe in the Party. But, certainly not all of them.

As to their personal motives, and their personalities, in general, respondent says: "You may find all kinds of elements among them, but, with very few exceptions, they are sinister people who have a good routine in evil doing. They are all scoundrels, but how they got so far is quite varied. Respondent has no particular

opinion of Rajk. He thinks he's just the same as the others are. About Imre Nagy, he says that Nagy isn't actually a Communist at all.

The Communist top leaders, he thinks, should all be tried in court in an independent Hungary and should receive the punishment prescribed by law, including capital punishment, if necessary. The ones sentenced to jail terms, however, he suggests, should be forced to work, because that is what most of them hate.

G. Opposition

Asked about various kinds of opposition behavior in Hungary, respondent comes up with the following list: Complaining was common and generally shared, particularly workers and peasants were loud in their complaints. There were also authors who offered strong criticisms out in the open, and a few actors, particularly actors, who did the same quite courageously. He knows of no slow-downs in plants, but he heard about some industrial sabotage, which was not published in the papers. He also reports that, in quite a few instances, Communist Party members were beaten up by peasants, and that students offered quite a bit of criticism at DISZ meetings. DISZ leaders were very often confronted with such objections, that all they could say in defense was, 'You' are mistaken.'

Respondent thinks that the Hungarians were aware of the opposition behavior of others because they experienced quite a bit of it. Respondent says that opposition like behavior achieved results only in a few instances. There were some changes within the Party, but their replacements were usually not any better. What the Hungarians expected most was the help of the democracies, he says, because he thinks democracies should know better than to let people down in their fight for freedom.

Respondent sees no difference in the opposition behavior except for its increase since 1945. Respondent has this knowledge of the activities of the intellectuals: The second congress of the Hungarian Authors Association, which took place in May or June, 1956 was the first decisive step in the right direction, and from then on their fight in the press became stronger. "Irodalmi Ujsag" was the main forum of their raising their voices. Respondent also remarks that several

authors were very vocal in their complaints, even in 1955 at a meeting they had in Szeged.

Respondent learned about the Petofi Circle in the summer, 1956. Tibor Dery was criticized in "Szabad Nep" for his too liberal attitude. He had been criticized even before because of his novel "Angar".

Speaking of the intellectual ferment before the Petofi meetings, respondent has quite a bit to say. Of several examples which he quotes, only some are listed: In place of the Stalin cult and Party glorification, a fight against the dirty deals of Communism started, and this fight has been very articulate. It was first cautious and then it became more and more courageous. Respondent describes this with an analogy Tomas Szekel used: "People are like my two year old girl who reaches for a glass of water, but cannot say yet what she wants." Respondent says the everyday struggle of common people became the central theme of so many novels and short stories and poems. Take for example the poems of Laszlo Benjamin, 'Two Decades', or the short novel of Peter Veres, 'Laci' or take the two particularly famous poems of Sandor Szekely: 'When I Arrived at the Village' and 'The Chairman of I-Don't-Care Village Has a Sprawl'. People read these stories and poems and spoke a great deal about them, respondent says. Laszlo Benjamin was kicked out of the Party because of his courageous stand.

In respondent's opinion, these intellectuals put in literary form and brought to the public what people generally felt. They held general views but put them in beautiful literary forms and made them available to the general public.

Respondent's reaction was great enthusiasm at that time and he learned quite a few of the poems by heart and remembers short stories amazingly well. He considers these intellectuals particularly authors, the spearhead of the revolution, and later, the ideological leaders of it. Respondent says the attitudes toward the intellectuals was one of admiration, in general, for their

having become more and more independent minded and courageous.

Respondent is convinced that the intellectuals had more than enough reason to hate the intellectuals' slavery which they were part of, although they were financially favored. But, he thinks, no one likes to 'work on orders' in intellectual matters.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret police

Respondent says that those who were in the secret police were stupid goldbricks, cruel sadists, and low savages.

Respondent had ample experience with them during his attempt to escape from Hungary and was dragged around from one prison to another. Even prior to that, in August and September, '55, he was under investigation because he took part in a club of liberal, democratic minded intellectuals in Gougo.

Respondent never heard of any AVH men who would have wanted to leave the service because of remorse.

Respondent suggests that all AVH men stand trial after liberation.

Respondent explains that there was an essential difference between the regular police and the AVH. The regular police worked only with criminal cases, no political cases. A great many of them resisted the regime with passivity and certainly most of them were not Communists, at all. He thinks there were very few Communists among them.

Communism, he says, was anxious to make a 'People's police' out of the regular police and recruited many elements who were people who hated work, and the regime wanted to have eager supporters in them.

Respondent thinks that most of the police were not well trained, and were rather incompetent. Many of them could be talked out of taking action because they had human hearts and very many were quite responsive to bribes.

According to information available to respondent and according to his own experience, most members of the regular police sided with the revolution. They certainly never shot at crowds. In Szeged the regular police were afraid of the AVH as well as of

the crowd, because they thought the AVH considered them unloyal to the régime, and the crowd considered them loyal. In Szeged, respondent reports, the police locked themselves up in their barracks. He saw this first hand, when the revolution won, the police served it well.

B. The courts.

Respondent heard about the courts before 1945 that on the whole they were all right. The law didn't show any difference in judging rich or poor, proletariat or influential. But the difference was made by the fact that richer people were able to hire good lawyers, and poor people, only lawyers who were not so well prepared, not were they, in quite a few cases, eager enough to do all they could for the case.

Respondent doesn't know much about the People's Courts of 1945 and '47. What he knows is only what he heard others say. They said these courts were too quick and their procedure was not legalistic enough. Consequently, they were not always just.

C. Hungarian army

Respondent reports about the Hungarian army that, although not every segment of it, but the bulk, fought on the side of the revolution. Where officers did not have the heart or the guts to support the revolution, and were afraid of the soldiers, they released them and the soldiers went home. Respondent saw many such soldiers, and in several cases, he saw them handing over their arms to the Freedom Fighters.

