

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

The respondent often puzzled this interviewer. On one hand, he was obviously doing his best to be sincere and honest in his answers. On the other hand, many of his replies either contradicted or excluded each other. The interviewer felt, at times, he was listening to two different men -- the one who was persecuted under Communism and the one who was satisfied with the way he was getting on and felt more secure than the average Hungarian.

The only explanation is that the respondent spoke both in his name and in the name of the Hungarian people. If we separate the two, one must acknowledge his personal honesty. He was astonishing open about the problems concerning his religious faith and did not feel it necessary to comment on his replies.

Personally, the respondent was not interested in the revolution and had no reason to fight in it. But, one interesting point remains: why did he leave Hungary and why doesn't he want to return? Respondent has a rather self-centered personality and his future career seems to have been his main preoccupation until now. He has no class consciousness at all and personal, rather than national interests seem to lead him. He gave the impression that he was willing to compromise on several issues, either political or economical.

Respondent mostly needed personal security and knew that this legitimate aim can be best fulfilled in the US. He stated his plans clearly and will probably succeed in realizing them.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The Americans should know the events and factors that lead to the Hungarian revolution. As for the revolution, they should know what kind of relations Hungary wanted to establish with the West.

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

From October 22, at 2:30 p.m., a general meeting of the University of Technical Sciences was convened -- a meeting which lasted until 2:30 a.m. I stayed approximately until 8 p.m. Maybe 2000 students were present with the Dean and some professors. The topic of the meeting ~~was~~ was the latest events in Szeged where the university students had left the DISZ and created the MEFESZ. A law student from Szeged told us what the students wanted there. Little by little, the atmosphere warmed up and the students voted almost unanimously to leave the DISZ. Various demands were then raised. Our dean said that he approved of the students' decision and that he would side with them as long as they would not break any university rules.

I was not present when the demands were phrased late in the evening. I learned from my friends the next day that ten points had been accepted and mimeographed. At the same time it had been decided that the students would hold a silent demonstration of solidarity before the statue of General Bem.

The atmosphere in Hungary was quite revolutionary at that time. The press was very bold and contained many criticisms of the regime.

October 23

I went early to the university. The students guarded the entrances and let students in only. The courses ended earlier since the students were to gather at 2 p.m. While I had lunch at home I heard that the Minister of the Interior had forbidden the demonstration. Nevertheless, we went to the university where a huge crowd of 6000-8000 students was already gathered. A delegation was sent to the Minister of the Interior to ask him for the lifting of the ban.

It was announced that four additional points had been added to the original ten points of the previous night. These fourteen points were read. A special issue of the newspaper of the University of Technical Sciences came out in the morning with the report of the previous night's meeting and with the fourteen points. These demands had been stuck on walls and trees throughout Budapest during the night.

The students had invited delegations from various factories and Army officers' schools to take part in the demonstration. These delegations did not fail to appear and we immediately felt stronger.

A deputy of the Minister of the Interior came back with our delegates and informed us that the ban on the demonstration was lifted. The students lined up in ranks of ten and the silent march began. We were grouped by faculties. The people cheered us everywhere. On our way we distributed leaflets to the passersby carrying the fourteen points.

Some Hungarian flags appeared on the houses and some had the Communist coat-of-arms cut out. We felt that the people were with us. Before the statue of Bem a huge crowd gathered. The national song was recited. Several speeches were made but the loudspeaker was very poor. The soldiers of the nearby barracks and the functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were all at the windows.

When the crowd left for the parliament, at about 4:30 p.m., it was less orderly. I managed to get a ride with some 15 other students in a military car. The whole square before the parliament was filled with people. The atmosphere became quite revolutionary. The crowd began to shout slogans, mostly against the Russians and against the Communists. The people sang the national anthem and asked for Imre Nagy -- but nothing happened. Later in the evening, Nagy arrived and said a few words to the crowd, which booed him. The crowd was in no mood to accept any concessions and pressed for the realization for its demands. By telling the people to be patient and to go home, Nagy committed a political mistake.

Suddenly news arrived that there was fighting before the radio building. Many people went there. On their way they occupied the Communist printing house, Szikra, where the workers simply let them in. The crowd wanted to go to Stalin's statue but was told that it had already been toppled down. There was no more organization. People converged on streetcars, trucks, etc. to the radio building. I headed for home because my mother was alone. On my way I saw many tanks of the Hungarian Army coming into the city. I heard shooting and realized that the AVH had intervened. But, I did not know that the Army would surrender its weapons and side with the people.

A. During the demonstrations we saw that the workers and the soldiers were with us. We felt that the whole city was with us. But we did not think demonstrations would end in an armed revolution. I simply did not know of the outcome. Only before the parliament did we realize that the situation was serious.

The demonstrators were mostly secondary school and university students who, joined later by workers and functionaries coming out of work. There were also very old or very young people in smaller numbers.

The decision to hold the demonstration was taken on the previous day. After we left the statue of Bem the demonstration became completely spontaneous. Somebody shouted, "Let's go to the parliament!", and the crowd moved.

After October 24 I remained at home and followed the events through the Hungarian radio and the foreign radio broadcasts. I lived in the 13th District in which there was not much fighting until the victory of the revolution. I knew the revolution had triumphed from the change of tone in the programs of the Hungarian Radio.

B. The bloodshed would have been avoided if the Secret Police would have done what the Army did.

I heard the term, freedom fighter, only after the victory of the revolution.

Those who fought were mainly the students and the workers -- mostly young men. But also girls, in a proportion of 10 to 20 per cent. As for age, I saw boys of 14 and also people of 40 and 50. The average age was from 20 to 30.

The people received weapons from the Army. They also went into the Army barracks to get arms.

I heard later that the Freedom Fighters had no central leadership and had to fight in isolated groups.

During the revolution I did not think that the Russians would tolerate it, but I was optimistic like everybody else. The news on the radio was very confusing. One only knew exactly what was going on in one's own district.

When the Russians withdrew I went to look around in the city and to visit my friends and relatives. I did not go to the university because I heard that some students who went there had been picked up by the Russians.

The re-invasion

On November 3, the press reported that the Russians were surrounding Budapest but that the government was negotiating for the withdrawal. I was not too worried. On November 4 I woke up to the rumbling of Russian tanks passing before our house. I heard Imre Nagy's speech on the radio. Everybody was shocked by the Russians' treachery. I knew the people could not overcome the Russians but only inflict losses upon them unless the West help them. The people hoped for some assistance from the UN both diplomatically and militarily. The fighting lasted for four or five days.

A friend of mine who was in the Army stayed with us for a week. Many of my friends went abroad. We heard that university students were being arrested. Under martial law, this could mean either deportation to Siberia or execution. My friend left and I also began to plan my escape. When I knew that the Russians were taking control of the border, I went with a group by car to the border, spent one night in a peasant's house and walked the next day some miles into Austria. We were stopped by Russian soldiers and released after we gave them six watches.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

I was sure the West would do something for Hungary on the diplomatic line. Everybody thought that the UN would adopt a resolution guaranteeing the victory of the Hungarian revolution and eventually take sanctions against the Russians if they violated those guarantees.

