

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENT

Respondent is a tall, husky muscle man who seems to have more physical strength than brains, but who stood valiantly under the flood of questions with which he was inundated. His character is one of glib glibity, and he doesn't let himself be bothered with too many problems.

At an early age, his family life seems to be normal. But his existence until now has been one of continual hazards and question marks. During many years of hardship, he had to learn by himself to stand on his own feet, but the sudden change of environment reveals the shortcomings of the self-education under Communism.

Respondent can easily be influenced by others and it is difficult to know when his opinions are objective or subjective.

This interviewer noticed also a slight tendency toward servility, although this is based on his general desire to be kind and cooperative. On the whole, respondent has yet to find here the enormous balance between physical and intellectual maturity, he was unable to achieve alone under the adverse circumstances of Communist dictatorship and oppression.

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II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The most important thing the Americans should know is that the Hungarian Revolution was not the fight of the Hungarian nation only against the Soviet Union, but of all the captive East European nations. This revolution also revealed that the Russians are not as strong as the US may think.

In the evening, the students were divided into groups and given the program for the day. The students were to be divided into groups of 10-15 and were to be given a warm-up question. The warm-up question was to be given to the students at the beginning of the program. The warm-up question was to be given to the students at the beginning of the program.

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

In the morning of October 22, we met at Godollo. The students of Szeged had left the DISZ and established the MESESZ. On that afternoon, at this meeting we worked out a program with several demands we wanted to put before the government. The demands were similar to other universities, despite the fact that we didn't know about them.

In the evening, two students from Szeged arrived and let us know the program of the . We decided unanimously to leave the DISZ and create our own MEFESZ. The DISZ secretary stepped down and our director decided with our principles. Only two professors disapproved and left the meeting which ended at 2:00 AM. We decided to hand over our 16 points to the government and if it didn't accept them to demonstrate at an undetermined date.

At 11:00 AM, on October 23, we got a phone call from the University of Technical Sciences in Budapest informing us that a general student demonstration was to be held that same afternoon. The courses ended earlier and our director tried to get a special train for us to go to Budapest which we finally didn't get. The students and the professors had to take the regular train and arrived somewhat late in the Capital. As for me, I hitch-hiked to Budapest and arrived at 2:30 PM at Petofi Square.

That was the meeting place of the students. The sixteen points were read, the national anthem was sung and poems were recited. Then we went to the statue of General Bem. While on the way, we cut the Communist emblems from the Hungarian flags. The Bem Square was crowded and groups kept arriving. The soldiers put out the National flag on the nearby barracks and an airforce officer came out and told us that the army was on our side, but the soldiers were not permitted to leave the barracks despite our demands.

The demonstration should have ended there, but somebody suggested that we go to Parliament and this motto spread in the crowd which converged to the other side of the Danube. It was 7:30 PM. We wanted Imre Nagy in the government. The writers spoke to the people who listened to Dery but refused to listen to Gyula Illyes.

The students remembered the radio and two cars of students went there although we had told them to wait for the rest of us. The actor, Siltovits, recited the national song of Petofi.

When Imre Nagy arrived around 9:00 PM, a car came from the radio with the news that the AVGH was throwing teargas bombs into the crowd. The people thought it was a trick to disperse the crowd and they didn't move. The car went back.

Nagy began his speech with the words: "Dear Comrade" but the crowds shouted him down, and he began again by saying: "Dear Friends". But the balcony from which he spoke was in darkness and he was not alone there. His speech had no effect on the crowd.

A tank officer went to his barracks and came back with several tanks which surrounded the radio building, but they had no arms and offered only the good protection. It was 10:45 PM. We got news that the building of the Szabed Nep had been attacked and occupied and that the people were burning the communist newspapers. I left the scene as I had no weapon and returned by train to Godollo.

On October 24, at 4:00 AM, I left Godollo with all the old people I could gather. The train was filled with young workers and peasants going to fight in Budapest.

The radio studio was finally taken but it was too damaged to be used. An old man gave me a machine pistol which he could not use and I silenced an AVH man who was firing into the crowd from a window. The AVH also shot at ambulances and we silenced several of them near the national museum. Forty six policemen were taken prisoners. Three were beaten to death by the crowd, and the fourth was killed later. We went from one place to another, students and workers together, as there was no organized fighting.

The people got weapons from the barracks and the students taught those who didn't know how to use them. At 10:00 AM, I saw the first Russian tanks. They didn't fire, yet, but pushed aside the people. A tank ran into a house, and its crew were beaten to death by the people.

I took part in several isolated fights. We saw an old woman killed by the AVH and also many first-aiders. The Athenaeum printing shop began to print revolutionary leaflets. In the evening, I took a pile of these papers and went by foot, and later by car, to Godollo. At Kisparcsa, there was an army control point. We picked up a worker who told us that at the AVH barracks at Kisparcsa, four students from Godollo were killed that day. At Godollo, there were Hungarian Army units with tanks. The Russians did not interfere. In the morning, the police had shot one person during a demonstration. Later, some hundred, -twenty students whom they had arrested were freed.

Early in the morning of October 25, I returned to Budapest by foot (25 miles). In the afternoon, I went to Parliament and saw the dead and wounded there. I gave my weapon to somebody else and began to carry the wounded and to recruit blood donors for the various hospitals.

During the following days, I stayed in Budapest and helped wherever I could. The medical students worked heroically day and night in the hospitals - drove the ambulances under enemy fire, and didn't go to sleep for several days. On October 30, I went home to Szekesszervar.

At the eastern railway station, one Russian tank stopped and its crew got out, glad to be alive, and gave the tank to the people. Unfortunately, nobody knew how to drive it. On the other hand, in front of the National Museum, Russians seated on a tank, raised their hands, and then shot the people around their vehicle. When it was through, many people said what they had done in Budapest was awful.

At Szekeshevar practically nothing happened, except that one Russian train going to Budapest had been derailed. There had been a demonstration and the ADH had fired into the crowd. When I arrived on October 30, there was general consternation. Gyorgy Mike's local army commander and a fellow communist could not be dismissed. With other students we forced him to resign. A certain Major Popp organized the National Guard.

October 31, I reported for service with the National Guard. As the officers didn't care about us, we asked them to give us the weapons and we began to train young secondary students.

On November 1, at 9:00 PM, we had an alarm in the barracks. We realized that we were surrounded by Russian troops for the night.

