

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent belongs to a peasant family and was able to get a good education during the war. Under Communism, his father was branded a kulak. was arrested in 1946 because of his connections with the Peasant Association.

Respondent felt attracted early toward the movie field, but because of adverse circumstances -- family origin, political views, etc. -- he was prevented from achieving anything serious in this field. He was obliged to remain an assistant until 1956 when he finally got a chance to make his first film which he could not complete because of the outbreak of the revolution. The film he intends to produce here will certainly reveal the extent of his talent and of his knowledge.

Respondent appears to possess a moderate intelligence, and is always under somebody else's influence. He likes to exaggerate his own personality and the importance of his actions. His manners are not very refined and he does not even realize it. He is honest and courageous and is more an idealist than a materialist.

He has no fundamental ideological principles and his political views are not built on solid basis. Consequently, he is politically insignificant and could not be more than a back-bencher.

He did not stop smoking during the entire interview, and his interest varied with the different hours of the day -- at times being alternatively calm and nervous, natural and theatrical. He refused to tell his opinions about the exiles and RFE, since he thought this would be detrimental to his "political" future here. He thought the chapter on child rearing was silly, but finally agreed to answer the questions on this topic.

On the whole, respondent's personality is pretty mixed-up and restlessness can be said to be his main characteristic.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The Americans should know that when the Russian troops leave the Soviet Union and are stationed for some time in a so-called People's Democracy, they are infected and demoralized to a certain extent. The Hungarian revolution is the proof of this.

The fighting in Budapest showed that well-equipped Russian Army units can be beaten and that the Russians are not as strong as the West believes. The troops that came after November 4 had political officers in the tanks. Those soldiers couldn't even speak Russian and had interpreters with them since the Russians were afraid that they might talk with Russian-speaking Hungarians.

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

October 22

Last October I worked with the National Association of Co-operatives as a lecturer in charge of technical propaganda for radio, movies and the press.

We made two movies a month and employed some 600 people.

Since October 20-21 we heard of the events that took place in Szeged. On October 22 at 2 p.m., a student who used to bring us coffee to the office, brought a typewritten list of the students' demands. We asked him to add some more demands; among others a demand regarding the uranium. ~~Emx~~ There were no demands as yet regarding the Russian troops. We mimeographed some 300 copies and I went to bring some to Sandor Kiss. He said that we should not go to the university meeting which was to be held in the evening, because the AVH might well arrest us.

October 23

I went to work at the enterprise as usual. In the afternoon when the radio announced that the demonstration was authorized, I left the office with about 10 colleagues and spent my time trying to find my wife in the crowd which had gathered in front of the statue of General Bem. I met some good friends of mine there. We tried to dissuade the people from going to the Polish legation since the Soviet legation was near by and we thought that a shooting incident might occur. We told them to go to the Parliament instead. Finally, somebody managed to lead that group which wanted to go to the Polish legation before the Stalin statue. I finally met my wife and we went home to get our child. The three of us went back to the Parliament where we stayed until 10 p.m.

Our personal manager was an AVH man. I saw him in the crowd and heard him shouting anti-Semitic slogans.

We realized that the Secret Police were trying to create a "Fascist provocation." The crowd only asked for Nagy, who finally came from Godollo. Gero began to speak at 8 p.m. and since some cars had radios, the crowd could hear the speech. A 20-year old student shouted that the people should go to the radio station. Half of the crowd began to move toward that direction. I heard the AVH man shouting again, "Down with Gero!" "Down with the Jews!" I remained in front of the Parliament and still thought that nothing special would happen.

Nagy came out on the balcony of the Parliament. Somebody turned out the lights and the people made torches out of newspapers. Near the end of Nagy's speech, at 9:45 p.m., a truck arrived and the driver shouted, "Citizens! come to the radio station! They are killing the people!" Four men, obviously members of the AVH, tried to beat the driver up, saying that it was not true that the Party was doing such a thing. Later, a wounded young man arrived and the crowd immediately dispersed. I told my wife that we should go home. I thought that the whole affair would end with a few hundred people arrested. When only 150-200 people remained in front of the Parliament, they were surrounded by police cars and some 20 of them were arrested.

I took my family home and went out to accompany our chief accountant to his home. Meanwhile, a group with flags went to the radio building. On our way, we saw two trucks loaded with youths as they stopped two trucks loaded with armed Blue Policemen. In five seconds, the Blue Policemen were disarmed. They made no attempt to resist and got out of their trucks.

When we got nearer the radio building we heard the shooting and saw the many wounded there. At 11:30 the Russian tanks were already on the Vaci street. I got home after midnight.

I went out again and saw the people building barricades with streetcar tracks and I helped them. The Russian tanks, at that place, did not fire and went away. I got home again at 2 a.m. My wife and neighbors would not let me out again.

A. During the demonstrations I was afraid for the people and told them that the end would not be good. However, I did not think that an armed revolution would take place -- not even on October 24.

The demonstrators were practically all under 30 years of age. There were also many women with children, many workers, and some Army officers.

The demonstrations had two kinds of leaders -- the spontaneous one who shouted slogans and the DISZ members who let the demonstrations occur, but, who shouted, "Long live the Party!"

The fighting could have been avoided if Nagy would have been nominated premier. But Gero did not want to yield the power and the AVH fired into the crowd after it did not allow the students to read their 14 demands over the radio.

October 24

I was out at 7 a.m. and saw the Russians patrolling the streets. The radio announced that the fighters were surrendering and asked the people to resume working on Thursday. I thought that everything was over and I went home.

October 25

I went to my office. At about 11 a.m. I saw the police removing the red star from their quarters, the Adria Palace. We saw a surprised crowd of 1,000 people coming from the British legation and another crowd of 10,000 from the university. Three or four Russian tanks arrived in the square. The crowd surrounded them, put Hungarian flags on them while the Russians waved at them (the people).

The crowd followed the tanks to the Parliament. I saw more Russian tanks joining the crowd and began to suspect the worst. I phoned my wife and told her to stay home. Later, we heard terrific shooting and saw the Russian tanks coming back, firing at every one around them. A dead Hungarian youth still hung on one of the tanks, his hand caught in the turret.

Without this massacre the revolution would have ended. The news spread immediately throughout the city because the Communists forgot to cut the telephone wires. They also left the electricity so that the Russians could see during the night.

That evening I met a friend and we discussed the situation, wondering whether the West would help us.

On October 26th the people were all out on the streets. I went to the market place with two trucks to get some food. It took us four hours to get there. Until October 28 I organized a food supply of the Ninth District. Several of our trucks were destroyed, some of our drivers killed. At the Boráros Square, more than 100 people were trapped in the cellars and were without food. We also carried ammunition under the potatoes. In some houses, children of 13-14 were filling bottles with gasoline...they would have preferred to do some of the shooting.