These hopes seemed logical when we thought over the international situation. The radio broadcasts also told us that the UN was debating the Hungarian situation.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's Family Background

My father worked in a commercial enterprise as a business man when the Communists nationalized it. He became the part owner of a small export-import business which was nationalized also. He then joined the small business and worked with the *RESTAURANT* enterprise and dealt mostly with espresso machines. My father completed high school and my mother ~~finished~~ eight years of elementary school.

B. The Social Classes in Hungary

There are four social classes -- the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, and a small upper class -- that is, the AVH, the Party and government officials.

I knew the intelligentsia the best; that is the class I belonged to. I went to the university and spoke there with professors and assistant professors, with engineers, etc. I worked one year in a factory with workers. I did not know the peasants.

The intellectuals

The upper group consisted of the teachers, professors, engineers, etc. The functionaries and employees formed a lower group. Then, there were the writers, artists, and university students. This class was a rather loose one. Some groups were active, others were very shy and afraid of losing their interest. While the writers were taking part in the theoretical struggle before the revolution, the functionaries did not do anything since they were afraid of losing their jobs.

The workers

They can be grouped into the skilled, unskilled workers and the foremen. It was a more compact class which carried the economic life of the country. The workers knew that they were needed and were well organized as industry was fairly centralized in Hungary.

The peasantry

This was a very isolated class. It can be divided into individual farmers, kulaks, and collective farm workers. The peasantry was exploited by the Communist regime. It could not think as fast as the workers and students who went down to explain to them what the revolution was about.

It was the peasantry which resisted Communism most strongly. The Communist theory had more effect on the workers and the intellectuals. The peasants were not interested in theoretical things -- they liked to own their five or six acres of land and ~~dislike~~ hated the deliveries. The attempts to collectivize the land by force turned the peasantry against the Communists.

A large percentage of the workers was won over temporarily by the Communists. When in 1945 they received 17 per cent of the votes they said that they defended the workers. Before Communism, the workers lived well but had no political role. The Communists told them they would be the leading political group and would have deputies in Parliament. Many workers believed these promises. As years went by, they realized that they were only nominally in power. They also saw that their standard of living remained very low compared to that of the West. They saw through personal experience all the fallacies and injustices of Communism. By 1950 they were completely disillusioned and remained politically passive although they criticized the regime.

Affection of the intelligentsia

The technical group could be influenced by Communism for a while. They could think and evaluate and became disillusioned even before the workers. In appearance they gave in to the regime. The students had to go to all of the Communist manifestations and had to endure Communist propaganda. Many writers, artists, etc. wrote what the regime told them to say more for financial interest than by conviction. Later, their attitude changed and they refused to serve Communism.

The former upper class

This class (factory owners, etc.) was the hardest ~~hit~~ hit by Communism. From one day to another a member of this class lost his business or his trade, nationalized by the State. Its further life became very difficult.

The way the different classes felt about each other

The workers felt superior to the peasants since the latter was a less organized class. They knew that Communism was wrong but they did not know what to do about it. I don't know what the peasants thought of the workers -- they probably knew that the workers were better organized.

Intellectuals saw the latent forces in the workers. They wanted most to change things but they felt isolated. They knew that they had a common interest with the workers and found them during the revolution. The intellectuals also knew how embittered the peasants were against Communism and that they were a slower and less active group than the workers. But when something was started, the peasantry proved that it could act too.

E. How an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary

For me, to go ahead was to be able to study and to work according to my own talent.

To be admitted to a university the family origin was very important. What one's father did, or was, was important than the talent. Many capable students could not go to the universities while other students were dismissed after a year because they had no intelligence. Sometimes, 50 per cent of the beginners would be out after the first year.

Among the workers those who worked more got more money. To go ahead was to be active in politics. Many Party functionaries got huge salaries and worked very little.

The political views were only guessed, not known -- but the past was known. Political origin and present preferences were the main factors. Those who served the regime could go ahead much better than the people with talent.

2. Those who didn't think at all, and said what the regime wanted to hear, could go ahead. Some felt that they were forced to do so. They were considered reliable and were given top positions.

3. Naturally, it was the upper class I mentioned before which received all the advantages not because of its talents and merits but for serving the regime, included the Party and government officials, the members of the Secret Police, and to a lesser extent the Army officers.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Effects of Communism on Family Life

The standard of living which was the result of Communism forced both parents to work and even at that price the difficulties were not solved. This situation upset family life because the children were brought up in State nurseries and schools, and were subjected to Communist education at an early age. In this way, young children could be indoctrinated and brought in opposition with their parents. Some would denounce their parents as reactionaries, but this would occur only in extreme cases.

In any case, family life was loosened. People had very little free time and even this was taken by the seminars and propaganda meetings the parents had to attend. Often, they came home late in the evening. This harmful for the children who almost never saw their parents. At school, as Pioneers, they were subjected to Communist ideology. However, in time, they found out at home that they were told many lies.

In my home my mother used to be at home and cook and look after us. Later, she had to work and came back only in the afternoon. It was not good for me and I became less close with my parents. But Communism could not influence me for long since it negatively affected my family.

B. How the Children are Brought Up in Hungary

1. The State wants to take the children away from the parents since the latter can explain the fallacies of Communism to them. In the nurseries and schools the State can continually influence the children with Communist history, ideology, literature, etc. Everything was put at the service of the regime. The education was not objective and served only the purpose of Communism. At the university there were almost as many hours of Marxism-Leninism as of technical courses.

2. Obedience of the children

The obedience of the children diminished if they were told that they should act individually and were smarter than the parents.

Family life changed little in the countryside because of the limited ideological influence of Communism. The peasantry was more conservative and its forms of life remained the same.

The cities were mostly affected by the changes. The workers worked extra hours and had less free time. The intelligentsia which was more cultured could see things better and could use better means of education.

When clashes occurred between parents and children they were of a rather political nature. The reasons existed before.

The children were told at school that Stalin was good to everybody and that Communism was excellent. At home the parents told them that Communism was all wrong. The children were confused. Often the parents told the child to tell his lesson at school and to forget it afterwards because it was not true. Religious instruction was abandoned at school and the family had to take it over.

C. Marriage, Courtship and Sex Patterns

Because family life was so loose the situation differed from the former patterns. Marriage was always considered a very serious thing. Under Communism it was rather a legalized relationship. Very few people could live normally. Deprived of the feeling of security regarding the future, the people lived for today.

Young people married more and divorced more. The parents had less influence on them and the young people thought less and were irresponsible. Married couples got premiums while the bachelor had to pay a special tax. The Communists wanted more children -- maybe in order to have a new generation they could win over.

Morals were very free. The children did not receive a proper education. No religion and morals were taught at school -- only political indoctrination.

2. Prostitution was illegal and legally it was prohibited. Since the living conditions were bad many women were forced into it for economic reasons.

