

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The most important thing that the Americans should know about the Hungarian revolution is that it was a democratic revolution. The people wanted the rights which existed in 1945 to 1947, and which were lost in 1948 when the one-party system was introduced in Hungary.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. On October 22 I was at home in the village of Bogat in Baranya County. That day I went to work as usual. Nothing exceptional happened, and I did not know that a demonstration would take place the next day in Budapest.

On October 23 I arrived home at 10p.m. That night I heard over the radio that the Central Committee of the Communist Party had been urgently convened. There was something tense about the radio announcement. I also heard previously about Gero's speech held that night. Both I and my neighbor with whom I spoke that night agreed that something unusual ~~was~~ must be happening in Budapest.

B. The next morning, on October 24, the radio announced that counter-revolutionary bands were fighting in Budapest. We did not believe the radio about the counter-revolutionary elements and fascists. We knew that the fighting was being done by the students and workers who had started the demonstrations. We heard about the demonstrations only over the radio.

My first reaction when I heard this news was concern. My ~~two~~ two brothers were in Budapest, one working, the other studying. I suspected that if anything was going on in Budapest they were involved in it. I also feared that the revolt would be crushed. We had to rely entirely on the one-sided version which was given us by the Hungarian radio, then still in Communist hands.

Our village was about five kilometers from Pecs. Everyone in the village was excited. Half of the workers went to work that day.

The others did not. Everyone was uncertain about what actually was going on in Budapest. The general impression was that the revolt would be crushed. Of the fifteen to twenty Communists in the village only one or two showed up and tried to maintain order, with threats and persuasion. The majority of the Communists seemed to be secretly sympathizing with the events.

On October 25 I went to work. My ~~neighbor~~ neighbor persuaded me to go. I went to work out of mere curiosity to find out what was going on. My place of work was ten kilometers north of Pecs. I was employed on a narrow gage railroad which hauled sand to the Komlo coalmines.

There was no work there that day. The majority of the workers refused to start work despite the threats of the Party secretary and the foreman.

The right-wing Social Democrats who were forced to silence during the Rakosi era, but had influence among the workers, immediately took over, and organized a strike. The general feeling was that we should not be working when there was fighting going on in Budapest.

The Party Secretary and one or two Communists and ~~foremen~~ foremen started work nevertheless. When the third train was leaving for Komlo, my neighbor and I boarded it. We wanted to know what was happening in Komlo, where there were people from our village working in the shaft operated by prisoners. Our friends had been sentenced for economic crimes.

We were not able to get near the prison camp. The camp and the shaft were heavily reinforced with prison guards. I heard two days later that the prisoners made an unsuccessful attempt to break out. They were finally released after

the Russian withdrawal from Budapest.

From Komlo we went home on the 25th. We regarded the situation with more hope because the prolonged time limits for surrendering indicated that the insurgents were stronger in Budapest than the government admitted.

On the 26th two truck drivers from our village organized the young people at home and were willing to take them to Pecs to participate in the demonstration scheduled for ~~the~~ that ~~same~~ evening. About 20 people between the ages of 15 to 30 volunteered to go. An informer notified the police, and four or five policemen arrested one of the drivers and confiscated their trucks. The arrested truck driver was taken into Pecs and beaten by the AvH. The other driver fled.

The police were very aggressive and were heavily armed. Bunches of hand-grenades were hanging from their belts.

About 10 or 12 young people, including myself, decided to go in on foot. Some of the mothers, on seeing the seizure of the trucks and the arrest of one truck driver, feared for the safety of the children. They begged them not to go. One was locked ~~in~~ up at home and escaped thru the window.

We had to go in ~~small~~ small groups of two or three. The AVH had set up ~~small~~ road blocks to prevent miners and workers from coming in to the city.

In small groups we were able to pass the road blocks unmolested, and we finally met at a designated point in Pecs.

A large scale ~~mass~~ demonstration was in progress

in Pecs when we arrived. About 30,000 to 35,000 people took part in it. They were mostly young workers, students, but practically everyone was there.

The AVH finally succeeded in dispersing the crowd. There were warning shots, drenching by firemen, and clubbing with rifle butts. The Blue police also helped the AVH. They were placed under AVH command. Some army units were also ordered out against the crowd. They were very friendly and polite. They showed some firmness only when an AVH officer came by to inspect them.

Those who refused to disperse were arrested. Two boys from our village, one a first cousin, were taken in by the AVH. They were in the AVH for over 24 hours and came home virtually black and blue all over.

When we returned home without the two boys, there was much indignation in the village over their arrest. Their parents were the loudest in urging that something be done. The village Communists decided it was best to lie low.

That night we held a demonstration in the village. About 200 people were there in front of the local Council building. The demonstrators demanded that the Russians leave the country. It was more of an expression of sympathy for the insurgents in Budapest. Some loud-mouth elements, mostly ~~known~~ turn-coats, wanted to ~~execute~~ lynch the Communists. But, the saner elements were all of the view that the Communists should be placed before a court later on.

A few drunkards wanted to burn down the village council building and destroy all tax and crop

delivery records. They were dissuaded from doing this.

The Communists in the village were very repentent and publicly destroyed their membership cards. Their wives and children also begged for mercy.

There was a tendency on the part of the kulaks to repossess their farms and homes, but they agreed to wait until order was ~~restored~~ restored.

Toward midnight the red star was removed from the local village council building.

On the 27th the trucks came to take the miners to work. About one third of the village worked in the mines. The miners refused to go. In the afternoon some of the ~~of~~ older miners agreed to go, but only for maintenance work.

There was a ban on liquor sales, and the pub was closed. But, the pub-keeper was dispensing liquor openly in the dairy store nextdoor. However, the young people did not drink, only the older ones. A bit under the influence of drinking, they became very talkative and gave us advice on the basis of their military experiences in the two world wars.

On the evening of the 27th we again went to Pecs. Now the demonstrations were more aggressive than the night before. The demonstrators demanded the release of the prisoners arrested the previous day.

The city council chairman in Pecs was not to be seen. The commander of the AVH, a colonel, took the wind of the sails by declaring that the AVH was also on the side of the people. The AVH commander was forced to declare this because he was afraid of his own men. That evening the local army commander announced

that he was on the side of the revolution.

I personally was of the opinion that the AVH was not sincere. But, the others thought that we should wait and see. The AVH commander offered no resistance when we went to search the building, and were tearing down the red star from its roof.

The university students went in the building to check the premises of the AVH headquarters. They entered the building thru the front gate. The prisoners were chased ~~xx~~ out thru the rear door. The prisoners told the crowd what the AVH had done to them, and the AVH commander and his officers were almost lynched. By voicing his repentance he was able to talk ~~himself~~ himself out of any atrocities against the AVH officers.

By then the AVH men had deserted. Only the non-commissioned officers and officers remained. But, that night the AVH virtually ceased to exist in Pecs.

We did not stay long. At about 10p.m. we found a truck and ~~a~~ drove home. The AVH ~~xx~~ road blocks on the outskirts of the city did not know what had happened. They were surprised to hear that the commander of the AVH had declared that he was on our side. At first they did not believe us. The soldiers, on the other hand, who were helping the AVH were overjoyed and started to throw away their arms, and offered us firearms and hand-grenades.

