

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is a 17-year old barber with an industrial worker's background. He is of medium height, but is very frail and apparently undernourished; good-looking, likeable, neat and clean in appearance. He was calm and composed; extremely shy; not very intelligent; more interested in sports and adventure stories than in politics and world events. Readily admits that he took no part in the demonstrations or revolution. His father had forbidden him to leave the house when the fighting was going on. He replied with an, "I don't know," to a great many of the questions. When urged to answer questions, he, on one occasion said, "Is it not better to tell you frankly that I know nothing about this than to talk a lot of nonsense about something I do not know."

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"The Americans should know how, when, and why the Hungarian revolution took place and why the Russians interfered."

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

A. "On October 22, I was not in Budapest. I went to the country to attend a wedding of a close relative. I did not know of anything unusual going on, nor did I expect anything unusual to happen.

"On October 23, I was at home, not working. Late in the afternoon I heard from neighbors that a demonstration is going on in Budapest. At about 6 P.M. I went to the Nyugati Railroad Station. A large crowd was there going in the direction of Parliament Square.

"The demonstrators were all kinds of people, young and old, male and female, workers and intellectuals alike.

"I felt that something was in the air but I did not expect a revolution to break out.

"I did not know then ~~what~~ why the people were demonstrating. It was all so sudden. I did not think at all about the reasons for the demonstrations or about its eventual consequences. I felt something unusual was going on and, therefore, I, out of curiosity, climbed on a truck and went to Parliament Square.

"The crowd was shouting slogans -- "Down with Gero" and "Russkis go home!"

"For a time, I stayed on the truck near Parliament Square, but nothing happened. Our driver decided to go to the Stalin statue because it was rumored that it was being torn down.

"By the time we reached the vicinity of the Stalin statue, it must have been 8 P.M. already. A large crowd was there. They were trying to pull down the statue with ropes. They did not succeed. Some one

went off to bring an acetylene torch in order to cut it down.

"I was very pleased to see what was going on. I was a bit apprehensive that there may be some trouble, but I knew that since Stalin's death, he was openly criticized by the Communists themselves. Therefore, to a certain extent, I suspected that the government would allow the crowd to tear down the Stalin statue.

"I stayed in the vicinity of the Stalin statue as long as I could. I wanted to see the statue come down, but I did not dare stay longer than 10 P.M. Even so, I was able to get home only by 11 P.M. My father was very strict and wanted me to be home not later than 10 P.M. every night."

B. "Soon after arriving at home, I went to bed. I was awakened during the night by the sound of shooting.

"Next morning, I met some of the boys from the street. They told me about what happened to the Stalin statue after I left. They also informed me about the fighting around the radio building.

"My parents did not let me go away from home. I stayed there all day listening to the radio, but the Hungarian broadcasts did not tell us anything that was going on.

"I stayed at home all of the time until the Russians withdrew from Budapest.

"My father was a transportation worker and had to go to work even during the fighting. They were shipping food sup-

plies. We heard from him what was going on in the city.

"I did not take part in any fighting. Everyone fought from the very young to the very old. I, too, would have liked very much to go and take part in the fighting but my father would not allow me.

"I saw Freedom Fighters only from the windows of our apartment. I do not know ~~how~~ how they were organized or where they got their arms. I was very muchelated by the revolution and was hopeful that the Freedom Fighters would cause the Russians to leave the city and later, the country."

C. "When, at the first stage of the revolution the fighting stopped, I went to work regularly. The streetcars were not running and I had to hitch-hike to Ujpest. We always got a ride on trucks, motorcycles, etc. The people were more willing to help each other than before.

"I hoped that the Russian withdrawal would be on the level. However, on the outskirts of the city, we saw that the Russians were still there and were evidently preparing to stay. This puzzled us. Everyone felt uneasy but we still hoped that the Russians would finally go.

"I heard rumors that more Russians were coming into Hungary. The radio also said this. The workers were urged to go back to work. They refused to do so as long as there are Russians in the country. From this I concluded that the Russians would try to avenge their defeat in Budapest during the first stage of the revolution. We also heard over the radio that the Russians had captured all of the Hungarian airfields.

"I found out that the Russians were back on November 4 only when I was awakened by the sound of fighting. My father again forbade me to leave the house while the fighting was going on. He, too, stayed at home.

"When the fighting died down the second time, we again had to go to work.

