

PERSONAL DESCRIPTION

Respondent is a typical Hungarian middle class boy of the age between 16 and 17. He is about 5'7" tall, and is slender. The typically erect bearing of a Hungarian teenager is somewhat lessened by his holding his shoulders bent. His face is unusually long and narrow for a Hungarian, and his complexion is slightly uneven due to the presence on his skin of a great many very small pimples. His somewhat wiry, modestly combed hair is faded blonde.

He speaks with an unusually soft voice and his entire appearance and behavior is very unassuming and reserved. Behind that one feels a high degree of self-restraint, of will power, tenacity and tension. His tension is also revealed in his laughter, his smile and his voice.

He appears genuinely interested in the world in events at home and abroad, and in people. He likes to learn even during the interview, and asks questions. No doubt he is very diligent and he is intelligent.

When he first appeared I had to teach him not to greet men by "I kiss your hand", a typical Hungarian middle class greeting inherited from the time of the Austro-Hungarian empire. It is a greeting used by children up to 11, 12 and 13, and even 14 years of age. It spread in the last 2 decades even to the working class. I mention this to characterize respondent as one who is a boy rather than a young man. This is revealed also in his speaking of policemen, waiters, doctors, etc. as "Uncle Policeman," "Uncle Waiter," "Uncle Doctor," -- a very typical way of referring to grownups as practiced by all children up to 10, by most up to 12 and 13, only by a number up to 14 and 15, and by a very few up to 16.

In spite of his paying "due" respect to adults, he is no way submissive and forms his opinions himself. He is influenced by adults all right, but he picks those whom he accepts as ~~xxx~~ guides himself.

An intelligently obedient and obediently intelligent young man who does not feel strongly enough the self-esteem he should feel as a young man, but characterizes himself and behaves like a boy, while he thinks like an intelligent young adult.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

Respondent thinks that the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary, in the Autumn of 1956, are the following:-

(1) "It was a revolution of the common people and it exploded because of a general, but absolutely general, discontent on the part of the entire population."

(2) "I learned with the greatest of surprises that street cars stopped short of the Danube Bridge, on October 23rd, and that there was a turmoil downtown, because I didn't hear anything before and I know very well that all of my classmates were taken by surprise."

(3) "The fight was started by the AVO. They may say ~~xxxx~~ anything but that's the honest to goodness truth."

(4) "The Revolution was victorious and on November 3rd people were called back to work. The Government was by then set to run the country in peaceful ways."

(5) "The Russians had no legitimate reason for intervention when they overran the country on November 4th."

(6) "It is a mistake to say that on November 4th the Russians crushed the Revolution because it lasted for at least one more week. People didn't give up fighting so easily."

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

"On October 23rd I attended classes in the High School in Buda in which I was a pupil. I may say briefly that business was as usual. After the actual classes we had a study period in a study room. It was not required to be there during the studying time in the afternoon but it was advantageous because teachers, at least a few of them, were on hand to give us explanations on odd points on which we were not entirely clear. Besides, for me, it was particularly advantageous because I visited evening classes and an evening course in Mathematics at the University and so I had a good place to spend my time between actual classes and going home. Well, I was at that study room and at 5 p.m. I left with the intention to go to my evening course at the University. As I left, the teacher in charge of the study room said that I should watch out not to be trampled by the crowds that are milling in the streets. It was then that I first heard that the demonstrations of which we had some faint news became a serious matter. I left together with another student, a classmate. As we got on a streetcar and wanted to cross over to the Pest side of the Danube, the Street car conductor said that we would have to get out at the Margaret Bridge because the street car is only going that far.

"As we reached the Bridge, we saw traffic stopped and saw trucks in Buda. Some were filled with people; there were others on which only a few people were visible, and they shouted slogans like, 'Whoever is a Hungarian, sides with us' or 'Whoever is a Hungarian, joins us!' The trucks that were not full were eager to pick up people and they delivered them at the bridge head so that they could walk over to Pest. As more and more people assembled, more slogans were shouted like, 'Hungary should be free! The Soviet troops should leave!' Most of these slogans

were well constructed and rhymed. There were others too but they were not so well liked and not so often shouted. Some groups sang the Kossuth Song and others sang soldiers' songs. I saw no red flags, only national colours, but I saw many tricolors. As we reached Pest, we saw an immense crowd moving and really milling in the streets. The classmate who was with me was also from our village and we certainly would have enjoyed to take part in the demonstrations but we realized that we might miss the last train to our village because traffic was halted and we had a hard time to kind of worm our ways through the crowds. Large crowds blocked traffic in several streets. We carried out our decision and went to the Western Railroad Terminal. Our train left at 6.30.

On the train, I saw a copy of an extra edition of the latest issue of Szabad Ifjusag, the paper of the Diss Youth Organisation. I borrowed that copy from a man who had it and then the paper went all around and people all wanted to see and read it. That paper suggested that youth go out demonstrating and demanding that Imre Nagy become Premier - there were also leaflets in the train and people circulated those as well as that certain issue of the Szabad Ifjusag."

(Interviewer's Note: Respondent feels that he has to explain how that issue of Szabad Ifjusag came about. Here is his explanation:-)

"It was probably a week before October 23rd that a nationwide convention of Diss leaders started. This was compulsory and classes usually elected the best pupils for representing them at this organization. This on the higher level of course didn't look so good. Its higher echelons were filled with Communists, but apparently not all of them were real Communists. This nationwide convention that got under way about a week before October 23rd had on its program discussions that

* Practically

were supposed to find ways for righting the many complaints made because of Russian language instruction and because of the fact that national holidays were not celebrated. This convention was about to be concluded in those days, October 22nd-23rd-or 24th - I don't know exactly. Szabad Ifjusag was the paper of that organization. Now I think that this national convention was responsible for that special issue of the the Szabad Ifjusag.

"People talked about the events of the time. One man said, 'This whole business is very suspicious to me, because I saw civilians armed with pistols and sub-machine guns in the crowd. That was at the Radio Building.' The man said that these people were particularly suspicious to him because when they were asked how come they had arms they didn't answer anything.

"When I arrived at home, I told the story of what I saw and heard. Grandmother, who was the only one at home at that hour - because my parents were both working in Budapest in two different jobs, father in one and mother in another one - said that it was very right that I didn't go to the University - I went to bed at nine p.m. because I had to get up next day at 6 a.m. When I went to bed I wondered where ~~my~~ father and mother because usually they arrived by 7.30 or 8.30 p.m., but I was not exactly worried.

"Next morning - (October 24th) - I awoke at 6 a.m. as usual and I was surprised when neither father nor mother were there to either wake me up or to greet me in the morning. I heard them talk out in the corridor as they bade farewell to grandmother. I went out and asked why they hadn't waked me. They answered that I should ~~not~~ not go to school because last night there was much shooting around the Radio Building and that they didn't know whether they would work at all. They told me that they went to Budapest

only to find out what the situation was. I wanted to go to the city myself and asked them to take me with them or to permit me to go but they refused. I was mad because I wanted to go very bad. But since father said I musn't go I took cognisance of the fact that I was prevented from going. So I stayed at home. I took my bicycle and went to see the trains going. I went to the railroad station at about 9 a.m. I saw a train coming from the direction of the city (Budapest) and I saw students getting off the train. I was told that the train was not allowed to pass Ujpest - ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ (Interviewer's Note: Ujpest is in between Budapest and the village respondent was living in) - a few minutes later, a bus arrived with my folks. I thought that something serious might be going on there (in Budapest) and father told me that street fights ensued in the city and that also machine guns and other heavy weapons were in the fight. They told me that they were able ~~xxxx~~ to go only up to the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Stalin Bridge on the Vaci Ut. (Vaci Avenue). My folks explained that they boarded another bus and returned. They also told me that events happened because the Gero Government won't resign. They said that police and part of the military were siding with the demonstrators and this was the explanation why they had arms for the time being. I was not surprised because I saw the previous day when we crossed the Bridge some uniformed soldiers and uniformed policemen also taking part in the demonstrations. So now they were actually fighting on the side of the uprising. Both of my parents emphasized what I just said, namely that the people who took part in the uprising had arms for the time being. They emphasized this because they didn't believe that they could hold out long. My folks walked home and I went with them pushing my bike. On the way, they related what happened to them last night.

"At home, I was sent to buy groceries. People

stood in long queues in front of the shop. I heard all the women lament in the grocery store. They said that food would soon become scarce because food deliveries from Budapest would ~~xxx~~ stop.

(Interviewers Note: This is not a mistake. Respondent explained at my question that since peasants had to deliver their crops and produce most of the delivered goods were transferred to Budapest and processed in factories over there and it was only from Budapest that food ready for consumption came out. Bread and milk belonged to those food materials the village received shipped from Budapest.)

People started buying things so that they could store them. I thought that I should tell my folks about this and I jumped on my bike and returned home. I wanted to make sure that we also buy food so that we can get along if shortages come. - Grandma said, at home, 'As long as we have flour, sugar, and potatoes we don't have much trouble' - Father and Mother overheard us talking and Mother suggested that I buy more bread and lard because we might need that stuff very much - as I stood again in the queue at about 10 a.m., rain started pouring and I became pretty wet. At about 12 o'clock father came in dry clothes to take his turn in the queue and said that my brother would relieve him when he gets out of school at 1 p.m. Now I went gladly home and changed clothes and I stayed at home drying out my clothing. Peter relieved father and by 2 p.m. ~~my brother~~ came home with the food we had ordered.

Meanwhile, we ate lunch. Father and I tried to listen to our radio after lunch but Radio Free Europe was not easy to catch. We heard that Russian troops were clogging the highways, blocking them because they came in

masses advancing towards Budapest. WE also heard over the Radio Free Europe that rebels in other towns wanted to go help in Budapest. Those people had a very hard time getting to Budapest because they had to fight Soviet troops on the highways. Father became nervous because he said that the fight was hopeless against tanks, and it was a pity to see so many young people die, young people who took up arms to fight for our common good.

"We went working in our large vegetable garden: (Interviewer's Note: Asked how large that garden was, respondent explained it was about 3/4 of an acre large) we worked until late evening. At night, that is to say late in the evening we listened to the Radio (Radio Free Europe) and were bitter about hearing how savagely the Russians were shooting in the capital city.

"Next morning - (October 25th) - as we listened to the radio one of the condensers burned out. In the next three days we weren't able to listen to our radio and we felt very bad because it felt like being paralysed and made deaf - we heard from neighbours that they asked permission to butcher a pig - (Interviewer's Note: Asked whether it was a pig they themselves raised, respondent explained that it was) - actually I should have said that when the neighbours wanted to ask permission to butcher one of their pigs they found no official at the ~~XXX~~ Council House.

"I saw three trucks, one of them from our village, taking young people to Budapest to join the fighters. (Interviewer's Note: Probed as to whether he was told that they were going to join the Freedom Fighters, respondent explains, 'I just thought but I am quite sure I was right because I saw that those people carried national flags and light, (small calibre), target rifles with them.)

"Most of the day, and several days following thereafter, I worked in the garden and stood when I was sent in the queue to buy things. In the evening I read a Jokai novel. (Interviewer's Note: Jokai was the

was the most popular novelist of the late 19th century and early 20th century; he was a prolific writer and his books have been read by most Hungarians; at least about 15 or 16 of his books. Part of the great tradition of the 1848-49 were of independence and revolution were kept alive by Jokai's novels. The great popularity of his novels which should be amazing considering the fact that his language is quite old fashioned to a great extent is due mostly to the fact that he is a great storyteller who does not ~~present~~ present problems which he would not solve. Most of his characters are either black or white, and so are their deeds)

"Next day - (October 26th) - we heard over the neighbour's radio that the Budapest station announced Imre Nagy's taking over the government and we heard that he called on people to cease fire and to start

allegedly he gave the order to the Russian troops that they leave the capital (city) to end the armed strife. He was told to have promised the Russians that he would start negotiations with them again after they will have left Hungary.

"But even next day - (October 27th) - shooting was clearly audible in our village - it was on that day that people thought that the flag on the Council House could be made over into a national flag by cutting out the Communist coat of arms. This matter came up in a queue I was part of. An old man volunteered to go and get the flag and he managed to do so. He brought it back and while rain was pouring people talked over that they would restore the same queue after they carried out their plans with the flag, and then they crowded all around the flag. An old woman brought her scissors from a nearby house and cut out the emblem and people were anxious to help in burning it. They joked and laughed. One man said, for instance, 'The straw

coat-of-arms should burn easily.' (Interviewer's Note: At Interviewer's question, respondent explains that the Communist coat-of-arms was called "A straw coat-of-arms" because most of it consisted of ears of wheat.)

"It was on the same day a Workers' was formed in our village.

"next day (October 28th) our radio was repaired. Now that of our next door neighbour did not work right so they came over to listen several times. - We ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ watched the changes in government and saw people in the government who had been either gaoled or at least ~~xxxxxx~~ or shelved. ~~xxxxxx~~ A revolutionary council was formed in the village. Grandfather attended the meeting. He said it was decent people whom the crowd ~~xxxxxx~~ elected and he told us that a good friend of his, an independent merchant, became the Food Commissar of the village. Grandfather said that that man certainly would be very good. In fact, the food ~~xxx~~ supply improved from then on remarkably. That man knew where to get the stuff from and people had confidence in him and sold him their stuff.