3. Officially it was not well seen if a Communist Party member had a loose moral life. Only in 1956 were these problems mentioned in the press -- never before.

D. Friendship

1. Effects of Communism on friendship

People could not make friends with anybody because they could always trust each other. Often they were afraid of each other. This mutual distrust between people reacted on friendship. Only the older friends, with similar views, could be trusted.

2. I would make a difference between a friend who joins the Communist Party for material interests and one who joins by conviction. I would not break with them, but, would keep away from them -- not too much, however, since they might be dangerous.

It is difficult to keep politics out of a friendship. People are very interested in politics and politics are present in everybody's daily life. In a friendship political problems present themselves all the time. To be friends, one must hold the same political views.

E. Crime and Alcoholism

1. Smaller thefts increased because people were forced to commit them due to the bad economic situation. When somebody stole from his factory or enterprise it was not considered immoral, but resourceful. To cause a damage to the State did not hurt any one. This practice applied to many people.

Those who were caught were punished most severely in order to set an example and frighten the other people.

The common criminals were usually caught by the police.

2. Alcoholism

Many people drank because they were embittered by the future and by their economic situation. The youth which had more advantages, drank less. Those who drank more were especially the workers who worked all day long.

3. The "akampecs"

I hated them. It was a group of uncultured people from 17 to 24 years of age. The Communists said that they were the representatives of the western culture and many people believed it. They were mostly young workers who earned enough money and had special suits and shoes made for them. One positive thing was in their favor -- they dared to show nonconformism under Communism. I do not consider them as criminals.

The people who did not work were locked up under Communism and the bums were jailed. The workers who did not work took a big risk.

VII. RELIGION

A. Effect of Communism on Religious Life

Religion was in direct opposition with the materialistic ideology of Communism. According to the Communists religion was no more needed because everything could be explained by dialectical materialism. Religion was a perpetual danger to the ideology and the Communists fought against it.

They arrested the Church leaders and tried them. Those who openly practiced their religion were branded as "clericals." This was reported on their cadre file and they could not go ahead. There was no more religious instruction in the schools. The Communists destroyed the Regnum Marianum Church in Budapest and built the statue of Stalin on the former site. They did everything to frighten the people away from the churches.

They did not make any differences between the various religions and oppressed all of them. Communism had the same effects on the three faiths...Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism.

B. The Role Played by Religion in Respondent's Life

In the early years religion is very important in directing the child. Later, it is necessary to keep some religious basis. But today, religion is not essential and central problem but a complimentary one. Religion is an equal factor in my life than in the life of my parents. I think that I am less religious than the average person in Hungary.

C. There should be complete freedom of religion. The church should be completely independent of the State and vice-versa. Churches should limit their role to education and keep completely away from politics.

The church can advise the State and the people, but cannot ban any books, films or plays.

D. The Jewish Minority

Communism oppressed the Jewish minority like the other religions. The people who practiced their faith were put into disadvantageous positions. In 1944-45, the Jews were first grateful because the Communist saved their physical life. Later, they saw that they made no difference between the various religious faiths and reacted ~~the~~ in the same way. Rakosi and Gero were only Communists and said so.

The Jews were beside the revolution altho they did not fight with weapons. They lived in Hungary and suffered under Communism but were somewhat better off. Thus, the problem was less burning for them.

4. The Jews are not afraid of an independent Hungary but only of the chaotic interval which may have preceded democracy.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. The Hungarian youth consists of the secondary school and university students from 15 to 27; the young workers, peasants, and intellectuals.

B. The basic atmosphere for the revolution already existed in Hungary. The students were only the instruments of the revolution. They gave air to their problem, but, there were no leaders. During the fighting youth played the main role because of its physical ability.

Youth has more problems as far as the future is concerned and also more time. It was very dissatisfied. For example, ~~mm~~ it wanted to travel but was not allowed to leave the country. Youth is always more impulsive and more active than older people and less tied down by family responsibilities.

The older people approved of the actions of the youth. They supported youth in the fighting but thought a little more. The young people were glad to have their support.

C. Schools and Educational System in Hungary Under Communism

Too much Communist ideology was the disadvantage -- but broad masses of people were given some education. Many people could be educated and even if many failed less talents were lost than before.

I was satisfied with the quality of the education and of the technical branches. But the students were dissatisfied with the Communist ideology which they had to accept without opposition -- at least in their deeds and words. If they did not accept it, they were dismissed from the university.

First, only the family origin was important to be admitted to a university. The quality was unimportant, only the percentage of workers and peasants. Recently

there was some amelioration when intelligent students were also admitted.

Everybody could choose what he wanted to be. Then, the student was placed in the faculty where there was room for him. If he did not like it, he could not do anything but leave.

The older professors were excellent, while with the new ones we felt that they knew more about Marxism than about the branch they were teaching. The old professors were not in agreement with the regime. Among the young ones, some were Party members. But many young professors were not interested in politics.

E. The Communist Indoctrination of Youth

1. Communist ideology was a continual theme of propaganda in the regime's education at school. Special history were written. This effort showed itself in the field of culture, art, sports, etc. The regime also tried to isolate the youth from Western art and literature.

2. The Communists failed because the youth could agree only with theory. After a while it realized that the basis was wrong and that in the practice it was not applicable. Thus, youth simply could not believe in it. Youth was also denied many things it wanted, such as Western books, culture, etc.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. My main dissatisfactions were the isolation from the Western culture, the impossibility to travel abroad and see the world, the uncertainty of the future. A starting engineer earned less than a skilled worker. Generally speaking, the professional opportunities were limited.

B. The youth was dissatisfied for the same reasons. For the older people the main dissatisfaction was their wages which were insufficient. People had to steal in order to survive economically and they lived in complete uncertainty. Their minimum human rights were also limited.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

1. Respondent's family

Our household consisted of three persons. We lived in a two-room apartment. Both my parents worked -- my mother in a State office. Their combined monthly income was 2000 forints. After the deductions, 1800. Under Hungarian circumstances, we lived well.

We ate breakfast and dinner at home and spent between 800-1000 forints per month on food. Our rent cost between 200-300 forints and we paid almost the same amount for gas, electricity, and heating.

We saved some money every month to buy clothing with -- at least one suit a year. This caused us the greatest difficulty since it was very important. We had some money left for entertainment.

I considered going on a summer vacation or owning a car luxuries.

Our standard of living went down under Communism. Before Communism my mother did not have to work and our housing was better. The best year was in 1948 when we still had some money left.

2. I knew some families who were better off because these people either had high positions or because they could steal. A doctor, married, and with one child earned between 3500-4000 forints. A State store manager made 1200 forints monthly as a working salary and 2000-3000 more with the legal business. He had two children, ate much better and had more entertainment. But he had to be careful because the regime watched how much money the people spent.

B. Respondent's Income

1. I worked only one year as a technician in the textile industry in 1953-54. My monthly salary was 850 forints. Fifteen per cent was deducted for the peace loan and two per cent for trade union fees.

