

PERSONAL CHARACTER DESCRIPTION.

Background. Respondent received good education both at school and at home. At a very early age he experienced the evils of Communism ~~which~~ through his family. However, despite ~~all~~ the mistreatments and injustice, his anti-Communism is neither blind nor subjective. In fact, respondent was most objective and well-balanced in many respects.

Character. Respondent is obviously not an intellectual genius, but should be brilliant in the field of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ technical sciences. I tried to go ahead in that field and was doing the right thing. This would have allowed him to secure his material existence without making any concessions as far as his ideological and religious thoughts were concerned. He is not contaminated by any Communist ideas and form his own opinions. Respondent should one of those who will be able to adjust themselves successfully to this country and to render valuable services in their fields either in the USA or in an independent and free Hungary.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE QUESTION.

First, the Americans should know that the revolution in Hungary was not a movement which aimed to create another kind of Communism. It aimed at establishing, after ten years of Russian domination, a free and independent country which wanted to maintain friendly relations with all countries of the world. It must be understood that unlike in Russia, Communism can never be imposed in Hungary, and that Hungarian peasants will always refuse to accept collectivization.

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

In October, 1956, I was a first year student at the Miners' Academy at Miskolc. The Academy was built on the Russian pattern, the building was very modern, but of poor quality. The former Miners' Academy was at Sopron, and the regime wanted to transfer it completely to Miskolc. There was a continual debate about this, as the professors and students preferred Sopron, and the Party and the PC secretaries preferred Miskolc.

On October 20 and on the following days, the students of Szeged, Pécs and Budapest made known their demands. On October 20, the mining students held a meeting to discuss the Sopron question. Their number was 200. They received a phone call from Szeged asking them to join the new student organization, the MEFESZ. After an animated debate, the Party secretary convinced the students not to join. The Communists had always a strong influence at Miskolc. The students of Szeged were very disappointed by our refusal.

On October 21, at 3 P.M. a student Parliament convened at the Technical Academy in order to discuss the problem created by the establishment of the MEFESZ. Some 1,400 and all the professors were present. All the demands of the Technical Institute of Budapest were approved. The students began to raise their voice, denounced the exploitation of the uranium mines by the Russians. They asked for the publication of the economic figures and data, for the restoration of the traditional Hungarian army. The meeting ended at 2 A.M. after delegates were chosen to go to Budapest to represent the Academy at the Budapest students' council. I was to go, too, but we never left Miskolc.

On October 22, our university weekly newspaper was published with all the demands. Our 1,500 copies were hardly enough. We sent copies to the smelter at Diosgyőr and to the miners of the various mines. At Diosgyőr, the first student delegate was slapped by the Party secretary, and the manager of the factory said that the workers would not come out. I want to add here that the University at Miskolc was full of Party secretaries and of informers.

Meanwhile at Miskolc, a demonstration of sympathy for the students of Budapest took place. The people shouted "Down with Gerö!", and pulled down the red stars from several public buildings. Gypsies joined the crowd, playing on their violins, while the police watched ~~nikin~~ without interfering. Several national flag appeared with the Communist coat of arms cut out. On that day, the students held no meeting, and the Party secretary convinced them to make no silent demonstration, either. He said violence would break out for which the students will be held responsible.

October 23. There was no students' meeting on that day, but everybody wanted to know what was going on in Budapest. The secondary school students came to see us, and in the evening, we held a students' meeting. After 8 P.M. we got news that tear-gas bombs had been thrown into the crowd by the AVH in Budapest. But the Party secretary did everything to convince us that it was the work of diversionsists. Two groups of high-school students, aged 15 to 18, decided to go to Budapest, and left on two trucks. An AVH truck went immediately after them, and brought them back. The students were taken to the AVH prison, and the news spread through the whole city. At 11 P.M. a huge crowd gathered before the prison. At midnight, it learned that the statue of Stalin had been pulled down in Budapest and that there was shooting before the radio building. The crowd shouted for hours before the prison. The children were let out through a back door, and they mingled with the crowd which continued to believe that they were held prisoner inside.

At 4 A.M. the people began to throw stones and to break the windows but the secret policemen didn't dare to shoot. The children began to climb on the walls of the building. It was 6 A.M. when I arrived before the building, just to see an army officer, whose child was missing, shoot down an AVH-man who fell out of the window. The AVH commander, colonel Gati, alias Grossman, fired into the air. Then the secret policemen threw down a hand-grenade which killed 26 children. The oldest one was the 15-year old daughter of a miner.

The news spread immediately, and soon, some 3,000 miners arrived. They had disarmed the factory guards and were all armed with rifles and dynamite. They took position and began to throw dynamite inside the building. Several explosions followed and amongst the smoke, a civilian ran out. The crowd began to beat him but soon realized that he was the bakery delivery man, stranded in the building since the night before.

The miners ran into the building and pulled out with their miners' picks some 15 secret policemen. They attached them behind trucks, pulled them through the streets of the city, and finally hanged them on the monument to the Soviet soldiers. It was found out later that most of them had escaped; they surrendered later, when the revolution triumphed. The children were buried on Thursday and Friday. The students took over the cars and trucks of the AVH and used them a great deal during the revolution.

Order was re-established at Miskolc, and the students were entrusted with its maintenance. When a disorderly mob started some shooting, we took their weapons away from them. The students also went out to the neighboring villages to help organize the workers' and peasants' councils.

The few Russians who were at Miskolc did nothing. One of their jeeps was turned over, and the officers fled. They were in such small number that they would have been annihilated. They remained quiet till November 4. The Hungarian army sided with the revolution. But the two main organs which had authority at Miskolc were the Workers' Council of Miskolc and the Students' Parliament. There was no more shooting between October 26 and November 3, only the AVH men were hunted.

A) Before violence broke out, I didn't expect more than economic concessions. I didn't expect the Communist apparatus of power could be thrown over. I hated the Communists - our family was banished for 1 year - and I was not afraid of anything.

During the demonstrations and the fighting, the workers were extremely well disciplined and organized, and let nobody join their ranks. This applies to a lesser extent to the students, too. In the crowd, there were men and women, children, young and old alike.

What lead the crowd was its hate against Communism, its dissatisfaction because of the economic difficulties. There was no formal leadership. When the students met., the DISZ members wanted to direct the meeting. They were shouted down, and the students chose new representatives. But these representatives were not leaders.

B) In my opinion, fighting could not be avoided, because the AVH and the Communist regime could not surrender to an unarmed crowd. The regime could have tried not to shoot at the people, but then it would have been overthrown.

During the revolution, we called ourselves national guards. I heard the word "freedom fighter" from the pilot of a plane which used to land every day on the Miskolc airfield, after surveying the Russian troop movements.

At Miskolc, the fighters got most of their arms from the AVH stores.

The main organ of authority was the workers' council, with the members elected by the workers themselves. An actor was its chairman.

As for the over-all outcome of the revolution, we believed that it had triumphed the moment we saw that the Russians were unable to re-establish order in Budapest. I knew immediately that it was Gerő who had called in the Russian troops.

III-C The re-invasion.

The Russians had left Budapest, but the crew of the observation plane told us that they had stopped outside the city. We used to patrol the country-side and noticed continual movements of Russian columns. On November 2, I was at Eger, and I was convinced the Russians would not attack again. My fiancée's father, who had never believed the Communists, was of a different opinion. As for me, I thought the Russians would accept a compromise and would get out of the country.

On November 4, shelling woke me up at 6 A.M. in the students' home. The Russian infantry was attacking the university. The fighting did not last more than 20 minutes, the time we ran out of ammunition. The Russians had tanks, hand-grenades and very modern weapons. We were chased out of the home, and the Russian soldiers began to look for Americans and Fascists. They didn't believe that it was the students who had been firing at them, and they said they came to rescue Nasser. We were all standing in pyjamas, 3 of us were dead, and many wounded. The Russians took away two truck-loads of dead and wounded.