On the 28th we were informed by telephone to go to work and to elect our Workers' Council. Instructions to hold Workers' Council elections had probably been issued by Pecs. About 80 per cent of the workers were there. The Communist director had disappeared. Some Communists were present, and one of them was even elected to the

Council. It was true that he was always in hot water with the Party.

The workers wanted to elect me to the Council also, but I had already been elected to our local village Council the previous day.

The Workers' Council adopted the demands of the Pecs university students.

The Komlo mine remained Communist for a long time, because there were many Stalinists in control there.

On the 29th I was sent as a delegate to the
Nogyo (C ounty) Revolutionary Council. There the
AVH commander also spoke and addressed us
as comrades. He was booed out, and disappeared.
But, at this meeting, we also noticed that the
Small Holders and other parties were already
active and were trying to take over control
of the Revolutionary Council.

I heard the term 'Freedom Fighter' only after October 28, over the radio. This term was used by Radio Budapest after it came into the hands of the insurgents.

C. From October 28 to November 4 I, on one occasion, accompanied a convoy of fifteen trucks carrying supplies to Budapest. I ~~only~~ stayed in Budapest only one day. We saw Russians on the way, but they did not pay much attention to us.

During this time I also helped to organize the Petofi (Peasant) Party in our village. I took an active part in organizing our militia.

When the Russians withdrew from Budapest, I thought that this was a real withdrawal. My impression was that the Soviet, under international

pressure, had been forced to withdraw from Budapest, and would withdraw from Hungary in due time.

I first heard that the Russians were returning over the radio on November 1 or 2.

I saw the first returning Russians at dawn on November 4. I was then in Pecs at the Nagy (County) Council, discussing the organization of the Petofi (Peasant) Party. The attack did not ~~take~~ take us completely by surprise. The previous night we had heard of their approach. But, the commander of the Russian tank troops convinced us that he wanted only to protect the Russians working in the uranium mines, and to cover their evacuation. The military commander of Pecs told us that the troops were not in a position to offer resistance. Some of the political officers sabotaged preparations for defense.

The Revolutionary Council decided to surrender the city in the case of an attack by the Russians. They thought that it would be more advisable to ~~not~~ oppose the Russians in the mountains on the outskirts of the city.

There was no resistance when the Russians were advancing. The girl telephone operator and I left the building together, thru the rear door when the Russians were coming in thru the front door. I received instructions from the military commander to secure the arms and ammunition in the Pedagogic University.

I first escorted the girl home, and then went to the university, loaded the firearms on two trucks, and took ~~it~~ ^{them} out to the Mannok Mountains.

About ~~not~~ half the students there did not want to go into the mountains to fight. They thought

that resistance was useless. The lieutenant who was in charge of the Pedagogic University thought that I was an AVH agent provocateur. He wanted to shoot me on the spot. I was saved by a girl student who told the boys who were willing to fight who I was. They intervened in my behalf, and we went off with the two ~~our~~ trucks into the mountains. We used unfrequented byways, and reached the Maspek in safety.

In the mountains we established contact with the military commander, and a young lieutenant came and took command of us. He took our oath in which we pledged to obey commands and to continue resistance.

The boys in our units were mostly students with some young workers and peasants among them.

We received assistance and food from the ~~small~~ small villages nearby.

We continued fighting against the Russians until November 14. After the first day, many boys put down their arms and went ~~home~~ home. The others were in favor of retreating in armed units toward the ~~the~~ western border.

On November 9 I went home to calm my mother who, as I heard from friends, had had a nervous breakdown because she knew nothing about her three sons.

While I was at home the Russians launched a large-scale attack against the insurgents, and I was unable to get back to the unit. The AVH was already arresting Freedom Fighters in the village.

On November 11 I started off with a friend toward Yugoslavia. Unable to proceed in that direction, we were forced to go toward Austria. On November 16 we reached the Austrian border.

A part of the way we were able to go by train.

Summary of activities during the revolution.

October 22: No knowledge of planned demonstrations.

October 23: Returns home from work at 10p.m. and hears ~~of~~ the radio that the Central Committee of the Communist Party had convened urgently. Subject thought this unusual, but did not know what happened, as yet.

October 24: Heard radio announcement about armed counter-revolutionary gangs fighting in Budapest. Did not go to work.

October 25: Visited his place of employment, but did not work.

October 26: Takes part in the Pecs demonstrations, and also in those at home in the village.

October 27: Is elected to the village Revolutionary Council. Takes part in the demonstrations in Pecs.

October 28: Goes to place of work to elect the Workers' Council.

October 29: Sent as delegate to the Workers' Council meeting in Pecs.

October 30-November 4: Goes with convoy of 15 trucks to Budapest, taking food to the Freedom Fighters. Takes part in the organization of the Petofi (Peasant) Party.

November 4: Takes arms and students from Pecs into mountains nearby. Takes active part in the fighting.

November 9: Goes home to quiet mother. Russian counter-attack cuts him off from his unit.

November 11: Starts off with friends toward Yugoslavia, forced to go toward Austria. Reaches Austrian territory November 16.

D. Despite the heavy losses Hungary most certainly gained by the revolution. The Hungarian youth proved the complete failure of Communist ideology. This is important, especially with respect to the countries which are flirting with Communism. Also, we can hope that Hungary's sacrifice in the struggle against Communism will one day be rewarded when the reorganization of Europe will ~~one day~~ take place.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING
THE REVOLUTION

A. We won the first round of the revolution, and there was no need for aid. After the re-invasion we thought that the West would help us by sending United Nations police troops if necessary.

B. We expected aid from the West, especially from the United Nations, because there was Korea to serve as a precedent. The revolution was also an excellent opportunity for the West to deal a decisive blow to world Communism. The Russian officers we captured also gave us the impression that the Russians had been prepared for firmer action on the part of the West.

I did not meet any foreigners in Hungary before my escape to Austria.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father is a peasant farmer with 12 yokes of land. My parents were divorced in 1939, and my father ceded six yokes to my mother. But, my mother and grandfather farmed the other six yokes also, because my father moved away from our village and became a construction worker.

My mother also owned a house of two rooms and a kitchen.

Both my parents' education extended only to six grades of elementary school.

Basically there are still the same social classes which existed under the so-called capitalistic regime, although the various classes have changed in their number and composition.

The peasantry as such remains unchanged. There are the industrial workers who have been reinforced by the peasantry. A large number of the peasantry had to lead a double life. That is, they had a bit of land to farm on, which was not sufficient to support them. Therefore, they kept the land, but also went to work in industries. This was a special class, half peasant and half industrial worker.

The so-called middle-class has partly declined to the proletarian level. Some of its ~~members~~ members were deported or liquidated, or had to give up their former views in order to be able to exist.

The intelligentsia was gradually replaced by new cadres. But, they eventually accepted the customs and standards of the former middle class, and became estranged from their former social class.

