

with a fairly considerate attitude for Communists because among them he see various groups and makes a remark, when speaking of the AVO, that there "are all kinds of people among them." He seems to have no other personal experience with the Jews but that his wife worked for a Jewish family whom they apparently envied, because of their good financial situation. On the other hand, he knew number of Communists and he could experience the various individuals. What he says about the Jews is apparently the result of the murderous anti-Semitic propaganda of the '40s perpetrated by the German Nazis and their henchmen, the Hungarian Arrow Cross.

The bitter distrust which mingles with nobler qualities sometime manifests themselves in quick outbursts of great anger during the talk and particularly in other conversations I conducted with him after the interview. In those outbursts sometimes he spoke utterly rudely and told about his experiences with utterly rude swearing.

Other observations I made about him indicate that he is very good to people he considers friends and very bad to those he considers enemies.

T H E E N D

XXI. CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is about five feet tall and is a stocky individual who could almost be described as fat. ~~His~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ He shows a round, balding head. He has a short neck and wide shoulders. He apparently is very muscular and strong. He has inquisitive, and quite often impish, smiling eyes. If one can read human faces to a ~~xxxxxx~~ modest extent it can be seen that this man is full of distrust toward others.

He is quite eager to talk and feels honored that his opinions are heard. He has at times amazingly good diction and ancient peasant ~~xxxxxxxx~~ wisdom, which uses descriptive symbols to express his ideas mingled with the lack of culture of a proletarian and the ~~xxxx~~ loneliness, bitterness, and distrust of a farm-hand who became a worker in a city. This seems to be reflected in the way he speaks sometimes with great dignity and praiseworthy objectivity, and sometimes with blind hatred, anger and distrusting generalizations.

His frankness about his drinking (see chap. 16 H.) and his "stealing a little, and lying a little" (see chap. 7 B.) These frank admissions are due ~~xxx~~ solely to the completely relaxed and friendly ~~xx~~ atmosphere in which I conduct interviews, and to the confidence I developed in respondent. (Please forgive my bragging but I justify it by the necessity I feel exists for explaining his unusual frankness.) But his ~~fx~~ frank admissions have to be taken seriously.

He happens to be the only anti-Semite among those I have interviewed. Inconsistent as he is in some other points, he seems to be stubbornly consistent on this point. First I thought he demonstrated the lack of coherence in his attitude toward the Jews when he mentioned that land should be given to Jews as well as to others (chap. 14 b.) but a closer scrutiny made it clear to me that he mentioned this in order to indicate that according to his ideas about Jews they don't earn their living by hard work such as that of a peasant. It is interesting to compare his anti-Semitism blindness

were eight years old. Their mental development was the decisive factor. A few good words had much effect in a great many cases. But there were others who had to be punished up to the ages of 14 and 15. It varied greatly."

It was the same with girls, he explains, but he knew even of ~~girls~~ a ~~girl~~ girl of 18 who was severely ~~spanked~~ beaten by her parents because she had sexual intercourse with a boy.

Respondent doesn't think this changed much with ~~xxxx~~ social classes, but rather with families.

Asked if Communism had brought about changes, he says that it gave more license to children. Communism even hampered parents in disciplining children because children to file complaints against their parents.

Comparing disciplining in the first eight grades before and during Communism respondent says that * a general deterioration took place in the disciplining of children. Before Communism, he says, kneeling in corners and spanking were commonplace, but then there were no more spankings in the Communist era. And such children whose mental development was no advanced well enough took advantage of this and they misbehaved.

These are the characteristics he values most in a friend: ~~xxxxxxx~~ "Sincerity, honesty, reliability and love for one's fellow-man. And keeping one's promises."

Asked about changes in friendship under Communism he says that one had two kinds of friends under Communism: real, sincere friends, and those only out of interest. Like he had his foremen as drinking companions because he expected good ratings from them, he explains.

about it too late and she punished me sometimes with a real good spanking. On one occasion she bought me a good new suit when I was about ten years old. Right then there was a circus in the village and the carousels at that time were not motor driven, but boys volunteered to go ~~xxxx~~ upstairs and turn them around. We had fun by running around and ~~xxx~~ turning the carousel, and I was among those who did this. After we turned it ten times we were permitted to have a ride. I was very tired when I got home and went fully~~xxx~~ dressed to bed. Mother discovered this in the morning and she spanked me thoroughly with a belt and this time with the buckle end.

Respondent cannot decide who among people he knew punished children who were six years old or older. There were fathers, he said, he were quicker to punish a child and there were some mothers who were quicker. In other families again the mother covered up the mischief of the children; again, in other families the mother waited for the father to come and ~~xxxxxxx~~ complained about the children and the father did the punishing. There were ~~xx~~ even families, he says, where the mother covered up the mischief of the children and when the father discovered this, sometimes both mother and child received a few slaps. "I did this myself because I wanted my children to be better than I was myself. And I was disgusted myself that my wife did not keep the child in strict discipline."

Respondent says that the age of the child was important in deciding who should spank it only in the first years because the tiny tots were punished by their mothers.

He doesn't know if this changes with social class. Nor has he observed any changes in the last ten years.

abandoning

Asked when punishment is abandoned respondent says "x@ Children who could not be taught decency and honesty by the time they were 12 or 13, there wasn't much hope left. But generally speaking, the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ of punishment depended completely on the child. Many children needed no more punishment after they

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

These are the most important things a child should be taught according to respondent: "First of all, the love of parents and of fellow-men and of religion. If these three are taught they are all-inclusive."

Asked how a child should be disciplined, he says, "It depends on the situation in each family. Love should be the most important factor in child rearing and discipline should only be in addition to love. The core of discipline should be discriminating between good and wrong and good and bad. There are children who can be taught by persuasion. There are others who have to be punished sometimes, even by spanking them now and then. But other types of punishment are preferable, such as sending the child to the corner, or to refuse him some toy or entertainment he desires. For instance, not to let him go to a soccer game or to a movie or not to give him pin money. Whatever it is that he particularly likes to do."

Asked about the treatment for boys and girls, he says that it depends on the individual. There are tom-boy, ~~and~~ stubborn girls and there are fine, delicate boys.

Asked about changes ~~as~~ as the child ~~grows~~ grows older, he says, "Children change much and rapidly. Children who have a good up-bringing in their early childhood are likely to need less disciplining later. Most important is the very early childhood. As the child develops his own way of thinking, ~~and~~ persuasion should play an ever more important role."

Asked how he was disciplined, respondent says: "I was punished quite often, and there was always a good reason for it. Once when I was perhaps five years old I swore and my father who was sick in bed shortly before his death hit my mouth with his hand and told me I should never ~~swear~~ swear. We were very poor, particularly after my father died. There were seven of us and mother was more than busy earning the daily bread for us. When I committed any ~~kind~~ mischief my mother usually learned

the Free Europe Committee after the revolution was crushed that they meant to trick Hungary into rising and let it be smashed by the Communists. But he says he has not actually made up his mind. Reality is so far removed from propaganda he says.

Asked about the different organizations he says in final analysis they probably are the same.

people, he served a more severe term.

Asked w if the dangers deterred people he says that it rather encouraged people, and even people who handed them in retained a few usually. He thinks that the wise arrangement, that it was printed with small type, was good because they could not be spotted so easily.

Heknows of no changes.

His general attitude is described in the following:
"If it had been to our disadvantage, Communists would not have been so much against those leaflets. But I thought they were just talk, and I had no confidence that something would happen. Sometimes I believed them and sometimes I didn't. There were others who always blindly believed the encouragements were backed up by preparations to help us to liberate Hungary.

Asked about effects, respondent says that some people thought a lot of them and others just didn't care.

Asked the same question referring to the revolution he says that they had no time to think of them during the revolution.

Asked if ~~the~~ the FEP should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary he says, "It depends if they mean to back up ~~the~~ their encouragements by actual deeds.

Asked what should be stresses, respondent answers, "BEfore the revolution I thought that their aim was the liberation of Hungary, to join forces with us if we rise. Now I don't know what to think and ~~it~~ so I couldn't suggest what they should stress if they don't mean to liberate Hungary.

D. Goals of Western groups

Respondent mentions his profound disappointment when he saw that encouragement was backed up by no facts. He says that there were times when he even suspected

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He says that straight news should be broadcast above all and no anti-Communist propaganda because people are more anti-Communist than anyone else.

He is for broadcasting life in Western Europe and for programs about life in the United States.

B. Free Europe Press leaflets

Respondent has no idea what the initials NEM stand for.

When he is told what the initials stand for he answers, "We ~~xxx~~ talked about resistance among ourselves in the plant and among friends in the tavern quite a bit."

Asked about the Twelve Demands, he ~~xxxxx~~ answers ~~xxx~~ that he read that ~~xxx~~ certain leaflet, but he doesn't remember what it contained. It seems to him that Hungary's independence and equality before law and freedom were certainly among the demands.

C. More about Free Europe leaflets

Respondent saw Free Europe leaflets on two occasions. He got them from people who commuted from the countryside to the plant. The leaflets were circulated among the workers at the plant.

He doesn't recall what the ~~xxxxxx~~ leaflets contained except one of them had the Twelve Demands.

He saw leaflets only on these two occasions mentioned.

He has already told us that he read these leaflets and handed them over to others because they ~~xxxxxx~~ circulated them among themselves.

He heard sometimes of Free Europe leaflets not only of those which were circulated but that balloons were captured by the authorities with all the leaflets in them. And people spoke about them.

Speaking about the dangers he said that the person who found such leaflets and who read them could escape punishment by handing them over to the authorities, but ~~h~~ if he didn't he was put into internment camps. If he forwarded them to other

He didn't prefer any station to the other.

Asked about the accuracy of broadcasts he says that none of them were 100 per cent.

Asked to compare them he says that there were so little difference that he doesn't care to compare them.

Asked about effects he says they had some effect in the beginning, but later not so much.

Asked about the role during the revolution he says, "You bet they did, I mean particularly Radio Free Europe. People were listening to it day and night and expected the announcement of an arms shipment and even troops, because we were fighting with the arch-enemy of the free world. On November 4 I heard myself on Radio Free Europe: "Just keep on fighting for four more days!" And be sure that people did fight for four and more days, but they were let down."

Asked about Radio Free Europe in particular respondent says that he liked it in the beginning of the revolution but as they kept encouraging people with no results he at long last came to hate it.

When he is told that some people have told that Western broadcasts, and Radio Free Europe in particular, helped incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help, he answers: "No doubt those who claim this are right. And this refers particularly to the period after November 4."

Asked if Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary, he says, "Since I left Hungary I have no picture of how Radio Free Europe is operating now. But if it keeps lying and misleading people it should not. But if it changes for the better then it's o.k., but it should become completely reliable."

Asked what programs in particular should be broadcast, he says, that he liked particularly when the life of American-Hungarians were described.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

~~He~~ Respondent listened to Radio Free Europe, to the Voice of America, Spanish-Hungarian News, and to the B.B.C. Hungarian program.

Reception was best with Radio Free Europe, he says.

All stations were jammed he says.

He listened only to Hungarian broadcasts.

He listened usually every ~~XS~~ Sunday and ~~xxxxx~~ mostly to Radio Free Europe.

He told others what he heard and they talked quite freely among themselves, although only among themselves in the plant where he worked.

He listened mostly on his own set, but sometimes to one of his friend's ~~/~~ particularly a good set. It was there that they listened to other stations than Radio Free Europe.

He listened both alone and with others.

They listened cautiously and secretly. They put play cards on the table so that if someone came in they could make believe they were playing cards.

Asked ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{about} if he heard/Western broadcasts second-hand he laughs and says, "You bet;"

Asked about dangers he says good sized jail terms were given to those who were caught.

Asked if these dangers deterred people he answers: "They were like Eve and the snake and the apple."

Asked what he thought about Western broadcasts he says that he liked them in the beginning ~~xxxxxxx~~ but later he often found them quite boring and particularly the fact ~~xxx~~ that there was only encouragement but no ~~xxx~~ actions.

D. Exile tasks

The people in Hungary would like to know that the exiles, he says, try every way to help ~~the~~ to convince the world that help is needed for Hungary and for Eastern Europe.

Asked what he thinks they ~~should~~ should know, he says, "They should be told that they should keep their mouth shut that they should keep their mouths shut and wait. It is needless to keep fighting. They should stage a mock-surrender so that Communists leave them alone."