"By November 2nd or 3rd we were happy that a new life started and we could live in peace. It was a great experience to see Russian tanks ~~xxxxxx~~ rolling out of Budapest.

"In the morning of the 4th November, father and mother awoke at battle noise and listened to the radio to find out what it was about. I was awakened by the sounds of the radio. I heard the radio play the Szozat. It was the first time that I heard it played during the Revolution. (Interviewer's note: Szozat is a sacred Hungarian national song, second only to the national anthem. It might be compared to America The Beautiful in its function as a national song that people sing on solemn occasions and which express similar feelings as the national anthem. Both

its text and its music are very solemn, and one might say tragic, its keynote is Hungarian, you must live and die there in your country regardless whether you are blessed or cursed by destiny.)

"After that I heard Imre Nagy's speech to the nation. At the same time I heard heavy guns and mortars. My folks were unspeakably bitter and unhappy about this sudden and unexpected turn of events. The neighbours family which consisted of two old, closely related married couples, came to our window listening to the radio and cried, saying that they thought everything would turn out all right, and here they have this bitter disappointment.

"After breakfast we went to Mass. The church was full as usual and the priest was extremely nervous when he gave a sermon but he didn't mention anything of the actual happenings. I saw and heard many old people cry in church and I felt embarrassed because I don't like to hear others cry. After Mass people grouped around the church and contrary to local custom the groups stayed together for quite a while and talked over events. (Interviewer's Note: In most places in Hungary people gather after the services are over and they form small groups and talk over events, ask about each other's health, about the political events, exchange the recent political jokes, rumours and so on. Well, in respondent's village this was not a custom. He did not include the expression 'contrary to local custom' by himself. It was he included it and)

"The church is situated right on the highway and even while we were in church we heard the rumble of tanks. After church we watched them pass on the highway. They came in groups of four, or five, or six. The soldiers were very intent and held the machine guns close as they stood in the turrets of

of the tanks. All the hatches were open and the soldiers looked intently, and I might say anxiously, at the people who watched them go by.

"I went home with my family and took my bicycle and went to the highway to watch the tanks go by. They kept coming until about 2:30 p.m.

"Afterwards, I went around on the bicycle, went out to the / and to several other places. (Interviewer's Note: getting around on bike is an activity of youth very much practiced when there is a restlessness in youth in Hungary. A considerable section, segment, of the youth does this when there are great things in the air and they feel restless and want to get somewhere and do something. If it is of any interest this interviewer could tell much about it. A number of years ago he dealt with this problem quite intensively.) As I got around I heard people saying that our Workers' Guard went over to Buda hills to fight as Guerillas. They never returned afterwards, maybe they fled, maybe they were killed or captured. We never learned.

"Next day - (November 5th) - I went to a neighbouring village. I saw there a burned out tank. People surrounding it told us that this tank had stopped the previous night in front of the Council House and the Russian crew got out of it and went into the building. Just then a group of hit-and-run Freedom Fighters attacked the tank, burned it, and when the Russians came out to the street the young attackers shot them. The members of the crew were all killed and the Freedom Fighters made their bodies disappear within a few minutes. Then they pushed the tank into the ditch.

"That night my family started wondering ~~xxxxxx~~ whether we should leave for Austria so that our / could be secured. My folks and my

grandparents felt that status was not very hopeful in Hungary because my father was a doctor of law and he was not a party member.

"An entire week passed before we picked up this matter again. All that week my parents didn't go to work.

"It was about the 16-17-18th that my folks took up the matter of our escape seriously again. They figured how much money they had and how much was needed to get out of the country. It turned out that we had some 2,500 florins. We decided to leave 700 florins to my grandparents. They themselves (my grandparents) had about that much from the earnings of my grandfather who played as a musician and from his retirement pension. We took 1,000 florins with us and used the remaining money to take care of taxes and other obligations our family had so as not to burden my grandparents. We told our neighbours, whom we liked and trusted, only on the 20th that we were going to leave. The neighbours were very good people who had helped us a great deal and we wanted to bid them farewell. They all wept.

"Father went to the office and he made a false statement alleging that our house was damaged and that we would have to leave for Sopronlovo to stay with friends until our house was repaired. (Interviewer's Note: Sopronlovo is on the Hungarian-Austrian border very close to Sopron). Father also wrote another similar false statement with a different town's name. He did this to be prepared for unseen difficulties if we would be forced to leave at another point. He put a rubber stamp on the false statements and made them look very official - meanwhile at home we packed just as if we really meant to take that trip and nothing else.

"We left on November 21st and my grandparents wept very much. We spent a day in Budapest with an oldtime friend of my father and we redeemed a piece of

jewellery my mother had pawned when we had bought our house.

"On November 22nd, we left Budapest. It was terribly cold. We got on a train at the South Railroad Terminal. We left for Szombathely. I saw clearly that most of the other passengers were heading for the border and my folks said the same. (Interviewer's note: When respondent is asked what made him think so he explains that it was not very usual in Hungary that an entire family travels together with small children, and it was even less usual that people had rucksacks with them. The rucksacks were used and destined apparently for the long walk over the border section.)

"When arriving in Szombathely we were supposed to show our papers in the terminal but we climbed the fence and evaded the check-up. We accidentally met a friend on the street who told us that Szombathely is ~~not~~ no good place to stay because people are harassed by constant police check-ups. Still, we decided to stay there for one night in a hotel. Thank God there was no check-up in our place.

"Next morning we bade farewell to our friend and managed to take a train to Sopronlovo, and we went to the address that had been given to us by a Budapest friend. It was the address of a peasant. We consulted him and he found two guides for us and he himself accompanied us for a while. We left most of our baggage behind so as to be able to move quickly ahead. The family decided to split in three so as not to be conspicuous if they see us. We needed the guides very much, otherwise we would have become easy prey to the Russian soldiers and Hungarian AVO men. But with the help of the guides we made it over the border without special difficulties. We just had to know when and where to duck. The guides told us and also showed us sometimes quite near the patrolling Hungarian and Russian soldiers.

A. The Demonstrations

Respondent told us that he had no hunch of anything preparing before he was actually thrown into the midst of demonstrations on October 23rd, and he told us that then he did not participate because he wanted to go home before his way home would be blocked by crowds or unseen events like stoppage of trains.

Respondent first learned about the demonstrations on his leaving the classroom after 5.p.m. on October 23rd. He was told by the instructor in charge that crowds were milling outside and that he should watch not to be 'trampled under'.

Though not participating in demonstrations, respondent explains that he felt elated because he saw that people may say aloud what they felt, and he explains that it was wonderful to see with what amity all people looked at each other and spoke to each other. There were no harsh words, he says, and there were no fears on peoples' faces and in peoples' voices.

Asked what he wanted the Government to do then, respondent explains: (1) "I wanted the Russians to leave Hungary"- (2) "If the Russians would leave we knew well that the Gero Government would be doomed" - (3) "I thought of free elections" - (4) "I was also interested in seeing compulsory Russian language instructions abolished" - (5) "I expected economic prosperity to ensue after government changes." - (Interviewer's Note: It was I, the interviewer, who put these sentences in singular because respondent used first person plural in every sentence. In his case, as in the case of others, it is very hard usually to find out what they mean by 'we'. Outstanding in many fields as Hungarians are on the whole - as far as generalization is possible - by far the most of them have never been reminded that they should speak in their own names, and more than that they have been given

the example of both the Nazi friendly era and the Communist friendly, let alone the Communist era, that people like to speak in the name of broad masses - but not only that, even modesty, as it was interpreted widely in Hungary, required that people don't speak in their own names. Individualistic as Hungarians are in their actions, and in the final analysis in their way of thinking too, when they speak in anything that could be considered public they usually refrain from speaking in their own names. Most of them do. They are quick to jump to conclusions and very quick to generalise. Blanket statements are the order of the day. Just look at such blanket statements even at our own conferences. The very essence of the explanation for why respondents are so inclined to use 'we' instead of 'I'.)

Asked what concessions respondent would have accepted as a possible compromise, he answers: "Had the Russians left, everything would have come automatically just as people wished."

Asked what he thought before the fighting started would be the probable outcome, respondent answers: "I thought that the Gero Government would have to go. I concluded that from the fact that the Warsaw demonstrations had also that effect."

Asked who the demonstrators were, respondent says: "Mainly youths and workers coming from plants at 5.p.m. but also intellectuals and soldiers. I saw that soldiers left their heads uncovered and had no belts on. (Interviewer's Note: When a Hungarian soldier was on duty he always had that wide military belt on and it has been always unthinkable for a soldier not to wear his headgear.)"

Asked about the organization and leadership of the demonstrations, respondent explains: "People somehow easily agreed that they would go to three

points; to the Sztalin statue, to the Parliament, and to the Radio Building.' (Asked for the source of this information, respondent answers: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Father told us that he heard of the Sztalin statue at the Parliament, and he as well as mother and I, myself, ~~xxx~~ heard that people moved to these three places.')

B. The Fighting.

Asked what he thought during the fighting what the over all outcome of the Revolution would be, respondent says, 'I had no hopes when I heard that the Russian tanks were coming into action. Before that I just ~~xxx~~ didn't make up my mind at all - by October 28th I hoped, particularly when I saw Russian tanks leaving Budapest, that the Revolution would win.'

Asked how the demonstrations turned into fighting, respondent says that he got his account out of newspapers which appeared during the three days of the Revolution: 'I read that when the crowd wanted to capture the Radio Building and one man went into the building as a delegate of the people he was worked over by the AVO to go out and to tell people to go home. He did so but the crowd resented it so much that they threw an apple at him. He was moved by the action of the crowd so that he told people what his assignment was, his assignment given by the AVO. As he did so, he was shot from behind when he called the AVO by name. As he was shot the crowd fell back into side streets, but people got furious and disarmed policemen in the crowd, so some people had arms in their hands. Now part of the crowd went back and then the AVO threw tear-gas grenades at them. Now people started shooting at the AVO. The AVO returned fire and many soldiers in the crowd got arms from their barracks and brought hand grenades and a real fight ensued.' (Interviewer's Note: Though, according to respondent, this account was

read by him in newspaper accounts, I still think it might be of some interest to include it.)

Asked when the revolutionary slogans came up, respondent reversed his former statement according to which he heard slogans ~~xxxxxxing~~ demanding the Russians to leave Hungary shortly after 5.p.m., October 23rd - respondent recalls having heard the name 'Freedom Fighter' the first time on the 25th when the fight against the Russians started.

Asked where and how the Fighters got arms, respondent explains: 'It was first the soldiers who turned their arms against the AVO and people also took away arms from the Russians who they shot. Thirdly, crowds raided weapons depots in barracks as well as in military warehouses - it was just too bad that the Hungarian Air Force had been moved to Russia for further training the September Before the Revolution because if they had been in Hungary they could have added greatly to the fire power of the Revolution.'

C. The Re-invasion.

Asked how he spent the days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion, respondent says that he worked most of the time in their garden as he had explained in his account.

Asked what he thought would happen when the Red Army had begun its retreat, respondent answers: 'First I thought that the fight for freedom was not in vain and was worth while. I thought that the withdrawal was serious.'

Asked when he first heard that the Soviet withdrawal had been halted, he answers: 'I heard on

the 2nd that Russians stopped at Dunakeszi. We also heard that they actually surrounded the airport of Budaors. We in the family and our neighbours concluded that the Russians had some reason to stop at many points near Budapest. (Interviewer's Note: It happened as an effect of this interviewer's constant questions whom respondent means by 'we' that on this point he defined it by saying 'we in the family'.)

Respondent first saw ~~XXXXXX~~ Soviet troops returning after church on November 4th.

Asked what his major lines of activity were from the time of the Red Army's return to the time of his escape, respondent says: 'I stayed at home and worked a lot in the garden. My folks didn't let me go to Budapest because they heard that many young people were deported.'

Respondent began planning his escape as he told elaborately in the account on November 5th.

D. Conclusion.

Asked whether he thinks on the whole Hungary has gained because of the Revolution, respondent answers: 'Hungary won but lost much mofe. It won because until the Revolution Hungarians had not much respect in the world. They had some world respect only in the field of sports. Now the world knows that Hungarians are a freedom-loving nation who can fight and die for their freedom - the thrill of two days of complete freedom will never be forgotten in Hungary; it cannot be forgotten.' (Interviewer's Note: No doubt respondent refers to the fact that he expects the experience the Hungarians made with their regained freedom to become a potent force in the psychological development of the people.)

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE
REVOLUTION

A.

Asked whether he expected something from the West, respondent explains: 'I didn't think of the West before the Russians came back on November 4th. I thought that the west could not tolerate that the Soviets trample us down again. I expected either shipment of arms or - as Radio Free Europe told us - troops composed of people of Hungarian origin.'

