

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is a young industrial worker of peasant background. He is not very intelligent. He does not have a thorough knowledge of conditions in Hungary. He is too young to make comparisons with the pre-war life in Hungary. Respondent is very shy and self-conscious. He is tall, good-looking and ~~has a sense of humor.~~ Not very talkative. He is inclined to give "yes" and "no" answers. Respondent has a good sense of humor and likes to have a good time. Girls and dancing are his major sphere of interest.

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II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"Every American should know how and why the Hungarian revolution broke out. They also should know its brief history."

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

"On October 22, I did not ~~know anything~~ notice anything unusual. I did not know that demonstrations would take place the next day.

"On October 23, I went to work and was sent to repair elevators in Buda. I finished my first assignment at 10 A.M. and went on to another job. In Buda, from the streetcar, I saw students with Hungarian colors in their buttonholes. I thought that it was some sort of a holiday. I also saw posters on the wall from the streetcar. I was unable to read the posters but I saw that the crowd on the street was very much interested in them.

"I finished my second repair job by 3 P.M. and was going to a third assignment. I had to go through the city near the Nyugati Railroad Station. I saw the demonstration there moving toward the Bem Square. The demonstrators were mostly university students and young workers. The usual street crowd, from six to 60, joined the demonstration. All kinds of people were there. Some women even brought their babies along.

"Near the Nyugati Railroad Station I was able to read some of the posters and with my helper we decided to join the demonstrators.

"When I joined the demonstration I was not afraid but I felt that the demonstration would be broken up by the AVH. I told my helper that I would like to see something happen.

"The demonstrators were shouting slogans, demanding freedom, new uniforms and the restoration of the old coat-of-arms. They also demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Gero.

"On the way from Buda to Parliament Square, several trucks were spreading leaflets among the demonstrators. The leaflets were signed by the university students and contained their 16 demands.

"When we were marching to Parliament Square, I was already certain that the ~~XXXXXX~~ demonstrations would have serious consequences. I was not afraid and decided to stay regardless of what happened. I did not think that the demonstration would bring any political results or concessions.

"In front of the parliament building, the crowd demanded that Imre Nagy speak to them and that he be made prime minister. Imre Nagy finally came and spoke. I do not know what he said because I was standing too far away and there were no amplifiers installed.

"Around 9 P.M. the crowd started toward the radio studio building because it did not want to allow Gero to speak that evening.

"By the time we reached the studio it was past 10 and Gero had already delivered his speech.

"In front of the radio building the crowd took away the fire hoses from the firemen who were called out to put out the fires. The crowd had overturned and lit three AVH cars in front of the studio building. The crowd started to sprinkle the walls and windows of the studio building with the hoses. Somebody cut the hoses. Then, the AVH began to throw tear gas bombs out of the building.

"The tear gas made our eyes water and it was difficult to breathe. However, we decided to stay on.

"Around 11 P.M. the AVH began to shoot at the crowd from the roof of the radio studio building. At first, they gave only warning shots but later they shot into the crowd. Within an hour, four persons were killed and many were wounded.

"Every one, including me, was furious over the AVH's conduct. We wanted to get even with them and felt that we must get arms.

"I went in the direction of the Kossuth Lajos Street with a group. There was an army truck full of soldiers who were sent out to reinforce the AVH in the studio building. We rushed the truck and took away the arms from the soldiers, against the protests of the officers. They could do nothing because we would have overthrown their trucks. I was unable to get a rifle but the others got the rifles that the soldiers had.

"By the time we returned to the studio building, the AVH was also shooting from the roofs of the neighboring buildings.

"We checked all cars going in that direction. We let the first ambulance go by because we thought it was going to tend to the wounded. But the crowd noticed that the ambulance unloaded ammunition in the studio and did not bring any one out.

"Later, the first Hungarian tank appeared, but we had blocked the way leading to the studio with empty streetcars. We wanted to know who was in the tank. Workers climbed to the turret and tried to pry open its lid. The tank did not fire at the crowd but kept going around in circles to shake off everyone.

"I do not remember what time it was, but somewhat later, Hungarian soldiers and tanks appeared who were already on our side.

"Previously, I had gone with a car with many other young workers and students to the headquarters of the Partisan Federation of Rakoczi Street. I got a rifle and revolver with ammunition there. We went back to the studio building. At first, we were not organized at all. Small groups were formed spontaneously with some one assuming command. However, there was no military discipline. The commander, if he can be called that, only gave advice.

"I took part in the fighting in the Museum Park against the AVH. I saw one AVH man there who threw away his

coat and came over on our side. Later, another AVH man immediately shot the deserter in the head. (We later found out that they had been very close friends.)

"After midnight, I took part in the siege of the Szabad Nep building and we took over the printing press. We burned all of the documents and books we found in the building. There was some fighting with the AVH, but we beat them off toward morning.