Respondent says about geographical differences that the soldiers in Budapest rose ~~xxxxxxxx~~ with more ease and earlier than those in the countryside. Respondent says that the enlisted men were all on the side of the revolution, and there were only very few among the officers and very few among the NCOs who were not. If there were any differences with some groups going with the revolution and others refraining, it depended ~~xxxx~~ mainly on their leaders, respondent says.

Respondent says that soldiers of peasant and worker origin were the first to go over to the revolution.

Respondent says that ~~xxxx~~ he always secretly expected the soldiers

to be on the side of freedom.

As we came to speak more of the Hungarian army, respondent, who spent one month as a recruit has this to say: "When we went in the service, we were told there was no old time soldiering, ~~the~~ but that's all we found. We found that officers who came 'From the People', that is, people without ~~any~~ proper schooling, and were promoted because they behaved well from the Communist view point, usually had inferiority complexes. Some of them would quite often say, 'I have come from a barn,' to signify that they were afraid of being thought of as someone who had been a hired man on a farm before. In other words, they were afraid of being thought of as uneducated people, which most of them ~~were~~ actually were. These officers enjoyed having power and enjoyed having less work in the military service than in some other job. Respondent thinks that most of the NCOs were not persuaded Communists, although there were quite a few petty tyrants among them. But, this was due to their own personal attitudes rather than to any party affiliation. On just one month's experience respondent declines to guess the ratio among officers.

As to the officers relations to the enlisted man, respondent says that the old time harassment of the troops was as prevalent in the Communist army as it had been before, and that officers and enlisted men considered themselves pretty high in the skies, and the poor enlisted men way down on earth.

Respondent would not know much about personal relations in the army during the revolution.

Respondent says that one month's experience doesn't give one much chance to judge the competence of officers and NCOs, but his guess is that it is pretty good.

Respondent says that there was quite a difference between good, better, and absolutely no-good officers and NCOs. The ones who were considered bad were usually the Communists.

Respondent did not see, during that one month, any difference in treatment of various persons.

According to respondent, political indoctrination and pressure was very strong. It happened about three times a week that they

received two hours of political indoctrination. But, the soldiers were stubbornly passive most of the time. Sometimes, he recalls, debates developed because the soldiers could not keep their mouths shut. It happened more than once that peasant boys stood up and said to the person conducting the indoctrination, 'You just don't know a darn thing about kolхозes, because we were the ones who lived in them!' Respondent reports that soldiers talked among themselves, and at least in his unit, quite openly and were very critical of conditions. They all hated those who were prone to Communism. Those apple polishes were called official-line comrades.

D. Russian troops

Respondent is somewhat embarrassed when confronted with the question whether the feelings of the Hungarians for the Russian troops are due to the events in 1848. He asks why on earth we thought of that at all, since the 'liberation' in 1945 by the 'glorious Red army' gave reason enough for the Hungarian people to shudder at the thought of the Red army.

Respondent maintains that he, as well as others, expected bad behavior from the Russian troops, but certainly not as bad as they displayed in reality.

Respondent claims that his actual personal experiences with the Russian troops included the following: He saw Russians stealing and looting, he saw them making very cruel liquidations. He saw among them 'green ears', which means young orphans which were 'sons of Stalin'. They had a distinctive mark on their ears made with a paint which did not come off. This is what respondent heard from Russian soldiers when he saw these green-eared soldiers among them. Respondent did not see, but heard of many cruel rapes committed by the Russian soldiers. All in all, respondent experienced that many of the Russian soldiers behave like barbarians and savages.

Respondent says that his opinion of the Russian soldiers only grew worse as time went by and he really got to know Communism.

On the other hand, during the revolution he learned that 5%-6% of the Russian soldiers had learned Hungarian, that many of them became acclimatized to Hungary, and many had good contacts with Hungarian families. He also heard that as the Russians learned more about Hungarians they liked them more and more.

But, neither respondent nor his family had any contact with Russian soldiers.

Respondent heard what he claims is generally known, that the Russian soldiers who came ^{about} ~~in~~ November 4 were much worse in their behavior than those who had been stationed in Hungary. He heard from reliable friends that these Russian soldiers were overheard asking for 'Strasse' with a map of Berlin in their hands. Respondent says that he presumes that we interviewees hear from all others being interviewed that Russian soldiers were looking for the Suez Canal when they arrived in Hungary on November 4. He means to confirm this. He adds that quite a few among the Russian soldiers were looking for German and American fascists among the revolutionaries.

Respondent also heard that the Ukrainian soldiers were generally better behaved ~~and~~ than the other nationalities, particularly the Mongolian-looking troops.

Respondent did not experience, but heard of cases where Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, where they refused to obey their officers, where they fought on the side of the Hungarians, where they ~~had~~ fought against the AVH, and against each other. He heard from close friends who were eye-witnesses to this last incident.

E. The bureaucracy

Respondent had very little contact with bureaucracy. When he was about to file a request for ~~permission~~ admission to college, he had to see the party secretary of his village. He had to ask him for references. On that occasion he asked for his political file and the party secretary refused to let him see it. Then he lost his head and he gave the party secretary hell.

Respondent thinks that most ~~xxx~~ bureaucrats were motivated by the desire to earn an easy living as the mainspring of their becoming leaders in the administration.

He would say that he had so little contact with them that he could not estimate their competence and ability.

Respondent never was in trouble with the bureaucracy, except when he had this mentioned clash with the party secretary. Fortunately, that had no consequences.

He never had the feeling that any functionary made a point of being especially hard on him.

Respondent heard of such functionaries who made it a point to look out for people's interest in a spirit contrary to official policies. But, he also heard that most of them did not succeed at all.

F. Bribes.

Respondent heard that influential persons interceding for someone could achieve a lot. He also heard that persuasion and bribery could work wonders in the administration, but bribes had to be very high, and the persuasions had to come from influential persons. As to what happened to officials who were caught performing irregularities, respondent says the higher the official, the less happened to him.

G. Competence of officials

Respondent is convinced that the secret police were very efficient, particularly by organizing civilian life which deeply penetrated everyday life. He thinks of army leadership as inefficient, but he thinks Russian army leadership is well trained and efficient.