B.

Asked on what basis he formed his expectations, respondent says that the Radio Free Europe gave him reason to believe that help would be forthcoming, particularly in the form of troops of native origin.

C.

Respondent did not come into contact with any foreigners between October 23rd and the time of his escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Family Background.

Asked what father's occupation and income was before and after the war, respondent gives the following information: 'My father's occupation was just about the same before and after the war. He worked on the Department of Investments of the same Ministry. The ministry was called before the Communists took over the Ministry of Industry, and since they took over it was split up in several ministries and my father was on the Department of Investments, Ministry of Blast Furnace and Machine Industry. ~~My father's income~~
~~was about 2000 florins a month~~ My folks lived better before the war although they earned proportionately good money even after the war, I mean in the Communist era. Father had about 2000 florins a month and mother worked in the Investment Department of an industrial plant and earned approximately 1500 florins a month. At least 1000 florins of these two incomes were given out for Peace Loans, Union dues, property tax, radio subscription, fees and utilities.'

Asked whether his parents owned property, respondent says: 'When father first got married he participated in building a house and that house consisted of seven homes and seven small backyards. Father owned one of those homes in that building and he bought it under very favorable conditions as part of a development project. Later he sold that home which was practically one seventh of the building and he bought a huge family home in the village we lived in the last three years from the money he received from selling that home.'

Asked about the education of parents, respondent says that his father was a Doctor of Law and that his mother was a high school graduate.

B. Social Classes.

This is respondent's estimate of what social classes there are in Hungary: '(1) Intellectuals. They were hated lately because the Communists had no one that would have deserved the name and the old type intellectuals were called bourgeois by the Communists who wanted to do away with them - (2) Workers. They were the target of being tamed and shaped to Communist designs under Communism, but the Communists didn't get very far with their designs. - (3) Peasantry. They were always tricked into misery. They were not forced to pay the taxes of the old bourgeois era. They were only supposed to give their contributions for sustaining the Peoples' Democracy. They were not forced to deliver their products but were supposed to sell a certain portion of their products at certain times and at certain prices. All 'certain' date were determined of course by the Government.' - (4) Another class were the AVO people, party leadership, and high ranking officers. They were the aristocrats of the regime with 10-14-15,000 florins monthly income.'

Asked what contact respondent actually had with each of these groups, he says that he had no real contact with them and that he mixed only with students in his class and some other students from other classes.

Asked about his own attitudes towards these groups, respondent refers to his former statement which he made all by himself; in enumerating the social classes he gave some qualifying remarks which this respondent eagerly put down.

Asked to what class respondent feels he belongs he answered that he wishes to become an intellectual.

Asked which class in his view was hardest hit by Communism, he explains: "There wasn't much difference." - (When he is prompted by this interviewer to offer some guess, he answers:) "The old intellectuals. There was no chance for them. They had to be softened up but they didn't bend and so the whip of Communism was on their backs."

Asked what way he found the different classes felt about each other, respondent says: "There were no real tensions between the various classes - only the Communist aristocracy and the people had a conflict, but that conflict was very serious."

C. Social Advancement.

Asked what the chances in Communist Hungary were for an individual to get ahead, respondent explains: "I take students as my point of departure. The Communists said that their society was built mainly upon labour and peasantry, thus mainly in the beginning students of these two groups, that is to say students whose folks belonged to one of these two groups, were helped a great deal more in studying than the others. Students of intellectual parentage were asked very difficult political questions which they had to answer properly as a condition for admission to college. Even students with straight A or the best grades in their classes were harassed by very severe questioning of political nature. Whereas students whose parents were workers or peasants were admitted even with poor grades."

Asked about changes from '45 to the present, respondent says: "Some improvement under the New Course of Imre Nagy could be observed but when Imre Nagy wanted to bring about greater changes he was quickly ~~re~~ relieved from his post."

Asked what kind of individual, speaking of him as a person, would get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent says; "The bigger mouth he had and the more he bragged that he was a Communist the better he could get ahead."

D. Favoured Groups.

Asked what favoured group got more out of their society than they deserved, respondent answered: "The following people didn't do much more than just agitating and received tremendous incomes: party functionaries, reliable Army of Police Officers, and AVO members with more than three years of service."

Asked whether there were any other groups that got more than they deserved, the respondent answers that he knows of no such groups.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communist Effects.

Asked about the effects of Communism on family life, respondent says: "Family life deteriorated under Communism because people became too nervous because they were always afraid. It was apparent that my father was tense and feared lest they throw him out, particularly during the regime of the Rakosi and Gero clique - "

As probed about his own family, respondent says: "We lived in amity and pulled together."

Probed about other families, respondent says: "The ones I knew were from the same layer of society as I was, I mean families of engineers, doctors, and the like. The family life of those was intact. I also knew a railroad worker's family pretty well; their family life looked the same to me."

As respondent is told three examples of three types of family he settles for the latter two. He says, "It was not a clear cut case of either the second or third but some combination of the last two examples."

Asked which one of the families described comes closest to a typical Hungarian family, respondent says: he could not decide because the picture was so varied that there's not to estimate which one was most widespread.

Asked how children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent says: "In our family and in other families where people were not communists parents told children that the Communists were bluffing and

our folks told us about their lives. For instance, father told us about the Boy Scouts and compared the life of the Boy Scouts with that of Communist Youth Organizations. He said that Boy Scouts went to foreign countries, camping together with other nationalities, saw parts of the world and spoke to other foreign people whereas the Communist Youth Organizations were only talking big and that was all there was to it - we often asked questions in school that embarrassed teacher. For instance, we asked if people had the right to work and as they told us 'yes' we asked why did old, well educated people who had no good Communist records have to do the hardest kind of manual work. The teachers have no answers." (Interviewer's Note: I am aware that the latter part of respondent's answer is irrelevant in this paragraph yet I included it to show how speaking of his parents' role in his education leads him right away to tell about his coming up with embarrassing questions in school).

Asked whether there were families which were more affected by Communism than others, respondent says: "Yes, there were such that were split wide open by political disagreement within the family."

Asked what in his own family happened in with reference to Communism, he laughs aloud and says: "We had no split in ~~xxxx~~ our family and we never even gave thought to Communism."

Asked about other families that were able to hold on to the old ways, respondent says that he knew two families very, very closely. One was the family of an engineer, another the family of a doctor, and he explains that both parents in both families were of the same mind and that there were no problems as to Communism at all."

B. Sexual matters.

When respondent is asked how boys and girls behaved towards each other, what kind of comradeship developed between them, how often they met and under what circumstances, and so on, respondent says: "I was together with girls only in the first four years of school. From then on we had no more co-education. There were boy classes and girl classes ~~XXXXXXXX~~ in separate classrooms. Most recently, since 1955, in some classes of our high school we have girls again. Many boys liked to tease the girls like snowballing them or brag in competition with the girls at shows and at exhibitions. There were many competitions between boys and girls, boy classes and girl classes, and competition was pretty stiff - there were some boys and girls who fell in love. I don't know whether they kissed. (Interviewer's Note: This remark was prompted by a probe.) But I know that they went together to movies and to swimming pools and school dances."

"Sometimes our parents warned us not to do like this or that boy of whom they knew from their acquaintances that told us that boy went after girls instead studying, and just ran after the girls and also did things which were not right. I think the Communist way of life was responsible for this because parents often didn't even meet their children to teach them the right way of thinking. A great many workers were in such a situation; poor people were overworked and did not talk enough and well enough to their children." (Interviewer's Note: asked at what age the boys were to whom these remarks quoted above referred, respondent says they were boys of eighteen and twenty.)

~~Asked whether there was a difference in sexual morality of convinced Communists and others, respondent says: "I didn't hear about changes of moral attitude under Communism, I mean of moral attitude of Communists."~~

Asked about changes in sexual morality, respondent says: "I didn't hear about changes of moral attitude under Communism."

Asked what he happened to know about when people usually get married and whether their parents tell them when to get married and so on, the respondent says that as far as he can think back of what he heard it was after the completion of duty in the military service that most people got married and this is what the parents suggested to them.

The question is whether convinced Communists have a different sexual morality than others. Respondent says: "I didn't know convinced Communists at all."

C. Friendship with Communists.

(Interviewer's Note: Since respondent is a high school student, I changed the question from friendship with Communists to friendship with Disz functionaries, and here is his answer) "One of my best friends was a Disz class secretary. He, as class secretary, represented our class at the Disz organization and at various school functions. He was no communist. The poor boy had to attend higher political training courses. He told me that he wrote his homework usually during those 'blah-blah' lectures. He told us the best political jokes in the class which he learned from others at the leader training course of the Disz." (Interviewer's Note: I wish to draw special attention to this point because political jokes as a matter of course have no other nature in Hungary but ridiculing Communism, and this point proves clearly how involuntary the lower leadership of the Disz organization was at least in a great many places.)

D. Juvenile Delinquency.

Asked about juvenile delinquency, respondent says, "There weren't many juvenile delinquents. There were some cases of theft but we knew very little of all these things because papers didn't write about such matters."

Asked about hooligans, respondent reacts in the following manner. "What on earth is that?"

Asked about Jampec, respondent answers: "I didn't like them. Those were boys who dressed, and boys and girls who danced with a completely distorted taste." (Interviewer's Note: Surprised at hearing that girls were also called Jampecs, I asked respondent whether he is not mistaken and he reiterated that girls were also called Jampecs if they danced with boys those dances which I think correspond with the American boogie-woogie and similar dances.)

VII.

RELIGION

A. The role of Religion.

Asked what part religion played in Hungarian life, respondent answers: "Religion was attacked by Communism but in most people religion could not be eradicated. Peasants went to church just as before. Old peasant women went every morning to church just as before. (Interviewer's Note: In villages in Hungary - I mean agricultural villages as practically all of them are in Hungary - an amazingly high percentage of old women go to church every morning. This is what respondent refers to.) Only people raised in Communism turn away from their churches.

"Cloisters were dissolved and the sisters found places in civilian life and had good effect upon people. Our housekeeper was such a former nun. She was about sixty years old and she taught us the catechism in the evening.

"The Communists have their own Communist trained priests and preachers. Those were people whom the communists softened up and who preached to ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ suit the Communist taste. The people avoided such priests and preachers and went to services of good ones. In our neighbourhood there was such a ~~xxx~~ priest and people all detested that priest. On one occasion I could not afford to go to any other Mass but to the one this priest held and there were hardly any people. At other times when other decent priests were there the church was always jammed and people even stood outside on the steps."

When respondent was asked which religion was hardest hit, he answers: "I just don't know. I was a Catholic and I know that Catholicism was oppressed.

I don't know much about the others."

Asked whether according to him religion was a bulwark against Communism in Hungary, he answers: "It depends upon what the pastor and priest or preachers in general were like in that certain place, whether they were softened up by the Communists. Where the Communists managed to make them subservient to Communism of course church ceased to play any serious role but there were places where the priests or the ministers were people who had strong backbones and in such places of course religion played a very important part - religious people didn't like to go to places where they were told that ~~Communism is compatible with religion.~~ Communism is compatible with religion. Cardinal Mindszenty was very popular because people saw a pillar of strength in him. When he was sentenced there was a tremendous indignation all over the country. If people could have had their way they would have freed him. In the Revolution there were soldiers who ~~learned where he was imprisoned.~~ him by the way when they learned where he was imprisoned."

B. Personal religious life.

Respondent thinks that religion is about the same kind of a factor in his life as it is in the life of his parents.

Asked whether he thinks that he is more or less religious than the average person in Hungary, respondent answers: "Religious people didn't talk about their being religious so I cannot judge."

Here are the details of the actual complete aspects of respondent's religious life: "He is a regular church goer. He also had confirmation and

goes to Holy Communion about every month. There are only a few exceptions when he doesn't go a month to communion.

C. The Role of Churches.

Asked about the role of churches in education as respondent thinks would be the best, he answers: "It wouldn't be a bad idea to set up some church schools but the schools we had weren't bad either. Religion should be taught in all schools. There were some places in 1956 where this was done but registering for religious instruction wasn't advisable. My brother wasn't registered and most people did not care to register their children but they visited those religion classes regularly nevertheless. I happened to be registered but my folks were always afraid that this would mean something very detrimental to them."

Asked whether the churches should have the responsibility for setting moral codes and standards, respondent answers: "We had a state moral censorship that allowed certain films to be visited only by people who were over sixteen. That was adequate. Such a censorship could be exercised by the church as well as by the state, but such a censorship must not be strict and kissing itself should not be banned/ from the screen. There were quite a few pictures I saw on TV in America that could stand a little censorship."

Asked whether the churches should take an active political role in an independent Hungary, respondent answers: "People should make their own choices but church people should also have a voice in the country's government."

D. The Jewish Minority.

Asked whether the Jewish religion also was hurt by Communism, respondent answers: "I don't know, but know that Communists disliked any and every religion. I had Jewish classmates but we didn't talk about religion. Religion became more and more of a private affair lately."

