

II. SALIENCE QUESTION

The Hungarian revolution was the first real attempt to break the Soviets' world domination. The Americans should have supported it much better. As it did not succeed, a first-class opportunity has been missed.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES DURING THE REVOLUTION:

October 22.

That evening, at the university students' home, I took part in the meeting of the engineering students, meeting during which we debated the demands raised by the students of Szeged on October 20, and when we also elected our student representatives. Everybody expressed his opinions freely. We decided to continue the debate the next day, Monday, at the University. At that time, we did not know anything about the demonstrations to come.

October 23.

We held a new meeting in the morning, in a very feverish atmosphere. We learned that a demonstration would take place, and we decided to participate. I joined the demonstrators at 5 P.M. when they left the status of General Bem and were going to the Parliament. The crowd was very large, and made various demands. The demonstrators were not organized, there was not even a car with a loudspeaker. The students of the Lenin Institute voiced discontent when the crowd asked for the removal of the red star, but they were shouted down. Cars were arriving from everywhere. The crowd kept shouting slogans, but it had no leaders.

I left the demonstrators after 6.45 P.M. because I had succeeded, with great difficulties, to obtain 2 tickets for the operetta "The Csardas Queen". The theatre was crowded and the people were restless. At 11 P.M., the performance was over and on my way back home, I saw a Russian car burning on the street, and many people standing around it. I didn't know what was exactly going on. I tried to establish the contact with my fellow students, but could not find any of them. From that time on, I can't keep an exact chronological order, because I was either at home -- I lived near the Parliament -- of fighting, mostly near the National Museum.

A. (4) The atmosphere was catching. I did not think the demonstrations would have some consequences or results. I was glad we didn't have to fear the AVO and were free to shout everything we liked.

(5) I wanted complete independence, the dismissal of Gero and free elections. I did not want several parties because of the danger of discord. I wanted the withdrawal of the Russian troops. But most of all, we all wanted ~~xxxxx~~ the independence of our country. The majority of the demonstrators consisted of students, especially from the universities, who were joined by passers-by. Workers came later on trucks, with the students of the industrial training schools. The demonstrators were mostly young people.

(8) Each school had a spokesman. The demonstrations can be called spontaneous; the initiative was taken by the students, but there were no central or formal leaders.

B. (1) I was not present when the fighting broke out.

(2) I did not hear this word.

October 24.

On that day, with three friends, we got machine pistols and rifles. We heard that workers from Csepel were distributing a truckload of weapons in a street. We went into a house at Kalvin Square, and started to shoot from the windows at the Russians who ventured out of their tanks. In the evening, we were supplied with some food on the spot, and went to the Ninth District.

October 25-26-27.

the next day
We returned to Kalvin Square. Our building received two gun shells, and we had to abandon our position. In ~~xxx~~ a street, AVO-men were shooting at the passers-by from a cellar. We silenced them with the help of two soldiers. I went home and hid my weapons behind the garbage can.

On October 25, I took again my weapons. An AVO-man was shooting from a roof until he was shot down. The Russian tanks were coming back to Kalvin Square. The Soviets also started to shoot with 4 barreled anti-craft guns. At that time, my nerves let me down, and I went home.

Between October 27 and November, I didn't fight, but went to the university to find a guard there, which I joined. We formed a company under the command of an air-force lieutenant. We were well organized, had weapons, ammunition, cars and trucks. We were on alert day and night, and as soon as a call would come in, we sent a unit on the spot. I took part in one of these surprise attacks at the Moskva Square against the AVO and the Russians, together with people who had gasoline bottles. Several Russian tanks were destroyed.

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B. (3) There was one girl with every twenty men. They showed unbelievable courage. Most of them were student girls in their early twenties.

The students (secondary schools and universities), from 17 to 26 years of age.

The workers, up to 50 years of age.

I did not see many office employees and intellectuals in the fighting.

(4) The workers of the arm plants put the weapons on trucks and distributed them to the people on the streets. Arms were also taken from or given by the soldiers of the Hungarian Army.

(5) There was no formal or central leadership. The young people would find themselves fighting together in one street. There was no coordinated plan, or cation.

(6) One goal: to shhot down as many Russians as possible. I felt that something had to happen.

(7) I didn't have time to think of this.

(8) The Russians simply came in, they didn't ask to be called for.

III. THE RE-INVASION

I went to bed on November 3, and woke up the next morning at the sound of the Russian guns. We heard the news on the radio and knew that the Russians were coming back. I became filled with anger, and was furious that the Government had been confident, didn't organize the Army, and also because the Western help was not coming. I wanted to go out, but my parents would not let me. As the Party House was near our home, our district was immediately occupied. On that day, I could have been on guard at the University...

I could hardly go out the next days. Two Russian tanks were stationed permanently in our street.

As soon as I heard that new Russian troops were coming into the country, I suspected that their withdrawal from Budapest was a tactical maneuver.

An AVO informer lived in our house. On November 18, 25 Russians and two AVO-men came to our house and arrested a man who fought with me during the revolution. By chance, I was not home at that time. My father told me it was dangerous to stay any longer, and I decided then to leave Hungary. On November 20, I left Budapest on a bicycle with a piece of salami and an old rucksack. I avoided the Russians and reached Gyor, from where I got a ride on a car. Then I ran some 20 miles towards the border. A near-by bridge was blown up in front

front of me. The Russians heard me, and searched me with reflectors, but I was able to avoid them and to reach safety in Austria.

One last experience of the revolution: the massacre before the Parliament.

I was going out when I saw a huge crowd of demonstrators with flags, trucks, and even Russian tanks with civilians on them. Suddenly, I heard a terrible shooting and saw the crowd running in all directions, amidst cries of horror. Half an hour later, the fire ceased, and the AVChased the people. I went there, and was able to count 43 dead in one pile. The wounded were taken on trucks and ambulances. The square was covered with blood and littered with clothes. I saw the bodies of many old people, and some were women. The sight was just unimaginable ~~amazing~~...

V. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST:

I expected much help from the West. Not only weapons and supplies, but also soldiers, i.e. Hungarians living abroad. I hoped the Americans would take advantage of the situation against the Russians. But I didn't think of a world war, because I saw how weak the Russians were. I knew that the Soviets would not respect Hungary's neutrality, and that the U.N. had no police force and could only offer speeches and resolutions.

