

14. Respondent has two sisters, both married, one in Budapest and the other in Tizzasuly, Hungary. They are 49 and 52 respectively.
15. He has no children.
16. Respondent left Hungary November 29, 1956.
17. He arrived in the U.S. May 24, 1957.
18. Since his arrival in the U.S. he has only been in New York.
19. His immediate plans are to get a job as a locksmith and to get settled here in the U.S.
20. He has not been interviewed by any Western organization since leaving Budapest.
21. Respondent speaks and writes German.
22. No active participation.

Character description:

Respondent is a bespectacled, short, middle-aged man, neat and tidy in appearance. He is very cheerful, with a good sense of humor. Thirty-five years ago his fiancée married someone else when he was out of a job. Since then he has been unable to find anyone like her and has remained a bachelor. For over thirty-five years he has been living in furnished rooms with no home of his own. A distant aunt took care of him, and he is very attached to her and her family. He seems an excellent craftsman, but was hardly able to live on what he earned. He is not interested in politics. He was an enthusiastic sports fan and liked to chat with his fellow workers over a glass of wine in the corner pub. He is a typical example of Hungarian assimilation. His father, a Bohemian, came from Bohemia at the age of 30. His name is Bohemian. For a long time he has been a Czechoslovak citizen, but he would very much resent being considered anything else but Hungarian.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"The most important thing about the Hungarian Revolution is that it has been a unanimous revolt against Communism. I think the Americans probably know this."

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

A. "On October 22nd I did not expect anything to happen the next day. In the evening I came home, talked with my roommate for a time, and then went to bed. I read for about an hour and went to sleep.

"On October 23rd I went to work as usual. I worked in the government printing shop in Buda.

"At about 3:00 PM, when we were quitting work, I was washing my hands in the washroom when one of my colleagues told me to hurry up because some kind of demonstration would take place on Palfy Square. We decided to go and see it.

"Palfy Square is not far from us. We arrived there about 3:30. Large crowds were on the Square, and more were constantly arriving in orderly rows.

"The majority of the demonstrators who were there in Palfy Square in front of the Bem Statue were young people - mostly students. They decorated the statue, draping flags over it. The Red stars were cut out of the flags.

"I and my two friends stayed there for about two hours. The crowd was constantly increasing. The soldiers in the barracks facing the Square were lined up in the windows and cheering the crowd. They also put the flags up on their building. Even the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which was on the other side of the Square, put out the Hungarian flags.

"A loudspeaker truck was there on the Square, and several people spoke. The amplifier was very distorted and I could not hear well from a distance. It was said that Peter Veres spoke, and several students recited patriotic poems and read the demands drafted by the university students the previous night.

"We were there on Palfy Square until about 6:00 PM. Then someone passed the word that everyone should go to the Parliament Square. By then the crowd had become enormous. We lined up in rows and marched over the

Margaret Bridge to Parliament Square.

"On the way, the crowds kept shouting slogans, such as 'Russians go home', and 'Down with Gero'.

"Parliament Square was also crowded. It was becoming dark. The people around me said that someone from the government would speak. The crowd became impatient. In an attempt to disperse the crowd someone put out the lights on Parliament Square. The crowd began to light torches formed from newspapers. Later the lights were turned on again.

"The demonstrators were the usual people one sees on the streets. Their average age was perhaps thirty. There were many women and girls among them.

"Here too the slogans which the crowd recited were mostly against Gero. The national anthem and the Kossuth songs were also sung.

"I thought that the government would make some concessions -- perhaps wages would be increased and the worker competitions would be abolished. I also expected that the government would restore freedom of the press to a certain extent, and also allow religious instruction in schools.

"I am not ashamed to confess that to a certain extent I was afraid. I would not have been surprised to see the AVH men come and crush the demonstrations.

"It was getting late and cold and nothing was happening. At about 8:00 PM I decided to go home. That was long before Imre Nagy's speech.

"I walked to the nearest streetcar station and boarded a streetcar. When our car was passing the intersection of Andrassy Road, the conductor on our car jokingly announced, 'Andrassy Road, next stop. It used to be Stalin Road, but not any more.' Everyone in the car was pleased.

"I arrived home at about 8:30. I ate my supper and went to bed.

"It is my impression that most of the people on Parliament Square were industrial workers. I also saw army officers among the crowd. They, too, seemed enthusiastic and pleased.

However, I noticed that they did not shout such slogans as 'Down with Gero'. But they sang the national anthem and the Kossuth songs with us.

B. "On October 24th I woke up at dawn, thinking that I heard the sound of shooting. I listened for a time, and when I heard nothing, I thought that it was an hallucination or a dream. I wanted to go back to sleep. A few minutes later my roommate, a university student, asked me, 'Do you hear the shooting?'"

"I was a bit nervous and frightened, but went to the window and looked out. Underneath us was a bakery. I saw young people armed with rifles and tommyguns standing around a truck which was being loaded with bread. I then realized that the demonstrations of the previous night must have turned into some kind of fighting, and that these armed youngsters were taking food to the insurgents. But I did not believe that a large-scale revolution had broken out.

"When the truck left, everything became quiet again. I went back to sleep.

"At 6:00 AM, the time that I usually get up, my landlady came into the room and told me that the revolution had broken out. She warned me ~~not~~ not to go to work because there was fighting on the streets. I believed her, and knowing that it was impossible to go to work that day, both my roommate and I decided to sleep late. We got up only after 8:00.

"About 8:30 I went over to my aunt's place to have breakfast. I was boarding with her for years. My cousin, her son, was also at home. I learned from him what had happened the previous night. He told me that the students and young workers had captured the radio studio buildings and there was street fighting in many parts of Budapest. He also told me it was impossible to go to work that day.

"My aunt lived on a quiet side-street where nothing happened for the next few days. She persuaded me to remain there for the night instead of going to my room a few houses away because that building was on a larger street where something was more likely to happen. I stayed with my aunt during the entire revolution, going home only now and then for clothes or books.

"We spent much of our time in front of the gates of the building, looking out into the street to see what was going on.

"On October 24th and 25th I saw some young people with sub-machine guns and rifles. On the afternoon of the 24th we already had heard artillery fire. We then realized that the revolution had turned into a large-scale affair.

"The events of the first half of the revolution are so blurred that I am unable to say what occurred on which day. There was fierce fighting in our neighborhood and it was not advisable to go near the Killian Barracks. We saw many cars bearing wounded to the first aid stations ~~xxxxxxx~~ set up near our house.

"When the fighting died down, we went out into the street to look around. On one occasion I saw two burned out Russian tanks with Russian corpses beside it.

"On another occasion I was on a side-street of Ulloi Road. I saw seven Russian tanks approaching the Killian Barracks. When they passed the street intersection in front of the barracks, the last two Russian tanks were shot out. They went up in flames, and the crowd cheered when they saw this.

"During the fighting we were both afraid and enthusiastic at the same time. It was my feeling that the Hungarians could not possibly defeat the Russians because they were so greatly outnumbered.

"I heard the term 'Freedom Fighter' used only in the second half of the revolution, that is, after the Russian withdrawal from Budapest. In the first stage of the revolution we called the Freedom Fighters partisans, at least in our district.

"My impression was that in the first days of the revolution it was mostly the students who began the fighting. They were immediately joined by some young workers with more workers one day later. At first, the industrial workers hesitated about participating in the fighting; but after the first day or so they joined in large numbers.

"The average age of the Freedom Fighters was 20 to 22.