"Around 9 A.M. on October 24, I gave my rifle to another boy and wanted to go home. I was unable to approach the building where we lived because it was near the Astoria Hotel which had been entirely surrounded by Russian tanks. I was stopped by a Russian soldier who searched me. A Hungarian Blue Policeman came and told me to go away.

"I wanted to go to a friend who lived on Szebtkiraly Street. I was able to go only as far as Puskin Street because the Russians started to shoot at us. I got a submachine gun from a friend, and about 15 or 20 of us started to fight against the Russians. The Russians were in armored cars. Our group was a mixed one. There were students, young workers, and older workers among us. There were even two girls in the group. We were very hungry and ate the empty ice cream cones and grapes we found in a closed confectionary store. The Russians saw us in the building and began to fire on us. Two tanks blocked our way. We were unable to get out of the building in the same way we had come in. We ignited one of the tanks but the other tank kept the entrance covered. We finally were forced to flee through a rear window.

"During the rest of that day we fought against Russians on Rakoczi Street and near the Astoria Hotel. Toward evening, we were forced into a building and had to spend the night there.

"I was able to get home on the morning of October 25. I was very tired and went to sleep although our apartment had also been damaged in the fighting.

"I heard the demonstrators start off toward Parliament Square with the three Russian tanks that had deserted to our side. I was still too tired to go along and take part in this demonstration.

"Later that day (October 25) my foster father came over from Buda and took me home with him. He lived near the Deli Railroad Station. He was an ex-political prisoner who took part in the Political Prisoners' Federation which he had organized.

"I do not know of any new slogans that originated during the fighting. I heard the term, 'Freedom Fighters,' for the first time toward the end of the first phase of the revolution -- that is, just before the Russian withdrawal from Budapest.

"Everyone, from the very young to the very old, participated in the fighting. Women and girls, also. There were two girls in our group. They fought very bravely.

"There was absolutely no organization among the Freedom Fighters in the first stage of the revolution. They began to be organized only after the Russians withdrew from the city and when the new militia was being formed."

C. "When I first heard that the Russians were withdrawing from Budapest, I was overjoyed. But we soon found out that they were digging themselves in on the outskirts of the city. We realized that the fighting was not over.

"From the time of the Russian withdrawal until my departure from Hungary, I was a courier for the Association of Political Prisoners. I had a car

at my disposal and carried messages.

"Two or three days after the Russians withdrew from the city, we heard over the radio, that the Russians were bringing in fresh troops into Hungary. We hoped that the Western diplomatic aid will keep them from attacking us again.

"When the Russian attack started on November 4, I was in the Peterfi Sandor Street Hospital. Our group had its headquarters there. We operated an underground press. The Russians found us out only on November 14. It was almost a miracle that we were able to escape with the help of forged papers.

"We realized that we must leave the country immediately because the AVH was looking for us. We started for Austria the next day. We had some difficulty at one of the Russian check points on the way. However, they finally accepted the papers we had for our truck. The papers indicated that we were going for medical supplies for the Budapest Hospital. We encountered no one on the border."

D. "Hungary has gained immense prestige by her heroic struggle against Communism and has set an example for other countries to follow."



IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "When the revolution broke out, I expected effective military aid from the West, especially from America. I thought that we would get arms and that they would also send us troops."

B. "My expectations of help were based on their frequent pledges and promises which had been made by the US government at various times."

C. "After the Russians withdrew from Budapest, I met several American newspaper men in the hospital. I did not speak with them directly. There were some others who spoke English among us. The newspaper correspondents promised to get us supplies and medicines for the hospital. We received these later."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "My father was a farmer. He had four years of agricultural school. Before 1945, he was a farm manager of a dairy farm. After the war, he farmed on his four cadastral yokes vineyard.

"My mother also had <sup>two</sup> ~~four~~ cadastral yokes (vineyard). My parents were divorced in 1944. My mother completed six years of grade school."

B. "The social classes in Hungary are peasants, industrial workers, and the intelligentsia. I have had contact with all of these classes.

"I think that the peasants have a very poor standard of living. They are very backward. They are a reticent and reserved people.

"With the exception of a few Communists, the industrial workers, in general, lived very miserably. Many of them liked to drink and spent their money immediately on payday.

"I think that most of the members of the intelligentsia were Communist Party members.

"I consider myself to be an industrial worker.

"I think that the industrial workers were hardest hit by the Communist regime. Their production norms were very high and the wages were very low. At the same time, prices were very high.

"The industrial workers did not like the Communist members of the intelligentsia.

"I am unable to say what the attitude of the other classes was but I think there were no differences between the industrial workers and the peasantry."

C. "Political views were more important than class origin. Knowledge and experience were not important at all from the point of getting ahead.

"In the years before the revolution, I think knowledge and experience were somewhat more important than in the first years of Communism.

"Only the people who had big mouths and who were able to speak the Party language were the ones who could get ahead in Communist Hungary."

D. "I think that Communists and informers lived much better than others in Hungary."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Communism had a very bad effect on family life in Hungary. Wages were low. People were barely ~~ke~~ able to subsist on what they earned. It was impossible to support a family. The mothers also had to work.