I didn't hear promises of direct help over the radio. But before the revolution, everybody thought from the broadcasts that we could count on Western help if some day something would break out. When no help came, we realized that all we had got were empty promises.

I didn't meet any foreigners during the revolution.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father is a teacher for 25 years. He taught Hungarian history, then music, in Kecskemet and in Budapest, in public schools.

My mother was a German teacher before the war. She did not work after her marriage, but has to work again today, as a cashier in a state store (Köszert)

My family has no property.

My father graduated from University, my mother from secondary school.

B. The real social classes in Hungary today would be:

- 1) The convinced Communists
- 2) the nominal Communists
- 3) the others

I mention this classification because everything, i.e. position, living standard, etc., depended on what group one belonged to. The Communists had the good jobs and the good salaries. Among the others, ~~xx~~ very few could have the same, and could live normally.

There are three social groups: the peasants, the workers and the intelligentsia. And completely separated from them, the top Communists.

The peasants.- They lived better before the war than now. The Communists wanted to win them over. The big estates were divided by the land reform of 1945. The peasants wanted to keep their land, and when the regime tried to force them to enter the kolkhozes, this opened the eyes of the peasantry. The regime persecuted them as kulaks, burdened them with heavy taxes and delivery quotas.

The workers.- They were better off before the war than now. They are harassed, and still in misery. The regime always said that the power was theirs, but all knew that they were the victims of the totalitarian state. The revolution proved that they were not "the solid defense" of the regime.

Intelligentsia.- Consisted of office employees, professors, writers, artists, etc.

2. & 3. I had contacts with the peasantry at Kecskemet where I knew many peasant families. For them, their land was the first and sacred thing, they wanted to work and die on it. They were all dissatisfied with the regime.

I met and knew workers later, while working in various factories and enterprises. They all criticized the regime.

My family belongs to the intelligentsia.

C. The three social groups were brought closer by the Communist oppression. The intellectuals didn't look down at the workers and peasants. The workers considered themselves stronger than the peasants, but it could not be called a feeling of superiority.

D. The peasantry was not satisfied, but couldn't do or organize anything. The workers were waiting for a proper moment to do something, they criticized sharply the regime and were more active than the peasantry.

The intelligentsia had to fear the most if it got into trouble politically. They were fired from their job and had to perform physical work. They formed small groups among themselves and remained quiet. This attitude changed before the revolution. The intellectuals, especially the writers, stood up against the regime. When the revolution broke out, all classes united and took an active part in it.

The hardest hit by Communism were the aristocrats, capitalists, and big land-owners who were suppressed as social classes after 1945. Many went to the West. Today, the hardest hit are the workers. They never worked so much in their life and received so miserable wages. They are tired and harrassed to death.

E. A basic condition: to enter the Party, and to become, or to pretend to be a Communist. One must be able to adapt oneself to the Party line of the moment. In practice, if everything worked out all right, it meant that he was supported by the Party got connections, and could climb the ladder. But he was always forced to speak as the Party wanted him to speak,

If he was not a CP member, an intelligent man could not go ahead, even with good connections. Another obstacle was one's family origin and background.

Before the Communists took over completely, CP membership was not an essential condition. In 1953, we thought that something would change, as the CP membership was not so much in the foreground. Many independent small artisans were given licenses.

2. A man who does not care even if he is doing the wrong thing, who does everything he is being told by the Communists, in brief a carrierist with a small brain who knows no mercy.

F. The CP members and Communists in general, the AVO and the informers.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. They parents had to explain to children at home what they were not taught at school. This was especially the case with the intellectuals. ^{the/}

The state tried to take the child away from home (nurseries, Sunday instruction) in order to influence them and to ~~xxxx~~ educate them itself. The peasants' children were maybe the only ones who got more education at home.

B. Yes, for instance the Communists suppressed religious instruction, and wanted to bring up a new generation for themselves. The ~~xxxxxx~~ revolution showed the results of that education.

The children were put in day nurseries, later became pioneers. They were shown movies or were taken on excursions on Sundays, so that they could not go to mass. In their education, the Soviet Union is represented as the wonderland.

But the state never succeeded to change the parents' education, and did not influence the children, who generally obey their parents. But every family is a different case.

In school, the former regime was described to have been very bad, and the children were taught to like the new regime.

G. As I was a young child when the Communists took over, I can't tell much. Millions of different cases. All I can say is that today, girls have more freedom than they had before.

(Respondent not very willing to talk about these matters.-Interviewer)

1.

D. True friendship could exist only between people who shared the same ideas and the same feelings.

2. One doesn't change one's ideas too much once one reaches the age of reason. I don't see how somebody could change and become a Communist.

(3) No.

E. Before Communism, the Hungarians knew about criminality through the press. Under Communism, the papers ~~xxx~~ never touched this subject, and the people knew about it only by hear-say. It would be difficult for me to make an evaluation as to an eventual increase of the crime rate.

The police was not very efficient. Many criminals were able to remain at large. Our conception of a crime was the following: if a state-store was robbed, we knew that the state was the victim, and we were almost glad. If it was a private apartment which was robbed, we considered ~~xxx~~ this a crime.

Unfortunately many workers drank their pay. This was caused by the absence of normal family life, and the unbearable economic conditions created by the regime.

If somebody wants to sleep, instead of working, it is not a crime. I don't know much about hooligans and their activities.

VII. RELIGION

A. The Communists persecuted the churches and tried to suppress religious life. For ex., those who graduated from a religious high school were almost enable to go ahead. In Kecskemet, money was collected from 1935 till 1948 for the erection of a church. The construction was started, but the Communists took the money away, demolished the work already done and used the material to build a barrack for the Russian troops.

The Catholic church was the hardest hit, because its doctrine is in complete contradiction was the materialistic ideology of Communism.

The religious orders were dissolved, and their ~~xxx~~ members given the last jobs. They were spies in every church, watching the people who attended the service. They were later branded as "clerical reactionaries". The trial of Cardinal Mindszenty is the ~~xxx~~ most significant proof of the persecution of the churches.

I don't know the effects of Communism on Protestantism and Judaism.