Asked how the Communist rule affected the Jews in Hungary, respondent answers: "If Communists wanted to have good commercial transactions done they entrusted such to Jews. The Communists needed Jews. Take the example, for instance, of the National Planning Bureau. It was headed by people who turned out to be failures one after the other. Finally Zoltan Vas, a well educated Jew, took it over and he made it a success because he awarded successful people with special money awards. Zoltan Vas was not a persuaded Communist. When he wasn't needed he was pushed aside but later they needed him again." (asked how respondent was so amazingly well informed about Zoltan Vas, he explained that his father worked under Zoltan Vas and he thought very highly of him because this Vas talked to his employees in a very friendly way and he even criticised his Communist bosses and Communism in ~~ganz~~ general pretty openly. Respondent thinks that Zoltan Vas was a very typical Jewish intellectual.)

Asked what the attitude of Jews toward Communism was, respondent answers: "I think a little over half of Jews associated themselves with Communism. Many clever Jews received higher positions. Such people thought of course that Communism favoured them and didn't turn against it but rather allied themselves with it - at the same time, many small Jews were hit when Communists confiscated their businesses which they had built up with much labour and age-old know-how."

Asked about changes in their attitude during the last ten years, respondent says he is not so well informed that he could say anything about that.

Asked whether many Jews were communists and what their motives were, respondent answers: "As I just said, many Jews were in high positions and they were of course party members. However, this doesn't mean ~~that~~ at all that they were persuaded Communists. Not only that many saw it wise to associate themselves with Communism so as to secure their livelihood and their positions. Many of them were drafted because as I said there were many talented and very well educated and experienced people among them. I mean experienced in economic life. And Communists didn't ask them much whether they want or not but they offered them good positions and kind of drafted them to those positions."

Asked about the attitudes and actions of Jews during the Revolution, respondent has this to say: "I just don't know. I was not in Budapest in those days because my folks didn't permit me to go there so much. I wanted to be in Budapest. There were no Jews in our village. I bet if I could have gone back to my class in the High School in Buda I would have learned an awful lot of details."

When respondent is told that some people have said that Jews do not want an independent Hungary, this is his reaction: "I really don't know but I doubt very much because I don't think that any Hungarian Jew or Christian would fear an independent Hungary. On the contrary, practically speaking all people would like to have one."

Asked what respondent knew of pogroms, here is his answer: "I heard of pogroms. That such were a form of persecution, I mean persecuting Jews like evacuating them from their living places. It was particularly practiced I heard when Nazis took over

in Soviet Russia. But Russians did the same to Jews and Christians alike when they deported people from Budapest. But that was not called a pogrom."
(Interviewer's Note: Here is a case study in semantics. No doubt respondent spoke frankly and he does not know actually what form of persecution a pogrom is.)

VIII.

THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Definition.

Respondent would classify people between 13 and 23 as youths.

B. The Part of Youth.

Asked about the part that youth played in the Revolution, respondent answers: "They started the Revolution. They made the first few steps."

Asked why they acted as they did, respondent answers: "It was a tradition of the Hungarian youth to start a Revolution if they are oppressed. Take the example of 1848."

Asked why youths took the lead rather than the old people, respondent answers: "They are more fiery. They were fed up and couldn't wait any longer to shake off the yoke put on their necks by the Communists."

Asked what the older people thought of the youths during the Revolution, respondent answers: "They admired them. Many old people joined forces in the fight."

C. Educational System.

Generally speaking, this is respondent's attitude toward education in Hungary: "Teaching of subject matters

was good. In many cases, it was very good. For instance, in my school of Vocational High School of Electrical Engineering, teachers were competent engineers. My Hungarian teacher said before the Revolution about a poem we had to learn - it was a glorification of Sztalin - that we would not have read that 'trash' for which the author prostituted himself and he said that we won't have to learn that 'trash' - two of our teachers hated Communism very much and they did not hide their sentiments. One told us in class that Zoltan Kodaly was called upon on one occasion to write a new Hungarian national anthem like the Russians ~~did~~ wrote a new national anthem since they have had communism. The teacher said Zoltan answered that this was after a concert. A 'short, fat man' walked to Kodaly and said to him: 'Comrade Kodaly, write a new national anthem for us.' - Kodaly looked at him and said: 'That's not important - it was well written by Ferenc Erkel.' - you know the Hungarian national anthem is actually a prayer 'God Bless the Hungarians' and the Communists hate it but they needed some very big man to replace the national anthem which is so revered and loved by all people in Hungary - of course the 'short, fat man' was Rakosi.

"We were fortunate in our school because there were quite a few teachers with 'older diplomas' who taught us and who remained good patriots even under Communism and were not afraid to behave like patriots - but it was not in every school the same. There were quite great differences." - (Interviewer's Note: People with 'older diplomas' were such who had been trained in the period between the two World Wars and a few even before Communism. In fact, I was not right in putting terms this way because of course not only between the World Wars but also during the Second World War and up to about '47-'48 and these were considered quite generally speaking superior to those who were trained under Communism.)

"In other schools, I heard there were also teachers who were Party functionaries and they tried to lure youth to the other side with not much success."

(Interviewer's Note: I did not have to probe anything in this connection because respondent was so eager to say all these things as an answer to the main question.)

D. Indoctrination.

Asked what youths' reaction to Communist indoctrination was, respondent answers: "It depended upon what the fellow's parents and his teachers were like. At the age of 16 and 17, boys and girls started thinking independently for themselves and made up their minds.

"There was just no Communist in our High School class. There were none in the grade school either but we didn't know yet about the Korean children who turned out, as I heard later, to be on our side. I heard, and also read in a Hungarian paper, that most Korean students participated in the Revolution and were deported by the Russians.

"Communism was very unpopular with most students in other classes as well as far as I know."

Asked why indoctrination failed, respondent says: "They (the Communists) were not able to back up ~~what~~ what they taught in words by their deeds."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A.

Respondent explains that there were too high prices and too low wages and people were very dissatisfied with their misery. Particularly because they saw that a great many people who could afford before to take care of their children were forced to go to work, both the husband and the wife. "Here we go" that's what we heard of communism, that it destroys family life." - They said that the poverty into which they were pushed deprived them of rearing their children in a decent way. Good parents were hurt by this more than by anything - of course there was always the fear of the secret police present. Perhaps you read the poem by Gyula Illyes on
That poem expresses how we felt."

Asked what small things people were complaining about mostly in Communist Hungary, he answers: "Restrictions and ever more restrictions. This is forbidden and that is forbidden. You mustn't do that. You mustn't say that. If you say a good political joke you go to jail, and so on."

X.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living.

Asked how the respondent and his family got along financially during the last ten years in Hungary, respondent explains: "We got along pretty well if I compare it with the life of others I feel embarrassed and say we lived very well/compared to others. We even had a domestic help which was a great luxury in Hungary in the last ten years."

Itemising the standard of living, here are respondents answers.

Food: "We raised rabbits and chickens for meat and eggs and have nothing because there were seven members in our family and we have a garden not exceeding one acre."
(Interviewer's Note: At a probe whether if there had been less family members they ought to have delivered even though they had no real land, only a garden, respondent answers with a very definite 'Yes' and he explains that even gardens of the size they had were under obligation to deliver produce.)

Clothing: "If grandma could not have sewn I think we would have had a hard time meeting basic needs in clothing."

Housing: "Housing was excellent in our case."

Asked what respondent considered a luxury while he was in Hungary, he answers: "Our home was luxurious. Although the covers of our mattresses were shabby and had holes which had to be sewn, and although we had several other shortcomings, our home on the whole was luxurious. Otherwise I would consider a TV set or a car and even a motor cycle luxury in Hungary and I would say a car actually the utmost of luxury."

"It was clothing," respondent explains, "that caused most difficulty."

Asked about changes in living, respondent explains: "Our standard of living constantly worsened. It was particularly clothing which became worse and worse. There were of course many items which are natural in America and are pretty cheap for everybody to have like oranges. Well, we had one orange each for a Christmas present and that was considered quite a Christmas present."

Asked when the living standard was the highest in Hungary, respondent answers: "Between 1953 and '55. My father had a better position under Zoltan Vas in the Bureau of Plans. Vas behaved as a decent man and he dared to walk openly in the streets because he knew that nobody had anything against ~~ix~~ him. Well, under Vas my father had a better position because Vas judged him as to his abilities and as to his accomplishments and not as to what class origin he was."

Here is a family respondent thinks lived better off than any other families in his acquaintance: "The wife of an acquaintance painted silk scarves and had a good income from that. The man himself worked in a good job in a plant and they had no children so they could afford a much better ~~ixix~~ living than most people."

Respondent finds an easy answer to tell the reason why Hungarians' standard of living was so low: "Simply because everything was taken to Soviet Russia."

Asked about his father's income, respondent answers that he was never so well instructed that he could describe it. As he told us before, both his father and his mother worked but he knows no details.

C. Prices.

Respondent's family bought food in state stores, he explains, and also in private stores like in Budapest at the Szena Square. The state stores he mentions were called Kozert.

Asked about differences in qualities and in prices, respondent answers: "They were actually too small to mention. Private stores gave better products. (for instance, less sand in potatoes, or less water in the milk) But their prices were accordingly a little higher."

Asked about availability, respondent explains that private stores had almost everything that was needed in every-day life.

Asked whether differences in price were worth buying the more expensive food in private stores, respondent answers that he thinks they were, because otherwise his family would not have told him to go to the private store to buy this or that.

Asked about price differences in different years, respondent explained that he thinks they were just about the same.

Asked where they bought clothing, respondent says that they bought some in second-hand stores, others were custom-made for his father. He bought the material and went to a tailor or the tailor bought the material himself for his father and made the suit. His grandmother made almost everything for the children. As he grew up, he explains, they were looking for articles of clothing for him in the state stores but they had in a great many cases hard times finding the right size of article, like they were not able, he explains, to find a pair of slacks for him in the last year.

Asked about when the quality of goods was better and when it was lower, respondent says that cheap things were always of poor quality and expensive goods were always of good quality and he cannot say about any other difference.

Asked whether retail outlets were frequently unable to supply the consumer with goods, respondent says that they experienced it so. Queues were the order of the day and quite often queues were standing and waiting patiently and it turned out that supply was so short that only the first few got something. And in some cases there were announcements which turned out to be a mistake and they stood in a queue for nothing.

Respondent thinks that it was ~~xx~~ very hard to get fairly standard spare parts. He looked for several things for his bicycle and he had a hard time finding them.

Asked what commodities were especially in short supply, respondent says, potatoes above all and he was unable to find red copper wire.

Asked about the black market, respondent says that as far as he knows the black market was suppressed and tells us that he and his family did not buy at the black market because the prices were too high.

D. Working Conditions.

Respondent never had a job which could be called anything resembling regular work.

E. Agriculture.

E. Agriculture.

Asked whether he preferred to live in the country or in Budapest, respondent says that he found advantages and disadvantages just about in the same proportion in Budapest as well as in the country so he could not decide.

Respondent thinks that the diet in Communist Hungary was just about the same in a city as in a village because poor people ate little and poor quality food and rich people ate better things. He sees the only real difference in this respect.

Asked about the general standard of living, respondent has an easier time to answer: "Budapest had many swimming pools and it was not hard to pay the tickets of admission, and most swimming pools were wonderful. There were many cinemas and the movies were cheap and good."

Asked who had an easier time politically, respondent answers: "People in the country because they were harrassed much less by meetings and demonstrations. All the demonstrations, not only I but my family and other people said how happy we were that we were not living in Budapest and did not have to attend demonstration after demonstration. Quite ~~often~~ often I was in Budapest when I had to go to a demonstration and I found excuse by telling the teacher that my train was leaving in ten minutes and he believed my pretension and so I could get out of it, and went home to the village. We hated to listen to all of that "hot air" at demonstrations and meetings and we hated to applaud but we had to so we tried to evade them as much as possible."

Asked about what he thought of collectivisation, when it was introduced in Hungary, respondent explained

that he was too small a child in 1948 to form an opinion.

Respondent's current opinion of collectivisation is expressed in the following words: "Collectivisation is a dirty communist trick. I would say that only one half of one percent of the collective farms is effective because the soil and the leadership and the weather is good in those cases. All these three have to work together to make collective farming a success."

Asked who objected most strongly to collectivisation, the well-to-do peasants or the less well off, respondent answers: "The ones who have been in it for over a year are much more bitterly against it than the ones who have not even tried it."

Asked whether he heard of collectives being dissolved, respondent ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ answers that he heard of such over the radio during the Revolution. He thinks that the reasons for dissolution were given by the experience of people who had been on a collective farm for over a year. They must have seen, he explains, that people have too little incentive. They don't work either on their own or for fixed wages."

Asked what kind of agricultural system he would like to see in an independent Hungary, he answers: "I would like to see free economy up to 150 acres. I don't think that mammoth land holdings are right but up to 150 acres anybody can afford to farm his own land."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948.

Before 1948, respondent was such a small child that he did not know anything worth while mentioning of politics.