The next day we eliminated some ADH men. During the night we were again surrounded by the Russians. On November 3, I went to see my mother. There were two Russian barracks nearby. In the evening, the three anti-tank guns we had in our barracks were taken out on the Commander's order, and once more we were surrounded by the Russians. I went to bed extremely tired that evening.

On November 4, I woke up at 4:00 AM at the first Russian gunshot. We had orders to get ready but not to shoot. I tried to shoot down a Russian officer but my officer took away my weapon. Then we saw many Hungarian officers being taken prisoners. They were shot later. We also saw Major Popp interpreting for the Russians. We took all the weapons and ammunition we could, and forty-four of us got out of the barracks and went into the countryside near Mor. Eight of us remained together and went to Varpalote. On November 6 we heard shooting near the mines which were attacked by the Russians.

We heard from the radio that there were many deportations of students. I told the others that we should go home. We gave our weapons to civilians and went back to Szekeshevar.

On our way back home, we realized that the ADH - the secret police whom we had taken prisoner would retaliate against us. It was then that we decided to go to the West. I found our street filled with Russian tanks. I told my mother of my plans. I left Szekeshevar on Nov. 7, still hoping that the United Nations would intervene and that our stay in Austria would be temporary.

We left on foot, got rides on cars along the Lake Balaton to Tapolca. From there we reached easily the border which we crossed on Sunday morning, Nov. 11, after marching more than 60 miles.

B. I heard the term freedom fighter before the radio building on Oct. 23rd.

All those who could get weapons, fought. Students, workers, soldiers, policemen, intellectuals, children, women, old and young. Those who couldn't get weapons, didn't fight.

The fighters got arms from the dead enemies and the army barracks.

The fighters were not organized and no liaison could be met in between the various groups. There were only local leaders, but no one could command individually. Later regular National Guards were organized.

I never had any fear during the fighting.

I thought the U.N. would help us in some way - police force, or sanctions. In case such help would have come, we could have won, but without it I felt we would lose.

I knew on October 23 that Gero had called in the Russian troops. We knew what a coward he was and how little he trusted the Hungarians.

When the Russians withdrew from Budapest, I suspected a trickery as they had entrenched themselves around the city.

EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

- A. I hoped that the West would give us weapons, but didn't expect to receive soldiers. I thought that the United Nations was a strong organization which had moral weight and which could eventually force the Russians to give the rights asked for by the Hungarian people. We heard that an international police force was sent to Suez, and hoped that the same would be done for Hungary, but we were quickly disappointed.
- B. My hopes were based on what I knew before about the UN. According to the charter of the United Nations, the organization should have intervened in Hungary. As for the Western radio broadcasts, what they said was only "talks".

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's family background.

My father was a Worker before 1945, and is still a Worker today in an hunting ammunition factory. My parents divorced in 1945. My mother owned a grocery store which was Nationalized in 1951. From then on, she had to work in a State store for 700 forints a month. She still owns a very small vineyard where there is fruit trees today.

My father completed elementary school and my mother secondary school.

B. Social classes in Hungary.

(1) There are three main social classes: the Intelligentsia, the Workers, and the Peasantry. The Intelligentsia consist of the office workers engineers, army officers, plant managers, professors, and teachers, agricians, city students, lawyers, doctors, etc.

divided into

The workers consist of the industrial workers; skilled and unskilled workers, and of the collected farm workers.

The Peasantry consists of the individual farmers, the collective farmers, the middle peasants, or so-called ko-lacs, etc. There are practically no more peasants without land.

The class aliens were the small businessman and the craftsman.

I knew well all social classes - the least, the intellectuals. I worked several times with Workers and got to know them. Later, I studied agricultural sciences and got to know the peasants better.

Practically, one cannot speak of "classes" as none of these classes was united enough. They were all divided and this division was done by the communists. Maybe the most united class was the Workers class - united by the trade unions, even if those unions were under communist domination. All three classes didn't like the present regime.

The peasants were always very diligent. As for the workers, they had to work even if they didn't like it. The intelligentsia didn't receive an adequate salary for its work.

From the Communist point of view, I was a class alien. In reality, I belong to the University intelligentsia.

2. Reaction of the different classes to Communists

The Intelligentsia had the most difficult situation, since 1945. Their children were not admitted to schools and Universities. The peasants opposed Communists because it tried, through collectivisation, to take away from them the land they received in 1945.

The Workers were disillusioned by the low wages and the high working norms. At first, the Communist slogans attracted a fraction of the workers but the bad working conditions made them change their minds rapidly.

The little intelligentsia sided first with communism, but they were forced to write on command and they also became disillusioned. An example is that of Zoltan Zelk. These people actually sparked the fire of the revolution, after debates of the Petofi circle.

The Intelligentsia and the Peasantry were hardest hit by Communism. The intellectual children couldn't go to the Universities, and the salaries were low. Only those intellectuals who belonged to the Communist Party - who sympathised with it, or who supported it, could go. But this was a small ~~percentage~~ percentage.

As for the peasants, the deliveries were so high that if the peasant fulfilled them, he had nothing to live on. As he had no machines, he had to go to the State Farm where salaries were very low. The lowest wage was for harvesting - it amounted to 1 florin 82 per hour.

The land they could own was limited. Those peasants that owned more than 10 holds, or 14 acres, were considered ko-lacs.

C. The way the different classes felt about each other.

There were many contrasts between the various social classes. The Workers were placed above all classes. The Peasants were their associates and the Intelligentsia could not share this power, as its ranks were, allegedly undermined by the reaction.

The Workers did not trust the Peasants as they thought they were Communists. And vice-versa. Only the young peasants and workers got to know and to like each other as they worked and lived together and thus found out that they had similar problems.

In brief, the communist propoganda succeeded then to keep the classes away from each other, but in reality it brought them closer and permitted this unity which we saw on October 23, 1956.

The Intellectuals were unhappy to see the Workers supplanting their children in the Universities. Many workers and peasants didn't understand that the Intelligentsia was forced to work for the regime for very low wages.

E. How an individual might advance himself under Communists

1. The most important factor was to go ahead ; political views, then the family regime and finally, the talent. If one had lots of talent one could go ahead, but one had to keep one's mouth shut.

Until 1955, the student of intellectual origin was systematically excluded from the Universities. In 1956, during a period of rehabilitation, many were taken back. Under Imre Nagy, in 1953, there was a slight relaxation which was suppressed later by Rockozs

2. Those who can adapt themselves to any circumstances, who can betray their friends and become turncoats would always go ahead with the communists.