Asked what the exiles should do now he says that apparently they can do very little ~~more~~ more than nothing. Demonstrations and picketing can achieve very ~~little~~ little he says. They are as much as a bubble.

He would not like to join an exile organization. He thinks there is no efficient organization in exile.

Asked about various Hungarian political parties respondent declines to answer because he ~~is~~ claims that he doesn't have the right picture to pass any judgement.

About parties in exile he says that they ~~should~~ should not play parliament where there is no country.

Speaking of political parties revived during the revolution he says, "Instead of focusing all their attention at the fight with the Soviet troops, they pulled us under too soon."

E. Plans for the future.

Respondent would like to go back to Hungary the minute it is free.

He wants his children to learn Hungarian as well as English if they can ever come to America.

General Zako: Respondent doesn't know anything of him.

General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak: Respondent remembers that he used to be Chief Scout, but doesn't know anything else about him.

Otto of Hapsburg: Respondent laughs and says that he is a soap-opera king who lives in the past instead of in the present. And will have nothing to do with the future.

Admiral Horthy: He was a decent patriot and a great military leader who was not well equipped to lead a country. He was well meaning, but not a politician.

Asked what the exiles tried to do for Hungary respondent says that they tried to spread the truth about Hungary, but he expresses doubt that they did very much.

Asked what they should have done he says that even if they had done much it would have been just a drop in the sea because the world does what it thinks is right and profitable for it more than it does something out of sympathy for a poor little country.

Asked if he thought of the exiles during the revolution he says: "I thought of them because there were rumors that they are coming to help us, and I certainly expected them to come with arms to help us in our fight."

C. Redefections:

Respondent says the redefectors were received in Hungary with the greatest distrust by the Communists and 90 per cent of them were robbed and jailed as spies.

Asked why the Communists started the redefection campaign he says that they had economic reasons as well as the motive of revenging those who tried to escape.

Asked what people thought of them: "If the Hungarians could have send them messages, we would have told them to stay where they are."

Bela Varga: It seems to respondent that he knows the name ~~in~~ in 1945 and '46 and he also heard that he fled into exile. He was some chief in the Small Holders' party, he recalls.

Ferenc Nagy: "The first Minister President of democratic Hungary who gave in on every point to the demands of the Reds. He ought to have stood up as did Cardinal Mindzenty. He went into exile and has lived happily ~~xxxxxxx~~ ever after."

Tibor Eckhardt: "He was some well-known politician of the ~~past~~ past and now he tries to do something ~~again~~ again. I think he ought to have ~~gone~~ gone into retirement."

Paul Auer: Respondent has never heard of him.

Imre Kovacs: Respondent doesn't know anything of him. He heard his name, but couldn't place it.

Imre Selig: Respondent has never heard of him.

Charles Peyer: Respondent remembers his as a great leader of Socialist workers.

Lazlo Taubinger: Respondent has never heard of him.

Miklos Kallay: Respondent remembers him as the Minister President who tried to get Hungary out of the German camp, but didn't ~~manage~~ manage because the Germans were too strong. He doesn't know of his later years.

Zoltan Pfeiffer: He remembers him as an opposition leader, but doesn't know anything about him.

Istvan Barankovics: Respondent says the same about him as about Pfeiffer.

Msgr. Josef Kosi-Horvath: Respondent doesn't know anything about him.

Bela Fabian: Respondent remembers that he was a liberal politician, perhaps a Jew, ~~like~~ he says, who ~~k~~ now stages the demonstrations in front of the United Nations for the Hungarian cause.

to have fled my country and my family."

Under ideal circumstances respondent thinks that "A few old people would remain and a few peasants who stick to their land. Industrial workers would have left and very few people would have remained."

B. Exile organizations and individuals
Respondent didn't hear of any exile organizations, by name. He only knew there was something representing Hungarian interests in the United States.

Asked about exile personalities, he can recall the name of Ferenc Nagy and he also knew that Admiral Horthy was in exile.

Asked details about them respondent couldn't say ~~anything~~ anything. He has been in contact with no organizations or individuals of any significance.

Hungarian National Council: Respondent knows the name, but nothing else about it.

Assembly of Captive European Nations: Respondent has never heard of it.

MHEK: Respondent doesn't know it.

Liberal Democratic Union: He hasn't heard of it.

Christian Democratic Union: He hasn't heard of it.

International Confederation of Trade Unions in Exile: He hasn't heard of it.

~~International~~ International Peasant Union: Respondent thinks that ~~xxx~~ he has heard the name, but nothing else.

American Hungarian Federation: Respondent is under the impression that he's heard the name, but doesn't know anything about it.

"Latohatar": He has ~~xxx~~ never heard of it.

High schools in exile: Respondent has never heard of them.

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XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of escapees

Respondent divides the escapees into two large groups.

1. Those who fled while the revolution was on, who were afraid of the patriots, and 2. those who fled the Russians and their Communist stooges when the revolution was crushed.

He says that most of the escapees were intellectuals, and there were young and old among them, but most of them were young people, mainly students.

Asked who stayed behind he says that those were the ones who hoped, until it was too late, that Hungary would remain free, that the free world would not let it down.

Asked how he feels about them he says, "80 per cent of the Freedom Fighters were either deported, jailed or executed and the others are not enough to fight another revolution."

Asked for an example for a person he knew who decided to remain even though he had an opportunity to escape he speaks of a friend who stayed for no other reason but because he had small children and he was afraid that he could not take care of them during the long way to the border and he feared they might be killed. He felt he could expose himself to danger, but not his small children.

Asked what the people in Hungary think of those who left he says, "Most Hungarians are glad that at least some managed to escape and are all right, and no longer exposed to danger. But there are others who think the escapees are yellow."

{Interviewer's note: To my surprise, respondent now tells me: "You didn't ask me yet of my opinion of myself!" What else could I do but ask him, and here is his answer: "I think of myself as being yellow. It would be better to be in Hungary and even in prison than

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Respondent didn't know Roosevelt well enough to form an opinion.

The same is true about Chancellor Adenauer.

~~xxx~~ ~~xx~~ Stalin: "A post-office burglar. The blackest ~~xxxxx~~ soul in the world."

Malenkov: "He got into a fight ~~xxxx~~ with Khrushchev over the spoils."

Generalissimo Franco: "Is he some German general who fought in Africa?"

Respondent ~~a~~ has no idea who Bevan is.

Khrushchev: "A terrorist. A worthy follower of Stalin."

Titto: ~~✓~~ Respondent has already talked about him in point D., chapter XVI.

He doesn't know Peron.

Molotov: "Another terrorist."

Respondent ~~a~~ knows nothing of Ollenauer.

Churchill: "The foxy old English politician. Stalin out-foxed him."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDE TOWARD SELECTED
PERSONALITIES

A. The greatest living Hungarian
(It is Cardinal Mindszenty because he represented
the real interests of the Hungarian people, and this
is why he was jailed.)

B. Persons in world affairs
Imre Nagy: "I have no opinion on him because the
period was too short while he was in power to judge
him."

Lazlo Rajk: "A terrorist."

Erno Gero: "A terrorist."

Janos Kadar: "A terrorist; a thug who surpasses them
all."

General Bela Kiraly: "I have no opinion of him. I
don't know his past nor do I know his future."

Anna Kethly: "She is a wavering xx turncoat."

President Eisenhower: "His attitude toward Hungarians
was wonderful. We are very grateful to him."

Respondent declines to answer the question on what
he thinks of Secretary General Hammarskjold, of Dulles,
Eden, and Truman because he says that he doesn't know
them. (Interviewer's note: I believe that he doesn't
know these people because his information is very
restricted.)

Mikoyan: "Who?"

Nehru: "Is he the Japanese Emperor emperor?"

Generalissimo Chiang k&w kei-Shek: "Is he a Jewish
leader?"

Ferenc Nagy: "He is also a ^{hireling} ~~hiring~~. He ~~xxxx~~ signed
many death sentences. Some of them of people who
k&w knew more than he did.
about Communism

thinks that all kinds of visitors should go, the more that go the more views will be formed and the fuller will the picture be of the actual situation.

Asked what they should be told about Hungary he says, "That they should watch out for themselves because there is no security of life in Hungary.

He thinks books and periodicals should be sent to Hungary and there should be all kinds of books, scientific, political and otherwise, including even cowboy stories, but those books should be ~~Hungarian~~ Hungarian published by refugees, he says.

He says that the role of the refugees should be very great in all activities connected with Hungary.

He only heard the name of the Marshall Plan, but doesn't know anything about it.

Speaking of the Korean War he says, "People spoke all kinds of things, but I don't know the ~~the~~ fundamental reasons so well that I could pass any judgement."

J. The United Nations
~~the~~ Generally speaking of the United Nations respondent says: "Its resolutions should be carried out because they are part of international law. Those countries which don't carry out the resolutions are not law abiding, and they should be forced to obey the law."

Speaking of the United Nations during the autumn and winter of 1956 he says: "It did nothing except extend promises. It should have prevented the blood bath and should not have permitted the Russians to interfere."

He thinks that ~~effective~~ effective United Nations action could be forthcoming if the United Nations wanted to do something and particularly if the U.S. would press for some action.

H. The United States

Respondent first claims not to have been surprised in America: "America was no surprise at all. I had neither good nor bad surprises. I always thought of home. There is nothing like home in the world." (Interviewer's note: Dissatisfied with this answer, I tried to persuade him to understand what is meant by the word 'surprise' and it seemed that I succeeded.) "I was surprised how free, how carefree and how cheerful the people are. When we went to picket in front of the Russian embassy and I spat and threatened the American policeman just smiled. I didn't have to be afraid that I would be taken to jail." Now respondent remarks with great laughter, "I have drunk no water since I have been in this country!"

This is his opinion of the present policy of the US: "The United States doesn't know what it wants to do. It never takes the initiative; it only reacts to what the Soviet Union does."

Asked what the United States policy should be in Eastern Europe he says, "People who fled to Yugoslavia and Austria should also be admitted to the United States in addition to the refugees now here. Besides, the United States should try every diplomatic means to persuade or to compell the Soviet Union to withdraw from Hungary."

He thinks that no aid should be given to Communist Hungary because it won't be received by the real Hungarian people, but to the Communists and would, in fact, strengthen Communism."

He thinks that his attitude underwent no changes.

Speaking of the American government's relations with the present government in Hungary, he suggests: "It should try to move the Communist Hungarian government to a more humane attitude toward the people."

He thinks that the Hungarians desire and request that more Western visitors go to Hungary. "So as to get a clear picture of the situation." He thinks

When he is told that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war he laughs and says: "I don't have an opinion at this point. If they start a war I know for sure that they won't do a half-way job."

He has his individual opinion on West German rearmament: "Good for the Germans; not so good for us." Asked why, he says, "Hungary might be involved in an armed conflict again and might suffer a great deal."

He recoils from giving any guess on whether the West Germany army is strong than that of Britain or France.

He is ready to offer a guess on the term of service in the West German army: "Two years."

Comparing the German and Russian occupation troops he says: "The Germans are educated and intelligent people, although they had some brutal excesses in the last war, but they are still angels compared to the primitive, savage Russians, whose actions are a series of excesses." (Interviewer's note: The word 'angel' should under no circumstances be considered out of context. It serves no other purpose in his speech but to compare the Germans with the Russians. Taking this word out of context would be a gross injustice to the respondent, to the interviewer who painstakingly puts down verbatim answers and to scientific approach, as well.)

He personally found the Russian occupation force more distasteful.

He found the Germans incomparably more disciplined.

He already told us which force was more unpopular.

G. Western Europe

Respondent doesn't know anything of NATO.

U
Nor does he know anything about the British Labor Party.

This is respondent's listing of countries estimating living standards: West Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Egypt, Greece, Soviet Union.

Asked if would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to have followed the lines of the Polish, he says: "I can't decide. There was no planning in the Hungarian revolution. It was not a premeditated action. It just came by itself. But if somebody would ask me what to do now I would say by no means a revolution because the West would let us down and we are going to lose precious human lives again."

D. Yugoslavia

Respondent doesn't know if Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe.

Asked if Tito is the originator of National Communism he says, "He tries to represent his people."

~~Speaking of Tito's attitude on national Communism~~

His attitude on national Communism is that it is a Communism not better than the others only in foreign policy it has the advantage that it tries to remain aloof.