The army barracks surrendered without firing a single shot. It was treason. The air-force wanted to attack the Russians, but was told not to provoke them. The soldiers were sent home in many places.

The Russians searched the students' home, then they let us go. With some friends, I took a jeep and we went to a mining district. On November 7, we attacked the AVH who guarded the radio station at Lillefüred. During the night, we shot at Russian cars and trucks. We also gave dynamite to the railwaymen who used it to free a train-load of deportees near Nyiregyháza. The Russians began to comb the woods, killing the miners and the students they could encircle. We had to hide.

On November 29, I went by car to Budapest and stayed two days at home. I returned to my old working place and was hired immediately as a mechanic. I got office paper, forged a letter which sent me to the Western border to collect the abandoned trucks of my enterprise. With the help of that documentation, I was able to slip through all posts of control and I crossed the Austrian border with my truck on December 4.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

The revolution won in Hungary and Communism collapsed after two days. I hoped that if we had a government with a man like Imre Nagy, who was willing to follow the demands of the people, the West would support him economically. Unfortunately Nagy could not lead and was too slow. I don't think he would have won in the free elections, but I don't forget that my father owes him the end of his deportation.

After November 4, there were many rumors of Western help. I hoped some planes would drop Western weapons. I met no Hungarian officers from the West. In brief, the West talked a lot, but did nothing.

The radio broadcasts didn't promise any help. But we had received balloons before with leaflets, and I thought we would receive also weapons, and not only the iron lung flown by the West German Red Cross. We needed especially bazookas. If the people of Budapest would have had them, not a single Russian tank would have left the city.

A. Respondent's social background. My father was a forestry engineer at Besztercebánya, for a large enterprise, and earned 1,000 pengős per month. In 1947, he went to work for a smaller enterprise. In 1951, he was interned, with the only explanation that he was an "undesirable element". He was freed in 1953. He fell ill and can't work any more. My mother works as a cook since 1953.

My father graduated from the University of Sopron, my mother got her secondary school diploma. We had our own house which was taken away by the state in 1951.

B. Social classes in Hungary.

1. First, there is the peasantry, divided in several groups: The kulaks, i.e. the richer peasants, who could not do much during the revolution; the middle peasants, and the collective farm peasantry, who were both very dissatisfied as they lived in a deep misery.

The industrial workers come next, they were well organized, had many intelligent people in their ranks, and constituted an important social group.

The members of the former middle-class; most of them lost their former jobs and did physical work. It was a spineless group; some of them became CP members for financial reasons.

The last aristocrats, who were black-mailed by the AVH and often forced to become informers.

The special class formed by the government officials, the Party secretaries and the secret policemen.

I lived for two years with the peasants when we were banished. Then I worked with workers. Thus I can say I knew practically all classes.

The intelligentsia was very difficult to define. A worker's son who becomes an engineer can't be called an intellectual. Until two years ago, the writers' behavior was wrong, as they were the mouthpieces of the regime. In brief, all classes were represented in the ranks of the intelligentsia, and there was no such class consciousness as among the peasants and the workers.

I belong to the former middle-class and today classify myself among the intellectuals.

2. Reaction to Communism of the different classes.

The aristocrats hated Communism as lost everything and had no chances to go ahead. And also because Communism hated the aristocrats.

In the middle-class, a small group did not get out of life what it expected. These dissatisfied people hoped to do better under Communism, like some writers, for ex. The others - lawyers, former small artisans whose stores had been nationalized - all hated Communism.

When the Russian came in, the Communists promised a better life to the people. A small fraction of the workers believed them, but most of them were Social-Democrats. After a few years, they learned the truth, realized that the standard of living was lower than before, and they hated the regime for having cheated and exploited them.

All the peasants without exception hated Communism. Only the collective farm managers could be exempted from this feeling.

The hardest hit by Communism was the upper class, i.e. the aristocracy, which was practically wiped out. The middle-class also, as it received a very unjust treatment.

C. There was no peasant who did not have a relative who was not a worker. These workers were angry at the peasants because of their high prices. Under Communism the upper class came much closer than before to the proletariat. The workers and the peasants were a little jealous to see the intellectuals continue to go ahead. The Communists mixed up the different social classes, with the result that they brought them closer to each other.

3. E The chances for an individual to go ahead.

1. First condition was to have a good cadre file. On the scientific line knowledge was also recognized. On the political line, one had to sell one's soul, and say what the party wanted to hear. A few scientists and professors, even with bad cadre files, could go ahead as they were irrefutable. Until 1947, these middle- and upper-class intellectuals (doctors, lawyers, etc.), could continue a career. In 1948 everything was nationalized, and the state took control over everything. Every intellectual and scientific career depended on the person's political views. In that respect, the darkest period was 1950-51. In 1953, there was a relaxation, and the small craftsmen could go ahead again on a limited scale. There was a set back in 1954-55.

The family origin played a big role. It was showed on the cadre file by the name worker, peasant, intelligentsia, X and miscellaneous. The X-s were given physical jobs, the miscellaneous, nothing. Those of workers' origin were the most favored. But the workers did not become the men of the regime.

2. Those who did not respect the principle of "to live and to let live" could go ahead. In other words, the turn-coats. Among the decent people, only a small percentage could go ahead, this only because of their knowledge.

members

F. The ~~members~~ of the AVH and the Party members earned much more than what they deserved. They were the privileged ones.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

A. Effects of Communism on family life.

Before Communism, in Hungary, the man worked and his wife stayed at home and brought up the children. Under Communism, the salaries were so low that the wife had to work, too. When mother and father worked together, that was not too bad. But this was rarely the case. The children had to be taken early in the morning to the nurseries. If the parents worked at different places, they hardly could see each other and were too tired in the evening. Sometimes the husband worked in another town for a long time. This resulted often in love affairs on both sides. At Szatmar, free love was widespread, and it affected everybody who worked there. The children in the nurseries, and later at school, did not receive any religious instruction.

Only the peasants who remained attached to their land were not affected by these changes, but not those who actually became workers followed the workers' pattern. Most affected was the middle-class, engineers, technical workers, etc.

The apartment was also an important factor, and also the tiredness caused by over-work. Among the workers, the changes affected the children more than the mothers, as the latter had already worked before.

B. Changes in the way children are brought up.

1. Before Communism, state and church were separated. Today, the church is persecuted, and only a minimal fraction of the children gets religious instruction. The Pioneers, which replaced the Boy-scouts, is a bad organization which does not educate men, but tries to indoctrinate the youth. After 14, one went to the DISZ, which was rather a place of meeting. The parents didn't dare to send their daughters to the Pioneers or to the camps of the DISZ, as the morals were rather loose.

2. Changes in the extent children obey or disobey their parents.

This question is difficult to answer. But one can say that Communism diminished the respect of the children for their parents. It bolstered individual accomplishments, and many children didn't listen to their parents. The parents had neither the time nor the energy to look after the children who were infected by Communist demagoguery. The children became rougher, refused to listen to their parents and did as it pleased them. In some schools, the children simply refused to obey. In the Franciscans' school, we were given a strict discipline. But the revolution showed that the youth was not completely lost, and that it still possessed intelligence and love for the country.

There were clashes of opinion between the two classes of ages. My father was too much in favor of the old form of capitalism, while I favored a different type of social system which would have given more to the workers. A girl cousin of mine entered the CP without being convinced, only to be able to go ahead as a chemist. I never spoke to her as I thought she had sold her honor.