F. The Party Officials, ADH and Army Officials belonged to the privileged category. There was a small fraction which was completely isolated from the people and lived well. It's only contact with the people was through the AVH

VI. Family Life under Communism

When both parents in the family had to work, the mother couldn't properly educate the child. The ties between parents and child were loosened. The child sought a freer way. The child was under the influence of the Communist education. They were taken out of the home at an early age and very often didn't see their parents. The parents had less influence on their children. When the child noticed that his parents often didn't live together, he thought differently about family life and his moral attitudes were consequently affected.

In this respect, the peasantry was the only class where family life remained close. The above mentioned remarks apply to all the other classes with the Workers as the biggest victims. The parents were tired and nervous after work; the children saw their parents quarreling, etc.

B. How the children were brought up

1. Communism changed this, too. Each young child had to belong to an organization where he learned nothing but communist propaganda. The parents were not supposed to apply physical punishment, and the children knew it, and took advantage of it. As a result the children obeyed less and they simply didn't do what they were told to do. Of course, there were exceptions. In my family we were not too young when these changes occurred and our family life remained fairly normal. The younger children were affected.

The children of intellectuals and peasants obeyed more. While the young workers became independent at an early age and obeyed less.

The spirit of discord in the home clashed on political life. The parents had their former experiences and opinions. At school, the teachers had to teach communism, often against their own will. Often the children didn't know whom to believe. Often one membership in party communism created of one parent or child, created many difficulties within the family and was always a negative factor in family life.

C. Marriage, Courtship and Sex Habits (Battles)

As for courtship and marriage, there were many differences, all depending upon the individuals considered. The peasantry remained attached to their former patterns; the intellectuals continued to prefer to marry among themselves, otherwise family troubles doubled up. The workers met in the factories, but had little time to know each other well.

As for morals, the situation deteriorated. The girls behaved more freely; the boys looked for adventures. This was caused by the Communist education. Boys and girls were always together and given plenty of opportunities to make mistakes. The regime glorified the unwed mothers. There were many illegitimate children who were raised either by the State or by their mother. Wife and husband were often not living together. There were many illegal affairs and cases of unfaithfulness. As a result there were more divorces. People got married too young, without really knowing each other because the courtship was very short; moreover, the child - which is the main element in the solidity of the family - was often not with the parents.

economical

2. Prostitution was illegal. The bad ~~living~~ ^{economic} conditions were one of its factors.

3. Abortion was officially prohibited by the regime. Sexual problems were not discussed in the press but were debated at the University. In this respect, the Communists were not different from other people.

D. Friendship

1. Affects of Communism on friendship. True friendship was rare as people didn't trust each other. They were tense and had to fight for their daily bread. Nobody knew who was the ADH informer - who had this, or that opinion - All these questions were answered only last October. In brief, people had less friends than before Communism. They mostly kept the old friends, those they knew before Communism.

When somebody joined the Communist Party and had a friend who was a class alien, he would have had to break the friendship. As for me, I would not have been his friend anymore - just, perhaps, his conversation partner.

E. Crime and Alcoholism

1. The number of robberies and crimes increased because of the difficult, material circumstances.

The number of criminal women and juvenile delinquents increased even more. This was caused by the lack of proper education. The child was not understood and wanted to have a good time and some adventures.

The police was effective in most cases, and did a good job.

2. Alcoholism increased, mostly among the workers and the peasants who wanted to forget their many ~~xxx~~ worries and troubles.

Jampacs

3. The ~~Yampacs~~ ^{Jampacs} were young boys and girls who became independent workers at an early age and wanted both to be noticed and to have a good time. They could be recognized by their dress and lack of good manners. They couldn't tell the difference between wrong and right. Some were orphans, or youngsters who couldn't study.

The Communists exaggerated their behaviour. I didn't like them as they had no respect for women and had no morals. In many cases they were real criminals and it was dangerous to go at night to Pobanya or Antyelford - two worker's districts where they were wide spread.

The people who couldn't get jobs, or didn't want to work, were punished by the regime if they were caught. Some became criminals; or others just bad, or hanged around.

VII Religion

A. The effect of Communist rule on religious life in Hungary

One day, in 1956, the Party Secretary came to tell us that he had seen many students in the church and that this could not be tolerated.

There was no religious instruction in the schools. One could receive it privately but this was written down on our cadre-file and one was often barred from school. Officially the State did not interfere in the affairs of the Church but those who practiced their religions had trouble at their place of work.

The Catholic Church was the hardest hit because it offered the strongest resistance to communism. The State tried to make use of the Democratic Priest - the so-called Democratic Priest but people didn't attend when they said mass.

Communism had the same effects on the Protestants. The Jews were maybe the only exception.

B. Role played by Religion in Respondent's Life

Religion is the most important instrument in education and is a very important factor in my life.

It is an equal factor in my life - than in the life of my parents. I think I am as religious as the average person in Hungary.

I usually went to all the churches where I was not known, and where I could not be recognized.

C. The relation between Church and State

The most important factor is that the Church should function freely, and stay out of politics. The government should not interfere in its activities and vice versa. The churches must educate honest man. They should have schools, supported by the State or by the faithful.

If the churches educate the children adequately, film or book censorship is not needed, as those people will not go to see immoral things. The church could advise but not forbid.

D. The Jewish Minority

1. The Communists didn't oppress the Jewish religion. These people were those who could adapt themselves the best to communism. Maybe because they are shrewd. Generally they did what they were told to do and this was the most important thing under Communism.

2. At the end of the war, the Jewish situation was tragic as the Germans wanted to exterminate them. The Russians realized that they could be used and paid. They trusted them more than the Hungarians.

The Jews served communism on every line and could go ahead in great number, but many were business men who were hurt by the Nationalization and didn't like the Regime for that. They could go more easily to the University and were always preferred to other Hungarians. Many were Party members but I don't think their number was comparatively higher than those of the other Party members.

3. Many Jews fought with us during the Revolution but the majority of them remained passive and stayed at home awaiting the final outcome. They were probably afraid of their future.

4. During the MESSEZ meeting when we asked for the Russian withdrawal, a Jewish student asked: "Who will defend the Jews against eventual deportations?" We told him that if his conscience was clear, he had nothing to fear and that he could trust his own country. Only those who played a big role under Communism in the secret police, or elsewhere, have reasons to fear from an independent Hungary.

VIII. The Hungarian Youth

A. By Hungarian youth, I consider all secondary school and University students, the young workers, peasants, intellectuals from 15 to 28.