B. I accept God but do not give too much importance to the forms in religion. I think that one should go to church only when one likes to do it, not out of a feeling of compulsion. One should practice as much the inner prayer and and the outer one, this not only when one is in need of something.

I think religion is a less factor in my life than in the life of my parents. I'm neither more nor less religious than the average person in Hungary.

I went to church when I felt I wanted to. For us, students, it was dangerous to go to church, and we used to go to churches located in other districts in town. If seen, this would have meant a bad mark on our cadre card.

D. There should be complete separation and independence between the churches and the state.

(1) Religious schools and instruction must be permitted. The attendance to the services on Sunday should be facultative. ~~The~~ Religious instruction is very important and no state can suppress it.

(2) Yes, otherwise the abuses may go too far.

(3) Should cooperate with the state, but not play any leading and temporal role.

D. The Jews, before and ~~in~~ under Communism, tried to get the better positions, and played until now the role of turn-coats. About 75% of the top positions in the Government and elsewhere were held by Jews. They wanted to go ahead, so they chose to enter the Party which many of them supported. In my opinion, there were few of them who were not CP members.

Their attitude during the revolution was rather a passive one. They stayed at home, waiting for the situation to evaluate. Those who held high positions ~~were~~ turned against the revolution.

(4) Yes, because it would be more difficult for them to go ahead in the same manner as under the Communist regime.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. From 16 to 26 years of age. The secondary school, and university students, the young peasants and workers.

B. This is a fact.

(1) The youth took the lead following the initiative of the Hungarian writers. The regime was criticized freely and openly at the meetings of the Petöfi Circle. At the last meeting, the place was too small to take in everybody.

youth

The ~~mindana~~ lead the demonstrations and took the most active part in the revolution.

(2) Usually youth has the will to start and to achieve something. A revolution is usually started by young people. Youths worked together, met often. The older people were more isolated.

(3) They looked at the youth with admiration and were glad to see that Communism did not succeed in winning them over. They supported youth everywhere. ~~The~~ youth was happy to see that the older people were on ~~the~~ side and supported them

their

C. The basis already of education is false. The Soviet Union is set up as an ideal before the youth, while in the Western world, everything is bad.

For ex., historic facts were falsified. (Russian inventors, etc.) School policy changed with that of the Party. As long as Stalin lived, he was the model. After his death, his ~~his~~ mistakes were mentioned. There were also changes under Imre Nagy. The school books were re-written every year. In education, all examples and exercises were translated from Russian books. No Western technical books were available. 75% of the geography book dealt with the USSR, a few pages with the US. Russian history was taught in detail just like Hungarian history. Hardly something was mentioned about Western history or countries. One had to study the Constitution in the secondary schools, Marxism-Leninism in the university.

The level of the education was very low. Too many hours were taken by Marxism-Leninism, which was a compulsory subject, and was mixed with every course. We, mechanical engineer students, had weekly 6 hours of Marxism-Leninism, plus 4 hours of seminars and two hours of discussion. Add 4 hours of Russian language, and the total is 16 hours, that almost the half of our total number of hours which was 36.

The universities didn't have the right to designate their own deans, who were appointed by the state Ministry. The Communists always filled these posts with their own men whom they considered reliable politically. The right ~~xxxxxxx~~ for the universities to appoint their own deans was one of our demands in October.

In every faculty, an informer was built in among the teachers. The teachers either taught what was in the books, or, if they had the courage, told the students what they had learned earlier. My father used to teach history, and after the Communists took over, he taught music, because he wanted to keep politics out of his teaching as much as possible.

The elementary grade teachers in the country-side didn't have to complete secondary-school in order to teach, but they could not formerly teach in an elementary school or in a university. Today, if the teacher is found reliable politically, he can teach everywhere, and in some cases, the students are more intelligent than their teacher! The teachers who graduate from the universities possess a very good training and a wide knowledge. Many former professors were either fired or displaced to the country-side. Some just couldn't be replaced.

Those who ~~xxxxxxx~~ were called "class aliens" hardly had a chance to be admitted into a university, even if they had protection. Their family background -- children of kulaks, capitalists, aristocrats, former gendarmes, etc.-- simply eliminated them. The Communists filled the universities with young workers and peasants. Talent and preliminary studies were not taken into consideration. As the son of a teacher, I had no trouble being admitted, as my marks were all excellent (this was the required condition for the child of an intellectual).

As for/

The choice of vocation, everything depends on the cadre card, talent and knowledge do not count. Those who wanted to study were lucky if they were admitted, and did not care too much if they were unable to choose the field of their studies. But the revolution showed clearly what the students thought of this arbitrary system.

1. It is true. There were politics in every film, in every speech and discussion. They never missed one occasion to educate the youth in their ideology.

2. The Communists' policy consisted of too many contradictory lies. We could see through them, and we knew that it was all lies, and was aimed at ruining our country. For such a policy, it was very difficult to win supporters among the youth. Youth did not approve it, and the Communists could not win them over. It was a tragi-comedy. Everybody laughed when a new school-book was published, and when a new Russian inventor was discovered.

(2) Youth never accepted Communism, at no time. It always rejected it!

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS

A. The living standard of my family. Though my father taught for 25 years, every member of our family had to work day and night to assure our living. Before the war, my father was able to support all of us; ~~xxxxxx~~ under Communism, we all had to work.

Personnally, the various restrictions. I played the piano and I liked jazz. When I played in public, I couldn't play any Western music. I could not dress as I pleased, this would have endangered my staying at the university. And more than anything else, there was no freedom of expression. We had no entertainment of real cultural level, everything was stuffed with politics and Propaganda, or originated from Russia. This is also valid for literature.

B. The low standard of living.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. 1. After 25 years of teaching, my father earned 1,300 forints per month. As a cashier, my mother earned 620 forints per month. We had thus 2,000 forints for 6 persons (my grand'mother lived with us). We had no property.

(a) Our food budget for 6 was the following:

Breakfast: 1 1/2 lbs. of bread, 9 for., tea with sugar (milk was too expensive), 5 for.
Lunch: 20 for. (without meat)
Supper: 10 forints, minimum (left us hungry).

