

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent belongs to a peasant family and can be considered as a self-made man who went successfully through a university during the war.

Because of the then existing social barriers, he went after graduation to work as a clerk with a semi-official and government-owned agricultural product collecting enterprise, "Futura". Being completely isolated in Budapest, he tried to contact people like himself, namely young people of peasant origin.

At this time, a so-called "Popular Movement" was very fashionable. The writers Gyula Illyes, Peter Veress, Jozsef Darvas, Imre Kovacs, Ivan Boldizsar, Ference Erdei, etc., belong to this movement. Almost at the same time, Ference Nagy set up a peasant organization, the Hungarian Peasant Association. Respondent belonged to this organization, which was based on a corporative system. Later on, this organization also began to be active in the political field, and during the last years of the German occupation, it turned to be completely anti-Nazi and anti-German.

After the war, in 1945, respondent was put on the list of candidates of the Smallholders Party. As this party won the elections with a landslide, he was also elected deputy. His work centered almost exclusively around the financial administration of the Peasant Association. He was arrested in 1947 in connection with the great conspiracy trial, together with 22 other Smallholders Party deputies. After serving a three-year sentence, he was kept in prison for an additional year.

After his release, he started to work as a factory worker like all the former political prisoners. Due to his friendly and family relations to Smallholder Party members, he had continuous contacts with those who were considered potential leaders in the future. When the revolution substantiated some kind of political independence for the traditional coalition parties, he returned to the Peasant Association to lay its foundation stone again.

He is an able economist and proved to be a good administrator. But probably due to the situation in the country, he was unable so far to do anything in his particular field. As for his political views, he may be considered as a radical democrat, a little bit too far left from the center. Due to a lack of knowledge of languages and consequently, of objective views on world affairs, his political convictions are somewhat odd.

As a result of his education, and more particularly of his social background, respondent is honest, but not open. He is daring, but not courageous. He is a staunch Protestant, even in politics. During the entire interview, he remained unsmiling and unemotional, but always willing to cooperate and to answer any question.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The Americans overestimate the Soviet Union's military and ideological strength and influence and are afraid of the Soviet Union. This attitude, which is not founded, decided the fate of the Hungarian revolution. If the Americans would have known how little was needed to make this revolution victorious, things could have been completely different. The Soviet Union is more afraid of the free world than the free world of the Russians. But the West does not see it.

As one comes from Budapest to Washington and goes away from the Soviets so grows the fear of the Soviet Union. The people are a little afraid in Vienna, more afraid in Paris, and trembling in Washington. As the Hungarian people know the Soviets they are not afraid of them.

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

On October 22 I worked as usual in an annex factory of the Beloyanis Radio Plant in Budapest. In the evening three old friends of mine, two university students and one university professor, came to visit me at my home. They brought along the plan they wanted to follow at the university meeting to be held the next day. They also brought along the report of the students' meeting in Szeged. They had a typewritten draft of some ten or twelve points and asked for my opinion. We discussed the demands and made some changes. These friends knew that I was active behind the Petofi Circle. I felt that the meeting would be a new step in the evolution which started in the summer toward a liberalization of the regime.

October 23rd

I went to work in the factory as usual. In the morning I received countless phone calls and at noon all work ceased since we all decided to go to the statue of Bem to take part in the demonstrations. I left the plant at 1:30 p.m. and went to the Bem Square.

In the morning some politicians came to see me -- some from the Popular Peoples' Front. I was also approached on behalf of Laszlo Piros, Janos Kadar, and Antal Apro, and asked to get in touch with them on the same day.

During the six years I had worked in various factories nobody knew about my political past and about the fact that I was a former member of Parliament. My co-workers always thought that I was a laborer. On that day I revealed my real status to some engineers I trusted and they particularly pleased about this. In the morning we also mimeographed many leaflets for the students.

At 2:30 p.m. I was in front of the statue of General Bem where secondary school and university students, from 16 to 20, were reciting poems before the statue. There were already several thousands of people walking around the square. Peter Veress arrived between 3 and 4 p.m. He climbed on a car in order to deliver a speech. He was only a few feet away from me. Afterwards, with

the people around me, we shouted, "Flag on the Ministry for Foreign Affairs!" After ten minutes, the flags appeared on the building and all the windows were filled with people. Meanwhile, the actor Sinkovits recited the national song of Petofi.

Many soldiers looked out from the nearby barracks. We shouted, "Put out the flags and join us!" On the square, the first Communist coat-of-arms was cut out from the Hungarian flag. The crowd cheered and soldiers put out Hungarian national flags and even removed on the rooftop to put the flag out and to look down.

Veress stressed that the Party and the government were responsible for the dissatisfaction of the entire Hungarian nation. Such a thing had never been expressed so clearly and openly before. By that time there already 50,000 people in the square -- mostly students, Pioneers, etc. -- singing Hungarian marches and folk songs of 1848. A group of 3000 university students came to join the others after having been at the statue of Petofi at noon.

All the Communist coat-of-arms were cut out from the flags and the people asked for the Kossuth crest. The atmosphere became quite electrifying. The crowd began to shout to the Parliament and started to move in three large throngs towards the bridges on the Danube. All traffic stopped. Everybody had to walk, so that everyone became a demonstrator. When the crowd reached the Parliament it was 200,000 strong. The slogans by this time were new and more demanding. On the Margaret Bridge, the people shouted, "Imre Nagy in the government!" and "The soldiers of all nations must go back to their own countries!" -- which means, in less diplomatic language, "Ruski go home!"

After I crossed the bridge I ran home to get my 13-year old daughter and came back with her half and hour later to the Parliament. I wanted her to see something that I felt was historical. Everybody was happy and smiling. I met, by chance, my wife who worked in a factory at Ujbest. She had never before been in any demonstration. My wife headed

for home without expressing any worry about our child.

On the square before the Parliament poems were recited and more slogans were shouted. Darkness fell upon the crowd. The people became more and more restless. They now wanted to hear Imre Nagy. Some people appeared on the balcony of the Parliament -- first, Joseph Mekis, First Deputy of the Council of Ministers. The crowd booed him. Then came Ference Erdei, Deputy Minister. He tried to speak but he could not continue. In the nearby streets around the Parliament there was a crowd of 200,000-300,000 people gathered.

Suddenly all the lights were turned in the square. The people lighted newspapers and the sight of 200,000 torches, burning for some 10 minutes, was something fantastic. Finally Imre Nagy appeared around 9 p.m. However, his speech failed to appease the people. Gero's speech became known and enraged the people because he had called them "counter-revolutionary scum." I met many of my friends in this crowd and at about 10 p.m. we began to wonder what the outcome would be.

It was at this time that the first news arrived that there was shooting before the radio building. I greeted this news with skepticism and thought that it was a Communist provocation aimed at dispersing the crowd.

I could not believe that it was true since I did not think that the Communists would be stupid enough to shoot into the crowd. I took my daughter home and at 11 p.m. I went to Stalin's statue just as the torches and ties were brought there to topple the statue. I saw it fall down and dragged through the downtown streets. Then, I heard shooting. I reached Calvin Square. There were already many wounded and dead in the gardens of the National Museum.

At about 3 a.m. the first Russian tanks arrived and fired the first shots. The radio building had already been taken at 2 a.m. Most secret policemen had escaped through a secret entrance and left only the dead behind them. I went into the radio building and was given a rifle. We took positions along

the stone wall of the National Museum and began to fire at the Russian tanks. Around 5 a.m. I gave my weapon to somebody else and went home.

I thought that Imre Nagy would become Prime Minister, but, I did not think that the Russians would withdraw. This could only be a later objective of a new policy. I also hoped that non-Communists would be allowed to participate in the new government.

The people would have probably accepted at least 50 per cent of the demands -- that is, a Nagy government with a program similar to that of 1953. A government with economic and ~~social~~ wage reforms, the right to leave the collectives, some form of freedom of the press and of speech, foreign trade with East and West on the basis of equality, the rehabilitation of the political prisoners. If Imre Nagy would have formed such a government and such a program it would have been the first step toward a new direction.

The majority of the demonstrators was first made up of the students; later, the workers outnumbered them.