Conservatism was a tradition in Hungary. The atheist regime tried to attack this. Thus the children heard one thing at school, another at home, and didn't know which one was correct. Before the revolution I thought the school had been successful. The revolution showed me that the Communists had failed and that they did ~~not~~ not succeed to inoculate the youth with their poison. Nationalism was one of the reasons why they failed. And the Russians had made themselves hate because of the imposed cult of their "genius".

C. Marriage, courtship and sex patterns.

1. There was still courtship. Marriages were often held in the church, even by Party members, who would go to a different church. Divorces could be obtained for 2,000 forints, but there were also many good and beautiful marriages and families. The main handicaps here were the working conditions and the lodging.

2. There was no legal prostitution in Hungary. Women were independent but had to work just as hard as men.

^{of the regime/}
The ~~official~~ attitude/was that everybody should solve his or her sexual problems as well as he or she could. The outside attitude of the regime was one of bigotry. Lightly dressed women were fined on the streets. Nothing about sexual matters was written in the papers. The scenes with nudes were censured from the French and Swedish movies.

D. Friendship.

1. Effects of Communism.

~~Under Communism,~~ Friendship was spiced with interests. When one got into trouble, one did not have many friends left. But the people who shared the same fate became very fond of each other. The unhealthy friendships disappeared under Communism, the real and serious ones developed.

2. I had no friend who ever joined the CP. If he joins, I would break with him if he is harming others. If he is not a convinced member, I still won't like him, but I will blame him less.

One cannot continue a friendship keeping politics out of it, because politics play a big role in somebody's convictions.

D. Crime and alcoholism.

There was an increase in a certain variety of crimes, because the people simply had to commit them. I'm not speaking of murders or other major crimes, but of embezzlements and of thefts from the factories. Many people felt that they had the right to do it, as they were robbed by the state, and reasoned the following way: "To rob a thief is not a sin". Nothing was said about crimes in the newspapers.

One says that the crime rate in women went up, but I don't know this myself. I know that the police is corrupted. For a few thousands forints, one could buy permits of residence from certain police colonels. Many of them were caught, often because they denounced each other. But the number of bribes was much more higher.

2. I think drinking has diminished. The wines were exported and the liquors were of bad quality.

3. Juvenile delinquency.

The "jampecs" tried to imitate the US in their way of dressing, and in their taste for negro jazz music. They exaggerated the dress, and looked just awful. They were children of workers, unintelligent young people from the suburbs. The regime was very angry at them because they showed sympathy for the US. They worked rather irregularly. I didn't like them at all. Their age was between 15 and 25. The parents couldn't do a thing about their behavior.

There were also the work-shirkers who, with some of the jampecs, didn't want to work. The Communists called this way all those who refused to work for them or to perform the work they had been given.

VII. RELIGION.

A. Effects of Communism on religious life.

Communism had bad effects on the youngest generation, but in general, not on the religious life as such.

Many people went to church, and a religious procession would gather more people than before. At the Midnight Mass of Christmas, there were more people outside the church than inside. In my opinion, Communist persecution brought ~~many~~ many people closer to God than before.

The younger generation was given no religious education or principles. The schools of the Church were first nationalized, but in 1951, 8 of them were re-opened under public pressure. The religious instruction, first also suppressed, was re-introduced if both parents asked for it. A Franciscan priest who used to preach very openly was arrested in 1954. There were informers in every church.

The Roman Catholic Church was hardest hit, because it offered the strongest resistance to Communism and had the biggest unity. In the villages, the priest had more prestige than the Communist officials and the Party secretary just could not stand it.

The Calvinist and Lutheran churches made concessions to the state. I don't know if the Jewish faith was persecuted or not.

B. Religion is an important factor in my life, because it agrees with my outlook on life and on things. There is a limit for humans after which there are no answers in earthly words and measurements. Religion is an equal factor in my life than in the life of my parents. I think I am more religious than my own class of age, and the same as the average population, i.e. neither bigotted nor atheist.

I went to confess and to attend mass regularly, in different churches.

C. The churches should enjoy complete independence and freedom to function. They should have as many schools as they want. But I am opposed to big estates owned by the churches which should be supported by the faithful.

I don't approve the banning of movies or books by the church. A state organ could perform this work.

I don't want the church to take part in any political activity, and this applies also to any religious personality.

D. The Jewish minority.

1. I don't know if the Jewish minority has been also hurt by Communism, but I don't think so.

2. There was a political joke in Hungary: "There are two types of Jews: those who want to leave the country, and those who do not let them out" (i.e. Rakosi and Gerö). In the first group, were the businessmen, jewellers, etc. who lost their fortune under Communism. In the second were the ~~members~~ members of the top leadership, such as Rakosi, Gerö, Las, Revai, etc.

The Jews behaved stupidly. Many came back from Germany after having suffered many hardships. They wanted to play the leading roles and to get good positions. The Communists let them play the first roles and this made them responsible for many dirty things. Many Jews were CP members. Those I knew told me that the Russians had freed them from the Nazis, and that they could be only grateful to them and to the Communists. Other Jews recognized that the Russians were not better than the Nazis.

As for the refugees, I only know that the Jewish relief organization was the quickest, and had such money. At a time when many refugees received almost nothing, the Jews were given a much better treatment

3. Attitudes during the revolution.

We had at Miskolc in our class a big Communist named Paul Weiss whose mother was Party secretary in a big factory in Budapest. During the revolution, he took a gun and stood guard with the other students. But he was afraid of everybody, and never expressed his opinion about the events. When a Jewish lawyer of Miskolc was threatened, we put a 4-students guard before his house. I can say here that there were no religious differences during the revolution.

4. I don't think the Jews have any reasons to fear an independent Hungary, because an independent Hungary will be neither Fascist nor Nazi. Only those Jews - and Christians too - who served the hated Communist regime have reasons to be afraid.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH:

A. By Hungarian youth, I mean the young people from 10 to 25: public and secondary school, university students, young workers and peasants. The latter were not a serious factor during the revolution because of their dispersion.

B. The youth was the spiritual leader of the revolution. But there were no individual leaders. The writers' debate, which was the work of a fraction of the Party, was something different. The youth wanted to live a better life and was embittered by all the injustices of the past. Before the revolution, the first role was played by the writers. In the demonstrations the young students held the first place. During the fighting, the industrial workers played an important part, with the miners and the university students, in Budapest and at Miskolc.

Why did the youth take the lead, rather than the old people? At our university meeting, when asked for their opinion, one of the professors, the dean of the Faculty of Engineering, said: "I'm with you. But I have also to think of my family. You may laugh at me or despise me, but I am afraid!" The youth was much more fearless and enthusiastic, because of its age.

All the old people were amazed to see the revolution win. But after November 4, some of them said they had known before that it would all end badly... In any case, many old people fought along with the youth.

C. The schools and the educational system.

The majority of the teachers were anti-Communists. It almost hurt us to know that they had to tell us things it was obvious they didn't believe in. But the teachers were ~~xxx~~ poorly paid and were at the mercy of the regime. If they wanted to live, they had to give in.

The Franciscans who taught us were completely frank and told us always the truth in history, literature and especially, religion.

The branches studied in secondary school were good, and I think the requirements were higher than here in the US. The quality of the instruction was excellent, as all the teachers had already taught before Communism.

Until 1956, the family origin was very important in order to be admitted to university. The proletarians were favored, and only a few intellectuals with excellent notes could get in. Then there was a relaxation. The regime realized that the students it admitted would not constitute an adequate intellectual elite. This was my luck and I was also admitted in the fall of 1956.

At Miskolc, during the revolution, we found the files of the AVH, with all the cadres files. We discovered that several assistant teachers and students ~~xxxx~~ worked for the AVH. We also found out that one of the faculty deans had refused three times to work for the secret police.