Alltogether, 44 for, per day, and 1,325 for. per month. We ate meat once a month. In brief, 1,500 for, per month.

When my father was able to give some private lessons, he could earn 250 to 300 forints more, but for this, he had to work from 9 A.M. till 8 P.M. and he would come home completely exhausted.

(housing) We had one large room for six, with a kitchen and a food-storage chamber, but no bathroom. The rent was 80 forints per month, the lectricity, 120 for. or more (heating was not included). When I wanted to play the piano, the whole family had ~~to~~ either to leave or to listen to it. When I had to draw till midnight, they couldn't sleep because of the light.

This would have left 600 for., but in reality nothing remained. There were the deductions. 100 for, for some kind of loan, health insurance and income tax, 100 for, 2% for union fee. The washing, household articles, my class-books, etc. absorbed the rest. We had maybe 100 for. left for clothing, when a shirt of bad quality cost 130 forints. There was nothing left for entertainment. From

thatre.

(clothing) My father had two shirts which had to be washed every day. He had to wear the same suit for five years. It was complete misery. I bought my clothes myself from the age of 10, I worked in the summer, or played the piano, then bought my clothes.

(d) To be able to go every month to the Opera (40 for. per month). Or to drink a glass of wine every day at lunch (300 for. for the six of us).

(3) Food.

(4) Yes, much lower now.

(5) It was always the same. I can only remember that we always had debts.

2. I didn't know such family.

3. The Russians took everything away from the country. The factories produced for them, and we didn't get the right price. The Soviets simply robbed the country. The quality of the products deteriorated because the workers were harassed and got bad raw materials. In agriculture, the introduction of new means of production created out-backs in productivity.

B. As long as I was free all summer, I used to work 2 months, and was able to earn 1,500-1,600 for. per month, working 12 hours per day. Out of this amount, 1,000 for. went away on food. I worked in various factories, construction enterprises, etc. doing mostly physical work.

(6) The teachers' salaries were raised every 5 years. My father got an 80 for. increase (ridiculous sum). He ~~gaxx~~ received no family allowances after his three children: I was a student, my brother was an industrial training student, and my sister was major. My brother and sister are both deaf-mute and had to receive special education. But not even this did matter to the state.

C, 1. There were differences of prices, but also of quality. For ex. the state bought the eggs from the peasants for 30 fillers and sold them for 1,50 for. apiece. These cheap eggs disappeared quickly, and the people had to go to the producer and buy them for 2 forints. Only the producers had the quality. Potatoes cost 1,80 for. a 1/2 lb at the Kozert store, 2,20 for. at the producer. These differences were regular

2. We didn't notice any differences.

3. I knew well the food situation in Budapest. The producers -- individual farmers and the collective farms -- sold their produces to the Government purchasing cooperative. The cooperative transported them from the country-side to the capital, where its representatives sold them to the Kozert stores (state stores) which resold them to the consumers. The purchasing cooperative was responsible for the transportation and the quality of the goods. Once the Kozert bought them, it was responsible for them.

(1) Many cases, because of individual mistakes (bad storage, etc.).

(2) No manufactured spare parts could be found in Hungary, I could have searched in vain through the whole country for a spare bicycle chain.

(3) No. What a stupid question!

4. Eggs, flour, meat.

5. Lemons, colonial fruit were not available. Pepper.
(2) No.

6. So-called cheap-rice could be bought in the Kozert, for ex. ~~Those who knew the employees of the store could get it. The people always kept for themselves what they got in this manner, because they considered themselves very lucky.~~ Those who knew the employees of the store could get it. The people always kept for themselves what they got in this manner, because they considered themselves very lucky.

One can speak of black-market only for watches and nylon. It was not organized. Everybody who had money tried to find some of these things where he could.

(4) Never heard of such cases.

E. 1. No, I always liked to live in towns, and I am used to it.

(1) The people in the country: they have their food at home.

(2) It's difficult to say.

(3) In the capital. In the country, everybody knew everybody. In Budapest, it was impossible to know what 1,5 million people were doing, and the people felt more free.

2. I was too young then. But every act of force cannot bring anything good with itself. The regime took the land by force from the peasants, and turned them into its enemies. This system ruined the Hungarian agriculture. All the peasants opposed the kolkhozes.

(4) During the revolution, when many peasants took back their land.

3. Private farming. Life in a kolkhose is simply not life. What a stupid question to ask!

4. Individual farming. Some cooperative system based on free membership and voluntary membership.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

A. 1. Not interested at all, I was just a child. But I hate the Russians because I was able to realize that they in 1945 they committed many atrocities, and ruined our country, and took away my father for 2 years. In a childish way, I had sympathies for the Smallholders' party, and disliked the Communists and the Social Democrats.

B. Most Communists had a very low cultural and intellectual level. All they knew was Marxism-Leninism and Party history. In brief, they were unintelligent people, with narrow horizons, who could neither think nor open their eyes and whose head was turned by Communism.

The leaders were fanatics. Then came those who tried to make a career, and adapted themselves. For many, their jobs depended on their CP membership, and they were forced to play along.

A few intelligent and fanatic Communists believed in the new ideology. But their percentage is minimal, and I believe that very few CP members were really convinced.

2. Party policies changed all the time, not fundamentally, but in their trends, because they always followed the directives sent from Moscow. We knew then that there were inner struggles inside the top leadership of the Soviet Union.

For ex., the kulaks were persecuted under Rakosi, then treated better under Imre Nagy, who abolished the word kulak.

The unity of the party is an imaginary notion, because there is no unity within the Party, but there are the fanatics and the opportunists. The CP members had no personal aims. They all executed the orders received from the Soviet Union. They were naturally glad to work little and to make much money.

4. (3) I can't answer. If I think a little, I believe that these leaders are able that all they tell is wrong and untrue, and it would be hard to believe everything, even for them.

(4) They are people who execute orders, and whose individual actions are to put them in effect. If they were told to arrest four people, they would arrest ten. They are not only puppets, but evil puppets, who do more than what is asked from them. They are damned swines. They have vicious ability, and hide their crimes skillfully. The AVO had underground torture chambers, even a mincing-machine nobody knew of. This was not diabolic, but satanic.

(6) The rank-and-file members received their instructions from their national leaders, not directly from Moscow. Their main aim was carcerism.