"I also saw girls with rifles and sub-machine guns. There were even boys ten years old, or even younger. I do not know where the Freedom Fighters got their arms from or how they were organized.

"On one occasion I saw that two trucks were captured by the Freedom Fighters and taken to the front of the Killian Barracks. The trucks were loaded with sub-machine guns; allegedly they were meant for the AVH. Some of the Freedom Fighters captured the trucks and compelled the drivers to take them to the front of the Killian Barracks. There the sub-machine guns were distributed to the crowd. Anyone willing to take a sub-machine gun could have one.

"Around the Killian Barracks it was rumored that a very brave officer was leading the fighting there. I did not know then that it was Colonel Maletier. On another occasion I saw a lame officer who was directing the boys around the barracks. He told the Freedom Fighters where to station themselves and which window to occupy. He also gave them advice about the fighting.

C. "The news of the armistice was greeted with a frenzy of joy in Budapest. Everyone believed that the withdrawal of the Russians from the capital was final. We civilians were not informed at first of the cease-fire. On one occasion I saw a Hungarian tank bearing the national flag with many Freedom Fighters clinging to its side ride straight toward thirty Russian tanks which were stationed in front of the Ludovika Academy. We held our breaths because we thought that the Russians would immediately destroy this one tank. Much to our surprise, the tank drove past the Russian tanks and no one paid any attention to them.

"In that one week before November 4th I went to the government printing shop where I worked several times. Very few of the workers came into the printing shop and there was no working. We sat around and talked or went to a neighboring wine shop where the manager was selling out his stock.

"One day in the wine cellar one of my colleagues began to abuse the Communists and the Russians. I also joined in, not noticing that a Communist foreman from our printing shop was also there.

"On another occasion we elected a workers' council in the office.

"I heard that the Russian withdrawal from Hungary had been halted and that they were returning only on Nov. 4th when the Russians attacked Budapest. There was very fierce fighting in our neighborhood -- we lived not far from the Killian Barracks. We moved the women and children down into the cellar of our house. When there was any pause in the fighting we went to the gates and tried to look out into the street and see what was going on.

"On the 7th, I ran out of cigarettes. I heard that a tobacco shopkeeper was selling cigarettes in the cellar of her home a few buildings away. After getting my cigarettes, I was just going home when a heavy artillery barrage began which lasted for hours. Shells were whistling over our heads. We thought that nothing would be left of the Killian Barracks.

"After the fighting died down, I could not return home immediately because we saw a 70 year-old man being shot down in front of the building on the street. He disregarded the curfew imposed by the Russians and they shot him down, although it was evident that he was so old that he could hardly walk. A large number of tanks had also moved up to our neighborhood, and I was able to return home only after nightfall.

"When the fighting died down and the radio announced that everyone should return to his work, I went in several times to the government printing shop. It was impossible to resume work because there was no power. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ service in Budapest.

"On one occasion after November 4th, I met the foreman who had heard my criticize the Communists in the wine cellar. He reminded me of it in a very sarcastic way. I was afraid that he would cause trouble for me and then decided it would be best to leave the country.

"On November 27th I left by train for Kapuvar. I went with my roommate and four of his friends. We had quite a distance to go by foot, and in the dark we lost our way. We continued the next day only by daylight. We were stopped by two Russian guards who took us to their officer. He asked us to produce identification cards. Fortunately, one of chauffeurs who was coming with us had an identification card stating that he could travel in the border zone. This saved us, and the Russians let us go because we told them that we were going to a peat mine not far off. The civilian population helped us all ~~fix~~ along the road.

D. "Hungary has gained immensely by the revolution. We showed the entire world that we are not Communist. We want independence and peace."

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Summary of activities during the revolution:

- Oct. 23 - Took part as spectator in the demonstrations. Went home early and went to bed.
- Oct. 24 - Awakened by the sound of gun-fire, subject timidly looked out the window, decided there would be no work that day, and went back to bed.
- Oct. 24 - Russian withdrawal : Subject stayed at home, venturing out to look around in the neighborhood when there was no fighting.
- Oct. 28 - Nov. 4 : Subject visited his place of employment a few times, denounced communists and was overheard by a communist foreman.
- Reinvasion: Stayed at home. When the fighting died down and workers were urged to resume work, went to his printing shop. Sarcastic remarks by the communist foreman who overheard his anti-communist remarks made him decide to leave Hungary.
- November 27, leaves Hungary for Austria.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE
REVOLUTION

A. "I was not certain what to expect of the West when the revolution broke out. One minute I felt that the West must come and help us, even if that would mean war. The next minute I thought that they would not want to risk a third world war. I based my expectations only on my feelings and common sense. I did not know much about the world political situation.

C. "I did not have any contact with any foreigners between October 23rd and the time of my escape to Austria."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "My father had been a butcher, but he died before World War I. We did not have any property. My mother also died in the early Thirties. I am not certain about the education of my father. He spoke not only Hungarian, but Bohemian and German as well. He could read and write. He moved to Hungary only when he was thirty. My mother also attended school, but I think only about five or six years of grade school.

B. "Up until 1945 I did not realize at all that there were social classes in Hungary. After 1945 the upper class ceased to exist. There remained the intelligentsia, or middle class, and also the industrial workers and the peasantry. I have had some contact with the intelligentsia, and very little contact with the peasantry. I know best the industrial workers in whose midst I lived for all my life.

"The Hungarian workers and peasants are very industrious. The peasantry is a bit backward, the industrial workers are more intelligent. The Hungarian intelligentsia did not have enough backbone -- they did not offer enough resistance to Communism. I was very surprised when I heard that they had mustered enough courage to criticize the regime in the Petofi Circle.

"I think that under Communism the intelligentsia was hardest hit by the Communist regime. The Communists very well knew that the intelligentsia was better educated and was more likely to recognize the falsehoods and weak spots in their doctrines. For this reason they wanted to liquidate the intelligentsia and to form an intelligentsia of their own.

"There was some discord between the industrial workers and the peasantry. My experience was that the industrial workers were inclined to look down on the peasantry because the peasants were backward. On the other hand, the peasants resented us for supporting Communism - which was not true. I personally can say nothing against the intelligentsia. I got along well with them; but in general, we did not trust them.

"I did not have much opportunity to observe what the opinions of the other two classes were of each other.

C. "With very few exceptions the intelligentsia had no chance of getting ahead in Communist Hungary. Their class origin was against them. To get ahead in Communist Hungary one had to be a Party member and a working peasant or industrial worker.

"There was some improvement in this respect during the past two or three years. More importance was attached to knowledge and education. For example, the army required those workers and peasants who had been given ranks in the army to supplement their studies and pass examinations. They had to acquire the equivalent of a gymnasium diploma.

"As an individual, the bloody-mouthed Communist or the bootlicker who applauded everything the Party had to say were the ones most likely to get ahead.

D. "In Communist Hungary the top Party officials and the AVH officers were the ones who got much more from society than they deserved. I do not know of any other groups."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "I am a bachelor, but Communism indirectly affected my family life also. I mean that I was unable to get married because I would never let my wife work, and under Communism I was unable to earn enough to support a family.

"I also noticed what effects Communism had on the family life of others. I saw that parents were unable to manage their children, and very often they did not dare talk before them. It is my impression that Communism attempted to undermine completely family life in Hungary.

"However, I think that the majority of the families in Hungary resemble more or less the type 2 which you mentioned. That is, the members of the family grew closer together and talked freely among themselves.