As for the quality, ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the education, its level went down after 1948, and the result was that many incompetent and stupid engineers were able to graduate from the universities. The quality raised in 1956, together with the requirements. We only had 5 or 7 hours of Marxism-Leninism out of 37 hours.

E. The Communist indoctrination of youth.

1. The Communists spent much money, time and effort to indoctrinate the younger generation, and used it all in vain. All those who went to university were on scholarships, and the secondary schools were free, too. Moreover, the youth was offered all the advantages possible in the ~~xxxx~~ field of sports.

2. The Communists failed because youth could not take in, or rather could not digest Communism. Young people's eyes were open, and they were able to see, besides all the nice things, all the crimes of the regime. A fraction of the young intellectuals was neglected and not allowed to continue its studies. I have never met one single young man who was a convinced and faithful Communist during all the time I lived in Hungary.

IX: MAJOR DISSATISFACTION! AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE.

A. Respondent's main dissatisfactions.

My father was thrown out of his job, and interned, our family house was confiscated, and we were banished with my mother and grand-mother. I wanted to study at Gyöngyös, but was told that the children of the former exploiting class were not admitted. In 1955, I was refused admission to the university, though I had completed my secondary studies with nothing but excellent notes.

B) People in Hungary were complaining the most about the informers' system which caused much fear and uncertainty. Then about the looting of the country by the Russians which created the very low standard of living.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Respondent's and his family's standard of living.

1. I earned 1,500 forints a month, and my mother 1,000. With this income of 2,500 forints, we had 5 persons to support, as both my grand-mothers lived with us.

We spent some 1,800-2,000 forints on food, paid a rent of 100 forints for two rooms and a kitchen (in 1953, we had to pay 400 forints for one room). The transportation to work and back cost 100 forints, and we were glad when we could spend 200-300 forints on clothing..

I considered a "luxury" a better diet and better clothing or more entertainment.

Before 1945, my father earned 1,000 pengös and supported five persons. My mother didn't work. We lived in a 4-room villa that we owned, from 1935 till 1951. Then we had to live for two years in a small pantry for two years at Gyöngyöstarján. Since 1948, our general standard of living did nothing but go down. It was at its highest in 1948, its lowest in 1951-53.

2. I knew an engineer who had sold in time two movies and had bought gold with the money. He earned 2,000-3,000 forints a month, his married daughter was also an engineer and earned well, too. They had an old car -but it was a car - spent their weekends on lake Balaton, had a five-room apartment.

3. The trade agreements signed with the Soviets account for the Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years. The agreements were signed on the basis of 4 forints for 1 ruble. Officially, 1 was 11,20 forints or 2,50 rubles (instead of 20 rubles). Thus the Soviets ordered a ship from Hungary, paid it in rubles at the rate of the dollar, and got it for 1/10~~th~~ of its real value!

What the state gathered in went out of the country, and the level of the standard of living continued to fall down. The government, which was the puppet of Moscow, did not do a thing about it.

B. Respondent's income.

I earned 1,500 forints per month. After the various deductions - peace-loan, old-age, trade-union - I had some 1,250 forints left.

C. Retail prices.

1. The prices of the free market were much higher, as the peasants took advantage of the situation. However, the quality was somewhat better. An egg cost 80 fillers in the state store, the peasants sold it for 2 forints. Lard, 35 forints for 2 lbs. versus 120 forints (in the winter of 1951), bacon, 45 forints versus 100 (winter 1951). The peasants sold illegally wine for 5 forints a quart. The state bought the same wine for 90 fillers and resold it for 18-20 forints. These figures are rather extreme.

Shoes cost 500 forints in a state store, 1,000 forints in the private sector.

The differences were variable. They were big in 1951. The prices were the same everywhere when the state stores were well supplied. For ex., for two months, there were no brooms in Budapest. On the free market, they were available, but cost 5 times more than usually.

2. There were changes of quality, when the government could not sell some export items and had to throw it on the internal market. There was always good quality, but it was impossible to buy it, especially as far as textiles were concerned. There were no relations between quality and prices.

3. There were frequent shortages of consumers' goods, like lard and meat. This was due to bad organization rather than lack of the produces.

Spare parts were very difficult to get, even for home-made appliances.

There was spoilage of food, not by the individuals, but by the state. For instance, the grapes were gathered and the trucks went to pick them up two days later.

4. Meat, lard, lemons, motorcycles ~~etc~~ were especially in short supply.

5. Cars were simply unavailable, only for doctors. A 900 cc. 3 cylinders car cost 40,000 forints. The state imported some 500 of them, but there were 5,000 doctors. Gas was rationed, the monthly ration was 4 gallons.

An electric razor, a motorcycle were "luxuries".

6. The black-market.

It existed everywhere and for everything, as soon as one manufactured, i.e. sold something without the permission of the state (shoes, dollars, lard, motorbicycles, etc.) The black-market was practically imposed on the people. The prices were not always high. Punishment varied from a few months up to 5 years. If it was a kulak, his property could be confiscated, and the man jailed for 15 years. The Communists were the main black-marketers.

D. Working conditions.

1. As a car mechanic, I worked 24 hours out of every 36. Thus I worked some 70 hours a week, sometimes 80 hours. The minimum was 250 hours a month, and then I would have earned 880 forints and a 20% allowance. I often had 400 hours a month.

I chose this job myself, because I liked the machines.

My relations with my co-workers were good and friendly. With the superiors, my relations were cold, but good. It depended on the person. In general they were feared. Our enterprise employed some 500-600 workers, 70 administrative staff and 10 secretaries who did nothing. The assistants of the boss knew their job. The boss himself was a former car-washer but a good Party member.

I was not satisfied with my job as I wanted to go to university.

2.

My fellow-workers were very good at their jobs, and had a good technical knowledge.

3.

The vacation program. Their villas were taken from their owners and the workers were sent there to rest. Protection helped very often, but within 3 years, everybody would go somewhere on vacation.

The medical insurance was good. One was sent to a public hospital. But there was a terrible shortage of drugs.

Pensions were very low. The regime let the old people live in misery, and their relatives had to support them. Many old people committed suicide.

E. Respondent's opinions on country life and agriculture.

1. I would have preferred to live in the country. I hate all cities, Budapest like New York. Cities had a better situation from the economic point of view. Also politically, because one could mingle and get lost in the crowd. In the villages, everybody knows everybody. The country workers had always a better food than the city workers.

2. Opinion on collectivization.

In my opinion, collective agriculture as such is not bad, but it is realized the wrong way. I would favor a co-operative of farmers set up voluntarily, and not an autocratic institution imposed by the state. Such co-operatives could buy machinery and cultivate rationally. I'm not in favor of small pieces of land, and also not of too large ones over 1,000 holds (1,400 acres). This would mean many cotters who would have no land.

The medium-size peasants were those who opposed more strongly collectivization (5-15 holds- i.e. 7-21 acres). The kulaks were not even accepted.

In 1953, some collective farms were dissolved because they went bankrupt. During the revolution, many were dissolved. The peasants are independent minded and don't like to receive orders. They were cheated and didn't like the Communist economic system. In Borsod county, a very few collective farms were without deficit.

3. As an agricultural worker, I would chose life on a private farm.

4. In an independent Hungary, I would like to see a system based on small peasant economy. Where the members agree, a system of co-operatives could be established, for the purchase of machinery or cattle, but not for property of land. The role of the state would be only a legal and administrative one.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

A. 1. In my family, nobody belonged to any party, but if I remember well, my father voted for the Smallholders. I was only 13 at that time.

Before 1948 I thought that the Communist Party was a friend of the Russians whom were also Communists. I also knew that Béla Kun and his friends were a bunch of Communist rascals.