The demonstrations were spontaneous. The slogans and demands which were expressed were those of the Petofi Circle and of the Writers' Association which had been expressed openly or in covered words for the past month.

The university students took those slogans and became their spokesmen. There were only groups leaders in the demonstrations, but, no leader could have handled a crowd of 200,000 people. Only common goals led this huge crowd -- goals which were well expressed and well phrased.

The fighting began only because the AVH opened fire on the people. It was Gero's intention, ~~since he thought~~ that with the Russians' help he would be able to crush the uprising within a few hours. It would have also given him a pretext to get rid of all those who were against him. Without the Russian intervention the Secret Police would have been liquidated in a few hours since the Army of the regular police either sided with the

people or deserted. Hungary would have then been free and independent on October 24th.

October 24th

On October 24th at 7:30 I heard the news of the Communist radio that counter-revolutionary bandits were being liquidated in Budapest. I felt that we all had to resist the Russians and that everybody should go out into the streets. My intention was not to fire but, to continue the demonstration. We thought that the Russians would not shoot at a peaceful crowd. I went out and told everybody to do the same thing. If the Russians had not fired at the people the fighting could have still been avoided. But the Russian tanks fired into the alarmed crowd and killed many of the people. When the people saw this they climbed on trucks to get weapons at Ujepest arms stores. Each truck brought back at least 40 to 50 people with weapons. On the other hand, people kept walking without weapons in front of the Russian tanks during the entire revolution and this became a new kind of demonstration. A young Hungarian soldier in uniform, but unarmed was killed near me by a Russian tank gunner who probably did not like his uniform.

I went to see the statue of Stalin which laid near the National Museum. I was out on the streets the whole day with thousands of other people, despite the fact that the Russian tanks often fired at the crowd and killed many persons. We also mimeographed small leaflets asking for peace and for the Russians' withdrawal.

October 25th

In the morning I first thought that the revolution was over, crushed by the Russian tanks. But the people went out again in the streets. Leaflets were stuck everywhere some typewritten, some hand written. The main demands expressed were: "Russkis go home!" and "Free elections!"

On the Rakoczi Street ten Russian tanks were surrounded by a huge crowd. A conversation began between the people and the Russian soldiers and I also took part in it. We told them, "Did you see what you did? What would you do if somebody did the same thing in Moscow?" The Russians replied, "We are here to protect you against the bankers and the big landowners." We told them, "You are idiots. It is workers you are killing and not aristocrats." This lasted for one-and-a-half-hour and finally the Russians realized that they were misled. I was able to convince three Russians and five minutes later the tanks and armored cars were covered with Hungarians. These ten tanks left for the parliament to see Imre Nagy. For a while on an armored car. When the AVH began to fire at this column I left the car. The column reached the parliament about noon with a huge crowd and this was followed by the horrible massacre we all know.

At 2 p.m. the news came that there were many wounded and dead before the parliament. We organized a unit of first aiders, put on white coats, and decided to pick up the wounded on the square. Our group had some 60 members; stretchers were brought from various places. But we were met by heavy AVH fire and could not reach the square where the wounded laid and screamed.

The people did not care about anything anymore. A hundred thousand people with flags, the wounded in bandages, staged a huge demonstration and shouted, "Down with Gero!" and "Down with the AVH!" From then on all Russians and all Secret Police members were shot at and killed. There was no more mercy, no more pity on both sides.

On October 26th I spent my time on the streets and met with various people from the Peasant and Smallholders' Parties. At my place of work 30 out of 100 workers were there and a workers' council was elected of which I became the president. We wrote down the political aims of the revolution and mimeographed them. We asked, among other things, for Hungary's neutrality, the Russians' withdrawal and for free elections. Two Russian women researchers

who worked at the plant were dismissed. One was the wife of an army officer, the other an informer for the Secret Police. Two Hungarian AVH men were also dismissed, although they took part in the election of the workers' council and condemned Gero and the Russian intervention.

Many Communist Party members took an active part in the fighting. They had been either convinced members or had been forced to join the Party. During the revolution the first and main goal was to get rid of the Russians. This was also the desire of those Hungarian Communists who fought with the rest of the people.

I became a member of the workers' council of the Central Committee for the entire Beloyanis factory and until November 1, I took part in its meetings.

October 27th

I went to the Parliament for the first time in the evening because I had been called in by Zoltan Tildy since the 26th. On the 27th the situation was clearer and the news was spread that Mikoyan was in Budapest. A meeting took place at which it was decided that the various political parties could begin to function. Tildy asked us to ~~organize~~ re-organize the Peasant Association and the Smallholders' Party. I personally negotiated with Zoltan Vas, Peter Veress, Ferenc Erdei and Joseph Bognar.

We wanted to know what the Russians thought of this move. They were still in Budapest and were shooting about the city. Erdei told us that Mikoyan and Suslov had agreed to let the various political parties function once again and re-assured us. We asked Tildy to negotiate with Mikoyan concerning this and Tildy did so. Tildy told us that Mikoyan had accepted all of our conditions.

October 28th

I began to organize the Peasants' Association in Budapest and took part, to a lesser extent, in the Small-

holders' Party. We occupied a Communist building in Szababsag Square and got to work. I became the head of the Department of Economics and Co-operatives in the Smallholders' Party as I had been in 1946. We established various technical commissions made up of agricultural experts. On November 4 the future of Hungarian agriculture was discussed with the top experts of the country.

On October 29th the Russians began to move out of Budapest and left the city completely by the 30th. I spent more time in the Parliament seeing Nagy, Erdei, Bogнар and Tildy. The coalition government began to function effectively on November 1 and the Communist government had to cease to function since October 31 when Nagy and Tildy handled the affairs. I discussed important technical questions regarding economics and agricultural, but the future was still not clear to us. Joseph Bogнар, who was the Minister of Trade under Nagy, was an old Communist but he tried to be honest with us and tried not to hamper our work.

One main question was not solved yet: were the Russians serious about withdrawing and would they leave the country? We had a Smallholders' Party meeting on November 3rd. A close friend of mine, who was one of Nagy's advisors, informed me of the following: in the evening, the ministers of the Peoples' Democracies came to see Imre Nagy and made reproaches to him for turning against the Soviets. Nagy said that the Soviet Union had guaranteed Hungary's independence in its declaration of October 30th and had renewed this assurance during his talks with Mikoyan. On November 3rd the negotiations concerning the Russian withdrawal were progressing and the second meeting was to take place on that same night. Nagy said that he was sure that the Soviet Union would not dare to risk an armed aggression before the public opinion of the world and of the satellite countries. "We denounce the Warsaw Treaty, declared our neutrality, applied to the UN and against all of these the Soviets will not dare to do anything." Nagy added that he knew the Soviet Union much better than anybody else since he had spent 15 years in Moscow. He had denounced the

Warsaw Treaty in order to take away from the Russians the right to intervene in Hungary's affairs and he had applied to the UN to give that organization the right to intervene in Hungary's affairs.

B. On October 24, 25 and 26 we were revolutionaries who rebelled against oppression. All the leaflets said this. The term, "Freedom Fighter," appeared around the 26th.

First of all, the youth fought from 14 to 40. The youth fought because it was physically most fit to fight. The majority of the youths were 20 years old, but girls and women and even old people took part [also] in the revolution. All social classes fought. The bulk of the fighters consisted of workers and the factories were the main centers of resistance in the fighting.

The people got weapons from the various arms plants in the suburbs of Budapest.

There were local leaders during the fighting but it was the common cause that united the people.

The feeling of uncertainty was general. All the odds were against us and we still fought.

Until October 27, I did not know what the outcome would be. Afterwards, I foresaw a free Hungary with free elections.

Many people thought that Imre Nagy was responsible for calling in the Russian troops together with Gero and Hegedus. But the truth was known on October 26 and 27th and Nagy's prestige was restored.