I have had contact with all classes in Hungary.

I who am half peasant and half industrial worker, considered the industrial workers as less reliable than the peasantry, and was a firm believer in the superior role of the peasantry. In 1949 I went to work in the industrial, and learned to know them better. I realized that although the industrial workers may be slightly international in their political contacts, they still are loyal and reliable Hungarians. I was also forced to admit that the workers were better educated, better organized, and more active than the peasantry.

My opinion of the intelligentsia is favorable. Their honest members were inclined to let themselves be degraded into ~~prolet~~ proletarians. The careerists of the middle class served the regime with their knowledge and skill. In their support of the regime the intelligentsia went beyond the point which was permissible.

Industrialists and estate owners who were liquidated completely thru the nationalization of industries and the land reform were the hardest hit in Hungary.

The peasantry was also very much affected by crop deliveries and forced farm collectivization.

But, the true victims of the regime are, after all, the industrial workers. All the injustices of the Communist regime were committed in their name. Morally, they were defrauded and disillusioned. Materially, they were oppressed and exploited. The workers were finally ~~forced~~ forced to turn against their regime.

There was some antagonism between the peasantry and the industrial workers which could be attributed to the peasantry's desire to achieve high prices for produce and the industrial workers' wish to pay as little as possible for their food. There was also a considerable

degree of haughtiness and pride on the part of the nationalistic peasantry, mostly the richer peasants. They were inclined to look down on the industrial workers as proletarians.

Relations between the two classes improved when a considerable number of peasants were forced to seek work in the industries.

Both the industrial workers and the peasants recognized the need for an intelligentsia. But, as they were not satisfied with the regime, they were displeased with the members of the intelligentsia who supported the Communists. This was true even when their own children joined this group of intelligentsia. Peasant and worker parents were not at all proud of such children.

Then there were those members of the intelligentsia who supported the workers and peasants in every way they could. For example, the intelligentsia sabotaged compulsory crop deliveries and production norms.

C. Political views were the most important from the point of view of getting ahead in Communist Hungary. Class origin was second in importance. Many so-called 'class enemies' were assigned to top jobs because they professed Communist political views. But, here there were some limitations. Former counts and barons had no chance of making a career no matter what political views they professed.

Talent and experience began to play some importance only after 1953. From then on class origin and political views in themselves were not enough to get ahead.

My opinion is that anyone who wants to get into the 'federation of the unprivileged', as we called it, must be very careful and cunning. His ambitions must be carefully concealed, and he must not proceed

too rapidly. He must have no other views than what the party wants. His personal appearance and talent are also of importance. Such a person leads a double life. At home he is a different person from how he is in public. His motives are a desire for power and for material advantages.

Top government officials, AVH officers, and top army officers got ~~me~~ much more from Communist society than ~~in~~ they deserved. Their work was ~~no~~ not productive and they received extremely high pay, ten and fifteen times more than what the average worker was paid. Also, there were the elite workers who received bonuses and remunerations in labor competitions, in which the results were often faked.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Collectivization caused a loosening of morals among the peasants. The peasantry lost its material independence. A girl working on a collective farm had to be nice to the agronomist or foreman. Otherwise, she would not be able to get ahead. Girls and boys were taken to distant apprentice homes where they had no parental supervision, and consequently indulged in sexual affairs more readily. The lack of religious life also left a moral vacuum in the youth. Husbands and wives were both forced to work. The number of divorces increased considerably. Marriages were regarded less seriously.

In our family Communism had no affects at all. Peasant traditions in our village were very strong, and we did not let our girls and women go off to work. There were one or two women who were promiscuous, but this was their nature, and not the affect of Communism. There were many women in the village who had mourned their husbands for more than ten years, and led exemplary lives. Our village remained religious, and, even in 1956, children in the streets would greet people with 'Praise be to Jesus Christ'. This was the affect of family up-bringing, and not the affect of school. Our school-master received disciplinary punishment because the school inspector noticed that the pupils had torn the pictures of Rakosi and Stalin from their books.

Our family and the average family in Hungary probably belongs to the Type III that you mentioned, that is, the family where Communism had no affect on their family life at all.

The up-bringing of the children in our village did not change at all during the Communist regime. In general, it can be said that the so-called class war was very weak in our village. Instructions sent from Pecs lost their force five kilometers away, just like a cup of water in the desert sand.

I think that the situation in our village is due to the fact that there were very few sharecroppers and former farm-hands there. The vast majority consisted of fairly well-to-do middle peasants with five, ten, or fifteen yokes of land of their own. Very few AVH officers and army officers, and Party secretaries come from our village.

B. Courtships changed. Discrimination which existed before 1945 ceased under the hardships of Communism. My fiancée, for example, was a school teacher who I would not have been able to court under the previous regime, because I have only six elementary grades. It is true that her parents were also peasants, but they were rich peasants.

Parents interfered less in the question of marriages and courtships, whereas in the past children had to marry people the parents selected for them.

Now it was easier for people of the opposite sex to become acquainted. There was less formality and more opportunities.

Young people engaged more freely in sexual relations than before. This was caused by the lack of religious influence, ~~immorality~~ low pay which forced girls into prostitution, and by the lack of parental supervision.

I was eighteen when I first had anything to do with a girl. She was seventeen years old, and had already had sexual experience. I courted her for three weeks before anything happened. I was very clumsy and bashful. She laughingly showed me what to do. My father noticed our liaison and put an end to it.

Prostitution was officially banned in Hungary since 1948, but secret prostitution thrived.

I think that a true Communist by conviction (and this is very rare) is just as moral as a Jesuit monk. But, the careeristic Communists have no sexual inhibitions at all.

C. If my friend were to join the Communist Party and become a Communist Party secretary, or official, it would mean the end of our friendship. I had such an experience when one of my ~~friends~~ friends became a Communist and was promoted to local council chairman. I severed all contacts with him.

In such cases I think it would be mostly the Communist friend who would sever relations with his non-Communist friend. He does not ~~want~~ want to be compromised by such people.

I think it is impossible to continue a friendship in such a case under an agreement not to mix politics in it.

D. Juvenile delinquency increased under Communism. Young apprentices stole not only from the factory where they worked, but also from each other, in the apprentice home.

The increase in juvenile delinquency was caused by a greater degree of independence given to the Hungarian youth. Their increasing demands were not accompanied by

higher incomes.

I have heard the word 'hooligan' before, but I do not know what it means.

'Jampecs' is the so-called smart young ~~people~~ person who can be recognized by his negligent manners, and his flashy clothes. The jampecs have no moral inhibitions, although in itself their conduct is not criminal. But I think such tendencies should be curbed, primarily thru education.

The jampecs come ^{mostly} ~~mainly~~ from industrial proletariat families. They are from sixteen to 22 in age.

I think that the Communists exaggerated the jampecs problem. But, there was some ~~in~~ truth in their criticisms.

VII. RELIGION

A. Regrettably the churches in Hungary, and especially the Roman Catholic church, were not progressive enough, and their large estates bore the traces of feudalism.