In the afternoon of October 28 I was asked to take several young men to the Parliament. This was not easy since there was still shooting, although the Russians began to respect the Red Cross emblem and the white flag. At a corner some revolutionaries took our truck away from us.

That evening I met Kiss in the Parliament and from that time on I joined in the various political activities which went on there. We represented the Revolutionary Armed Forces. The police had its representatives too. My sphere of activities con-

cerned the radio which was still under Communist control and the movies.

From October 31 until November 4 I worked with the Peasants' Association. It was the time when revolutionary councils were established. The same thing was done in the movie enterprise. The Social Democrats wanted to divide the movies between the different political parties. Personally, I thought that this was stupid. We decided ~~to~~ not to run any movie until the Russians left. We also decided to eliminate politics from the movies.

On November 3 the situation became precarious. Kadar's wife came to the parliament -- frightened because she could not find her husband. She did not dare to go home. She remained in the parliament until November 4. We decided to work on Sunday but took home the list of all the members. We knew that Budapest was surrounded. My father-in-law urged us to leave Budapest for the country, but I refused to do so.

I did not hear the words, "freedom fighter", until after November 4 from Western radios.

From October 23 till October 25 only students and young workers fought. After the massacre in front of the parliament building took place all the Hungarian workers joined in the fighting. Those above 30 did not fight with weapons. Many student girls fought. The doctors worked in the hospitals. The functionaries were the least active because they were most at the mercy of the regime. Their role was more of an organizational nature.

On October 24, in the morning, the Hungarian Army division from Cegeld arrived in Budapest. The soldiers did not interfere in the fighting. I met three jeeps with officers and soldiers. We asked them to fight with us but they declined. We asked for their weapons and they said that they were going to eat. While they were away, we naturally took all their weapons.

There were about 40 centers and groups of resistance in Budapest but maybe two had contact with each other. People would get together. Some wanted to shoot during the day and sleep at night or vice versa. The three

more important centers were the Kilyan barracks, Corvin Square, and Zena Square. After November 4 there were other places.

On October 27 before the Basilicatwo Russian tanks killed two children, 17 and four years old. Two students, a boy and a girl, fired back and minutes later some 80 people were in the square shooting at the Russians. I do not know where they came from and where they obtained weapons, but it was a completely spontaneous action.

After the cease-fire, I remained pessimistic. After November 1 I had actually built my bunker in the cellar. The Russians' dilatory tactics were aimed at the UN which should have sent observers immediately. Weapons were not needed at that time.

I knew that the Russians did not wait to be called since I saw them at 11:30 p.m. on October 23rd. They simply came in.

The Re-invasion

The Russians attacked on November 4 at about 4:30 and the radio announced it at 5:20 a.m. I remained at home all day and did not go out any more until November 9. I barricaded my cellar. The Russians and the AVH were already picking up people. Imre Nagy had around him a certain Ference Hont who was appointed Director of Theatre. He worked for the AVH and as I had often talked with him, I had good reasons to be afraid.

I went to my office and stayed there until November 11 when a man came from Gyor with a message that I should leave for Austria. A truck was supposed to pick me up on November 12, but it did not come. On that same day Kadar held a Party meeting. A friend of mine, who was a milder Communist, warned me and told me to disappear. I forged documents which designated me to go to Gyor and Sopron counties to gather vegetables for Budapest. We got to Gyor with two trucks, carrying 60 people. We left the trucks near the border and walked over to Austria. We saw Russian soldiers eating carrots. They had picked them in the fields. They had no food and no Hungarian money.

20
220

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST

I did not expect armed assistance from the West. The UN should have recognized Hungary's neutrality immediately and sent somebody to Budapest. After November 4, diplomatic relations should have been broken with Russia. The UN should have also pressed Yugoslavia to stand up against the Russian intervention. However, Tito did not want more than Titoism in Hungary.

The Western broadcasts made us very angry. Radio Free Europe, Colonel Bell, and "The Reflector" were responsible for turning the people's anger at the Communists and for the killing of many secret policemen. The broadcasts also made great propaganda to attract refugees. Otherwise, 200,000 people would not have come out.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's Family Background

My father belongs to the peasantry. He had six holds [8 1/2 acres] of land. He became an invalid during World War I, got a pension from Horthy and had a small grocery store. After 1944, he owned 4 1/2 holds [5 1/2 acres] of land and was branded a "kulak". He refused to join a collective. His land was taken from him and he was given by commassation two holds of bad land.

Both my father and mother completed six years of elementary schooling.

B. The Social Classes in Hungary

The Communists wanted to create a chaos between the various social classes and tried to mix them and to oppose them against each other. The divisions and differences between classes were therefore the results of Communist ideology.

The classes were: the workers, the peasantry -- which was not a class but a group according to the Communists, and the so-called progressive intelligentsia. But under Communism, there were no clear separation lines between classes and everybody was dissatisfied. The small trade and craftsmen belonged to none of these classes.

In reality, there were only two main groups in Hungary -- those who served Moscow and those who were oppressed. Those who were oppressed and those who stayed between the two groups consciously by joining the Party, unconsciously when saying what the Soviets wanted to hear.

C. How the Different Classes Felt About Each Other

When a group served the regime, another group would speak up against it. For instance when the peasants of a village joined the Party, the peasants of another village condemned them. However, there were no dif-

ferences of opinion about each other as members of a class.

All classes opposed Communism in the same way. The workers were more at the mercy of the State because of their wages, while the peasants could work their own land.

E. How an Individual Might Advance Himself in Communist Hungary

1. Those who had outstanding talent, for example, the composer Kodaly or the violinist Zatuthureczky, did not have to serve the regime or to denounce others. The regime needed them too much.

Those who served the Communist Party could go ahead and, as a result, the country was run by barbers and shoemakers. One had to spy, denounce and proclaim one's love for the Soviet Union. These leaders caused great damage to the country because of their incompetence. The AVH major at the internment camp at Recske was told by the poet Faludi that he had contact with Western imperialists such Goethe, Shakespeare, etc. The major wrote down everything.

There were also the honest Communists who knew that the Hungarian Communist Party had to be cleaned. These included Nagy, Hay, etc. They made progress and without them the revolution would have never broken out. Some were disillusioned.

From 1945 until 1948 it was possible to go ahead with talent. There was an eight to ten months' period of relaxation in 1953-54. In the spring of 1956, after Rajk's rehabilitation, I was allowed for the first time to work with movies and was permitted to go to Austri.