This of course holds true in reference to his opinion of the Communist Party.

B. The Communist Party after 1948.

Here is respondent's attitudes to Party Members: "People were simply drafted into the Communist Party. It looked like this. There were a few enthusiastic and rabid Party Members in a place and a number of paid agitators who in some cases might not have been members at all. They went to people telling them, "You should become a Party Member - you don't want to? - never mind! - you're in it all right" - They came to my father and tried to persuade him. Father said: "You bet. Of course!" - and when they left Father said to us: "I'm ~~xxx~~ glad they leave me alone with all that blah-blah" - Father never joined the Party. Had they come to him again ~~xxx~~ he would have promised them again and would not have joined the Party either- grandfather was a member because he was promised a very good position which was ~~xxxxxx~~ commensurate to his ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ college education. He had very poor menial work before because he had been in a very well paid, high class job before the Communists took over - on one occasion in 1955 I had to see grandfather while he was attending a Party Meeting. As I stepped into that room where they held the Party Meeting I saw some 15 or 16 people in attendance. I saw several of them sleeping as the

As the blah-blah speech was over, they applauded wildly but this is just an example to show that grandfather never cared. He just didn't give a hoot about the Party but he figured that he was too old and a menial job for him was too hard and still he ~~xxxx~~ wanted to earn his own living. He did not want to live on our charity alone.

"There were also some persuaded Communists, some of them quite enthusiastic as I told you before."

Asked about changes in party policies during the last eight years, respondent answers: "I was aware of the fact that a number of the Communist leaders were compelled to reveal self criticism but I also know that their self criticism did not improve them at all. They kept doing the same."

Asked about differences within the Party, respondent says: "Imre Nagy was regarded a right wing deviationist. He was an educated and a sensible man not an uneducated cobbler or a drunkard as so many of the Party leaders were."

This is what respondent thinks about Party morale: "Only the persuaded members of the Communist Party liked it at all and they liked it above all for the reason that they have good positions. I wonder whether they would have been as enthusiastic and fanatic members if they had not had such good jobs. People who don't like to work like to receive a lot of respect and a lot of money and power. And most of them were that sort."

"It goes without saying that the Party Members who were drafted into the Party, as I explained about my grandfather detested and hated the Party and felt embarrassed that they belonged there
that a great many of them quit ~~Part~~
~~xxxx~~ Party membership during the Revolution. They

were just too glad to get rid of it."

This is respondent's opinion of the top leaders of the Communist Party: "They have no motives themselves. The Kremlin is the only motive. Their possessions, their power and so accordingly their happiness depends upon the good graces of the Kremlin."

The Communist Party leadership is thought of collectively speaking quite critically by respondent: "As Marx explains it: high living standards for labor and labor in the leadership of the country with the aristocrats using pick and shovel and cobblers sitting in ministerial positions." (Interviewer's Note: Minister, of course, means a Cabinet Minister and ministerial position means the position of a Cabinet Member.)

Respondent is very evasive and hesitates and finally decides what he thinks of high Communist Party leaders as persons. He says that his father and mother would have ~~xxxx~~ a much better way to explain what they think but he feels too young to say anything worth while.

Here are respondent's views on the conviction of high communist leaders: "As we learn the story of Rakosi's life it seems that he was a really convinced communist who fought fanatically for not only himself but for the communist cause. Even when he was forced ~~xxxxxx~~ to announce self criticism he rather stepped back but he did not force himself to reveal that he was a failure because he probably believed that his actions were all right. I think he is a fanatic and probably there are more of that fanatic sort. I think Gero is one. In fact I think that most of the top leaders are persuaded communists. Rakosi was a Sztalin. He was so skillful that he possessed an almost unlimited ~~xxxxxx~~ personal power. The others don't have such a supreme skill leading the others by their noses."

Somehow respondent now is ready to say something about the personal motives of the top communist leaders as he is asked again: "I think they are anxious to acquire as many material and personal gains. By personal ~~gain~~ gain, I mean gains in power as possible."

As to their competency, respondent thinks they are different but the majority is perhaps incompetent - "Imre Nagy and his best friends like Zoltan Vas were well-intentioned. If Zoltan Vas were a Minister of Finance, as he , he could do very much good. My father knew Zoltan Vas pretty well and he thinks that he was no real communist. He told us an anecdote which he said was completely true that should say something about what I am trying to explain about Zoltan Vas: "One day one of the ~~ex~~ employees who worked in Zoltan Vas's office came in too late and as he stepped into the office he greeted loudly 'Freedom, Comrades, Freedom!' (Interviewer's Note: Freedom is the official and very strictly enforced but very widely ~~disregarded~~ disregarded kind of greeting for Communists). Zoltan Vas looked at the fellow who was late and told him, 'If you weren't late you could have spared that greeting.'

This is respondent's perception of the difference between the ~~xxx~~ motives of rank and file members and those of the leadership: "Most leaders are persuaded Communists, most of the common members are not."

C. Opposition.

As respondent is asked about various sorts of opposition, he answers with little hesitation: "None of these you told me about were possible in Communist Hungary. The AVO was so well organized that people were intimidated to put up any resistance aside from passive resistance. It was only here in America that I learned that there were underground Boy Scout troops."

I met two scoutmasters who told me that they had some small but allegedly quite vigorous and active Boy Scout troops in secret."

Asked about the activities of the intellectuals, respondent says: "Most of the intellectuals became apathetic and didn't care how they were kicked around."

Probed as to whether he knows anything about resistance of intellectuals, respondent says: "In the last six months when the Gero group was tottering the Writers' Association wrote more and more openly against the regime."

Asked about the Petofi circle, respondent says: "It was some association of writers, of ~~young ones~~ the young ones." (Interviewer's Note: At interviewer's probe, respondent says that he heard this back in Hungary.)

Asked whether the intellectuals in the Writers' Association and in the Petofi circle, the two places of resistance respondent knows, have anything new to say, he answers: "They started putting down cautiously what people said but they did so really only after Rakosi resigned."

This was respondent's reaction to them then: "The Writers' Association worked on the basis of Petofi's 'To The Courts of the 19th Century'. I read in articles of Szabad Ifjusag about the resolution of the Writers' Association that they adopt the principals of that poem as their policy in thinking. But they referred to improving the party by criticism. (Interviewer's Note: The poem mentioned asks the poets to castigate all the sins of the regime and to sing the song of truth and justice and freedom, and it speaks in critical language.)

"There was a joke at home (Interviewer's Note: 'at home' is the most used term for Hungarians to describe Hungary if they are away from it. If ever a frequency list would be set up to show how they referred to Hungary if they are abroad I think that the phrase 'at home' would win the first place with a very wide margin.) According to this joke an employee hated his boss and wanted to tell him that he was a scoundrel. A friend suggested to him that he must do the same as he did in the case of his sweetheart by telling her 'Honey, how ugly your hair is! Take care of it! - But you're still wonderful' and he explained to him that this was a fifty-fifty way of putting things. Now the man tried out the same method ~~witkxkxkxkxkxk~~ on his boss: 'You're a great bum but you still manage your company well. Your father was also a scoundrel and you surpass him but you're a genius.' - Well, this ~~q~~ was the method of these intellectuals. They dare not say the truth quite ~~amg~~ openly without singing some praise at the same time. Of course people understood what was sincere and what was insincere. That was a great merit of theirs."

Asked why he thinks those intellectuals stood against the regime, respondent says: "In a free Hungary they would have been against such deeds as the regime committed day after day very openly and very fiercely. It was only fear that kept them back from speaking out. It should rather be a question why they did not turn earlier and more against the regime, but that was fear, as I said; it is natural to revolt against something which is so low and so rotten in every detail as was Communism in Hungary."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret Police.

Asked what sort of people the secret police were, respondent says: "A cruel political secret police. The real AVH people were plain clothes detectives and policemen and mainly police officers. (Interviewer's Note: Of course plainclothes refers to all three categories). They donned uniforms on the occasions of parades only. Sometimes even when they were not on duty - there was such ~~an~~ a plainclothes AVH detective in my father's Ministry and he was cloaked in the position of a regular employee but people discovered after a while that actually he was such an AVH man and they hated him as sin. People in Hungary detested such persons. Most people helped together in the Ministry to get rid of him and tried to find pretences how and why he should be removed from there. But the AVH was stronger than anything in Hungary - such plainclothes AVH people liked to sit in places where people talked openly, like in barber shops or in trains. They listened to people and at the moment they thought they had enough material against them they seized them or saw that they be seized later on some other occasion. Anyway, their political files were filled up."

Asked whether he or his family had personal experiences with AVH men, respondent answers: "Fortunately not. It was on one occasion that they looked for father while we were in Austria because he was blamed by an employee for what that certain employee did. But that was during those few months we spent in Austria as refugees in 1945. By the time we returned, the case was forgotten -

I heard several times from my folks, as well as from other people, that one had to be very careful when writing resumes because the AVH kept a very close record of one's doings and they compared the resumes one wrote on any occasion with all the others, and if they saw discrepancies they became very suspicious, called in people and quite often beat and tortured them so that people confessed things they never did, and all of this was due to nothing else but to their not remembering well enough one or two data in their personal record as they wrote their resumes, because those resumes had to be very detailed, extremely elaborate."

Asked whether anybody in his family was arrested, imprisoned, or deported, respondent answers: "The father of one of my good friends, a worker, by the way, disappeared in 1954. All people knew about his disappearance was that a jeep stopped in front of his house. They called him out and took him in the jeep and nobody ever saw him. Absolutely never has anybody learned anything about him."

Asked what he thinks should be done with those who have been members of the AVH when Hungary is independent, respondent answers: "They won't dare to stay in Hungary. They will either flee to the Soviet Union or they will hang themselves - even during the Revolution they rather reported to the police than to be exposed to the fury of the people."

These are respondent's feelings about the regular police as compared to the AVH: "They were rather traffic police and criminal police. They had little to do with the Communist machinery of the country. People didn't detest them. In fact, they had very little ill-feeling against them."

of the Army sided sooner or later with the Revolution, except for the River Forces.

Asked how he learned about the Army's activities during the Revolution, respondent says: "People in the Worker's Guard of our village said so. And Imre Nagy announced this fact himself over the radio - I also talked to refugees in Austria. Among others, to a soldier who fought in the Killian (?) Barracks. He was heavily wounded. He had in fact eleven bullets in his body."

Respondent could not say any details as to various kinds of differences between parts of the Army.

Asked whether he was surprised by the Army's actions during the Revolution, he says: "The Hungarian soldiers were after all men drafted from among the people. It was just natural to them to act like the people. Everyone did. The officers had a very hard time trying to keep them under control."

D. Russian Troops.

Asked whether Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1848, respondent says: "No. They are due mainly to the fact that they conquered Hungary and kept it occupied. It was rather for this reason that we didn't forget what they did in 1848. Otherwise, that would have been just as much a part of the past as our century-long hostility with the Turks against whom we don't have anything right now - Grandmother related that our nice homes living-room bed room combination which had some very good furniture was completely looted. Among others, the Russian soldiers took the drawer of an ornate antique chest of drawers to feed oats to their horses from it. They simply took it out not heeding any

protest and carried it down to the yard and put it in front of their horses. Grandmother said to me that she saw Russian soldiers drinking Cologne like vodka and she saw them with horror washing their faces in the toilets. To top all of this they took our bathtub, so much my folks and my grandparents protesged, and pleaded with them, they took it to the yard and they made a fire around it and that was the way they made hot water in it. And they took a bath there to the horror of all people round who saw them ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ How do you think that Hungarians should respect such people?"

Asked how much he was able to learn about the Russian soldiers, respondent answers: "There was a temporary military camp of the Russian Army near our home on a Danube island. Soldiers came to our village and talked to people, mainly to girls. They tried to tell them nice things, tried to do so even in Hungarian, but the girls were very reluctant to associate with them and they were afraid of them. They were together always in groups. Sometimes former POWs or people who learned Russian in schools went and helped interpret what the Russians tried to say. People say that they sometimes told x them very openly what they thought of Communism and of the Russians - I think they were not very much surprised when they saw the Hungarian people revolting. A Hungarian soldier in our village told me that most Russian soldiers didn't want to fight with them and that they disobeyed."

At a probe as to how the soldiers who were stationed in that certain camp behaved, respondent answers: "Those in the military camp had been shipped away before the revolution so the camp was evacuated when the revolution broke out."

Asked what ~~xx~~ his general picture of the Russian occupation soldiers was, respondent answers:

I didn't care for them. I looked down on them and resented their presence. Sometimes I talked to people in Russian but I also had a chance to talk to some of them in Hungarian because quite a few Russian officers spoke at least legal Hungarian."

Asked what the relations between Hungarians and the pre-revolution occupation troops were, respondent answers: "They were friendly relations. This was because we did not detest and hate the persons but the occupation and Communism."

Asked whether there had been much contact and on what levels, respondent answers: "Whenever those Russian soldiers in the military camp I speak of could get a pass they came to our area, to the village, and went to the tavern and spoke to people. Quite a few of them went also to the movies."