"Communism did not have much effect on my family life. My mother divorced my father in 1944. She could not stand his drinking any longer. I went to live with my mother. She re-married in 1949. I have a stepbrother 3 1/2 years old. I got along well with my stepfather and my stepbrother.

"At the age of 16 I became an industrial apprentice in Budapest and lived in an industrial apprentices' home. I was not allowed to go home for the first six months. Later, I could go home once every three months for a two-day visit.

"I think our family comes closest to the Type II family you mentioned. We felt safe at home and spoke freely in each other's presence. I think this is typical of the average family in Hungary.

"The upbringing of the children at home was not effected by Communism in most families. This can be attributed to religiousness of the parents."

B. "Young people were able to become acquainted at the various youth organizations and at picnics, outings, meetings, dances, etc. staged by the factories and offices.

"I do not know what courtships were like before. I do not think the much of a change occurred under Communism in this respect. Perhaps less significance was attributed to courtships, engagements, and marriages.

"I do not know what sexual relations were like before but now young people indulged freely in sexual relations even before marriage or engagements.

"Parents were rarely able to influence the courtships or the engagements of their children, especially if the children were over 18 years of age.

"All of this can be attributed to the Communist policy of 'emancipating' the youth.

"I do not know what prostitution is. There were no brothels in Hungary. There was no need for them. One could find enough women or girls. There was a shortage of men in Hungary. I heard that there were some secret brothels but I have never been in one.

leads

"I think a convinced Communist ~~is~~ a freer sexual life than a person who believes in God and fears sin."

C. "I do not know of any cases where one friend joined the CP and the other did not. Usually, one associated always with people of the same mentality.

"If such cases did occur, then they usually resulted in debates, quarrels and the termination of friendship. Perhaps it would be the non-Communist friend who would sever the friendship.

"I think it is impossible to continue a friendship under the agreement not to mix politics into it."

D. "Juvenile delinquency was widespread. I am unable to compare it with the pre-war extent.

"By juvenile delinquency I mean common crimes committed by juveniles.

"Juvenile delinquency under Communism can be attributed to the general poverty and to the inability of parents to exercise supervision over their children.

"I never heard the word 'hooligan' before.

"The jampec can be recognized by his clothes, hair style and conspicuous conduct. The jampecs are from 16 to 24 years of age. Most of them come from industrial worker families, a few from the peasantry, and some from the intelligentsia. I do not think their conduct in itself is criminal. I think that the whole jampec problem has been exaggerated by the Communists."

VII. RELIGION

"It was not prohibited to go to church under Communism, but the people who did so did not have the same chances of getting ahead as others.

"Church properties and institutions were nationalized. Priests were imprisoned.

"The Catholic Church was hardest hit by Communism because it was more opposed to Communism than the other churches.

"The churches are a bulwark against Communism. Their principles differ from the principles accepted by the Communists."

B. "I am a Protestant, go to a Catholic church, and believe in the materialistic explanation of the origin of life. Nevertheless, I still believe in God. Perhaps my parents are a bit more religious than I am. I think that I am just about as religious as the average person in Hungary. I go to church once or twice a month."

C. "In an independent Hungary, there should be true religious freedom with no interference from the state. The teaching of religion should be compulsory as it was before the war. It is not absolutely necessary to give back the church schools to the churches, but such schools should also be allowed to function.

"I think that the churches should have the responsibility for setting the moral codes and standards in movies, plays, etc.

"I do not think that in an independent Hungary the churches should play an active role in politics."

D. "I do not know to what extent Communism has effected the Jewish religion in Hungary. Jews, in general, were looked upon with favor by the Communists.

"I think that the majority of the Jews sympathized with Communism all along. Very few of them changed their views about Communism during the past ten years.

"Many Jews were Communists. All top posts were occupied by them. They joined because of the numerous advantages offered to Communist members.

"The majority of the Jews did not like the revolution. They were afraid that they would lose their top jobs and also feared a pogrom.

"I saw no Jews among the demonstrators and Freedom Fighters. I saw many Jews who wanted to remain neutral during the revolution.

"It may be true that many Jews fear an independent Hungary because their position will not be as favorable then as it is now under Communism."



### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

"Under Hungarian youth I mean the young people between the ages of 17 and 25."

B. "The Hungarian youth was the entire revolution. They were concerned about their future. The youth is always more active and more idealistic. It also had the Soviet military training and was taught the history of the Soviet revolution. They knew how to do the things.

"During the revolution, the older people were very satisfied with the conduct of the Hungarian youth. They took back many things that they had previously said about the youth. The Hungarian youth was also satisfied with the other age groups because they took part in the fighting."

C. "After completing the eight years of grade school, I entered the School for Industrial Apprentices in Budapest. There were 360 apprentices in the school from various factories and trades. I would have liked to become an electrician but there were no vacancies in that industry. I was assigned by the MTH (Bureau of Labor Reserve) to the elevator installation enterprise and became an apprentice in this trade.