"I began to plan to leave Hungary around November 10. I was not afraid of being arrested for participating in the revolution, but I feared the deportations. I saw Russians rounding up young people of my age in Ujpest.

"I left Budapest on November 19 with a friend. I did not tell my father that I was going -- only my stepmother knew. She did not believe that I would have the courage to go away.

"We left Budapest on foot. We hiked along the Budapest-Vienna highway. We got a ride on a truck as far as Komaron. The driver warned us in advance where the checking stations were. We got off and always made a detour.

"We had to change trucks several times. Near Tatabanya, the truck on which there were over 30 persons, all heading for Austria, was stopped by Hungarian soldiers. They let us go.

"From Gyor on, we hiked toward the Austrian border. We received instructions and help from the local population. A peasant showed us where to cross the border and came along with us till we reached Austrian territory. He refused to accept our money but, finally, we persuaded him to take it because we had no use for it in Austria.

D. "I do not know whether Hungary has gained anything through the revolution, but it is certain that she has lost much."

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES DURING THE REVOLUTION:

23 October: Parliament square till 8 P.M. A truck took him to the Stalin statue. Could not stay to see it topple over because parents were strict about his staying out late. Went home at 11 P.M., an hour late. Exceptionally, he was not scolded.

23-28 October: Stayed at home. Parents wouldn't let him go fighting although he would have liked to.

Withdrawal- 4 November: Work as usual.

4 November till the end of fighting (perhaps 12 Nov.)
Stayed at home as he was told. When things quieted down, he again went to work.

22 November: Ran away from home to Austria, telling only his step-mother. Motive: feared deportation. Step-mother did not think he was serious.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING
THE REVOLUTION

A. "I expected the West to send military assistance or, perhaps, arms. ~~Maximum~~ ~~maximum~~ The Freedom Fighters had small arms but they did not have any anti-tank guns or Panzerfaust."

B. "I expected help from the West because they urged us to continue ~~the~~ the resistance against the Russians. Even RFE ~~me~~ promised help."

C. "I met some foreign reporters in Budapest during the one week when there was no fighting. I was unable to speak with them because I know only Hungarian."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "My father is a baker but he was unable to work in his trade because he became allergic to flour. When that happened, he became a transportation worker.

"My stepmother worked at home, taking in washings and ironings. Before that, she worked as a cook.

"We did not own any real estate property.

"My father completed six grades of elementary school and two grades of apprentice school. I think that my stepmother only has four grades of elementary school."

B. (NOTE: subject had considerable difficulty in determining what social classes were and in naming them.)

"The social classes are: the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia.

"Some of the workers are good people, some are bad. Most of them are good. I do not know what they are like as a class.

"The peasants are good people. They helped and fed us everywhere on the way to Austria. They are industrious people, kind, and generous.

"I did not have any contact with the intelligentsia. I am unable to give an opinion on them.

"I belong to the worker class.

"I think that under Communism the industrial workers were hit the hardest. Their pro-

duction norms were constantly increased and their wages dropped. At the same time, the cost of living was constantly on the increase.

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"The peasantry was also badly off. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ compulsory crop deliveries were always raised. My stepmother is of peasant stock and complained about the fate of the peasantry.

"I think there were some differences between the peasantry and the industrial workers. I do not know what these differences were.

"I do not think there were differences between the industrial workers and the intelligentsia. Some one has to study and lead the others.

"I do not know what the peasants thought about the intelligentsia and the intelligentsia thought about the other two classes."

C. "To get ahead in Communist Hungary, one had to be a Party member. Talent and experience also mattered, but not as much as Party membership or class origin. Just before the revolution, talent was considered more important than before.

"The Jews were the ones who were able to get ahead best in Hungary."

D. "Party members lived much better than anyone else in Hungary."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Communism did not have any effect on our family life. All of us had to work and came home late. We were often forced to work on Sundays also.

"Some people lived very well under Communism, others were hardly able to manage.

(NOTE: respondent is too young to know what family life was like before and to make comparisons.)

"Our family comes closer to the Type 2 family, which you mentioned. My father and stepmother always warned us what not to speak about in the presence of others. I think the average Hungarian family was just like we were. They talked freely at home and did not fear each other.

"In some families where the parents were Communist Party members, the ~~xxx~~ parents wanted to bring up their children as Communists.

"I do not know how much the education of the children was affected by Communism in other families."