The Communists persecuted the churches in Hungary. Many priests were arrested. The Roman Catholic was probably hit the hardest by Communism, because it had the most followers. The Communists claimed that Mydzenty, and other members of the higher clergy, wanted to restore the pre-World War II regime in order to get back ecclesiastical estates.

There was freedom of religious instruction only on paper.

Religion helped to curb the progress of Communism in Hungary. The church and the Communists have separate moral codes. For example, the church is in favor of close family life. The Communists, on the other hand, want to break-up family life altogether. The church is also opposed to materialism.

B. I think my parents are more ~~xxx~~ religious than I am.

The average person in Hungary is a bit more religious than I am.

I believe in God, and, from time to time, I go to church, but not regularly--mostly when the church is empty. I do not like religious ceremonies. They evoke only childhood memories, but not religious feelings. I go into a church, any church, once a week for a half hour. I have not gone to confession or communion since 1948.

C. Churches should be allowed to maintain schools if they want to, but the system of education should be uniform and provided mostly by the state.

I don't think that the churches should be allowed to exercise censorship officially on books, plays, and movies.

I do not think that in an ~~in~~ independent Hungary the church should play an active role in politics. It is not good for religion to be concerned with ~~worldly~~ worldly affairs.

D. I think all religions were equally persecuted in Hungary, but I know no Jews. There were none in our village. I also know that the religious Jews feel very strongly about Rakosi and the other Jews in the Communist Party.

A considerable percentage of the Jews blamed the entire Hungarian nation for the atrocities suffered by them under fascism. They considered Communism an opportunity for revenge. The regime also favored them. For example, a rich peasant was deprived of his property and deported. At the same time, a rich Jewish textile merchant ~~was~~ lost only his store, but was assigned to a good job in a nationalized store taken away from someone else. There were also very many Jews in the AVH.

Israel is under Western influence and is against Communism. There is also anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. This probably influenced the attitude of the Jews toward Communism.

Comparatively, perhaps there were more Jews in the Communist party than there were Hungarians. (NOTE: Subject used the term 'Jews' versus Hungarians instead of Jews versus non-Jews.)

I do not know how the Jews reacted during the revolution. There were very few Jews in Pecs since World War II. In the unit where I fought there were no Jews at all. I have not heard of ~~any~~ Jews who were ~~for~~ for the revolution, nor of any who were against it.

Only the Jews who have become top Communists or fear that they will be brought to justice for their deeds fear an independent Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the young Hungarians between the ages of 16 to 30.

B. The Hungarian youth played a very active part in the revolution. They carried out in practice the lessons derived from the Petofi Circle debates, and the instructions of the Hungarian intellectuals.

The Communists were unable to exterminate patriotism in the Hungarian youth. They saw the contradictions of the Communist theory and practice. Also, the youth in general is more enthusiastic. This explains their conduct during the revolution.

It was the youth and not the older people who led the revolution because older people are more inclined to make compromises and are less willing to take risks.

Sometimes the older people considered the youth irresponsible during the revolution. Later they approved of what the youth wanted, but disapproved of the revolution itself.

Most older people kept away from the revolution entirely.

C. (NOT ~~applicable~~ applicable. Subject attended only six grades, and had no children.)

D. The Hungarian youth considered Communist indoctrination a fraud because it saw abundant examples of Communism in practice.

A small part of the Hungarian youth, a few young workers and intellectuals, accepted Communism in 1945 and 1947. Then Communism was new and seemed true and idealistic. After 1948 this part of the

youth gradually realized what Communism was really like in practice. They became disillusioned.

IX. ~~major~~ MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN
EVERYDAY LIFE

A. In Communist Hungary my major dissatisfaction was the constant fear of arrest. I was never able to keep my mouth shut, and was liable to say the wrong thing before the wrong person.

B. Peasants complained chiefly about compulsory crop deliveries, low prices, and high taxes. Industrial workers complained because of low wages, labor competitions, and constant lies of the Communists.

During the past eight years our standard of living was the lowest in 1951, and '52. There were droughts, frosts, and low crops, yet crop deliveries were high. We lived somewhat better in 1954 and '55.

The family that lived the best from among my acquaintances was the family of a peasant who lived nearby. The ~~parents~~ parents farmed their small farm, and had three sons, all married, working in the mines. They were able to ~~us~~ modernize their home, buy new furniture, and could afford a motorcycle.

After work the miners helped on the farm. They worked extremely hard to earn money, and were the winners of the labor competition in the mine.

The low standard of ~~ix~~ living in Hungary was due to forced industrialization, large scale investments, and rearmament. Collectivization of farms also served to decrease the standard of living.

B. My average income in 1956 was 1100 forints a month. The rest of the family's average income after taxes was about another 1000 forints, that is 500 forints each, by my two brothers, who farmed at home.

I had to subscribe for 500 ~~forints~~ forints in government loan. This amount was deducted from my pay in monthly installments.

I received production premiums only on one occasion amounting to 100 forints.

After work I always helped on the farm. Otherwise the farm work was done by my mother and brothers.

I did not get any wage increase during the

last five years.

C. We bought the little that we needed for our household in the peasant cooperative store in the village. There was no other store where we could buy. Most of our food we grew at home.

We bought clothes only in state department stores at prices fixed by the government.

There were difficulties in distribution. For example, often one could not get salt or vinegar in the store in the village. At the same time, in Pecs, it was available.

It was very difficult to get spare machine parts and one usually had to pay for them in grain or food.

There were periodical shortages of lard or bacon. One had to be on guard not to miss a supply coming into the local peasant cooperative store. It was quickly distributed and, if one came late, one did not get any.

There was some black-marketing in 1952 when there was an acute food shortage. I do not know how the black-market was organized. It was conducted mostly among reliable friends and acquaintances. There was also under-the-counter marketing, even in the cooperative stores.

Black-market prices were about 30 per cent higher than the regular prices.

Black-marketing was very dangerous. If one was caught one was liable to receive a sentence of one or two years, or even five years if you were a kulak.

D. I worked sixteen hours in one shift, three shifts a week. I rode to work on a bicycle.

It took me forty minutes one way. ~~When~~
When it was raining and muddy I had to carry
the bicycle on my back, and I cursed the
Communists for the bad roads.

I was a brakeman on a narrow gage railroad,
which hauled sand for the Komlo coal mines.
Sometimes I had to assist in loading and un-
loading. This happened about once a week.

I slept only about six hours a day because
I also had to work on the farm. I was ~~not~~
satisfied with my job. Comparatively, it
was the best job I could get, and had very
little to do with other people.

I was on very good terms with my fellow-
workers with the exception of one or two
informers who were among them.

I did not have any special relations with my
superiors. Our relations were restricted to
business. I did not ~~a~~ fear my superiors, neither
did I woo them. I did not want to get ahead
or be promoted.

Of my two superiors, the political officer did
not know much about his work. But, another rail-
road officer was expert in his field.

My fellow workers understood their jobs fairly
well. Our superiors had praise for work well
done.

Socialized medical service in Hungary was
fairly good. The trade union vacation pro-
gram was a hoax. Only a special few could
take part in it.