"Communism also affected the education of children. The level of education declined. Fortunately, Hungarian teachers sabotaged orders to russificate Hungarian children. The only families which were able to bring up their children as before were the religious ones.

B. "When I was young, girls, even in worker families, were always chaperoned. Today 15 and 16 year-old boys go out to dances, parties, etc. alone, without chaperones. In general, there was less formality in social contact, and formal introductions were not necessary to becoming acquainted with someone.

"In my opinion the young people of today have laxer morals than the young people of my day.

"I think that parents had no role whatever in courtships, engagements, and marriages.

"The changes which have occurred in this respect cannot be attributed to Communism alone. Social relations in Central Europe were far behind as compared to life in Western Europe.

"Marriages were formed very early and irresponsibly. Both husband and wife were compelled to work, and one worked on the day shift while the other worked at night. Flirtations and love affairs in the offices and factories broke up many marriages. If I were married I would never let my work. In the office or factory maybe 100 men would have no luck with her, but the 101st will get her.

"Brothels were closed in Budapest but there was very widespread secret prostitution.

"I think that Communists, by conviction, have less sexual inhibitions than other peoples do.

C. "As I know my friends, I can hardly imagine that any of them would become Communist by conviction. For this reason, if they joined the Communist Party by compulsion, and even became officials, I would know that they were not sincere. In this way, our friendship would continue. If it were to be broken off, it would probably be broken off by the Communist because he might be afraid that his old friends would compromise him. I think that it is possible to continue a friendship under an agreement to keep politics out of it.

D. "I think there was an increase in juvenile delinquency under Communism. This can be attributed to immoral education, immoral books, and the poverty and misery in which people lived. Practically everyone was compelled to steal in Hungary.

"I have heard the word 'hooligan' before. This term means a person without principle who betrays others.

"The entire youth of Budapest, almost without exception, can be termed 'jampets'. They wear long

hair, their coats have slanted shoulders and pearl buttons, and their shoes have extra-thick soles, and they prefer stovepipe pants. Most of the jampets are young people between the ages of 17 and 23. They come from all classes, but I think it was the intelligentsia who originally brought in the fashions which they follow. I do not think that the conduct of the jampets is criminal. It must be admitted that they were the first ones to take up arms against the Russians and the Communists during the revolution. I do not think that the Communists exaggerate the jampets problem. It is very widespread.

VII. RELIGION

"Communism wanted to suppress religion in Hungary, but was not able to do so. I never saw so many people in church as there were under the Communist regime.

"I think that the Catholic religion was hardest hit by the Communist regime, probably because it is the strongest church in Hungary and has the most followers.

"Not only in Hungary, but elsewhere, religion is a bulwark against Communism. Communists are atheists. Their moral ~~xxx~~ views are basically different than those of Christians.

B. "I am probably more religious than my parents were. I go to church every Sunday - especially since Communism. I think that my degree of religiousness is characteristic of the average Hungarian.

" I think that in an independent Hungary complete separation of church and state would be ideal. Churches should be given an important role in the education of children. I think they should also have the responsibility for setting moral codes and standards in such things as movies, plays, etc.

"I don't think that in an independent Hungary the churches should take an active ~~political~~ role in politics.

D. "The Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism, but not to the same extent as the Catholic church. I think that the reason for this is that Jews are the staunchest supporters of Communism everywhere in the world.

"I cannot imagine any Jew to be a Communist by conviction. All Jews are businessmen. But it cannot

be denied that the Communists depended to a large extent on the Hungarian Jews. The Jews had been persecuted during the war and were anti-Nazi.

"I do not know whether the opinion of the Jews underwent a change during the last ten years.

"Many Jews were Communists. I think they joined, not from conviction, but for personal advantage and for a chance to avenge their persecution during the war.

"There were not very many Jews living in the residential district where I lived. The ones I knew and saw were glad that the revolution broke out and wanted us to win. I did not see any Jews in the demonstrations or in the fighting.

"It is possible that some Jews fear retaliations for their pro-Communist conduct during the past ten years. This is why they are wary of an independent Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "By the Hungarian youth, I mean the young people between 17 and 25.

B. "The young people were the ones who staged the demonstrations and fought against the Communists. The young people were not imbeciles, they knew what Communism was like. The influence of Communist indoctrination in school was counter-balanced by the influences of the parents at home.

"It was the young people and not any other age group which started the demonstrations and the revolution because young people by nature are more violent and more enthusiastic. Older people are more hesitant and more inclined to deliberate.

"During the revolution the older people regarded the Hungarian youth with admiration and fondness. They helped them in every way they could.

"I do not know what the opinion of the young people was of the older age groups. Ninety-nine percent of the fighters were young people.

"When the first stage of the revolution was practically over I, too, felt that I should help and take part in the fighting. I went to the Corvin Building where the freedom fighters had one of their strongest resistance groups. I went there and asked for arms. I was directed to an old street sweeper I knew by sight. He was a man of about 60 with a gray beard. When I told him what I wanted he looked at me with a sarcastic expression and asked me why I hadn't come a few days earlier.

C. (Subject is over 30 and has no children. This sub-section is not applicable.)

D. "The Hungarian revolution proves that the Hungarian youth rejected Communist indoctrination.

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They did so because Communism is based on lies.
Only the very stupid and the dishonest people are
Communists. I don't think that the Hungarian
youth had ever been sympathetic to Communism.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FOUND IN
EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "Under Communism I was unable to live decently. I was dissatisfied with the extremely low standard of living, and with the absence of freedom of opinion.

B. "Other people complained about low wages, long working hours, labor competitions, and their inability to live on their income. They resented being forced to keep their thoughts to themselves. They disliked also the presence of the Russians in Hungary."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "During my last year in Hungary I was not able to get ^{along} on very well. I lived much worse than before the war.

"The food I ate was fairly good. I boarded with an aunt, who was my second mother. I spent practically all of my money on food.

"I couldn't very well afford clothes. I bought one suit about five or six years ago.

"I rented a furnished room and shared it with a roommate. I paid 150 forints for my share of the rent. The room was never heated. We could not afford fuel.

"To go to a restaurant with friends and drink a bottle of wine where there was also an orchestra was luxury which I could afford very rarely.

"Clothes were my greatest problem.

"My standard of living declined considerably. Before 1945, I would not have traded with an average American. I earned from 60 to 65 pengos a week. 19 forints covered all my household expenses, and I ate very good food. A pair of shoes cost \$12.00 made to order. A suit of clothes did not cost much more.

"My standard of living was the highest after the war in 1951 and 1952. It was the lowest just before the revolution.

"I lived in the worker residential section of Budapest. I had no friends or acquaintances who lived much better than I did.

"The low standard of living in Hungary after the war can be attributed to the Russian greed -- they plundered Hungary. Nothing was left for the Hungarians.

B. "My average monthly income in 1956 was 1300-1400 forints. About 100 forints were deducted a month for compulsory government loans. I don't think that I paid any trade union fees in 1956. I was in arrears on trade union dues, and they threatened to expel me from the trade union.

"I received an 800 forint bonus just a few weeks before the revolution broke out for an invention. On another occasion two years before I received 500 forints for the same reason.

"I did not have a secondary source of income or a part-time job.

"I am a bachelor, and therefore no one else could have worked in my family.