B. (NOTE: respondent is too young to note any changes in courtships, etc.)

"It was possible to get acquainted with girls at parties, on outings, or to be introduced to them by mutual acquaintances. However, it was also possible to get to know them on the streets. The boy usually took the girl dancing, to a cinema, or to an espresso shop. Usually, he footed the bill. I was able to take girls out very rarely because I had to give my pay to my parents.

"I was 16 years old when I first had anything to do with girls. She was also an apprentice in the same shop where I worked. She was just about my age. She invited me to her parents' home when the parents were not there. We were good friends for about six months. We were not in love with each other. I did not think of marrying her, nor did she want to marry me. She was not a virgin when I met her. She did not tell me about her previous experiences. I later heard that she was also going around with other boys at the same time when I was meeting her. We did not use any contraceptives. She probably knew what to do in order not to have a child.

"Our friendship ended when she was transferred to another shop. I did not have any sexual intercourse with anyone else.

"Parents did not have much to say in questions pertaining to courtships, engagements, and marriages. For example, a friend of my sister's became pregnant and her mother did not want the daughter to marry the boy because he was a drunkard and a loafer. They were married despite the protests of the mother.

"I do not know what prostitution is. There were no brothels in Hungary. But I heard that there were women who were obtainable for money. I do not know what happened to them -- if they were caught."

C. "If a good friend of mine were to become a Communist Party member and a Party functionary, I think it would mean the end of our friendship. In such cases, usually, the non-Communist friend is the one to break the friendship.

"If the friends were, initially, very good friends, perhaps it is possible to continue the friendship under an agreement not to mix politics into it. But it may also happen that despite this agreement, the Communist friend informs on his former friends."

D. "Juvenile delinquency means common crimes committed by people under 18 years of age. I did not hear much about juvenile delinquency in Communist Hungary. I do not know how widespread it was.

"I have never heard the word, hooligan, before.

"Jampecs means a person who dresses and dances according to Western fashion. Their conduct and manners are what they call smart. The age of the jampecs varies from 16 to 25. I do not think their conduct is criminal. Sometimes they were thrown out from the dance hall for dancing in jampec fashion. I, personally, did not like their conduct or their style of dressing. One could see jampecs here and there, but I do not think they were as numerous as the Communist press claimed."

VII. RELIGION

A. "Churches were suppressed by Communists in Hungary. Church properties and institutions were nationalized. Priests and ministers were imprisoned for preaching against Communism. I think all religions were affected by Communism. I do not know which religion was hit the hardest.

"I think that a religious education is antidote to Communism. The Communists want people to behave one way, the church wants them to behave in another way."

B. "I think I am somewhat less religious than my father and stepmother are. The average Hungarian is, perhaps, less religious than I am. I went to Mass at least once a week. I was unable to go every Sunday because I had to work on all but one Sunday a month. I went to Communion and Confession at least three or four times a year."

C. "I think that the Church and the State should be independent of each other. I think it is good if the Church conducts the education of the youth.

"I do not know whether the churches should exercise censorship or not.

"I do not think it would advisable for the Churches to take an active political part in an independent Hungary."

D. "I do not think that the Jewish faith was much affected by Communism. All top Communists were Jews.

"Many Jews lived well under Communism but some of them were financially ruined by the nationalization.

"I do not know how many Jews there were in Hungary but I think that most of them were Communist Party members.

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"I do not think that the Jews^{who} were getting along well under Communism were very enthusiastic about the demonstrations and the revolution. I did not pay much attention to ~~the~~ determine whether there were any Jews among the demonstrators or not. I did not take part in the fighting, therefore, I do not know whether ~~there were~~ there were Jews among the Freedom Fighters or not.

"It is possible that some Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary because they fear possible anti-Semitism."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "Under Hungarian youth I mean the young people from 15 to 20."

B. "The majority of the demonstrators and Freedom Fighters were young people. They did not lead the revolution and the demonstrations. Colonel Maleter is not young. He is, perhaps, over 40."

"The youth staged the demonstrations and started the revolution because they were concerned about their future. They wanted to lead a better life. The youth is more sudden in its decisions than the older people are. They are more impulsive and less deliberating."

C. "I completed eight grades in Budapest. After that, I studied for two years in an apprentice school. I attended classes three times a week; later, two times a week in the second year of my apprenticeship. We were taught the history and theory of hairdressing, mathematics, drawing, etc. Our teachers understood their business well. Some of them may have been Communist Party members."