B. The role of the youth during the Revolution. The first spark of the Revolution was lighted by the writers, but on October 23, the main role was played by the youth. Later, the youth was not alone and the whole nation was united against Communism, as the problem to be solved was a national one, but the majority of the fighters were young people.

Generally, the older people feared for their job and their family. The young people had less to lose. All I had to fear was either to lose my life, or to be kicked out of the University.

The University students had a broader horizon and knew better of the world situation. We all felt it was the right time to act in order to achieve something. The Police example was before us and also Austria's independence. Finally, the University students were more united than any other group in Hungary.

The older people admired the youth and supported it everywhere. Before, many thought that youth was lost and misled by the Communists. The youth became the hero of the Hungarian nation. For the first days we were afraid that the older people would not support us actively but when they helped us our opinion about them was similar to their opinion about us.

C. Schools and educational system in Hungary.

In 1951, my mother's store was Nationalized and we were classified as class aliens. For a few weeks I could not be admitted to secondary school. The teachers were all unreliable, politically speaking and were all decent people. The quality of the instruction, especially as far as the technical courses were concerned, was excellent. But general education was limited.

When I graduated from the Agricultural technicum, I was admitted with a delay to the University by showing Worker's origin. I had trouble with my professor of Russian who made me flunk after the first year.

First, the secondary school had to recommend a student to the University. This depended upon his talent and his kádár file. Often the latter was the most important factor. At the examination of admission, preference was given to children of peasants and workers. If there were more vacancies, the intellectuals were admitted, and finally, the class aliens.

Each faculty had a fixed quota of students. The students were put where there was room for them. I wanted to be a mechanical engineer and they put me in agricultural sciences. I hope that after five and a half years of studies, I shall be able to complete them here.

At the University, requirements were heavy. Those who were not reliable politically didn't receive the marks they deserved. We had three hours seminar and four hours lectures of Marx's Leninism. We didn't have so much time for one single technical course.

With a few exceptions, the professors were all decent people -even those who taught Marx's Leninism. The most stupid ones were the women professors who knew only the Party history and nothing about technical problems. Most professors taught before Communism. A few assistant professors had studied in Russia and were Communists.

E. The Communist indoctrination of youth.

1. It is true that the Communists spent much time and effort to indoctrinate the youth. We had to go to political discussions in the secondary schools; then, there were continual meetings, radio speeches, newspaper articles, etc. Politics were brought even into sports.

2. The Communists didn't win over those who lived through World War II and will never forget the horrors committed by the Russians in Hungary. Also the youth experienced all the evils of Communism and saw through all the fallacies and contradictions and simply couldn't believe them.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A. Respondents main dissatisfactions: "I was very dissatisfied by the circumstances in which my family lived. My mother lived in misery with a modest salary of 750 florinths. I had to unload railroad freight cars or clean snow in the winter in order to pay for my studies, as my scholarship was insufficient. I never had one quiet moment, and never knew when I would be thrown out of the University.

B. The people complained most about the miserable wages for which they had to work day and night. They had not enough food and no fuel in the winter.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The standard of living.

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1. At Godollo, I lived on a scholarship of Forints a month -discovered my rent and food cost 287 Forints. As the food was very poor, I had to spend the remaining 33 Forints, too. I could go, maybe, once a month to a movie. I shared my room with three other students. We had two bunks and one table. While in Budapest we were twenty in the room and it was impossible either to rest or to work.

I still needed money for my books, clothing and to visit my mother. When I played with the volley ball, or basketball teams I could earn another 40 florints per month. I used to unload freight cars at the railway station where one could earn between 25 - 55 florints a night. I got once a suit from the University which the Russians stole last fall during the revolution when they looted the whole academy.

Clothing cost and caused the most difficulty, together with books which were very expensive (200 forints for one semester).

I considered it a luxury to go to a movie or to travel home to visit my mother. I made four trips in a year and a half, although the distance was only 75 miles. To go to the theatre was a big luxury.

My family's standard of living declined after 1945. My mother worked ever since then. Her earning went on food; clothing and fuel were harder to get. My sister nursed my grandmother who has been ill for six years. She has a small garden and this provided some food for us.

The best year was 1948; the worst was 1951 when my mother was unemployed for six months.

2. I knew an engineer who earned 3,604 forinths a month. His wife didn't work and could send their son to University at their own expense (cost 500 forinths a month). They had a two room apartment.

3. What accounted for the standard of living was the fact that all the products went out to the Soviet Union, where the standard of living was even lower. The Hungarian government was a puppet in the Russians hands and obeyed all their orders.

C. Retail prices in Hungary

1. There were no differences in prices between the State stores and the free market, but the quality was better in the free market, especially the fruits.

2. The quality changed constantly, depending on the production. Sometimes, the goods were prepared too rapidly.

3. The distribution system was unjust. The cities were big communist projects were under way were given privileges, but the stores had about the same products to sell. Transportation was good. There were some cases of spoilage. Sometimes certain goods, like toothbrushes, could not be found at all.

Generally speaking, spare parts could not be found at all. Torch light batteries, bicycle chains were very hard to get

4. Bread, at certain times - lard, and meat were of short supply.

5. Washing machines, for instance, were too expensive to buy.

6. THE BLACK MARKET. The black market was wide-spread after 1945. Later, it was replaced by the so-called "under the counter" sales. Friends distributed - that is, sold foodstuffs for themselves. This practice was fairly wide-spread. Lately, the store employees would give some goods to their friends. The peasants would sell what we eat under the maximum price, or sell products without authorization. If caught, a store manager could get five to ten years in prison.

E. Country Life and Agriculture in Hungary.

1. I prefer to live in the country because I am a great friend of nature.

The agricultural workers had a better diet as they were closer to the foodstuffs.

The general standard of living was higher in the cities.

In the country it was more difficult to control the political life of the people who lived fairly isolated. The control of the AVH was therefore weaker.

2. Respondents opinions about collectivization.

When collectivization was introduced, I had two contradictory ~~thoughts...~~ thoughts... maybe collectivization is good because as agricultural production would be organized, but I knew the nature of the Hungarian peasant who doesn't like to work for somebody else, or to be forced to do something against his will.

Today, I see that such a forced collectivization cannot be a sound economic basis for a country. The collectives must be voluntary and not be organized from above.

Collectivization was opposed by those peasants who had the most land, and by those who were diligent. Those who had no land and could have lived from the other peasant's work were in favor of it.

During the revolution, many collectives were dissolved because the members were dissatisfied. Some collectives also were heavily in debt with the State.