"I did not get any wage increases in the last five years - I only got reductions. This was due to the ~~techniques~~ of norms.
tightening

C. "I did not purchase any food. All purchasing was done by my aunt with whom I was boarding. She bought most of the food on the free market and not in the kozert stores. I do not think there was much difference in prices. The prices on the free market were often even lower than prices in the kozert stores. ~~The quality of foodstuffs was always better than what one could get in the stores. Very often many things were available on the free market which were not available in the kozert stores. I do not know whether the difference in prices was greater in some years than others.~~
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"I did not buy any clothes. I had one suit which I had had made to measure five or six years ago. I got the material on the installment plan in a government textile store. It was made by a private tailor. In connection with clothing I do not know of any differences in prices or quality. I do not think that ready-made clothes were available in private stores.

"There was constant confusion in connection with the distribution of goods in Hungary - which was due to too much bureaucracy in the nationalized commercial retail stores.

"Sometimes it was very difficult to obtain spare parts; for example, bicycle chains.

"There was a shortage of practically everything, especially foodstuffs. Tools, mechanical products, and other mechanical equipment were extremely hard to get.

"I do not know anything about the black market in Hungary. I know only from hearsay that practically everything was available on the black market, but I do not know any details. I think that black market operations were done in secret. Evidently it was dangerous.

D. "For the last three years I worked as a locksmith in the government printing office, repairing and maintaining printing presses and other printing machinery. I worked 42 hours a week. I usually slept eight hours every night. It took me half an hour to commute to work. This was probably the best job I was able to get. I was very satisfied, although my pay was not very high. I was on very friendly terms with my fellow-workers and my superiors. Both my superiors were exceptionally well-trained men.

"My colleagues in the printing shop were selected craftsmen and knew their trade very well. Employment conditions are different in Hungary than in the United States. Usually one worker works practically all his life in one place. This was especially true of the government printing office. Communists knew that the workers were reactionary, yet tolerated them because of their skills.

The Hungarian trade union vacation program was very good, although I never participated in it.

Workers were able to spend their vacations in nice resorts and it cost them practically nothing.

"The socialized medical service was not as good in Hungary as before. Paid sick leaves for workers were cut down to the minimum. Doctors were instructed to give no sick leave to workers unless it was absolutely necessary. The medical service in itself, however, was good.

"I do not know much about the pension program, but pensioners at one time complained that the pensions were too low.

E. "I have lived all my life in Budapest, and in Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. Wages are better in the city, and the standard of living is higher. At one time village residents near Budapest came to the city to buy bread. Village stores sold swimsuits in winter and woolen underwear in summer.

"Politically it was probably easier in the city. A person was not so conspicuous as in the villages.

"When farm collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, I thought that it would not work. I did not believe the peasants would like it. I knew that indirectly the collectivization of farms would affect me too. There would be a decline in agricultural production which would affect prices.

"The farm collectivization program as it has been carried out in Hungary is not good. It was very unpopular among the peasants because it was done by compulsion. The Communists tried to copy Soviet methods. The program failed in Hungary just like it had failed in the Soviet Union.

"Perhaps the Hungarian middle peasantry objected more strongly to farm collectivization than other peasant groups. Some smaller peasants, especially the ones without land, were in favor of collectivization because they could only gain by it.

"I have heard of farm cooperatives only during the revolution. Then practically all cooperatives ceased. Every peasant preferred to farm on his own land, and, up to the revolution had remained in the cooperative only under compulsion.

"I am not an expert on agricultural problems, and I do not know what kind of agricultural system would be best for an independent Hungary. I think that an agricultural system based on small peasant farms of not more than ten or twenty cadastral yokes (c.x) would be the best."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "Before 1945 I was not interested in politics at all. Workers like myself usually become interested in politics after they reach the age of 40. However, my over-all political views came nearest to the Social Democratic party of that time.

"Before 1945 I was not aware at all of the existence of the Hungarian Communist Party. At the time of the 1918-1919 Communist regime of Bela Kuhn I was too young to remember what was going on. Later on I read about it, but did not approve of it.

B. "Only two kinds of people joined the Communist Party, either the stupid ones or the mean or dishonest ones. There are also some people who have been compelled to join the Communist Party in fear of losing their jobs. Some people joined the Party in order to be able to get ahead.

"During the last eight years I was not aware of changes in Party policy. I did not know that there were differences of opinion within the Party itself.

"I am unable to tell you anything about the Party morale of the Communist Party during the past ten years. In my lifetime I have never met a Communist by conviction. I have known colleagues who were members of the Communist Party. They told me in confidence of their dissatisfaction with Party policies. They were not true Communists.

"The chief purpose of the top Hungarian Communists is to create Communist rule in Hungary. I do not think that they have personality -- that is, that their personality must be suppressed because they get their detailed instructions from Moscow and must do everything that they are told. I doubt very much that they are Communists by conviction.

Their primary motive is power. Material advantages are of secondary importance because they come automatically with power. The chief difference between the motives of the top Communist Party members and of the simple Party members is that simple Party members are not Communists at all, and have joined the Party only because of compulsion.

"When Hungary is independent, I think that all top Hungarian Communists should be dealt with in the same way that they have treated the Hungarians when they were in power. That is, they should be liquidated.

C. "There was open opposition to Communism before the revolution in Hungary. I lived in a worker residential district. Every evening after work I would go down to have a glass or two of beer in the corner pub. On such occasions, the workers who were there openly griped against the regime. Such complaints could be heard also on streetcars and on the streets. In the factory there was constant dissatisfaction because of the production norms. The workers did their work very sloppily, not only in order to achieve more in the shortest possible time, but also with the intention of doing harm to the Communists. Open strikes were quite out of the question. The AVH would have taken away everyone involved immediately. There was, however, much delay in acquiring necessary tools. For example, if some tool or part was needed, it would sometimes take two or three weeks to get it. This was done very subtly. Probably the white-collar workers were also in on these delays.

"I do not know much about the opposition of the Hungarian peasantry, but I think that there must have been such resistance in the villages also. This I conclude from the fact that Hungarian Communists had to use AVH terrorism to compel the

peasantry to join the farm cooperatives. Once in the cooperatives, the peasants worked very reluctantly and stole everything they could put their hands on.

"I do not know anything of the opposition of the students.

"I was unable to note when resistance to Communism was more frequent and when it was less frequent. I am only aware of one thing -- after the readjustment of norms, the workers would be embittered for weeks. At that time arrests among the workers would be more frequent than at other times.

"I do not know much about the activities of the intellectuals. I ~~have~~ heard about the Petofi Circle only immediately before the outbreak of the revolution. I heard that in the Petofi Circle debates were being conducted in which the regime was strongly criticized by the Hungarian writers. I do not think that the writers of the Petofi Circle had anything new to say. Their main significance lies in the fact that they expressed what everyone else was thinking. After the revolution, the Communists at home blamed the Petofi Circle and the Hungarians writers participating in the Circle for paving the way for the revolution. (Note: P.C. not mentioned spontaneously.)

"In general, I have a good opinion of the intellectuals. I do not think that they are impractical dreamers.

"When I first heard about the Petofi Circle I was amazed that the intellectuals dared to criticize the regime in such an open manner. I think that the intellectuals turned against the regime because they were encouraged by events in Poland."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "I think that the Hungarian AVH is the darkest organization in the world. I am very much surprised that there have been Hungarians who have joined the AVH. I do not have any friends or acquaintances who were in the AVH, and I myself have never had any contact with this organization, but I think that the officers of the AVH joined this force because of the numerous material advantages that such jobs provided. AVH officers lived better than anyone in Hungary. I do not know of any AVH officers or men who had remorse, pangs or conscience, or wanted to leave the service.

"When Hungary is independent, the AVH officers should be brought to justice, and if they are guilty, be executed.