G. The dissonant was general, and individual derision of and invectives against the regime was a daily occupation, together with the telling of anti-regime jokes. If somebody could cause a damage to the state, he would never miss the opportunity. This happened all the time.

Ex. the students spat at or stole pictures of Rakosi and of other leaders whenever and wherever it was possible.

The personal motive must also be considered. When somebody stole gasoline from a state enterprise, he would thus damage the state, but he also sold the gas for his own profit.

The workers of the Market Hall used to strike when the regime tried to rise their working norms. The regime had to deal with them, because they were not easy to replace, and the supply in food of the capital depended on them. In addition, these men possessed nothing, and thus having nothing to lose, were not afraid to show opposition.

Most of the opposition came from the workers. The students also criticized the regime. The peasants "sabotaged" (in the Communist words) the ingathering, did not fulfill the deliveries, kept parts of the produces for themselves as they knew it would only go to the Soviets. The intelligentsia showed openly the mistakes of the regime, especially later in the "Monday Journal". Among others I remember an article entitled "The true face of comrade Goshka". Everybody knew it was about Rakosi.

These acts of opposition had no concrete effects but deepened in the people the hatred for the regime, and kept them alive and alert, so that they never submitted to the ~~regime~~ Communist system.

2. Depended on the opportunities and of the attitudes of the regime. I cannot make divisions into chronological periods.

3. The pedagogues would sometimes tell the real situation and the real facts to the students, either openly or with covered words. For ex. the teacher of physics would say: "The radio was invented by Popoff, though I previously knew it was invented by Marconi". Or: "The radio was invented by Marconi, and today they claim it was invented by Popoff."

(2) Knew of it since 1956. I was not an active member of the Circle. It was started as a political circle of DISZ, which broke away from the old line and became revolutionary in character. Took in new members. Instead of supporting the regime in its debates, it started to criticise it. This attracted the public, especially the youth. The intellectuals had already begun earlier to meet among themselves and to criticise the regime.

Ex. several former journalists used to meet one evening a week and to debate the political situation. They exchanged their thoughts, and decided to write an article in covered words to be published, through some young writer, in some literary newspaper.

(4) They put into words what was alive in everybody. They also unmasked and criticised those writers who served the regime, the plays which glorified it.

(5) Nobody was thinking of a revolution. We can't speak here of "spearhead" of the revolution. The revolution happened in one fix after-noon, or rather a few minutes.

(6) We supported them.

4. They saw that the country would be completely ruined if it followed the path set up by the regime.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. 1. I must make a distinction between those AVO men who joined the secret police voluntarily, and those who were drafted from the army. I don't consider the second ones as ^{AVO}AVO-men, and everything I'll about this subject applies only to the first category I mentioned above.

The AVO-men were most uncultured. They were sadist creatures who could hardly be called men. They were blind and cruel, didn't have the slightest esteem or affection for their fellow-men. Many came from the country-side, and executed all the orders they received.

One of our neighbors bought some meat on the black-market. The AVO got wind of it and arrested him and his wife. They were told that they would be jailed for six years for black-marketing, and that all their belongings would be confiscated (their two children were left alone at home). They were jailed separately in cells where the lights kept burning day and night. They were questioned separately, and asked to tell something about their neighbors. They refused, and were kept one more day before being released at one condition: to tell something about somebody within a week. A week later, they did not report anything and were arrested again. They came home a few hours later, and from that time on, everybody knew that they had become informers for the AVO, and ~~xxxx~~ went regularly to report every week to the secret police. This couple, though sympathetic towards Communism, ~~xxxx~~ was honest. They probably had been frightened. The black-marketing charge turned out to be a trap set up by the AVO. They first sent a man to sell some meat at these people's door, then the secret-policemen (and not the regular police) followed immediately. The informers were obtained either by intimidation or by promises of money.

4. This is not an exaggeration, but an actual fact.

5. In every school, factory, enterprise, etc, there was an informer. In our university, for ex. the informer was a completely illiterate student who was in friendly terms with the Party secretary. We all knew that he was the spy for that particular school year. The students hated ~~xxx~~ him and excluded him from their company. One day, he was beaten up by the students during an excursion, under the pretext that he was late. But everybody knew the real reason.

6. No, because one had to say something if one didn't want to create the impression that one was against the regime. It was particularly dangerous to remain silent at public meetings, when everybody had to speak up.

7. I can say with certainty that such thing did never happen.

8. All those who joined voluntarily should be executed. They have tortured so many people that they deserve to die.

9. The blue police dealt with non-political crimes, traffic, etc. Its members tried to keep themselves away from politics and to think only of their job. The people knew it. That's why the AVO-men put on regular police uniforms when they were trying to escape unharmed, and to be safe during the revolution.

As policemen in uniform, their attitude was passive. But many fought without their uniforms during the revolution. I knew no regular policeman who fought with the AVO. After the Russians' withdrawal from Budapest, the national guards, an organ of the revolutionaries,

were organized in the Vth district by policemen. One of my friends fought in company of two policemen, who had taken off their uniforms, and put them back again after November 4. As AVO men began to wear regular police uniforms before and after November 4, it could not be said anymore that the blue police was still the same which existed before the revolution broke out.

B. I can only speak of the period which followed the war. The Communists every possible means to set up pre-arranged ~~xxxxxx~~ political trials, which were nothing but shows. This was proved by the Mindszenty and the Rajk trials, and was later recognized by the regime itself, which put all the blame on Parkas.

2.4. I knew only that the situation was worse than in the dark days of the Middle-Age, as the means and instruments of torture had been modernized. The prisoners were submitted to the most cruel treatments.

5. In 1945, my family tried to leave Hungary, but we were stopped by the Russians and sent back from the border to Magyarovar. My father was separated from us, and taken away by the Russians, first to Odessa, and from there to a large camp south-east of Moscow. He had to do forestry work, to carry bricks and iron beams. When he was released two years later, he weighed only 100 lbs. and his organism was much affected.

C. 1. The army, as organized units, didn't take part in the revolution. Only smaller units or isolated soldiers fought. All the privates and N.C.O.s fought on their own during the revolution. The top commanders in the Ministry of Defense were all Moscovites, and they either remained passive or turned against the revolution. When the proper moment came, they surrounded all the strategic points and handed over the secret arm depots to the Russians.