"The apprenticeship lasted two years. Intermittently, I spent one week in the factory practicing and one week in school on theoretical subjects. We were paid 30 forints a week and received free lodging and meals.

"The teaching in the apprentice school was not the best. We were the first class and were, more or less, experimental subjects. There were no books or ~~manuals~~ ~~trade~~ for our trade. We had special political classes and military subjects at least ten to twelve hours a week.

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"The ~~staff~~ teachers, with the exception of those who taught the political classes, were fairly good. Most of them had to be Party members."

D. "The political indoctrination of the youth has failed because Soviet methods were exaggerated and adopted too swiftly. This made everyone dislike them. Also, the youth learned from their parents and from other people what life had been like before.

"I do not think that the Hungarian youth has ever sympathized with Communism -- at least not the friends I had known."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "In Communist Hungary I was very dissatisfied with the low wages and the bleak outlook for the future. We lived in a constant fear of arrest. We had a keen sense of insecurity. No one knew when he would lose his job. It was impossible to speak a word on the street ~~xxx~~ about politics."

Other

B. "~~At the time~~ people complained that the Communists always promised something but never gave anything. Practically everyone resented the presence of Russian troops in the country and complete Soviet economic exploitation of Hungary."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "By working from early morning until late at night, I managed to get along somehow during the last year before the revolution.

"I was living with relatives and did not have to pay for my lodging. I usually bought my own meals in a cheap restaurant or cooked something at home. I had two suits and I was able to buy one each year. I had equal difficulties with both food and clothes.

"Before the war I was only a child and my mother had to support not only herself and me but also her mother. We did not live very well then. However, our standard of living then was still higher than mine was before the revolution.

"It was a luxury for me to go dancing, or to go to an espresso shop for some coffee. My standard of living was the highest during the last two years when I was already working and supporting myself.

"A close relative and his wife lived much better than my other acquaintances and friends. The husband was a manager of a restaurant. His wife worked in an espresso shop. They earned good wages and were able to dress decently. Their apartment was well furnished but they had that from before the war. They ate their meals at their place of employment. They were not able to give parties or to go out much.

"The low standard of living in Hungary can be attributed to Soviet economic exploitation."

B. "My average income in 1956 was from 900-1,000 forints a month. Fifteen forints were deducted for trade union fees and for DISZ membership dues. I did not receive any premiums or extra pay or family allowance.

"I did not have a secondary source of income. Now and then, I did some odd jobs but this was not regularly.

"I received a 200 forint raise a year ago when I was promoted to work independently."

C. "I bought food exclusively in Kozert stores and, therefore, I am not able to compare prices and quality with those on the free market.

"I purchased only ready-made clothes in government department stores. I did not know how much made-to-order clothes or shoes cost and neither am I able to compare their quality.

"There were difficulties in retail distribution which were caused by 'planning' and bureaucratic red tape. It was possible to get spare parts, for example, bicycle or sewing machine parts. It was more difficult to obtain parts for bigger machines.

"There was no shortage of anything in Hungary. The trouble was that the people did not have the money to buy things.

"Everything was available on the black markets. Sometimes prices on the black market were higher. However, the quality was also better. On the other hand, there were items which were of the same quality and price but were more available on the black market.

"Sometimes, storekeepers demanded a higher price for scarce goods.

"Black market operations were very dangerous and were prosecuted very severely."

D. "I was an elevator repair and maintenance man. I went out to do repairs in all parts of Budapest with one helper. I worked 46 hours a week. I slept from seven to eight hours a week. It took me 15 minutes to reach my place of work by street-car.

night

"I was satisfied with my work but not with my pay. I got along well with my colleagues and with my superiors. They had authority, but I had no reason to fear them. My colleagues were also well trained and were good workers. The superiors always appreciated and praised good work.

"I have never participated in the trade union vacation program. I am unable to give an opinion on it.

"I never had to use the medical and health facilities of the trade unions. The treatment was good but little time was allowed for convalescence.

"Pensioners complained that pensions were very low."

E. "In Hungary, I would prefer to live in the city. I could not pursue my profession in the country.

"I think that agricultural workers, if they worked on State farms, ate about the same food as the city workers. The private farmers, probably, ate better food than the city workers.

"I think that the standard of living was higher in the city.

"In the country there were less Communists and, therefore, life was politically easier.

"I was only ten years old when collective farming was first introduced in Hungary. I did not have any opinion about it at all.

"I disapprove of collective farming and the way in which it has been carried out in Hungary. The peasants are less interested in farming now than when they farmed for themselves.

"I think that the peasants who had more to lose objected more strongly to collectivization.

"Before the revolution I did not ~~have~~ hear of any co-operatives being dissolved.

"In an independent Hungary, I would like to see individual small farms with no government interference."



XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. (Respondent was 10 years old in 1948.  
This section is not applicable.)

B. "Communist Party members were either members by compulsion who feared the loss of their jobs or were compelled to join in order to get jobs. There were also members by conviction who accepted the principles of Communism.