Pensions were very low and all workers pre-
ferred to keep on working as long as they
could.

E. Small villages near a large city are best for marketing and purchasing, and also have cultural facilities. At the same time, it is healthier, cleaner, and cheaper to live in such villages.

In the last five years the peasantry ate better food than the city workers. Before that the peasants were so thrifty that they preferred to take their foodstuffs to market than to eat it themselves. Now they at least have learned to live better. This can be attributed also to their 'double life', that is, to their infiltration to industrial jobs.

I think that the standard of living was the highest in the villages near large cities, and in miner settlements.

Politically, it was easier in the villages under Communism. There the peasantry in general did not take part in the political activities. There was also a large degree of passive political resistance in the country.

I was 20 years old when collectivization was first introduced into Hungary. I was opposed to it because I realized that the profits would be reaped by the ~~government~~ government. I also realized that there would be too much government interference and one could not be independent. It would mean the loss of independence which the Hungarian peasants valued the most.

My views on collective farming have not changed since then.

I think that the middle peasantry was the most opposed to collectivization. The ~~middle~~ middle peasantry was better organized and was better able to ~~show~~ show the most

resistance.

I did not hear of farm cooperatives being dissolved. I only heard of a few members leaving cooperatives. Members began to leave cooperatives in large numbers. Leaving the cooperatives was rather difficult, but the peasants preferred to leave. Not only did they not get back what was originally theirs, but they also were ~~held~~ held responsible for the debts incurred by the cooperatives.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948 I was very much interested in politics. I took an active interest in the Peasant Federation. I was also a member of the Peasant Party. I liked the Peasant Party because its program suited the Hungarian peasantry's interest the best. But, I became ~~and was~~ disillusioned with the Peasant Party by the end of 1947 because I saw that its leaders were becoming too pro-Soviet.

I always have had an unfavorable opinion of Communism. I read the 'Problems of Leninism' before 1948, and I realized that it was a fraud. Since then my opinion of Communism has not changed.

I heard about Bela Kun and his atrocities. Judging by his features he was a cruel, cold-blooded murderer.

During the war I heard practically nothing about the Hungarian Communist party. Everyone at home told us that Communists are dirty scoundrals. I also heard much about Communism in Russia during the war. I was inclined to disbelieve some of the things I heard. But, I became ~~comparatively~~ disillusioned with Russians and Communism when they wanted to rape my mother in 1945. We were barely able to save her.

Since 1948 my views on the Hungarian Communist party has not changed at all.

B. In 1945 many workers became Party members because they thought that the regime would give them a much better life than the Horthy regime. They were well meaning people who gradually became disillusioned with Communism.

There are also careerists in the Communist Party who joined the Party because they wanted to get ahead.

Then there were the 'made' Party members who joined the Party almost automatically because of their work or results in the labor competitions.

At the end there ^{WERE} only ~~of~~ these indifferent members and careerists in the Communist Party. Sometimes it was comical to see the indifferent Party members in the villages ~~xxxxxx~~ being persuaded by the Party Secretaries to attend meetings, etc. ~~xxx~~ They preferred to go to work in the fields or their vineyards instead.

Before 1948 the Communists did not dare mention collectivization, and used patriotic slogans. After 1948 the Rakosi era copied the Soviet system to the last minute detail. After that there was a slight break in the Party policy when Imre Nagy came into power in 1953. ~~He tried to go back.~~ He tried to go back to the pre-1948 line.

Party morale really never existed. What the Communists called 'Communist consciousness' was just a lot of humbug to mislead the youth.

Party morale was only the close cooperation of careerists for mutual benefits.

The leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party comprise a small clique which wants power and, under the guise of Party principles, ruthlessly suppresses and exploits everyone else.

The aims ~~for~~ of the top Hungarian Communists are to help the Soviet conquer the world.

As individuals the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party have no convictions. The history of the Communist Party shows that it is a constant struggle for power by various factions. I don't think they ~~themselves~~ themselves believe what in what they are doing.

Perhaps the top leaders believe that they are better than others. Dictators usually invent theories to justify themselves. Power and material advantages are equally important to them.

Some top Communist leaders have personality and this makes them even more ambitious.

Once Communism is overthrown the top Hungarians should be brought to justice to answer for their crimes.

C. There was resistance to Communism in all walks of life, and at all times.

Resistance had a wide scale from boycotting Communist demonstrations to slow down strikes, sabotage, and grumbling.

Industrial workers did not attend Party and trade union meetings. They opposed a labor competition, expressed their dissatisfactions openly, which often led to their arrest.

Peasants were less active in their resistance, but they offered more passive resistance. This slowed down the collectivization program in Hungary. Their resistance was expressed in such little things as, for example, the following; The peasants in our village were opposed to day-light saving time because they thought it was a Communist invention. They determined to live according to local time. They instructed the church ~~sexton~~ sexton to ring the church bell

accordingly. This was the 'non-Communist bell toll'. ~~XXXX~~ In the next village the bell was rung according to day-light saving time. That was called the 'Communist bell toll'.by the peasants.

Some members of the intelligentsia did not accept jobs for which they were qualified because they thought that by doing so they would be supporting the Communist regime. They also helped organize the resistance of the peasants and industrial workers.

The degree of resistance was always in direct proportion with the degree of oppression.

People were aware of this resistance. There were people in prisons from every village in the country. It was useful to conduct resistance against the Communists because it did not allow the spirit of resistance to die out, and it also set examples for others to follow.

The intellectuals also resisted Communism. After 1953 the Imre Nagy government allowed the intellectuals greater freedom and gave them an opportunity to criticize the regime. Such debates were later conducted by the Petofi Circle which became famous for its resistance and defiance in 1956. (Subject mentioned Petofi Circle volutarily without probing.) Before the Petofi Circle there was only criticism against some Communist writers for deviationism.

I do not remember when I first heard about the Petofi Circle. I probably read about it in the paper. I always read about the activities of the Petofi Circle with keen interest.

The significance of the Petofi Circle is primarily in its boldness to express criticism, and general dissatisfaction openly. Basically it had nothing new to say.

The Hungarian intellectuals prepared the revolution. They filled the role well to which they were destined.

The intellectuals who took part in the Petofi Circle are realists and not day-dreamers and theorists. They are practical people.

The Hungarian intellectuals turned against the regime because material advantages for intellectuals are not enough. They need freedom of expression, and perhaps they had a conscience which ~~was~~ compelled them to side with the people despite the advantages they were getting from the regime.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The AVH personnel consisted of two kinds of people. Most AVH members joined the service because there was money in it and gave them vast powers over others, with opportunities to satisfy their sadistic inclinations. The more stupid representatives of this type remained without rank or became just non-commissioned officers. The brighter ones became officers.

The other type was the idealistic Communist by conviction who believed that they were doing the right thing by supporting the regime. They were morally or mentally unsound. They were the more dangerous ones.

I worked together with a worker in the mines who volunteered for the AVH, was sent to an officers' school, and became an AVH lieutenant. He was very ambitious and also a careerist. I don't think he was a convinced Communist.