"I have always disliked the blue police force, not only under the Horthy regime, but especially now, under the Communist regime. However, I was very much surprised to see that during the revolution, the police force sided entirely with the Freedom Fighters. In the first days of the revolution, when they were sent out to subdue the uprisings, they did not use their arms against the crowds, but voluntarily gave them their arms and ammunition. I myself saw several such scenes and heard about such things from others.

"I had very little experience with the police force. I am not able to say how competent it was under Communism or what influence the Communist regime had on the blue police force. I do not know whether the police force under the Communist regime was honest or not, or whether or not there was any corruption or bribery in the police force.

B. "Neither I nor my friends nor relatives had any contact whatever with the courts under the Horthy regime. We practically did not even know about the existence of the courts. Therefore, I am unable to give any opinion on their functioning or to say whether they had been just or not.

"I heard about the People's Courts. They were set up in the past few years and tried such cases as, for example thefts in the factory.

"I heard about the war criminals. I don't think that all of them were guilty. I don't think, for example, that an army officer who, on the front, is given a command which he must execute, can be considered a war criminal. Therefore I think that the majority of the sentences imposed on the war criminals were unjust.

C. "I do not know much about the conduct of the Hungarian army outside Budapest, but in Budapest I saw myself, and heard from others, that the Hungarian army, without exception, sided immediately with the revolution. I lived not far from the Killian Barracks and saw how bravely the soldiers, under the command of Colonel Maleter, fought against the Russians. On one occasion in the first days of the revolution, I saw a company of tanks come into our neighborhood. They were decorated with Hungarian flags. The population showered them with flowers and cigarettes. They asked us in which direction the Russians were.

"In Austria I heard from others that in the country the Hungarian army was forced to remain inactive because the Communist officers locked the armory where the arms and ammunitions were stored and, in some places - for example, in Kalenfold - the fuel supply was locked so that the tanks and vehicles could not get fuel.

"I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the army which can be attributed to geographical

location. I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the enlisted men and non-commissioned officers. I heard, however, that some of the officers sided with the Communists and tried to persuade the soldiers to remain quiet. Where they did not succeed, they disappeared.

"I was not at all surprised by the conduct of the army. I knew that the people in Hungary were satisfied, and the army consisted of the people.

(The rest of this sub-section is not applicable because respondent had not been in the Hungarian army at any time. He served only three months in the Czechoslovak army in 1932.)

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D. "I do not wish to say that the role of the Russian army in crushing the 1848 revolution contributed to their unpopularity, but I think, in general, this is something that very few people think about. The unpopularity of the Russian troops in Hungary was caused mostly by their conduct in 1945.

"On the basis of what I heard from soldiers returning from the front and what I read in the Hungarian newspapers, I expected the Russians to destroy Budapest and kill practically everyone. When the Russians occupied the city I myself saw them plunder and rape. A very good friend of mine told me only years later that his wife, too, had been raped by the Russians. Ever since then he has been a broken man. I know of cases where mother and daughter were raped side by side by a large number of Russians who stood in line waiting for their turn.

"My opinion of the Russian army has not changed since 1945.

"After 1945, up until the revolution, I knew that there were Russians stationed in Hungary, but I have had no contact with them whatever. On one occasion, from the train, I saw large Russian barracks near Szekesfehervar. I was very much surprised because people in Budapest did not know that there were so many Russians in the country.

"I did not have any contact whatever with the Russians during the revolution. I heard that the White Russians who were in Hungary before ~~November~~ November the 4th fought very reluctantly against the Freedom Fighters. For this reason the Russians replaced them with Mongolian troops.

"I know only from hearsay that the Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, refused to obey their superiors, deserted, fought on our side, fought against the AVH, fought against others.

"After November 4th I saw the Russians shoot a 75 year-old man, hardly able to walk, on the street in front of our house. A curfew had been imposed, and he went out on the streets. It was broad daylight and the Russians saw that he was very old and hardly able to walk.

"On another occasion I saw a destroyed ambulance. I heard that a Russian tank shot out this Red Cross ambulance in broad daylight when it attempted to go for wounded. When the car was hit, one of the nurses in a white nurse uniform attempted to crawl away from the car. The Russians riddled her body to pieces.

E. "I do not know of any cases where local government officials were willing to forget rules and help people in trouble.

"F. "I did not have any experience in circumventing government regulations or rules. I do

not know whether bribes or influence helped, but I myself heard over the radio radio plays in which public administration was ridiculed and there were hints that bribes were also given and accepted frequently. I think that if officials were caught accepting bribes they were severely punished.

G. "I have never met any top AVH officers in my life, but I think that such persons as, for example Gabor PETER, who had been only a tailor's apprentice at one time, were not very intelligent. There were many Jews in the AVH police force, probably they were intelligent.

"I don't have a very high opinion of the intelligence of the army leadership. Some of the people whom I saw in uniforms seemed to have just left the plow.

"I am unable to give you any opinion about the intelligence and efficiency of the Russian army leadership.

"I have heard that the Hungarian public administration consisted of officials who were not intelligent and not well-trained."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR
HUNGARY

A. "I think for a time Kadar will remain in power in Hungary. I don't think he will grant many concessions, and gradually he will go back to the Rakosi line and perhaps be even worse than Rakosi was. It is hard to say what will happen outside Hungary within the next few years.

"I hope, however, that there will be a war between the West and the Soviet Union. As during World War II we were certain that the Germans would be defeated, we are also certain now this war will mean the downfall of the Soviet Union, and the end of Communism. I hope that this war will not only bring Hungary her independence, but Hungary will also regain her lost territories as a reward for the brave resistance to Communism during the October revolution.

"I sometimes want war between the United States and the Soviet Union and sometimes don't. I think that the majority of the people at home in their embitteredness would prefer a war with the Soviet Union even if it ~~mean~~ would mean the danger of using the atomic bomb over Hungary. The people at home are unable to understand why America is hesitating to start this war against the Soviet Union when America is so much stronger than the Soviet Union. We saw what the Soviet soldiers were worth during the revolution. A Hungarian soldier is worth ten Russians.

"In the past few years we were always predicting that war would break out the next year. Now that the Hungarian revolution is past and the great opportunity to settle accounts with the Soviet Union is over, I am unable to predict

when this war between the United States and the Soviet Union will break out, but I think that it will be in the next two or three years.

"It would be much better to liberate Hungary and settle the problems of Eastern Europe without war, but I don't think that international pressure, United Nations sanctions, or arbitration would be effective.

"I would like best of all if some internal change in the Soviet Union would occur which would mean the liberation of Eastern Europe, but I think the outlook for such internal changes in the Soviet Union are very bleak.

B. "During the last ten years we at home were constantly hoping that war would break out between the Soviet Union and the Western world, and this would lead to the liberation of Hungary. We always foresaw the outbreak of World War III within the near future. When the time limits we set did not bring results, we always kept postponing the dates.

"I myself, and the people I talked to in Hungary, all agreed that it was possible to settle the world problems only through war. We are not bloodthirsty, but there is no other solution. This has been our idea all along."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC
IDEOLOGY

A. "I hope that the people in Hungary will soon be able to create the same form of government as exists today in the United States.

B. "Hungary is basically an agricultural country, but industry is also important. Emphasis should be laid on light industry because we do not have the resources necessary for heavy industry. However, a limited heavy industry is essential for the light industry also. I think it would be especially wise to develop the Hungarian chemical and electrical industries.