We got a premium of 10 to 15 per cent when the plan prescribed in advance was fulfilled by the enterprise.

C. Retail Prices in Hungary

1. The free market was very limited. Its prices were slightly higher, 10 to 20 per cent, than those of the State stores. But the quality of the producers was better. The Kozert stores bought everything and the peasants had to give in all of their surpluses.

These differences in prices were regular. The produces were more expensive on the free market when there was a shortage in the State stores or when the peasants had to pay heavy taxes.

2. The quality would change. This would depend on what produces the State would export and what produces it would import.

3. The retail distribution was well organized. When no produces were available we knew that they were taken to the Soviet Union or exported for hard currency to the West. I heard of cases of shortage, spoilage of food and bad transportation.

One could get spare parts for the products manufactured by the national technical industry.

and

4. Meat, especially veal, eggs, household articles were in short supply. Lemons were almost impossible to get. No colonial fruits were available.

5. Motorcycles, winter coats, radios, TV sets, gramophones were all goods which were too expensive for regular purchasing.

6. The black market

Many small artisans worked without authorization and many people sold various articles without authorization from the State. Prices were not much higher than the regular ones. Many people used the black market. Peasants brought produces to Budapest. Those who were caught were severely punished -- either fined or imprisoned, in order to frighten the other people.

D. Working Conditions

I worked eight-and-a-half hours a day from 8 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. with 30 minutes for lunch. That made 48 hours per week. I worked in a medium-sized factory which employed 2000-3000 workers who worked in three shifts.

I held that particular job because the secondary technical school of textiles put me to work in that factory.

My relations with my co-workers were good.

Some of our superiors were decent, some not. The technical engineer was decent. The director, who often possessed no skill, the Party Secretary, and the controller of the working norms were less liked. Most of them had completed Communist Party political courses before being assigned to the factory.

Generally speaking, I was satisfied with my job.

The technicians were good professionally.

3. The vacation plan favored those who were active in the Party and trade union activities. The sickness insurance was relatively good. Pensions were very low, altho the State tried recently to improve the situation.

E. Respondent's Opinion on Country Life and Agriculture in Hungary

1. I would prefer to live in town. I always lived there and find there the conditions necessary to my life.

As far as diet was concerned the agricultural worker had everything on the spot which did not apply to the workers who lived in town.

The general standard of living was higher in the cities.

Politically, it was perhaps easier in the village because politics were less organized there. The Party Secretary could catch us in the factory, while in the village he often had to walk many miles in order to find a peasant.

2. Opinions about collectivization

When collectivization was introduced it seemed to me to be a good idea in theory. Today I see that it cannot be realized in practice and that something must be wrong with collectivization.

All the peasants who owned some land opposed collectivization. Only those who had no land wanted it; or those who would have got political or financial advantages out of it.

I heard of collectives being dissolved during the revolution and some six months before it. The reasons were that the peasants were very dissatisfied that the collectives were imposed by means of coercion and that they were running a deficit.

3. I cannot answer whether I would prefer to live on a collective farm, a State farm, or a private farm because I do not know the circumstances.

4. For an independent Hungary I would like to see the small-sized private farming and also collective farming on a voluntary basis not run by the State but by the peasant cooperatives. Both land and means of production should be owned collectively.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Respondent's Opinions Before 1948

1. As a young secondary student I was interested in politics. I heard a lot about the Social-Democratic Party among our acquaintances.

2. I did not know the Communist Party well yet, but it appeared sympathetic with its slogans. I saw its true face when it took complete power in Hungary.

B. Views on the Communist Party From 1948 On

1. The Members

First, there are the convinced Communists either from 1919 or trained in the Soviet Union. There are not many of them.

Then come those who sympathize with the Communist principles but are not Communists. Some were anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist during the war and were misled by the Communists.

Finally, come the careerists whose aim was to get advantages and to go ahead through the Party. They usually got good salaries.

The unconvinced members saw the mistakes but did not speak out against them. However, many fought during the revolution.

2. Changes in Party policies

Changes in Party policies occurred from 1948 until 1956. The Communists went too far with the system of terror. Then, Stalin died. The Hungarian Communist Party was the lackey of the Soviet Communist Party. Changes in Moscow were followed by similar changes in Hungary. As the situation relaxed or became worse in Russia it became the same in Hungary.

I knew that there was a struggle between factions inside the Party -- between Rakosi, Kadar, and Nagy.

3. Party morale

Party morale was only a phrase without practical meaning. There several types of Party members who all thought in different ways. Some said the Party made mistakes but was still right; many said the Party was wrong for this and tried to correct them since there was a huge gulf between the Party and the people. The Party members had the duty to accept the decisions of the Central Committee. Party unity was more important than theoretical discussions of principles. Those who did not accept this unity were excluded from the Party.

The top leaders were fanatics who said, "This is right and that's all." These people were old Communists. When Communism was illegal it looked like a progressive movement. I would call them fanatics - puppets of the Russians - Soviet citizens. They represented the Russians' interests not those of the Hungarian people. Rakosi did even more than what he was asked to do.

C. Opposition to Communism

1. There was no open and concrete resistance because this was impossible and too dangerous due to the terror. But the atmosphere was anti-Communist. Among themselves, the people always spoke against the regime and there were many anti-regime jokes.

The workers and the peasants opposed the regime. The peasants refused to join the collective farms and the agricultural plans of the State could not be realized.

The State felt this resistance since it was important for it to rely on the people who were supposed to be its foundation. The passivity of the workers and peasants contrasted with the activity proclaimed by the Communists.

2. This opposition behavior was a constant one. In 1953 Imre Nagy made some economical concessions but gave no more freedom. In 1956 the terror seemed to relax and the people could speak up more freely.

3. Activities of the intellectuals

I read the Literary Journal and the Monday Gazette. I heard of the debates of the Petofi Circle at the university. Unfortunately, I was in the army last summer when the most important debates took place.

The people did not dare to express their feelings and had no public means of information to do it. The writers had the means of the press to do this and they spread the views of the people. I don't know why they turned so quickly against the regime after having supported it for so many years.

They showed the mistakes of the regime and encouraged the people to speak up and to criticize the regime openly. For this they can be considered as the fore-runners of the revolution.

4. The intellectuals, first, served ~~the~~ Communism when they spoke not for the country but for a small foreign minority. However, I respect them for recognizing their mistakes and correcting them by turning against the hated regime.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The Secret Police

1. Some AVH men were convinced Communists but most of them were paid mercenaries who received aid to ten times higher salaries than the average people did. For this many did the dirty work of the regime.

4. People in Hungary lived in constant fear. They were dissatisfied and could not express their opinions without fearing arrest.

5. Some informers were Communist Party members in the factories. Many ill-intentioned persons denounced many people. Others were blackmailed by the AVH and forced to work for the Secret Police. Many informers were led by financial motives. They were considered the vilest scum of the nation.

6. If somebody kept his mouth shut he could avoid trouble. Sometimes, tho, one had to speak up in their language since the Communists wanted everybody to be active.