In 1948 I was arrested for several days because of my participation in the Peasant Union. I received a few slaps, but was not ~~xxxx~~ tortured. But, then it was not the formidable AVH, only the AVO of the regular police. The AVH was formed after 1948.

I do not know of any AVH officers who felt remorse or wanted to quit the service.

Once Hungary is independent I think that all AVH personnel ~~xxxxxx~~ should be screened, and those who committed atrocities or crimes should be brought to justice.

The Blue Police were considerably more friendly than the AVH. They complained

that they were under the constant supervision of the AVH. Some of the men in the Blue Police force were AVH officers assigned to regular police duty.

The Blue Police also operated with the help of a wide network of informers. They were fairly efficient.

During the revolution most members of the Blue Police remained passive. Some sympathized with the revolution.

B. I do not know much about the courts before 1945. But, what I heard of these courts I think that they were very severe towards Communists. Also, there was a system of backstairs influence. The people who had the right contacts received better treatment before these courts than others who had none.

The ~~new~~ People's Courts were set up in 1945 after World War II. They tried war crimes cases. I think that there were such things as war crimes. Some of the Hungarians also helped the fascists to commit such crimes and persecute Jews and non-Jews alike. I think that ~~as~~ some of the war criminals were actually guilty, but many of the sentences imposed by the courts were not just. They were only acts of revenge and retaliation.

~~During the revolution~~
C. During the revolution about half the Hungarian army became demoralized and dispersed. The majority of the remaining part of the army took an active part in the fighting on the side of the insurgents. A comparatively small part of the army sided with the Communists.

This is my general experience on the basis of what I myself saw in Pecs, and what I saw in Budapest during my short visit there, and also on the ~~xxx~~ basis of what I heard from others.

I don't think the geographical differences influenced the conduct of the army. In general, it can be said that the enlisted men were, with very few exceptions, on our side. So were most of the non-commissioned officers. Among the officers, there were more who were siding with the Communists than with us.

I do not know of any differences in the behavior of the soldiers which can be attributed to class origin.

The fact that in some parts of Hungary army units as a whole sided with the revolution, whereas in other parts they did ~~not~~ not, depended to a great extent on the person of the commander. If the commander was on our side, the army followed suit.

I was surprised by the conduct of the army during the revolution because I did not dare hope that they would be on our side. But, once they were on our side and declared that they were supporting us, I was also surprised by the indecision of some of the commanding officers.

(The rest of this sub-section is not applicable as subject did not serve in Hungarian military service.)

D. It is true that the Russian participation in the 1848 also served to ~~make~~ make them unpopular in Hungary. But, their unpopularity is mostly due to

their conduct in 1945 when they invaded the country.

During the war I did not sympathize with the Germans, and therefore, at one time, I thought that the Hungarian government's attitude toward the Communists was exaggerated. To a certain extent we anticipated the Russians because it would mean the end of German rule. But, on the other hand, we would have much more preferred to be occupied by some Western power.

I have already mentioned that when the Russians came into Hungary in 1945 they wanted to rape my mother, and they almost shot me. I felt very disillusioned about them. They committed the usual plundering, robbing, and raping in our district also. My contact with the Russians did not change my ~~fixed~~ feelings with them later on. My dislike and hatred for them remained all along.

I ~~never~~ had no contact at all with Russian occupation troops or their dependents in Hungary before the revolution.

During the revolution I had no contact with the Russians other than fighting. On one occasion, when I was going home on November 9 from the Maczek Mountains, I was stopped by a Russian patrol which searched me, and sought evidence to prove that I was fighting against them. They let me go. I did not talk at all with them, and I do not know anything about their views or attitudes toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E. In connection with compulsory agricultural crop deliveries and wage computations, I met government and industrial

officials who were willing to help us. They did this volutarily for no material gain. They just simply wanted to help others who were more or less in trouble.

F. In the case of local government officials, it was sometimes possible to talk with them and to make them see reason. Out of a mere willingness to help they would sometimes apply some easier solution to our problems. Very often, they did this out of a willingness to help, but sometimes they accepted tokens of gratitude, and even bribes, but this was rare. Anyone caught accepting a bribe was dismissed or, if the case was more serious, sentenced and sent to prison.

G. I think that the top leadership of the AVH consisted of very crafty and intelligent, shrewd officers.

The situation among the top army leadership was the same. There were many officers taken over from the Horthy regime, and there were also Russian advisors in the Hungarian army.

I think that the Russian army leadership also consists of well-trained, intelligent persons. The way they executed their military operations in Hungary on November 4 ~~XXXX~~ shows that it was very carefully and skillfully planned. They left no loopholes open.

I think that the Hungarian public administration's top officials were also intelligent and knew their business.

XIII. ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I think for the next few years no basic changes can be expected in Hungary. Perhaps the present Kadar ~~губернатор~~ ~~губернатор~~ government will be replaced by another puppet government, but this will not influence the basic line of policy in Hungary. Kadar is not continuing the Stalinistic policy exactly of the ~~Ракоси~~ Rakosi regime, because he had been forced to make certain concessions. ~~Thus~~ Thus, for example, his policy toward the peasantry has changed, and he is also trying to give higher pay and other advantages to the ~~рабочие~~ industrial workers. However, from the point of state security and persecutions, the present Kadar system is the same as the Rakosi government had been.

Outside Hungary there is a possibility that the internal political situation in the Soviet Union will lead to the weakening of the present government in there, and therefore the government may be forced to make concessions. Another promising sign is the increasing independence of the greater satellite countries, namely Yugoslavia and China. Western rearmament is also continuing. = It can be imagined that ~~в будущем~~ at a future stage the Soviet Union will be forced to / make concessions toward the West and ~~ее~~ evacuate her positions in central and eastern Europe.

I think that, in the long run, a war between the United States and the Soviet Union is inevitable. When this war will break out I do not know. It will depend largely on the Soviet Union. If the

Soviet Union thinks that she is strong enough to risk a war with the West, she will start this war. Otherwise, the war may be postponed for years.

After what we have gone thru in Hungary, I am in favor of war at all costs, but perhaps I would not war if this would mean an atomic war with the danger of wiping out the entire civilized world. But, I think the people at home would want war even at this risk.

The only possible way to a peaceful solution of Hungary, and other eastern European problems is the steadily increasing rearmament on the part of the West which, if coupled with domestic political troubles and weakening in the Soviet Union, may force the Soviet government to give up these territories in Europe.

B. Since 1948 on, we in Hungary were always hoping that the Western world would do something about Communist ~~oppression~~ oppression in eastern Europe, and would liberate us. At different times we saw the solution differently. There were times when we thought that the West would be able to free us thru peaceful negotiations, and, at a later stage, when the French and German reconciliation took place, we hoped that a strong Western army would be created which would eventually start a war to free us.

There was always something to hope for all along during the entire time of Communist oppression.

XVI.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. In the future I want Hungary, when she ~~RE-~~ gains her independence, to be a democratic, parliamentary republic. The social and economic system would be, to a certain degree, socialized.