B. 1. The Communist Party members.

Since 1948, one can't speak any more of party politics, as there was only one party. Those who joined the Party were mostly careerists. Take for ~~xxx~~ ex. the actress Violetta Ferrari, who didn't have really to join, but did it for financial interests. Maybe 10% of the CP members were convinced Communists. Most of those I knew had other reasons to belong to the Party. Some people who leaned toward the left were not even members, either because they were disillusioned, or for other reasons.

In my opinion, those who were "forced" to join the Party were not so innocent. I knew many people who lived in misery, but did never enter the Party.

In public, the CP members usually made pompous declarations. But among their close friends, they said just the opposite. Some were expelled from the Party for not playing well the game. On the other hand, some Communists who became disillusioned nevertheless remained in the Party. There are also the fanatics, like Marosan, who in 1946, during a speech at the Ganz factory, attacked his own mother for going to church.

2. Changes in Party policies.

When there were changes, we knew that there was a struggle inside the Party, and that the whole affair had its origin in orders received from Moscow. We analysed the situation through the Communist press and the Western radio broadcasts, and this gave us a better picture. My own explanation of the struggles inside the Party was that every Hungarian Communist leader had somebody in Moscow who supported him. Thus his position was usually linked with that of his Russian protector. In 1953, Imre Nagy moved forward because Rakosi lost Stalin's support, and ~~xxx~~ because Malenkov supported Nagy.

3. One can't speak of Party morale, this was only a whip to keep the apparatus of power going. Party membership meant countless professional and financial advantages. To disagree with the Party would have meant to lose all these advantages. Most people were too afraid to lose their positions. A clever CP member could never be discouraged, as he knew perfectly well what was going on, while the morale of some naive members would waver occasionally.

4. The top leaders of the Party.

They are either insane or fanatic Communists. But in any case, they are traitors to their country, because they serve a foreign power. They help the Russians to rob and exploit the country, and this crime is shared by all of them. I think they are scoundrels or rather fanatic scoundrels. Rakosi spent many years in prison under the former regime, but Kadar was jailed by his Communist partners and must be fanatically insane to play his role of today. Perhaps they have good intentions, but if they consider everything, they must know that what they do is brutal, shrewd and diabolic. As for the rank-and-file members, they are not at all interested in the Communist principles but only in the financial advantages offered by their CP membership.

C. 1. Opposition to the Communist government.

When two people spoke together, they always lashed the regime and if caught, could be sentenced to several months imprisonment. The workers were dependent on their wages, and the quality control was very strict. But there were many acts of sabotage, thefts and embezzlements, as often the inspectors themselves stole and misappropriated funds. There were no strikes but from time to time somebody would damage a machine or a motor.

The peasants showed much more opposition behavior. They cheated with the deliveries and declared only part of their produces. They didn't pay the taxes until forced to. They resisted collectivization and refused almost openly to give their support to the CP when they did not actually attack it. As they had a few acres of ~~xxx~~ land, they could act with more independence than the workers who depended entirely on their wages.

One single act of opposition was not effective, but all the thefts put together certainly contributed to aggravate the economic difficulties of the regime.

2. It was possible to attack the regime openly only a few weeks before the revolution. The opposition behavior in the economic field increased in number with the deterioration of the standard of living.

3. Activities of the intellectuals.

I heard of the Petöfi Circle only in the early spring of 1956. Moscow permitted debates not to attack the Party, but ~~to~~ to remedy the mistakes of the regime. But the debates took an anti-regime character, and led to complete freedom of expression. The DISZ newspaper (Szabad Ifjúság) reported verbatim the debates of the Circle while the Szabad Nép attacked them.

Before this, I saw only that the intellectuals sold themselves to the Communists. They put into phrases what the people thought for a long time, but had rather in mind a kind of national communist system, while the ~~men~~ people wanted much more, i.e. complete independence and freedom. But at that time, the writers' demands were a maximum, and to make more would have been considered a provocation by the regime.

I thought that they were doing the right thing and today, I think that they have eliminated all their past mistakes against Hungarian literature and against their country.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

A. The secret police- AVH.

1. All kinds of people belonged to the AVH. They were extremely well paid and as the revolution proved it, they were all the mercenaries of Moscow. The informers knew only a few other informers. The activities of the AVH covered all spheres of life, factories, borders, churches, friendship, etc. Some secret policemen earned more than 10,000 forints a month when the average pay of a soldier of equal rank was 1,000 forints.

Their methods to extract confessions from people were to break down the prisoner physically and mentally. He was beaten and tortured, was not allowed to sleep because of powerful lights in his eyes.

Personal experience with the AVH.

In 1951 the janitor denounced my father without any reason to the AVH and he was interbed as "a person dangerous for the security of the state." He was driven to Recske and remained a prisoner there for 2 years during which we could not see him or write to him. His life was very hard. Finally, through bribed guards, we could exchange messages with him.

In 1948/49, a third year secondary-school student friend of mine who was 17 years old was interned for 4 years with two of his friends under the accusation of "conspiracy against the state". His parents didn't know about his fate for two-and-half years.

4. People lived in constant anxiety, except the good technicians and professors. The other people lived in uncertainty, especially the functionaries and even those who lived on the wings of the Party.

5. Nobody became an informer but of ideological conviction. The informers' motives were either personal desire of revenge or financial advantages, or because he was black-mailed. The people had the greatest contempt for the informers and didn't consider them as humanbeings. During the revolution, we found out that one of our assistant-teachers was an AVH spy. The former Nazis were welcome at the AVH. Also there were many Jews among the top officers. They got good positions at the secret police in 1945-46, and had been climbing the ladder since then.

6. Everybody could be denounced to the AVH whether he spoke or not. But it was much safer to keep one's mouth shut than to speak against the regime.

7. At Miskolc, the green AVH - border-guards - sided with the people in uniform and with national cockades, but they were not reliable. The officers put on civilian clothes only in order to escape.

8. When Hungary is independent, the officers of the AVH should be tried and condemned. Those who committed crimes should be executed. The others would sooner or later be absorbed in the society.

9. The regular police. Some policemen were correct, but many worked for the AVH. They were completely under the influence of the Party and were not very different from the AVH. One police office at Miskolc was correct and the people did not harm him. The police arrested many people. They could be bribed, as the average was poorly paid.

During the revolution, the police sided with the people, with a few exceptions. They gave their weapons, or often could keep them. But in the whole, their behavior was passive. Some were killed because they had mistreated many people.

B. The Courts.

I was told that before 1945 a poor peasant or worker would get fair treatment from the courts in a case against a rich man, but I don't know any concrete case. The sentence was based on concrete facts and proofs, and the judge couldn't be bribed.

The People's Courts. As long as the system with several parties existed, the judiciary was independent from all state organs. This changed already in 1947. I can illustrate the situation which followed with a case:

In 1951, somebody reviled Rakosi and was sentenced to 1 year imprisonment for "agitating against the state".

While interned, my father was treated as a worker and got paid. He was only with political prisoners and after a while, was able to trust a few of them.

C. The Hungarian Army.

1. Role played during the revolution.

The Army played a passive role, except for giving weapons to civilians at certain places. But the army appeared nowhere as a united body. There were only isolated actions, like at the Kilian barracks, at Erdliget where two guns shot out a Russian armored train.

The soldiers were not Communists, they belonged to the people. The officers all said they were convinced Communists, though some were not. Some officers were forced to join by the people, some were shot by their own soldiers, like the commander of the airfield at Feldebrő, and some behaved well. There were no differences in the behavior of the soldiers during the revolution.

I thought the army's behavior was natural, because the soldiers were Hungarian like us, and though they had a uniform, they were not Communists. But I was surprised to see the mistakes of the top commanders, when the Ministry of Defense remained stuffed with Rakosists and Stalinists.