2. Those who had the best chances of getting ahead were the careerists. It was advantageous for them to have workers' origin, although Rakosi and the other leaders did not have anything in common with the workers.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. The main fact of Communism was that there was no family life. Before Communism only 10-20 per cent of both parents had to work; under Communism, more than 70 per cent. The aim of the Communists was not the desire to have the women work but their intention to limit and destroy family life, to take the child away from the family's influence and to put him in a State nursery. The peace of the family was destroyed, but at the same time, the pedagogic methods of the Communists backfired. The unity of the family was strengthened since all the members had to work. There were times when I could see my wife only once a week.

B. How Children Are Brought Up in Hungary

Communism suppressed the education at home and the religious instruction. The child was brought up systematically with Soviet methods like those of Makarenko and was given a materialistic education.

One of my neighbors' 11-year old son had to write a composition in school about Sunday and the parents did not dare to take him to church in fear that he would write about it.

2. The children had less respect for the parents who were afraid of punishing the child in fear that he would say something. The Communists tried to have more influence on the child than the parents.

The father of a friend of mine was a general under Horthy. His son joined the Communist Party in order to go to a university. Publicly, they were enemies but in private their relationship was normal.

C. Marriage, Courtship and Sex Patterns

1. Since the Communists knew that propaganda was unsuccessful with the youth they organized dances, summer camps and excursions during which the moral values and

the sexual behavior were loosened.

Marriage in Hungary was tied to material factors. An apartment in Budapest cost 30,000 forints while a worker earned 900 forints a month.

2. Under Communism legal prostitution was abolished and illegal prostitution was severely punished. There was a joke that said prostitution was not even necessary since there existed the Hungarian Democratic Women's Association.

3. The Communists saw that they could not destroy the moral values of the people. Klara Feher wrote a book entitled, "What the Stork Has to Tell" but this book was later rejected.

D. Friendship Under Communism

1. People who had the same outlook on life became friends. Friendship depended on whether one was oppressed or was one of the oppressors.

One tried to sever one's ties and friendship with those friends who joined the Party. Firstly, by fear of them and secondly, to avoid causing trouble to them.

It was impossible to keep politics out of friendship because there was no democracy in Hungary.

E. Crime and Alcoholism

1. I do not know the real situation since the press did not publish any data about crimes. Everybody stole and cheated because the standard of living was low. A Communist was not punished while the others, sometimes, were severely punished.

The young apprentices worked for very low salaries and many became criminals. Many high Communist Party members were formerly convicted and condemned as common criminals.

The Communists dissolved the former police which had the best detectives in Europe. They did not know anything about inquiries and were unable to find the criminals.

2. Drinking increased since the wines [all] were exported, the people got used to liquors. They had little money to save and were embittered. Even the Communist press condemned this situation.

3. The jampecs

The jampecs aged from 16 to 22. They were young people who imitated the West by opposing the regime. Their dress was not in good taste and a conservative European would never wear straight socks.

In 1950 even shoes with rubber soles or a tie were considered bourgeois. Rakosi often spoke with suspenders and with an open shirt. Marosan never put on a tie. In Hungary the fashion was drab and uniform and those who were non-conformists committed a great sin.

VII. RELIGION

A. The Communists' rule affected religion to a certain extent. The people who had had previous religious education were not affected. But certain children could not be baptized or could not go to church because their might have lost his job. Some people could not ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ be married in church. On the other hand, many secret policemen got married secretly in the church. The persecution brought closer to the church even those who were not religious. When a streetcar passed in front of a church, everybody made the sign of the cross and the men removed their hats -- even those who were not religious and non-Catholics, like me. People went in large numbers to religious processions in order to demonstrate against the regime.

All the religions were oppressed in the same manner. At the time of Mindszenty's trial the Catholics were particularly persecuted; the Protestants got their share with Bishop Ordass. The Communists' chief enemy was religion and the men who were religious.

B. Religion is not an important factor in my life. I never thought of it and it played anymore important role in the life of my parents. I think that I am less religious than the average person in Hungary. However, I am giving my son a religious education and he is taken to church.

C. The churches should enjoy complete freedom and the support of the faithful. I would re-establish the religious schools which are traditional in Europe and have a 900-year long history in Hungary. They knew how to educate and educate well; they were always better than the public schools.

The churches can set moral codes and standards but independently from the State and not as mouthpieces of it.

In a democracy, the churches should be allowed to take part in politics.

The Jewish Minority

1. The Jewish religion was persecuted like the other religions.

2. If a Jew opposed Communism he was jailed too. I was in jail with a Jewish rabbi who was in cell with some Nazis and they were on the best terms. It was the Communists' idea to put the rabbi in the same cell with the Nazis.

At the end of 1944 a great fraction of the Jews was deported to Germany. The Communists did not like the Democrats and took in the Jews who joined the Communist Party en masse and could not get out of it later. There was a joke about Dobi being taken into the government for the sole purpose of having somebody sign decrees on Saturdays. Those Jews who remained in the West helped those at home with many parcels and the latter enjoyed a better standard of living than the average persons.

In Austria the Joint in my opinion, gave too much money to the refugees it handled.

3. The Jews were pleased to see that there was no trace of fascism during the revolution. In the Writers' Association 70 per cent of the members were Jewish.

4. The Jews who are members of the Communist Party are naturally afraid of an independent Hungary. However, the Christians -- like Dobi -- have the same fear.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. By Hungarian youth I mean everybody between the ages of 16 - 35.

B. The youth made the revolution and led it. Only Imre Nagy was not young. One-hundred-eighty-five out of 200 fighters were young people.

The youth less responsibility. They had no future and no good positions. They saw the bad life which was in store for them. The older people were less hopeful.

The youth earned huge esteem. Everybody helped us and advised us. The youth felt it was their fight, not that of the older ones. If free elections would have been held, maybe 70 per cent of the new deputies would have been under 30 years of age.

C. The Schools and the Educational System Under Communism

The Communists turned the youth against them by using dictatorial methods in education. They forced the youth to learn Russian, to idolize the Soviet Union and to believe that the Russians invented everything.

There were some improvements in technical sciences as compared to 1945. However, these were pseudo-sciences and the methods and means were wrong.

The ~~max~~ majority of the professors were older. They were always attacked by the regime but were kept in the schools because of their knowledge and prestige. The youth refused to listen to the young Communist teachers and professors.

E. The Communist Indoctrination of the Youth

1. The Communists devoted too much time in indoctrinating the youth. This was harmful because it took most of the youths' free time.

The Communists failed to indoctrinate the youth because of their anti-national educations in every field and the hopeless future they offered.