7. Some young people were drafted into the AVH and were border guards. The regular secret policemen would have never fought on the side of the revolution. They were the only ones who resisted during the revolution.

8. When Hungary is independent the secret policemen should be brought before a court and punished according to their respective crimes.

9. The regular police behaved well during World War II and also now during the revolution. They came from the people and were not a privileged class with high salaries like the AVH. They held close to the workers and sided with them.

The press wrote little about the work of the police. It was probably as good as any average police force in Europe. Some policemen could be bribed but controls were very strict.

During the revolution they either gave their weapons to the people or helped them. They aided the people against the AVH. They collaborated with the revolutionaries who used their barracks as quarters.

B. The Courts

2. I was too young before 1945 to know how the courts functioned at that time.

3. I heard of the Peoples' Courts but cannot express any opinion about them because I was only ten years old at that time.

Today the family circumstances and origin played an important role in the judiciary system. For example, a worker, even if found guilty, would be treated leniently because of his origin or good cadre file. The Communists also staged many show trials and countless kulaks were victims of this system.

C. The Hungarian Army

1. Role played by the Army during the revolution
The soldiers and the non-commissioned officers sided with the revolution from the beginning. It was natural since it was the peoples' army. The soldiers were sons of workers and peasants and political indoctrination had no success with them. Many top officers turned against the revolution. They were afraid of losing their positions and even their lives. The Army lost all central leadership even at the level of the division and most of its armed actions were done individually.

It could be expected that the soldiers sent out to disperse the people who sided with them.

2. Life in the Army
Our military group consisted of students who were put with the regular soldiers in order to become artillery officers. During one month we received practical training about the theoretical things we learned at the university. We also political lectures. The soldiers had to listen to them but were not at all interested in them.

The officers were mostly of worker and peasant origin who joined the Army after 1945. They were made officers in one or two years and their military training and cultural levels were very low. Only during the recent years did I hear that officers were trained from four to five years.

The officers' majority was in favor of Communism but from private conversations with some of them we gathered that their political views were closer to the people. Even so, they did not dare speak against the regime because the political officers always kept an eye on them.

The officers treated the soldiers roughly but they could not do the same with the students who were more intelligent. During the revolution, many revolutionary councils were created in the Army. Those officers who disliked by the soldiers were dismissed and those who were liked were elected because they had been decent to the soldiers.

The training officers were not very competent and did everything only from orders from above.

D. The Russian Army in Hungary

2. The Russians are unpopular in Hungary because of their role in 1945 and afterwards. The Russian Army was the instrument of the unpopular Soviet policy aimed against Hungary. Hungary was under Russian military dictatorship like the rest of Eastern Europe. When the Russians came into Hungary they chased the Germans out of the country. But the army was very primitive and behaved badly. This role was never forgotten. Today the Russian Army is an organ of oppression but the Soviet leadership was hated more than the Russian soldiers as such who also were subjected to system of terror and to such an iron discipline that they could not disobey any orders.

3. I had no contacts with the Russians before the revolution. I only know that among those soldiers who stationed for a few years in Hungary, some sided with the revolution as they could evaluate and under-

stand the events. They also probably sympathized with the Hungarian people.

The Hungarian population and the Russians lived separated from each other. The Russian soldiers had their own stores and their separate living quarters.

4. I heard that among the troops stationed for a long period of time in Hungary some sided with the revolution. They saw the revolution from the inside. The new troops were told in Russia that they about to crush bandits and counter-revolutionaries.

I heard that Russian soldiers refused to obey their superiors, helped Hungarians and fought against the AVH. I did not hear of Russian deserters or of Russians fighting each other.

E. The Bureaucracy

1. The administrative apparatus was too huge and bureaucracy was exaggerated. Since nobody trusted any one everybody and everything had to be controlled. The controllers were controlled by other controllers and there was a joke about a worker and the three men who controlled his work.

These functionaries were generally poorly paid. On the whole, they were not liked because some thought that they had unlimited authority because they sat behind a desk. The whole system and its representatives were disliked for their slowness. For the Communists they were not reliable politically. Most functionaries were of middle class origin and there were only a few Communists among them. They were politically passive and acted the same way during the revolution.

The main annoyance was the slowness with which an affair was arranged. In the factory my technical work was overburdened by useless administrative work. For example, when a new screw was needed for a machine dozens of forms had to be filled.

Only the specific jobs given to the functionaries were done well because they were controlled. Some functionaries made criticisms and even tried to improve the situation but most of them remained passive due to fear of losing their jobs.

2. Self-criticism is a Soviet invention to explain the changes in the Party line. People do not like to admit their mistakes in public even when the others know them. More often, self-criticism was a veiled criticism against others.

F. It was possible to have an affair arranged faster by bribing a functionary or using the influence of some friend or relative in office. But the affair still had to go through the whole bureaucratic process.

G. A last remark about this topic: the top leaders were rather well-trained people.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Guesses and Hopes for the Future

It looks as if the present situation in Hungary is an increase of terror and of economic dependence on the Soviet Union. The present system will only strengthen itself and, unless there is a Western intervention, Hungary will be completely dependent economically and politically on the Soviet Union.

Until now the West supported Hungary and the UN voted several resolutions which the Russians did not respect. The same can happen again in the future or even no more resolutions could be taken as they proved to be completely unsuccessful.

The final aim of my hopes is to see Hungary independent from Communist and Russian influence, although this seems Utopian in today's situation. I hope that the West can use its influence to stop the terror which reigns in Hungary and to encourage a freer atmosphere similar to that of the past two years.

The people in Hungary would like to avoid a war because they know of the tremendous destructive effects of the modern nuclear weapons. Such a war would end with the defeat of Communism but would cost a heavy price. The same result can be achieved with less sacrifice. For a decade the Soviet Union prepared itself for world conflict and is doing everything in order not to remain behind the West. Today the Russians are threatening and trying to provoke the West into an armed conflict. The West and the UN must change their policy and not always follow but precede the events, or rather, the Soviets' at the appropriate moment.

I do not think of an internal change in the Soviet Union where the system of terror is too developed. The Russians are subjected to a strong propaganda and believe most of it.

B. Hopes Before the Revolution

I held almost similar views before the revolution. I did not think the regime could be overthrown from the inside and I did not even dream of a revolution. I knew it was only through foreign intervention that one could change the situation. As the basic foundation of Communism did not change with the policy changes following the 20th Party Congress, my hopes did not change much.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. The Economic System of an Independent Hungary

In an independent Hungary industry and agriculture must be conditioned by the natural resources of the country. Today, only those industries must be developed. As for agriculture, it must cover the needs of the country. For this, mechanization is necessary and machines must be manufactured.

Light industry is important since there is a lack of clothing and shoes. Hungary must become an industrial state with a developed agriculture.

The large factories, banks, and mines must remain in the hands of the independent state but the smaller enterprises and stores should be in private hands. Competition is healthy and continually develops economy and commerce.

The small enterprises should be given back to their former owners. The workers should be able to own a share in the big enterprises.