Asked about bureaucracy, he says that public administration officials on the village level are not competent. The ones who were well trained in the ~~former~~ former regime had been kicked out.

XIII. ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years

When respondent is asked about his guesses concerning the future of Hungary, he first hesitates to predict anything. Then, he says that if the West does not help there will not be any change for several years. But, he feels quite certain that the regime will not last another twelve years. (Interviewer asks permission to make a remark of his own: this interviewee finds it quite interesting that respondent, as well as others, refers to twelve years of Communism quite often. If they are confronted with a question of whether or not Communism actually lasted for twelve years, they explain that Communism did not actually take over Hungary until 1948. But, it seems if they make only emotional or superficial references, they are inclined not to analyse history, but to simply refer to twelve years of Communism instead of eight years, or nine years.)

When respondent is asked to estimate what probably would happen, and what the expectations of people still living in Hungary are, he answers quite readily, "People in Hungary expect that they will not be let down by the West another time, and that the West will either pressure the Soviet into withdrawing, or prepare with all its strength a hastening of a revolution within Russia. I think that it should do so, by particularly giving all-out help to another revolution occurring somehow and sometime behind the iron curtain."

Respondent expects that future resistance in Hungary will be experienced, but this will be underground resistance. On the other hand, he expects the government to apply even more Stalinist tightening.

The United States, respondent thinks, will establish even more ~~xxxx~~ bases in the Far East to stem the tide of Communism. It will by no means enter in a war, and will keep giving only lip service of freedom to the world without doing anything effective about it. The Russians, on the other hand, will step

up their preparation throughout the world, and when they are ready with armament and other preparations, they will launch a world war to conquer the entire world and establish a Communist world empire.

When asked about his hopes, respondent answers that he has no hopes. He cannot accept a Poland-type solution: "Poland would ~~not~~ never have achieved what it has without the Hungarian revolution. The Russians did what they have done so far for Poland only to appease them so that they don't offer as much resistance as the Hungarians did in the revolution. But the Hungarian people are of a mind which can be characterized by the ~~same~~ saying 'Liberty or death'. If Hungary were not given independence so that it could hold free elections later, perhaps the international pressure applied on the Soviet Union could achieve the holding of elections under international supervision. Then, as a consequence of the unquestionably overwhelming victory for democracy, there would be independence and democracy."

Respondent thinks that concentrated pressure on the Soviet Union through the United Nations may achieve that they either withdraw from Hungary or permit free elections to be held under international supervision. Respondent says that he thinks that people in Hungary have the same opinion. Respondent doesn't wish to see a war. He has had enough experience in the World War II to know what it's like. But, he says, 'If a revolution breaks out somewhere behind the iron curtain, even war should be risked because suppose the Russians resist the revolution by starting an all-out war if ~~for~~ foreign aid comes forth the victory will be much quicker, and safer. A revolution would be able to start a chain reaction throughout the Soviet empire and may destroy the entire slave empire by a general holocaust. If such a revolution does not get aid from the West in form of arms, it will be drowned in bloodshed just as the Hungarian revolution was."

But, respondent hopes that international pressure can achieve wonders if it is really meant seriously.

D. Hopes in retrospect

During the last ten years respondent expected that the United

States, which was founded for freedom's sake, would not permit the situation in East Europe to deteriorate to such an extent as it did, and that The United States would not permit the economical ruin and the bloody oppression of millions of people. Respondent thinks that his views are shared by most of the ten million Hungarians. Respondent recalls that when the revolution started he hoped even more than before that the champion of human freedom, The United States, would not let the heroic Freedom Fighters down, and would find ways thru the United Nations to help them achieve victory. The very least he expected, he says, was that The United States should keep the Soviet Union guessing, and should not announce 'We won't help the Hungarians, they should fight for their freedom themselves.'

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

B. Economic system

According to respondent, the emphasis in an independent Hungary should be on agriculture. In industry, he says, aluminum industry, uranium mining, and atomic energy plants, and food industry should be preferred; in agriculture, the production of cereals, fruits, and vegetables. What is called truck gardening in the U.S. should be particularly preferred.

If the Communist regime were overthrown, respondent thinks that the national enterprises should be transformed to independent plants to be owned by the employees, that is to say the management, and the labor of that plants as shareholders. These people should elect their own leaders in the plant. In agriculture the state farms should be given to the peasants, particularly to their former owners, if those owners were small peasants. Aside from these, only model farms should be maintained by the state. Respondent thinks that his views are generally shared by Hungarians, although he admits that perhaps most Hungarians have not yet formed any clear ideas about these things, except that small farms should be given back to their owners. The government should not tie the hands of the farmers, because these people are mature enough to stand on their own feet, he thinks.

Respondent thinks that after a new land reform, which should be carried out according to what has been said so far, there should be no limits set on what one family or person may own.

If respondent had to choose between two kinds of government, he goes all out in his support for the government which stands on the side of freedom.

Because he is for freedom, respondent ~~is~~ is not for the outlawing of the Communist party. "Give them enough rope and they will hang themselves." He says the Hungarian equivalent to this saying.

C. International position

As we came to talk about the position that respondent would want

Hungary to have ideally, he says, "Neutrality like Austria has." Respondent doesn't care to specify the ideal relations with various countries because he says that they all should be amicable and they should have friendly alliances with Hungary. But, Hungary should enter into no alliances. As for trade relations, the entire area should become economically unified, and very good cultural relations should be maintained with all countries.

Respondent not only thought of the possibility of some sort of federation for the Danubian states, but he also read Kossuth's ideas about it. He thinks very much of these ideas. He liked them so much that he discussed them with friends. He thinks that such a federation is both desirable and possible. It would, in his view, include Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, and even Greece. Respondent thinks that the people of Hungary are ready to become parts of any unity which secures freedom for all Hungarians for the Hungary of today as well as the Hungary of the past, which has been divided between the so-called successor states.

Respondent does not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. He wants to see territorial adjustments, and he thinks his views are completely shared by every Hungarian. He would like to see such changes occur through a plebiscite. He thinks this matter is very important, because one fourth of the Hungarian people live outside of the boundaries of Hungary. A plebiscite would certainly prove that they would go all out to finally be all together.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

When respondent is asked about Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress, he smiles and says, "Even the sparrows talked about it."