Youth always rejected Communism. There were only a few students who represented nobody and who were Communists.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Respondent's Main Dissatisfactions

1. We lived in a 7-room apartment with seven other families totalling 19 persons.
2. I was not allowed, until 1956, to work in field which is movies.
3. The low of standard of living. For example, my suit cost 2,100 forints.
4. The fear of being arrested at any moment.
2. The people were complaining most about the illegal arrests and the luxury in which the Party leaders lived.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

1. Respondent's standard of living

My wife, who worked as a library researcher, and I both earned 1,300 forints a month. Our combined income was the sum of 2,600 forints; exactly 2,200 after the various deductions.

Out of this amount we spent 200 forints for rent and heating, some 700 forints for food, 250 forints for the child's nursery. I had a pair of shoes made for 680 forints.

The clothing and the food caused us the most difficulties. We could afford very little entertainment and went once a year to a dance.

I considered a phonograph a luxury. It would have cost me 2,400 forints.

Our standard of living went down. Cultural food was lacking also. One could buy a good suit every four years. I had only three suits and it took us five years to furnish our apartment.

Our standard of living was at its lowest point in 1951-52; at its highest in 1956.

2. I knew a family of four persons where the husband was an enterprise manager who earned 3,200 forints a month. His wife was the personnel head of another factory and earned 2,800 forints. The husband also received quarterly premiums of 15,000-20,000 forints. They spent vacations in Slovakia and had a nurse for the children. They ate the best food and an electric refrigerator [there were only 2000 of them in Hungary]. However, they always wore the same clothing since they did not want to attract the attention of the people who disliked them.

3. The standard of living was deteriorated by the irrational armament production and by the disadvantageous trade agreements with the Soviet Union which exploited us and bought our uranium and bauxite at a price inferior to that of the world market.

B. Respondent's Income During the Past Ten Years

1. I earned 1,300 forints a month.
2. Seventy forints were deducted for the peace loan, 21 forints for trade union fees, three per cent for old age pension [nobody got it]. There were also periodical collections for China, Korea, etc.
3. We received premiums when the plan was overfulfilled. The quarterly premium amounted to one month's salary.
4. As a part time job, I wrote movie scripts.

C. Retail Prices in Hungary

1. The differences between the State stores and the farm markets were very slight. However, the quality of the produces was better. My wife always bought from the peasants since their produces were fresh and good.

In 1949-51 the prices were very high and many peasants were imprisoned. That was the time when the peasants were branded as kulaks. In 1956 the price differentials were very slight.

2. It was always the same bad quality in the stores. One would buy a baby carriage for 600 forints and it would lose its wheel on the way home from the store.

3. Retail distribution was bad since there were no central directives. Before the holidays produces were sent to the cities and to the workers' centers. Sometimes they would produce too much.

In mining centers and Szatalinvaros there were always lemons, salami, sardines, etc. which were not available in the rest of the country.

The most needed spare parts were never available and the people complained a lot about this. Once I had to go as far as Miskolc to buy a spare part. There was always a

shortage of some article just like in the Soviet Union.

4. Soap, Gillette razor blades, contraceptives, etc. were especially in short supply.

5. Most industrial products were too expensive -- such as motorcycles, cameras, phonographs, radios, clothing, musical instruments, etc. An electric refrigerator cost 7,600 forints; a radio between 2,220 and 2,600 forints; magnetophone, 7,000 forints; a bicycle from 600 to 1,000 forints; motorcycle, 12,400 or more; an average camera 3,600 forints; bedroom suite, 18,000 forints and it was absolutely to buy it.

6. The Black Market

There was a black market for the western products such as lipsticks, nylon, Gillettes, electrical razors, etc. and also for certain agricultural products.

There was also a black market for foreign records and magazines. "Rhapsody in Blue" by Gershwin, sold for 120 forints on the black market while the standard price for records was 15-20 forints each in the stores. The Russian records sold for five forints but nobody bought them.

The Under-the-Counter Sales

From time to time, imported goods were sold at the low price on the market -- such as East German watches, Czech cameras, etc. These goods were distributed to the stores and the managers sold them to their friends and relatives. The Party officials had a special store where they could get pork, vanilla [never sold in Hungary], etc.

The Communists, like the soccer players, were not punished. Others would get ten to fifteen years' imprisonment. Some kulaks were imprisoned for life or executed. Everything depended upon the relations one had with the Party.

Working Conditions

1. The whole country loafed. People loafed in every room and a few worked. Many people used the pretext to

enny

agitate others. The factory workers were exploited while the office employees were loafing.

I went to the office at 8:30 a.m. and began to answer the mail. Every office had to keep in touch with at least 20 other factories and enterprises. One would go out in the afternoon to meet friends and to spend 40 per cent of the time outside doing nothing.

In the film industry the Communist Party members made the films and the real experts were kept occupied in lower positions so that they could not complain.

It was the Ministry of National Education which kept in touch with the Party which gave us the directives. For example, the Party wanted movies on the collectives. The scripts were checked and approved by the Party. When the films were ready the Party checked them again and the producers' role was merely a technical one.

My relations with my co-workers were excellent. Our superiors served the Party and fired the people at discretion. At the film factory I had a lot of trouble with the personnel manager even when the director wanted to help me.

I did not even try to be satisfied with my job. I worked just enough not to be thrown out. This was a national pasttime. The movie I made last summer and which I could not complete, was the first personal job I was satisfied with.

2. The managers were young and incompetent; all experts were put along side them to assist them. A girl named Ilona Kolonics, a student at the theatrical academy, could not pass her final exams because of her background. She was convinced by the Party to go to Russia for three years and become a movie producer. Later, only one out of five of her films could be shown. These people had to make self-criticism and it was a plain comedy.

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

1. I preferred to live in town where life was more cultural.

The miners and industrial workers had a better diet without speaking about the 5,000 top Communist officials in Budapest and of their 30,000 second hand men.

The general standard of living was higher in the country.

In the city one could hide more easily and life easier politically.

2. Respondent's opinions about collectivization:

I never approved of the collectives. In October 1956 160 per cent of them were dissolved. The use of coercion ruined the Hungarian agriculture. In 1955, for example^{AT} Mezokeresztes a locality of 16,000 inhabitants, was surrounded by the AVH and some 40 Communists came to convince all the peasants to join the collective. However, even this attempt failed.

All of the peasants opposed collectivization.

3. I would prefer to work on a private farm where there are no norms and where I would receive the wages I agreed upon earlier. On the State farms the wages were very low.

4. In an independent Hungary I would like to see the Danish agricultural system and voluntary sales co-operatives.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. The Situation Before 1948

1. Respondent's Interest in Politics Before 1948

After the war at Sarospatak I was a university party leader and a member of the Central Committee of the Independent Youth Association. I was also affiliated with the Peasant Association.

2. The Communists formed the Communist Youth Organization. I was against this group and was arrested in 1946 and imprisoned. We tried to stop the Communists but in vain.