If the members of the State or collective farms decide to quit they should be free to do so. If they want to continue because it is economical they must also be able to do so.

The role of the state would be one of co-ordination. For the first year a planned economic system would be better to co-ordinate the various firms and factories. Heavy industry would be better in the hands of the State. Light industry could be regulated and advised by the State.

In a democratic state a limit to the amount of land somebody could own could not be set up. Today there are only small estates and I can hardly imagine that this would change in the future.

2. I would choose the government which guarantees the freedom of the individual. In Hungary, the people wanted freedom but in addition they also had a bad economic situation.

I do not think that it will be necessary to ban the Communist Party in an independent Hungary because it has no supporters, but I would approve such a ban.

C. Ideal Position for a Free Hungary

Neutrality is a very idealistic thing as we saw it during the revolution. I still prefer it, if it can be realized. Hungary should maintain good and normal relations with all countries on the basis of complete independence and equality.

3. A Federation of Danubian States is a very interesting idea. Its realization will be difficult but, in my opinion, it will be good and useful. In school I heard that it was an older idea. All states adjoining the Danube could form a federation which could ultimately join the United Nations of Europe. This is the general opinion in Hungary but the first objective is to break away from Communism.

4. If a Danubian Federation is realized the problem of Hungary's political borders will not be. For many people in Hungary this problem is very actual and they are concerned with the fate of the Hungarian minorities. During the students' debates at the university, for instance, the problem of Transylvania was brought up. I have relatives in Czechoslovakia, but for me, this problem is not an important one.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A.-2. I did not know about Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress.

3. I knew about Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee only through the Communist propaganda.

4. I learned about Rakosi's private life early in the revolution.

B. What Respondent Read

I regularly read the newspapers Free Youth, Monday Gazette, Literary Journal, Szabad Nep.

The students had to read the works of Stalin, Lenin, Marx, and Rakosi. They also had to know certain political articles from the Communist press and had exams on them.

I mostly read Hungarian classical literature, technical books, and novels. [Respondent was unable to name any specific author here. - Interviewer]

2. During my university years I read less classical literature because I had less free time. My parents read less than before Communism since their work took more time and they used their free hours to rest. The people in general read less literature than before for the same reasons.

The peasants could read more. The workers' reading habits remained the same. The intelligentsia was less interested because the quality of the works published under Communism was low. But people were more interested in the daily political news which directly influenced their lives.

3. I read what interested me. The students could read between lines and separate the ideology or propaganda from any eventual truths. After removing the Communist

make-up we could analyze the contents and make our own judgments.

The statistics about the standard of living did not correspond with the real facts. We did not trust the news about the workers' situation in the West and the influence of the Communist Party in the various Western countries.

All Western press products were prohibited and I never read any.

4. Illegal books and publications

The Communists put on the Index the books that were anti-Communist, those that described the West, and the works of the Western writers who did not serve Communism. These books were kept by the people in their homes and could not be found in public libraries any more.

The people used to lend each other these books and I also read some of them. I was especially glad to know about the life in the West. I also loaned such books but only to trusted friends.

C. News Received by Word-of-Mouth

Such news received by word-of-mouth was mostly of a political nature based upon the Western radio broadcasts with some comments from my friends and acquaintances who shared my views. I tried to judge by myself if the news was reliable or not.

The people were forced to pass on news in this manner since the press was one-sided. I also passed on news about political events to my friends. For example, after November 4, I told them about the debates on Hungary at the UN.

D. In general, all social classes were interested in debating political questions, especially the workers and intelligentsia. Most of the time they met at home.

They always did this among themselves without having anybody they did not know and who have spied on them. They refrained from mentioning politics on the telephone and in their letters.

F. Movies and Theatre

I went to the movies regularly and to the theatre or opera to see Western films and the plays that contained no politics. I did not like the Communist movies in which ideology, and not art, was the main goal. They were stereotyped and exaggerated and this applies also to all Communist plays and books.

The movies I preferred most were: "La Traviata" an Italian movie and "The Thief of Baghdad" a British film. As for the theatre I ~~preferred~~ particularly liked "The Czardas Queen" and "Pygmalion" by G. B. Shaw.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

1. I find it difficult to imagine any changes in Russia. The Russians are bitter against Communism but the news they receive is only Communist propaganda and ideology. They do not know the Western conception of freedom which the Hungarians knew before 1945. The Russians are isolated since 1917 and can travel only in the Peoples' Democracies. The people in the Soviet Union still believe that the revolution in Hungary was a Fascist revolution.

The organs of repression: political police, etc. are too well organized to permit any internal movement. The huge size of the country is also a factor against any organized uprising. Also, there is opposition in Russia. I don't foresee any effective action there.

2. The Communists would not, most probably, win a free election but might still get a sizable percentage of the votes.

5. The top leaders' aims are the principles of Communism. They cling to these doctrines even when they are not correct. They know the evils of dictatorship and continue to maintain it without caring about the many victims of such a system.

B. Eastern Europe

In Hungary, Czechoslovakia was popular economically speaking because it had a higher standard of living. Yugoslavia was looked at because Tito broke with Moscow and was independent and Poland because of the events of last October.

After the revolution the Czechs were very unpopular because they were ready to serve the Soviet Union against the Hungarian revolution while only expressions of sympathy came from all the other neighbor countries.

The Hungarian people have the same opinion about the governments of these countries as of their own. They despise them for serving the interests of a foreign power and for placing their own interests above those of the people.

2. If completely free elections are held in those countries, the Communists Party would hardly receive a few votes. The outcome would be a democracy of the western type.

3. Czechoslovakia has the highest standard of living; Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria the lowest.

C. Poland

1. The Polish road is interesting since it tries to be a gradual road from Communism to independence. The fate and eventual success of such a policy depends entirely on the Soviet policy determined by world politics. Poland may be used as a proof to show that Russia does not oppress any country, but, if Gomulka goes too far the Russians will probably suppress him in the same way they suppressed the ~~xxxxxxx~~ Hungarian attempts to regain complete freedom.

2. The Hungarian people ^{had} ~~were~~ already decided to get rid of Communism and of Russian oppression; but the Poles' attitude gave them more courage and encouraged the creation of a more active atmosphere.

4. It was only after the riots in Poznan that we knew things had changed in Poland. People knew about these changes through the western radio broadcasts.

5. Maybe the Polish ~~xxxxxx~~ revolution would have been preferable because there would be less terror today; but I do not think that it is possible to get rid of the Russians in the way the Poles are trying and for that reason I prefer the Hungarian revolution.

D. Yugoslavia

1. By breaking away from Moscow Tito showed the other Eastern European countries that there existed such a possibility. This can be considered as a positive factor.

Tito was not afraid to oppose the Soviet Union, but, I do not like him because he remains a Communist and plays a two-faced policy between East and West which I condemn.

During the Hungarian revolution his attitude was opportunistic and spineless.

2. After a visit of the Russian leaders to Belgrade in June 1955, I thought that the Soviet Union wanted to develop good relations with Yugoslavia and the West in general. This was better than the Soviets' anti-Western attitude of the previous years.