To create confusion, they disorganized the army on purpose, sent many soldiers home, and told those who were still organized to hold their fire. These people cannot be called Hungarians, they sided with the Russians.

(3) (c) No.

(5) I was not surprised. Everybody knew how the soldiers and how the officers would behave. We thought eventually of how they will get organized among themselves.

2. I spent one month each summer in the Army together with the other students. The day's greatest part was taken by political instruction. We all hated it, and didn't attend, but would rather write letters home. We had every day a so-called "news conference" to discuss political events; then 6 hours of political ~~xxxxxxx~~ instruction, 6 hours seminars and 3 hours political lecture for the whole camp per week. We students, had always troubles and punishments, and were the "Foreign Legion" of the camp.

The mechanical engineering students were put with the tank divisions. We received complete theoretical and practical training, and acquired a complete knowledge of the tanks and their different parts. We were trained on T-34 models which we got from the Russians. The whole army was trained after the Russian pattern, wore the Russian uniform and learned the Russian methods of combat. Its top leadership was in the Soviets' hands.

There was a gulf between the soldiers and the officers. We always made fun of the latter because their intellectual level was much more inferior than ours. They considered us as anti-communists. There were many CP members among the high-ranking officers. Only a few NCOs were not CP members. In our camp, the officers played the dirty on the soldiers, and the soldiers played the dirty on the officers.

I did not see many officers who fought during the revolution.

The staff officers were very incompetent. Among them, one could even find a shoemaker. Some former officers were kept in the training school as long as they could not be replaced by a new generation trained in Moscow. Each department of the Ministry of Defense had a Russian "adviser".

(2)

(f) There are "good" and "bad" officers in every army!

(3) Only CP members could get the high ranks and the good pay.

D. 2. I don't believe anybody ever said such a thing. And if there was somebody, he was not a Hungarian, but a blustering idiot. This question is absolutely stupid.

The Russian army looted and ruined the country in 1945, killing and deporting thousands of people. One can call the Russians barbarians, because of their tremendously low cultural level. I remember that the Russians herded us with five other families into a cemetery where fresh graves had been dug up. We were all lined up and had to give them all the jewelry. They threatened to shoot everybody if somebody had still kept something. A woman gave them her engagement ring which she had kept until then. The Russians shot the whole family on the spot, before everybody's eyes. They started to beat a man with an iron-pipe, until he collapsed and was pushed into the grave where the other bodies were already lying. Then they chased the rest of us out of the cemetery. I was 9 years old at that time, and never in my life will I be able to forget this dreadful ~~experience~~ experience.

3. I met several Russian officers who said they didn't want to go back to their country. I also knew of several cases when a Russian woman "married" a Hungarian man by paying her up to 50,000 forints, so that she could have a Hungarian name and remain in Hungary. They naturally never lived together.

The Russians were able to see by themselves that ~~xxx~~ in comparison with their own living standard, Hungary was heaven on every line. They really feared to go back.

They were hated by the population. In Budapest, Russians always wore civilian clothes, but even so, they were recognized. At Kecskemet, there was a school for Russian children, who were beaten up every day by the Hungarian children. The Russians were completely excluded from everywhere and by everybody. They feared the Hungarians and did not venture alone in a dark street at night.

4. (1) No.

(2) They behaved in the most barbaric way, not like men, as usual. They destroyed monuments, archives, libraries, killing the firemen ~~xxx~~ who tried to extinguish the fire. When shot at with a rifle from a window, the Soviet tanks would all concentrate their gun fire on the same building, until it burned and collapsed. This showed enough their fear.

In a street, people were queuing for bread. A man crossed the street with a loaf of bread and was wounded by a shot. While he was lying on the ground in his blood, a Russian tank came along and saw him. The driver changed its direction and crushed him to death before the eyes of the people.

At the Kalvin Square, an unarmed crowd gathered to watch the fighting near the National Museum. A Russian anti-craft gun spotted them, and opened fire with its four barrels, killing and wounding many people.

5. The answer is no to all questions.

E. One day, I wanted to take home some gym clothes from the university. I was told to get a permit, and was sent to the educational department. There they asked me how much my family did earn, why I was unable to have my own gymclothes, how I was spending my money, etc. This ~~xx~~ lasted for more than one hour, but finally I got permission to take the gym clothes home. X

At the university, the Party secretary is the real director. He always came after the Russian "adviser". Had no technical training but was a reliable Communist. Only "constructive" criticism was tolerated. Other forms of criticisms were dangerous.

The functionaries sat in their offices, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ worked on their dossiers, and took their pay. They swam in the current, but helped the people. If they didn't do something, it was not because of bad will, but because of laziness.

2. When somebody practised self-criticism, the audience laughed. It was the time when the people who were asleep at the meeting would wake up. Nobody could tell the truth, and so invented some minor faults. Self-criticism could also be used ~~for~~ when one had to abandon a former Party line and had to join a new one.

F. This changed with ~~each~~ ^{every} case and ~~each~~ ^{every} person. One could obtain advantages for money. If I want to get an apartment for which 1,000 persons have already applied, and if I give a few hundred forints to the functionary responsible, I may obtain satisfaction. For this purpose, one used all means: first, a protection, then a little talking, and finally, some money. If caught, one would be arrested.

G. We have already discussed the Communist leaders before. This is a repetition.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. I hope that the Russians will be wiped out in a few years time. But Hungary's situation then would still remain difficult. In addition to the strategical and geographical factors, Hungary possess rich uranium deposits for which several powers may quarrel. Hungary could take out the best from both the capitalist and the socialist systems, and though it can't reach a living standard as high as that of the USA, its situation will be very good in European terms.

The Russians won't leave by themselves. They must be forced out, and if some power tries to do so, a revolution will broke out again, and the victory is certain. This will eliminate for ever all the people who though born in the country, were never Hungarians.

(2) Kadar is already back ~~to~~ completely to the old Stalinist policy. But he will never attain any results. The West, as long as the Russians won't knock at its door, will not do more than sending notes and parcels, helping the refugees. It will intervene with arms only when its own power will be threatened. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The Soviets' attitude toward Hungary and the other captive nations will be one of complete terror and increased oppression, which will bring even more misery than before.