2. At Miskolc, I had 3 hours of military courses per week, with an anti-aircraft unit. We had only theoretical and practical courses, but no political instruction. The officers who taught us were very unintelligent and insolent. But they treated the students well as we were intellectually far more superior to them.

2. The Russian Army.

It is a non-sense to say that Hungarian feelings about them are due to the events of 1848. The reason is the manner in which the Russians came to Hungary in 1945, when they looted, destroyed and raped in the country. For this reason, the Hungarians have all reasons to hate the Russian soldiers individually. Secondly, the Communist clique came to power because it was supported by Soviet bayonets.

We hoped in 1945 that they would force the Germans to withdraw, but we didn't expect a horde of looting Barbarians. They shelled our house, and shot my 73 year-old grand-father while he defended a pregnant girl the Russians soldiers were assaulting. This happened on March 15, 1945. My opinion didn't change since then. The first troops were replaced by others who were just as unintelligent and rude, but who did not loot.

3. Behavior of troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution. They were hated by the people and lived isolated. They didn't go with Hungarian girls. The Russians considered Hungary as a "Fascist" country, but I know with certainty that they wanted to stay there, as the standard of living was much lower in Russia. For them, Hungary was almost the West. These Russians were in my opinion misled by the Communists, because of their stupidity. Their military training was fairly good, soldiers and officers alike.

4. During the revolution, at Miskolc, they stayed first out of sight and didn't do anything. The reason was that their forces ~~was~~ were inferior to ours.

5. I heard that some Russian soldiers were forced to surrender and sided with the people to fight against other Russians after November 4. Some troops refused to obey and were sent back to the Soviet Union. Some soldiers fled to Austria. I don't know if some fought against the AVH.

Yes, Russian soldiers fought each other, on November 30, near Erdliget. They shot at each other with guns for 3 or 4 days, and must have been fresh units battling old ones.

E. The bureaucracy.

1. As everything was in the hands of the state, all control was done from the top, and it took a considerable amount of time to arrange an affair. Often the whole thing ended in a waste-basket. This huge bureaucracy annoyed very much the public. Before the war most affairs could be arranged in a few days; under Communism, it would take months, even years, to get some papers, etc. My cadre file was in the hands of some secret department of the Ministry of the Interior and this caused me much trouble, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ made impossible for me to continue my studies.

The functionaries were poorly paid, and most of them could be bribed. The main positions were filled with AVH men, for the permits of residence and cadre files, for ex. These people were only interested in their jobs, but a few were honest and tried to help the people. At Gyöngyöstarján, the council secretary arranged everybody's affairs and was liked, We all felt sorry when he was moved to another place.

F. With money one could bribe a functionary, and in many cases, frequent controls were unsuccessful. But if ~~one~~ was caught, one could be jailed for years. The functionaries were humble people who didn't dare to say a thing. Inside they were probably dissatisfied, but they were too afraid of losing their jobs.

2. Self-criticism was a Communist eye-wash, and made the people only more furious, when they saw somebody criticize himself and still remain in power. Self-criticism could only keep quiet temporarily those who were dissatisfied.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. If the Communist system remains as it is today, I can foresee only terror and arrests. In brief, a system that the people have rejected last fall will remain in power. But of within a short period of time, freedom is achieved, Hungary will be one of the wealthiest countries in Europe. The country has much bauxite and uranium and light industry could be tremendously developed through intelligent economic policies.

Hungary should be given her freedom by the four Big Powers, and free elections should be organized according to the provisions of the Peace Treaty. The Russian troops should be withdrawn.

As ~~war~~ uncertainty is ^{not/} better than something ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ worse but certain, people lean toward the second alternative. In my opinion, the two big blocs must clash some day, because peaceful co-existence with Communism is a non-sense. The sooner this clash will occur, the better for Eastern Europe. War is inevitable, but the question is: when? Today the West is still the strongest and would not be hit very hard by a war.

Other means than war: an internal desintegration of the Soviet Union on the political line. This would be of course much more preferable to a war because of the irreparable damages a new war would cause.

B. Before the revolution, I saw a hopeful future for Hungary only if the West settles its accounts once for all with the Soviets. I never thought that the Russians would decide by themselves to let us live the life of our own choice. The average Hungarian people share these feelings, only a small minority of Communists are afraid of freedom. The people also hoped for some kind of explosion inside Russia, i.e. a palace revolution among the Soviet leaders. The desirability of a war was not rejected.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY.

A. In an independent Hungary, emphasis should be laid on light industry and agriculture. Hungary could compete successfully in those fields in a free economic world. But she could not compete as far as heavy industry is concerned, because of the high costs and inferior quality.

All agricultural products should be produced except cotton. Rice is useful. The expansion of energy plants (water and atomic) should continue, as well as ~~xxx~~ the aluminium industry based on bauxite. The remaining heavy industry should correspond to the amount of iron ore available in the country, but no iron ore from Russia or Rumania should be imported.

With the exception of the railways and mines, no enterprises should remain in the hands of the state, because the state is not a profit-making institution. The nationalized enterprises, especially if developed and enlarged under Communism, can't be given back to their former owners. They should be sold to corporations, and a free economic life should start, with free and independent trade-unions which would protect the workers. The former owners should get some compensation, but not more than the value of what was taken from them.

The collective farms will end with Communism and the members will take their land back and cultivate it individually. As for the state farms, their lands should be sold to the peasants who have no land. But there must be no big estates owned by a few big landowners.

I would limit the role of the government to the legislative line, and to the maintaining of order. A progressive tax system should be adopted. If the corporations are honest, they will be much better than the state.

I think a limit should be set to the amount of land a person or family can own, let's say a few hundreds holds, but not ~~xxx~~ than 1,000 holds (1,420 acres). Everybody should possess ~~xxx~~ /more/ as much land as he can cultivate, but the repetition of the big estates system must be avoided.

2. I would chose the government which guarantees the personal freedom of the individual, because the economic deficiencies of such government can be repaired. But people can't live without freedom, and even a little freedom is better than a higher standard of living.

I would not outlaw the Communist Party, but would let them take part in free elections and fall down there. Something which is forbidden is sometimes more attractive, and its importance is exaggerated.

C. For an independent Hungary, I would want neutrality guaranteed by the Big Powers. She should maintain good relations with all countries including the Soviet Union, together with cultural and economic relations, especially with those countries with which these relations are the most profitable.

3. A federation of Danubian states would encounter the greatest difficulties because of the historical past of the various countries involved. But it could be realized some day. It was Kossuth's idea and it came up again during the revolution of last fall, when the people thought of the idea of some future United States of Europe. I think most Hungarians approve this idea.

4. If a Danubian confederation can't be realized, Hungary's present political borders will remain unjust. But territorial adjustments will not solve entirely the problem. Many Hungarians were deported from where they lived and others took their place. If the Hungarian minorities will be granted equal rights in the neighbor countries, a Danubian confederation may solve the problem. Though I have no relatives among these Hungarians, I don't forget them.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

A. 2. I knew Khrushchev's secret speech through the Western radio broadcasts.

3. I knew McCarthy's name, but not what he did.

8. I only knew that Rakosi had a beautiful villa on the Buda hills. Also heard that some countess was his mistress and that he didn't live with his wife. He also had a villa on lake Balaton, near Balatonvilágos, which was heavily guarded.

B. 1. What respondent read.

I didn't read newspapers regularly, as I knew that it was all lies. The contents were empty and dry.

I read the Hungarian classics: Jokai, Gárdonyi, Moricz, and the foreign ones: Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw, Moliere, Verne, Karl May. I never read one modern novel written by Dery and the others. I liked the Hungarian classics very much, and also "The Old Man and The Sea" by Hemingway, in Hungarian translation.