"I wanted to become a mechanic but there were no vacancies in this trade. I wanted to wait a year and work as a laborer until next year when there would be a vacancy. But my stepmother did not agree to this. There was a vacancy in the barber and hairdresser trades, so, I became an apprentice there."

"The apprentice school decided who could be admitted to which trade. They also obtained our place of employment where we acquired practice."

D. "The indoctrination of the Hungarian youth began at an early age, in school. It was not liked because it was compulsory. I do not think that Communism had ever been popular with the Hungarian youth. Perhaps it was before 1948 when the Communists had not yet revealed their true intentions and methods."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "I had to work long hours and had very little spare time. My pay was low and my production norms were constantly increased."

B. "The complaints of others also centered around production norms and wages."

X. ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "All four of us in the family were working. In this way we managed to get along somehow.

"Most of our wages were spent on food. We ate meat once a week, sometimes, twice a week. I always took my lunch to work. My father and sister did also.

"I had a workday and a Sunday suit. I was able to buy a new suit once every two years.

"Our apartment consisted of one room and a kitchen. We did not have a bathroom ~~except~~ only a lavatory. Rent was very cheap. We only paid 53 forints a month because it was an old building.

"For me, it was considered a luxury to buy a pair of skis and go skiing. This is something we could not afford.

(NOTE: respondent is too young to compare present and pre-war standards of living.)

"Unquestionably, we lived best in 1956. By then, all of us were working.

"I did not know anyone who lived better than we did and we did not live so well either.

"The standard of living was low because the Russians took everything out of Hungary.

B. "My monthly salary was from 800 to 900 forints. Fifteen per cent was deducted for fees which I received during my apprenticeship. I have to pay ten forints a month for trade union dues. I did not get any premiums or extra pay but I got about 100 forints a month in tips. Tips were going out of fashion in Hungary.

"My father earned about 1,500 to 1,800 forints a month. He was a transportation worker. My ~~mm~~ stepmother earned about 1,000 forints a month by washing and ironing. My sister worked in a textile mill. She, too, earned about 800-900 forints a month.

"I received a wage increase in 1956 when my apprenticeship was ended."

G. "Sometimes, I did the marketing in the family. We purchased most of our food from the Kozert stores. We bought only fruits and vegetables on the free market. The prices there were somewhat higher but the difference in price was well worth the difference in quality. Such items as rice, sugar, etc. were not available on the free market at all.

"I do not know how the price differences varied according to the years.

"We either bought used clothing on the used market (Teleki Square) or new, ready-made clothes in the government department stores. Used clothes were much cheaper than new ones. I do not recall the prices.

"There was much red tape in connection with retail distribution. Sometimes, items would be available in one store but not in the other.

"Some standard spare parts were available, while others were not. For example, motorcycle spare parts were extremely hard to come by.

"In certain years there were shortages of such foodstuffs as rice, sugar, eggs, bacon, fat. Such items as oranges, lemons, raisins, were very rare and could be obtained only before Christmas.

"There was black marketing, especially in foodstuffs. Peasants were always willing to sell, at a higher price, items which were not available through regular channels. I do not know how black markets were organized.

"I do not know of any black marketing in industrial products.

"I never experienced that storekeepers were unwilling to sell scarce items and demanded a higher price for them.

"Black marketing was dangerous. Anyone caught in it was punished, but I do not know how severely."

D. "I worked as a barber in a co-operative barber shop. I worked about 56 hours a week. My days, or half-days off, always rotated. I only had one free Sunday each month.

"I slept very irregularly. Sometimes it was only five-six hours a night; sometimes, eight or nine hours. It all depended on what shift I was assigned. It took me two hours a day to go to work and back, by streetcar. I did not like my trade and was planning to change it for something else. Originally, I wanted to become a garage mechanic.

"I got along well with my colleagues and superiors. They were good at their jobs.

"I do not know anything about the Hungarian trade union vacation programs. The social medical service was fairly good. I was hospitalized once to get my tonsils out and was satisfied with the treatment. In the medical dispensaries, however, the patients were sometimes treated rudely.

"I did not have any friends or acquaintances who were receiving pensions. I do not know how the pension program operated."

E. "In Hungary, I would prefer to live in a city. It is much more comfortable to live there and there is more opportunity for recreation.

"I think that rural workers are eating better food than the city workers. The standard of living is higher in the villages. I do not know where it is easier, politically. Probably, there was less ~~approximately~~ politics in the country.

"I was only nine years old when collectivization was first introduced in Hungary. I did not know much about it then.