Speaking of Tito's relations with other East European nations, Russia and the West respondent says of all of them: "Tito is wavering. He draws nearer to wherever he hopes to get advantages. He is only for Tito and for nobody else."

Respondent thinks of Titoism in the * satellite nations that such a development is impossible because the Russians don't allow it to happen any more.

E. The Middle East

Respondent says that he had no interest in following the events in the Middle East and so he thinks he would be presumptuous to air any opinion, and he cannot be persuaded to say anything.

F. West Germany

Respondent refers to letters they received from people who had fled in 1945 or 1947 to West Germany and says that they write that the living standard is very high. Those people were able to send gift parcels to their relatives in Hungary.

are under pressure and most of them are not persuaded Communists."

B. Eastern Europe

This is respondent's listing as to the popularity of countries in Hungary: Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. He says that freedom loving people are liked by the Hungarians and the governments are disliked, but particularly in countries where they appear to be particularly happy about the Hungarian tragedy.

Asked whether he also shared these feelings he answers: "I like everybody. I know only make a difference between honest and dishonest people."

If free elections were to be held, Communism would be over for good, he asserts, in every country.

This is respondent's listing when speaking of standards of living: "East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania.

C. Poland

This is respondent's interpretation of Polish developments: "No government can achieve freedom as long as it is under foreign occupation. There is no essential improvement in Poland. The reins are taken over by the Polish, but they still do not have freedom of action as a decent democracy would have."

He sees no hope for Poland unless Soviet troops will withdraw. He thinks that his views have not changed.

Polish events had an effect of the events of Hungary he says, "The Hungarians were encouraged by the gallant fight of the Polish and their imagination was stirred even after the Polish ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ revolt was suppressed.

Ex During the revolution, he says, there was no time to give thoughts to events outside of Hungary.

He had no knowledge of the developments before Gomulka's rise to power except of the Poznan riots.

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XVI EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

Respondent says that he doesn't expect anything of liberalization. He can only think of revolution. "In 1955 I talked to a Russian in a bar who spoke when he was drunk. He said, 'They are afraid of our people when they go home. They won't be given arms if another war breaks out.' He refers to his having been in Russia and having seen under what tremendous oppression the Russian people are kept by their rulers and says that such a revolution is not very likely, but if there is any change it can be brought about only this way.

Although partially answered, again he was asked about the feelings of the people in Russia and respondent says: "I know from personal experience that people needed permits from the head of the kolkhoz if they wanted to go to another town. I talked to Russians in Russia, mainly to old people, because the young were not at home, but fighting either in the Red army or taken prisoners by the Germans, but, I tell you, those people spat on the floor when Stalin's name was mentioned. They called him a dog and they said that Communist leadership they should fuck their mothers."

As could be guessed when free elections are mentioned respondent says, "Communism would be over for good."

He thinks of the top leaders of Russia as persuaded Communists and their aim is world imperialism.

Speaking of their personalities, he says, "They watch each other all the time because they can't trust each other. Since they want to spread Communism all over the world they want everyone of them to be very perfect Communists and no one may sin against the Communist idea even in his mind."

Speaking of the difference between Communist and Russian leaders he says, "The Russians dictate and the Hungarians carry out. The Hungarian Communist leaders

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by those articles. Some people liked the blue skies the Communists painted."

He didn't find any portion of the Communist papers reliable. He found a tricky way to dodge compulsory reading: "I told them in the plant where we were supposed to read papers that I was illiterate, because I had lived on farms in my youth. To prove my illiteracy once, when they put the paper in my hand, I looked at it upside down. The Party secretary saw this and he cursed me. I asked him ~~xxxxxxkudxxx~~ if it makes him ~~x~~ mad that now Rakosi's blood runs into his head." (Interviewer's note: When I asked respondent what he means by this Rakosi's blood business, he says that on the other side of the page there was a picture of Rakosi and he referred to that because that was also now upside-down.)

As could be guessed, all other questions pertaining to newspapers are answered negatively.

The same is true about publications which were illegal.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World events

Respondent never heard of Khrushchev's secret speech.

Not has he heard of Senator McCarthy

He only heard the name Peron but couldn't place it.

He didn't hear more about Rakosi's private life than the fact that he had a Mongolian wife.

B. Sources of personal information

Respondent says that he read very little. He listened a little bit to radio news, but forgot much. He was interested, he claims, in the problems of their daily living and in that of other people. Consequently, he was interested in information he received from word of mouth, more than in anything else, but hadn't much trust in that either.

C. Word-of-mouth

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Respondent didn't think much of this source of information, either. "People talked all kinds of things--a lot without foundation. I didn't trust rumors. Old people and ignorant people talked particularly a lot. The radios lied a great deal. Gallicus and others were almost as unreliable as the Communist radio." (Interviewer's note: 'Gallicus is one of the newsreporters of Radio Free Europe.) "The Jewish family for whom my wife worked had a daughter in America and they received letters from her and pictures from America. She always wrote the truth."

D. Reading habits

Respondent claims not to have been a regular newspaper reader before or during the war.

The same is true about the period of the last ten years: "Communist papers were cliches. Hatred gripped me when I saw Communist editorials. But I found that there were people who were influenced

trade relations without any restrictions or customs.

He would like to see the most amicable cultural relations with a great deal of cultural exchange. And he reasons: "Look at China. When it isolated itself behind the Great Wall, how backward it became!!"

Respondent has never heard of a federation of Danubian countries.

Respondent is afraid of a smaller union than one covering all of Europe because he thinks that there would be too much bickering and there might be something developed that would resemble foreign rule. If no large union could be established, he concludes: "It is better to honor each other from a distance than to be close and argue."

He thinks that most people in Hungary would favor a union of states, probably as he ~~outlined~~ outlined it, he says, in a loose form of union where basic human rights are secured.

He doesn't find Hungary's ^{present} ~~present~~ boundaries ~~as~~ acceptable. He would like to see territorial adjustments which would include the most possible number of Hungarians on either side of the present boundaries. He would make it depend upon the will of the people.: "Of all the people who live in the disputed people."

He is concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary and he demands the same rights for them as for the people who live in those countries. Ideally he would like to see them in a loose union as he outlined. This whole question is very important to him he says.

Speaking of kolkhozes and state farms he suggests: "They should be divided and returned, but only up to 75 acres to the former owners. Above that amount the rest should be given to farm families after it is determined how many acres could be cultivated by each family. And those families should take care of the land themselves without farmhands. Jews should also be ~~xxxx~~ eligible for receiving land. State farms may remain as they are; however, they should not be worked by such hired men who are half way in bondage as a reminder of the feudal system, but should work at state farms just as one works at a plant-- free to live where he wants and to leave when he wants to."

Speaking of the maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own, respondent says, "It depends on how many members there are in the family."

When respondent is told about two possible kinds of ~~gms~~ government he gives a classically worded answer: "It is worse to be fed while ones hands and feet are tied than to stand on ones own feet and look for bread and butter."

Respondent would not be in favor of outlawing the Communist party. He says, "I wouldn't outlaw it because people will make their own choice in a free country. A free country should give equal rights to everybody and no restrictions should be imposed. Only part is advocating the violent overthrow of the government should not exist. In all other cases the free will of the people ~~shd~~ should decide."

C. International position

Respondent suggests a very loose union of the states all over Europe. He wishes to see no boundaries that limit the free movement, but he wants to have independent administration of every country guided, but not really controlled, by an international body.

According to this idea, he wants to see military strength only for protective law and order within every state. The arms, he says, should be with the people at home.

According to his scheme, there should be very close

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary

Respondent appears to be eager to answer the question what sort of system he would like to see in an independent Hungary. "A democratic system where everyone lives in freedom. First of all, leaders should be elected from true born Hungarians, not people who immigrated from foreign countries. The land should belong to those who work on it and such should receive it who have the know-how to cultivate it. There should be no large estates belonging to people who go to foreign countries seeking their own pleasure with the money actually made by the toil of the workers. Hungary wouldn't need more than a decade to ~~if~~ lift itself from its present misery. It would become as prosperous a country as any in the world. But it should be led by true patriots. Right now there are people who have come just recently from foreign countries, I mean Soviet citizens who rule Hungary now. The Hungarians are superior to the Russians in producing wealth and general welfare and still they are ruled by Russians."

B. Details in economy

Respondent says that industry should be developed wherever it is possible, but there should be no armament industries. If industry would develop, he argues, agriculture would also be better off. Hungarian quality products would be needed by many undeveloped countries, he reasons.

Hungary should emphasize light industry for export, he suggests. Farm implements, fine machinery should be particularly emphasized and the manufacture of weapons should be discontinued. But things, he concludes, should be determined by the actual stand of the export market rather than by anything else.

Respondent suggests that large enterprises be given to workers of the plant in form of stocks. The workers should become the stockholders. Small shops and businesses should be returned to their owners, he says. ~~By~~ By small he means such as work with less than 11 employees.

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in most peoples'minds, so far as Communism was concerned. Most people still hoped again and again that America would find a way to persuade or force the Russians to withdraw from Hungary."

brings deprivation and suffering to the uncounted millions of poor."

Respondent doesn't know whether a war is likely to occur, but he is afraid that one might come because of the attitude of the Russians.

Speaking of other means than war he says that the United Nations and within that organization, particularly the great powers, should find an agreement. They know better than he, he claims.

Asked about the likelihood of internal changes in the Soviet Union he says, "Only a general revolution in Soviet Russia would be a perfect solution. But not even people smarter than I could decide whether there will be one or not. I just know from my own experience in Russia that the people are terribly dissatisfied."

B. Hopes in retrospect.

Speaking of his expectations for the future during the last ten years he says, "I expected nothing good. I saw the economic bankruptcy of the country and saw that there was no way out of the mass Communism created by people trained in the Soviet Union. Many other people--and I should say most--were much more hopeful than I."

Speaking of his hopes he says, "I longed for cultural and economic development of the country in freedom and I knew that people would have gone out of their way to build up a propersous democracy. And others thought similarly."

Asked about changes in his estimates or in his hopes he says, "I hoped for Western help only in the beginning. As I said, I hoped for the help of America only in the beginning. Later I realized that they let us down. I never expected any good of the Communists. But gullible people believed in the beginning because they were enchanted by the great promises of Communism. At the end of the '40's there was however no doubt

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XIII. ASSESSMENTS FOR FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years

Respondent finds the first question too hard. "Very few people have ever managed to look into the future. Most of us don't even see the present clearly."

Asked to estimate what probably will happen he says, "The Hungarian people will not reconcile themselves to Communism, not within a man's ~~life~~ life span. The Hungarian people will have to live on and will have to stop revolting, profoundly sad as this fact is."

He thinks that there will be no more revolution in Hungary. "People have learned the moral that they ~~mustn't~~ mustn't shut their eyes and run against a wall. The Hungarian people don't mean to commit another suicide, not even if the Voice of America persuades them. Terror will increase so as to paralyse the revolutionary inclinations in the people."

Speaking of the world outside Hungary he says, "The United Nations might apply measures designed to eventually free Hungary. The Russians will keep exploiting Hungary body and ~~soul~~ soul."

Here are his views on a Poland-type solution: "I ~~believe~~ believe that there is no essential difference between the two dictatorships. There is the same terror in Poland as in Hungary. Since the Poznan riots the Poles are watched very closely."

"But people in Hungary still haven't given up hope in the effectiveness of the United Nations."

Speaking of how his hopes could be realized he says, "I'm not trained or schooled in such matters. Only great powers can find an agreement without a war."

The answer to the question whether he would or ~~would~~ would not desire a war: "No, but if it comes I would be ready to fight against and to die for the freedom of our people. War is tolerable only to people who have read about it in the papers. War

that a co-worker of mine who had worked for the secret police in 1945 to 1948 told me a story while we were heavily drinking. He said that they had applied tricks like hiding weapons in a rich farmer's home and 'finding it'. This needs no skill, this is base terror. The AVO were not so skillful in finding criminals, but they made innocent people confess to things they never did."

Speaking of army leadership, he says that part of the generals were Russians and the rest were Russianized Hungarians. Their ~~competence~~ competence he says could be judged only if one knew how competent Russian army leadership is.

He says that he could pass no judgement on the Russian army leadership.