Asked about Senator McCarthy and the UN-American Activities Committee, respondent first asked, "Was he the commander of the American forces in the Korean War who was recalled?" When respondent is told that the one he refers to is General MacArthur and is told who McCarthy is, respondent asked, "Is he the one from whom the ban on West Germany Communist party stems?"

Respondent doesn't know anything of the fall of Peron.

On Rakosi's private life, respondent has this information, "HE never dared to go out without strong AVO protection. When he vacationed in Balatonaliga, he was surrounded by extremely strong, protective AVO rings. If Rakosi thought, as he pretended to think, that he was not hated by the people, he wouldn't have needed such AVO protection."

B. Reading habits.

Respondent says that he has been a regular newspaper reader. In Hungary he mainly read picture magazines and magazines of high literature. As far as books are concerned, he read all types, particularly what might be termed high literature and everything else which common people would read. Respondent thinks that reading available during the war was all right and there were only Communist works that were suppressed.

Respondent read two newspapers quite regularly, the ~~szab~~ "Szabad Nep" and the ~~szab~~ "Szabad Ifjusag" in the eight years of Communism in Hungary. Respondent thinks that the youth read the same papers for they were the official ones to which they had to subscribe whether they wanted to or not, at least, the "Szabad Ifjusag". He read mainly the news concerning foreign policy. Other than that he didn't read much and he thinks that this was

the same with others. He says as far as his knowledge reaches this was the general custom with Hungarians, ... that they didn't believe the Communist papers at all. Respondent doesn't think he could particularly pick any area he distrusted the newspapers. He as well as others tried to read between the lines, he maintains. He quotes a saying which was repeated again and again, "One thing is true in "Szabad Nep" and that is that it costs forty fillers."

Coming back to the question of what area respondent particularly distrusted the newspapers, respondent volunteers the information that domestic policies, particularly plan fulfillment, was distrusted. He also adds that the papers were reliable in reporting what films were playing in the theatres, and who graduated from high school and was admitted to college.

Respondent sometimes read "Pravda." He does not know of friends or neighbors who read more papers from the Soviet Union or from neighboring satellite countries. As far as he knows, printed matter from these countries ~~was~~ not available.

Respondent says that there were very few legal publications from the West which were available. He found some good Italian magazines several times mainly on art which were for sale. Relatives brought Austrian papers with them and even a few issues of the "New York Times".

Respondent says that he read many so-called illegal publications. Among others, he lists the following names of Hungarian authors whose books were considered banned: Nyiro, Kodolanyi, Somogyvari, Mees, Herczeg, Cronin. He kept these books at home well hidden, and in the dorm he kept them under pillows or even under the mattress. He read such books covered with the book jacket of a fashionable Communist book.

He, as well as others, obtained these publications from each other because they traded regularly. There were thirty-six of them in his high-school class, and there was no secret about trading these books. He also got from friends who were employed in libraries illegal books as well as illegal papers. Quite often he kept

illegal books in his vest pocket. He just tried to avoid leaving them anywhere. The only dangerous thing was to keep books in their cabinets because the management of the dormitory quite often checked order in their cabinets. If they found such books, it was very bad news. Reading such books while hidden under different covers was quite commonplace, he reports. He also says they discussed these books quite regularly among themselves, almost as if they were in a seminary. People, as far as he knows, did not destroy such illegal books, they just kept them hidden.

C. Word of mouth

Respondent got much news by word of mouth. The news stemmed particularly from Radio Free Europe and it concerned the East German uprising and the Poznan riots. This was the way to learn the truth of such events. Almost the entire class shared this news, but certainly ten to twelve of them in college. Such groups trusted each other.

When asked his general attitude about word of mouth communication, he said, there were quite a few exaggerations, and some rumors which were not correct at all. But, usually he relied on them. Some people proved to be good sources, and others not so good.

When asked if he ever passed information, respondent laughs and says of course he did.

F. Stages and movies

Respondent usually went once a week to the movies, and he preferred Italian, French and German films. Sometimes he saw Hungarian pictures. He saw only a few Russian pictures. 'To get mad,' he says was his reason, but he saw two good ones. One was 'Romeo and Juliet', the other was a ballet.

The two movies which respondent liked particularly were "Before the Deluge", a French-Italian film on youth, and "She Danced For a Summer", a Swedish film about love. The two films he disliked were a Russian film, "Othello", because it was charged to suit Communist ideology, and a Hungarian picture, "Korhinta", which was kolхоз agitation.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

As for changes inside Russian, respondent thinks that a quick revolution could take place like the one in Hungary. He thinks that a great many Hungarians share his views, certainly a great many of those he knows personally.

He thinks that Communism is a system which nobody likes, and this includes the Russians. Respondent thinks that gradual liberalization is much more unlikely than a quick revolution. He thinks this because Soviet Russian leadership always selects the others who also ~~must~~ become leaders and this way they perpetuate their regime, unless something happens from below.

If Russian had free elections, respondent thinks the result would be that Communism would be over once and for all, and democracy would take its place.

Respondent says that the top leaders of Russia are bent on achieving world Communism. They are moved by an unlimited lust for power.

Asked how they differ from Hungarian Communist leadership, respondent says they are both Communist, but the difference is that the leaders in Moscow are the slaveholders, and the Hungarian Communists are the slaves. They, however, relish being Moscow's slaves because they are protected by Moscow, and that protection insures them the continuation of their power.

B. Other nations in East Europe

Respondent estimates that Poland is the most popular of the nations mentioned, and that the Czechs are the least. He thinks that in Poland it is the

people who are liked by the Hungarians, and, in the case of the Czechs, it's mainly the government which is disliked. Respondent had a chance to associate with Polish students in Szeged when they were there on a visit. He got the idea that these students were very strongly anti-Communist, but in the beginning they feared to speak lest the ~~Communists~~ Hungarians were Communist. When they found that the Hungarian students were sold on democracy, they aired their views pretty freely and spoke against Communism.