"I do not approve of collective farming as it was carried out in Hungary. I would prefer to farm individually. I would like to work for myself and know what is mine and what is not.

"In an independent Hungary, the agricultural system should be based on individual farms. Farmers should be allowed to market their produces freely. No one should have more land than what he can cultivate himself."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. (Subject is too young for the questions included in this sub-section.)

B. "In Hungary there were Communists who sympathized with Communism. However, most Party members did not. They joined only to earn more and to get better jobs. I did not know anyone who really sympathized with the Communists and was a Communist by conviction.

"The policy of the Communist Party changed after Stalin's death. Why this change occurred, I do not know. But from then on, things were a bit better in Hungary.

"I was not aware of any differences within the Communist Party.

"By Party morale, I mean the spirit in which the Party members were being taught.

"The non-Party members and those Party members ~~who joined only because~~ who joined only because they had to, were not satisfied with the Party's policies. They could do nothing about it. I do not know to what extent the Party members by conviction were satisfied with the Party's policies. The chief aim of the top Communists is to mislead the people and to do everything as they are told by the Soviet.

"I do not know what they are like personally. I do not whether the Communist leaders are Communists by conviction. There may be some among them who are good but most of them are evil. Their primary interest is money. They have experience and know something about what they are doing but they receive detailed instructions on everything from the Russians.

"When Hungary is independent, then, the top Communists should be locked up. I would give them about 20 years each."

C. "Under Communism, there was much complaining about norms and prices. This could be done only among reliable friends. Workers, also, cheated on norms. I do not know of strikes or open sabotage among the industrial workers. I do not know what the peasants did in this respect.

"Resistance to Communism was especially great when wages were cut or production norms were increased.

"I do not know anything about the resistance of the intelligentsia.

"I think this opposition did not have any results at all in Hungary.

"I heard something about the resistance of the intellectuals. For example, I heard that the comedian, Latabar, was arrested because he cracked jokes against the regime.

(NOTE: respondent has not mentioned the Petofi Circle spontaneously.)

"I heard that the Petofi Circle existed and that debates were conducted there. I do not know who belonged to the Petofi Circle or what the debates were about. I first heard about the Petofi Circle two years ago. Two customers were speaking about it in the barber shop. I do not remember what they said. I did not pay much attention to them.

"I do not know what role the intellectuals played in the revolution. I do not know how the intellectuals lived under Communism. The intellectuals did not turn against the regime. During the revolution, there were many revolutionary ~~new~~ poems published but I do not know who wrote them."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The AVH men had to be reliable Communists. They were cruel and rude people. They joined the AVH because they were paid well. I did not know any one serving in the AVH personally.

"No one in our family, nor among our friends, was ever arrested by the AVH.

"I have not heard of any AVH men who wanted to leave the service.

"When Hungary becomes independent, the AVH should be abolished. Its members should be arrested.

"There is a great difference between the AVH and the Blue Police. It could be seen in the revolution. The majority of the Blue Police were with the Freedom Fighters. There were two non-commissioned officers of the police force (Blue Police) living in our house. They, too, sided with the revolution.

"I think that before the revolution the Blue Police Force in Hungary operated fairly well."

B. "I do not know what the courts of the Horthy regime were like.

"I heard about the Peoples' Courts. I do not know exactly when they functioned. They tried political cases and common crimes, such as thefts.

"I did not hear about war criminals in Hungary. Some Hungarians may have been arrested by the Russians during the war."

C. "The Hungarian Army was disarmed by the Russians and they could do nothing during the revolution. They were not able to fight against the Russians in large numbers.

"I know about the conduct of the army during the revolution only from hearsay."

(It seems entirely useless to probe subject on the Hungarian Army and its role in the revolution. Respondent stayed at home throughout the entire revolution and has never performed military service.)

D. "I do not know if it is true that the Russians are unpopular in Hungary because they subdued the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. I do not know why the Russians were unpopular in Hungary."

(NOTE: subject was five years old when the Russians entered Hungary in 1945. He has had no contact whatever with Russians, either before or during the revolution. He was only aware of the presence of the Russians in Hungary.)

E. Respondent does not know of any cases where Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, refused to obey superiors, deserted, sided with the Hungarians, fought against the AVH, or fought against each other. He does not know of any cases of individual brutality committed by Soviet soldiers.

F. "I do not know of any possibilities of circumventing laws and regulations. I do not know if it was possible to use influence or to bribe some one.