The Russian Re-Invasion - November 4th

I woke up at 5 a.m. at the sound of the Russian guns. I left my home at 10 a.m., after listening to the radio and making many phone calls. We established a revolutionary council of the 13th District. Earlier, I had been president of the Smallholders' Party organization in that district and was chosen the president of the council. We immediately began to organize the armed

258

resistance against the Russians and to transform the plant and public buildings into centers of resistance. The district had three barracks and we went to see their commanders. We jointly decided to distribute all the weapons to the population of the district. My intention was to save these arms before the Russians could take them. The distribution of some 1,000 rifles and several thousand hand grenades was ended in the afternoon. The soldiers were sent out with the advice to put on civilian clothes. The civilians gave them suits of clothing, food and blankets. Some 1,000 bottles of gasoline were prepared in a school yard. That night I slept for the last time at home. The resistance was so strong in the district that the Russians did not even dare to approach us. We thought that if we could resist successfully for a few days, the free world would intervene and the Russians would be forced to stop their aggression.

On November 5, serious fighting developed in the district. I was well known there since I had been a deputy of that district and I had to disappear and went over to Buda to the radio factory in which I worked. We transformed it into a strong center of resistance. The walls were very thick because the building was very old. Thanks to our excellent location we could control all directions. More than 100 workers were in the factory. We sent messengers outside.

I remained in that building for six days as one of the leaders of that group. We established contact by radio and telephone with the other centers of resistance around us, some of which had guns. We destroyed some Russian tanks before our building. Since the plant manufactured short wave radio set we were able to broadcast very often under the name of Arpad Roka. Some of our messages in Hungarian and English were picked up by RFE. For example, our message about children being trapped in a cellar of a burning building, and also, the news of the Hungarian Red Cross.

As soon as the Russians came near us we fired at them without mercy. A column came one day without knowing the danger. When they arrived the building we surrounded them and deluged them with hand grenades,

Handwritten notes:
11. 5
2
4

destroying three tanks and one armoured car. But the Russians were stronger than we thought and after ten minutes we had to withdraw into the cellar of our factory. However, the Russians did not dare to attack there. We also fired at the Arpad Bridge on the Danube which the Russians had occupied since November 4.

We kept listening to all the foreign radios -- RFE, Paris, VOA, Moscow, etc. Around November 8th or 9th, I realized that the situation was becoming worse and that the free world was not interested in our problems and would not intervene. I would have preferred no intervention at Suez but I thought that if the UN had established a police force for Egypt, it would do the same for Hungary. I never thought the two cases would be dealt in a different way by the UN.

I thought that our fight was one-sided and hopeless and should be stopped. I thought for the first time of going out to the West to tell the truth to the free world which did not seem to know what was happening in Hungary. I had many political friends abroad and could not understand the indifference with which they treated us.

I discussed the problem with my friends and we decided to stop the fighting and leave only a small armed guard at the factory. The Russians were too afraid of us to show up. I went home to pick up my wife and daughter and we hitch-hiked to the Austrian border, which we crossed on November 11.

24

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

After November 4 the intervention of the UN would have been in conformity with the articles of the Charter. First, a diplomatic move would have been necessary, followed by the sending of the observers and of the Secretary General. The first phase of the fighting was a revolution and I did not expect any foreign intervention at that time. The second phase was a freedom fight fought by a neutral Hungary which the West should have helped.

The Western big powers had signed a peace treaty with Hungary and were bound by an international agreement to come to our rescue.

The Western radio broadcasts were very depressing. They were always late, did not analyze correctly the events and did not feel enough that the revolution was the movement of an entire nation.

On October 24 I went to two Western legations to tell them the truth about the Hungarian events.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's Family Background

My father was a small holder who owned 15 holds [or 21 acres] of land. He died in the 30s. My family [entire] belongs to the peasantry. Today we only own four holds, that is, six acres with a family house.

Both my mother and father completed elementary school.

B. The Social Classes in Hungary

Today there are four social classes in Hungary: 1) the peasants, 2) the workers, 3) the intelligentsia and a 4) certain type of bourgeoisie. To these one has to add a special group made of the Party officials and functionaries in the Ministries and the Secret Police.

The peasantry

The peasantry today is divided into two main groups: the individual small and middle peasants and the members of the collectives, followed by two smaller groups, the workers of the State farms who work for wages and the kulaks who owned more than 20 holds [28 acres] and were persecuted by the Communist regime. They tried to get rid of the land but were unsuccessful.

The workers

The workers are divided into skilled and unskilled groups.

The intelligentsia

The intelligentsia included all those involved in intellectual work [pedagogues, doctors, engineers, administrative officials, writers, artists, etc.].

A limited bourgeoisie consisted of doctors, lawyers, small craftsmen and businessmen, intellectual experts, who retained a significant influence on Hungarian life. The regime was against them.

3. For the past years I was a worker, although I feel I am intellectual who came out of the ranks of the peasantry. But in the factory was the only place in which I could feel safety.

The peasantry was always united and rejected Communism. It fiercely defended its private property against State capitalism. When the land it received after 1945 was danger the peasantry opposed nationalization as strongly as it would oppose any eventual return to the large estate system.

The industrial workers produced the masses of the Communist Party which received 17 per cent of the votes in 1945. But the policy of dictatorship and exploitation moved the workers away from Communism and today Communism has no followers among them. This was the most exploited and the misled social class.

The large majority of the intelligentsia clearly saw the economic and political situation, but was the most passive social class. Many intellectuals feared for their material existence and for their jobs.

C. How the Different Classes Felt About Each Other

Before the revolution the contradictions between various social classes disappeared. The two main classes saw that the Communist dictatorship misled and exploited them. While in 1945 the Communists succeeded in opposing the classes against each other, they came closer later. The intelligentsia felt that its state was that of the workers and peasants and its standard of living was just as low as theirs. During the revolution there was a complete unity and 99 per cent of the nation was united. Otherwise, the revolution would have never won.

E. How an Individual Might Advance Himself in Hungary

Before Communism class origin was not ^{un}important but the talent was essential. Under Communism nothing counted but the faithfulness to the Communist Party. The origin

and the talent were unimportant. In some exceptional cases, when the regime really needed somebody, talent was taken into consideration. But it was not the man who received the esteem and he was only used by the regime.

2. Those who could go ahead were the Communists without conviction who did not know or did not want to think, like Dobi, Marosan, or Bognar. The convinced Communists were liquidated like Rajk.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Effects of Communism on Family Life

The influence of Communism on family life is overestimated by many people. It is true that Communism tried to loosen family life, to separate husband and wife, children and parents. However, Communism could not ruin family life in Hungary because everybody saw it was a system based on lies.

B. How Children Are Brought Up In Hungary

1. Communism tried to educate the children on a materialistic basis in the Communist ideology with pseudosciences and false historical teachings. But this had little influence on the youth.

2. I think this question of obedience is overestimated also. The efforts of Communism were there but the youth more in one honest pedagogue than in the ideological principles taught by the Communist regime. Fortunately, there were many good and honest pedagogues in Hungary, who, by talking one hour, about Arany Aty and Vorosmarty achieved more than two weeks' courses of Communist political ideology. These three Hungarian authors had a very decisive influence on the youth and were never read as much as now. Around 1950 the children were taught in the DISZ ~~that~~ not to obey their parents and more freedom would be instore for them. Later, the Communists changed their methods and used new ones based on Makarenko's book, "The New Man". According to this book ~~that~~ even the Communists had to discipline their children.

C. Marriage, Courtship and Sex Patterns

1. The evolution is one of more roughness but courtship still exists and the search for what is good, noble and beautiful is not dead within the youth. Communism could not destroy that although it tried to lower the values as far as sexual patterns were concerned.

There was a period when the Party divided the spouses and when the wife in particular became faithful to the Party. But later the people fled back to the family which was the last place left for rest and truth after all the lies and cheats in the offices and the plants.

The family preserved the youth against Communist indoctrination and made it later stand up against Communism. The family's educational effects were more far reaching than those of the Communist system of education. The children always asked everything at home.

Until our daughter was seven or eight we said nothing to her. Then I saw that this was dangerous since the child believed many things, although she could see that certain things were not correct. After that, I told her what was false and what was the truth. A ten-year-old child today does not believe in Communism. The few who do are laughed at and despised by the other children. Often, the father was an AVH man and the child was anti-Communist. The young officers of the Zrinyi Military School who all sided with the revolution were all the sons of Communist army and police officers. Their case illustrates well enough the most complete failure of Communism.