If free elections were held in these countries, respondent is convinced that democracy would win, except, perhaps, in Czechoslovakia where the population is under the strongest Communist influence and it might waver.

Respondent thinks that Czechoslovakia has the highest standard of living among the countries listed, and second is East Germany. He thinks that Rumania has the worst standard of living and Bulgaria is second.

C. Poland

Respondent interprets Polish events in this fashion: "The Polish people wanted to shake off the yoke of Communism just as the Hungarians tried to do. When they did not succeed, they reconciled themselves to a leadership where Gomulka tries to walk on a tight-rope. He ~~tries~~ tries to appease people by ~~fighting~~ giving them more and more freedom, such as permitting religious instructions in schools.

Asked ~~what~~ about his feelings toward Gomulka's policy right now, respondent says, "If Gomulka gets a sizable loan, he may get strong and may finally find some tricky ways to kick out the Russians from his country, because public pressure is strongly in favor of ridding themselves of the Soviet yoke."

If Gomulka goes Communist and follows the Soviet line, the Poles will turn from him in disgust. But, probably

Gomulka is shrewd enough to see that the only way to avoid disaster is to follow the will of the people as much as possible, and to work toward the independence of the country."

Respondent feels that his views in these matters have not changed in the last five or six months.

Respondent thinks that the Polish developments had an effect on Hungary before October, 1956. He thinks that they had an effect during and after '56, also, in as much as they quickened Hungarian events. After all, the Hungarian people wanted to help the Poles in their fight for freedom; this is how the revolution started. The Hungarians received the first help during the revolution from the Poles in form of medicine and blood plasma, and later, food shipments.

Respondent doesn't think there was much freedom in Poland a full year before Gomulka's rise to power. In fact, there was very little, he thinks. Many Hungarians he mentions to support his statement were corresponding with ~~Baszk~~ Polish friends, and they heard from foreign radios, so, they think there was not much freedom.

Respondent feels he would not have preferred the Hungarian revolution to have gone along Polish lines, because ~~that~~ that would have had no real effect for the future and would not even have resulted in the conciliatory steps the Soviet was forced to take to appease the Polish people. Respondent thinks as he has already emphasized before, that the Polish liberalization policy was made possible only by the Hungarian revolution.

D. Yugoslavia

Respondent thinks that Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe, "particularly when Tito was called 'chained dog' of the Western powers." When he was rehabilitated, the Hungarians

made many jokes such as: 'Tito is like soccer; first they kick it, and then they run after it.' So Tito gave Hungarians a lot to think about."

When respondent is asked if he thinks Tito is the originator of national Communism, respondent laughs and asks, "What do you mean by national Communism? That's nothing serious." Respondent thinks that Tito tries to be independent of other East Europe nations, and now particularly so he ~~tries~~ tries to play the uncle who is looking down on his cousins. Respondent says that Tito's policies toward Russia are subject to constant change. Respondent says, Tito acts towards the West as a dog... 'He's either soliciting, or he's mad.'

Respondent's view of Tito's position on Hungary and the Hungarian revolution is very critical. He says Tito praised Kadar on more than one occasion, and he hit Moscow in a speech in Pula. It seems, he says, that ~~Tito~~ Tito tries to be a shrewd politician playing both ends against the middle.

Respondent's attitude toward Titoism and Titoists in other nations is that no such thing is really possible, and Tito can live only as long as the West is gullible enough to believe that Titoism is not the same kind of Communism as any other.

Tito, respondent thinks, is not popular in Yugoslavia at all. His friends in Szabadka, which is also called Subotica, wrote him and said that they have a very limited freedom. "Take Djilas, why was he sentenced when he wrote that the Hungarian revolution is the beginning of the end, for the Communist world?"

E. The Middle East and Asia

When respondent is asked why he thinks the Communist gained control of China, he says, "Perhaps 200 million of them don't even know that they are under Communism." Thus, he means to blame his backwardness, and secondly the Russian help which was extended to the Chinese Communists, mainly in form of leadership, but also in material aid.

Respondent thinks it might be true that Communist China is more independent of Moscow than any other Communist country, but certainly not in every respect. Why it may be true is the fact they ~~are~~ Chinese number 400 million. This large number is an added importance to any part of the world.

Respondent says that he doesn't think there is not much to discuss about England and India, because there is not much of a relationship there. India is independent now, and later it will be ever more so.

Respondent says that the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was a disastrous, stupid move and utterly shortsighted and brutal.

On the other hand, he thinks that the Israeli ~~is~~ invasion was so much provoked by raids of suicide commandoes that it was understandable. After all, the ~~the~~ United Nations should have protected ~~the~~ Israel.

According to respondent, Egypt was not right to nationalize the Suez Canal, because it ought to have waited for three more years, he thinks, to arrive at the end of the ninety-nine years, when the Canal would come into their possession.

Respondent thinks that Egypt's events in Egypt had a disastrous effect on developments in Hungary during autumn, 1956. The attention of the U.S. was diverted and the rule of the United Nations became the solution

of the Suez problem. It might have used all its energies to force the Russians to withdraw from Hungary if there had been no Anglo-French invasion.

F. West Germany

Respondent thinks that the living standard in West Germany is high and rising.

When respondent is told that some people have said the Germans are dangerous and may start another war, he says that he is persuaded that there is no ground for fascism in Germany and they would not start a war if they are democratic. The people, as such, hate war.

Respondent thinks that the West Germans should have rearmed long ago and he thinks that they are stronger than either France or Britain. He doesn't know how long the term of service is in the West German army, but he guesses it is two years.

Respondent answers without hesitation that the Russian occupation force was much more distasteful to him than the German occupation force, although he did not think much of the Germans either.

Respondent found the Germans much better disciplined as to both officers and enlisted men than the Russians.

He thinks that the Hungarians found the Russians much more ~~un~~ unpopular than the Germans as an occupation force.

G. Western Europe

Respondent says that the British Labor party is okay. It fights for social advancement of the poor people.

He offers the following sequence according to ~~stages~~

standard of living: West Germany, Italy, Great Britain, Egypt, Greece, and the Soviet Union.