Speaking of public administration officials he says that there were very different people among them. There were conscientious and well as unscrupulous. Most of them, he explains, had to be party members. But there were differences even among those because some of them were sinister and some were well intentioned. But none of them were well trained, he says. Most of them could not even write good reports.

people didn't want to be hated by everyone."

F. Corruption

Respondent says that there was much corruption, although he says that he personally had no experience. But he has knowledge of a great deal. Most of the corruption, however, he explains, consisted of favoritism which had been great in the past but was now much greater. Favoritism, he explains, by far surpassed actual bribery. On the line of favoritism he again singles out Jews and he also adds Germans this time, telling that they particularly helped their own kind. The main pattern of favoritism was this, he explains: "The favored persons received easier work with machines and were put into higher wage categories. At the copper and ~~brass~~ brass department of Rakoczi Works there was hardly anything else but ethnic Germans." That department, he explains was a particularly easy one with high wages. Jews were to be found mainly in intellectual and office work. "Not more than two per cent of Jew, perhaps mainly those who had high incomes in the past, performed real hard work."

Asked about methods respondent says that the most usual one was that favorite persons were not as strictly punished as those who had no connections with higher-ups.

Asked what happened to officials caught doing these things he says that favoritism as such was not punished, only cases of bribery were. And then the punishment was very different depending on whether that person was a party ~~member~~ member or not. Communists were really punished only if things could not be covered up, he says.

G. Competence of leaders

Speaking of the secret police respondent says that not skill but brutal terror characterized their actions. People simply had to choose between confessing or suffering terribly, sometimes even dying. He brings up an example to illustrate methods of the secret police: "It happened in 1954

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on Jews again saying, "Some Russian Jews and Hungarian Jews found each other inamity."

Speaking of the attitudes and actions of Russian soldiers during the revolution he says that he saw five tanks coming over to the revolutionaries. (Interviewer's note: see his account in the chronology). That event took place of October 25.) After November 4 ~~many of the~~ many of the troops in combat did not speak Russian and so people could no longer communicate with them as they did when they tried to persuade Russian soldiers again and again not to fight against Hungarians.

Respondent only hear of but did not see or have first hand information on Soviet soldiers becoming part of the Hungarian revolution.

Speaking of brutality by Soviet soldiers he says, "I heard from very reliable neighbors who were there that on November 5 or 6 Russians looted the state grocery store ~~and~~ at the corner of Rakosá ut and Kazinczy ut and then the Russian soldiers told Hungarians to do the same and when they did they fired at them. I heard similar stories from others concerning Hungarians who were sent in to ~~get~~ such stores to get things and when they came out they were photographed."

E. ~~Government~~ Government officials
Respondent says ~~that~~ that there are very few government officials who are willing to forget rules and help the people in trouble. But there were a few, he says, because there was no such law in Hungary that could not be circumvented somehow. And he volunteers information on his own experience: "My premiums were also ~~due~~ due to such. There were other workers just as good as I and some even better. They received low premiums because they were not on such friendly terms with the foreman as I was."

Speaking of the motives of the officials involved he says, "Some had unselfish motives and some not so unselfish. In most cases the reason was that

such acts in 1945 and '45 that, if one feels about them, he has plenty of reason because of those events.

Asked what he expected of the Russians before they entered Hungary he says, "I expected nothing good. The Russian people themselves are good-meaning people, but they don't behave as they would like to because they always act on orders. I expected nothing good because in ~~1942 and '43~~ 1942 and '43 I spent some months in Russia and I had a notion how Russian troops behaved."

His actual experiences included witnessing "Greatest acts of savagery. They spared no children, no mothers, no grandmothers."

Asked about changes in his attitude he says, "My opinion cannot change as long as they are directed by the leadership of the Communist party because they are always ordered to do bad things. The Red army is an army deprived of ~~conscience~~ conscience. They are robbed of their conscience and ~~can~~ cannot be counted on as people with independent minds and a feeling of moral responsibility."

There were no changes in respondent's attitude toward the Russian army since 1945.

Speaking of his experiences with Russian troops before the revolution respondent says that he talked to quite a few of them mainly in 1945, but also in '46 and '47. He found the older people still with remains of conscience, but the young ones were completely contaminated by Stalinism and the human way of thinking was killed in their brains. He brings up an example to illustrate how blinded they were by their superiors and how they actually believed them, ~~and~~ the nonsense they had been taught about Hungary and Hungarians.

He says that the relations between Hungarians and the pre-revolution occupation troops were very limited. Sometimes people spoke to each other in restaurants, but just a little. There was also some singing done here and there. Anti-Semitic, as he ~~was~~ revealed himself to be when he spoke of the Jewish minority, he tries to put his finger

all were incompetent. The 'People's' attorney was the most vicious person who did his level best to get people punished as severely as possible. The People's Courts often judged on the basis of sympathy for the accused person or antipathy against him."

Speaking of the war criminals he says, that he could not judge their guilt, but he knows one thing, that death sentences were handed out ~~xxx~~ very easily and to too many people.

C. The army

Speaking of the army he says, "Eighty per cent of them sided with the Freedom Fighters. Part of them handed over their arms and many even their uniforms to Freedom Fighters and then disappeared. Most of them went home. Others actively took part as Freedom Fighters. ~~Again~~ Again, others stayed in their units but refused to fire at Freedom Fighters or do anything against them."

Going into details, respondent cannot give any concrete information...except for one example, that a soldier came to him during the revolution and asked him for civilian ~~xxxxxx~~ clothes so he could go home to his town. Respondent puts his opinion to this information saying that the soldiers had a more precarious position than the ~~xx~~ civilians and that they were afraid of the anger of the people as well as the consequences and this is why some of them did not side with the revolution.

He says that he was not surprised because "We knew that the soldiers were sons of the people who ~~xxx~~ never believed how easy they had it because they experienced the regime themselves."

D. Russian troops

When 1848 is mentioned to respondent he says, "Russians did not defeat the Hungarians in 1848 either. The Hungarians laid down their arms because they knew that they would be crushed by the combined forces of Russia and Austria. But that was such a long time ago that Hungarians have no hard feelings against Russians because of that. But Russians committed

the AVH. 95 per cent of the members of the regular police were only looking for bread and butter, he says. No doubt, he adds, that many of them shunned work, but they quite decently served in the police. Others joined because they thought that their jobs, which were not easy, would later be rewarded by a pensions.

Asked whether Communism has affected the regular police system he says, "There was a great difference between the old and new police. There was much more incompetancy among the new police. There were more ignorant people who didn't know the regulations. And a great many mistakes were made. ~~and~~ On one occasion when I was in a tavern I ~~heard~~ overheard a policeman walking in with a friend and asking him whom he should arrest. If he had an enemy he should just tell him and that ~~an~~ enemy might end up in jail. But I heard that there were numerous similar cases of encroachments, although in this case as well as in others the policeman might have been an AVO member, because there were some AVO members using the uniform of the regular police."

With this information given voluntarily, respondent answered the question concerning competency of the regular police. Talking about honesty he says, "Their honesty may not be trusted."

Speaking of their role during the revolution respondent says, "More than 80 per cent of them changed to civilian clothes and many of these sided with the revolution. Others were hiding. Even more ~~was~~ tolerated having their weapons taken away and some of them ~~we~~ even handed them over voluntarily. I certainly saw one such example when a policeman handed over his arms to the Freedom Fighters."

B. The courts

Speaking of the courts before 1945 he says, "There was no difference between rich and poor. The law was obeyed and everyone knew that it had to be obeyed. And it concerned rich and poor ~~and~~ equally."

Speaking of the People's Courts of 1945 and 1947 he explains, "They consisted of the most different, but in one respect similar, people: ~~namely~~ namely,

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret police

Respondent says that there were all kinds of people among the secret police, but "most of them were criminals, bums, goldbricks, people who hated to work, but wanted to enjoy tremendous power and ~~w~~ wealth. But there were very few decent people even among those. The overwhelming majority were sons of peasants."

Asked about personal experience, he says, "I knew only two of them who lived in my home for a few months in 1946 and 1947. I rented a room to those people who were from our town and, by then, I was living in Budapest and I had a hard time finding a place for them to live when they came to me, so finally they ~~xxx~~ stayed in my home. One of them was a relative of mine. They were good people who were used only for guard duty. They had no special assignments. They spoke about a terrific ~~sxxx~~ distrust in their own circle. They said that the AVH people just don't trust each other in any respect and to any measure."

Completing the information on these two AVO people respondent automatically answers the next question, "They hated to be in the AVO and asked for transfer to the regular police. In 1948 they managed, at long last, to be kicked out of the AVO. One of them told me that he heard from a very close friend ~~unth~~ (another AVO man) that he was present and saw when a former censor captain and his wife were both tortured and their babies head was smited right there in front of the parents. He said that because of such things he really detested that AVO and was happy to hope that he would get out of it at long last."

When Hungary is independent respondent wishes ~~xxxx~~ large scale investigations concerning the AVO and "everyone should be judged as to his guilt or merits."

Speaking of the regular police respondent says that the duties were completely different from those of

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He heard nothing of the Petofi Circle.

Respondent can give no information, let alone opinion,
on this topic.

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humble members can be found in the Party. But, there are no decent leaders. Top leaders must realize that they promote policies disastrous in their affects on Party members as well as for the entire nation. They must have guilty consciences;"

Top Hungarian Communists, he feels "should be tried by court. I can't judge their guilt and so I cannot suggest punishments."

C. Opposition

Respondent says that since 90 per cent of the Hungarian people rejected Communism, discontent was very great and it always grew. Thus, he says, there were conspiracies, small and large, from the beginning. At the same time, he says, there was no sabotage. People made mistakes and they were charged with sabotage. Even slow-downs were impossible. He adds, if one suggested a slow-down he could get as much as 15 to 20 years imprisonment or even a death sentence. There was a lot of complaining among the workers, he concludes, but not in the open.

When he is asked if opposition movements occurred more often during certain periods than others, he explains that he did not observe when opposition was particularly strong, but it seemed to him that it was always. But he volunteers more information about complaining and punishments, saying "Even strong criticism of merchandise or complaining about prices if mentioned in connection with the democracy could easily result in internment." (Interviewer's note: I know well that the word 'democracy' is mentioned in English without the definite article 'the', but I used it intentionally this way in order to indicate that by ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ 'the Democracy' the 'People's Democracy' is meant. Most uneducated people would say most of the time 'the Democracy' instead of 'People's Democracy.') Respondent's only answer to inquiries about the activities of the intellectuals is: "I don't know much about them. I was too far away from anything of that sort." (Interviewer's note: even after he has been explained what is ~~an~~ actually meant, he doesn't know more.)

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B. The Communist party after 1948

Speaking of Communist party members respondent said that they fall into several groups. Some joined the party because they were ignorant of any political party. Others knew something about political parties, but they were misguided. A third group ~~xxxxxx~~ is comprised of people who became party members for no other reason but personal gains. And there is a very small group, he says, which consists of those who are persuaded Communists.

Asked about contact with Party members he says that there were a great many among his co-workers and his neighbors. But those were in, he says, for nothing else but their ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ livelihood, and others for personal gains. He already described why they joined.

Asked about his views on their attitudes ~~xxxxxx~~ toward the Party he says, "Every party member is afraid of the other and particularly the superiors, but they are even afraid ~~xx~~ of themselves. Usually only their wives dared to talk. They talked only among themselves and their very trusted friends dared to criticize things in Party leadership. They just didn't like to face up to things. They were not frank with themselves."

Asked about changes in Party policies he says that they changed every week, even over night. Their entire program has always been under complete ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ overhaul, he says. They just didn't have any thoughts or ideas of lasting importance.--"If one promise didn't work they tried another, and if that failed they tried another, and a ~~xxxx~~ third, and so forth."

Asked about differences within the Party he says, "There was a lot of bickering. One day one, next day another person went to oblivion, ~~xx~~ as a consequence of disagreements in Party leadership."

Asked about Party morale he says, "My naive views are these: The Communists did not know what to think or what to say. When something went wrong they looked for a scapegoat, to kill him for what they had committed together."

Speaking of the top leaders of the Communist party,

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948

Respondent was completely disinterested in politics, he says. He had only one desire, "to have decent wages for decent work."

He was never a member of or had particular sympathy for a particular party.

Asked about party membership of other family members, respondent says that two brothers became members of the Communist party because they wanted to receive land in 1945. One of them resigned his membership in 1948 and the other in 1950 or '51.