Asked about differences in conduct with officers and enlisted men, respondent says: "Many officers spoke Hungarian and it was much easier to talk to them, therefore they had more contact with ~~the~~ people. Besides they were more intelligent in picking up a conversation."

Asked what he thought of such social conduct, he answers: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ We didn't care. Many talked and joked with the Russians with no consequence at all. They sometimes enjoyed hearing how hard they tried to talk Hungarian and they liked them personally for taking so much trouble and trying to speak in the Hungarian language."

Respondent couldn't say anything about the views of Russian soldiers because, he says that the conversations of which he has part of, or of which he heard, never went that far that the contents would have been of any significance at all.

Asked about the attitudes and actions of Russian

soldiers during the revolution, respondent says that he was not in Budapest and all he knows is from hearsay. But he explains that he was not a bit surprised at hearing that so many Russian soldiers did not want to fight. He heard from other people that Russian soldiers disobeyed their superiors on many occasions.

Respondent explains that he was really surprised on November 4th on experiencing and particularly hearing that Russian soldiers fought savagely. He understood only when he learned that those were neutrals.

Asked about individual brutality by Soviet soldiers towards Hungarians during the revolution, respondent says: "I heard of a case in which a queue of women who wanted to buy bread in the Eleventh District of Budapest was shot up by Russian tanks. Most women in that queue were massacred, I heard."

E. Government Officials.

Respondent disclaims any knowledge of the doings of government officials.

F. Corruption.

This is what respondent can tell us about corruption: "I heard that favouritism, called recently rather 'personal connections' got people to school, to higher schools to which people were not easily admitted. I was such a case myself. We needed good personal contacts to be admitted to High School."

G. Competence of Leaders.

Respondent thinks that the secret police were very good in torturing people and in inquiring ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ about other people and in framing people.

Speaking of Army leadership, respondent says that they received a good training in Russia.

Speaking of Russian Army leadership, ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ respondent thinks that they are very well trained and capable Army leaders.

Speaking of bureaucracy, respondent says that there are two kinds of people in bureaucracy, such with old time training and that they are good. There are new-fangled office officials, he says, who have very little training and are accordingly very poor.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next Few Years.

These are respondents guesses about the next few years: "First of all I think that the Kadar government will fail next year. I also think that the Russians won't be able to keep up the armament race and will have to enter a disarmament agreement. In ~~xxxxx~~ such a case they might agree to withdraw troops from Hungary. Automatically, Kadar will have to go and Free Hungary could be born."

Asked about expected actions of the West, respondent says: "It will enter disarmament agreements and Hungary will be included. Perhaps, in a way, as was suggested by an American leader (Interviewer's Note: apparently respondent refers to Senator Knowland) that Norway should be neutralized for Russian withdrawal from Hungary as an exchange."

This is respondent's expectation of Russian policy in the future: "No matter what the Russian leaders will try to do, resentment will grow in Russia and the Kremlin won't be able to keep up the armament race and will have to enter a disarmament agreement."

Asked what his hopes are, respondent explains that his hopes are the same as his expectations.

Asked what way he hopes to see his hopes realized, respondent answers that he does not know what way negotiations are usually carried out. He also would like to know how much part public opinion in America is actually playing in determining the foreign policy of the country. Thus he hesitates to name anything. As the probing questions come up, this

is how respondent answers: ¶

About a war between the USSR and the US: "No. No because Hungary would become an area of operations and would be destroyed even worse than it is now. And the world itself would also suffer terrible destruction, God forbid!"

Asked whether he thinks that a war is likely to occur, respondent answers: "I think that a war is not likely, not for a while at least."

Asked about other means, he suggests: "The United Nations could be the fight forum to decide in such matters, although lately it behaved as a ~~firm~~ good-for-nothing organization it certainly could have done an awful lot in the case of the Hungarian revolution. Yet it hardly ever moved and never carried out its resolutions."

Asked about the probability of internal changes in the Soviet Union leading to a settlement, he said: "There is a resentment growing in Soviet Russia, I am quite sure. But I could not prophesy when and how this would erupt, and whether the change would or would not provoke a third world war. I hope not, because if people don't want to fight they revolt, and when they revolt they don't want to fight an external war."

B. Hopes in Retrospect

About the prospects for Hungary during the last 9 or 10 years, respondent says: "I thought that relaxation would follow when Rakosi resigned. Before that I did not expect anything, because oppression was too strong. After I saw that nothing special happened after Rakosi resigned because Gero was not much better, I kept hoping that another and better person would come to rule over Hungary after a while. But I didn't think that Communism would be overthrown."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary

Asked what sort of system he would like to see in independent Hungary, respondent says: "A democracy as in America. Freedom and free elections, because that insures that the people's will is carried out. People will elect the best persons for leadership, and if not, they will elect others at new elections."

B. Details on Economy

Asked whether Hungary should emphasize agriculture or industry, respondent decides for agriculture. However, he feels that uranium and aluminum mining exploitation, by establishing industries, would be very necessary and useful for Hungary.

Asked whether Hungary should emphasize heavy or light industry, respondent decides for light industry. He explains that there is not enough iron ore and coal in Hungary to maintain efficient heavy industry. He thinks that agricultural products supply ample raw material for the textile industry, and the same is true of synthetic materials.

Asked what should be done with the national enterprises if the Communist regime were overthrown, respondent says: "The national enterprises should be put on a basis of small stock ownership. No private person in Hungary can own a factory because he cannot afford to hold all the stocks. But many people will be able to afford to buy small quantities of stocks in a free Hungary, and that should be the basis of a free Hungarian economy."

Asked what should happen to the Volkhozes and the state farms, he answers: "Another land reform should be carried out distributing state land holdings and from then on private ownership with a chance that people might buy more and establish larger holdings, should be the principle of Hungarian agricultural properties."

Asked what role the government should play in the economic system of Hungary, particularly in agriculture, respondent answers: "Even here in America the government has a modest supporting role. It gives long-term loans so that poor people can buy machinery and the same thing would be even more important in Hungary."

Asked whether the government should set a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own, respondent answers: "No, if somebody can afford to buy larger pieces of land, why not?"

Asked what kind of government respondent would like to see in a free Hungary, he answers: "The democratic form of government with a free party system."

Told about two possible kinds of government, respondent, without hesitation, decides for the first type.

Asked whether he would be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, he answers: "It is not outlawed in America either, but still they do not cause much trouble. Let them have their say if there are a few crazy people who would like to join them. Outlawing the Communist Party would be contrary to the free party system of a representative democracy."

C. International Position

Asked about the position respondent would want Hungary to have ideally, he says: "Hungary should either become part of a United Europe or should become an absolutely independent country like Switzerland. Actually, I would like to see Hungary become part of the United States of Europe because I see that the United States of America is prospering as a strong association of states. I think we should have something similar to that in Europe, but if that were impossible, I would like to see Hungary completely independent of any alliance of states. Hungary has suffered enough because it belonged to one or the other bloc of nations -- I mean power bloc of nations. As an independent country it should have good neighborly relations with all countries, but particularly with the West."

You can't depend on Russia as it is now. As long as Russia is Communistic, there is no way of getting along with her. But we should have the best possible relations with the United States of America. I don't think we should have military alliance with any country. If and when a war breaks out, of course that would be different. Then Hungary should ally itself according to the situation at the time."

Respondent is not ready to engage in more conversation about details in international relations. He reiterates that the best possible course for Hungary to take would be to become part of the united states of Europe and, if not, then it should be as independent as humanly possible.

Asked what he thought of the possibility of some sort of federation of Danubian states, respondent answers: "I could not think of such, because of realities on hand. But I knew from history that ~~tried~~ tried such a federation."

Asked under what circumstances he learned of ~~his~~ his attempt, he answers: "I learned it in the ~~sixth~~sixth grade in school."

This is what he thinks of such a federation: "It's a good idea because they could become a serious factor in world politics. We could have a much better economic ~~situation~~situation because various countries would have a great assortment of various products, agricultural as well as industrial."

Asked whether such a thing would be possible, he answers: "Yes, but the Russians must go home first before we can even think of it."

Asked which states he would like to see included, he answers: "I would like to have Czechoslovakia excluded, because there are too many Communists, and Stalinists at that, in Czechoslovakia."

Asked what the opinion on this matter is in Hungary, respondent says: "There are two kinds of opinion in Hungary. One half of the country, I would say, would be for such a federation of states. The other half would like to see a Switzerland-type independent state, with borders corrected according to the will of the population."

Asked whether he finds Hungary's present boundaries acceptable, he answers with a very emphatic no. Asked whether he would like to see any territorial adjustment, he answers: "Yes, to such an extent as the population of those areas concerned with adjustments. I want to have an international plebiscite."

Asked whether he is concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary, respondent answers: "You bet I am. Over three million Hungarians in the neighboring states should be the concern of every Hungarian. Plebiscites should be held and exchange of population should be effected in areas where the plebiscites would not be completely decisive."

Asked how important this whole question is to him, he answers "Very, very, very important."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World Events

Asked what he heard about Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress before the revolution, respondent answers: "Nothing, absolutely nothing."

Respondent didn't know anything about Senator McCarthy, nor did he know about the Un-American Activities Committee.

Respondent has no idea who Peron was, nor did he ever hear about his fall.

This is what he heard about Rakosi's private life: "I knew of a secret ~~xxxxxx~~ air raid shelter with elaborate secret installations like the air pollution cleaner. ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ I also knew of an emergency exist of the socket of the Stalin statue (Interviewer's Note: To my question whether he knew about these things prior to the revolution, respondent answers that he did not. He just learned about them during the revolution. During the revolution he also learned that Rakosi left on a heavily loaded train. Prior to the revolution he heard "that his car was accompanied by two cars stacked full of AVG bodyguards with cocked pistols. I saw myself that the Istenhegyi it was lined by policemen. Every hundred yards there stood a sentinel.")

B. Sources of Personal Information

Asked from what sources he drew most of his information about what was happening, he answers: "From my father, X and also from Hungarian radios and newspapers, although I did not believe more than a tenth of the stuff they gave us. The two sources I believed were Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America."

Respondent explained that the most important of these sources was his father.

The next in importance were Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

C. Word of Mouth

Asked what sort of news he got by word of mouth, respondent answers: "Mainly news of a domestic nature, cultural and economic news."

Asked from what sort of people he got this news, respondent answers: "Above all, from my folks and the economic news from Radio Free Europe."

Asked whether this news was more or less reliable than the other sources, respondent answers that he found them most reliable. "One could not believe everything from Radio Free Europe, but still it was incomparably more reliable than the sources at home."
(Interviewer's Note: I intentionally left respondent's answer to the above question as it is because apparently he identified Radio Free Europe with the expression "word of mouth.")

D. Reading Habits

Speaking of newspapers, respondent says that he liked to look at the pictures published in papers and magazines, and that he read only the sports sections of the paper and very little of the news other than sports. It was almost exclusively Szabad Ifjúság which he read, but sometimes he took a look at pictures in other papers, he explained.

Speaking of books, respondent says that he read novels mainly. Aside from school assignments, (Interviewer's Note: In Hungary pupils in high school have to read at least 40 or 50 books), half of which were Russian propaganda books, I read novels, mostly about the War of Independence of 1848-49. Asked what he felt about the kind of reading available, he answers: "Aside from those which were school assignments, that is to say, compulsory reading, the others were okay."

Going into more detail about his readings in the newspaper field, respondent says that in addition to the sport news, he also read news about youth activities. For instance, he read about the conferences of the Disz.

Asked about how much trust he placed in the papers, he explains that he never trusted political news concerning the west.

On the whole he trusted cultural and sports news.

Asked whether he used newspapers to get an idea of what actually happened in the world by reading

between the lines, he answers "No, because that wasn't a good source."

Respondent read no publications from the USSR or other satellites.

The same is true about publications from the West.

He didn't read any illegal publications either.

Speaking of such illegal publications, which had been published prior to the Communist era, respondent says that he read boy scout literature.

Asked where he obtained this he said that his father had them in a trunk and that his father permitted him to read them.

To further questions respondent explains that nobody knew they had that literature and that they lent it to no one-- generally speaking respondent doesn't know what happened to ~~xxxxxx~~ proscribed books.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

Asked what he thinks of chances of changes inside Russia, respondent answered: "I think changes are likely to occur rather by gradual liberalization than by a revolution because the Russian Secret Police have developed a system which is too strong."

Asked about further details on his views in this field, respondent declines any answers because he feels that he has not enough factual knowledge to engage in any speculations.

Asked what he thinks about the feelings of the people in Russia about the Communist regime, respondent answers: "I was never there, so I just cannot know anything about it."

In spite of his hesitation and reluctance to answer the preceding question, respondent answers without any hesitation the question what he thinks the result of free elections would be: "The present regime would be swept away in a jiffy."

Asked what kind of government would result, respondent answers: "Probably it would not be a dictatorial one."