"What to do with the national enterprises is a very difficult question once Communism is overthrown. These national enterprises were once private enterprises, but after the nationalization the government spent large sums of money in expanding and developing them.

"The kolхозes and state farms should be dissolved and the territories of the state farms should be distributed among the peasants.

"I approve of the state ownership of transportation facilities, but I disapprove of the state ownership of industry and agriculture. I am opposed to the nationalization of both light industry and heavy industry.

"The government should give guidance to farmers but should not control agriculture or give them compulsory directions. I think it would be advisable to set a limit to the amount of land one person or one family can own in an independent Hungary. This limit should be 20 c.y.

"If I had to choose between democracy and dictatorship, I would choose democracy even if the democratic form of government does not insure a fair standard of living whereas the dictatorship did. It is my opinion that in a truly democratic country in the end the standard of living would be higher than under any dictatorship.

"In an independent Hungary I would favor the outlawing of the Hungarian Communist Party. I think they should receive the same treatment that they are giving to others now. They also say that they have democracy, but no democracy for fascists. Well, they will not get any democracy from us in the next regime.

"I am not in favor of outlawing fellow-traveling organizations because this would do more harm than good.

C. "For an independent Hungary I would prefer an alliance with the West like West Germany's. If Hungary were independent, I don't think that the Soviet Union would be existing anymore; but, providing that it did exist, I think that Hungary should conduct only sports and cultural relations with the Soviet Union - not military or trade relations. I am also against military relations with the other Eastern European countries, but cultural and trade relations with them are necessary.

"With the rest of Europe, and especially also with the United States, Hungary should form a strong military alliance and strong cultural and trade relations.

"In Hungary I did not hear much about the Federation of Danubian States. We thought mostly about a plan for a United States of Europe. I think,

however, that a plan for a federation of Danubian states would be welcomed as a first step toward achieving the United States of Europe. Such a federation is both desirable and possible. I would like to be in this federation with all the Danubian countries without exception. The people at home do not know much about such plans, but I think that once it is explained to them they would welcome it.

"I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. I would like to see the pre-World War I boundaries restored. This, however, can be achieved only through peaceful means.

"I am very much concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the bordering countries. Slowly but surely, they are losing their nationality. I think the only solution is to re-annex these territories back to Hungary.

"These questions are very important, not only to me, but to almost everyone in Hungary."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. "I have heard about Khrushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress only during the revolution. I think I read about it in the newspaper.

"At home the Hungarian Communist newspapers were very angry with Senator McCarthy and his Un-American Activities Committee. What the Communists do not like must be good.

"I have read about Peron's downfall only in Austria in a Hungarian newspaper.

"Before the revolution we knew practically nothing about Rakosi's private life.

B. "During the past ten years my major sources of information were the foreign radio broadcasts; the Hungarian newspapers, and the news which one received by word-of-mouth were less reliable.

C. "We talked about daily events, sports and political, with friends whom we met or with colleagues in the shop. In general I did not attach much ~~importance~~ importance to the news which I received word-of-mouth because I did not consider it reliable.

D. (This section is left out because of the time element.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. "I don't think there is much chance of any changes within the Soviet Union. Russia has only a comparatively short time to introduce gradual liberation. This has to be done, let us say, within three years at the most, because if no change occurs by then, a world war between the Soviet Union and the Western world is very likely. On the other hand, if the Soviet Union begins to introduce gradual liberation at a rapid pace this would result in a revolution which otherwise would be impossible in the Soviet Union.

"If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, I am certain that Communism would be defeated. I do not know what kind of party would come to power, or what kind of government would succeed the Soviet government, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The Soviet people are not accustomed to political parties. That is something they have not experienced, perhaps not even under the Czars.

"I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party are scoundrels and gangsters. I do not think they are Communists by conviction. Their primary motive is power. They are pathologically over-ambitious. The material advantages go automatically with power.

"The principal difference between the top Russian Communists and the top Hungarian Communists is their place in the hierarchy of the Communist world. The Russian Communists direct the Hungarians and not vice-versa.

B. "Of the countries mentioned, Yugoslavia is

most popular in Hungary because of her opposition to Soviet Communism. Poland is the second most popular because of the recent revolt against the Soviet Union. The least popular are Czechoslovakia and Romania because of the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in those countries.

"If free elections were to be held in these countries the Communist Party would be defeated everywhere, even in Yugoslavia.

"From the countries mentioned, I think that either Czechoslovakia or East Germany have the highest standard of living. Romania and Bulgaria have probably the lowest standard of living. I think that the Gomulka government in Poland is just the same puppet government as the governments in the other satellite countries. I think that he will remain in power only as long as the Soviet Union tolerates him. It is, however, undeniable that Gomulka was able to achieve more concessions for his country than the other satellite countries have. My views on ~~the~~ the Polish political situation have not changed since my departure from Hungary.

"Events in Poland unquestionably had a great effect on events in Hungary. Great significance can be attributed especially to the Poznan riots. We heard about this over the radio at home. This probably was the spring that touched off dissatisfaction in Hungary. I do not know of any Polish events in October of 1956 which had a direct influence on the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution.

"I do not think it is true that there has

been more freedom of expression in Poland even before Gomulka's rise to power. We heard about the Poznan riots at home, but not about any concessions before the riots. Everyone in Hungary listens to radios and knew about the situation in Poland.

"For the present it may seem that the course which the Polish revolution is the better one; however, for the future it is better that Hungary fought its revolution the way it did.

D. "I think that in the long run the events in Hungary and Poland can be attributed to Tito's influence. I considered Tito the originator of national Communism. I do not know much about national Communism and can not distinguish between it and Moscow Communism, but probably it is more tolerable.

"The general impression in Hungary was that Tito is a very clever diplomat who leads both the East and the West by their noses. This is done to his and Yugoslavia's advantage.

"Tito's opinion of the Hungarian revolution was expressed in his Pola speech. Its basic motive was 'I told you so'.

"I think that there is Titoism in the satellite countries. Tito is an example to them that opposition to Soviet Communism is possible even on Communist principles.

"I think that Tito is popular in Yugoslavia because of his role in World War II and the partisan movement. I do not know, however, very much about conditions in Yugoslavia as we were practically isolated from that country. Even the Hungarian newspapers wrote very little about conditions there.

E. "I don't think that the Egyptian government had a right to nationalize the Suez Canal. It was built on French and English capital. I strongly suspect that the Soviet Union instigated Nasser to nationalize the canal. For this reason, the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt is justified. I do not think that the Israeli invasion, however, is justified because Israel has been created on Arab territory. It is a thorn in the side of the Arab world.

"The outbreak of the Egyptian crisis was a disaster for Hungary and the outcome of the Hungarian revolution. When we heard, during the revolution, that the British and French were bombing Egypt, we knew that the revolution was lost. The Western world lost its moral right to interfere in the Hungarian situation. By attacking Egypt they gave Russia a free hand to do what it wishes in Europe.

F. "I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is the highest in Europe. I did not know this at home, but that was the impression I got from the information I received from people who returned to Austrian refugee camps from Western Germany to claim relatives. I was quite surprised to hear this because I thought that World War II had caused much damage in Western Germany.

"I do not think that the Germans are dangerous and might start another war. They have the men for an army, but they do not have the material resources which a war requires.

"I think it is excellent to re-arm Western Germany because a strong Germany ~~is a strong protection~~ is a strong protection against the expansion of Communism in Europe.

The people of Germany are unquestionably better soldiers than either the French or the British. I think the Western German army is stronger than the French army, but I do not know whether or not it is stronger than the British armed forces. I think that the length of compulsory military service in Germany is probably two years.