Sexual Patterns

Until 1950 complete freedom was advocated and unwed mothers were glorified. Then the Communists condemned this policy since they saw its harmful social effects. Birth control was prohibited and severely punished.

2. Prostitution was illegal after having been legal until 1949. It was severely punished but sexual life became very free.

3. There was complete silence about this problem and the regime simply ignored them. The reason was the lack of frankness of the regime which hated to face problems.

D. The people turned inside to protect themselves against Communist and needed each other more than ever. There were wonderful and true cases of friendship which were never seen before Communism.

Communism could not change fundamental human values such as, marriage, friendship, etc. The capacity of the people to help each other rather increased. Those who were persecuted by the Communists were helped spontaneously even by complete strangers. This could exist only under Communism.

2. Those who joined the Party had to "cool off" their friendships. After several years these people came back like repentant sinners and tried to be admitted again among the honest and decent people. In countless cases they were sorry for having joined the Communist Party or for having to pretend to believe in its ideology. They did not know what to do and often asked for my advice after admitting that they were wrong. I told them to remain where they were but to work on our side. During the revolution they were all on our side, on the side of the revolution, and fought with arms in their hands.

It was impossible to keep politics out of a friendship with a Party member.

E. Crime and Alcoholism

1. Crimes increased for two reasons: 1) the deterioration of moral values and the lack of religious instructions and 2) general misery.

The crime rate among women and young people went up too.

The police strong and effective measures to control the situation.

2. Alcoholism increased and people drank mostly to drown their sorrows.

3. The jampecs were a negative factor. The youth was isolated from the Western world and tried to imitate

the dances and dress of the Western youth. The jampecs were young workers. The Communists did not like them because they danced Western dances at Communist balls. They were not criminals but were comical with their silly dress. Their main aim was to please the girls. This question was not important. The jampecs were considered as clowns. The hooligans were those who lived at the expense of society. The word was in use in Hungary.

VII. RELIGION

A. Effect of Communism on Religious Life

Communism provoked a deepening of religious faith not only the faithful but also in the churches. When the people condemned the so-called democratic priests, they looked within themselves to find a new religious world. This applied to both the Protestant and Catholic religions.

In prison I met many Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish priests, ministers and rabbis. All religions were persecuted and it did not matter to which faith one belonged.

B. Religion plays an important role in my life just as it did in the life of my parents. I consider it to be the main regulating force of human co-existence. I think that I am more religious than the average person in Hungary. To attend church services was dangerous for a factory manager or for a functionary, but not for the workers. I always voiced my opinion about religion in the factory.

C. Relation Between Church and State

The relation between church and state should be one of complete separation -- that is, a free state and free churches. The State should allow the churches to have religious schools.

The churches can give their opinions about movies, plays, etc. but not censure them.

3. Church matters and politics are two different things which exclude each other.

D. The Jewish Minority

1. The Communists persecuted the Jewish religion.
2. I met several Jewish rabbis in prison.

The religious Jews were oppressed and they took part in the fight against Communism just as well as the Christians since they could not become Communists. On the other hand, the majority of the Jews were not religious. Among those Jews who were oppressed under Nazism many joined the Communist Party because they thought it was the enemy of another racial dictatorship. In 1950 they experienced that Communism also deported Jews as well as non-Jews if they were barbers or business men.

3. I can say that many Jews sided with the revolution and fought and died in the streets. There were no anti-Semitic tones during the revolution.

On October 25 five AVH men in civilian clothes were captured and interrogated on the streets. I went there to listen to the conversation. One of them said that he was a Jew and the crowd told him, "Get lost because they will accuse us of being anti-Semitic!"

The Jews were, first of all, business men and were interested in free enterprise and had nothing to fear from an independent Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

B. The demands expressed by the Hungarian people were taken by the youth. The mistakes were revealed by the writers and the Petofi Circle. There were many young writers among them close in age to the youth.

During the revolution the majority of the fighters were under 26 years of age. The youth was better organized. It had the possibility to fight and to encourage others to do the same.

The older people were proud of the youth and supported it. They were agreeably surprised.

The youth asked for political and military advice and leadership. An older man would often lead a group of young fighters.

C. Schools and Educational Systems in Hungary

The regime tried to use the schools to teach the Communist principles but it did not succeed in doing so. The youth they educated for 10 years fought in the first ranks against them. I was an educator for a while when in 1954 I taught industrial apprentices. They spent two days at work and three days in classes. I always told them the truth in covered words.

There were many restrictions in a vocational choice. The youth went to study where it was possible. In some years the regime recruited only pedagogues; in other years, engineers, etc.

The Communist principles deteriorated the level of education in moral and political sciences as the faithfulness to the Communist Party was more important than knowledge. In natural sciences, the professors were excellent. The majority of the professors were politically unreliable.

When the child was only 14 it already had a cadre file and it was decided whether he should go to secondary school or not. A school director and Communist Party

member used to come every month to me to talk about this situation and I gave them advice.

E. The Communists devoted much time and effort to indoctrinating the youth and the result was zero. If there would have been no Communism in Hungary, there would be more Communists in the country than there are today.

2. The Communists failed to indoctrinate the youth because youth found out quickly that Communist ideology and practice were two different things. It discovered the inner contradictions of Communism and so it was nothing but lies.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Respondent's Main Dissatisfactions

1. The lack of freedom of expression; the extremely low standard of living.

B. The people were complaining most about the general misery. In Hungary the people used to say, "What's new?" The answer was, "Misery."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

1. In 1956 I belonged to the best paid category of skilled workers and could earn above 1,500 forints a month -- a sum the intellectuals did not earn. My wife worked as an accountant and earned 900 forints a month. Our net combined income was 2,500 forints.

Our apartment had two rooms with a kitchen and a bathroom. Our ~~max~~ rent was 140 forints plus 100 forints for heating and 70 forints for electricity and gas.

Food

We spent 1,200 forints on food. We did not lunch at home but in reality we spent more.

Clothing

We could spend very little on it and bought only clothing for our daughter. This caused us great difficulties because most of the money went for food.

I considered the theatre and the opera luxuries. I went at least twice a month to hear an opera and once a month I went to the theatre.

Our standard of living went down. We missed the normal amount of clothing and good food. It was impossible to travel and go on vacations.

Our standard of living was the lowest in 1951; the highest in 1956.

2. I did know any family that was better off than the others.

3. What accounted for the standard of living was the complete anarchy of the Communist economic system which resulted in the impoverishment of the country. 1) The

production costs were very high since the plan organization was bad; two administrators fell upon one worker. 2) The bad working discipline. The workers felt that they were cheated and they did not work well or they did not work at all. 3) The outdated and bad instruments of production. 4) Soviet exploitation with disadvantageous trade agreements.

B. Respondent's Income During the Past 10 Years

1. In 1956 my net monthly income was 1,500 forints.
2. The deductions amounted to something less than 10 per cent.

At times I had a secondary source of income.

6. My first salary was 580 forints a month. I was then a helper and the working conditions were terrible since I had to empty furnaces. After six months I became an electrician and earned 650 forints.

In 1951 I became a skilled technical worker, that is, a toolmaker. I worked for norms and could earn 1,000 forints, which was the average pay of a good skilled worker.

C. Retail Prices in Hungary

1. The prices were higher on the free market. Sometimes, by 100 per cent. In 1952 two pounds of lard cost 35 forints in the stores and 65 forints on the black market. It was the same with the meat and the fuel.

The price differentials depended on the disastrous situation of the agriculture in Hungary. In 1952-53 the situation was very bad and it was followed by only a slight amelioration.

2. The quality of the goods was always bad.
3. Retail distribution was complicated, bureaucratic and bad. Some goods did not reach the consumers.

The whole process was over-organized. It was possible to get standard spare parts.

4. Meat was always in short supply and one always had to queue for it.

5. Everything was expensive, especially lard, bread, flour, sugar, etc.

6. The black market was widespread but limited since the people did not have enough money. During the last years it was less noticeable and than just after the war. The capacity of buying was not there, only the shortage of the goods. It was always possible to find goods of better quality on the black market.