3. I would prefer to work on a private farm as I would get a decent salary. The norms were so high on the state farms that one couldn't earn one's daily bread. The same applied to the collective farms.

If an individual farmer wants to have his work done, he had to pay more wages in order that the workers didn't go over to the collectives. The collectives, tied on by norms, couldn't do the same.

4. In an independent Hungary, everyone should be free to choose a means of production as he prefers. In my opinion state farming is not reliable and the majority of ~~farmers~~ the Hungarian farmers would choose private farming.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. The situation before 1948...

L. Respondents interest in politics:

Before 1948 I was not the least bit interested in the various political parties. These parties only weakened the nation and diminished its unity. But I knew these parties were necessary in a democracy. My mother was not interested in politics. I don't know my father's opinion as I hadn't seen him since 1945.

2. Respondent's feel about the Communist Party before 1948.

I thought that the ideology of the Communist Party, which we were taught, was a stupidity. It's realization was impossible as everyone would be thinking the same way. I didn't know anything about Bela Kun and the communists of 1919 before going to secondary school.

Today, I think the Communist Party is a party which has an ideology which cannot be realized. It cannot even be called a party, but rather a system of co-ercion imposed upon the people.

B. 1948 on...

1. The members.

The first group of communists were those people who were without work or who had very hard work before communism and who hoped to have a better life under communism. They were of low cultural level and didn't understand the ideology but only the slogans of the Communist Party.

Then, there were those who were asked by the Communist Party to join and did for fear of losing their jobs and by lack of resolute thinking.

The third category were the communists trained in the Soviet Union. Rakosi, for example, was a prisoner of war in Russia during World War I.

Finally, the careerists, who became party members in order to make a career and earn good money.

The majority of the members were in the Communist Party for the money, and not by conviction.

2. The changes in Party Policies

The first policy of the Party was to win over the middle peasants and to neutralize the Kulac. This was followed by a policy of liquidization of the Kulacs. In 1953, the Communist Party tried to make concessions to diminish the gulf between the Party and the people, and also to improve the agricultural situation. Rakosi didn't like it, and in 1955 returned to the old policy.

Moscow directed the whole economic and political life until 1953. Imre Nagy made an independent move, but this was not tolerated and Rakosi was reimposed in Hungary.

The differences within the Party became apparant - evident- in the Seminar debates but were not known to the public. R was in disagreement with Rakosi and was executed for this. Many people were excluded from the party.

3. The members could not freely express their opinion, but many didn't approve the policy of the Party. There were many exclusions and withdrawals. In 1953, those who had faith in the party broke down a little. Some preferred Nagy (Nadje) new plans. During the revolution many were afraid while others fought with the people and destroyed their membership cards.

4. The top leaders of the Communist Party are not independent men. They feel for the job, which depends on the Soviet Union, whether they are convinced communists, or not. Rakosi was a communist's communist. Cari was a careerist...Dobi, a puppet. Gardar (?) a man without character. They must be die-hard criminals capable of doing anything to achieve their goals.

C. Opposition to the Communist Government.

1. Such opposition always existed. In 1953, there was an agricultural strike when the harvesters throughout the country refused to work. Only after Nadje speech were they willing to work.

Many people left their job or slowed down their work. The prisons were continually filled with people. The opposition came mostly from the peasants and the workers while the intellectuals were not organized.

The effect was rather negative as more people were arrested. The agricultural strike of 1953 brought only very few concessions.

1953 was the peak year. After that the AVH clamped down. Only in 1956 did the opposition start actively again with the debates of the Petofi Circle. I also heard of some kind of strike, either Csepel workers, but I cannot remember the year.

3. The activities of the intellectuals. I heard of the Petofi Circle at the University as we received the text of some of the debates held by the Circle. Later I kept myself informed through the M Gazette. The writers had refused to write what they were asked to write. A Russian woman writer came to Budapest and told Dery and others that they were idiots to write what they were asked to write.

The writer's opinions were the expression of the people's opinions.
A nation cannot be oppressed intellectually, politically and economically.

I was surprised by the writer's views because I thought that they were Communists - Zelk, for example. The debates of the Petofi Circle were without a doubt the proprietary signal of the revolution. They created such an atmosphere that only a spark was needed to start the revolution. I think the writers performed a very positive task before the revolution. Later, many fought with arms in their hands.

4. The intellectuals stood up against the regime because they thought that the freedom of thought was suppressed and they thought they could never write nor think as individuals.

THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The secret police , or AVH.

1. To those for whom money was more important than life and honor joined the AVH, but many people were forced to join by threats.

One of my friends was arrested and released two weeks later after having been beaten up for reasons he never told me.

I heard of one secret policeman who committed suicide after discovering that the man whom he had beaten to death in a dark cell was his own father.

4. It is true that people lived in constant fear and anxiety. One could not make a step without fearing arrest by the AVH. This applied equally to student, worker, peasant, etc.

5. The informer system was wide-spread. Most informers were interested in the money and some were forced to work for the secret police. In many cases the people knew those - w o the informer was. At Godollo, it was a twenty-eight year old student registered in the first year. We threatened him and he asked to be transferred to another university. Another student informer was almost strangled once, and I'm sorry we didn't shoot him during the revolution. These people were rejected by the population.

6. Generally speaking, it was possible to avoid trouble with the AVH by keeping one's mouth shut, but one was very much observed especially because of family origin.

7. The soldiers drafted into the AVH may have sided with the revolution but not the officers.

8. All AVH men deserved to get the rope, or jail cell as they have much mud on their hands.

9. The Regular Police. The true police was partly under communist influence. They remained politically passive as most of them were older men who didn't like the regime. D

During the revolution they gave their weapons to the people, and many fought in uniform or in civilian clothes. Later they incorporated with the National Guard.

The police worked efficiently. It was not possible to bribe them except in the villages as the police was afraid of that practice.

B. THE COURTS.

1. I think that before 1945 money could not influence the judge. But I don't know of any concrete case as I was too young at the time.

The People's Courts of 1945 -47 supported completely the aims of the communists and passed the sentences they wanted.

Today, all courts are instructed from above. it comes to so-called political crimes.

heavy sentence when

C. The HUNGARIAN ARMY.

1. Role played by the Army during the Revolution.

The Hungarian Army was a positive factor in the Hungarian Revolution. It supported wherever it could but its unified action was prevented by the betrayal of the top commanders. Where the officers were communists trained in Moscow they prevented the soldiers from fighting. At Szatesshehervar Commander Mikeš threatened to shoot every soldier who left the barracks to join the revolution.