"Everyone in Hungary, without exception, agrees that the Soviet occupation of Hungary at the end of World War II was worse than the German occupation in the last stage of the war. The German officers and men were much better disciplined than their Russian counterparts.

G. "I approve of NATO. The NATO is the army of the United Nations. The Warsaw Pact is a military alliance of the Communist and satellite countries aimed against the West. I think that NATO is stronger.

"My impression of the British Labor Party is that it is opposed to Communism. I think that ~~frankly~~ among the Hungarian political parties, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party's program is the nearest to the British Labor Party's program.

"Among the countries mentioned, I think that Western Germany has the highest standard of living, with Great Britain second, and Italy third, Greece fourth, and the Soviet Union and Egypt are about the same.

"I arrived in the United States only ten days ago. I was very much impressed by the immense airfield on which we arrived, and by the skyscrapers of New York, especially by night. I was amazed to see how false were the accounts

which we read in Hungarian papers about the life of the colored people in the United States. They are completely equal and enjoy the same rights and privileges as the white people. For example, in the swimming pool of the hotel in which we lived, there were more colored people than white, swimming together in the same pool.

"I am astonished at United States foreign policy because it is very weak and too polite toward the Russians. I think that the United States government should ~~support~~ not support the governments of Poland and Yugoslavia, and should not give them arms, because by doing so, they only lengthen the life of Communism. In connection with Hungary, the U.S. government should not recognize the Kadar regime. It should not give any aid at all to the Kadar government.

"Since my arrival in the United States, my opinions on what the United States should do in its foreign policy have not changed. I am only more surprised that the Americans do not realize that they are the strongest country in the world.

"I am certain that the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors of all kinds, not only journalists or trade union representatives, but tourists and politicians as well. This would enable the people in Hungary to exchange information with them because during the past 12 years we were cut off from the Western world. I don't think that these visitors should be told anything about Hungary in advance. It would be best for them to find out for themselves what life and conditions are like there.

"I am certain that the people at home would like very much to read Western books and periodicals, but I do not know of any way of sending such periodicals to them. I don't think that the present Communist government in Hungary would allow this.

"I think it would be good to have recent refugees associated with such activities as the informing of Western visitors. This would be good because the refugees know better the situation at home, and it would mean also an indirect contact with the people at home.

"The purpose of the Marshall Plan was to aid the countries of Europe after World War II. I do not know of any political conditions attached to Marshall Plan loans, although the Communists claim that there were some. I do not believe this.

"America became involved in the Korean War in 1950 because America had previously declared that it would halt any attempts of Communist expansion in Asia. America had to keep her word, otherwise her prestige would have been lost in Asia.

J. "I do not have a very good opinion of the United Nations. I think it is only an exclusive club where diplomats of all countries come together and have a good time. I do not say that the United Nations is not worth anything at all because, had it not existed, probably the Russians would have treated Hungary much more roughly than they did.

"In the autumn of 1956 the United Nations should have sent an ultimatum to the Russians demanding that they withdraw or else

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the United Nations would sent troops to Hungary.

I don't think that there are any chances of effective United Nations action for Hungary in the foreseeable future."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD
SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. "I think that Cardinal Mindszenty is the greatest living Hungarian. The Cardinal is a very brave man who opposed Communism and had suffered greatly as a result. He comes of simple parents, is a very honest and humble person, has great moral character, and is liked by everyone in Hungary.

B. "Imre Nagy was a Communist, but he was also a Hungarian and favored a Tito-like solution in Hungary.

C. "Laszlo Rajk got what he deserved. He was the one who organized the AVH in Hungary.

"My opinion of Erno Gero cannot stand print.

"Janos Kadar is the same kind of scoundrel as Gero.

"I heard nothing at all about Bela Kiraly at home. I only read about him in Austria. He took part in the revolution, but before that he had been a Communist.

"I have a very good opinion of Anna Kethly. She is an intelligent woman and a good politician. She had been a simple printing shop employee at the time of the close cooperation between the Social Democratic and the Communist Parties in Hungary. She had been Deputy Chairman of the House. When other top politicians and officials were living in luxury, she remained in the same simple surroundings in which she had been before.

"I know that President Eisenhower had been an outstanding general in World War II. He is a very sympathetic person, but I am unable to form an opinion on his abilities as a statesman and politician. I think he would be doing much more were not his hands tied by Congress.

"On the basis of what I read about Secy.-General Hammarskjold, my impression is that he is a very likeable person who means well but should be more energetic.

"I think that if it were up to Dulles alone, we would have long ago liquidated Communism.

"Sir Anthony Eden, as Churchill's relative and protege, was able to become Prime Minister, but it seems that he was not a very talented person because he was forced to resign.

"I have no opinion at all about President Truman.

"I know that Mikoyan is one of the members of the Soviet Politburo, but what his assignment is or what he is like I do not know.

"I do not consider Prime Minister Nehru our enemy. He is doing much for his people.

"I know that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek is the leader of Nationalist China, but I do not know anything else about him.

"Ferenc Nagy had been Prime Minister of Hungary at one time, but I do not know what he is like. I am unable to form an opinion of him.

"I know that President Roosevelt had been the President of the United States during World War II. I do not know anything about him.

"The Germans in general are very good soldiers, but clumsy diplomats. Chancellor Adenauer is an exception to this rule.

"Stalin was not a stupid person, but he was a very wicked one. His hands are stained with the blood of millions of people.

"Malenkov is a Soviet leader, but I do not know anything about him.

"Franco is a dictator. I do not like dictators, although they are better than Communism.

"Bevin is the leader of the right wing of the British Labor Party.

"Khrushchev today is the greatest obstacle to peace on earth. He should never have been born.

"Molotov is just like Khrushchev.

"Ollenhauer is the leader of the German Social Democratic Party. He, too, is opposed to Communism.

"Churchill is probably the greatest statesman on earth."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE
ACTIVITIES

A. "The people who left Hungary during and after the revolution were those who fought against the Russians and the Communists or who gave them moral support. There were also many people who came out for the sake of adventure. The majority of the refugees are young people of about 20. About 30% or perhaps even 40%, of the refugees are females. The vast majority come from the working class. There are comparatively few peasants and members of the intelligentsia. Most of them come from the western counties of Hungary nearest to the Austrian border.

"It cannot be denied that most of the people in Hungary remained at home. They did so either because they were afraid to risk the journey to the Austrian border, fearing that they would be arrested, or perhaps they did not come for family reasons. Many people stayed because they feared that they would be homesick. Practically everyone in Hungary had the same chance of leaving the country as I did.

"I do not think that the people who stayed at home resented our leaving the country. I think this is evident from the fact that on the way to Austria everyone was helping us. I have also received letters from home stating that they are glad that I am safe. Only my brother-in-law wrote me to come home and be a patriot. By this, he meant that I should take part in the resistance.

I think that if everyone were allowed to go West from Hungary, no one would remain in the country. They would come regardless of the fact that their futures are not guaranteed in the West, and they would come into uncertainty.

B. "At home we knew from the Hungarian Communist newspapers that there is a Hungarian National Committee here in New York, whose chairman is Father Bela Varga. From what we read about the Committee, my impression was that the Committee is the unofficial Hungarian government in exile, which is working to influence public opinion in favor of liberating Hungary. I was glad to learn that this Hungarian National Committee exists, because at least there was someone to represent us outside Hungary.