Asked what the top leaders of Russia are like, respondent answers: "They are persuaded Communists. Collectively, they have power ambitions to rule over the entire world, and personally they are power-drunk, irresponsible, unscrupulous people who saw the French and British withdraw from Suez, but did not do so themselves, although there was a similar decision of the UN concerning them."

Asked about the difference between the Russian leaders and the Hungarians, respondent answers: "The only essential difference is that the Russians dictate and the Hungarian top Communist leaders obey."

B. Eastern Europe

Speaking of the relative popularity of other nations in eastern Europe, respondent says that Poland is the most popular in Hungary and ~~xxxx~~

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perhaps, and he says this with great reluctance and hesitation, Yugoslavia comes second. Respondent has an easier time naming the two nations which are the least popular, and he says they are ~~Czechoslovakia~~ Czechoslovakia above all and Rumania second.

Respondent explains that the sympathies of the Hungarian nation go to the peoples of those countries concerned and their lack of popularity is due to their governments.

In detail, respondent says "Czechoslovakia displayed dirty behavior during the Hungarian revolution. When Kadar got back into power, they greeted him first." - His explanation of the popularity of those nations he named, Poland in particular, is "The Polish nation has a similar lot in history and it suffered just the same and it also chose freedom whenever it had the chance."

Respondent explains that he shares these feelings.

Respondent had no contact with Bulgarians, Czechoslovaks, east Germans, etc.

Asked what he thinks what would happen if free elections were held in the east countries, respondent says: "I don't know what would happen in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. But in the other countries, the Communists would have to go, I am sure."

Trying to compare the standards of living, respondent says that he thinks Czechoslovakia has the highest standard of living and Hungary and Bulgaria are on the bottom.

C. Poland

Asked what he thinks of the Polish situation, how he interprets Polish developments since the autumn of 1956, respondent says: "It was a real change in Poland. Gromulka broke with the Russian leadership and I don't think that the Russians told him to borrow from America. He did it on his own as he did many other things on his own."

Speaking of the "policy of gradualism" respondent explains that he thinks that Gromulka's policy means a progress but -- "How favorable is known only to the Polish and will be decided by future developments."

Asked whether Gromulka will stay in power and what his future policies will be, respondent answers: "The two depend on each other, namely, Gromulka's stay in power and his future policies and both of them depend upon the support of the people and upon the support of Moscow. I don't know what the future will look like."

Respondent thinks that his views in these matters did not change during the last five or six months.

Asked whether the events in Poland ~~had~~ had any effect on the events in Hungary, respondent explains: "When people saw that it was possible to do something in Poland, they hoped that something could be done in Hungary as well. This was the explanation of why the Hungarians were stirred up when they heard that Gromulka managed to stay in power."

Asked about effects during and after October 1956, respondent says "It is difficult to judge it. I don't know what the situation in both countries was at that time well enough to come to a conclusion."

Asked whether he thinks there were any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gromulka's rise to power: "I know of some relaxation, but only in the wake of the Poznan riots. In fact, I knew of nothing before the Poznan riots."

Asked whether people in Hungary generally knew about this, respondent says that he doesn't think that the Hungarian people knew anything significant of the Polish development before the Poznan riots."

Asked how he got his information and how others got their information respondent says that he heard from people who listened to the foreign radio stations.

Asked whether he would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines, respondent says: "No, unless Imre Nagy had become Premier and he could have had his way. That would have meant a

wholesome reform as it did in 1953. I think if a large enough pressure from the UN could be counted on, Hungary would be free sooner than Poland. It is still not too late."

D. Yugoslavia

To the question whether ~~xy~~Yugoslavia has been influential in eastern Europe, respondent says: "The Hungarian Reds watched with particular care what Tito said and did. As his relations with Moscow changed so did many of the measures and even general policies of the Hungarian Communist leaders."

Asked whether he views Tito as the originator of national Communism, respondent says: "If there is such a thing as national Communism, of course Tito made the first of these misfits."

Asked about his attitude to "national Communism" respondent says: "Communism as such is bad enough. National or international it is Communism. International Communism is worse not because it is a different type of Communism but because it is completely prone to the oppression of Soviet Russia."

Asked about Tito's relations with other east European nations, respondent says that it was amazing to watch how the Hungarian Communists changed according to "what kind of winds blew from Moscow. As one joke went, once the Hungarian Communist leaders called Tito the chained dog of the West and then when his relations with Moscow improved, they called him " ."
You should know that Hungarian Communist leaders never act on their own, but always according to orders received from Moscow."

Speaking of Tito's relations with Russia, respondent says: "Tito is a shrewd fox who tries to get as much advantage from Moscow as possible."

Speaking of his relations with the West, respondent explains "Foxy Tito tries to milk the cow that is the West as much as possible. The West is stupid and irresponsible enough to let Tito get away with it without extorting concessions from him."

Asked about Tito's position with Hungary and the Hungarian revolution, respondent says: "On the one hand Tito liked to see that ~~xxxx~~the Hungarian

nation was trying to become independent from Moscow to an extent. On the other hand he was afraid that they went too far and that they discard even socialism as such and were about to establish a system of free economy. He was afraid that his own Communists might go that far."

Asked about his attitude toward Titoism and Titoists in the satellite nations, respondent comes up with this explanation "I don't know enough about these national Communist endeavors to say anything worthwhile about them. I don't think that Rajk was much better than the other Communists. He might have had some leanings toward independence, but after all he was the one who built up the AVD."

Asked whether he thought that Tito is popular in Yugoslavia, respondent says he doesn't think so because Yugoslavia is still a very poor country and people certainly cannot be proud of Tito, who plays both sides.

Asked about his knowledge of internal conditions in Yugoslavia, respondent says that he knows only that they are living in great poverty.

E. Middle East

Here are the respondent's views of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt: "Egypt had the right to nationalize the Suez Canal, but it was a dirty deal that it refused to pay for it. The British and the French attacked Egypt because of its refusal to pay, and because Egypt arbitrarily disposed of their facilities. When the UN passed a resolution that the British and the French had to leave, they obeyed without much protest. But the Russians haven't left Hungary to date, although they received the same order to get out of Hungary."

invasion

Asked about the Israeli invasion, respondent says: "I don't know now the reasons for that invasion. That happened during the revolution and I had no chance to follow the events."

Asked whether Egypt had the right to nationalize the canal, respondent refers to his statement in the beginning of this chapter on the Middle East.

Asked whether he feels that events in Egypt had any effect on developments in Hungary during the autumn of 1956, respondent answers: "Of course. The Russians were prepared to interfere at Suez. There is ~~was~~ both for French and British troops and for the Suez Canal in Hungary. But somehow they didn't manage politically to get their forces to Egypt so they used them against Hungary."

F. West Germany

This is respondent's impression of the living standards in West Germany: "It is by far the highest in Europe, perhaps even higher than in America. Here in America we hear of inflation and in Germany there is none and opportunities for work are better."

Asked about the likelihood that Germany will start another war, respondent says: "I don't consider it likely at all."

Asked what he thinks of the West German rearmament, respondent says: "I don't think they are really arming because they don't manufacture arms."

Comparing the West German army with that of Britain and that of France, respondent says that he thinks the British are still stronger but the German soldier is much better than the British soldier "As they say, one German division is worth two French divisions. This is even more true about the relation between the British and the Germans. But I don't know how strong the French are. Perhaps the Germans are a little stronger."

Respondent thinks that the service in the West German army is about three years. He bases his estimate upon the comparison that even here in America the service lasts for two or three years.

Comparing the occupation of Hungary by the German army ~~and~~ during World War II with the occupation by the Russian army, respondent says that the Russian occupation force was much more distasteful to him than the German. He found the Germans much better disciplined and he says that the Russians were ~~much~~ more hated. But he adds "not the persons were detested nor hated, but the occupation force as such."

G. Western Europe

This is what respondent thinks of NATO: "It is a strong organization. France, Germany and Britain head this organization, and I know that Norway is in it too, and I don't know for sure, but I think the U.S. is part of it."

Asked to compare the NATO with the Warsaw Pact, respondent comes up with this answer: "I don't know what the difference between the two is. The Warsaw Pact was never made public. They also said it was designed to stop Western imperialism, but I never knew what it really looked like."

This is respondent's attitude towards the NATO: "It is very necessary in Western Europe. If there were none the Russians would overrun all of western Europe."

Respondent doesn't know anything about the British Labor Party.

Speaking of living standards in various countries, respondent rates them in this sequence: first west Germany, second Great Britain, third Greece and Egypt, fourth the Soviet Union and fifth Italy.

H. The United States

Respondent was particularly surprised by America in the following ways: "The strikingly high living standard as compared to that in Hungary. The fact that if there is production there is employment, if not so much production, there are layoffs." (Interviewer's Note: This brief remark means that respondent was surprised to see that employment was not steady but was completely dependent upon the fluctuations in the market. In fact, he was painfully embarrassed by seeing layoffs, ~~xxxxxxx~~ he later explained.)

Respondent thinks the U.S. should do much for the people and the nations of Eastern Europe: "The U.S. should ~~xxxxxxx~~ exercise stronger political pressure upon the Soviet Union. It should achieve the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary by putting pressure upon the Soviet."

Asked about the actual present policy of the U.S., he says: "I don't know American foreign policy. I saw

that ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Henry Cabot Lodge fought for Hungary but the UN still didn't act."

Asked what the U.S. policy should be in the area generally, respondent says: "It should keep all countries out of the Soviet alliance by helping them, for instance by long-term loans."

About Hungary he says: "The U.S. should do everything for Hungary's liberation, but the liberation of all others is just as important."

Respondent says that there have been no changes in his attitude since he came to this country.

Asked what the relations of the American government should be with the present government in Hungary, respondent says: "Boycott it. It isn't the government of the people, it is the puppet government of Moscow."

Asked about Western visitors in Hungary, he says: "Of course, Hungarian people would like to see as many Western visitors as possible. The people would like to have Western visitors see how they are living and how they are oppressed so that the conscience of the West will be aroused."

Respondent says that all kinds of Western visitors should go to Hungary and he insists that they should be told nothing because "they will see what is going on there with their own naked eyes."

Speaking of Western books and periodicals, respondent says: "I think the people would be happy to receive such because I had little idea about what life in America looks like, and everybody is interested to know what the rest of the world is like."

Respondent says Western books and periodicals should be sent to private persons; "otherwise the Communists would censor them."

Asked whether it would make a difference to the people whether or not Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications, respondent says: "It would be all right to keep in contact with the people of Hungary that way."

Respondent doesn't know anything about the Marshall Plan.

Respondent does not venture to offer his opinion on the American involvement in the Korean war because he lacks actual information, he claims.

I. The United Nations

Asked whether the UN ~~was~~ could have affected the situation in Hungary, respondent says: "Just as it did affect the ~~sit~~situation in Egypt."

This is respondent's general attitude toward the UN: "It is good for nothing because it only labelled the Soviet aggressors for what they are, but it did not do anything about it. The report of the Five Nations Commission is good for the world but little good for the world."

These are the particular views of respondent on the UN actions ~~d~~during the autumn and winter of 1956: "It is tragic to see that the UN could have saved a little country from doom and it did not. How can an organization be afraid of one of its members? What kind of an organization is that, after all?"

Asked about the chances of effective UN action for Hungary, respondent says: "Perhaps there is some hope if it discontinues dealing the way it has so far with Hungary, and if it starts acting."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELECTED PERSONALITIES

Respondent ventures to say that the greatest living Hungarian is Cardinal Mindszenty. He reasons that "While the Cardinal was allowed to act, he acted in a most courageous way and since he had to suffer, he has been suffering also in a heroically martyr-like way. He sacrificed his entire life and every thought of his to the cause of a free Hungary."

Imre Nagy - "He is first a Hungarian and then only a Communist, so I think pretty much of him."

Cardinal Mindszenty: See above.

Laslo Rajk - "I didn't know about him. I didn't follow his trial. All I know is that he was something like Tito. First they hanged him, then they scratched him from the grave and buried him with a lot of fanfare again--one of the instances in which the Communists revealed how bankrupt ~~xxxx~~their policies are."

Erno Garo: "He is the same scoundrel as Kadar."

Janos Kadar: "A traitor, a puppet in the hands of ~~xxxxxxx~~the Russians."

General Bela Kiraly: "I don't think that he is such a great anti-Communist. Anti-Communists were not able to get such a high rank in the 'Hungarian People's Army.' It is great of him to turn boldly against the Communist regime during the revolution, but I wish he had proven himself before."

Anna Kethly: "I don't know her activities. I know only that she would like to organize her party, which is the Socialist Party and I read a few slanders about her in the Szabad Magyarorszag."

RePresident Eisenhower: "He pursues the policy of peace. He would like to create a peace all over the world, and he overlooks things just because he would like to preserve the peace at all costs."

Secretary General Hammarskjold: "He is the UN General Secretary, but I don't what I should think of him."

Dulles: "As Secretary of State I think he is doing all right. He seems to be a determined statesman."

Aden: "I heard that he resigned and withdrew after the Suez crisis."

Truman: "Had he been the president in 1956 there would be no more Russians and no more Kadar in Hungary! He would have issued an ultimatum to the Russians that they should get out. I heard many people say the same in Hungary."