"I have had contacts with both kinds of Communists. Those who joined by compulsion hated the Party but did not dare speak about their true sentiments.

"Many of those who joined the Party from conviction later became disillusioned with Communism. However, they too had to remain silent.

"I am not aware of any changes in Party policy during the last ten years in Hungary. There may have been differences among the top leaders in the Communist Party but I do not know about this.

"Party morale was somewhat higher before 1948. From then on, the Party members saw what Communism really was and were dissatisfied with the Party's policy.

"The top Hungarian Communists want a strong Communist Party and they plan to create the same conditions in Hungary that exist in the Soviet Union. Few of them are Communists by conviction. Most of them want fame and power. They do not crave for material advantages -- that comes to them naturally by itself. Some of them are clever; the others are misled and believe that what they are doing is right.

"If Hungary becomes independent, most of them will flee to the Soviet Union and those who remain will get a taste of their own medicine."

C. "Resistance to Communism took the form of complaining and grumbling against the regime. Workers also sabotaged production by working carelessly. I do not know of any strikes. I do not think that the peasants were able to sabotage their farm work because then they would have had nothing to eat for themselves.

"This resistance remained about the same all along. I do not know of any changes in the various year.

"I do not know anything about the resistance of the intellectuals. There were some writers who received much criticism from the Communists but I do not know who they were. I forgot their names.

"I heard something about the Petofi Circle in the summer of 1956. I only know that it existed. What it was, or what they did, I do not know.

"I do not know why the intellectuals turned against the regime -- probably, because they were poorly paid."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The AVH men were stupid and cruel. Most of them came from the country. They could be easily misled.

did  
"I ^ not know of any AVH men personally nor have I heard about them indirectly. I only know of an AVH informer. She was a beautiful woman, 24 years of age, divorced and the mother of two children. She also had to support her mother. She was a photographer by profession and was frequently assigned to work in espresso shops. She had to report to the AVH on everything she observed. I met her in the espresso shop. She fell in love with me and we had a love affair which lasted three weeks. She then told me who she was and I severed all relations with her. She said that she did this for money.

I did not drop her immediately. That would have been too dangerous.

"I heard rumors of an AVH first lieutenant who wanted to leave the service but was unable to do so because he knew too much.

"Once Hungary is independent, all AVH men will be hanged.

"The Blue Police Force was not as formidable as the AVH. Most of the men were from the country. I do not think the Blue Police Force was very efficient in combatting common crimes.

"During the revolution, the Blue Police Force behaved very well. For example, on the very first night of the revolution, the police barracks on Mosonyi Street gave us all of their arms and ammunition willingly."

B. (Subject is too young. This question is not applicable.)

C. "The army either fought in the revolution on the side of the Freedom Fighters or remained entirely passive. I only saw their behavior in Budapest. I do not know what they behaved like elsewhere.

"I did not notice any difference in the army which could be attributed to geographical differences, rank, or class origin.

"The fact that some units did not participate in the revolution can be attributed to the ability of the Communist officers to maintain discipline among them.

"No, I was not surprised by the conduct of the army. They, too, are Hungarians.

(The rest of this sub-section is not applicable inasmuch as respondent has not been in the army at any time.)

D. (Respondent was only five years old when the Russians entered Hungary. He knows about their conduct only from hearsay. He has had no contact whatever with Russian military personnel or dependents before ~~entering~~ the revolution.)

During the revolution I personally saw the five Russian tanks that deserted and joined the Freedom Fighters on October 25. This was in front of the Astoria Hotel. Three of the tanks ~~that~~ led the demonstrators to Parliament Square; the other two were unable to go because they broke down.

or during

E. "The officials in our factory often disregarded government regulations in order to give higher wages to the workers. The introduction of new production norms was delayed as long as possible."

F. "Sometimes, the norms supervisor in the factory could be persuaded to allow more time for some work if one bought him a drink or two."

"Much could be done in Hungary ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ through influence and personal contact. Officers or officials caught accepting bribes lost their jobs or were imprisoned."

G. "I do not think that the top AVH leadership is very intelligent. They are more stupid and more cruel than the top army leaders."

"I do not think that the Soviet top leadership is any good. They must be very backward and outdated."

"Public administration officials in Hungary were more intelligent than the AVH or top army leadership."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "I think that Kadar will remain in power in Hungary. He will grant no concessions. He will go back to the Rakosi line.

"Relations between East and West will deteriorate and will bring no solution to the Hungarian problem.

"We can only hope that the West will fight the Soviet Union and liberate Hungary.

"I do not desire a war between the Soviet Union and the US but I want to see Hungary freed from Communism.

"The people at home would probably prefer the dangers of an atomic war to living under Communism.

"I think that war is inevitable and will break out in a few years.

"Perhaps, it is possible to solve Hungary's problems through international pressure and diplomatic means. The West will probably try this first before starting the war.

"Maybe there will be a change in Soviet policy which, as a concession to the West, may agree to the neutralization of Hungary."