As for under-the-counter sales, the store manager would say that he had no soap or meat but he sold it to his friends or relatives who would re-sell it at a higher price on the black market. This was a general practice which was severely punishable. In 1952 somebody sold chickens and spent several years in prison. But sometimes, this practice was tolerated. A goose officially cost 25 forints [two pounds] and the peasants sold it for 40 or 50 forints. This price was called the price of the "free market."

D. Working Conditions

1. I worked from 7 a.m. till 4 p.m., Saturdays included. That is 48 hours a week. I worked in a work shop on radios. I chose that branch myself since it was the best paid in Hungary with less effort to make.

My relations with my co-workers were excellent and my relations with my superiors were good. We disliked only the Party functionaries. The workers were good and the products were bad because the Communist production system paralyzed and made our work more difficult.

I was satisfied with my job but not with the working conditions.

2. My fellow workers were skilled and good technicians.
3. The vacation plan was good but not sufficient. Medical insurance was far behind Western Europe but better than in the US. Pensions were absolute insufficient.

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

1. I prefer to live in the city because of the cultural opportunities, but if given the opportunity, I would like to travel throughout the country. In Hungary 15 miles became a great distance under Communism.

The agricultural workers had a better diet since they were those who produced the foodstuffs.

The general standard of living was similarly low everywhere, especially in the cities.

In the city the many people could be followed less easily and had an easier time of it politically.

2. When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary I expected the impoverishment of agriculture. My opinion, today, is still the same. All the peasants opposed collectivization in the same way. The poorer ones even more than the others.

In 1953 the government of Imre Nagy allowed the peasants to leave the collectives under certain conditions. Many took advantage of this. Since 1954 the regime tried to reverse the situation but without success. During the revolution the overwhelming majority of the collectives was dissolved.

The peasant's way of life cannot be collectivized and must remain independent. Cooperatives are welcomed in certain branches (credit, purchases, machinery) but not in all sectors of production. The peasants want to keep, above all, their independence.

I would prefer life on a private farm since the produces of my work would be mine.

4. In an independent Hungary I would like to see a small and middle scale agricultural production. The State would maintain experimental and model farms; the machine stations could be maintained but they should be owned and directed by the members and not by the State.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. The situation before 1948

1. Respondent's political activities before 1948
Before 1948 I was already active in politics. In 1941 the Hungarian Peasant Association was founded and I became a member of it. There I met Ferenc Nagy, Bela Varga, Bela Kovacs and Bajcsy-Zsilinszky. In 1941 I belonged to a group of Boy Scout leaders who groped around Teleki in order to give themselves a political formation. In 1942 I joined the Smallholders' Party. In 1944 I took part in the movement of resistance against the German occupation together with Bajcsy-Zsilinszky. I was arrested by the Gestapo and condemned to death but the siege of Budapest prevented them from carrying out the sentence.

In January 1945 I was associated with the work of the Central Committee of the Smallholders' Party and became one of the young leaders of the Party in Budapest at the head of its department of economics and cooperatives. On November 4, 1945 I was elected deputy to the National Assembly as the representative of the 13th District. I was arrested in 1947 under the charge of conspiracy and condemned to three years in prison. Actually, I spent four years in prison.

Respondent's feeling toward the Communist Party before 1948

It was a party which aimed at achieving a complete dictatorship. In my opinion, there was no Communist Party before ~~the~~ World War II in Hungary. Without the presence of the Russian Army there would have been no Communism in Hungary.

B. Respondent's Views on the Communist Party from 1948 on

1. The members of the Communist Party

In 1945 the Communist Party had some attraction. This was caused by the hate of the people for the Nazi dic-

tatorship and for the war. The majority of the Party members were, strangely enough, those who were members earlier of the extreme rightist Nazi Party and who approved of a one-party system, becoming good Communists eventually.

The other members consisted of a small percentage of the intelligentsia who, as in Western Europe, tried to discover the possibility for new forms of social and political life.

Finally, the most anti-social industrial workers also joined the Communist Party.

All these members were convinced Communists. After 1947 when the Communists gradually took over the power, many people, mostly from the ranks of the intelligentsia joined the Party in order to safeguard their positions. In 1951-52 the members were disillusioned with the Communist Party which had lost all of its credit. The reason was that the Communists did not keep any of the promises they made for years. On the contrary, they did the opposite of what they told to the people. Out of the 17 percent of the vote they received in 1945, maybe one per cent remained in 1950. They spoke of freedom and created a one-party system and a police state. They said that the workers held the power but in reality, never before had the workers been so exploited. They said that the standard of living was high but everybody knew it was much worse than that of the West. Even ^{free} trade unions were not authorized. In brief, the Communists lied about everything and nobody believed in them.

Changes in Party policies

2. There were technical changes but no basic changes and the Communist Party never gave up the one-party system.

When the Communist Party saw that the masses turned against it, the Party tried to win their confidence.

Since 1946 the Communists had kept announcing struggles against all kinds of enemies, like the Social Democrats, the kulaks, etc. After 1947 Hungary was completely under the one-party system. At the end of 1952 and the beginning of 1953, when the economic crisis was evident, a limited small trade was authorized again and concessions were made in agriculture. In 1954 all this was curtailed once again. The change under Nagy came upon the directives of Moscow and the changes of 1955, too. In 1956 the phase of liberalization was also started with the same intention and the Communists thought they could control it until the end.

3. The Party morale

There were always different opinions within the Party. In 1945 Dudas, who spent eight years in the illegal Colonists' Movement, and was the leader of the underground party in Hungary refused to join the Communist Party when Rakosi came back from Moscow. Veisshaus and Demeny, who under Horthy were underground Communist leaders and were often in prison, were not taken into the Party leadership. Veisshaus was sentenced in 1947 with us in the same conspiracy trial.

Then came the group of Rajk. More than 500 Communists were executed with Rajk and I know this from confidential Communist sources. In the 50s, it became evident that Imre Nagy did not agree with Rakosi and that he had many followers.

In the first years a great many of the members followed the leaders with enthusiasm. But as the years went on, and as they saw that the leaders did not keep their promises, they became just as violently opposed to the Moscovite leaders as those who were outside the Party. However, they could not openly express their negative opinions. Otherwise it would have meant imprisonment or a labor camp for them. These Communist Party members did not leave because they either tried to improve the situation or because they feared for their income.

4. The top leaders

The top leaders were interested in the rule of the Communist Party. They believed that a better world would

years or centuries later and that ~~xxx~~ for them the present had to be sacrificed. In order to achieve this aim they used all available dictatorial and cruel methods. They believed in a vague and utopian Communism.

They were misled since they tried to reach ~~the~~ unrealistic and unnatural goals that are in opposition with human nature and they tried to regulate basic human forces which know no system. They were also evil because they used coercion to achieve these aims. This could be best applied to Rakosi, whom I met often. I also met Kadar, Rajk, Vas, and others.

C. Opposition to the Communist Government

1. All forms of opposition existed. The strongest opposition came from the peasants. The peasants sabotaged or slowed down the deliveries and continually created an anti-regime atmosphere. In 1950-51 the workers showed the same behavior. They slowed down their work, made faulty products, stole from the factories daily, cheated the State with their wages and did not attend Communist meetings. The people were asked in vain to express their opinion. Nobody said anything and this passivity showed that nobody agreed with the regime. At the same time everybody knew nothing would improve even after a criticism.

This resistance was very effective. The Party and government leaders felt it and tried to do something about it.

2. The dictatorship was strongly felt and was most repressive in 1951-52. The resistance reached its peak at that time.

3. Since 1953 I knew the entire regime position of the writers. I personally knew Gyula Illyes and Laszlo Nemeth. I also knew all about the Petofi Circle because I was behind its ~~xxxxx~~ activities. I could not attend any meeting because of my political past. The Circle included the Communist intellectuals.

By using the Communist phraseology it was possible to express anti-Communist opinions and we supported all those who did it.