B. Views on the Communist Party After 1948

1. The Party Members

They were the idealistic Communists who believed in the aims of the Party; then those who were forced into the Party; those who joined it for the money and wanted to make a career and finally, many Nazis.

2. Changes in Party policies

Every change and concession was nothing but a practical move. The final aim remained the same always -- to make Hungary a more total colony of the Soviet Union. The only real change occurred when Imre Nagy sided with the revolution.

Differences could be seen in minor Party functionaries among intellectuals and workers, but the Communist Party officials did not want to express publicly.

3. The Communist Party member could voice his opinion but the orders of the Central Committee were secret and had to be obeyed without discussion.

4. The Top Leaders of the Communist Party

Rakosi allegedly believed in Communism. The others were saved from imprisonment by the Russians, came back from Moscow with them and had a good life. They did not

want to work but were afraid of the Hungarian people. For that reason they often overdid their orders. I considered them evil. Compared to them, even the devil is a kind-hearted creature.

C. Opposition to the Communist Regime

1. There was continual opposition to the Communist regime. The peasants and the intellectuals led it while the workers, tied down by norms, could not do much. I know that there was a strike at Csepel; in 1955 the arms plants near Varpolata were sabotaged.

The passive resistance increased. The news spread and the idea of resistance was kept alive. One could write an entire book based on the anti-regime jokes alone.

From 1949-51 the resistance behavior was dangerous. In 1956 the Communists made a few concessions to appease the people but for propaganda purposes only.

The Activities of the Intellectuals

3. I used to attend the meetings of the Petofi Circle. The rehabilitation of Rajk started a move to clean and reform the Communist Party. Jonas and I could not speak openly at the Petofi Circle and had to stay in the background. We told the minor CP members to work on Hay, Aczel and others.

The writers tried to express what people were forbidden to say. The writers realized that they were read for the first time and that every time they speak up against the regime they would become popular and successful. When they felt that the people liked them they took courage. However, they thought only of titoism and not of complete independence and free elections.

4. The writers realized that the Party and the people did not go along at all. They wanted a better party which would serve the people and they did not think that they were about to start an evolution which would sweep the Communist Party away.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The AVH or Secret Police

1. The AVH was created by the people who came back from Moscow, like Peter Gabor and his associates. Most AVH leaders and officers were Jews because in 1945 when they came back from the German camps they joined the secret police and remained there. From time to time, trusted activists were put by the Communist Party into the AVH. Recently, many soldiers were drafted into the AVH, especially into the "green AVH" [border guards]. These guards helped the people to cross into Austria during the revolution.

I once saw a movie that was run for AVH men only. It showed a secret policeman betraying the AVH and spying for the imperialists. It showed him actually being hanged at the end of the movie.

The money was what attracted those who became secret policemen. Officers got from five to 12 thousand forints a month. Some of my friends who were arrested by the Gestapo told that the AVH methods of torture were much more cruel. When I was arrested I was in the hands of the AVH for four months. They beat me with their fists on my mouth, put cigarette butts in my ears and nose, beat me with a stick with nails, and broke one of my elbows.

During the revolution the headquarters of the AVH was attacked because they had killed two young men earlier. Many AVH members put on civilian clothes but were recognized thanks to their brown shoes which were of a special type made only for the secret policemen. They caught freedom fighters during the revolution and even after the fighting was over they tortured them in hidden places.

3. I wonder if RFE could not tell the AVH that if they help the people ~~in any way~~ their safety will be guaranteed in a free Hungary. The AVH also had a bureaucratic apparatus -- accountants, cooks, etc. -- and these people cannot be considered guilty. However, the sadistic policemen must be punished.

The Regular Police

The Blue Police gave their weapons to the people. Their commander, Kopacsi, was recently hanged by the Communists. They co-operated with the revolutionaries. Their salaries were much lower than those of the AVH and they were less reliable politically.

B. The Courts

1. Before 1945 a poor peasant or worker got a fair treatment from the courts in a case against a rich man. In my village, a simple butcher won cases against a landowner with 1,000 holds [1,400 acres] who wanted to cheat him.

2. The Nazis like Szalasi were justly punished by the People's Courts, but it was a mistake to also execute smaller people who did not deserve more than two or three years' imprisonment. The Communist Party was responsible for this together with the AVH.

C. The Hungarian Army

1. The Role Played By the Army During the Revolution

The Hungarian was supposed to crush the revolution, but in Budapest like in the rest of the country, it sided with the revolution and did nothing against it. The soldiers gave most of their weapons to the people.

The officers and the soldiers became both Freedom Fighters and fought together. The only difference was that the officers had more experience. A lieutenant, for instance, led a group of civilians in the Mester Street fighting.

On November 4, the army failed to resist effectively because people in key positions worked for the Russians. Maleter was arrested by surprise and no orders could be delivered afterwards. The soldiers fought in small groups and many escaped to the West.

2. Everyday Life in the Army

I spent seven months in the army in 1951 as a reserve soldier with many students and young intellectuals who were more intelligent than the officers. During the political courses they contradicted the instructors who knew less, and it was really comical.

The relationship between officers and soldiers was friendly. All officers were Communist Party members but not convinced Communists. They were fairly well trained.

I was the head of a cultural group and had to give lectures and look after the library. I was never given a gun. Once we played a concert of nothing but American and French modern musical pieces on a May 1 and told the audience and the political officers that these were the works of famous Russian composers. We invented the names of these composers.

The soldiers were bored with the political lectures which were very primitive. However, they were compulsory and everyone had to attend them.

B. The Russian Army Troops in Hungary

2. It is not true that Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1848. They are due to the so-called liberation of 1945 when the Russians raped the women, killed the men, and looted the country. The following period of Communist oppression was also linked to the presence of the Soviet Army.

I was in Kassa when the Russians came into the country. I was stripped and robbed of everything. Later at Szerencse, a Russian soldier broke into our house and stole all of our clothing.

My opinion about the Russian soldiers was lower only since 1945. Last year in Kecskemet, the women did not dare to go out after 10 p.m. The Russians still behaved badly in 1956.

3. The Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution lived well. They had canteens where they bought items and then sold them to the population on the black market. They became demoralized and were afraid of going home and having to work again.

They were not allowed to mix with the Hungarians who rejected them also. However, they did go to soccer games, movies and theatres. They managed somehow to understand what was going on in Hungary.

Near Kecskemet they helped the people in agricultural works. They did not say anything about or against their country.

4. During the revolution they were frightened and they got a terrible beating. They were afraid to get out of their tanks and never went less than five together. They did not fight with enthusiasm since they had to fire at civilians.

The fresh troops were Asians who did not even speak Russian. One of these soldiers thought that he was in Berlin.