Respondent heard only bad things about Bela Kun and the Communist party of 1918 and '19. One relative of his was a Red soldier at that time and he was badly beaten afterwards, but even that relative said that he was blinded at that ~~the~~ time and he would not have supported that regime with his brain of today.

His attitudes toward the Communist party during and before the war are expressed in the following words uttered with impish laughter by respondent. These words are the well-known and often quoted slogan of the Hungarian anti-~~the~~ alcoholic league:
"It kills, makes one silly and gets one into misery."

Asked about changes in these attitudes since 1948 he says: "I told you about one relative of mine who had been badly beaten because he had been a Red soldier in 1919. Well, this relative of mine said in 1948, 'They ought to have killed me because I helped Communism.' What that relative acquired between 1919 and 1945, namely a nice family home and several acres of land, was taken away from him. It happened this way: When there was a re-distribution of land he received the same ~~same~~ acreage, but in a much poorer soil, and he was very bitter about it and blew his top and hurled insults at the Communist bosses and as a punishment for that he lost even those few acres and his home. Well, his attitude is more understandable than mine, but ~~mine~~ mine is just the same.

Respondent heard of a great many collectives being dissolved, particularly on November 28th. Those people, he says, took advantage of the revolution-- people who wanted to be independent were happy that they could cut themselves loose from Kolchozes. "Nobody knew for whom and for what he was working on those collective farms."

In an independent Hungary ideally, respondent says: "The land should belong to those who cultivate it. Surplus land should belong to the state, and should be distributed to people depending upon how many children they have or how efficient farmers they are. -- There should be no landlords and no church estates!" --

Asked about his fellow workers, he says that he cannot generalize because they differed so much individually. There were some among them who had much less training, he says, and others had good experience and were excellent.

He was praised countless times and his work was well appreciated.

Speaking of the Hungarian social security and health insurance programs, he says that every worker had two weeks annual paid leave. But he says if one stayed several years on the job, he received one day plus to the two weeks leave, and later there was a progressive one day added, so that at last a maximum period of two months' leave came about for people who spent decades on ~~the~~ their jobs. -- He says that health insurance was pretty well organized, and that they had free treatment and had to pay only a little for medicine. Lucky people had conscientious doctors, and other people who were not so lucky got to not so conscientious doctors. He says that doctors were also in working competition, and that they were pressed to be very strict to workers, and not give them sick leaves easily.

He adds to this information that blind and other severely handicapped people were forced to work because their compensation was not enough. In their plant, for instance, there were people of 70 and over who were forced to work, because otherwise they would have starved. So, he says, old age compensation is not sufficient.

a. Agriculture

Respondent would not have preferred to live in the country, because he had no land, he says, and he didn't like to work for others on a farm.

He thinks that the agricultural population had a better diet.

He thinks that the general standard of living was higher in cities because workers had better clothing and better cultural opportunities.

He thinks there was no difference in the political situation in cities or in rural areas.

When collectivization was introduced in Hungary, respondent "knew that it would result in misery and wouldn't work in Hungary."

His current opinion is that it "won't ~~be~~ ever be okay. The country will suffer much and people will have no incentive to work if it is not their own.

He thinks there was no difference between well-to-do peasant and the less well off when it came to opposing collectivization.

wages, and can make no profit at all on either agriculture or industry.

B. Income

Respondent's monthly income was 1400 to 1600 forints.

Some 50 percent of his wages was deducted for union dues, loans, etc.

Asked about premiums and extra pay, he says that there was no family allowance for people who had only one child as they had. At times when he was able to achieve extraordinary results on his job, he received the following premiums: X one premium that amounted to one half month's wages. Another ~~XXXXX~~ premium amounting to the wages of one month. And on a third occasion, he received two months wages, and he received once more a premium amounting to the wages of one month. He volunteers this conclusion: "I received premiums only because my foremen were good friends, and they drank with me. They appreciated the fact that I was generous in sharing my premiums with them in the way that I invited them to be my guests in the taverns, and we drank often quite a bit."

He had no secondary source of income.

His wife worked three and a half days a week as a cleaning woman, and she was paid well. She received 40 forints for half a day.

He received wage increases only on one occasion, and that amounted to 300 forints a month.

C. Prices

Respondent bought most of the food in state stores. There were very few farm markets, he says, and prices there weren't cheaper, but the quality was usually better because merchandise was fresher. Some of the ~~merchandise~~ merchandise however, he says, was worse. For instance, sour cream, milk, butter and lard were usually worse than in state stores.

Speaking of clothing, he says that he bought only one new suit after the war in a state store. Otherwise, he bought second hand suits of American origin, which came in gift parcels to other people. He bought those suits from private people from his Jewish friends. He says that he got those suits for half the price of a new one, and the quality was much higher. If he added the tailor's fee, then he got very good suits for the same amount as in a store, which was of a very poor quality.

Speaking of the availability of goods, he says that the situation was "terrible" particularly with meat and ~~game~~ eggs.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

Asked how he got along financially, respondent says: "I lived well enough, as a worker should. I had decent clothing and food, but I couldn't save anything for my old age."

Speaking of his food, he says that his breakfast consisted of raw bacon and bread, and either beer or wine. He ate lunch at the plant cafeteria, and that was mostly a good lunch, he says, and he ate supper at home and his wife cooked it mostly, and that was also good.

Speaking of clothing, he says that he had usually four or five suits; two of them were good, and two were actually working clothes.

Speaking of housing, he says that he had a "nice home." It consisted of two rooms and a kitchen. There was no bathroom and no pantry, which is almost a "must" with Hungarian homes. He shared his toilet with four other families on the same floor.

Asked what he considered a luxury, he says: "Real good suits which are custom made of fine fabrics; sending my wife more than once a year to the hairdresser; a good bicycle for my boy.

Respondent had most difficulty with providing good food for his family.

Asked about changes in his standard of living from what it was before 1945, respondent says that there was no essential change but food was harder to get. They sometimes had to stand in queue for half a day just to get 2 lbs. of pork.

The best years, so far as living standard is concerned, were 1946 and 1948, he says, and from then on everything became a little worse quite gradually.

Speaking of a family which was better off than any other, he says: "I had one friend. His father was in Canada. He was single and he received clothes from his father, and he could spend his income on food and housing. He even earned better money than I did, but the essential difference was that he regularly received parcels from his father, and thus his income was actually doubled."

"The living standard sank in the last eight years because what was produced in Hungary was taken to Soviet Russia, and other foreign countries under Soviet domination. Only rejects remained in the country. "Before" it was not like this, because the country was able to sell its own products relatively freely -- Hungary gets only so much as to be able to pay these minimum

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The fact that we were relentlessly driven to work more and more -- this terrible competition in work we were forced into. We always heard "You did it only in ten minutes; the other fellow in seven." -- People grew exhausted, and many nervous breakdowns resulted. Hospitals and insane asylums were full. -- It worked like this: What I did in an hour before the competitions, I was encouraged to try to do the same in less time. And I was told that if I did it in less time, I would receive bonuses -- bonuses in such a way that I received the same money for fifty minutes of work instead of sixty minutes. I liked these competitions in the beginning, and most of us did, because one could demonstrate what one was worth. -- The winners were announced, and it was also announced how much higher pay they received. But, after a few weeks, they rearranged the wages. -- People worked themselves to death, and they quit doing good quality work. -- This, however, was detected by the Communist authorities and they placed quality checkers above us. Those rejected an awful lot of work and so the Communists cheated us in several ways. -- I didn't get much more out of the work competition than the fact that I was declared "outstanding worker" on four occasions." -- (Interviewer's Note: Asked what this rating "outstanding worker" actually meant, respondent comes up with this explanation): "There were four grades. The first grade was "Stachanovite." The second degree was a "first rate worker." The third grade was "best worker in the field" and the fourth grade was "outstanding worker in the field."

B. "The tremendous propaganda that actually covered untruths and was meant to be a coverup for untruths, was certainly very annoying. Even more than that was the constant fear of the AVO. Many people were interned without any apparent reason. Others were beaten up; others tortured. No contradiction was tolerated in one's job or wherever."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Definition

Respondent defines youth as being between 16 and 26.

B. The Part of Youth

These are respondent's views of their part, and he volunteers the reasons at the same time: "Youth had the greatest role in every respect, because they also saw that even in higher schools there were discriminations made as to class origin, and many could never get into colleges, and others were kicked out. Again, others received no good jobs after the completion of their studies. Even youth had to suffer a lot of humiliations. -- They also saw how bitterly their parents had to fight for their daily bread."

Asked why it was the youth who took the lead, respondent says: "They were full of ambitions. Old people realized that it was impossible for the revolution to succeed. But youth acted on the spur of the moment. Nothing was premeditated and planned."

Asked what older people thought of the youth during the revolution, he says: "They thought that the many young people bled white and wouldn't win anyway. The ones who knew Russian methods were resigned to the impossibility of the revolution, but their advice given to youth ~~was~~ was in vain. It was just like a flood. Nothing could hold it up until it was exhausted and had to withdraw to its ~~in~~ river bed. Many parents warned their children and relatives, but in vain."

C. Educational System

Respondent could have only a notion of the elementary school, and he says ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ about it that on the whole they taught children ~~xxxx~~ to read and to write, and to know basic things and arithmetic pretty well. In fact, he says some of those teachers taught with more modern methods and ~~xxxx~~ taught very well. But, he says, they tried to stuff their innocent brains full of political nonsense during Rakosi, of Stalin and other terrible Communist nonsense. And he particularly lashes out at them because of these things, and because of their hostility, at least officially demonstrated hostility, toward religious instructions.

D. Indoctrination

Speaking of the reaction of youth to Communist indoctrination, he says: "In many cases sensible children saw that Communists didn't act the way they spoke. But in other cases, there were ~~xxxxxxxx~~ differences of opinion between parents and children, and even among brothers and sisters. In the first few years many

fighting, he says: "I didn't see one. At least, I didn't recognize one, although I live in an area where many Jews were residing." -- Probed as to whether he heard from other people of Jewish participation, he answers: "I heard only in America of such."

When he is told that some people have said that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary, his reaction is: "I don't know." -- When he is told that some people say that they were afraid of pogroms, he asks what this word means. When it is explained, he says ~~xxxxxxx~~ angrily: "They were afraid, perhaps, that their sins were too great. They saw that Communism would have been thrown over, and they would have been kicked out of leading positions. -- No one of them would have been hurt because he was a Jew. True, their powerful influence would have been over for good, but just laws would have taken care that neither they nor Christians would be harmed without the due process of law."

But appearances were that when Christianity was persecuted, the Jews held their Sabbaths in their synagogues, and their succoths in their back yards undisturbed. -- It is also true that there were a few Rabbis jailed."

Speaking of the attitude of Jews toward Communism, he says: "There were a great many Jews among those who played outstanding roles in Communism. Of course, there were not only Jews among the leaders, but they were the organizers. Christians were usually in secondary roles. Down from Ministerial positions they held too many intellectual and leading positions -- for instance, in the AVG, and the many Jewish leaders took care of their kin; even after their private businesses were confiscated they were given well paying jobs, and they were placed in high positions in institutions of higher learning. There were ~~xxxx~~ exceptions who were not Party members. They were given smaller positions only. My wife went to some Jewish families to work as domestic help. Those were families who complained about their bad financial situation, and my wife saw that they were very well-to-do. -- I heard of many cases that Christian proprietors were tricked into losing everything when their shops were confiscated, but I heard of none in the case of Jews."

Asked whether their attitude underwent changes, he says: "Insecurity affected the Jews too. Their fixed salaries were not as good ~~x~~ as their former income, and what they ~~x~~ had acquired in possessions was diminishing in the last few years, and in part their attitudes towards Communism changed, and many grew discontent.--- When they were freed in 1945 from the Ghetto, they took in many ~~xxxx~~ cases a Russian soldier with them, and went to a Christian home and said that their possessions had been stolen, pointing to pieces of furniture and so on, and took those with them. If that Christian protested, he was arrested and interned, or who knows what happened to him. -- Jews came even to my home to see whether I had something of theirs. -- I overheard Jews speaking: "We have now the reins in our hands. We mustn't let them out of our hands." -- Since in ~~1944~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ 1944 and 1945 they were the martyrs, during Russian occupation and Communism they pushed their way back to good places."