(3) The Russians must leave. Hungary must become completely free and independent.

(4) One can't negotiate with the Russians with peaceful means. But a war is not necessary to force them to get out. The big powers should show that in their handling of our problem, they are ready to support it by arms, if necessary, and not to have the UN send only notes. The UN must tell the Russians to evacuate Hungary, and if they refuse to do so, to mobilize an army and to take it to the Hungarian border. The Russians would get out then. In November, 1955, the UN should have intervened in Hungary as it did in Egypt. The Russians are insolent because they know they will

receive nothing but notes. The Hungarian people in Hungary don't want any more notes, but want to see the Russians leave under the armed threat of a more powerful West. I don't expect any internal changes in the USSR, only one group may take the power from the other.

B. I didn't hope for any changes in the near future. I knew that the Russians would not leave by themselves, and that the Western powers would not intervene with arms. Some people expected a change every week, some every year, it depended on one's inclinations.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Hungary is an agricultural country in which one can't develop heavy industry. Hungary should therefore put the emphasis on agriculture, reduce heavy industry and exploit uranium mines, maintain a light industry. The land must ~~xxxxxxx~~ belong to the individual peasants. The industries of public interest and the largest plants should remain in the hand of the state. Small industries should go to private enterprise.

B. The land must be given back to the peasants up to 50 holds, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ free enterprise assured to them.

Larger enterprises in the hands of a few technicians, under state control. Ex. uranium, communications.

Light industry in private hands (textiles, furniture, etc.)

1. No. If somebody can earn more thanks to his skill and talent, he deserves it.

2. a. The one which guarantees the personal freedom of the individual.

b.c. I would demand it. I hate the Communists wholeheartedly, because they never did anything good in the world. I would also outlaw "fellow-traveling" organizations, i.e. the organizations which have sympathies for communism.

C. I would ~~xxxxxxx~~ like Hungary to be completely free and independent, and also neutral. If she joins some kind of union, the troubles would start. She should maintain economic relations with all countries, as an equal partner.

I think a Danubian federation is not desirable. Differences in natural resources, living standards, etc. will render difficult the creation of an independent unity.

4. No. In my opinion, the Czechs and Yugoslavs have no right to dominate so many Hungarians. Our northern border (Slovakia) and southern border (Bacska) should be corrected accordingly.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

1. General remark: I dislike foreign politics!

2. No.

3. Yes, I heard there was such a Committee.

8. I only knew what was discovered during the revolution. There was previously a rumor that his wife was keeping an eye on him for the Russians, and that his real name was not Rakosi, but Roth.

8. I read the ^{regularly/} sport magazines, and the magazine "Theatre and Movies", Hungarian books, such as Jokai, Zsigmond Moricz, etc. and foreign works in translation, such as Jules Verne, ~~Erk~~ Karl May and "Gone with the Wind" by Mitchell, I didn't read any Russian books. I had to learn that language for 8 years at school, and never knew more than 50 words...

2. My fellow students read also a lot, but didn't read Russian books either. People read especially Hungarian classical literature.

3. I didn't read the newspapers because they were full of lies. One would only have a glance for the last page of the Szabad Nep --sports and movies--and not go any further!

(6) Technical catalogues, brought back by athletes, were circulated among friends. They were mostly in German, French and English.

4. Many books couldn't be found, but I don't know if there was ~~anything~~ anything illegal with this. Books were passed only among close ~~friends~~ friends. Some were proscribed, such as all books on religion or yoga, or those which contained political views contrary to the regime. The people kept these books at home.

6. About a million themes, ranging from the last secret visit of a leader to Moscow.

(3) From ~~friends~~ friends.

(4) Depended on the news and on the person who told it.

(5) Yes, I passed on the news I thought were reliable.

D. Everybody talked about politics, everywhere and anytime. This is a very naive question!

(4) One could use letters or telephone, it depended of the circumstances.

3. When I had some money, I would go as much as twice a week to the movies or the theatre. When I was broke, wouldn't go for three weeks. I didn't like the themes about misery, the glorification of work, as we saw enough of that during the day. I liked only those movies and plays which didn't contain any politics or propaganda. They were very few of them.

(2) "One Summer of Happiness" (Swedish movie) and "La Dame aux Camélias" (French).

The operetta "The Sardinian Queen" by Falman, and the Nutcracker Ballet.

I liked them because of the beauty they contained, because they were entertaining, and did contain no politics.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. 1. No chances for changes inside the Soviet Union. Only struggles between two or three fractions of the Soviet leadership.

2. The end of Communism.

5. They are career-men, who think of their well-being as well as achieving world domination for Russia.

1.

B. The most popular, East Germany. The most unpopular, I don't know. In spite of their faults, the Germans are those who fought against the Russians, and gave them actually a good beating. They have a higher living standard and cultural level.

2. The end of Communism.

3. The best, East Germany, the worst, Romania, where some products are still rationed today.

C. 1. There is no real change, only change of person. Gomulka's policy has already failed. In a way, Gomulka suits the Russians.

2. Yes, the debates of the Petöfi Circle became more open and bold following the events in Poland. No influence after the revolution.

4. Never heard of this. Only of the Poznan events. We were glad that it happened when so many foreigners were present, and could see by themselves that something was wrong in Poland.

5. Not a single man in Hungary wanted this to happen. How can you ask such a stupid question?

D. Last July, Rakosi had to be fired after Tito and Khrushchev made peace. He may be one shade better than Moscow, but Titoism and national Communism are bad things. Moscow can't tolerate it. During the revolution, we thought he might help us, but today we know for what he stands for.

E. 1. I'm not well informed about China. But I know that the Russians helped militarily and economically the Communists to gain control of the country.

6. The invasion of Suez took away the world's attention from Hungary and provided the Russians with a "moral right" to intervene again and to crush the revolution.

F. 1. West Germany has the highest living standard in the world, materially and culturally,

2. Not much, only that Illenhauer would like to succeed to Adenauer, and that his chances are good.

3. In any case not.

4. Don't amount to very much. If completed, danger for ~~the~~ Communism and also for the West.

5. The German army can't be compared at all with the Russian army, so huge are the differences. Germans superior a hundred times as for training, combat power, organization, discipline, etc. I never heard of German army atrocities in Hungary. As for the Russians, I have already told you enough before.