3. If Tito is still popular in Yugoslavia he must be less popular than at the end of World War II. I heard that Yugoslavia's standard of living is rather low in spite of the fact that the economy is less rigid than in the Soviet bloc. Otherwise, it is a Communist dictatorship without any individual freedom since the one-Party system is tolerated.

E. Asia and the Middle East

1. The standard of living in China was one of the lowest in the world and the Communist ideology found fertile soil there already after the first world war. The Soviet Union intervened and gave material help to the Communist Chinese Army. Moreover, the US dealt with the whole Chinese problem very carelessly and when it realized its mistake it was too late.

5. England was correct to suppress her colonial ties with India and thus, proved that the Western countries gave freedom to the people who asked for it. But I do not like to see how Communist ideology is spreading in India.

6. The events in Egypt are related to the struggle for influence between the Soviets and the US in that area. Nasser felt the Russian military and diplomatic support and dared to nationalize the Suez Canal. The Anglo-French intervention was good as it showed indirectly to Moscow that if Russia intervenes in the Western affairs, she will be met with arms. But the Soviet propaganda could also score by saying that the imperialists wanted to deprive Egypt of her independence.

This intervention affected the course of the Hungarian revolution. It was very difficult for the US and the UN to fight on two fronts. In both cases the question was delicate. I heard here from Americans that for the US the Suez Canal was more important than Hungary because of its significance regarding the oil supply of the West. The Hungarian revolution remained thus, in the background and was given even less attention.

F. West Germany

1. I heard that West Germany had one of the highest standards of living in Europe. I only spend one day in Germany on my way to the US.
2. I do not know the West German Social Democratic Party well.
3. Before I left Hungary I thought of a possible armed conflict between the two Germanies which might have led to a world conflict. Today, I see that there are many other troubled areas in the world.
4. The West German rearmament will make ~~xxxxx~~ Germany one of the strongest military powers against an eventual Russian attack. It will prevent an eventual attack from East Germany against West Germany. I can only guess that the term of service in the West German army is more than three years.
5. The German Army was more disciplined than the Russian Army. Both armies had their goals. Those who supported them were well treated; those who opposed them were persecuted. I found the Germans to be less popular because they directly threatened our physical life. Several of our relatives were deported to and killed in Germany. The Russian Army was more unpopular in the eyes of the population because it remained in the country.

G. Western Europe

2. I don't know the British Labor Party well. It represents the workers' interests without giving in to any

Communist influence. For that reason it has my sympathy and that of the Hungarian people.

3. West Germany has the highest standard of living followed by Great Britain, while the lowest standard of living is found in Egypt, followed by Greece.

H. The United States

1. The whole life has a different basis and the ways of thinking of the people are very different from that of the people in Hungary.

2. The US should pursue a firmer foreign policy; that is, it should not only wait for the enemy's moves and try to counter them, but should precede them.

The US should support the movements in Eastern Europe aiming at the independence of these countries. It is permissible to give a loan to Poland only if the US is convinced that it will benefit the Polish people and will not ~~help~~ indirectly help the cause of international Communism.

3. Even if the US recognizes the Kadar government, it must know that it does not have the support of the Hungarian people and is only the mouthpiece of the Soviet Union.

4. Yes, the Hungarian people would like to see more Western visitors because their presence creates closer ties between Hungary and the Western countries. They can also learn directly the circumstances in which people live in the West and compare them ~~existing~~ with those existing in Hungary. All kinds of visitors would be welcomed.

5. Naturally, they would like receive Western books and periodicals which would reveal to them the true facts of the economic life of the West -- facts they can only see through Communist propaganda.

6. The exiles can tell the Westerners what questions and problems the Hungarian people are interested in. They can help in giving objective and true information about Hungary.

7. The Marshall Plan, aimed at rebuilding the economy of Western Europe after the war -- I do not know many details about it.

8. The US fought for the interests of the Korean people and for its own interests because it did not want to give up a strategic position in favor of the Soviet Union.

I. Impressions of the American Domestic Scene

1. I always knew that those who are rich in America have a much greater fortune than the poor people. But the people who are poor here are much richer than the poor people in Europe. The living standard is the highest in the world.

2. In Hungary I had no opportunity to know much about American trade unions. Here I heard that their influence was very great. They represented the workers' interests versus the employers' and give way to their demands. I do not think they are left-wing or under Communist influence.

3. In the US the crime rate went down when the standard of living became higher and because people were not pressured by the circumstances. But on the other hand, there is less control and more freedom and the percentage of crimes remains maybe higher than it should be.

4. I heard that the level of the European secondary schools and universities was higher than in the US. In the American secondary schools more time is devoted to practical rather than theoretical courses.

5. The Americans have more free time and use it, generally, for entertainment, especially television.

J. The United Nations

The UN could have used other means to influence the Hungarian revolution. It voted resolutions but did not enforce them and did not oblige the Soviet Union to comply with them. It can impose its will only on small nations but not on big powers. Today the UN should still find a way to force the Soviet Union to comply with the resolutions which are still valid and to oblige the Russians to withdraw their troops from Hungary.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I do not see anyone who deserves the title of "Greatest Living Hungarian Today."

B.

1. Imre Nagy: I agreed with his aims and ideas, but, I do not consider him a resolute man who could resist the Russians successfully.

Cardinal Mindszenty: Great masses like him and his influence is very great but he looked at the revolution more through the interests of the Church than through those of world politics.

Laszlo Rajk: A Communist whose principles could not have solved anything.

Gero: A fanatical Communist for whom all means were good to realize the aims of international Communism. He was ready to sacrifice Hungary youths, economic interests, and national existence.

Janos Kadar: He serves the Communists with the same principles. During the revolution we thought he would be more moderate than Rakosi and Gero, but after the crushing of the revolution we saw that he used the same methods as his predecessors.

President Eisenhower: He tries to keep his role of political world leader and to fight against the doctrine of Communism. But he is not a dictator and should inform the American people about the Hungarian revolution and the true essence of Communism, if he wants to get the support he wants in his fight against Communism.

Secretary General Hammarskjold: He occupies a very responsible post for which he proved to be too slow.

Dulles: No opinion.

Eden: He took a more resolute attitude in Suez and the first concrete steps against Soviet attempts to infiltrate that area of the world.

Truman: He was not resolute enough against the expansion of Communism and the Soviet seizure of power in the various Eastern European countries.

3. Mikoyan: His policies could be favorable to Eastern Europe. He is the main ideologist of the Soviet Communist Party.

Nehru: A two-faced politician who received complete freedom from England. He is trying to build a bridge between East and West and often serves the interests of the Soviet Union, like during the Hungarian revolution when India abstained at the United Nations' General Assembly.

Chiang Kai Shek: While he ruled China and in spite of US aid, he was not energetic enough against the Communist danger. As a result, China is today one of the strongest outposts of Communism.

Ference Nagy: No opinion.