Asked whether many Jews were Communists, he says: "Ninety percent were Party members. They were aware that otherwise they couldn't get ahead. This is how they got into high positions. They were greatly instrumental in organizing the entire Communist Party."

Asked about the ~~xxxxx~~ attitudes and actions of Jews during the revolution, he says: "I saw none of them in the streets. You could find them in basements and in other bullet-proof places."

Asked whether they were involved in demonstrations and

life, he volunteers: "I was never in church while I lived under Communism, but I prayed, and I paid church taxes all right, so as to contribute to my boy's religious education. I thought we owed those few forints. After all, we put those forints sometimes to much worse places. -- Many people complained about their having been badly hit by church taxes during the former regime. -- My boy even went to the Catholic Church quite often. Well, I thought they adore the same God in any church, and it's better if he goes there than to just the street. (Interviewer's Note: "The street" is a very important standard term for Hungarians, meaning something quite bad if used in a context dealing with children. Practically speaking, it means children who grow up without parental care.) Here in America I went to church a few times because I was invited."

C. The Role of Churches

Speaking of the relation between church and state, respondent says: "This is a somewhat political question. (Interviewer's Note: The word "political" means in such a context as much as "foxy".) I think churches are needed actually, but I have my individual convictions and opinions. But children shouldn't grow up like farm animals who are out in the pasture and are chased back by the herdsmen only when they go into forbidden areas." -- (Interviewer's Note: If respondent found this question "political," in the sense of the word as I described just above, I am afraid I will have to let him get away with an equally "political" answer.)

Asked about the role of churches in education, he says: "They teach love for parents and fellow man, and ministers are the best to persuade children. Of course, it is best if parents also back them up."

Asked about churches setting up moral codes and standards, respondent says: "For minors, it is right to see only ~~things~~ good things. They see enough bad things in life. Man is inclined to do wrong anyway. Why should he be shown bad examples? After all, if you put a rotten apple into a bag, all apples will go rotten. -- But speaking of grownups, it is up to the individual attitude. They know good from wrong, so if they want to go either way, that's their business."

Considering whether churches should take an active political role, he says: "Politicians should do politics, and priests and ministers should be active in holding services and teaching the laws of sane moral life. A church's purity can be preserved only if it is not mixed with politicking. Politics are full of shrewd tricks, and the minute churches get into that business, they get fouled up, I am sure."

D. The Jewish Minority

Asked whether the Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism, he says: "I really don't know, I couldn't decide."

VII. RELIGION

A. THE Role of Religion

"When church-going became forbidden, more people liked to go. There were even people who were Communist Party members who went to church. There were many among them who hated to pay a church taxes, but still went to the services. I found most churches crowded."

He thinks that the religion hardest hit was the Catholic -- "perhaps because it was the strongest and largest church."

Asked whether religion was a bulwark against Communism, he says: "I find it hard to answer. I never paid much attention to these questions. I know well that Communists hated religion, and particularly Catholicism. In part, also, because churches had owned a lot of land before."

B. Personal Religious Life

Asked whether religion was an important factor in his life, he says: "I think religion is very good, because it teaches people good moral conduct, decency, honesty and respect for things to be respected."

Comparing the role of religion in his life, and in that of his folks, he says: "My father died when I was 6 years old, and I didn't pay attention because, as a farmhand, I had practically no chance to go to church. -- I always believed in an invisible spirit who is God, and when I wanted to do wrong, I thought of him, and my conscience didn't permit me to deviate much from the Ten Commandments. Once in a while, I stole a little, I lied a little. But who is perfect?! . . . My mother read from the Bible and prayed aloud every night. While I was still back home in the family and was not on my own as a farmhand, I had to go to church every Sunday. My mother certainly taught me all the good things. She never said that I should go to the bar, but sometimes I lost my way and ended up over there." -- Respondent says with an impish smile.

Asked whether he is more or less religious than the average person, he answers: "No one knows what's in people inside. Many people pretend; others don't reveal their innermost convictions."

(Interviewer's Note: As a matter of course, I am fully aware of the fact that these last two, and quite a few other questions, don't give a yes or no straightforward answer. But if this interview is rather for studying the personality of respondent than to study objective facts, I think these questions should be very revealing and characteristic of this man's personality.)

Asked about his actual, concrete aspects of his religious

that he had sided with the workers when things came up for a decision."

Asked what would happen to such a friendship, respondent says: "It depended on how well intentioned that fellow was who became a Party member and a Party functionary. If he was a good fellow and rather helped the others, friendship was not affected. If, however, he was a selfish person who became a traitor to the cause of the others, people cried "turncoat!" -- I quite often scolded a coworker who had six children and became a Party member so as to have enough for his children: "You rotten Communist!" -- or, "You whore Communist!" -- just in the form of kidding. When we were in a better mood I told him often "Little Commie, come on!" -- There was no trouble with such people if they were well meaning. They were certainly well meaning and reminded me again and again to keep my big mouth shut."

D. Juvenile Delinquency

"There were more cases of theft and burglary, and even manslaughter than ever before. Many of the young people stayed out too late and visited bars. They stole quite a bit from the plants where they were working. -- Some of them did quite tricky business. For instance, one group of such young people were dressed like employees of the ~~XX~~ shop, and they said to the policeman "We're moving" and in order to win the policeman completely over, they gave him several things with the remark "Get this. It's not in the inventory." And so they completely burglarized a shop. The police never found them."

He never heard the word hooligan.

Speaking of the Jampecs, he says: "Those were called youngsters who tried to imitate American dress, American dances, American hairdo (or, at least, as they thought American dress, dances and hairdo were), and they called girls the same if they had horsetails and danced with such boys. -- Jampecs sometimes were seized by the police in dances, were taken to police headquarters and were beaten up. Many people thought that this was what they deserved, particularly Communists said so."

Going into more details, respondent says that most of them are between the age of 16 and 22, and they are workers' children. And he says that there are many Jews among them. -- He says that the number of Jampecs has been diminishing in the last few years, and even before there were never too many. Certainly, less than one percent of youth. -- In the last two years, the Communists didn't care as much as they did before, he says, and it had no serious consequences if one was considered a Jampec.

marriage actually married those people with whom they had sexual relations, respondent answers: "Some 25 to 30 percent of pre-marital relations ended in the marriage of those people."

Asked about the role of parents in courtship, engagement and so on, he says: "Parents could not interfere in more cases than perhaps twenty out of one hundred, although it would have been quite necessary in so many cases."

Asked about prostitution under Communism, respondent says that prostitution was abolished some time in '45. -- "The whores were placed in various fields of occupation -- according to how good Party members they became."

Comparing the sexual morality of convinced Communists with that of the average Hungarian, he comes up with this answer:
"I spoke to an old time, persuaded Communist who complained about things -- but usually I didn't know whether one was a convinced Communist or not. -- There were teachings in Leninism-Marxism which encouraged Communists to lead a moral life and to set a good example to the rest of the population. Of course, it is highly questionable whether or not they carried out this advice, and if they did, to what extent."

C. Friendship with Communists

Speaking of this topic, respondent says: "I had a brother-in-law who had been an Arrow Cross member. (Interviewer's Note: The Hungarian pro-Nazi Party was usually called the Arrow-Cross Party because their party emblem was a cross that had arrow-shaped points.) This brother-in-law of mine ~~was~~ became also a Party official -- (When I got married in 1941 I had no home, and my brother-in-law suggested that I become a member of the party to receive a Jewish home that had been evacuated. But I told him that I never wanted to have somebody else's property, and I ~~rather~~ rather accepted a job as a humble janitor.) My brother-in-law became an Arrow Cross Party soldier. He was a prisoner of war in Russia for five years, and when he came home he became a member of the Communist Party. In one or two years, he was "okay". He became assistant Town Council chairman in a large village. Later they found out that he had been a Nazi. This happened only because people discussed it with him and dug up his past, because he was so haughty and looked down upon the poor people that much. -- I always felt sorry for him and reproached him before for being pro-Nazi, and now I reproached him again and again for being a Communist Party member."

Asked what in such a case would happen to the friendship, he answers: "Here is another case among relatives ~~in~~ which is quite similar to the one just quoted. That relative of mine became a Communist for a larger piece of bread and butter, and for a hunting license. -- Later he became a ~~Rk~~ plant Party Secretary, but was kicked out of ~~because~~ because they found out his position,

Asked whether some families were able to hold on to the old ways, respondent says a definite yes, and he goes on explaining: "The ones who had been poor before and who cherished independence and were stable in their convictions could hold out against any Communist attempt."

B. Sex Patterns

Speaking of changes in marriage and the way young people court each other, respondent says: "Youth had more freedom than before. For instance, the Communists said that more culture would develop if they had more "cultural activities" and be sure they had a lot of them. These consisted mostly of dances. There were also many amateur theatre groups in plants under Communist sponsorship, and there was a lot of kissing behind the scenes, and many a boy or girl didn't stop at kissing, but had occasional extra-marital relations with each other. Of course, this was quite a break with the past, when it was a scandal if once in a while a boy or a girl had sexual relations. -- In many cases, parents didn't let the girls go to such "cultural activities" which were mainly practiced in the M.N.D.S.Z. (Interviewer's Note; M.N.D.S.Z. is the abbreviation for the "Democratic Organization of Hungarian Women," a Communist organization for women) and the Freedom Fighters. (This was a para-military Communist organization destined to train guerillas.) But if parents objected, Party functionaries and other group leaders made quite often an issue out of it. Hence, parents were practically helpless; at least most of them. And if you think, in addition, of the fact that there were no religious instructions, it is easy to see that the changes in youth were not favorable."

Speaking of marriage, he says: "The engagement time was, generally speaking, shortened. There were too many too quick marriages which ended in divorce. There were more divorces in Hungary than the country had ever seen before. In fact, the divorce rate increased threefold after 1945. Most engagements lasted two, three, or four months, whereas in the past they lasted usually a year, and quite often an engagement came about only after one year of acquaintance in the past. Now everything changed, but not for the better, be sure. -- There was a very dangerous slogan: "It is a duty of a married woman to bear a child, and it is a glory for a girl." This slogan could be read on posters in streetcars, in OTI offices (Interviewer's Note: OTI is the name of the State Health Insurance organization, which now functions as the main channel of socialized medicine.) You could see such posters in hospitals, particularly in the maternity ward. -- If a girl was knocked up and the parents beat her, because they resented her ~~sexual~~ ~~immoral~~ immoral life, the parents were heavily fined."

Speaking of changes in sexual morality, respondent says: "Nowadays I think 60 percent of the girls are no longer virgins." -- Asked how many of those girls who lost their virginity before

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communist Effects

Speaking of his own family, respondent says that when he married he intended to have a family in which he could enjoy mutual trust and helpfulness so that they all could be happy. He wanted to be faithful to his wife and good to his children, and raise them to be good, law-abiding citizens who would be better than their parents in education, attitude and everything else. He says that in the last ten years, so far as their own family is concerned, everything was okay, but he had difficulties with the school, because instead of helping toward the same goal they caused difficulties mainly by the fact that they didn't want the child to receive religious instructions. He brings up that one of the teachers talked to his wife, telling her that it would not be wise to let their boy receive religious instructions. Their family life comes closest to the second type of the three families that are described; namely, the family that grew closer together.

He doesn't dare to give an estimate as to which of the three types comes closest to describing the average Hungarian family.

Speaking of how children were brought up during the last ten years, he explains: "Most parents couldn't afford to devote much attention to their children, and you know that this was a great break with the past, when the greatest concern of a family was its children. The children now were literally raised on and by the streets. -- I saw many a woman go to work at 5 and 6 A.M., and I saw them take one child in their arms, two flanking them on either side, holding her skirt. Those children were put in plant nurseries and so-called children's homes. But of course, those things were not anything ~~resembling~~ resembling an actual family home. -- Children did not appreciate the situation. They were more loose, and if they did something wrong they got a reprimand from the police. If that happened, of course the folks were upset, and a great nervous tension developed in the family."

Respondent heard much about families which were much more affected than others.

Asked what happened in his family, he says: "My principle was, the younger the child, the stricter I should be to him, so that later no reprimands be necessary, let alone beatings. I was even strict with my wife, and sometimes it happened that I grew so mad when I saw that my ~~own~~ wife did not handle the situation with the child all right, when I saw that she let the child get away with murder, I sometimes grew so mad that I spanked the boy a lot more than I would have spanked him otherwise for his mischief. And I tell you, I let my wife have it too. I couldn't help it, I didn't mean to, but I tell you frankly I hit her a few times."