I read less recently as I had to work hard for my technical studies. People read a lot in Hungary under Communism, though they had less time and to work more than before. Those who read the most were the secondary-school students. But the workers and the peasants also did a great deal of reading. The Hungarian classics were read more than ever.

3. Sometimes, some articles in the Communist papers caught my eyes, especially economic information. I compared them with what the Western radios said. All Communist papers (Szabad Nép, Esti Budapest, Észak Magyarország) were very empty and dry, contained nothing interesting to be read.

As for Western publications, only Western Communist papers were available, but these were not interesting.

4. The Communists put many books on the index, most of which dealing with politics. The fiction stories were sold on the black market, but I didn't have any such books.

C. One would get by word of mouth either news of events which happened around us or news about the neighbor countries from those who went to visit Czechoslovakia, Poland or the Soviet Union. The news about Western broadcasts were often not reliable because the people whom told them modified them in many cases. I would get such news from friends and close acquaintances. I trusted some of them more than others. The most trusted were always my parents. I didn't pass information very often, as I had no sure sources. Otherwise, I exchanged such information with my friends.

D. Everybody in Hungary talked about politics. As soon as two people met they lashed the regime and scolded the West for its slowness to help us. This was not done often in public places or at work. When several people were together and knew each other well, they were not afraid to talk about politics. But everybody was very cautious with strangers. Many people were arrested for making remarks uncarefully. People were very careful with what they wrote.

F. I went once every two months to the movies, very rarely to the theatre. I particularly liked the Swedish film "One Summer of Happiness" and the Italian movie "Puccini". The plays I liked most were "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "St. Joan of Arc" by B. Shaw.

I didn't like when there were politics in a film, and there was plenty of it in the Russian movies. I liked serious musical or realistic films.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY.

A. 1. The USSR.

After Stalin's death I expected a revolution in Russia. This didn't happen but I'm convinced that his heirs will fight each other. The policy of liberalization will bring desintegration along, and the struggle of the various factions may well start a revolution.

2. As for free elections, the people would need first some explanation. The younger generation is so blind that millions of Russians don't know that there exists a better life and more freedom elsewhere! If this is explained to them, Communism would be overthrown, as many Russians hate the regime, too.

5.

The Soviet leaders are fanatic Russian nationalists who dream of world domination, and who are thirsty for power and authority. A few are very intelligent men, like Molotov.

B. ~~Russia~~ Eastern Europe.

1. Poland is the most popular Eastern European country in Hungary, because of the old historical ties and friendship of the two countries. They often fought together for their independence and helped each other.

Czechoslovakia is the most unpopular. This animosity is not new, and the opinion is that the Czechs are a nation which would sell their mother and father for money. The main source of animosity against the neighbor countries is the Peace Treaty of Trianon which gave those neighbors unjustly huge Hungarian territories.

2. If free elections were held in the Eastern European countries, the Communist system would be swept away.

3. In Eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia has the highest standard of living, Rumania the lowest.

4. Poland. Gomulka as such is not a principle. Poland can be blackmailed as her Western borders are not just, and as the Poles know that only the Russian can guarantee them. At the same time, the Poles hate both Germans and Russians.

Gomulka can't last too long. Poland will either return to Stalinism - I think this is what will happen as the Russian troops remain stationed in Poland - or will break away from Moscow and settle her border problems herself.

2. From the East German uprising of 1953 and the Poznan uprising of 1956, the Hungarian people learned that it was possible to speak up against the Communist regime. The events of October 1956 in Warsaw rose many hopes in Hungary, and the people thought the Russians would step back in Hungary as they did in Poland.

4. There was also ~~fixed~~ greater freedom of expression in Hungary since July, 1955. I heard of the same in Poland through the Western radio broadcasts.

5. The events in Poland could not repeat themselves in Hungary. In Hungary the AVH fired into the unarmed crowd and started the revolution. If the AVH would not have fired, and if Gerö would have made immediate and satisfactory concessions, the bloodshed could have been avoided.

D. Yugoslavia.

Tito influenced Eastern Europe in a very limited way. He was very isolated since his break with Stalin. The reconciliation of 1955 had bad effects on Hungary. At Pula, Tito said that the Russians should allow the other people's democracies to follow their own path. What has happened in Hungary in October and November 1956 was the same that would have happened to Yugoslavia if Stalin would have dared to attack it. But Tito said later that there were "Fascists" in Hungary. He is a smart politician, who maintains in his country a regime of terror. He is more than a Yugoslav Rakosi, and if he is not liked, he is left in peace. Yugoslavia's standard of living is nevertheless not higher than that of Hungary.

E. Asia.

1. The Communists gained control of China because of the mistakes of Western policy, the corruption of the Chiang-Kai-Shek regime, the big misery of the Chinese people and the military aid of the Russians.

3. The Russians can run down China militarily as they did with Hungary. But economically, China is entirely dependent on the Soviet Union.

5. Relations between England and India are bad. India has much culture and also many reasons to be embittered, while the British expect too much gratitude from her. But the Indians will not forget soon all the injustices she suffered.

6. The Anglo-French intervention at Suez was the biggest crime committed against the Hungarian revolution, although I am convinced that this was necessary because of the serious Communist infiltration in that vital area. But the date of the intervention was chosen with too much irresponsibility. This distracted the attention of the

United Nations from the revolution in Hungary and gave the Russians a right of defense to cover their action of repression. The Egyptian government was wrong in seizing the canal as it violated a treaty by which Egypt was bound. But I don't approve the Western policy, when it promises to finance the Aswan dam, then refuse to give any money for it. I'm sure that if the money would have been given, there would have been no nationalization.

F. West Germany.

1. I think the living standard in West Germany is sensational, and that Adenauer is the greatest politician of the past 10 years.

2. I don't know the German Social Party.

3. In a few years Germany will play again a leading role in Europe, if it continues to develop at the same fast rhythm. There is no other solution than rearmament with the present Russian danger. But Germany's rearmament can't be controlled for ever. Economically, Germany stands better than England and France, militarily, not yet.

4. If Adenauer is succeeded by another politician with similar views, Germany's foreign policy will not become ~~more~~ aggressive.

5. The Germans occupied Hungary by cunning, they did not loot and rape. But they were not welcome at all and were traditionally hated in Hungary. Compared with the Russians, the German army was disciplined and fought well. The Russians would be afraid of a united Germany which would be their most dangerous adversary. In brief, none of the two armies was popular in Hungary.

G. Western Europe.

2. I have sympathy for Gaitskell and the British Labor Party, as they treated the visiting Russian leaders as they deserved it.

3. West Germany has the highest living standard, Egypt the lowest.

H. The United States.

1. I thought the US was the country of great speed. But the way affairs are handled is slow and also bureaucratic.

2. The US can't do anything for Eastern Europe now. The pending problems between the two blocs should be solved and the problem of the small Eastern European countries would be solved at the same time. As long as Russian troops remain in Poland, the US should not give any money to that country, as Poland is not independent yet.