Chancellor Adenauer: Able and resolute politician -- one of the pillars of Western democracy against Communism.

Stalin: he's dead. He was a dictator who wanted to spread Communism all over the world. He built the biggest system of oppression in the countries he occupied after the war. He centralized the leadership in the Soviet Union in order to achieve his aims better.

Malenkov: Partisan of the use of milder methods in the Soviet Union. He tried to relax the dictatorship.

Franco: No opinion.

Bayan: No opinion.

Khrushchev: He is not as resolute and as firm as Stalin. But he was the atmosphere created in the satellites by the complete dictatorship. He tried to relax the grip and almost paid a fatal price for it and had to return to the old methods of oppression.

Titu: two-faced politician who tries to eat out two dishes and thinks only of his own interests.

Peron: No opinion.

Molotov: The strongest partisan and continuator of Stalin's methods in the Soviet Communist Party leadership.

Churchill: A very great politician who could measure up not only the temporary situation but the future one, too.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of Escapees

1. Most of the refugees left Hungary because of their activities during the revolution for which the Communist regime would have used a retaliation against them. Some young people came out to taste some adventure in the West.

There remained in Hungary those who could not come out because of family circumstances or because of their age; those who did not take part in the revolution and those who wanted to continue to fight for the Hungarian cause of freedom...finally, and naturally, the Communists.

I feel sorry for those who wanted to come out but could not because they will always be persecuted. I have great esteem for those who remained to fight. As for the few Communists left, I wish that they will be disillusioned soon.

Those at home are glad that we came out into the free world and live without fear and find our happiness. They trust that we will represent abroad the cause of the Hungarian people in the spirit of the revolution.

2. In my opinion, the peasants who are attached to their own land will always remain in Hungary. The overwhelming majority of the workers and of the intelligentsia would come out if the possibility is given to them.

B. Hungarian Exile Organizations and Individuals

1. While in Hungary I was not aware of any Hungarian exile organizations and individuals. My opinion today is that even if they did something they obtained no results. We did not even know in Hungary of their activities. I don't know what they did or tried to do and I did not think of them during the revolution.

C. An acquaintance of mine came back in 1955 from Vienna. He was old and wanted to join his wife. He said that there was more freedom in Austria and he was sorry for having returned.

The Communists probably wanted to make propaganda about the good standard of living and to show that the Hungarians living abroad trusted them.

D. The people in Hungary would like to know what we are doing here in their favor.

2. They should know that there is a movement in America which tries to embrace actively all the exile organizations and individuals.

3. The exiles should adjust themselves to the American environment and learn the American ways of life. They should do everything in order to help those who remained in Hungary.

4. I think that I could do nothing alone.

5. I do not want to join any exile organization.

6. The fact that the parties were re-organized was correct since we wanted the multi-party system and a free election. But, it was a mistake to do it at a time when every moment was precious and was needed for action. The parties should have worked together under a common leadership.

The former exiles' role depended on their respective parties.

E. I do not want to go back to Hungary.

2. Yes, I want my children to learn Hungarian as well as English in the US.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

1. I listened to the BBC, Voice of America, RFE and Radio Paris broadcasts.

The Voice of America and RFE broadcasts were very jammed.

Before the revolution I listened to these broadcasts from two to three times a week. During the revolution, I listened continually.

Actually, I did not have to tell the others what I had heard because they heard the same news too. We only discussed the news among our selves.

I listened to the broadcasts together with my family.

2. It was dangerous to listen till 1956 when the risk diminished somewhat, but one could not talk openly about these foreign broadcasts. Some people were arrested, others were interned. Nevertheless, the people kept listening behind closed windows.

We were glad to hear the news from the Western point of view. The programs were satisfactory. I preferred the BBC broadcasts because they were the objective. The news was fairly accurate.

The effect of these broadcasts was like that of a counter-poison against Communist propaganda. Many people listened to the broadcasts. They were able to see and understand the events without the Communist propaganda makeup.

During the revolution the Western radios played their biggest role by informing those who were at home about what was going on. They tried to give a general picture ~~from~~ to Budapest and the countryside and reported the international events regarding Hungary, like the UN meetings, etc.

4. RFE always gave ample and fairly accurate news, but its tone was too strong, seemed exaggerated and not objective.

5. The radios did not promise any help and only told us news. The revolution did not break out because of any promises made by the West. It was a result of the demands formulated by the Hungarian people themselves.

6. RFE should continue the broadcasts to inform the people about the world situation.

7. RFE should broadcast programs on European and American living standards particularly. A news service and ideological program refuting the thesis put forward by the Communist propaganda and revealing the mistakes of the Communist theories. In this way many Communists could also be won over.

B. I have never heard the initials NEM.

2. I have never heard of the "12 Demands."

C. Leaflets

I have never seen a Free Europe leaflet.

2. I read about the leaflets through the press. I also saw balloons in the summers of 1955-56 while in the army. The political officers went to pick up the balloons when they landed.

3. To pass a leaflet around was dangerous but they could be picked up without being seen. Those who found leaflets were always glad and showed them to other people.

4. The leaflets had an effect but I think the radio broadcasts were more effective. Leaflets were more useful in the countryside where there were not always radios. But in the cities the people could listen to the Western broadcasts several times a day.

5. Leaflets are good only to show that the West is not forgetting Hungary. They can reach remote places without radios. But the revolution showed that it is not necessary to convince the Hungarians about the evils of Communism.

6. On the leaflets sent to Hungary the things happening at home about which the people do not know should be bared. The language of the leaflets must be simple.

D. The Western groups wanted to maintain an anti-Communist atmosphere in Hungary and to try to disintegrate the Communist system from the inside. I thought all the organizations had a common goal.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. I would give the child my experience in various spheres of life with adequate examples. I would teach him how to stand on his own feet. I would teach him good morals and good manners and help him to complete his school education.

2. A child must be disciplined. I would not use physical punishment. This is not necessary. I would try to convince the child. Boys and girls should get the same treatment.

3. When I was fifteen I came home late one Saturday evening and was not allowed to go out the next Saturday evening. My parents rarely used physical punishment. My mother used to punish me when I was a young child.

4. Among the people I knew the father usually punished the children since he was the head of the family.

Physical punishment was less used by the intellectuals, more by the workers and the peasants. Those who had more time and more money could devote more attention to their children.

Under Communism, parents had less time to devote to their children and physical punishment was more frequent because the parents were more nervous.

5. Physical punishment was usually abandoned at the age of 13 for the boys, 12 for the girls.

Punishment in general was usually abandoned at the age of 16 for the boys, 13-14 for the girls.

Among the intellectuals discipline lasted longer. Children of peasants, and workers began to work earlier and were more independent. For those who had to work at an early age family education and discipline ended sooner.

6. Before Communism physical punishment was allowed in elementary and secondary schools. The Communists forbade this by law. The teachers did not dare to punish the child because they were afraid of the consequences. I approved of this change.

7. The characteristics I value most in a friend are a mutual desire to help each other, to discuss our common problems, to be trustworthy and honest.