"I do not know of any cases where government of Party officials were willing to disregard regulations in favor of the people."

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G. Respondent has no idea at all about the intelligence and efficiency of the Secret Police, army leadership, Russian Army, and public administration officials.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "I do not have the faintest idea of what the near future has in store for Hungary. If the Russians remain in power, then Kadar will also remain in power in Hungary. Or the Russians may find some one who is even better suited for their purposes than Kadar. I do not know if Kadar will be just as strict or less strict than Rakosi was.

"We can hope that, perhaps, Kadar will be a bit more lenient than Rakosi's regime had been. Hungary will be independent only if the Russians get out of the country. This may be accomplished on the basis of negotiations. However, I do not think that the Russians will consent to this.

"Another revolution in Hungary is not likely to occur. It can only be done if the Hungarian people get some help from abroad.

"I do not think a war between the US and Russia would be desirable. It would cause much more trouble than World War II. Both sides may use the atomic bomb. I do not think that the people at home would want war either.

"I do not think the US wants war. Therefore, a war between the US and Russia is not likely.

"I hope it will be possible to solve Hungary's problems through peaceful negotiations. However, Russia will insist on keeping Hungary because they found uranium there."

B. (This sub-section is not applicable.
Respondent is too young.)

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "In an independent Hungary I would want no Communism, free elections, and no interference from other countries."

B. "Both industry and agriculture are important. The heavy industry should be developed further. This would serve the mechanization of agriculture.

"We should build atomic power plants for peaceful use from the Hungarian uranium.

"When Hungary becomes independent and Communism is overthrown, then the national enterprises should be abolished. In their place small craftsmen should operate. They can do the work better and cheaper.

"The co-operative farms and State farms should also be abolished and the land should be distributed among the peasants.

"It is all right if the railways and transportation facilities are managed by the government. I do not know about the nationalization of heavy industry. The light industry should be placed under private ownership.

"In an independent Hungary every peasant should have as much land as he can farm himself. However, there should be no maximum set to ownership of agricultural real estates. There should be no interference on the part of the government. Crop deliveries should be abolished.

"If I had to choose between a dictatorship with bread and butter and a democracy with no guaranteed standard of living, I would still prefer a democracy. Nothing is guaranteed here in the US and the people still live well.

"In an independent Hungary the Communist Party should be outlawed. The Communist Party is a fraud which only misleads the people.

"I do not know what should be done with the fellow-traveling organizations."

C. "A neutrality like that of Austria would be the best for Hungary. This would exclude war and insure peace.

"Hungary's neutrality excludes the possibility of military relations with any country.

"Commercial and cultural relations should be conducted with all nations, including the Soviet Union.

(Subject does not seem competent to answer questions concerning the Danubian Federation.)

"I am not satisfied with Hungary's present boundaries. I would like to have free boundaries and no barbed wire fences.

"It would be good to get back all territories that ~~belonged to Hungary~~ belonged to Hungary before World War I. I do not know how this can be accomplished.

"I did not think much about the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. I do not know what should be done in their behalf.

"These questions are of no primary importance to me. I do not know about the views of the people at home."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. (Respondent knew nothing about Khrushchev's secret speech, Senator McCarthy, Peron and the private life of Rakosi.)

B. (NOTE: respondent is only 17 years old.)

"In Hungary, I gathered most of my information from newspapers. However, I was not interested very much in politics. Radio broadcasts were less important from this respect because no radio told the truth."

C. "I received news from friends, relatives and acquaintances by word of mouth. Mostly political news. We were more inclined to believe what we heard by word of mouth than what was read in the newspapers or was broadcast over the radio."

D. (This sub-section has been left out because of the time element.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE OF HUNGARY

A. Respondent has no idea about chances of changes inside the Soviet Union, or, about the outcome of free elections in Russia. He thinks Communism would probably cease but is not certain. He has no idea at all about top Russian Communists.

B.-C.-D. Respondent gave no response at all to the questions in these sub-sections. He only laughed and shrugged his shoulders when an attempt was made to probe him on these questions.

E. "Egypt built the Suez Canal and therefore, had a right to nationalize it. I do not know whether England, France and Israel were justified in attacking Egypt.

"The Suez crisis did effect the outcome of the Hungarian revolution. It served to divert attention from us."

F. Subject does not know anything about the standard of living in Western Germany and gave his usual, "I do not know" to the questions of Germans causing a third world war.