B. Hungary is basically an agricultural country. Therefore, ~~it~~ in an independent Hungary, emphasis in the economic system should be placed on agriculture and not industry. In industry, light industry is more important than heavy industry. We do not have the raw materials and resources required for a heavy industry which is able to ~~to~~ compete on foreign markets. Therefore, the production of heavy industry products should be reduced to the minimum. Hungary should not manufacture such items as, for example, automobiles and trucks. It would be ~~not~~ necessary to expand those ~~branches~~ branches of industry where the value is represented not by the material involved, ~~but~~ but by skill and craftsmanship. There is a great future, I think, in the Hungarian ~~chemical~~ chemical industry.

Once the Communist regime is overthrown, the national enterprises should be turned into enterprises owned by the workers themselves. It would not be just to return these enterprises to the their former owners because much money has been invested in them from the blood and sweat of the workers. The former owners, ~~however~~, should get some limited compensation.

The cooperative farms and state farms in an independent Hungary should be abolished. They should be given back to their former owners or divided into small farms which are large enough to sustain a family.

I approve of the government ownership of transportation and communication facilities. The nationalization of the heavy industry is also proper. In the light industry I would set the limit at factories employing over 200 or 300 workers.

I think it would be proper for the government to establish a maximum limit on real-estate property, which can be ~~owned~~ owned by one person or family. I would place this limit at 100 yokes. If there were no other choice, I would prefer a complete democracy with no guaranteed standard of living to a dictatorship with bread and butter. I feel confident that I would be able to earn enough and get ahead in a democratic country.

In principle I am opposed to the existence of any party which wants to achieve supreme rule with dictatorial methods. Therefore, in principle, I am opposed to permitting ~~the~~ a Hungarian ~~Communist~~ Communist Party to exist in an independent Hungary. However, the Communist Party has ~~to~~ made itself so ridiculous in Hungary that, in an independent, Hungary, it would be advisable to permit its existence just to prove to the world that it has no followers.

C. Ideally, the international situation of Hungary should be a neutrality like that of Austria, but with an economic system which comes closest to that of national Communist Poland.

Hungary should conduct only trade relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of complete equality. No cultural relations are necessary with the Soviet Union. Cultural and trade ~~relations~~ relations should be conducted by Hungary with the eastern European countries and also the western European countries. Complete economic and cultural relations should be established between Hungary and the United States. Hungary's neutrality would exclude all military relations, but in the case of world conflict, when there is no other choice, Hungary should side with the West. This is natural.

The idea of a federation of Danubian states originates with Kossuth in 1849. We discussed such plans in the Hungarian Peasant Union in 1945 and '46. Everyone thought that such a federation of Danubian states is not only desirable, but also possible. Economic and cultural conditions which exist in all these countries are practically identical. Therefore, the federation could be formed. I would like to have ~~the~~ Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and perhaps even Rumania in this federation. I think that the idea of such a federation is widespread in Hungary, and everyone is in favor of it.

I am not satisfied with the present boundaries of Hungary. I would like to have ethnical boundaries in central and eastern Europe. That means that I, in principle, approve of the 1939-1940 Hungarian boundaries with slight modifications, especially in Transylvania. These boundaries could be achieved only through peaceful means, perhaps through the United Nations. A plebiscite should be held, and the population should

decide thru popular vote to which country it wishes to belong.

I am concerned about the ~~own~~ problems of the Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary. They are exposed to the nationalism of the neighboring countries. Examples of nationalism could be seen after World War II when the Hungarian minority~~s~~ was being expelled in large numbers from Czechoslovakia. In my opinion, I would be against an exchange of population. WE should get ~~back~~ back not only the minorities, but also the territories ~~whi~~ on which they live. We have a historical right and claim to these territories.

I feel very strongly about the injustice of the two World War peace treaties which deprived Hungary of large territories and Hungarian population. Because of these unjust peace treaties, over three million Hungarians are forced ~~o~~ to live outside ~~fm~~ of their own country. I think that these problems are very important, not only to me but to everyone in Hungary.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I did not hear anything about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress.

(Respondent was unable to identify Khrushchev's speech with the denunciations of Stalin. When informed of this, he said he remembered only what he read in the newspapers.)

At home I heard about Senator McCarthy because he ~~was~~ was denounced as a representative of American neo-fascism. I sympathize with every person who takes an active stand against Communism. Therefore, I liked Senator McCarthy also.

The Hungarian papers at home did not write much about Peron's downfall in Argentina. One dictator does not write about the downfall of another, because ~~of~~ the people may get ideas at home.

Before the revolution we did not know anything about Rakosi's private life. We ~~kaw~~ knew that he lived in a villa in great luxury, but we did not know any details.

B. During the last ~~ten~~ ten years in Hungary I received the most information from foreign radio broadcasts. The second most important source of information was the domestic newspapers. During the years of Communism we acquired the talent for reading in between the lines.

C. By word of mouth we received all sorts of domestic news, even news which did not ~~appear~~ appear in the papers. For example, the people at home knew that the concentration camp in Recsk existed, and that

people were being deported and mistreated in 1950, '51, and '52. Hungary is not a large country and, at a place of employment, by talking with other workers, one was able to get a fair idea of what was happening in distant parts of the country.

I received the most news from Hungarians who were employed by some national enterprise in such a capacity which necessitated their frequent travel in all parts of the country. If a friend introduced you to such a person and said that you were reliable, this person would be willing to give you information. The news supplied by some people was more reliable than that supplied by others. It always depended on the character of the person concerned.

D. (This optional sub-section has been omitted because of the time element.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. There is a chance of a change in the Soviet Union, but it is extremely unwise for the West to wait for such a change to happen. Changes within the Soviet Union are likely to occur more thru gradual liberation, than thru a revolution. Certain changes can already be observed within the Soviet Union. I think that the Soviet ~~and~~ leaders have introduced these changes only to let off steam, and to avoid a revolution.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union I think that the Communists would remain in a minority. Very likely a Social Democratic party would be formed, and ~~that~~ would gain ~~the~~ control.

In the Soviet Union it has become evident that the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party are isolated from the people, and that the principles which they profess only serve to insure the rule of a small clique. Within this clique there are various types of persons who crave power and want to rule others. I think that they are very ~~and~~ clever and crafty individuals, and, to them, Communist conviction is only a superfluous burden. Since the methods for remaining in power are cruel and ruthless, they must be likewise. The only difference between the top ~~and~~ Soviet leaders and the Hungarian Communist leaders is the question of hierarchy. As individuals they are the same type.

B. Of the countries mentioned the two most popular are Poland and Yugoslavia. Poland for historical reasons, Yugoslavia because there the national Communist regime has tolerated private farming. This the peasants

ka in Hungary know, and therefore they are inclined to sympathize with the Yugoslav system.

The two most unpopular countries with Hungary are Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. ~~Exxx~~Czechoslovakia is unpopular because of its minority policy toward the Hungarian minority in that country. After World War II many Hungarians were evicted from Czechoslovakia. Rumania is also unpopular because she has more than one and one half million Hungarians living on her territory who should belong to Hungary together with the territory on which they live. This unpopularity refers to both the government and people, especially those who helped to formulate and execute the government policies.