D. Favored Groups

"Members of the Party enjoyed privileges even so far as jobs were concerned."

"There were no other groups which could be singled out for favored positions."

Asked which class was hardest hit, he says: "First of all, the intellectuals who had been in better positions under the former regime. Secondly, the ones who weren't ready to surrender, and it made little difference what those people were doing. ~~Perhaps~~ Perhaps poor people who were used to misery and abuse weren't hit so hard as people who ~~were~~ were used to better living conditions."

Asked about the attitudes of classes to each other, he says: "The general misery and poverty increased misunderstandings. Many peasants thought that industrial workers were responsible for their troubles, because they supported Communism. Many peasants actually believed that most workers were Reds, and they also believed that workers didn't make good implements and didn't work cheaply enough. -- Many workers were misled by Red propagandists, and thought that the peasants ~~were~~ withheld their products because they wanted to hike prices. Red propagandists hated peasants because they didn't listen to their lies. The Reds actually kindled hatred of one class against the other. -- Aristocracy (Interviewer's Note: Asked whether he meant aristocracy in the sense of the word as he defined it before, namely, Communist aristocracy, respondent ~~laughed~~ laughed loudly and said that of course that is what he meant) was hated by all groups of the population. And the aristocracy hated all the people. They did things at their own volition and caprice."

Asked about changes in these attitudes, respondent says: "All layers of society except the Communist aristocracy, of course, found out during the revolution that they belonged close together. (Actually it was too late to find out, but it was a great thing.) Peasants donated food to the revolutionists, and they were unthinkably generous."

C. Social Advancement

Talking of the chances for an individual to get ahead in Communist Hungary, he says: "Party members and other people who pretended to be adherents of the Party had it very good. They could easily become big shots. -- Talent played a role in the case of those who had formerly held positions in Civil Service jobs or in the management of industrial plants, only as long as there was no ~~trained~~ trained replacement of those people. From then on, only Party affiliations counted. -- Among workers the good ones were appreciated if they didn't "see things, hear things and say things." That is to say, if they kept their mouths shut.

Asked about social mobility from '45 to the present, he says: "There wasn't much improvement. There was much expectation and much was in the making, particularly in agriculture, but since Imre Nagy was removed the improvements made under his regime proved to be of only a temporary nature."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Family Background

Respondent's father was a farm hand on a large estate. In later years he was the carriage driver of one of the overseers on that large estate.

Neither one of his parents nor his wife or in-laws had any property.

Both of his parents had only six grades of elementary school.

B. Social Classes

This is respondent's assessment of the social class structure in Hungary: "An entirely new aristocracy has developed, and it consists of former bums and peddlers and so on. The Communists call these people "worker category" but a few of them were real workers. Most of them were those who hated to work. They were real goldbricks I mean. -- Most people were workers, and many of these workers had been Civil Servants and other people of higher intellectual standing under the former regime. -- And there were a great many peasants. -- There were no industrialists or merchants. In their places you could find newly trained, trusted persons of the Party, regardless of their competence. -- People who had held higher positions before Communism were retained only as long as there was no replacement for them."

Asked about contacts with social groups, he says: "People who were leaders in the former regime, I mean intellectuals and professionals, became "declassed" and even kind of "outlawed" and they had to become unskilled workers. But they assimilated well to the workers. I worked together with a former ambassador to Turkey. For a while they put him in interment camps; later they put him in our plant to work. -- All of my relatives are peasants, and I visited them whenever I was on leave, and most of the time in the first two years after the war, I worked at home as a peasant myself. The peasants were most oppressed. Since "democracy" was introduced, they lost the incentive to work. Their abilities and their energies were overtaxed, and so they saw to it that they produced only a minimum. They hated Communism. They certainly hated it, even though in the beginning quite a few of them hoped that it would bring good changes. -- The Hungarian worker is second to none. But they were dissatisfied, because Communism only promised them everything, and didn't give them anything. So they also were anxious to produce only a minimum. -- The upper layer of today's society is damaging the interests of the country in a terrible way."

Asked to what class he feels he belongs, he answers and smiles: "I am a proletarian. I belong to the lowest of all social strata."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "I personally expected nothing from the West. I thought ~~xxxxx~~ it would help materially, but thought that nothing would actually get to the ones who badly needed and deserved it." (Interviewer's Note: Respondent apparently misunderstood my question, and referred to charity.)-- Probed whether he expected military ~~xxxxxx~~ assistance, arms, UN sanctions, he says: "UN sanctions by all means, but I also expected arms day after day. Many of us did. We would have liked to get bazookas, and we would have liked former Hungarian refugees would come. It was also rumored that American-Hungarians were on the way. I certainly hoped that many would come, because those refugees have much to ~~xxxxxx~~ repay to Communism."

He formed his expectations on the basis of both rumors and on the basis of his own logic, because it seemed to him quite natural that the target of the greatest hatred and propaganda attacks of Soviet Russia, namely, the United States, would not let down a partner in its fight against Soviet domination.

He never came into contact with foreigners between October 23 and the time of his escape.

This is his definition of the ones who didn't fight: "Those were people who had a good living without much work."

Asked how they got arms, he says: "They received the first arms from forces of law and order who were ordered to put down the "rioting." I saw with my own naked eyes such cases. -- Other weapons were captured from barracksxxxxxxkxxxxkxxxxk and from plants. Take for instance the Lamp Factory. -- Others seized weapons from the AVO."

Asked how the Freedom Fighters were organized, he says: "I personally didn't belong to any unit, and I bet there were many of us "free lancers." But I know that there were other groups which were organized. I just don't know how."

C. The Reinvasion

Respondent already gave us details on how he spent the days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the reinvasion.

When the Red army had begun its retreat, he thought: "they withdrew because they even started evacuating Russian districts, and the Hungarian people said that they would not lay down arms until the Russians withdrew."

He first heard that Russian withdrawal had been halted on the 1st or the 2nd of November, but he heard it this way -- that new troops had come to Hungary to secure free withdrawal of the others.

D. Conclusion

Respondent doesn't think that on the whole Hungary has gained: "Only misery, sorrow and want came out of the revolution. -- Thirty-five thousand Hungarians are now happy in the United States, but eight million are subject to most ruthless xxxxxxxx oppression. -- My personal happiness isn't enough, and if you ask me what results it had mentally, I would say bitterness, longing for revenge, and craving for freedom even more than before."

"But on the second and third day workers were preponderant. Perhaps half of them were men and half women. But perhaps there were more women on occasion."

Asked about their ages, he said those ranged from 6 to 80. Pressed as to how old most of them were, he says from 13 to 30.

Speaking of the organization and leadership of demonstrations, he says that everything developed just by chance. -- "Small groups organized themselves, and they swelled to hundreds and often to thousands. These demonstrations didn't faintly resemble April 4th, May 1st and similar Communist demonstrations, when wages depended upon participation."

B. The Fighting

Speaking of his feelings during fighting, respondent says: "In the first few days, it was my strong feeling that they would learn the lesson and would be ashamed and would leave. (Interviewer's Note: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "They" means the Russians.) I knew very clearly that the Communists were there only as long as the Russian soldiers were backing them up." -- Asked about fear of consequences, respondent says: "I had no time to think of fears. I had only one desire: to kill as many as possible, and to fight it out with as few as possible. -- Only hindsight suggests that such considerations be weighed."

Asked about the overall outcome in his mind at that time, he says: "When the fight unfolded, I expected that a new government would make good for everything so far committed by the Communists, and would bring about a harmonious regime."

Asked about the government's calling for Russian troops, he says: "First, when we had only occupation troops to oppose the revolution, we could have licked them even though they were an overwhelming force. Those Russians would have surrendered to us or even sided with us, seeing the enthusiastic and dedicated resistance." -- In conclusion, he remarks: "By the way, they didn't have to be called in, because they were in the country."

The demonstrations turned into fighting, he thinks, "when the first dead were seen in the streets."

"The fight could have been avoided if they had not shot at the demonstrators, and particularly if the demands had been met," he adds to his remarks.

Asked about revolutionary slogans, he refers to his statement made above (sub-chapter A of this Chapter).

Asked who fought, he says: "All such single people, ^{who} had faith in man's freedom and who could get arms ~~xxxxxx~~ into their hands. Most of these fighters were students who were children of workers."

"I had no idea what would follow. When I joined the demonstrators on the afternoon of Tuesday (Interviewer's Note: October 24th) I had no idea yet that all of this would end in a bloody fight. I could surmise something like that all the less since there were policemen standing in cars and watching over the crowd. -- Students came and reminded us to keep calm during the demonstrations, not to lose our heads and not to shout annoying things at the policemen and the AVO, like "You dirty Communist" or "You dirty Jew". They pleaded with us to keep our heads and to speak of the actual points of demands and grievances, not to hurl personal insults at people. The students suggested that we rather call such things as "Russians go home" -- "Down with the Rakosi government!" -- "We need no dictatorship!" -- "We want rights promised the workers" -- "Lands should belong to people" -- "No sweatshops!" -- "Peasants should not have their land taken away!" -- "The ones who deserve it should be punished!" --

He joined with a coworker. When he stepped out of the entrance of his plant, he had no idea yet, but then he heard that there was a demonstration going on, and he thought he would like to see that and to do something if possible.

Asked whether he was afraid, here is his answer: "The hell I was afraid!"

Asked whether he thought of personal consequences, he says: "I had no idea. The demands were in the interest of all of us. But people became irate when shooting started. I cared about no consequences except the consequences that the demands should be fulfilled."

He felt elated because he could say what he wanted and he says that all people were the same, and even people looking out of windows applauded.

Asked what he wanted the government to do then, he says: "I hoped and trusted that a turn would follow and the Russians would understand how hated they were and would withdraw. I expected the government to see the people's point, and to carry out their demands."

Still speaking of the same subject, and thinking now more of himself personally, he goes on: "I meant not to live in constant fear and I didn't want to raise my children in fear of authorities. I wanted to raise them the way I wished. For instance, I wanted them to learn religion. And I wanted unskilled workers to earn much more, particularly the ones who had children."

He actually thought that the outcome would be that the demands of the people would be met.

Speaking of the demonstrators, he says: "Most demonstrators were from all walks of life. At first, most of them were students.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM UP QUESTION

These are the things respondent holds most important for Americans to know: "(1) Above all, Americans should know what the fate of the Hungarian nation was in the years before the revolution. If they knew all of that, they could judge for themselves and understand why and what happened. They would see that it was obvious that people couldn't bear oppression any longer. -- (2) It is nonsense to say that Americans contributed to the revolution. The revolution started not as a revolution, but the Reds made it one by their butchering of demonstrators. -- (3) The Hungarian people should have help to clean Hungary of the scum of the earth who have kept the workers exploited for so many years. They need help because they can't fight alone against the Red army. -- (4) The Hungarian people will never reconcile themselves to the regime of the Reds. There are very few Hungarian families which have not been hit by one or the other forms of terror in the most concrete sense of the word."

I awoke and my wife said that she thought it was thundering. I went to the window, looked out, and saw a heavy artillery fire. I put on the radio and I heard a cry for help which was repeated in various languages. Now I realized that disaster was at our doors.

"I wanted to get my rifle which I had with that friend who lived in the neighborhood of Brody Sandor St. My wife and my mother kept me back, pleading with me that I should not expose myself to danger, and arguing with me that I was still a wounded and sick man. I stayed at home until daylight. A friend lived in the same building ~~xxx~~ where we lived, and we listened ~~x~~ to the radio with him, and suggested that I stay and wait. But I wasn't able to sit back, and I persuaded him to come and look around in the city.

"We actually went out and saw chaos, and realized what tragic consequences our trusting the Russians had. We were shocked into realizing how we were cheated and we thought that the real fight was just beginning.