The writers expressed the wishes of the Hungarian people. The public is always very important to the writers. The writers saw that nobody read their books and the most honest of them looked for the cause. They went to the villages and to the factories and spent time with the people. They found out that the people did not read their books because they did not tell the truth but were tools of the Communist propaganda. In order to regain their literary credit and popularity, the writers began to turn their attention on actual problems of the people. These problems were the fallacies and injustices of the Communist regime. The writers noticed that when they spoke or wrote about these topics they were very popular again. This evolution became broader and created the so-called revolt of the writers. In brief, the writers once again found the contact with the people. They preceded the revolution by analyzing the mistakes of the Communist system.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The AVH

1. The Secret Police were people without conviction who wanted to lead a good life and earn good salaries. They had no inhibitions and would do anything for money.

After my arrest I was in the hands of the AVH for eight months and I can only say the worst about them. I was in prison from 1947 to 1951. I spent 1 1/2 years in Marko Prison, three years in the penitentiary in Budapest and a half year in Szeged. Before the trial I was forced to sign a confession which did not correspond with the truth.

A few secret policemen, or the young people who were drafted into the AVH, realized how cruel the AVH was. It was difficult to get out of the organization but some one I knew managed to get dismissed even at the risk of being jailed. In the factory I worked with a former AVH major who spent half a year in jail, had all of his teeth knocked out, and many bones broken.

3. In my opinion between 5,000 and 6,000 people were executed for political crimes in Hungary since 1945 until before the revolution.

5. The informers were the people who had weak nerves and whom the AVH could threaten, or those it could buy with money. In order to spy on other people the system was very widespread and there was one informer for every ten to twenty persons. An informer was a fixture in every apartment house.

8. When Hungary is independent the members of the AVH must be brought to trial and judged and punished individually.

9. The Regular Police

The Communist Party had a strong influence on the regular police but they were not as reliable as the AVH.

There was corruption in the police force since corruption always accompanied the Communist system. With money it was always possible to arrange things.

During the revolution the regular police either gave away their weapons or deserted. Some fought with the people.

B. The Courts

Before March 19, 1945, that is, the German occupation, the Hungarian courts were just in handling private affairs and it was not possible to bribe a court.

In the 30s the cows of a big landowner came one day to eat the grass on our land. My father went to court and the owner had to pay a compensation.

3. Hungary had to follow the provisions of the Peace Treaty regarding the war criminals. The presence of the Communists distorted the functioning of the peoples' courts which passed many sentences that were very severe and unjust. Many of the so-called war criminals were victims of that situation.

C. The Hungarian Army

1. The Russians never trusted the Hungarian Army. For this reason, Soviet advisors were placed beside all commanders and they exercised the actual leadership. Anybody recommended by the Communist Party could become an army officer.

By not shooting at the revolutionaries the Army made possible the victory of the revolution. The members of the Army sided individually, or in small groups, with the revolution and fought with the people against the Russians.

On November 4 the Army was infiltrated with traitors who paralyzed its resistance. Considering the superiority of the Soviets the fight was hopeless.

I was somewhat surprised by the Army's actions, although I was always sure that Hungarians would never fight on the side of the Russians. The knowledge of belonging to the Hungarian nation was stronger in the soldiers than their duty to obey the orders issued to them. More important was the fact that the soldiers were with the people.

D. The Russian Army Troops in Hungary

After 100 years one cannot remember the Czarist intervention in Hungary. The hatred against the Russians was caused by more than 10 years of Communist oppression.

Before 1945 I already knew how the Russian troops were and I was not surprised by their brutalities and atrocities. I was in Budapest when they arrived. They looted and raped. My younger brother, age 18, was killed at Cece without any reason. Several of my friends were shot in Budapest. My opinion of the Russian Army did not change much since 1945.

3. The Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution knew very well the situation in the country, although their contact with the civilian population was limited. For that reason they did not fight as strongly as those troops who were brought in for the second Russian attack.

The Hungarian population despised the Russians and did not have much to do with them. The Russians felt this and tried to talk with the people without success. A Russian meant "dirty fellow." A girl who would go out with a Russian was considered indecent. Marriages between Hungarians and Russians were exceptionally rare.

The Russians were crying when they were taken back to Russia because the living conditions in Hungary were better than in their country. They did not speak of their country or Communism and did not about them. They considered the Hungarian workers as a bourgeois.

My opinions are based on conversations with Russian soldiers.

The Russian fear their officers greatly but often they do not obey the orders issued to them.

5. Russian soldiers fought each other near Gyor and in the Bakony mountains where Russians deserters fought against the fresh Soviet troops after November 4. |

I know of one Russian soldier who reported on November 2 in Budapest at the District Revolutionary Council to ask for political asylum and permission to remain in Hungary. This was granted to him.

6. The Russians committed brutalities when they shot at civilians on the streets but, they did not dare go among the people.

E. The Bureaucracy

1. The whole administrative system was a huge and illogic bureaucracy. The Communistic system does not trust anybody and has to keep an eye on everybody. As a result many people were needed and a huge bureacracy had to be created.

The bosses could only be faithful Communists. The minor functionaries were not Communists and if given the opportunity they would have helped the people. However, they had strict orders and regulations and often they had to do things against the people's interests. For that reason they were very disliked. Most of my trouble arose from the bureacratic waste system which was always unfavorable to the workers. If the worker found out the mistake and complained about it, it was a giant affair to have this complaint arranged.

During the revolution, these functionaries sided with the people. They earned less than the workers and for years, they could not even open their mouths.

F. Under Communism corruption reached proportions never before seen in Hungary. Everybody knew it was the same in the Soviet Union which was always placed before us as a model. The main reason was the general poverty. A starving man can be bribed more easily. Of course, the main instrument was money. In the factory it was often replaced by stolen goods and "fixed" wages.

G. The Intelligence of the Leaders

There was an anti-selective evolution in the Communist Party. The intelligent and individually thinking people were screened as the years went on and eliminated. The Communist Party wanted people who did not think but who believed everything the Soviet Union said or ordered. The top leaders were not very intelligent and capable. There are thousands of people in Hungary who are far more superior to them in every respect.

XIII. THE ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent's Guesses and Hopes

Hungary will be free soon as a result of several factors. First, the Soviet Union can only maintain its puppet government in power by using methods of repression. Secondly, the ideological effect of the Hungarian revolution on the Soviet Union will become unbearable. Thirdly, the West will realize that it has misjudged the Hungary revolution of October 1956 and was mistaken when it did not support it. Fourth, the effects of the Hungarian revolution on the other satellites, the neutral countries and on the Communist Parties of the West are so significant that the Soviets must take them into consideration. The UN and its members will see it necessary to repair the mistake they made when they did not act in the spirit of following the Charter.

The Russians will be forced to find a modus vivendi if the free world continually keeps the Hungarian question on the agenda. This revolution was a turning point in the history of the Soviet Union. For 40 years the Soviets were on the offensive against the West; today, they are on the defensive and according to the Communist ideologists and theorists themselves, they will not be able to recover.

The public opinion of the four powers which signed the Hungarian Peace Treaty will force their respective governments to act in accordance with the obligations accepted in the treaty.

If the US thinks that it can appease the Soviet Union, the Russians will take chances and sooner or later start a war. But if the US sticks firmly to its principles and international obligations, the Russians will never dare to start a war.

The people in Hungary do not want a war but they had to defend themselves against the Russians' attack.

Since the Hungarian revolution there is news that the Russian students are debating this question and are increasing interested in the culture of the West. More Western plays than ever were given this past winter in Moscow.

B. Respondent's Hopes Before the Revolution

My hopes depended on the changes of the international situation. Until 1952 we heard that the policy of the US had among its main aims the liberation of the captive nations. At that time I thought that the American leaders evaluated the whole political and economical situation of the world and would achieve this policy.

In the recent years, from Eisenhower's and Dulles's speeches, we got news that if a nation moved against its oppressors the US would stand on its side and would not remain inactive. At the same time I saw the inner crises of the Soviet and Hungarian Communist leaderships and was sure that sooner or later the situation would become unbearable. But, with a police state and foreign occupation power nobody ever planned an uprising.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. The Economic System of an Independent Hungary

Hungary was attracted most by the example of Sweden and Austria -- two countries based on private economy, but where the national and large-sized investments are under a certain form of state control.

The main emphasis should be put on agriculture which should be mechanized as much as possible. As for industry, the production supplied with national natural resources should be maintained and developed (aluminum, chemistry, electricity, instruments) and also the food industry (agricultural products, foods, vegetables). Heavy industry must be reorganized on a more healthier economic basis.