Nikoyan: "He is a dirty pig. He is a scoundrel."

Nehru: "He tries very hard to show good face toward all. He has good reason because his country is too close to China, so he tries to play both sides."

Generalissimo Chiang Kie-shek: "He is the head of nationalist China, but I don't know what part of China is still nationalist. Perhaps it is only Formosa by now. I learned only last year that there was such a thing at all as nationalist China."

Ferenc Nagy: "He was the Hungarian Prime Minister right after the second World War. He was for democracy and he hoped that the West would help him to maintain democracy in Hungary, but they let him down. Now he is in exile, and tries to work for Hungary."

Roosevelt: "He was no good in World War II because he helped the Russians too much, though the Russians found it too little. I understand that the Americans regretted now that Roosevelt was so lenient toward the Russians and so gullible."

Chancellor Adenbauer: "He is a determined statesman. I hope he will win at the elections."

Stalin: "He may shake hands with his friends who sit on his throne right now. He was a dictator. I don't think there has ever been a good dictator, but he was certainly the worst of all."

Malenkov: "Malenkov, Molotov, Nikoyan and so on are all the same as Stalin."

Generalissimo Franco: "Respondent doesn't know anything about him."

Bevan: Respondent doesn't know anything about him.

Khrushchev: Respondent repeats what he said about

Malenkov, Molotov, Mikoyan and so on, and he adds "people have called him 'the smile policy' since the Geneva Conference. He smiled even when he directed fire on the Hungarian population."

Tito: "I spoke at length about him before and I may conclude what I said by describing him as a sunflower who always turns towards where he thinks the sun is."

Peron: Respondent doesn't know anything about him.

Molotov: "As I said, he belongs to the same group which is just as good as Stalin was."

Ollenuer: "I knew already in Hungary that he was the leader of the opposition party in Germany. He is overindulgent toward the Russians, I think."

Churchill: "He was British Foreign Minister in World War II."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARDS EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

This is respondent's estimate as to who left Hungary: "Freedom Fighters and such who had to flee because of their past -- like prisoners who were freed, political prisoners, or such who would like to keep studying at colleges or universities. And also those who were particularly afraid of the AVO."

Speaking of their ages and the various groups, respondent says: "They were mainly people between 16 and 30, students and workers above all, but also some peasants. They came mainly from areas where the revolutionary activities were particularly strong, like in Győr."

This is the respondent's view of the reason for leaving: "Above all, it was the fear of the AVO and secondly there was a desire to learn in foreign countries."

This is what respondent thinks of who stayed behind: "Part of the intellectuals stayed behind because they grew apathetic. They didn't hope anything would work out in the West and they felt too attached to the country. This was particularly true of the peasantry in villages where not much revolutionary activity was going on during the revolution, and therefore the danger that they would be revenged by the AVO was not too great. And of course the Communists stayed home. There were others who meant to escape but didn't manage to. Again, others remained in Hungary to keep resisting and to try to save the Hungarian people this way. Many older people remained, thinking that they would like to spend their few remaining years if not in a free country, at least among the Hungarians."

This is how respondent feels about them: "Somebody had to stay at home, because otherwise there would be no Hungary. I don't know what we could do if everybody had left."

Asked for an example of a person respondent knew who had an opportunity to escape but decided to remain in Hungary, he answers: "The ones who wanted to flee didn't speak of it, just as we didn't speak a word to anyone, so I wouldn't be able to estimate and give a correct answer to this question."

In respondent's opinion, the people of Hungary think about those who left as follows: "I think that most of them are glad that at least the refugees managed to flee, and perhaps they can do something for Hungary."

Assuming they had a chance to come to the U.S., respondent thinks the following: "Seventy-five percent would have stayed at home because they felt that their place was at home. I would not have come had I not been confident that I can study here in a college and get the education I need for helping myself, my family and my country."

B. Exile Organizations and Individuals

Asked how aware he was of exile organizations and individuals, respondent answers: "I knew of the Boy Scouts. I heard their Christmas program on Radio Free Europe."

"Unfortunately I heard too little about any other organizations. I think Radio Free Europe should let Hungarians know much more about what goes on in free countries."

His feelings are expressed in the following words. Aside from the Hungarian Boy Scouts, respondent hasn't heard of any other organization. He thinks it unfortunate that the Boy Scouts are not mentioned in the list. He says they should be mentioned. Here are the names about which he can say something:

Ferenc Nagy: "I spoke about him before when we were asked names."

Viklos Palay: "I heard that he was Prime Minister during the war years, and that he tried to go with the West Allies. But he didn't manage to do so because Hitler's spy system discovered it and they dragged him into a concentration camp just as the Germans did so many millions of other persons, Jews and so on."

General Ferenc Farkas de Tisbarnak: "I know from my father that he had been the Hungarian chief scout and that he was a great and good leader who was pretty democratically inclined and was not such of a militarist, but still a great general."

Otto of Habsburg: "He is the son of the last Hungarian king and he would like to become king himself. I don't think he has much chance because the Hungarian people are ripe for democracy and they don't want to be ruled by kings."

Admiral Horthy: "I heard that actually he was a great patriot and he wanted to help Hungary very much, and that he actually hated Nazi rule and tried to side with the West allies. It was not his fault he didn't manage to do so. At the same time I heard that he was not socially minded enough and that remnants of the old feudal system were not completely abolished during his regime."

Asked what the exiles tried to do for Hungary, respondent answers: "I heard when I came here to America that they tried to call the attention of the world to the plight of Hungary, and to explain to people ~~that~~ that the Hungarian nation would never give up its fight for freedom. I understand they staged many demonstrations, also for this purpose."

Respondent would not dare to estimate what they accomplished.

Asked what they should have done if they didn't do enough, respondent says: "They were too far away from Hungary and they were not able to do much. I don't think they can be blamed for that."

whether he

Asked ~~what~~ thought of the exiles during the revolution, respondent answers: "I heard over the Radio Free Europe that exiles were organizing to come to aid Hungary. For instance, former Foreign Legion members. I think they would have done something if they had had more time to organize and to come to Hungary's assistance."

C. Redefectors

This is what respondent knows about the redefection campaign: "In 1955 and 1956. Communists talked particularly big about how good people who come home had it. They wanted to show how good Communism is. But people thought: 'If they are so crazy, they will come home' - I understand there were some people and the Communists tried to ~~take~~ every ~~advantage~~ advantage of their redefection."

D. Exile Tasks

Asked what he thinks the people who have left Hungary should do now, respondent says: "They should create good understanding with the refugees of 1945 and 1947, 48 and 49."

The people in Hungary would like to know about

the exiles, respondent says, "whether they are really making out all right."

Respondent feels that he cannot offer any suggestion for what they should know.

Asked what the exiles should do now, respondent says that they should keep honest and good people and should not let their devotion to Hungary's cause fall asleep in their hearts. They should behave in such a way that Hungarians will be appreciated and liked by everybody.

This is what he thinks he personally could do: "I would like to study and learn an awful lot and return to Hungary a well-trained man after it is liberated."

Asked whether he would like to join an exile organization, respondent said he would like to join the Boy Scout organization, and in fact he has already joined it.

Asked what that organization should do, respondent says: "It should help us become better human beings and better Hungarians."

Asked about his feelings about the various Hungarian political parties, respondent completely declines to say anything about them, claiming that he is too young to think let alone to say anything worthwhile about political parties.

E. Plans for the Future

Respondent wants to go back to Hungary when there is freedom in that country.

Respondent wants his children to learn Hungarian in the U.S. if he marries and has children.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

Respondent listened to Radio Free Europe, to the Voice of America and during the revolution, also to the BBC from London.

Respondent says that the reception was best with the Radio Free Europe.

Respondent says stations were jammed very much and particularly the Voice of America.

Respondent listened only to Hungarian language broadcasts.

Before the revolution respondent listened to the radio about twice a month and during the revolution every day, to Radio Free Europe above all.

Respondent never told others what he heard.

Respondent listened to his own radio except during the revolution, when ~~their~~ their set was out of order, and they were not afraid to go to others to listen.

Usually he listened together with his family.

Physical circumstances of listening are described by his emphasizing that they sat very close to the radio so they could hear it well while not playing it loud.

Respondent didn't practically hear foreign broadcasts at second-hand.

Respondent thinks that there was quite a danger involved in listening to foreign radios.

Still he thinks this did not deter people.

Here are respondent's reactions to these broadcasts: "I was particularly interested in the news, and I think about 50% of them were reliably true. There was some propaganda involved in the other 50% and there were many mistakes made. Particularly Radio Free Europe made many mistakes. Of course, for these reasons I prefer them to the Hungarian radio."

Respondent preferred Radio Free Europe over the other foreign stations because he could hear it best.

Respondent thinks that none of the broadcasts were very accurate, but the Radio Free Europe was even less. However, he doesn't think there was much difference.

Asked what effect, if any, these broadcasts had in Hungary, respondent says: "The knowledge of facts was more important than anything, and the effect was that people were able to know at least to a great extent what was actually going on in the world."

Asked whether foreign stations played any role during the revolution, respondent says: "People trusted that help from abroad was forthcoming. This is why they are disgusted with Radio Free Europe now, because its newscasts maintained that help from abroad would be forthcoming."

Asked in particular about Radio Free Europe, respondent refers to his former statements.

When respondent is told that some people have said that Western broadcasts, and Radio Free Europe in particular, helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding up promises of Western help, he takes the stand that he belongs to those people who say the same.

Asked whether Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts into Hungary, respondent answers: "Of course it should, but it should revise its policies and should not incite any people to commit any actions against the regime unless they will be helped by the West in their fight."

Asked what program in particular should be broadcast, he answers: "Realistically presented news above all, some propaganda never exaggerating realities, and the youth should be given programs of Boy Scouts in exile. Also Hungarian refugees' sports events should be broadcast."

B2C Free Europe Leaflets

Respondent [redacted] Respondent has never seen any Free Europe leaflets. He never heard of more

than their mere existence.

D. Goals of Western Groups

Asked what he thinks the purposes behind Western media in general are, respondent says: "Enlightening ~~un~~people, because the Western democracies believe that the more enlightened peoples of the world are, the better are their actions and the better the results of their actions will be."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important things a child should be taught are in work and obedience, and also a great desire to acquire a good education.

Asked how a child should be disciplined, respondent answers: "I am for strict discipline because I know that people have to be taught discipline while they are young so they can apply self-discipline later on. There are many ways to make a child understand, if possible, by explanation and good words of admonition. If that is not enough, then punishments like not going to see a movie he would like to see or ~~xxxxxx~~ an entertainment park, or something of that sort would be advisable. But eating should not be among things which are restricted. If nothing of that sort helps, I think physical punishment up to the age of 15 is very necessary in a great many cases."

Asked whether the treatment should be the same for both boys and girls, respondent answers: "Girls should not be kept so strict, and particularly corporal punishment should be avoided in their case except if they are very ~~young~~ young."

Respondent thinks that corporal punishment should be abandoned with girls at the age of 12-13 and if possible even earlier, and with boys at the age of 14 or 15.

Here is an example of how he received punishment in earlier years: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "It was in the school year of 1952 and 1953 I brought home poor grades. I was 12 years old at that time. My father took a stick and he really thrashed me out. ~~ix~~I think it was necessary. It helped me a great deal. I was a poor student up to then, and from then on I started studying seriously and I became one of the best in the class."

Asked who among the people he knew usually ~~it~~ punished children who were 6 years old or older: "The one who was next to the place where the ~~it~~misdemeanor or what have you took place. They didn't consult or ponder much, but whoever was right on the spot let the boy or girl have it. Very often irate scolding was the way of punishing the child."

Respondent thinks that the kind of punishment

XXX

did not differ much in different classes, but he thinks that children in the middle class were held stricter on the whole.

Respondent says that he wouldn't like to estimate what changes there were in the last ten years because he is too young to compare the last ten years with the ones before.

Respondent says that physical punishment is abandoned for boys at about 18, and for girls at about 13, 14 or 15.

Speaking of punishment in general, respondent says so far as he knows scolding is very general in later years as well. He says of course the tone of the scolding is more mature and less irate.

Respondent again declines to speak of changes under Communism.

Asked how punishment changed in the first 8 years at school, respondent says he heard from his parents and older people that children were very often beaten with the help of sticks, and on their palms, fingernails or bottoms. But now, teachers usually refrain from doing such things although there were cases where one or the other teacher became furious and let the pupil have it. Under Communism he says teachers usually preached, admonished, and gave punishments like writing letters to the parents, or sending the child to the principal and letting the principal scold him, or making him write things a hundred times, and so on.

Here are the characteristic respondent values most in a friend: "Honesty and sincerity are the most important. If I cannot rely upon what someone says or on his actions, I cannot rely upon him at all. Unselfishness is the other very important characteristic, because friendship, after all, is based upon human love and affection, and there is no sincere love or affection if it is selfish. Helpfulness in general and cheerfulness are very important too."