5. Russian soldiers helped Hungarians before the Parliament building when they fought against the AVH on October 25. I do not know of any cases of Soviet soldiers refusing to obey their superiors, deserting, or fighting on the side of the Hungarians.

I saw Russian soldiers fighting each other in front of the Ady movie house and at the Boraros Square on October 27-28. Two or three Russian tanks were firing at the Ady movie house, then fired at another Russian tank arriving on the square. At the Boraros Square a Russian anti-craft gun fired at the Russian tank and broke its chains.

6. Soviet soldiers committed many individual brutalities toward Hungarians. For example, on the Vermezo on October 25, they were fired at from a house for more than one day. They held a police check-up in the street and shot all of the men they found. After November 4 they came to our

house and beat up a man who was not from Budapest. A tank fired over the heads of some 200-300 people who were queuing for bread on one street and killed a person and wounded several others.

On November 9 at Zuglo, the Russians went to a furniture factory and took off the Hungarian flag. A young boy of 16 put the flag back and the Russians shot him on the spot.

E. The Bureacracy

1. The state control created a huge bureaucracy. Everybody had to control everybody. Forty per cent of the functionaries had not concrete tasks and had to do something to justify their employment. The Communists did not want to give any individual responsibility to any enterprise. However, there were many huge embezzlements on the enterprise level.

The key positions were given to Communist Party members and the majority of the functionaries of the apparatus were non-Party members. But even the Communists did not want to attend the political seminars.

The functionaries were tied down by tight regulations. They tried to help the people wherever they could. Nevertheless, they were not liked by the people.

F. Political bribery was customary in Hungary. In order to sellaa work to the radio, press, etc. the writer had to give a certain percentage to the functionary who bought his work.

In the countryside when the State nationalized a store, it sent a commission to make the inventory. For a certain amount the commission would allow the owner to take what he wanted out of the store.

G. Most of the men in power had not technical intelligence. They came from the workers' ranks and were given intelligence assistance. In many factories the old experts were kept but the Party secretary was above them.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent's Hopes for the Future

If the US does not take concrete steps to help the situation in Hungary it will only grow worse. I agree with the creation of a neutral zone in Europe and with the withdrawal of both American and Russian troops from Europe. This move would free a hundred million people in Eastern Europe and would prevent the Russians from running down countries like Hungary, Poland, East Germany, etc. Even if a country is neutral, it can be strong militarily. The Americans should buy this freedom. They should not give any loan without a counterpart.

The people in Hungary are not afraid of an eventual war. Personally, I think that a peaceful solution will be reached.

B. Before the revolution I thought that ~~the~~ only a war would solve our problem. However, when Austria acquired its independence I hoped that the US would ask for the withdrawal of the Russian troops in accordance with the Hungarian Peace Treaty.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. The Economic System in an Independent Hungary

1. I would put the emphasis on light industry, fruits, and vegetables. If the peasants are helped with machines the country could become very rich. Light industry has huge resources in bauxite; it can manufacture motorcycles, bicycles, optical instruments, fine machinery, shoes, textiles, etc. I would suppress heavy industry which was a nonsense in our country.

Many enterprises were small and primitive when nationalized. They were seriously developed by the Communists. The former owners should receive some compensation but the key industries should remain in the hands of the State. Before November 4 several political parties agreed that the enterprises employing more than 200 persons would remain in the hands of the State. We also fixed set 200 holds [288 acres] as the amount of land someone could own and decided that peasants who lost land should receive a compensation.

The collectives would have dissolved by themselves. Some State farms, however, are producing the salads and the strawberries exported to Western Europe. Individual farmers could assure these exports. The income of such State farms should have to pay the above-mentioned compensations. The State farms could have not been abolished immediately since this would have interrupted the exports. As for the individual farms they are sufficient to ensure the needs of the country itself.

The International Position of an Independent Hungary

I want Hungary to be a republic with a neutral status, or, to be a member of a Western European union or a Danubian Federation.

I would not outlaw the Communist Party in an independent Hungary. It would receive no votes in any free election. I would outlaw it only if the Communist Party tried to overthrow the democratic government of Hungary.

3. I think that a federation of Danubian States can be realized. It would include Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia. Only the Yugoslavs do not like the idea. But Yugoslavia is absolutely needed because of its access to the Adriatic Sea.

4. Hungary's present boundaries are not acceptable. I think here of the territories populated by Hungarians. I have relatives in Slovakia who, four or five years ago, asked us not to write to them in Hungarian since they was dangerous for them. The Russians must be expelled from Ruthenia. The big powers of the UN should re-arrange Hungary's political borders. A plebiscite would not solve much since many Hungarians have been deported to other areas.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I learned of Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress from western broadcasts.

2. I knew about Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee from the Communist press which showed them as proof of the persecution of the democrats in the US.

3. I knew that Rakosi lived sumptuously. I saw his summer resort home in Eabalatonaliga, which was guarded by the AVH. He worked a great deal and only slept five or six hours a night. I met his Russian wife in person who was very unpopular in the country. She was very stupid and had to rehearse for weeks the conversations she would hold at a reception.

B. What Respondent Read While in Hungary

1. I read a great deal until 1945. I knew the western literature well. Authors like Steinbeck, Mark Twain, Hemingway, Thomas Mann, S. Zweig, Cronin were known to me. I also liked Zola and Hugo. After 1945 the Communists flooded us with Soviet books that nobody bought. During the revolution all these unsold books were burned by the people. After 1945 we were cut from the West and the only western author we could read was the American Communist Howard Fast [Spartacus and The Lost Horizon]. When in 1955 some Hungarian writers went to the PEN Club conference in London they were chided for their ignorance about modern western literature. "The Old Man and the Sea" was sold under the counter throughout the country.

I read more under Communism than before. The old books, Hungarian and foreign alike, were sold on the black market for large sums. The peasants and workers read less than before. First, because they were not interested in Soviet and Communist literature

and because they were too busy and had less time.

The Hungarian classics were most popular and were read more than ever, especially Moricz and Mikszath.

3. I read Szabad Nep every day in order to find out, between the lines, and to know would happen in the future. When I worked in the press division I could read the Humanite and Unita and I saw that the Communists of the West did not get the same kind of news as we did.

I did not trust the Communist newspapers at all, particularly the statistics which were completely false.

We also received the Magyar Szo from Slovakia. Before the revolution, Czech and Polish posters could not be exhibited in Hungary. I also read artistic magazines from the satellites. No Yugoslav press products were available.

I regularly read the Geographic Magazine, Homes & Gardens, Better Home, etc. These magazines were sent to enterprises but were not sold to the public. The libraries had a special section which had all of the Western books, but one had to have a special permit to read such books and they could not be taken out of the library. When I came back from Vienna the AVH's first questions was, "Have you any Western publications or books?" Western film magazines sold for good money on the black market.