G. 2. ~~Nothing~~ No opinion.

3. West Germany, lowest USSR.

H. 1. That the cars are articles of prime necessity, not a luxury.

2. To force the Russians, with armed threats, to evacuate these countries. To put into effect strong economic sanctions.

3. To consider it as non-existing.

4. Of course yes! If ^{the/} westerners can come into the country, people will have more contacts with the free world. The visitors should be told that if they want to see something, they should go around on foot, and not surrounded by official escorts and interpreters. They should ~~xxxx~~ talk to the people on the streets, not the Government officials.

5. Those who can read ~~the~~ foreign languages, The others, too, who would not?

6. No.

7. I can't remember well enough.

8. The USA fought in Korea because the Russians were behind the Korean Communists, and because they did n't want Korea to fall into their hands.

I. The wealthy people can ~~xxxx~~ afford more entertainment, as wrybody can eat and dress well. While in Hungary, I thought that the highest living standard was in the USA. After that I saw in Austria and West Germany, I ~~xxxx~~ think West Germany has the highest one.

2. They have considerable powers, and fight for the rights of their members. I don't think they are left-wing or under Communist influence.

3. No opinion.

4. I don't know.

5. By wasting it.

J. The UN has no real and effective authority, nor any police force. The resolutions voted against Russia are worth nothing.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES:

A. I can't answer this question.

B. Imre Nagy.- Should have spoken up earlier, he could have behaved much better.

Mindszenty.- An aged priest who suffered very much and can't do much for Hungary now (I wish I'm wrong).

Rajk.- He didn't deserve his position, but certainly deserved his execution.

Gerő.- He deserves a slow death.

Kadar.- Deserves a slow death.

2. Eisenhower.- Not strong enough as President. Wastes his time moralizing the Soviets.

Famarskjold.- Not energetic enough.

Dulles.- No opinion.

Eden.- Responsible for the invasion of Suez at the expense of the Hungarian revolution.

Truman.- No opinion.

3.

Hikoyaa.- A rascal.

Nahru.- No opinion.

Chiang Kai-Shek.- Lives in Formosa.

Ferenc Nagy.- I never did trust him.

Roosevelt.- No opinion.

Adenauer.- No opinion.

Stalin.- Deserved a slower death.

Malenkov.- Slow death for him.
 Franco.- No opinion.
 Devan.- I don't know him.
 Khrushchev.- The biggest swindler of the world. May he go to hell!
 Tito.- No opinion.
 Peron.- No opinion.
 Molotov.- ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ A big liar.
 Ollenhauer. Smart politician.
 Churchill.- No opinion.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Escaped all those who had to leave the country. Those who stayed are old and think they won't be harmed. They took the most difficult choice for the times to come.

2. Very few people would stay. Only those attached to their land would ~~xxx~~ remain.

B. 1. I didn't know or hear anything concrete about these organizations and individuals.

3. They did a great deal, but I don't know the concrete facts. During the revolution, we thought they couldn't do much for us.

C. No.

D. 1. How they live.

3. To keep and better the good name of the Hungarians.

4. Alone, not very much.

5. Not if it is a political organization. All political organizations should be united.

6. No political parties should be created here. The parties should not have been revived during the revolution. This endangered the unity, and usually leads to party struggles. This is also valid here.
 (3) (c) In any case not.

E. 1. Yes, I soon as I can help or fight.

2. Yes, naturally.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS:

A. 1. Yes, but not regularly.

(1) RFE, BBC, VOA. All broadcasts were very much jammed.

(e) yes.

2. ~~XX~~ If caught in a group, one would have been arrested. But this didn't frighten the people.

3. They were too encouraging as far as promises of help were concerned.

(2) No.

(4) Gave us news from abroad. Only source of information we had. During the revolution, everybody was angered by the broadcasts. They talked beside the point, their tone was too encouraging. And when they saw no help coming, they gave up all hope. This applies especially to RFE.

(5) Didn't promote the revolution, just gave a ray of hope for eventual help.

(6) Yes, in order to keep the country informed about the events in the world.

(7) Especially news and cultural programs.

B. 1. No.

2. No.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. Children should be resourceful, and not insolent. They must ~~xxxx~~ be taught the love for their country.

2. The child must be disciplined if necessary. I would use physical punishment, but would treat girls in a different way than boys. In 1947, I went away from home and came back at midnight. My mother gave me a beating with a cooking-spoon. In our family, mother usually did the punishment.

4. Often the mother.

(4) I don't know.

5. At the age of 10 or 11. ~~xxxx~~ Varies in every family.

(3) No.

(4) I don't know. In this regard, the Communists had no influence on the parents.

6. Before Communism, physical punishment. Today, no punishment, and less obedience. In my opinion, physical punishment was not a bad thing.

7. Sincerity and willingness to share with others.

(2) A non-communist cannot be the friend of a communist, or vice-versa.

In my opinion, these questions are impossible to answer definitely.
So what's the idea?

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent's parents are both teachers and he belongs without doubt to the intelligentsia. Under Communism, his family's economic situation grew worse as the years went on, until it reached the point of "total misery," in respondent's own words.

It is therefore easy to imagine how each member of this family, including the respondent, must have felt toward Communism, without speaking of the fact that respondent's father was deported for two years to Russia. The main problem for these people was the struggle for economic survival, as it was for the overwhelming majority of the people in Hungary.

In these extremely negative conditions, one wonders how respondent was able to study for three years at the university where he was admitted because he was the son of a teacher and had excellent marks. But he was also probably obliged to pretend that he was satisfied with things in general. He fought during the revolution more as an individual than collectively.

Respondent's intelligence is good, and he is also fairly resourceful. He readily admitted that religion played no important role in his life. He was co-operative during most of the interview, although he appeared sometimes to be evasive and in one instance, was unwilling to discuss further the problems of courtship, marriage and sex patterns. He is rightfully bitter because of his family's difficult plight in Hungary, and now wants to push ahead in his new country of residence as much as possible, by taking advantage of all the opportunities offered to him.