I was not surprised by the Army's actions. Most soldiers were young peasants or workers whose life was just as difficult as the other people's existence.

2. Life in the Army. Every-day life in the Army was inhuman. It was wonderful if we could sleep two nights a week. We were treated like dogs and the food was dreadful. We had potatoes and black coffee twice a day. The majority of the officers were Communists and had difference of views with the non-communist officers. They used the soldiers for every purpose; an officer who needed apples, for instance, would send a soldier to steal some. If he refused, he was locked up. The officer's cultural level was very low. The degree of culture determined their behaviour. Some didn't even know that one had to have a high school diploma before going to a university.

Most officers were well trained but some were too stupid and didn't know how to dismantle a machine gun.

Political lectures outnumbered the other courses for three hours every second day. The students knew more about the ~~Soviet~~ this topic than the officers who gave the lecture. The other soldiers slept during the course, or listened without understanding.

The soldiers couldn't do any resistance as they were under strict supervision.

D. THE RUSSIAN ARMY TROOPS IN HUNGARY.

1. The intervention of 1948 was an insignificant factor compared with the atrocities committed by the Russians in 1945 in the cities which no one can forget in Hungary. I was only 9 years old and I was beaten to blood with gunbutts by Russian soldiers and almost shot with my mother grandmother, aunt and sister. The Russian soldiers had seen our radio and accused us of sending news about them to the Germans. Only an officer's intervention saved us.

Along the street at Szatesshehervar, they shot all the men they could find and set fire to the houses. The peasants retaliated by poisoning their wine. The Russians stored all our belongings and burned what they couldn't take away.

3. The Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the Revolution.

I knew well the Russian soldiers and I played soccer with them on the same field. They changed a lot while in Hungary. They were astonished by the standard of living and asked us how it was possible to live like this? They liked Hungary economically and said it was a very rich country, but politically they felt the same way as the Hungarians and many said that they didn't like the Communist regime which was imposed upon them. They also felt the lack of freedom of expression.

But there were many wild beasts among them.

I saw officers and soldiers alike as Szetessehervar was one of the main Russian in Hungary. We also, did black marketing with them. Many Russians wanted to marry Hungarian girls and to remain in Hungary but the Hungarian girls didn't want them.

Their behaviour was not very good. They often would attack women in the streets. In general, the Russians stationed in Hungary liked the Hungarians even if the Hungarians didn't like them.

I met them on the Soccer field or near the barracks and we have never come into a public place with a Russian.

There seemed to be a difference between the officer and the soldier.

4. The Russians at Szetessehervar were completely passive during the revolution. They were removed between Nov. 1 and 4th and sent to Czechoslovakia. The fresh troops were wild animals who didn't know where there were and asked where the Germans and fascists were and looked everywhere for them.

5. I heard of Soviet soldiers helping Hungarians before the Parliament.

I saw a Russian officer being shot by his soldiers after he ordered them to shoot at the Hungarians. I also heard of Soviet soldiers who deserted.

Soviet soldiers fought at the side of Hungarians before the Parliament on October 25th when the Russian tanks fired against the AVH.

I didn't hear of Russian soldiers fighting each other.

6. The Russians had not enough courage to commit individual acts of brutality. They only dared to shoot at the people from their tanks.

E. THE BUREAUCRACY . The whole administration was eaten up by bureaucracy and the most simple affair took months to be settled. Papers had to be made out for everything, and this slowed down the commerce, the production, everything. My admission to university cost me much time and effort.

The functionaries were not communists and worked to earn their daily bread. In the councils, in the offices the communists were always present. The people were not interested in the functionaries who treated them rather passively. During the revolution, most functionaries fought but the fraction

stayed away in fear of losing their job. In general, they did their job well.

2. Self-criticism was a mask the people wore. If somebody wanted to clear himself he used it.

F. It was possible to a certain extent to arrange an affair. It could happen when one looked for a job, or at the admission to the University. If one knew well a member of the admission board and could bribe him with money, one could sometimes get admitted to the University.

The functionaries who were caught were dismissed and jailed.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent's guesses and hopes for the future.

If Hungary remains in Russian hands, the situation will only deteriorate, Economically and politically and the embitterment of the Hungarian nation will only grow.

I'm afraid that the Russians will soon start the III World War and they will never give up their dreams of domination. Their low standard of living may influence them but the Soviet Union will lose the war, as it is too weak inside and many oppressed people will turn against it. In Hungary the people do not war, only freedom.

B. Respondent's hope before the revolution.

My only hope was to make some kind of a living, and I thought that we would never be able to break away from the Soviets.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY.

A. I want a free and independent Hungary similar to Austria.

Life in the street and agriculture should be doubled-up (?). We have no national resources for heavy industry. Hungary should produce, especially, articles of prior necessity and suppress the smelters of Sztalinveros, for which we have no iron ore. It should double-up the production of fruit and grapes, which are our best products for export, with the Hungarian wheat.

The large state enterprises must remain in the hands of the state while the small ones should be in private hands. These enterprises should be sold instead of being given back to the former owners who should receive a certain compensation if their enterprise was nationalized without compensation.

The land of the collective farms should be returned to the respective owners. The state farms should belong to the villages and districts interested.

The State should not be a dictator but an advisor. It could tell the peasants what to produce in a given area.

The nationalization of the industrial plants was good as it helped to better organization. But the workers were at the mercy of the state. The trade unions were a state organ and the workers deprived of their right to strike. The workers should have their four independent trade unions and the right to strike.

To set a maximum to the amount of land anyone may own is a correct idea which could prevent the return of bigger estates and of having peasants without any land at all.

2. I would prefer a government which guarantees the personal freedom of the individual as it still gives the possibility to have a better standard of living at a later date. Under dictatorship things always remain the same.

All parties should be tolerated in an independent Hungary. In a free election the Communist Party will never get one vote from the people.

C. The international position of an independent Hungary.

I want Hungary to be a neutral country, like Austria. It should maintain and double-up cultural and economical relationships with all countries on the basis of equality.

3. The Danubian federation is necessary. I think it's desirable because the economies of the nations of the Danubian basin can complete each other. Such federation could be created without too many difficulties, and the majority of the Hungarians would approve it.

4. I don't think Hungary's present political borders are acceptable. I am concerned over the Hungarian minorities. There should be a plebescite to decide to what country they want to belong. This question is very important to every Hungarian.

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. 1. We discussed Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress at our political seminars at the University.