H. The United States

Respondent has this to say about the things that surprised him most ~~about things~~ in his first few months in the U.S.: "I was surprised at the unlimited freedom I saw everywhere I went. Even Hungarian Communist and Nazi papers were permitted. I wasn't happy about it, but I was glad that America means freedom so seriously. I was also surprised by the high living standard which is shared by the general population, and by the unthinkably high supply of commodities."

Respondent thinks that present foreign policy of the United States is much too slow and too conciliatory. It is not as resolute as it should be. In fact, he says, "It is led by the Soviet Union." By this, he explains, he means that The United States has only reactions to what the Soviet Union does. (Interviewer adds respondent thinks that the Soviet has the initiative.)

Respondent thinks that The United States should give aid to the present governments in Poland and Yugoslavia, and even Hungary.

Respondent thinks that there has been no change in his attitude about what the United States should do.

Asked about the American government's relations with the present government of Hungary, respondent says the U.S. should put much more pressure on the Hungarian government to cease or at least ease terror.

Respondent answers emphatically yes when asked whether people in Hungary would like to see Western visitors. "More and more," he says. All kinds of people,

but mainly journalists, he says, and news photographers to report on the rule of terror which is now taking place in Hungary.

Respondent favors giving these visitors a briefing before they go, and he favors Hungarians to do this briefing.

Respondent thinks that the people at home would like to receive Western books and periodicals, but he would like to dissuade anyone ~~from~~ from sending such to private people. He would send them to newspaper stands and libraries.

Respondent thinks that it would make a tremendous difference whether or not Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities as Western publications and visitors.

Respondent knows of the Marshall Plan and he says that it was motivated to save western Europe from Communism.

Respondent thinks that America's involvement in the Korean War meant that it was resisting aggression, and that it strived to liberate all of Korea. He also adds that Mac Arthur should by no means have been recalled, but should have been permitted to fight the Korean War until victory was achieved.

J. The United Nations

Respondent thinks that the U.N. could have effected the situation in Hungary decisively. Whatever it did was too little and too late, respondent feels. "It seems to me that the UN. is rather inclined to put out matches when houses are burning." Respondent has these suggestions to offer about what the UN action should have been during the autumn and winter of '56: "They should have sent

a fact-finding committee to Hungary immediately. If the Russian delegation had not complied with the resolutions of the UN it should have been kicked out until it did comply, and the veto power should have been abolished. If nothing helped otherwise, a police force should have been sent to Hungary just as a police force was sent to Egypt."

Respondent sees no hope for any effective U.N. action for Hungary if the basic change necessary in UN policy does not take place.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

Respondent thinks that the greatest living Hungarian is Cardinal Mydzenty, who has proved to be great man throughout all phases of his career.

B. About Imre Nagy, respondent says he ~~is~~ is no Communist and he is all right, an Hungarian patriot.

About Laszlo Rajk he says, "One Communist less in the world."

Eino Gero, he says, "was the worst of all."

About Kadar, "He is a good for nothing puppet."

President Eisenhower, "He loves peace so much that he walks the road of appeasement and basic mistakes."

About Secretary-General Hammerskjold, "He is a poor politician. He should have come to Hungary."

About Dulles, "He's a good statesman, but mostly to circumstances, he tries too hard with too little success."

About Eden, "It was good for him to disappear from the scenes because of his terrible Suez blunder!"

About Truman, "It's good that he's no longer in power. He should have been much more energetic in 1945, '46, and '47."

"Mikoyan is a Stalinist. Nehru, a cynically appeasing politician who is not a statesman. Generalissimo Chiang kei Shek, an energetic military leader."

"Ferenc Nagy proved that he is helpless in difficult situations and unworthy of leading Hungary.

Roosevelt, according to ~~the~~ Churchill's books, considered himself the friend and brother of Stalin. I am afraid that's what he was.

Chancellor Adenauer is a good statesman.

Stalin is the worst scoundrel.

Malenkov is another scoundrel.

Generalissimo Franco is a fascist who did not go out of fashion when the rest of them did.

Tito is a Communist.

Molotov is a ~~Stalinist~~ Stalinist.

Churchill is the greatest politician in the world."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

Speaking of the people who escaped from Hungary, respondent says, "People had enough of twelve years of tyranny, and they feared retaliation. Perhaps 10% to 15% of the escapees had to fear of personal retaliation, but they could not stand the atmosphere of terror any longer. Respondent says that most of the refugees are students and workers and intelligentsia, and most of them came from Budapest and the west of Hungary.

Respondent thinks that the ones who stayed behind are in the following groups: 1. People who were forced by family circumstances to stay behind to care for old folks or young children. 2. Those who could not manage to come across because the border was sealed off. 3. People who hoped for Russian withdrawal in the end because of United Nation pressure. 4. People who trusted that the U.N. could insure that no cruelties take place.

Respondent thinks that the people who stayed behind are heroic in offering passive resistance to Moscow's tyranny.

Respondent mentions this example of people whom he knew and decided to remain in Hungary even though they had the opportunity to escape: It was a friend and his wife who had old folks and several younger brothers and sisters. They felt they would be betraying them by abandoning them, so they stayed.

In respondent's opinion the people in Hungary think that those who left will try to enlist international help for Hungary, and they will prepare for future tasks by learning in the countries abroad.

Assuming they had a chance to come to the West, respondent estimates that only 10% of the Hungarians would stay in Hungary, and they would be the ones who would like to take advantage of the situation in a country which was depopulated and would try to grab as much material holdings as possible. The others would be the Communists who have nothing to gain in a free country. But, those who would leave would do so only if they had the hope of returning one day to a free, ~~socialist~~ democratic Hungary.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. RADIO

Respondent listened regularly to the following radio stations while he was in Hungary: Radio Free Europe, B.B.C., Madrid, the Voice of America, Paris, Jerusalem, Rome, and Ankara. The reception of B.B.C. was the best, second best was Paris, third best were Radio Free Europe, and Voice of America. Stations were almost always jammed, and Radio Free Europe was especially the target of jamming.