"We saw Russian tanks surrounding the building of the Parliament, and we saw them protecting the AVO headquarters near the Margret Bridge. My friend and I saw that we couldn't do anything anymore. We had to give up fighting. Fighting would have been suicidal, we thought, and we went home. At home we listened to Radio Free Europe and we heard on one of the broadcasts: "Just persevere for three or four more days. It is the Suez talks that prevent the United Nations from giving help to you, but help will eventually be forthcoming." We believed this and hoped, and imagined what a fierce fight it would be when the UN troops arrived. -- ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"Next day I realized that I was running short of money, so I decided to go to my bosses and to ask for my wages. (This was November 5th.) My boy wanted to come with me, so I took him with me. At some points of the town we saw that there was still great resistance. At several points we had to dash over the streets to keep out of fire. But it wasn't easy to move around in the streets. We left at 11 A.M. and were able to get home only at 5 P.M. -- ON our way we observed how the Russian tanks were working. If one received attack, it stood still, and probably it radioed others, and soon a number of other tanks came. They surrounded that certain building and shelled it indiscriminately. The fight I am speaking of took place at the corner of Kiraly St. and the Lenin (Lenin Circle, Way, or Boulevard)." -- Probed as to whether he really received his wages, respondent answers affirmatively.

"In the next two days (November 6th and 7th) tanks took up positions at points of intersections and tried to control the city. But as we went around hunting for food, we heard that fighting was still going on at various points in the city. It was becoming hard to get food, and there were long, long queues outside of bakery shops and grocery stores. I walked around in

the wounded, and listening to their stories. This day I felt so lousy that I stayed at the hospital all day. It was on that day that it happened that AVO people came, pretending that they were Freedom Fighters, of course dressed in civilian clothes. They listened to our people and took notes secretly, apparently so that they could revenge themselves on the Freedom Fighters. We learned only later when they left that they were AVO.

"I know of one terrible consequence of this AVO visit. ~~It~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This whole story unfolded in two or three days. I learned this story from nurses who took me to the building where the corpses were lying, and they showed me four corpses and told this: -- Three men and one girl were Freedom Fighters, and fought together. One of the men was the fiancee of the girl. It happened right at the beginning of the fight that two brothers of the girl died heroes, and her fiancee and she still continued to fight, and her fiancee was a ~~ka~~ liason between various groups of the Freedom Fighters, and the girl worked as a voluntary nurse. When her fiancee was wounded, the ambulance in which he lay was fired at by AVO, and the man died. Within just a few days the girl herself was assassinated."

(Interviewer's Note: This story may well be ~~an~~ fiction, or at least part of it may be fiction. I am still quoting it because I think it is quite interesting to see such a story, which is not unusual among Hungarians, every detail of it still reflecting the age old classical ballad type stories. -- Of course, under circumstances prevailing in those days, the story might be true. But of course, it might be just a series of coincidences, even if it is true.)

"The next two days (October 28th and 29th) I didn't scout much around in town, but stayed most of the time in the hospital. By then we had so many wounded that the corridors were filled with beds. I helped a great deal to set up new beds and to clean the corridors. There were some empty rooms in the hospital which were being redecorated, and we filled those also with beds. We received our news through the wounded who were well enough to talk about things. We learned from them that demonstrations were still going on, and that armed fighting was no longer so fierce, that the battle raged mostly around the Corvin Block, and the Killian Barracks, and the Szabad Nep building. -- We were also told by the wounded that there were some ~~xxxxxx~~ people who looted and that they were executed by the Freedom Fighters. The Freedom Fighters set up guards to watch law and order.

"The next few days I spent in the hospital because I was too weak to go around.

"It was only on the evening of November 3rd that I left the hospital, again without permission, and went to see my family. I spent that night from November 3rd to 4th at home, and we talked over things with my wife.

"At ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the dawn of Sunday (November 4th) my wife and

ambulances had been destroyed. K

"Next morning (October 26th) I went again into the rooms and shaved several of the wounded, and talked to them meanwhile. They told me about the fierce fight and I was so happy and proud to hear that our boys fought valiantly, just as I saw our soldiers fighting out in Soviet Russia.

"In the afternoon, I again left with my rifle, which I again picked up at that friend's house where I kept it hidden in the cellar. I went to the streets and learned in a crowd that some 300 students were held at Andrassy Ave. 60. I went there and found a large crowd of civilians standing in front of the building, and I also saw many deserters among them. The crowd kept swelling, and I think there were several thousand people. They demanded that the prisoners be released. -- Some policemen were standing in front of the building, and we had a hard time keeping back the crowd from attacking them, because many people suspected these policemen of being AVO members. Those policemen pleaded with the crowd and said that they were plain, regular police. After a while, we learned that the delegation that went into the building to negotiate had also been captured. Now the anger of the crowd grew even more, and they wanted to storm the building. But then five tanks and some armored cars of Freedom Fighters came and joined the crowd, and surrounded the entire block. These tanks issued an ultimatum to the headquarters of this Andrassy Ave. 60 building, that they release the prisoners, and the ultimatum set a term of one hour.

"The hour was not over yet when the doors opened, and indeed more than 200 young students came out, and with them the delegation. Half of the delegation who went to negotiate came in front of these 200 prisoners, and half of them in the rear. I saw one policeman hand over his pistol, saying that he wanted to go home. The crowd which was around this policeman assigned two persons to accompany him, to protect him from the rest of the crowd.

"As these 200 students mixed with the crowd, many of them found their loved ones and they told them and us who were standing around that they had been kept without water and food for two days. We were told that most of them had been tricked into surrendering, with such tricks as letting them into buildings and then closing the entrance doors and surrounding the entire building. This was one trick the AVO used. Another one was to invite them to eat and to drink because they said they were fighting so long, and they certainly hadn't had anything to eat or to drink, and took them to homes and there they surrounded and captured them.

"At night I was at the hospital again.

"Next morning (October 27th) I again went around shaving

between them, and I saw Hungarian flags on all of them. The Freedom Fighters with whom I stayed didn't believe the Russians. They thought they were only tricking them and opened fire. They didn't return fire, but put out their white handkerchiefs by the hatchets. They stopped and got out of the tanks, and called the demonstrators to go to them. A young lieutenant was their commander. People who spoke Russian went there, and the Russians explained that they didn't want to fight; they even said that they liked the Hungarians to go and help them to liberate Soviet Russia from oppression. While these few people were talking to the lieutenant, there were voices in the crowd, "Kill them!" -- But other more sober minded people told them to wait and see how they made out. And indeed people who talked to them answered: "We don't kill them because they are with us. You shouldn't hurt them!" -- Armed Freedom Fighters led the Russians away, I presume to some point where prisoners of war were collected.

"Now there were quite a few civilians who were eager to get into the tanks, and fortunately enough, there were enough people to drive them. People shouted to us that we should go to the Parliament because there was so much trouble. There was great resistance on the side of the AVO. But there were not enough people to handle the guns and the machine guns in the tanks, and so when we got to Andrassy Square, one person took over command; ~~opening~~ opening the hatchet of his tank, he asked women and children to get off the tanks, and asked that only men should stay who were not afraid of bullets. -- No one wanted to leave the tank. (At this point in the interview it turns out that respondent now speaks only of one tank because the others went their way, and didn't stay together.) We argued for quite some time. We even thought that the man might be AVO: "We don't know each other!" we told him. Others suggested that we go to a Freedom Fighter unit headquarters, to receive assignment. We at last agreed on this.

"I was also asked to leave because I was wounded, and only six armed men remained in the tank and I don't know where they went, but I presume that they really went to a headquarters of the Freedom Fighters.

"By then it was late afternoon. I went around the streets watching to see where shots came from, and I saw they usually came from attics, and from there shots were fired at the demonstrators. But there were other people who watched those spots from where they fired at the demonstrators, and several people with weapons banded together to kill those who fired at the people. I presume they were AVO men or people attached to the AVO.

"Til night I scouted on the streets. When it became dark I took my rifle to the same hiding place and went back to the hospital. When I was lying in my bed I observed the same as the night before. Wounded after wounded came, but now trucks and cars were used in place of ambulances, because by then several

more and more people came to the hospital, and consequently people who were not too sick had to leave so that their beds could be turned over to the wounded.

"As I went home at about 2 P.M., I didn't find my wife or my boy at home, so I wanted to go out to see what was going on in town. -- I had ~~my~~ an old revolver at home in hiding. I took that with me. Mother asked me not to go out, because she said I was a sick man because of the wound I had. But I went into the streets, and I found crowds in a great many places. As tanks came and saw crowds, they fired at them. -- I found more and more people coming to the streets with all kinds of weapons -- youths, men, women, and there were trucks going around ~~in~~ which were ready to pick up people to go to places. I got on such a truck, and we went to the Szabad Nep building, on the Blaha Lujza Square, at the Rakoczi Korut.

"A tremendous crowd stormed the building of the Szabad Nep. I felt too weak and I didn't take part in dashing at the building. Soon AVO and Russian armored cars and tanks came. A fight started with the AVO and the Russians appeared to be reluctant to fight. They seemed to drag their feet, because they could have fired at the crowd and they didn't, only once in a while. I also fired all the rounds I had with me at the AVO, and after a while I ran out and I grew so mad that I threw the pistol at them. --

"Desperately anxious to fight, I got a Manlicher. (Interviewer's Note: Time honored World War I and also World War II Hungarian infantry rifle.) I got it from ~~him~~ a 13 year old boy who didn't like the rifle hitting his shoulder. By then, darkness fell. It was about 7 or 8 P.M., and I became too weak and felt that I had fever, so I returned to the hospital, and took my rifle with me and hid it at a friend's house who lived close ~~to~~ to the hospital. I just couldn't take it home because there were two AVO men and a Communist fireman living in our building, and I was afraid of them. ~~By~~

"By 9 P.M. I was in the hospital and my wound was redressed. I was given hell by the nurses for my "adventure." -- I slept little that night because I went down and again to see how they brought in the wounded in ambulances. I talked to the wounded and I was eager to learn how the battle was standing.

"When I got up next morning (October 25th) I went around to see and to talk to the wounded, and I thought that I could do something good for them by offering to shave them. ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ I shaved several of the wounded, going to different rooms. I presumed that the barbers wouldn't come to the hospital, and I was right. This is why I thought I could help them this way.

"When my wound was dressed again I left the hospital, again without permission. It was about between 3 and 4 P.M. that I went to the Lenin Square, taking my rifle with me. After a while five Russian tanks came one after another with considerable distance

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

Speaking of October 22nd, respondent says that he worked at his job and business was as usual.

Speaking of October 23rd, he says that his job happened to be close to Brody Sandor St., and he worked as usual and nothing in particular happened, but at night he saw demonstrators in the streets, and he didn't know what it was all about. So he went to work to Brody ~~at~~ Sandor St. where he saw a particularly dense crowd, and he found out from people that the crowd wanted to announce over the radio what their demands were. -- "There were large crowds around the building, so that all we could do was mill and push around with the crowd, and yell that they should open the doors and let the demands of the working people be announced. -- We stood there with ~~xxxxx~~ empty hands and yelled what we wanted them to do. For a while there was silence in the building, but when they saw more and more people coming and heard the many thousands shout the same demands, the windows opened, and tear gas grenades were thrown out.

"It's a terrible thing to be in tear gas. One's eyes, nose and mouth start running, and it is a biting, unpleasant feeling. But still people rather coughed and wept and spat, but they did not retreat. On the contrary, they brought tools, picks and axes and wanted to break the door. -- Then I saw some military force, perhaps AVO, came on trucks and shots were fired not only above the heads of the crowd but also into the crowd, and then there was a great confusion among people. I was among the first to be wounded. A ~~xxxxx~~ shot hit my jaw and the bullet stayed in it. At first I put my handkerchief on the wound, and thought that it wasn't too bad, but later I decided to go to a hospital.

"I went to the hospital of our district. I was operated on and the bullet was removed. -- At the hospital I saw several students badly wounded, and I was told that some of them died on the way to the hospital. That night I stayed at the hospital, and all night they brought in the wounded." -- (Interviewer's Note: Knowing how generally Hungarians like to use absolute terms like "all" I check on this item and ask respondent how many wounded he actually counted in the hospital, and he says five.)

"All next day (October 24th) I was supposed to stay at the hospital to receive further care, but I just couldn't sit tight and I took off at 2 P.M. From then on I went to the hospital only for part of the day, and left again and again. First the doctors and the nurses resented this very much, but later they got used to it. -- At the hospital I saw and heard much. We listened regularly to the radio and there were different opinions among people. It was very hard to see clearly because there were too many changes in the radio. But one thing was sure --

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM UP QUESTION

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