B. "It is my impression that since 1950 every one was hoping that war would break out and would overthrow Communism."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "In an independent Hungary I would like to see a political system under which one does not have to live in constant fear, where personal property is respected, and everyone is permitted to work and live to the best of his ability."

B. "Both agriculture and industry are important for Hungary. Hungarian agriculture needs machinery which must be manufactured by ~~heavy~~ heavy industry. I think that heavy industry is more important for Hungary than light industry because there is a greater need for its products. I think that it would be especially important to manufacture machinery for the construction industry. I have already mentioned the need for agricultural machinery. I do not think that anything should be discontinued with what is now manufactured in Hungary.

cease

"When Hungary becomes independent, the national enterprises should ~~be taken over~~ and be taken over by private enterprise. The co-operatives and State farms should be abolished and the land be given back to those from whom it was taken away.

"Transportation facilities should be managed by the government but the industries and commercial enterprises should be placed under private ownership.

"The government should not interfere at all in agriculture. However, an upper limit should be placed on agricultural property. Its maximum limit should be about 15 to 20 cadastral yokes.-- the amount of land that is needed to support a family.

"If I were to choose between a dictatorship with a guaranteed fair standard of living and a democracy which does not guarantee this, I would choose dictatorship.

"I would not outlaw the Communist Party in an independent Hungary but would limit its subversive activities. Outlawing it would be contrary to freedom.

C. "In my opinion, a neutrality like Austria's, would be the best for Hungary. Hungary should conduct only trade relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries -- but no cultural or military relations should be established between them and Hungary.

"No military relations with the other European countries are necessary. This applies also to the US. However, very close diplomatic, economic and cultural relations would be advisable for an independent Hungary with respect to the countries mentioned.

(Respondent has never heard of plans for a Danubian Federation and does not seem competent enough for such questions.)

"Hungary's present boundaries are not acceptable to me. The original boundaries which existed before the Trianon Treaty should be restored. However, this can be done only by war.

"I am concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the bordering countries. I think that the territories inhabited by the minorities in the neighboring countries should be re-annexed to Hungary.

"These questions are very important to every one in Hungary and also to me."



XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

"Before the revolution I had heard nothing about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress nor about Senator McCarthy and his Un-American Activities Committee.

"I do not know who Peron is.

"Before the revolution we only knew that Rakosi is a scoundrel but we did not know how he lived."

B. "While I was in Hungary, the most important sources of information to me were the foreign and domestic broadcasts and the domestic newspapers. Talks with friends and acquaintances were less important."

C. "I often received news by word-of-mouth. This was mostly political news, both foreign and domestic. I received such news from colleagues and friends. When we met, we always discussed the news. I could always believe the news I received from my friends."

D. (Questions concerning reading habits are left out because subject does not seem suitable for them.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE OF HUNGARY

A. "I think that a revolution is quite out of the question in the Soviet Union. The Russians are too cowardly to start anything of this kind. A gradual liberation is more likely.

"If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, I think that Communism would remain, but not in its present form. It would be milder and less aggressive with no international aspirations. It would turn into national Communism.

"I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Union want to create Communism everywhere in the world and want to dominate it. They are unscrupulous and wicked. They, themselves, do not believe what they are preaching. Essentially, they know what and why they are doing. I do not think they have personality. In my opinion, there is no difference at all between the Hungarian and the Soviet Communist leaders."

B. "From among the countries mentioned, Poland is the most popular because of the traditional Hungarian-Polish friendship. The second most popular is Eastern Germany. They are also under Communist rule and are opposed to it.

"The least popular is Romania; the second least popular is Czechoslovakia. Both because of their chauvinism.

"If free elections were to be held in these countries, I think that Communism would be defeated everywhere.

"I think that the standard of living is the highest in East Germany and the lowest in Romania. The second highest in Czechoslovakia; the second lowest in Poland."

C. "I do not think that Gomulka represents a change in Poland. He is a puppet, just like the other puppet governments. He will remain in power.

"I do think that the events in Poland had any effect on the events in Hungary. I have heard about the Polish riots in Poznan, but I do not know anything about it.

"I do not know if there was any freedom of expression in Poland long before Gomulka's rise to power.

"I do not think that it would have been better for Hungary had the Hungarian revolution taken the same forms as the revolution in Poland. The Poles did not achieve anything but we did. Too bad that our freedom only lasted a week. It could have lasted longer."

D. "I do not think that Tito is the originator of national Communism. He always joins the side which is more advantageous for him. National Communism is a bit better than Soviet Communism -- but we do not want that either.

"Tito's relations with both the Soviet Union and the West are always changing. His relations with the Eastern European countries are always determined by his relations with the Soviet Union.

"Tito sympathized with Hungary during the revolution because he does not like Moscow.

"I do not think there is any Titoism in any of the other satellite countries.

"Tito is not popular at home. He is misleading the Yugoslav people. I do not know anything about conditions in Yugoslavia."