2. I didn't know about Senator McCarthy and about the un-American Activities Committee.

3. Rakosi spent 16 years in jail. I only knew that he had a Mongolian wife in a resort area near Lake Balaton.

B. What Respondent read: I read the newspapers SZABAD NEP and SZABAD Ifjusag which were compulsory for the students. I also read sport magazines and university newspapers.

I read all the technical books lately. Earlier I read a lot of Hungarian classics, as my aunt owned a bookstore. My favorite authors were Gorky, Kertész and Mikszáth. In the secondary school, we had to read the Russian books, classics and communists. I read more while I was in secondary school.

2. People read more under communism as they were more interested in politics. Because the good books were prohibited everyone read them. More people went to secondary schools and felt the desire to learn.

The intellectuals read the most. The workers read technical books and the peasant also read a lot.

3. I selected the news I read and knew what was propaganda and what was true. I didn't believe the doctors about production and the ~~influx~~ information regards certain point policy events. For example, certain figures about Soviet agriculture were absolutely impossible to ~~realize~~ achieve.

My aunt received once a month the weekly edition of the New York Times, and a friend of mine translated it for me. I saw that it was really a very thick paper.

4. The Communists put on the index all books on religion and pre-war politics, like, for instance, the ~~Peace~~ TREATY OF TRIANON. I was authorized to take out books on the index from the University library for my studies. The people kept those books at home and lent them to each other. They also could be found on the black market.

C. I got, by word of mouth, news about foreign politics. At the political seminar, this news was confidential but we passed it on. The professors of Marxism and Leninism read Western newspapers, listened to the Western broadcasts and except for the women were not communists, and actually helped us by giving out the books on the index and the Western information.

D. Especially the workers, the peasants and in general, everybody talked about politics, at their place of work and at home. This was only among family and trusted friends and strangers were not trusted. The people didn't write about these matters and all telephone conversations were tapped.

F. For financial reasons I went very seldom to the movies. Maybe once a month when a friend could pay for me. During the year and a half that I was at the University, I went twice to the theatre.

The movies I liked the best were ONE SUMMER OF HAPPINESS, a Swedish film, and an Italian Opera film about Verdi's Life.

The plays I saw and liked were THE SWAN'S LAKE, a ballet, and Bank Bar by Joseph Katona.

I didn't like the Russian films and always fell asleep as they had no real substance.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY.

A. Russia. happen

1. I think changes may ~~happen~~ through a revolution. The Hungarian University students in the Soviet Union were sent home and the Russian students are restless, too. the russians don't like economies very much.

2. If Russia had free election, Communism would be rejected.

3. The Russian leaders are a group of a careerists who want to dominate the world.

B. Eastern Europe.

1. Poland is most popular in Hungary. Its fate and aspirations are similar to those of Hungary. Czechoslovakia wasn't popular because it serves completely the Soviet Union as its most faithful satellite. During the Revolution, the Czechs showed no sympathy for Hungary and many Russian troops came from Czechoslovakia.

The Hungarians have sympathy for the nations neighboring them, but not for their government., which are not independent but under Soviet direction.

The Albanian and the Czech student at the University. They were all right but I could never find out whether they were communists or not.

2. Free elections would mean the end of the communist government in all the Eastern countries.

Czechoslovakia has the highest standard of living; Romania, the lowest

C. POLAND.

1. Poland is falling back again under Russian influence. If the elections would generally have been completely free Gomulka would have been ousted. The Russians will liquidate him. They cannot tolerate any national communism which makes concessions to the people.

2. The demonstrations of sympathy for the Poles were the first step of the series of revolutionary moves. Before Oct. 1956, the Polish events had no effects on Hungary. We didn't discuss very much the Polish question at the seminar.

5. A partial result, such as the one reached by the Poles is not sufficient. I approved of the Hungarian revolution which showed the only way to gain complete freedom.

D. YUGOSLAVIA.

1. Tito was the proof that the Moscow road was not the only path leading to socialism. We never understood Tito's policy between east and west, or his attitude during the revolution which was very unclear. On one hand, he remained passive and on the other hand, he took in the Hungarian refugees.

I do not know the Yugoslave people well. In my opinion, their standard of living is higher than in Hungary and Tito may be popular but my opinion is based on what I have heard from the Communist propaganda.

ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

1. China was an overpopulated area which lived in misery; a factor which attracts communists. It also was an agricultural country with undeveloped means of production. The people's cultural level was too primitive to understand communism.
2. Communist China is more independent of Moscow than the other satellites because it is much bigger and much stronger country than the others.
5. I cannot give a realistic answer to the question regards the relation between England and India.
6. The Nationalization of the Suez canal and the Anglo-French intervention were both illegal. An international canal which connects two continents cannot belong to one state.

With no war in Egypt, the UN would not have had its hands tied down and could have helped Hungary which might well be a free country today.

F. WEST GERMANY.

1. West Germany's standard of living is much higher than in East Germany.
2. I have no opinion about the West Germany social democratic party.
3. In my opinion the German who can think of starting a new world war is not normal.
4. West German rearmament is necessary to have a strong country in Europe. Otherwise, the Russians can run over Europe any time they want. They know well that the German soldiers are among the best in the world.
5. The German army had more modern equipment and an iron discipline -the opposite of the Russian army. Both armies were unpopular in Hungary and disliked by the population.

G. WESTERN EUROPE.

I have no opinion about the British Labor Party.

West Germany has the highest standard of living, followed by Great Britain, Italy has the lowest.

H. THE UNITED STATES.

I was particularly impressed here by the development of mechanicalization.

2. The US should ask the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Eastern Europe and to allow free elections so that each country can choose a government of his own free will. Otherwise, the Soviet Union may be excluded from the United Nations.

If the US gives a loan to a country which is under Russian dependence, this only helps the Soviets. Today all Yugoslavia is independent from Moscow.

3. The US must not recognize the present Hungarian government.

4. The Hungarians would like to see more Western visitors, in order to know the life of the West in direct conversations.

5. They would like to receive Western books and periodicals for the same obvious reason.

6. Exiles should rather not be associated with such activities as this will give the impression that they want to express their own opinions and even to distort the facts.

7. I don't remember well the Marshall Plan. I think the US wanted to help Europe and to do business at the same time.

8. The US fought in Korea because it wanted to help the Korean people against communists and also in order to protect its own material interests.

I. Impressions of the American Domestic Scene:

1. In Hungary I thought the differences between rich and poor were huge. Today, I realize that the standard of living is not so different. The only difference is that one man or another has more or less money in the bank.