Respondent listened to Hungarian language radio broadcasts.

He listened usually daily to B.B.C. and Radio Free Europe. He told others what he heard, and they were his friends, and he told them daily.

Respondent listened to his own radio and sometimes to others. He listened sometimes alone and sometimes ~~with~~ with other's friends. It happened sometimes that ten and twelve people would be listening together to these broadcasts.

Respondent maintains that they played the radio pretty loud and they took no precautions when they listened to these broadcasts.

Respondent also heard about Western broadcasts second-hand, and he heard daily.

Respondent informs us that there was a real risk involved in ~~that~~ listening to these programs only to about 1954. Afterwards, the official Communist stand was: 'The reactionaries won't be influenced by the broadcasts because

they are reactionaries anyway, and the Communists won't be influenced because they are mature enough.'

Answering a probing question respondent admits that this stand was not official in the meaning of the word that it would have ever been announced. He just interprets, he says, the ~~xxxxxx~~ attitude of the ~~affixxx~~ officials in this fashion.

Respondent says that most of these stations were pretty good, but he points to the Spanish station which was fascist in its thinking and behavior.

He found the B.B.C. by ~~far~~ far the most objective. He judged its accuracy by comparing the events with what he heard. B.B.C. was so objective, respondent adds, that it also told bad things which happened in the West, and this was very much appreciated. And it always gave a comprehensive and ~~re-~~ reliable picture. It greatly contributed to people's forming objective opinions.

The greatest ^{effect} ~~aim~~ of these broadcasts, respondent holds, was that people were able to form realistic views.

Speaking of the role of the foreign radio stations during the revolution, respondent says that Radio Free Europe challenged the Russians in an irresponsible, demagogic way. After the Russians withdrew he heard Radio Free Europe broadcast those days in the following manner: 'How frightened the Russians are of the Hungarians, how yellow they retreat!' All in all, he says, Radio Free Europe was not as wise as the revolutionaries who ~~xxxxxx~~ exercised restraint and were conservative in their approach during the revolution, unbelievable as it sounds. Radio Free Europe encouraged people too much, respondent said, and he lays much

emphasis on this statement.

In spite of this outspoken criticism, respondent refutes such charges that Radio Free Europe helped incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help. He says the revolution was fanned into flame by the burning desire of the people to rid themselves of Communist oppression. But, at the same time, he is ready to admit that, while Radio Free Europe held out no real promises, it certainly made people feel that something of sizable ~~importance~~ importance is ~~farther~~ coming from the West. At least some of the readers on Radio Free Europe ought to have curbed their tongues, he says, and should have used guarded statements instead of bold, emotional appeals.

Respondent says without hesitation that Radio Free Europe should continue broadcasting into Hungary.

He would particularly suggest that for objective analysis of foreign policy news be given very elaborately, and that the way of life in America and other Western countries be analyzed and well presented. He thinks that straight news about economic and political events should be given. He thinks anti-Communist propaganda is all right, but it should not be exclamatory. Programs about life in Western Europe are very important, respondent suggested by himself without probing, and programs about life in the United States are also very important, as he suggested already without probing. Asked whether he has ~~any~~ any other suggestions to offer, respondent replies the Hungarian past should be presented. This is something, so far, completely neglected, and very, very important. Hungarian history should be regularly presented in an intelligent and interesting way. News about Hungarian immigrants, old and ~~new~~ alike, should be very abundantly given.

B. FEP leaflets

Respondent has already heard the initials NEM, and he knows what they stand for. The same is true of the Twelve Demands. He remarks that he still has the Twelve Demands

in a safe place at his home in Hungary.

C. About FEP leaflets

Respondent has seen about four or five FEP leaflets. He found some himself in County Somogy. Others were given to him.

They contained the explanation of NEM, the Twelve Points, and others pointed to the inner contradictions of Communism. They made it clear that the Hungarian immigrants were with the people of Hungary in their struggle for freedom. He saw such leaflets about every other month for some time. He passed the leaflets to others.

Respondent reports that the leaflets were spoken of quite extensively, even the Communist radio and papers mentioned them on several occasions.

About the risk involved in picking up Free Europe leaflets respondent says that the people who did so and were discovered were branded and their political files contained this very derogatory information. If kulaks were found to have leaflets, they were given harsh sentences, or if some other person who were somehow politically undesirable.

Respondent, however, reports that the risk did not deter any people from picking up leaflets, reading them, or talking about them. Since 1955 the danger has considerably lessened. At the same time he also maintains that less leaflets were found.

Respondent reports that he expected those leaflets, and whenever he saw one it caused him real joy reading them. He found them good encouragement people need in a losing fight.

He thinks that the leaflets served just as the radio, but they were something one could keep, not only in mind, but in his hands. They were considered valuable possessions. They assumed almost museum piece value, he says.

Respondent disclaims any knowledge about the role of leaflets during the revolution.

Respondent suggests that the Free Europe Committee keeps dropping leaflets into Hungary because they will be instrumental fostering passive resistance, and holding out hope in a hopeless fight.

Respondent suggests that pictures and cartoons should be particularly thought of when leaflets are edited. The basic fact should be stressed in these leaflets that neither Russian rule over Hungary, nor Communism itself will last forever.

D. Goals of Western groups

Respondent thinks that the American government helped Radio Free Europe give hope to the Hungarian people, and to keep their minds strong and alive. He says that people spoke about this surmise quite openly. They seemed to be convinced that it was the American government which is behind Radio Free Europe. Respondent doesn't think there are essential differences between various Western groups, except for the Spanish of whom he is afraid because he says they are fascists and so are their broadcasts.

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XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

In respondent's mind the following human things are the most important for a child to learn: moral ~~and~~ purity, religious knowledge, appreciation of fellow human beings, affection for one's family, no slavish attitude, but courageous habits, patriotism, but not exaggerated nationalism, understanding of other nations.