E. "Egypt did not have any right to nationalize the Suez Canal. It must be opened to all countries. Britain, France and Israel were justified in attacking Egypt.

"The events in Egypt urged the Hungarians to attack the Russians."

F. "I do not think the standard of living in Western Germany is as high as it should be. It has been showing an increasing tendency in the last few years.

"I think it is true that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war.

"German re-armament would help Hungary. They, too, are against the Russians.

"I think the Western German Army is stronger than either the British or French armies. The length of military service in Western Germany is, perhaps, two to three years."

(Subject is too young to be able to compare the Russian occupation of Hungary with the German occupation during World War II.)

E. "I do not know what NATO is.

"The British Labor Party is also Communistic.

"The standard of living in Egypt is the highest with Great Britain second, Italy third, Western Germany fourth, Greece fifth, and the Soviet Union last."

H. "On my arrival to the US, I was very much impressed by the high level of US industry.

"I do not like American foreign policy. The Americans are not good diplomats. They are unable to keep secrets. Everything is made public long before it should be. The Russians always know in advance what the US is planning to do.

"The US should not aid Poland or Yugoslavia. By doing so, they are only strengthening Communism.

"The US should not recognize the Kadar government but should maintain diplomatic relations with Hungary. Kadar does not deserve to get any economic aid from the US.

"I think the people at home would very much like to see Western visitors, especially newspaper correspondents and politicians. They will inform the world about conditions in Hungary. I do not think that these people should be told anything ~~about~~ before departing for Hungary. They should find out everything for themselves.

"I think that the people at home would very much like to receive Western publications, but I do not know how such publications can be sent home. The Kadar government will not permit them to be sent through regular channels.

"I heard about the Marshall Plan but do not know what it was. I was too young then.

"The US became involved in the Korean War because it wanted to help the people of Korea and to free them from Communism. The US also wanted to safeguard her foreign trade interests in Asia."

J. "I am satisfied with the UN. I do not know what the UN should have done in 1956. The UN will help Hungary financially. I do not know much about the UN. (My impression was that he did not know what the UN is. -- M. I.)"

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. "I think that the journalist, Karoly Pesti, is the greatest Hungarian today. (NOTE: I have never heard of him.) He lived at home until the revolution, but was always smuggling out his anti-Communist writings and poems from Hungary and they were published in the Hungarian newspapers and read over RFE."

B. "I have a very favorable opinion of Imre Nagy. I would have liked to see him remain in power and create order at home.

"I have a very high opinion of Cardinal Mindszenty also. He has done much for Hungary. He is a very good patriot.

"I have a very low opinion of Laszlo Rajk. He was a careerist.

"My opinion of Erno Gero is very bad. He is a scoundrel.

"Janos Kadar is also a scoundrel.

"I do not have a good opinion of General Bela Kiraly. Under the Communists, one does not become a general for nothing.

"My opinion of Anna Kethly is not very good. She made a good many blunders during the revolution and after it.

"So far, I am satisfied with President Eisenhower.

"I do not know who Hammarskjold is.

"I heard Dulles' names before, but, I do not know who he is.

"I do not know who Eden is.

"Truman was something of a leader in Yugoslavia.

"I do not know who Mikoyan is.

"I have never heard of Nehru before.

"Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is a Chinese, but I do not know in which China -- probably in Communist China.

"I heard Erenc Nagy's name but I do not know who he is.

"I do not know who Roosevelt is.

"Chancellor Adenauer is a Russian.

"Stalin is a villain and an unscrupulous scoundrel -- and a post ~~war~~ robber.

"Malenkov is also a Russian Communist.

"I do not know who Franco is.

"I have never heard of Bevan before.

"Khrushchev is no good. He, too, is a scoundrel and a villain.

"Molotov is a Russian writer. He is a Communist.

"I do not know who Ollenhauer is.

"Churchill is a Yugoslav leader."

XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. "The refugees from Hungary consist of people who hated Communism and who were unable to endure it any longer. Also, there were those who had to flee for political reasons -- I mean the Freedom Fighters and the political prisoners.

"Most of the refugees are middle-aged people. There are more men than women. The number of the intelligentsia exceeds the industrial workers. There are very few peasants. Most of the refugees come from Budapest. Many come from along the Hungarian-Austrian border, few from Eastern Hungary.

"The people who had something to do with the Communist regime and who were compromised by Communism and Communist affiliations, remained at home. Many people who were not Communists remained also because they deemed it their patriotic duty to remain at home and continue the resistance against the Communists. For example, some of the members of the political prisoners' association were able to come out with us but refused to do so for patriotic reasons.

"If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary, about 50 to 60 per cent of those who are now at home would still remain because they are Hungarians who would never feel at home any where else in the world."

B. "At home, I did not know anything about the exile politicians and the exile organizations. I have had no contacts with them since my arrival in the US.

"The MHBK was a military organization. I heard this at home. It existed in Hungary. (NOTE: False. It existed in Austria and Germany -- M. I.)