"I have heard about German re-armament but, if it is true, then it will not be good for us because it may mean war. I think that the British Army is probably stronger than that of Western Germany.

(Respondent refused to state an opinion on the relative strength of the French and Western German armies.)

"I do not want to give you an answer on questions which I know nothing about."

(Respondent is too young to be able to compare the Russian and German occupations of Hungary.)

G. "NATO is some kind of an army but I do not exactly know what it is."

"I have no idea how the British Labor Party reacts to Communism."

"From the countries mentioned, I think that the standard of living is highest in West Germany with Italy second, Great Britain third, Greece fourth, Egypt fifth, and the Soviet Union last."

H. "On my arrival to the US, I was most impressed by the large number of beautiful cars and by the skyscrapers."

"I have no opinion about the present US ~~xxxx~~ foreign policy. I do not know what the US foreign policy should be with regard to Eastern Europe."

"The US government has offered the Kadar government aid. Kadar, however, rejected the offer of a loan because he preferred to accept a loan from the Soviet Union."

"I do not know what the relations of the US should be with the Hungarian government. I think diplomatic relations should continue."

"The people at home would probably like to see more Western visitors because they would get a better idea of what is going on in the world outside of Hungary. Tourists and journalists would be better than trade union representatives."

"I have no idea of what visitors should be told before leaving for Hungary.

Respondent has never heard of the Marshall Plan.

Respondent was only 11 years old at the time of the Korean War. He remembers it but does not know why the US fought in it.

J. Respondent has heard about the UN but does not know exactly what it is.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

"I think that the greatest Hungarian living today is Pal Maleter. He fought bravely in the revolution.

B. "Imre Nagy is a decent fellow who sided with the people.

"I have never seen Cardinal Mindszenty. He must be an intelligent man, a good patriot, and an honest and true Hungarian.

"Laszlo Rajk -- I know who he was but am unable to form an opinion on him.

"I do not like Erno Gero but I do not know much about him.

"Janos Kadar is very much disliked by everyone in Hungary.

"I have never heard about Genral Kiraly before.

"Anna Kethly is an actress. (Note: Not in a sarcastic sense. S. was unable to identify her.)

"I could not say anything about President Eisenhower. His policy is good for the US. During the revolution, he promised us help but did nothing in our behalf.

"I do not know who Secretary General Hammarskjold is.

"Dulles is the secretary of state. I have no opinion about him.

"I do not know who Eden and Truman are.

"I do not know who Mikoyan is.

"Nehru is a prime minister somewhere -- probably in Western Germany.

"Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is a Chinese minister, but I do not know anything about him.

"I do not know anything about Ference Nagy.

"I do not know anything about President Roosevelt but I met Mrs. Roosevelt in Salzburg.

"Chancellor Adenauer is the chancellor of Western Germany. I have no opinion about him.

"Stalin is a mail robber.

"I do not know who Malenkov is.

Respondent was unable to identify Generalissimo Franco, Bevan and Ollenhauer.

"Khrushchev is Stalin's successor. He is a bloodsucker.

"Molotov is the Soviet minister of foreign affairs. I do not know what he is like.

"I have heard about Churchill but I do not know exactly who he is."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

"The people who fled from Hungary were those who fought in the revolution, who feared deportations and who did not want to live any longer under Communism. The refugees are mostly young people. However, from children to old people who could still walk, everyone came out from Hungary. Most of the refugees are from Budapest and from western Hungary. The majority of them are industrial workers, very few peasants, and many intellectuals.

"The people who stayed at home were older people who were unable to come out and the AVH men and Communists.

"I do not know of anyone who was able to come ~~out~~ out but did not do so.

"If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary and come West, very few people would remain at home."

B. Respondent has no idea at all about exile politicians, exile political organizations, and their activities. He has had no contact with them whatever since his arrival in the US.

From the list of exile personalities and organizations, respondent was able only to identify Governor Horthy. However, he was unable to give an opinion on him.

Respondent has no idea of what the exile politicians could have done for Hungary before 1956.

C. "At home we heard that some Hungarians who had left the country after 1945 returned. We read about them in the newspapers and saw them in newsreels. They probably came home because they were homesick. The general opinion at home was that they will regret having returned.

"The Communists conducted the re-defection campaign only for propaganda purposes."

D. "I think that the people at home would like to know how we are living here. I do not know of anything that they should know."

"I think that the refugees here, in the US, should work and get settled. They should support themselves and help their relatives at home."

"I do not want to join any exile organization."