Respondent's views on discipline are focused on self-discipline. He doesn't believe in any drill-type of bringing up children. He believes in the dignity of the human person, and if a child makes a mistake, he should be helped to see the sources of his mistake, and ways to correct it. When asked about physical punishment, respondent said he would not discard it. A good makarenko-type slap in the face may be very useful, respondent holds, if applied at the right moment. When asked about Makarenko he explains that he is a Russian author who wrote the novel 'The _____ of the New Man', about Communist education. He, on one point, suggests what respondent just said, and they like this because otherwise Communists usually disclaim any preference for physical punishment for the children.

Respondent suggests that the treatment not be the same for boys and girls, but that boys should be punished by the father and girls by the mother. But, the main thing, he says, is affectionate relations between parents and child where full confidence reigns, and where punishment has only a secondary or even a ~~third~~ tertiary role. The primary role should be ~~given~~ given to persuasions and admonishments.

Asked to quote an example of a punishment, he quotes the following: he was nine years old and he lied on one occasion. He received from his father two slaps in the face, quite strong ones, he recalls, and he was told to be ashamed of ~~himself~~ himself. This sentence meant to him more than the slaps. There was a most important circumstance to be mentioned. He suggests: No affection was shown to him for days, and by this behavior of his parents he was forced to apologize so as to restore affectionate relations. Respondent thinks very highly of such a type of punishment and he says the ~~wikawiking~~ refusal of being affectionate to the child and treating him very coldly is utterly important.

Among the people respondent knew, it was usually the father in the family who punished the children, but even more important than that, he said, it was much depending upon who the person was who was affected by the situation, and who was near to react to the action of the child which was punished. It might have been the mother; it might have been the father. In some cases it depended on the sex of the child. In some cases on the age of the child. But, he thinks, there was no difference in social classes.

The change in this during the last ten years was that parents, on the whole, showed less attention to their children than before.

It seems to respondent that most parents would abandon physical punishment for boys at about 14, and for girls at about 12.

As to other types of punishment, respondent cares to mention censure above all, and reprimand are applied with no limit, and he

reminds us that it was not unknown in Hungary that even in the presence of the fiancée, people were reprimanded in a friendly but resolute way for their mistakes. Respondent thinks that this does not vary by social class.

Respondent recalls that Communism effected a change in so far as less punishment is meted out and people are more lenient and even negligent. But, he says, sticks are still not abandoned. There is not no change in the age limit when physical punishment is abandoned, he thinks.

When respondent tries to recall the ~~various~~ techniques ~~of~~ discipline before Communism, he mentions that physical punishment was actually not allowed in ~~free~~ pre-Communist Hungary, but that it was widely practiced even by priests and preachers. He recalls, for instance, one particularly harsh example when his priest threw a yardstick at one of the boys because of lack of knowledge in an instance when he thought this lack was due to negligence.

The techniques of discipline during the Communist regime changed, respondent reports. Techniques applied during the Communist regime were, for instance, no leading roles or special roles in the pioneer organization, no tickets for movies, 'room arrest' in a dormitory, which meant to be pinned to one's room on a Sunday and not allowed to go to town, or, for instance, the prohibition to wear the distinctive mark of the Pioneers red kerchief and the wearing of a blue or green kerchief instead.

Respondent tells us that the characteristics he values most in a friend are the following: Agreeability, understanding, and helpfulness.

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Subject: 23-M

Interviewer: Julius Nyikos

Respondent is about 1/2 feet, 10 inches, or at the most a little over 5 feet tall.

He has a somewhat disproportionately large head, but a proportionate body, which is slender, and very quick in motion.

He has large light brown eyes; a large forehead; and a somewhat pointed chin; and a very little over the average size pointed nose.

Respondent has thin, loose (straggling?) brown hair. This loose hair seems to resist all smoothing (combing?) attempts. At the top of the back of his head he has a cowlick.

His face is either very attentive or it is smiling.

He has a very quick walk, and is always ready to run somewhere if haste is necessary.

I am probably right in assuming that it is not only I, but also the average person, on whom he gives the impression of being a very bright boy, who is always interested in acquiring more information and knowledge. His large inquiring eyes seem to take in all that he sees, and to find what he sees usually pleasant, while at the same time he is grasping accurately the situation on the more important or interesting things that he observes. I might say that he has the eyes of a smart and faithful dog, who looks affectionately and thankfully at people.

Perhaps affection characterizes him even more than brightness. He speaks of things not only with a profound and sincere interest, and a capacity to ~~absorb which is enormous, but also with a genuine affection and a great understanding.~~ absorb which is enormous, but also with a genuine affection and a great understanding.

All that I have said so far would seem to make him appear like a very young, large-size ~~XXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ dwarf from out of fairyland, or perhaps an elf, because he is so ~~XXXXX~~ cheerful ~~X~~ and benign.

He is unusually alert and attentive at all times. He is extremely eager, but never aggressive.

He speaks with great candor and frankness, with equally great enthusiasm, and some childish innocence. Inventiveness and openmindedness characterize his way of talking, on things and events.

By "inventiveness", I certainly didn't mean to imply that he invents or makes up anything in his account of things. I just meant to describe his attitude or manner, which is reflected in his narration. His diction is amazingly clear and graceful, and so is his voice.

If I did not know him well enough, and had had no reports from Bard ~~XXXXXXXX~~ College that he is completely reliable, I would be tempted to question the authenticity of his ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ story, particularly as regards his knowledge of various persons, and events. But I feel that I can vouch for the ~~XXXXX~~ truthfulness of his narrative.

I think every professor ~~XXXXX~~ would be happy to have a student like respondent. In fact, it is hard for me to imagine him as anything else than a student. His whole self is so much bent on ~~XXXXX~~ learning and is so happy with almost everything that comes along. He is an ideal student type, both in acquiring knowledge, and as a classmate, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ because he is very friendly, and has excellent manners.

I think also that respondent is a product of a society that is becoming increasingly classless. It is hard to imagine a person whose manner of dealing with people would be more democratic than is the respondent's.

Inclined as I am to muse on what a student may become or turn out in the future, it is hard for me to imagine him as anything else than a student ~~XXXXX~~ as I said a few paragraphs back. But perhaps I could picture him as a psychiatrist, because he has such a profound interest in people, along with ~~XXXXX~~/affection and understanding.

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THE END