3. The US must maintain a cold relationship with the Kadar regime but also realize that it exists. No economic aid, either loans or goods, should be granted as this would only support the Communist economic system served by Kadar.
4. Hungarians would welcome Western visitors, their presence would be a sign of freedom, and because Hungarians also want to travel abroad and to know foreign people.
5. They would like to receive Western books and periodicals, because these are more colorful and tell them the reality, and thus would give them a better and clearer picture of the Western world.
6. It would not matter whether or not Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities the purpose of which is to warn the foreign visitors and to inform the Hungarian people.
7. The US gave economic aid through the Marshall Plan to the Western European countries devastated by the war. I'm not clear with the way the credits had to be paid back. It was of the interest of the free world to avoid any discrepancies in living standards and to increase the solidity of the West.
8. America fought in Korea because it had guaranteed South Korea's independence and was exposed to one of the greatest provocations in Asia. It won a temporary battle, but at the cost of some 60,000 American soldiers' lives.
1. Differences in the US between rich and less rich are what I thought. The wealthy people can afford everything they want (car, plane). But the workers don't starve, can also eat the best meals and have cars, etc. Maybe their housing is not quite adequate.
2. I knew that the American trade unions held huge power, and I approve this. They try to obtain the highest wages possible but sometimes they go too far beyond the goal. I don't think that most labor unions are very left-wing or under Communist influence.
3. The Communists described the US as a gangsters' paradise. I think that in proportion with the size of the population, the number of criminals is low.
4. I'm sure that Hungarian universities have more courses, and that the studies as well as the examinations are more strict than in American colleges.
5. I'm against too much free time. TV is good, but it must not be the only source of culture. However, the Americans are not superficial as they are supposed to be.

J. The United Nations.

I don't consider any more the United Nations as serious an organization as it was supposed to be. It is too often a show-place which brings resolutions which are nothing but words without weight.

First, the UN should have sent a delegation to Hungary, to get informed about the events occurring there since October 23. Such a commission should be a permanent organ of the UN.

After November 4, the UN should have taken concrete sanctions against the Soviets unless their troops withdrew from Hungary and free elections were held.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. The greatest living Hungarian today is Pál Maleter. We owe partly to him the triumph of the revolution, independently of what he was before.

B. Imre Nagy.- A convinced Communist but I have esteem for him for having been able to follow the Hungarian people's revolution and for being deported for this later.

Cardinal Mindszenty.- As head of the Church, I respect and like him. In his speech of November 3, 1956, several things were not timely, especially when he mentioned the "defeated regime".

L. Rajk.- He died like all murderers deserve to die.

Ernő Gerő.- A fanatic Soviet agent.

János Kádár.- I hold him for insane.

2. Eisenhower.- I like him for his popularity. But because of his health, I don't know whether he'll be able for the four years to come, to be vigilant enough as far as the Russians are concerned,

Hammarskjöld.- A man with weak hands.

Dulles.- A politician who doesn't think in advance enough.

Eden.- I approve his intervention at Suez, but the date chosen for this was a stupid choice.

Truman.- No opinion.

3. Mikoyan. "The good spirit" of the Soviet clique.

Nehru. A very shrewd and clever politician, I forget his attitude toward Hungary last fall.

Chiang-Kai-Shek.- A corrupt Chinese general.

Ferenc Nagy.- I don't approve his policy of parties in the mass emigration.

Roosevelt.- He should have listened to Churchill. The Allies should have attacked in the Balkans and not in Italy.

Adenauer.- One of the greatest statesmen of Germany.

Stalin.- A very brilliant scoundrel.

Malenkov.- A stupid puppet.

Franco.- No opinion.

Bevan.- I don't know him.

Khrushchev.- A stupid man who wants to conciliate dictatorship with freedom of opinion.

Tito.- A smart turn-coat.

Peron.- No opinion.

Churchill.- The greatest statesman of the XXth century.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. Characterization of escapees:

1. The first and largest group consists of those who took part with arms and words in the revolution and were exposed after November 4 to Communist reprisals. They were mostly young people from all social classes.

A second group is constituted by those who could not go ahead under Communism and took advantage of the open border to go to the West.

Then there is a very small group of which we can't be ~~xxx~~ very proud.

Those who remained in the country are: a small group of Hungarians who will fight till the end ~~xxxxx~~ against the Russians and Communism; the peasantry attached to the land; those who were afraid of the dangers of the escape, and finally, the old people.

I have the greatest respect for those who remained in Hungary. A 35-year old bus driver, single, whom I met during the revolution, could have come out with me, but said instead that he was staying.

Those who remained home know that most of those who escaped saved their lives. They expect us to help them, and to tell the truth about the revolution.

2. If everybody would have had a chance to come to the West, I believe that more 200,000 people would have escaped.

B. Hungarian exiles and exile organizations.

1. I knew the Hungarian National Council, and the names of Bela Garga, Ferenc Nagy, Pfeiffer, but I didn't know what these people were doing. I still don't know today! I approve an exile organization if it represents a perfect national unity, and not party interests. Since I left Hungary, I met Pfeiffer and Barankovics.

3. I don't know that the exiles could have done during the revolution. I was waiting for Western help stirred up by the exiles, but I didn't see anything coming.

C. I never met any Hungarian who escaped to the West then came back to Hungary.

- D. 1. The people in Hungary would like to know about their relatives who are in the West, especially the parents want to know about their children. They must know that these refugees have the attention and the sympathy of the free world.
2. They should be given an objective description of life in the West.
3. The exiles should settle down according to their knowledge, in order to win the sympathy of the people who welcome them, for themselves and for their country.
4. In my environment, I will give a clear picture of the events in Hungary, and will show the bare realities of Communism to those who don't know them. I'll also ask the American people to write to their representatives not to let the Hungarian problem be forgotten.
5. I would join only a totally united organization. I don't approve divisions, only a united front. This organization must denounce the Russian danger and call the attention of the West on Hungary, also help those refugees who encounter difficulties to adapt themselves to their new home country, to those students who can't receive scholarships. I would make no differences between old and recent refugees.
6. I think that the exile political parties are out of place. This was my opinion in Hungary, too. During the revolution these exile politicians should not have participated in anything until the situation would have been consolidated.
- E. 1. Yes, I want to go back to Hungary, but only in the kind of Hungary I have been fighting for.
2. If I have children in the US, I want them to learn Hungarian.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. Radio.

1. I listened to Western broadcasts, though not regularly. Listened to RFE, BBC, VOA. Some wave lengths were less jammed than others. I listened more to the broadcasts after than before the revolution. I told what I heard only to my close friends.

We had our own radio at home, and the whole family listened to the news, except my mother. At Miskolc, we listened to the broadcasts in the house of a miner. Practically everybody in Hungary listened to the ~~many~~ Western radios.

2. ~~It was not~~ To listen to Western radios was a bad point on one's cadre file, but there was no specific punishment for it. The danger was the greatest in 1951, but diminished considerably in the recent years.

3. I found the broadcasts very good and very necessary. I liked all of them. Sometimes there were mistakes, but generally, the broadcasts were accurate. BBC was the most objective and the most realistic.

The broadcasts informed the people about the true situation in the West. They also showed the unreality of the Communist news. Their psychological influence was excellent, as the Hungarian people felt they were not left alone.

4. RFE should be careful enough to check the accuracy of the news. When there was a mistake, the Communists immediately told about the "lies" of RFE. Also the tone should be less emotional.

5. It is not true that the Western broadcasts helped to incite the Hungarian people. ~~They were not~~ In Hungary, people believe only in what they see.

6. RFE should continue its broadcasts to Hungary, in order to keep the people well informed and to make them feel that they are not alone.

7. RFE should broadcast first of all news with short commentaries. Anti-communist propaganda is good, but the regime mistakes should be showed with concrete facts. Then programmes about life in the West, Europe and US alike.

B. I did not hear about the initials N.E.M. or about the Twelve Demands

C. Leaflets. I saw no leaflets but Rakosi stickers were shown to me by a friend who picked them up near the border.

2. The Communists made many attacks against the leaflets and spoke more about them than anybody else.
 3. It was dangerous to show them or to talk about them. Nevertheless, many people picked up the leaflets.
 4. The leaflets were difficult to obtain, as it was dangerous to pick them up. They were not very useful.
 5. RFE should continue to drop them from time to time, to excite the Communists.
 6. They should contain threats against the regime.
- D. The broadcasts were aimed at informing the Hungarian people and keeping their hopes alive. All Western groups had common aims and goals, I believe.