2. The American trade unions are very powerful organizations. They have employment insurance and united efforts for higher wages. I don't think they are left wing.

Their present powers are quite sufficient but must not be curbed.

3. Crime in America is not as wide spread as the Communist propoganda told us.

4. I cannot compare American and West European schools and universities because I don't know the latter ones.

5. The way the Americans spend their free time is according to their own cultural level and interest and not only in drinking.

G. THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations should have followed the Charter and asked the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Hungary if it didn't want to be expelled from the World Organization.

Today the United Nations is just as useful as an umbrella after the rain.

KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I could name only great leading Hungarians but there is none who can be called the greatest.

B. Imre Nagy, a communist but also an Hungarian who proclaimed his country's neutrality.

Cardinal Mindszenty, a victim of Communism.

Laslo Rajk: a faithful Communist who had much blood on his hands.

Erno Gero: the greatest scoundrel and traitor.

Janos Kadar: A Communist mercenary and Russian puppet

2. President Eisenhower, a good statesman

Secretary-General Hammarskjold - no opinion

Dulles - a good politician

Eden - I didn't always agree with his policy, especially about Suez.

Truman - He was not a bad politician

3. Mikoyan. A Vile scoundrel. Capable of anything.

Nehru - a two-sided politician

Chiang Kai-shek - no opinion

Ferenc Nagy - a fallen star from the Hungarian political sky

Roosevelt. We shall never forgive him for what he did at Yalta for Hungary

Adenauer. A man born for statesmanship.

Stalin: A post-office robber who wanted to dominate the world and used all possible means to achieve his aims.

H.

Malenkov: A scoundrel like Mikoyan.

Franco: No opinion

Bevan. No opinion

Khrushchev : a vile and bestial man and full of treachery

Titos: Naturalist, but two-faced politician

Peron: no opinion

Churchill..the most outstanding personality of World War II

XVIII ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of escapees:

1. The greatest group of refugees are those who fought actively and risked their lives during the Revolution. Then, there were those who planned for a long time to come out to the west for a better living. Others came out to taste some adventure, but this was a small group. Many political prisoners were freed during the Revolution and also managed to escape to the West.

The remaining Hungarians are those who lived far from the Western borders; those who chose to fight until the end, and finally, the Communists.

I can only feel sorry for those who stayed and fear for them as their lives are continually in danger.

Those at home are glad that we have saved our life and can come back some day with more experiences to help develop our country.

I knew a man who would have liked to come out but could not take his family along and decided to stay.

2. No more than 1/3 of the population would remain in Hungary. The old people, the Communist elements. Even the Hungarian peasants would come out.

B. Exile organizations and individuals:

1. We heard about them thru RFE (Nerenc Nagy and Bela Varga) I didn't know of their affinities and my opinion was that they could do nothing and it was easy for them to talk from abroad.

They tried to do something but could achieve nothing. We didn't need them during the Revolution as they represented an era which belongs to the past.

C. In 1954, a whole family came back from the United States. They felt sorry for having done so, although they had brought plenty of dollars with them. I didn't understand the goal of their redefection campaign and propoganda.

D. 1. The people in Hungary would like to know in what circumstances the refugees live in the West.

2. They should know if all the students can continue their school studies.

3. The main task of the exiles should be to maintain their unity.

4. Personally I will inform the people all around me as to what happened in Hungary, and I will study in order to become a useful citizen.

5. I am a member of the Freedom Fighters Assn. and of the American-Hungarian Students Assn, I think these assn. should include all the new exiles.

6. The political parties were reorganized too early at the time when Unity was most needed.

8. I want to go back to Hungary after the end of Communism.
2. I want my children to know Hungarian as well as as English in the United States.

AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A Radio.

1. I listened to RFE, VOA and BBC and the Yugoslav station Novi Sad .

The Voice of America had the best audibility.

I used to listen three times a week with my family and passed on the news to my friends. I also listened at the student's home with all the students.

2. It was dangerous to listen to the Western broadcasts and around 1950 one could easily be jailed for it. To tell the news was even more dangerous. One of my secondary schoolmates was jailed for three months in 1951 or '52 for listening to the Western radios.

3. I listened to all programs and was interested mostly in foreign news and in the black book. The news was fairly accurate- in general- especially that of the BBC.

Before the Revolution, the Western radio broadcasts made the people believe that they could count on some help from the West. I didn't listen to the radio during the revolution.

4. Despite, much inaccurate information, we listened to RFE and it told us always new things.

5. The Western radio broadcasts had nothing to do with the Hungarian Revolution.

6. RFE should continue to broadcast in order to maintain the contact between Hungary and the free world and to give the Hungarian people a picture of the West.

7. In my opinion, the most important programs were: the news, political and economic events and programs about life in Western Europe and the United States. ~~Other~~ Communist propaganda is not necessary/
Anti-

There should also be a good program with about literary works which were put on the index by the communists.

B. I have never heard of the initials N.E.M., and I have never heard of the Twelve Demands.

C. Free Europe Leaflets: (1) I picked up many leaflets in last summer after Rakosi's fall. There were magazines and also yellow stickers. We passed them on, and many stickers were stuck in Budapest.

2. Many of these leaflets were brought to the University. In August 1956, near, while I was in the Army, we tried to shoot down three balloons without success.

3. To pick up and circulate leaflets was dangerous, but nobody knew who had originally picked them up and the people passed them on.

4. In my opinion, the leaflets were useful.

5. The Free Europe Committee should to drop leaflets into Hungary.

6. The text of the leaflets was excellent and didn't have to be changed.

D. The goals of the Western groups which broadcasts and sent leaflets into Hungary was to keep awake the anti-communist feeling of the Hungarian people and to give them a picture of the life of the New World.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. A child should be taught religion and philosophy. He should learn to love his parents and his country.
2. I would not use physical punishment in order to discipline a child, because it only harms him and produces negative results. I would discipline the girls more gently.
3. I was rarely punished. Most of the time I was scolded, usually by my mother. For instance, when I didn't want to learn my lessons at the age of eight.
5. In 1947, a law was passed which forbid parents and teachers from beating children. As a result the prestige and the authority of the parents went down into communists. Physical punishment was usually abandoned at the age when the child went to secondary school. Physical punishment was used mostly by the workers. The intellectuals didn't find it necessary.
6. Before Communism, the teacher could use physical punishment with the child. This was prohibited under Communism and the prestige of the teachers went down.
7. The characteristics I value most in a friend are honesty, frankness and an open character, and diligence.