"I have great respect for Father Bela Varga. I remember him ~~as~~ as a simple village priest near Lake Balaton. I attended one of his sermons. He is a very good speaker. He was strongly attacked by the Communists.

"I remember Tibor Eckhardt's name from before the war. He had been an opposition member of Parliament at that time. I do not know which party he represented.

"Imre Szelig was a right-wing Social Democratic member of Parliament. He was persecuted by the Communists, therefore he must have been a decent fellow.

"Charles Peyer was an old Social Democratic leader in Hungary. I do not know anything about him. There were many people who did not like him.

"Miklos Kallay had been Prime Minister during the war. I do not know anything else about him.

Otto von Hapsburg is the pretender to the Hungarian throne, but I do not think he will ever return.

"When I was young in Hungary during the Horthy regime, I did not like Horthy because I held him responsible for the brutalities of the police force

and the gendarmes. However, since the experiences I obtained under Communism, I think that his regime was incomparably better and that he was good.

"I do not think that many people were able to leave Hungary before 1956 because of the mines and barbed wire fences along the border. I do not know what they accomplished or what they could have accomplished. I knew that there were a few Hungarian politicians who were able to escape to the West, and who probably used their personal contacts to help us. I do not know much about their activities.

"During the revolution I did not think about the exiles who had left Hungary previously. There was not much time to think about them.

C. " I do not know anyone, not even from hearsay, who left Hungary after 1945 and later returned.

D. "I think that the people in Hungary would like very much to know how the exiles are faring. I think they should be told how the refugees were cared for in Austria and on their arrival to the United States. I think it is the duty of every refugee now in the West to find work, support himself, and conduct himself in such a way as to preserve the honor and good name of Hungary.

"I do not wish to join any exile organization.

"I was not very much interested in the activities of the Hungarian political parties before 1948. I do not know anything about the activities of the Hungarian political parties in exile. During the revolution I heard and saw that the revived parties had begun to function. I disapproved of

this. They were getting typewriters and desks and starting to function when the fighting was still going on in the streets and they would have been more useful there.

"The groups which went into exile previously should not have returned to participate in the revived parties during the revolution, only after it.

E. "I should like to settle down here in the United States, find work, and live the life of a human being. I do not think I shall marry and have children, but if I should have children I think I would teach them Hungarian here in the United States.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. "While I was in Hungary I sometimes listened to the Hungarian broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation, sometimes to the Voice of America programs, and less frequently to the Radio Free Europe programs. I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts. The reception was best for the BBC programs. All stations were jammed, but I do not know which was jammed more than the others.

"I listened to these programs about once or twice a week, sometimes once every two weeks. I did not have a radio of my own. I listened to these programs over my aunt's radio where I was boarding. I listened together with my aunt's family; sometimes one or two visitors would also drop in. No special precautions were taken when the radios were tuned in. The neighbor next door kept his radio blaring even when the windows were open. It must not be forgotten, however, that this was a small house with only 12 tenants who had been living there for decades. Everyone knew everyone else, and trusted each other.

"There was no special danger involved in listening to foreign radio broadcasts. I do not know what the situation was in the other districts of Budapest, but in the Ferencvaros, where mostly industrial workers were living, everyone was outspoken and dared to criticize Rakosi and even call him names on the streets.

"The Hungarian programs of the foreign radio stations were very useful inasmuch as they helped to keep people informed in Hungary about events which happened not only abroad, but also in Hungary.

"I personally preferred the Hungarian programs of the BBC to all others. My experience was that the BBC programs were more reliable and also more impartial. I was able to judge the accuracy of the programs on the basis of domestic news. Subsequent events proved whether the news items broadcast over the radio were true or false.

"Before the revolution I think that the foreign radio broadcasts helped to keep alive the spirit of resistance, but I do not think it is true, as some refugees are saying in Austrian refugee camps, that the Hungarian revolution broke out merely because Radio Free Europe incited the people at home to revolt. I myself never experienced this.

"I think Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts into Hungary.

"These programs are very useful for keeping people informed at home. Also, RFE should try, in its programs, to make the Communists and their system ridiculous. This is the best way to destroy their power and prestige.

"The news about political and economic events is the most important item on the RFE programs. This news will, in itself, include anti-Communist propaganda and information about the life in the West and in the United States.

B. "I have never heard of the initials NEM nor of the Twelve Demands.

C. "I knew from hearsay that leaflets were being dropped into Hungary from balloons. I knew that this was done by the Americans, but I did not know that these leaflets were Free Europe leaflets.

"I have never seen a Free Europe leaflet, nor have

I spoken with anyone who did so. I know about the existence of these leaflets only from hearsay and do not know of their contents.

"I think it was much more dangerous to pick up, keep, or pass on leaflets than it was to listen to foreign radio broadcasts. If anyone was caught doing this, the AVH would probably torture him or even perhaps have him sentenced. I do not know of any changes in the degree of this danger during the past five years.

"I am unable to tell you my opinion of these leaflets because I have never seen one, nor have I talked with anyone who has.

"I think Radio Free Europe should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary. These leaflets are very useful anti-Communist propaganda. I think that the contents of these leaflets should be about the same as those of the foreign radio programs.

D. "I do not see any differences in the motives or the aims of the various broadcasting companies or agencies. I think that it is ~~xxx~~ not entirely a matter of indifference to the Western world that Communism exists, that people are being kept in virtual slavery. By spreading information about Communism ~~xxx~~ to the people behind the Iron Curtain they are weakening Communism there and lessening the threat of Communism to themselves. As the Communists are fighting with all available means against capitalism, the capitalists also try to defend themselves the best they can.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

"Children should be given a religious education. They should be taught to honor and respect their parents and their fellow men.

"I think it is necessary to discipline children. For this purpose, even physical punishment should be used, especially with younger children. I don't think there should be any difference between the treatment of boys and girls. As children grow older I think that physical punishment and disciplining should be replaced by reasoning. The children should know what and why they are expected to do.

"I was punished very rarely by my parents. On one occasion when I was seven years old my father spanked me, but I do not remember why. The second time he spanked me was at the age of 15. I had been playing hooky from school for two months. All my schoolmates had gone off and become industrial apprentices. I, too, wanted to become a locksmith's apprentice. When my father found out, he gave me an enormous slap - I saw stars. This was the second and last time I received any punishment from my parents.

"In the families I know, children ^{over} ~~above~~ 6 were usually punished by the father. To a certain extent the sex of the child did influence parental punishment - that is, boys were more inclined to be punished by their father, and the girls by their mother. This was true, however, only after a certain age when girls were beginning to develop. The only difference with regard to parental punishment among the social classes was that the lower classes were more inclined to punish their children - that is, to apply physical punishment. I do not know of any changes in this respect during the last ten years.

"Physical punishment, in general, is abandoned for both boys and girls at the age of 12 to 15. Punishment in general is abandoned for both boys and girls at the age of 18 to 20. I do not know what the situation is in other social classes, I only know about the working class to which I belong.

"Communism has changed the frequency of parental punishment. That is, the parents have less time for their children and are more irritated, and therefore resort to physical punishment more readily than they would otherwise. However, the age at which parental is abandoned, I think, has been reduced. Also, children were instructed in school not to let themselves be punished at home. At parents-teachers association meetings, the parents were also told to restrain themselves from beating their children.

"The Communists have abandoned physical punishment for children in school. I do not know what methods of discipline were used instead of physical punishment.

"The characteristics which I value most in a friend, are loyalty, sincerity, and honesty.

The End.