~~It has been reported that the International Federation of Free Trade Unions~~

"I have heard about the International Federation of Free Trade Unions in Exile only after the revolution but still in Hungary.



"I was a child under the Horthy regime and am unable to form an opinion about Governor Horthy.

"Probably, the exile politicians and organizations tried to do something for Hungary, but I do not know what they were able to accomplish or what they could have done. I did not think about them at all during the revolution."

C. "I do not know nor have heard of any Hungarian who left Hungary after 1945 and later returned to Hungary. I heard about the Communist redefection campaign, but only after the revolution. They wanted the refugees to return home for propaganda purposes."

D. "The people at home would very much like to know what the refugees are doing for Hungary here in the West. They should know that we have not forgotten them.

"I think that the exiles should try to adjust themselves to their new life and to find work and support themselves. They should form a strong organization to represent Hungary and to keep the interest in Hungary alive.

"I have already joined the Freedom Fighters' Federation, but I am not satisfied with its leadership and activities. I think only persons who have left Hungary after 1945 should be allowed to join new exile organizations."

E. "If Communism is overthrown in Hungary, I would like to return.

"If I have children here in the US I would like them to learn Hungarian, even if I have to teach them myself."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. "While I was in Hungary, I listened regularly to RFE, VOA and Radio Paris broadcasts.

"The reception of VOA programs was much better. I liked it better than RFE.

sometimes,

"All stations were jammed, especially in the afternoon there was less jamming. The VOA programs were jammed more often than RFE programs.

"I listened only to Hungarian programs but not regularly. I listened to these programs almost every night in winter; in summer, I only listened to them when I was at home.

"I always discussed these radio programs with reliable friends and colleagues. I learned from them what was being broadcast even when I was unable to listen to the radio.

"I listened to foreign broadcasts over my own radio. A young couple living next door would come over sometimes and listen to the radio with me. We always took care not to turn the radio on too loudly and to close the doors and windows.

"It was dangerous to be caught listening to foreign radio programs or talking about them. This meant the confiscation of the radio set, imprisonment, or police supervision. I do not think that this danger deterred many people from listening to the radio or talking about it. I do not know of any changes in this respect during the various years of Communism. It was dangerous to do this all along, to the same extent.

"The foreign radio programs for Hungary were very good. They gave good explanations to the current political events and told us domestic news also which one did not get in the papers.

"I preferred VOA. Radio Free Europe sometimes said things it should not have. The Voice of America was more reliable and accurate than RFE. Subsequent events sometimes proved that RFE was often mistaken.

"During the revolution, the foreign radios, especially RFE, were able to inform the resistance groups of each other's activities.

"It is true that the Western radios, especially RFE, helped to prolong the revolution by promising Western aid.

"I think RFE should continue to broadcast its programs to Hungary.

"Political and economic news and commentaries are the most important items on the RFE programs."

B. "I have never heard of the initials NEM.

"I have never heard of the 12 Demands either."

C. "I have never seen any RFE leaflets but heard about them. I heard rumors that such leaflets existed but I do not know how they were sent into Hungary, or what they contained.

"I think it was much more dangerous to pick up, keep, or pass on such leaflets than to listen to the radio or to talk about Western radio programs.

"I have never seen an RFE leaflets or heard much about them, therefore, I am unable to give you an opinion or to say what they should contain.

"I think the Free Europe Committee should continue sending leaflets into Hungary. Not everyone has a radio. This also helps to weaken Communism."

D. "The Western organizations which send leaflets and radio broadcasts into Hungary want to spread information about Communism at home in order to weaken it. I do not know of any differences in their aims or purposes."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

"Children should be made to want to study and learn. They should be taught discipline.

"I think it is necessary to discipline children and physical punishment should also be applied when necessary, but always with moderation. I do not think there should be any difference in the treatment of children from the point of view of discipline according to their sex.

"As children grow older, I think that physical punishment should be abolished entirely.

"I was 16 when my mother caught me smoking a cigarette and gave me a slap.

"I think that mostly the father punishes the children in the family. I do not think there is any difference in this respect on the basis of the family's social class or the age and sex of the children. I do not know of any changes that have occurred in this respect during Communism.

"I think that physical punishment for boys is usually abolished at the age of 15; for girls at the age of 12 or 13.

"Punishment in general for boys is abolished at the age of 16 to 18, for girls at the age of 18 to 20.

"I do not know of any variations by social class.

"In my opinion, Communism has brought no change in the frequency of parental punishment and the kind of parental punishment or the age at which it is abandoned.

"In schools, Communism abolished physical punishment. It was replaced by bad marks or the children were kept in after school, or deprived of special privileges.

"The traits I value most in a friend are: decency, reliability, bravery, education, and culture."

(NOTE: This boy was the most stupid subject I've enjoyed so far. He did not give us much information but he earned the \$30 he received. You should have seen the beads of perspiration on his forehead when he tried to answer such questions as, for example, the questions on "Selected Personalities".)