(Question concerning political parties in Hungary before 1948 is not applicable because respondent is too young.)

"I do not know anything about the Hungarian political parties in exile or about the revival of the political parties at home during the revolution."

E. "I plan to return to Hungary only when and if Hungary regains her independence."

"If I get married and have children here in the US, I will want them to learn Hungarian."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. "I listened to foreign radio broadcasts very rarely. The radio we had at home was only a so-called 'peoples' radio' with which we could receive only Radio Budapest broadcasts.

"I sometimes listened to RFE and VOA programs. This happened, usually, in the home of my friend. I went to him to listen to the radio, once or twice, every week.

"Both of these broadcasts were jammed. Reception was about the same for both.

"We were careful in listening to foreign radio broadcasts. We closed the doors and the windows. We did not tune the radio very loudly. Only the two of us were present. ~~When my friend's~~ When my friend's parents were at home, we did not listen to the radio.

"I never heard about Western radio broadcasts from others. What I heard over the radio myself I told my parents at home.

"It was dangerous to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, although I know of no one personally who has been arrested because of this. I do not think that the danger involved deterred people from listening to foreign radio broadcasts. Perhaps, they were only more careful. I do not know of any changes in this respect.

"I preferred the VOA programs to the programs of RFE. It was more credible. Radio Free Europe, sometimes, said such incredible things that you almost climbed the wall. (This is a Hungarian saying expressing exasperation.)

"I do not know what effects these broadcasts had upon the people in Hungary before or during the revolution.

"It is true that RFE promised to help the revolution.

"I think RFE should continue its broadcasts into Hungary because it helps to keep people informed at home.

"I do not know what should be included in the programs of RFE. I think that straight economic and political news are the most important."

B. "I have not heard of the initials, NEM, or about the 12 Demands."

C. "About two years ago, in a village near Cegled, I found RFE leaflets in the fields outside of the village. One leaflet had a ~~picture of Stalin~~ cartoon of the Stalin statue falling on Rakosi. I picked up another leaflets at the same time but I do not remember what it was. It had something to do with Cardinal Mindszenty.

showed

"I ~~gave~~ the leaflets to my grandmother. She wanted to take them away from me but I did not allow her to do so. Later, at home, my mother destroyed them.

"On another occasion, a balloon was shot down near Cegled. However, I was not able to get any of those leaflets attached to it.

"I have never heard about RFE leaflets from others.

dangerous

"I think it was more ~~safe~~ to pick up, keep, or pass on such leaflets than to listen to Western radio broadcasts or to talk about them.

"The leaflets were meant to undermine Communism at home. They were very effective and kindled the hopes of the people. I do not know of any RFE leaflets during the revolution.

"I think that RFE should continue to send leaflets into Hungary.

"I do not know what should be stressed in these leaflets."

B. "I do not know what the purposes of the Western organizations, broadcasting news into Hungary, and sending leaflets home is. So far, they have not been able to achieve much results."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

"The most important thing to teach a child is not to blab out what it hears at home. This may cause trouble.

"I think that children should be disciplined. Physical punishment may be necessary sometimes. Boys and girls are different in nature. As they grow older, they should be treated differently.

"At home, I liked Japanese judo wrestling. On one occasion, when no one was at home, a school mate and I were practicing wrestling in the kitchen. I threw him over my shoulder and his boots scratched the 2,500 forint kitchen cabinet which my father purchased a few days before. I was 16 at that time. When my father came home, he beat me with his hands where he could reach me. He did not use his fists.

"I think that both parents punish the children, over six, at home. I do not think that this had anything to do with the sex of the child, its age, or the social class of the parents. I do not know of any changes in this respect during the Communist regime.

"I do not know when physical punishment is abandoned for boys at home. I was 16 and still got a beating. A neighbor woman slapped her 22-year old daughter for disobedience. I think that the physical punishment for girls is abandoned somewhat earlier than that of boys.

"I do not know when punishment in general is abandoned.

"I do not know of any differences in this respect according to social classes. I do not know what changes Communism had brought in the frequency of parental punishment, or the kind of punishment, or at the age when it is abandoned. I have lived only under Communism. I do not know what life was like before.

"There was no physical ~~punishment~~ punishment at school at all. Instead of a beating, the students, when they misbehaved received bad marks or were obliged to take letters of complaint to their parents.

"The characteristic traits I admire most in a friend are bravery, honesty, reliability, and ~~and~~ a mutual understanding."