Illegal Books and Publications

4. All the libraries had a list of the books which they could not give out. For example, Ninocska by Menyhert Lentyel was prohibited. I had the book and used to lend it bound in the cover of a Russian book. In four years some 600 people read it. I had many of these prohibited books (by Laszlo Nemeth, Joseph Nyiro) at home. In 1956 Rakosi's works were also taken out of circulation.

I also had American records with Russian labels put on them.

C. We made two or three jokes a week and amused ourselves with how rapidly they spread through Budapest. In the factories, the washroom was the best place for conversation. The news received by word-of-mouth was partly political news from the radios or news learned from others, sometimes told by people who had been abroad.

Everywhere one went one was told who were the informers and who were the people one could trust. The people did not believe the news and liked to check it.

F. Movies and Theatre

I went to the movies two or three times a month and once or twice a month to the theatre. I only saw one Russian play; I saw all the Western movies. The plays I particularly liked were: "A Dangerous Turning Point" by Presley and "The Tragedy of Man" by Madach. The movies I particularly enjoyed were: "To Be or Not To Be", and American film by Lubitsch and "Les Enfants du Paradis", a French film.

The movie houses which ran Western films were always filled. Many young people went to any movie just for the sake of darkness. They preferred the Soviet movie houses which were always empty and where they had more privacy!!

Some Russian films were compulsory for the schools. Usually one pupil would sacrifice himself and the next day the entire class knew all about the movie. For a couple of weeks only Russian films would be shown.

In 1949 the National Film Industry closed with a deficit of 40,000 forints and the Communists had to import Western movies. The Russians sold their movies by the meter while the Czechs, for example, always chose between the Russian movies, the Hungarians always took everything.

All the actors who rose from the ranks of the poor people were flooded with honors and collaborated with the Communists -- like Julietta Ferrari.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

1. The gradual liberalization of the USSR is being prevented. This increases the chances for a revolution but the terror and police apparatus are too large. I met many Soviet artists in Hungary who lived in luxury and were absolutely unaware of the misery prevailing in the Soviet Union. The Communists create false issues for the people and do not tell them the truth. In my opinion, the Russians has no way out of Communism.
2. The Russians do not know what free elections or parliament mean. In 1949 at the International Youth Festival the Russian youths were prevented from talking to Hungarians and were always escorted by AVH men.
3. The top leaders form a ruling clique with slight differences of use, but not sufficient to create any real break. They want to expand their rule, but if they seize Western Europe this would ruin Communism because the workers of Western Europe have too much culture.

B. Eastern Europe

1. Poland is the most popular Eastern European country in Hungary because of the old Polish-Hungarian friendship and because of the two countries' common history and culture and resistance against the Russians.

Czechoslovakia is the most unpopular because of its servility toward the Soviet Union. The Communist Party is very strong there and it does not need the support of the Soviet troops. The Czechs' role during the revolution was negative. They arrested Hungarians gave the refugees to the Russians, while in Budapest we hailed the Czech tourists. These feelings are against the administrative system and the government and also against the Pan-Slavist aims hiding behind Communism.

I knew intellectuals from other satellite countries (Poles, Romanians, Germans, etc.) who all complained about the situation -- the Czechs complaining the least. During the revolution they were all with us. I saw Romanian, Bulgarian, and Korean students fighting against the Russian troops. Some escaped to Austria.

If free elections were held in these countries they would mean the end of Communism with the exception of Czechoslovakia.

3. Czechoslovakia had the highest standard of living followed by East Germany and Poland. Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria had the lowest standard of living. An Albanian worker works three weeks for a shirt and there is no toothpaste to be found in the country.

C. Poland

1. If Gomulka does not slip back toward the Stalinists, he will be lucky. He will fail because the Western support will only strengthen the Russians and not the Poles.

2. The events in Poland, especially the riots in Poznan, and Gomulka's rise to power hastened the events in Hungary.

3. In Hungary Gero's policy caused a revolution when he refused to leave and allow Imre Nagy to take over the government. Personally, I did not want a revolution.

D. Yugoslavia

1. The Russians' reconciliation with Tito helped the liberalization in Poland and in Hungary. But Tito's favorable attitude toward Kadar gave a freer hand to the Russians in crushing the Hungarian revolution.

Tito takes advantage of his position between East and West and his policy is not honest.

3. Tito is not popular in Yugoslavia. A friend of mine was there during the revolution and he was congratulated by the people in Belgrade. Yugoslavia's economic is as bad as Hungary's and its standard of living is not higher.

Rajk was not a Titoist. The trial of the so-called Titoists was an attack against Tito which Rakosi had to carry out on Moscow's orders.

E. Asia and the Middle East

1. The Communists took advantage of the low standard of living which existed in China. They were helped by a very confused political situation and by the corruption of the Chiang-Kai Shek regime.

2. China is more independent from Moscow since it is a huge military power which is needed by the Russians and also because of Mao's prestige.

5. England should treat India in such a way that it does not go over to the Russians.

6. England was right in the question of the Suez Canal but this problem could have been solved through peaceful negotiations instead of England intervening at the wrong time.

The Soviets saw that the West was occupied at another place and they took advantage of it. In Hungary many people thought that the US knew of the Anglo-French intervention in Suez.

F. West Germany

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

2. It is not true that the West Germans may start another war, but if the question of East Germany is not solved this possibility may become actual again.

4. I agree with the West German rearmament because it is indispensable for Western Europe's protection, especially if the American troops will leave Europe some day. The Germans would then have the strongest army in Europe.

Army

5. The German was far better equipped technically, but the Allies helped the Russians. The Germans were better disciplined and better organized. In Hungary the Russian Occupation Army was the most unpopular.

G. 1. Respondent does not want to express his opinion of the British Labor Party.

2. West Germany has the highest standard of living; Egypt and the Soviet Union the lowest.

H. The United States

1. I was particularly surprised by the number of autos in the US.

2. The US should rearm the West Germans, then ask for the neutralization of Central Europe.

I approve of American loans to Poland and Yugoslavia but not for arms.

3. The US should not recognize the Kadar government.

4. The people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors in order to tell them their complaints and to show them the real situation at home. They would like even more to be able to visit the West.

The Western visitors should go to soccer games or to the countryside, not in groups, but by themselves and they should talk with the people.

The people in Hungary would like to receive Western books and periodicals.

6. The exiles should only inform the visitors.
7. I thought that the Marshall Plan was good and I wish that Hungary could have benefited from it, too.
8. The US fought in Korea because it did not want to allow China to advance and because it wanted to protect its interest in the Far East.