Two points of view must be considered in the question of nationalization: 1) Who was the owner of the factory before the nationalization? 2) The circumstances in which the various of production can produce the most economically. Bearing this in mind, I would reorganize Hungary's economy on a private basis. Some enterprises, like the Hungarian railways, the Hungarian National Bank and several other banks, were already in the hands of the State before the war.

I would study the economic experiences and achievements of the West for the past ten years. Hungary's economy will need credits in order to recover and I am particularly thinking of the US here.

The land of the collectives belong to those who had to give it. They should be allowed to keep it if they want to but I am convinced that the majority of the peasants would choose private farming. Only the experimental and model State farms should be maintained.

The State should collect the taxes and play a role of coordination and cooperation which, however, should not go too far.

To set a maximum on the amount of land someone can own is difficult because of the differences in land in the various parts of the country. This question would depend on the local conditions.

2. This question is bad since there is no government which guarantees personal freedom and, at the same time, no possibility for decent employment.

I would not outlaw the Communist Party which is finished in Hungary. At least everybody would see how few supporters it would have. This should have also been done under Horthy.

C. The ideal solution would be a European Federation. But the realistic position for an independent Hungary is that of neutrality and good relations with all countries of the world. Hungary should also support and contribute to an international police force.

3. I very often thought of a Danubian Federation. I think it is realistic but since the West European Union has progressed, I think that Hungary should join before the formation of any Danubian federation. A greater unity is always preferable. I think that this opinion is shared by the majority of the Hungarian people.

4. The question of Hungary's political borders will be solved by a European federation - when the national boundaries will have less importance. The present situation of the Hungarian minorities outside Hungary is just as bad as that of the Hungarians who are at home.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

2. I knew of Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress from confidential sources even before the Western radios told it.

3. McCarthy exaggerated the danger of Communism.

8. I knew that Rekosí lived sumptuously in contrast with the workers whose leader he was supposed to be.

B. What Respondent Read

Until 1947 my favorite books were the Hungarian and Western classics. Among the Hungarian authors I preferred Zsigmond Moricz, Laszlo Nemeth, Istvan Sinka, Ady, Vorosmarty, Jokai. My favorite foreign authors were Thomas Mann, Sinclair Lewis, Huxley, Shaw.

After 1947 most books were the products of Communism. I read them too and my opinion was: cheap propaganda. I read as much under Communism as before. Maybe the people read more, but not Communist literature. They tried to ~~fraxfax~~ be free for a while from the drab reality of life and found an escape in literature. Jokai, Moricz, and Laszlo Nemeth were extremely popular. The workers and the peasants read more than before because of the people's desire to escape from the reality of Communism.

In the factory I was the only one to read the Szabad Nep entirely. I did not trust the Communist newspapers since I knew well that they contained only lies and propaganda. But I tried to find the truth between the lines. I also read Pravda.

Sometimes I read the Paris edition of The New York Herald Tribune and all the issues of The Reader's Digest which I received in secret through foreign diplomatic representatives. I read the Western technical magazines and books in the public and the factory libraries. We had all the American scientific and technical books and magazines

published in the field of mechanics, aviation, electronics, machine tools, etc.

The Western press --- dailies, weeklies, and books --- was prohibited. Also, many former Hungarian books were prohibited by the Communists who removed them from the libraries and destroyed them. The people hid these books at home and passed them on among friends.

C. All those who could listen to the Western radio broadcasts passed the news on by word-of-mouth and the whole country knew what the radio stations had broadcast; however, only trusted people told such news to each other either at places of work, on the streetcars, etc. The Hungarian people were well informed about the world situation.

F. Movies and Theatre

I used to see one theatre play and one movie and hear two operas a month. The movies I particularly liked were: "The Count of Monte Cristo", an Italian film and "One Summer of Happiness", a Swedish film. The plays I enjoyed most were "Julius Caesar" by G. B. Shaw, "Galilei" by Laszlo Nemeth, "Dozsa" by Gyula Illyes and "A Glass of Water" by Scribe. My favorite operas were "La Tosca", "Faust", and "The Troubadour".

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

I see the possibility both of a revolution and of a liberalization. This hypothesis is realistic only if the Russian and the other captive nations could feel that the Western world is not indifferent to their fate.

2. The Communist Party would be swept away by free elections in Russia.

3. The Russian top leaders have the ambition to rule and are only interested in remaining in power at all costs. They are capable of doing anything and their goal is to achieve world domination -- by force, if necessary.

B. Eastern Europe

1. Poland was always the most popular East European country in Hungary because of the historical friendship between the two countries. The East Germans were less popular because they first served Hitler, then later, the Communists.

I knew East German and Bulgarian technicians. They hated their own governments just as much as we hated ours.

2. Free elections in Eastern Europe would bring the end of the Communist regimes in all captive nations.

3. Czechoslovakia had the highest standard of living; Romania the lowest.

C. Poland

1. I think Gomulka's policy is a temporary trend which weakens the one-party system in Poland. If the Polish people are left free to act, they will oblige Gomulka to make more concessions. But if the Soviet Union inter-

venes even the concessions granted up to now will be taken away. The Russians' intervention depends on whether or not the West will allow it.

2. The riots in Poznan had a huge effect on Hungary. Afterwards, in the summer and in the fall of 1956, the Hungarian people followed with sympathy the Poles' efforts to get rid of their ties with Russia.

4. The Hungarian people did not notice anything in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. I read something in the Western press about "greater freedom of expression in Poland."

5. The revolution was not the choice of the Hungarian people. The orders of Gero to shoot into the crowd and the intervention of the Russian troops caused the revolution. If no concessions would have been granted in Poland, a revolution would have broken out there, too.

D. Tito and Yugoslavia

1. Tito's influence had one positive result. The Soviet Union's leading and absolute role was questioned and defied. In my opinion, Tito did not invent national Communism. Every Communist leader, in his country, would like to build up Communism in his own way. This was prevented by the central leadership of Moscow. Tito could evade it and impose on the Yugoslav people his own brand of Communism. The Communist leaders of the other East European nations would do the same if they could.

In my opinion, Tito is a Communist dictator who does not want any dictator above him. He is fooling the West with his double-deal policy, but, I understand Dulles ~~wants~~ wants to support all efforts - even from Communists - that weaken Moscow.

Tito's popularity was increased by his opposition to Moscow but he would not dare to have free elections in Yugoslavia since he would not get the majority.

Yugoslavia has more freedom along the economic line, more opportunity for private enterprise, but not more human freedoms for the individual than the other captive nations.

E. Asia and the Middle East

1. The Communists gained control of China because of the mistakes of the US which should have supported a truly democratic group in China and not the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai-Shek.

China is a huge country which can stay less close to Moscow.

5. I bear in mind the fact that even today India is still a member of the British Commonwealth.

6. I understand Egypt's efforts to nationalize the Suez Canal but the question could have been solved much better in 1956, had the three big powers discussed the whole matter together in connection with and the Aswan Dam. Nasser was embittered when he seized the Canal and the lack of understanding and coordination of the West were also responsible for his action. The Anglo-French intervention was a desperate move. London and Paris could have obtained more favorable results earlier.

The events in Egypt should have had no influence at all on the situation in Hungary and the West made a big mistake when it followed the Soviet point of view which related the two problems.

F. West Germany

1. I know that West Germany's standard of living is very good and is the best in Europe.

3. If the unity of Europe is achieved and, if the UN fulfills its role, the possibility of a war started by Germany will never arise. But if the pending problem

of German re-unification is not solved the danger remains.

4. I do not think the West German Army will be a serious military factor compared to the armies of the big powers. But, it is necessary in the frame of the defense of NATO.

5. Both occupation armies in Hungary were bad. The German occupation lasted only a year while the Russian occupation lasted 12 years and has not ended.

G. Western Europe

The British Labor Party is a positive factor in the politics of the free world since it deals adequately with Great Britain's economic and political problems. It also prevents any Communist progress in this industrial country.

3. England has the highest standard of living and Egypt the lowest.

H. The United States

1. I was particularly surprised to see how the Americans are uninformed about the Hungarian revolution, its causes, and the realistic possibilities it offered.