J. The United Nations

The United Nations should have sent observers and recognized Hungary's neutrality on November 2, 1956. After November 4 it should have applied economic sanctions against the Soviet Union and broken the diplomatic relations with it (?). Today it must put the Hungarian question on the agenda and call for sanctions against the Soviet Union.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. In my opinion the greatest living Hungarian today is Imre Nagy. When he saw the sufferings of the people, this faithful Communist was able to take part in an anti-Russian revolution. He was honest to the end and refused to negotiate with Kadar.

B. Cardinal Mindszenty: and honest Hungarian churchman who fought heroically against Communism and who will never lose his prestige as long as he keeps out of politics.

Rajk: he is not a national hero just because he was hanged by the Communists.

Gero: the most evil man of the present Hungarian political life.

Kadar: an unfortunate man who is broken physically and mentally.

2. President Eisenhower: a good soldier who kept all his promises regarding the liberation of the Eastern European countries.

Secretary General Hammarskjold: no opinion.

Dulles: he acted against his mind and heart in the Hungarian affair.

Eden: he followed honest policies and did everything to save England's political interests and to maintain the level of Britain's standard of living. His failure at Suez spoiled his previous record.

Truman: during the revolution it was felt in Hungary that he would have shown more energy than Eisenhower since he had declared war in Korea without notifying the Congress first.

Mikoyan: one of the most dangerous Soviet politicians hidden behind the mask of an expert, he makes political machinations.

Nehru: an honest politician but his attitude toward England brought him too close to the Soviet bloc.

Chiang-Kai Shek: it is too bad he is the leader of Free China.

Ferenc Nagy: he cannot be held responsible for what happened in Hungary under his premiership.

Roosevelt: the Hungarians are angry with him because of the Yalta agreements which gave us to the Soviets.

Adenauer: an honest democrat and good politician.

Stalin: he lived politics without heart, honor and humanity. Yalta and the following events proved that the Second World War was his victory.

Malenkov: No significant politician. In Hungary he was called "the stupid pastry cook."

Franco: a Fascist dictator who owes his present situation to the political situation of the world.

Bevan: no opinion.

Khrushchey: a dangerous politician who is a Stalinist in his methods and can go even further than his old master since he plays a two-faced policy.

Tito: a Communist dictator who chose national Communism and takes advantage of the two world blocs to maintain himself in power.

Peron: a dictator.

Molotov: a poison-mixer Stalinist who at least admits it.

Churchill: I like the old man -- a sympathetic politician who was clever to leave the stage before the fall of the curtain.

VIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of Escapees

1. Those who fought concretely during the revolution and had to escape from certain death left Hungary. Others, who were anti-Communists and who, for a long time wanted to go to the West, came out also.

Among them were many honest and skillful people who will be very useful in the West.

Many other intellectual and spiritual leaders of the revolution could have come out but decided to stay in order to continue the fight.

The people in Hungary think we were right in leaving. Kadar is the only one who is angry with us. I think those leaders who stayed at home are heroes. The others simply could not come out because of family obligations, etc.

2. Not many people would come out now because they know the difficulties that await them in Austria and in the West. Moreover, the Communists have closed and mined the borders again.

B. Hungarian Exile Organizations and Individuals

1. I was aware of exile organizations through the Western radio and through letters. I knew of the Hungarian National Council but not of its program.

I do not want to discuss my feelings toward these organizations. I knew that they tried to do something but I did not know what. During the revolution we had no time to think of the exiles.

C. I met several Hungarians who returned to Hungary. Some fell for the Communist promises -- 90 per cent were sorry for having done it, the remaining 10 per cent were used to make propaganda toward the West and were living well.

The redefection campaign was to prove to the people at home how badly things were in the West and to make propaganda toward the West about how well things were in Hungary.

D. The people in Hungary should be explained objectively the problems encountered by the refugees. The West must not give them false illusions and endanger new situations.

3. The exiles should work in their own field in order to master the techniques of the West and to bring this knowledge back to Hungary. Unfortunately, a large percentage of the refugees will not return.

4. Personally, I want will prepare films on the revolution in order to inform the free world and I want to work in the movie field and to use this knowledge later in Hungary.

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

6. I did not like the way the political parties began to function during the revolution. I thought this move was too early a one.

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

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

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. I listened to all the Western radio stations in Hungarian and in German. Madrid was the most jammed followed by BBC.

I listened vevvery day with my family and my friends.

2. It was dangerous to listen to these broadcasts but the radio was tuned very low and we listened only with close friends. The most dangerous were between 1949-50 and many people were arrested. Sometimes, the Communists wanted to get rid of somebody and accused him of spreading rumors and agitating against the Peoples' Democracy.

3. The most serious broadcasts were those of BBC which also had the highest cultural level. The news of the BBC and also VOA had more credit than those of the other radio stations.

Many listened to the Western broadcasts because it was prohibited. Others, in order to be informed about the free world. But everybody hoped for an eventual liberation and in this respect the broadcasts were very necessary.

4. I do not want to voice my opinion about RFE.

5. Yes, I have heard programs inciting the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help.

7. RFE should stop inciting broadcasts like "The Reflector" and broadcast only straight news and programs about life in Western Europe and the US. Anti-Communist propoganda can be broadcast but on a scientific line only since people in Hungary are not stupid. The broadcasts should avoid all opportunity to incite the people.

B. I did not hear the initials NEM nor did I hear of the "12 Demands."

C. Leaflets

1. A friend of mine gave me a Free Europe leaflet in 1956. In my opinion it would have been better to drop the price list of any American store.
 3. It was very dangerous to pick up these leaflets and many people were arrested for doing it.
 4. I thought that the leaflets were not useful and today I think that the Free Europe Committee should not continue to drop them into Hungary.
- D. I have no opinion about why Western groups broadcast and send leaflets to Hungary.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. Children should be taught to respect their parents and sound moral values which are the basis of their development. The child must consider his father as a friend whom he respects. Religious education is very important.

2. I would use physical punishment only when all pedagogic means have failed. For instance, when the child slams the door 20 times a day or when he does not want to leave the TV set and go to bed.

4. In Hungary the father usually punished the children. His importance in this respect decreased under Communism because he had less time to educate the child and because the Communists, for political reasons, always gave reason to the youngsters against the older generation.

5. Physical punishment was inflicted from the age of six until 12. The girls and the boys got the same treatment. I was beaten by my father for the last time at the age of 14.

Unfortunately, the workers and the peasants beat their children more often than before because they were harrassed by the regime and were more nervous.

6. Under Communism children could not be inflicted with physical punishment but lately, the pedagogues complained. They said that physical punishment was needed in certain cases. The teachers were anti-Communists but the Communists could control them and the teachers were always afraid of the Communist director.

7. The characteristics I value most in a friend are: complete and mutual honesty, the willingness to share common sufferings and to work for common aims.