2. The US should negotiate for the creation of a neutral zone in Europe on the basis of the Eden plan put forward three years ago and proposed a few days ago by Bulganin.

The Soviet Union would accept such a solution because its situation is unbearable before the public opinion of the world. It is also afraid of the ideological effects of the satellites on the Soviet Union. The US could accept this solution since it is obvious that the countries of such a neutral zone will not remain Communistic. They already wanted to break away

from the Soviet military occupation and all captive nations would do it if a peaceful national solution was reached.

3. The US should continue to consider the Kadar government as a puppet government and not as a legal government of the Hungarian nation.

4. The Hungarian people want to see more Western visitors since they want to know about the West and vice versa.

5. They want very much to receive Western books and magazines since they have felt most intensely the ten years of isolation from the West.

6. It does not matter if Hungarian exiles are associated with such activities.

7. The Marshall Plan was a good thing at that time and I wish that Hungary could have accepted it. The US wanted to help the countries damaged by the war by good will.

8. The US fought in Korea in order to repulse Communist aggression in agreement with the UN resolution.

J. The UN could have assured the independence of Hungary. It only had to follow the dispositions of the Charter. Today it should try to enforce its resolutions and can still apply sanctions against the Soviet Union.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. The most popular political leader in Hungary today is Bela Kovacs.

B. Imre Nagy -- he became an important figure of Hungarian history when 1) under the demands of the Hungarian revolution he dared to oppose Moscow in spite of his Communist past.

Cardinal Mindszenty: the people look at this religious leader with affection. He suffered martyrdom under Communism.

Laszlo Rajk: He was not a saint and fell victim to the dictatorship he helped to establish.

Erno Gero: A pitiless despot who wanted to rule at any price and had nothing in common with the Hungarian people.

Janos Kadar: A weak and vile character.

President Eisenhower: I very much admired his military actions during World War II.

Secretary General Hammarskjold: He is not fit for his present position.

Dulles: Unfortunately, he does not know Communism. His political actions toward the Soviet Union are not those of the foreign secretary of the biggest power in the world.

Eden: Until Suez I thought of him as a great statesman.

Truman: He was the true friend of the oppressed nations and he saved Korea from Communism.

Mikoyan: He belongs to the Stalinists' groups

Nehru: His neutral policy is good but I regret that he does not know Communism well enough.

Chiang Kai Shek: He could have saved China if he would have gotten rid of the corrupt generals and businessmen.

Ferenc Nagy: After World War II he was one of the most realistic opponents of Communism in Hungary and the Hungarian peasantry knows his policy in that respect.

Roosevelt: One of the greatest figures of American home policy who, however, made heavy mistakes in foreign policy.

Adenauer: The most outstanding of a united Western Europe.

Stalin: The Communist despot.

Malenkov: Collected with the liberalization in the Soviet Union, but, it is difficult to know if he was serious or only played a role.

Franco: He maintains an outmoded and economic and social system in Europe.

Bevan: Important factor of the British Labor Movement but the goals he proclaims will never make a leader out of him.

Khrushchey: A violent and impulsive man.

Tito: A Communist dictator.

Peron: His policies created many inner tensions and no regime can last under such circumstances.

Molotov: The executor of Communist colonization.

Churchill: The greatest statesman of this century.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of Escapees

From October 24 until November 4 those people who had planned to leave the country for a long time, in the hope of finding a better life ~~and~~ elsewhere, left Hungary. Following the Russian attack on November 4 the overwhelming majority of those who took the most active part in the revolution and in the freedom fight, left too. Unfortunately, among the refugees came some who were not considered quite decent elements at home and who were looking for adventure.

Nine-and-a-half million people could not come out. If I could have, I would have stayed myself. I think those who remained in Hungary were right to stay and everybody whose life was not in danger should have stayed. Many who could have come out stayed because they hoped that at the end of November Hungary would be independent.

Those in Hungary are glad that we will have a better life abroad.

2. Maybe some 10,000 more people would have come out but the majority would have remained because the Hungarian people are convinced are that country will soon be free.

B. Hungarian Exile Organizations and Individuals

1. I knew of the Hungarian exile organizations through the Western radios. I followed the work of the Hungarian National Council but I was very disappointed by the results and worried by the news ~~about~~ about the extreme rightist activities. I felt that the Hungarian National Council was the representation of Hungary in the free world. Its goal was to turn the world's attention toward the oppressed Hungarian nation and to work towards its liberation. I was disillusioned to discover that it is more of an administrative than a political organization.

3. I felt that the work of the exiles was well intentioned and that the democratic politicians well represented the oppressed Hungarian nation. But the Hungarian National Council also included non-democrats and it did not know well enough the present demands of the Hungarian nation and consequently, could not voice them.

I thought of these people during the revolution and ~~xxxxxx~~ we called them back. The Hungarian people would not have opposed this. Imre Kovacs was recalled by the Peasant Party. Imre Szelig, by the Social Democratic Party. The Smallholders were also discussing the return of Erenc Nagy.

C. I met some people who came back to Hungary because they were homesick. They were naturally sorry. The aim of the redefection campaign was to have less adversaries in the West.

D. The people at home should be able to correspond without censorship with the refugees and to know all about them. They should also know how the political representatives of the Hungarian revolution have succeeded in informing the free world of the choice for freedom of the Hungarian people and to win the free world to their cause.

2. They should know that the free world does take very seriously the principles it proclaims, especially when it comes to the liberation of the captive nations.

3. The exiles should settle down, work, and adjust to their new social environment.

4. Personally, I will always inform the free world about the situation in Hungary and the goals of the Hungarian people.

5. I am a member of the Hungarian Revolutionary Council of Strasbourg.

All the refugees can join too if they accept the aims and objectives of the democratic revolution of October 1956. But the direction must belong to the Freedom Fighters.

6. I felt that the re-organization of the various political parties was necessary and good. It was one of the goals of the revolution which accompanied the demands for free elections.

E. I want to go back to Hungary but only to a free and independent Hungary.

I want my child to learn Hungarian as well as English in the US.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

1. I used to listen to RFE, VOA, BBC, Paris, Ankara, Tel Aviv, etc. All these stations were jammed and the audibility depended on the atmospheric conditions.

I listened to Hungarian and English broadcasts practically every day alone, or with my wife.

2. We always listened behind closed windows and the radio tuned to a low volume. I knew somebody who lost his job for listening to Western broadcasts.

3. The broadcasts were very important to the Hungarian people. They were an open window of the free world. As for the news, RFE was good but the comments of BBC were the best. RFE gave the news every hour and we were glad to hear from the free world.

4. - Until the revolution broke out my opinion was good.

5. The Western radio stations had nothing in common with the Hungarian revolution, but the broadcasts did not evaluate well the events and did not help the revolution but hampered it with inaccurate news and wrong tendencies.

6. RFE should continue to broadcast to Hungary.

7. It should broadcast especially every-hour news with comments. More cultural programs and more information about life in the countries of the free world are needed. It should also tell in detail the Hungarian and world literature and inform the Hungarian people about the activities of and the results achieved by the Hungarian politicians in exile in the interests of the Hungarian people.

B. I have heard the initials NEM and I have heard of the 12 Demands. ACTually I saw both of them mentioned in leaflets.

C. Leaflets

1. I was given leaflets in my county when I visited villages. Maybe I received five or six issues in 1955 and 1956.

3. It was dangerous to pick up the leaflets and people were arrested and detained for days for this.

4. I thought the leaflets were useful and that their contents were good. But, after I left Hungary I saw that more Hungarian literary products could have been sent in them, especially the articles of Latohatar. But, the radio should have told us about this articles first. The radio failed here. The Hungarian did not need any encouragement but information about the Hungarians living abroad and their conditions of life.

5. Leaflets should continue to be dropped in Hungary for information purposes.

6. They should stress that the Hungarian revolution expressed the rightful demands of the Hungarian people and that freedom cannot be taken away for long from any country.

D. The aim of the Western organizations was to inform the Hungarian people about the free world and about the moves to free the captive nations. These ~~maxims~~ were the aims of the Western governments and the organizations, that is the radios, voiced them.