If these countries were to hold free elections Communism would be defeated everywhere, even in Czechoslovakia where, at one time, in unfaked elections, Communists received 40 per cent of the popular vote.

Of the countries mentioned the standard of living is highest in Czechoslovakia, and second highest in East Germany. It is the lowest in Bulgaria, and second lowest in Rumania.

I don't think that Gomulka is a Soviet puppet, but there is no doubt that he is a Communist by conviction. I think that developments in Poland represent a step ahead in the progress of liberating the European satellite countries, and freeing them from Soviet influence.

I think that the Gomulka government in Poland is only a first step toward that country's liberation. It cannot be denied that the people in Poland today want more than simply national Communism. But, the time will come ~~we~~ when all the satellite

countries will make use of the internal difficulties within the Soviet Union, and, relying on promises of Western aid, will make another attempt to sever ties with the Soviet Union. Whether Gomulka at that time will be able to remain in power or not, I do not know.

Events in Poland most certainly had a deep affect on events in Hungary. The Hungarian public regarded with sympathy the events of Poznan. (Note: Subject mentioned the Poan riots spontaneously.) We heard about the Poznan riots over the radio. Foreign radio broadcasts dealt extensively on the events in Poland. The Hungarian newspapers and radio also wrote and broadcast about them, but only the Communist version. People, in general, in Hungary knew what was happening there.

During the revolution we hoped that the events in Poland would take the same course as in Hungary. That would have helped us immensely. Regrettably, Gomulka stopped them halfway.

Despite the fact that Hungary has suffered very heavy losses during the revolution, I still think that ours was the right path to follow, and not the Polish path. There is no stopping halfway. Morally we were right. Regrettably we lost the revolution and now there are persecutions at home. Still, it had to be as it occurred.

D. I think that Tito is the originator of national Communism. National Communism is important in splitting up the Communist camp, but it is only a temporary solution. People are not willing to accept Communism even in this form.

For economic and political reasons Tito tries to maintain good relation both

with the western European countries and the United States and with the Soviet Union. There has been a certain degree of reconciliation between Tito and the Soviet Union recently. But, I do not think that Tito will ever again occupy the same satellite position which ~~it~~^{he} did before 1948.

Tito would like very much to extend his influence over the other satellite countries in eastern Europe. He would like to become the ideological leader of these satellite countries. There is Titoism within the Communist parties of the satellite countries, but it is unpopular among the people themselves.

Tito blames the Rakosi era for the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution. He did not denounce the revolution as a fascist movement, and also gave refuge to the Freedom Fighters who escaped to his country. This latter act on Tito's part indicates that he is independent of Moscow.

Tito in Yugoslavia enjoys a certain degree of popularity. But this popularity is not enough to save him should free elections be held in Yugoslavia. He would be swept away.

We lived in Hungary near the Yugoslav border, and were fairly well informed of the conditions in Yugoslavia.

E. Although in principle I favor nationalization, for example, the nationalization of heavy industries in Hungary, I think that from an international point of view Egypt did not have the right to nationalize the Suez Canal. It is very vital waterway which is important for the economy and security of western Europe.

I think that France and England had a right to attack Egypt because of the nationalization of the ~~xxxxx~~ canal. France and England

were motivated not only by colonial aims, but primarily to insure the oil supply of Western Europe. This was necessary from the point of view of world security. I do not agree with American foreign policy on the Suez Canal. I think that the British, French, and Israeli line of diplomacy was better.

The events in Egypt most certainly affected the outcome of the Hungarian revolution in the Fall of 1956. I approve of the British, French, Israeli action in Egypt, but it cannot be denied that from our point of view it was very inopportune. The tragedy of the situation is that in both places, in Hungary and in Egypt, the western world suffered defeat. The events in Egypt served to divide world opinion and distracted attention from what was going on in Hungary.

F. I think that the standard of living in West Germany is the highest in Europe today.

I don't think that in the present era the Germans represent a threat to world security. Only the Russians are threatening world peace.

The Germans are essential from the point of view of European security. They are against the Russians and, therefore, I approve of West German rearmament.

The West German army at the present time is not as strong as the British army or the French. I think the length of military service in the West German army is three years.

Although the people at home did not sympathize with the Germans, it cannot be denied that they were our allies. For this reason

they did their best to avoid friction with Hungarian civilians and the Hungarian army. Therefore there is no doubt that the German ~~army~~ occupation of Hungary was less distasteful not only to me but to everyone at home.

The German officers and enlisted men acted much more disciplined in Hungary than their Soviet counterpart.

G. I approve of NATO and consider it essential for European peace. This is the most important means of defense against Soviet aggression. The Warsaw Pact is the Communist counterpart of NATO.

The British Labor Party more or less corresponds to the Social Democratic parties on the Continent. I think that the British Labor Party in England has large support, and sooner or later it will again come to power. In my opinion the British Labor Party is opposed to Communism. There is one faction, the left wing of the Party, which is more tolerant of Communism. I disapprove of this, and consider that it would be extremely dangerous if this faction of the party were to be in control.

Of the countries mentioned the standard of living is the highest in West Germany, with ~~the~~ Great Britain second, Italy third, Greece fourth, Soviet Union fifth, and Egypt last.

H. On my arrival to the United States I was very much impressed by the proportions of New York. I came by ship, and the New York skyline from a distance was very impressive. I was awed by the statue of liberty, and pinched myself to make sure I was not ~~xxxxxx~~ dreaming. I was also impressed with the large number of cars, good roads, efficiency, and the good organization which I saw everywhere.

I am very dissatisfied with American foreign policy in eastern Europe. Our impression at home was that American foreign policy is not prepared for the ~~most~~ developments which ~~occurred~~ occurred then. Since my arrival in the United States my views have been altered somewhat in as much as I realize that perhaps the United States, by keeping away from the Hungarian crisis, was trying to preserve world peace, and avoid the outbreak of a third world war.

I think that the United States government should continue to support Poland and Yugoslavia, and to give them loans. They are opposed to the Soviet Union.

In connection with Hungary I think that the United States government should not maintain diplomatic relations with the Kadar government. It should not recognize the Kadar government at all, but instead should grant recognition to the government formed by Anna Kethly in exile.

I think that the ~~people~~ people at home would ~~very~~ very much like to see foreign visitors, especially tourists and trade union representatives. I don't think it would be advisable to send statesmen or diplomats, because in certain sense this would be recognition of the Kadar government.

I think that the people at home would also like to read more Western publications, but I do not know how to send these publications home.

The purpose of the Marshall Plan was to aid the disrupted economies of Europe in an effort to curb the widespreading of Communism. Directly, I don't think that Marshall loan grants were linked with any political conditions. Indirectly, however, it is possible that the acceptance of the Marshall Plan

a certain degree of American influence on the policies of the nations concerned.

The United States became involved in the Korean War in order to curb the expansion of Communism in Asia. I do not know of any other reason why America fought in Korea.

J. The United Nations is a giant with leaden feet which cannot move when it is necessary.

The autumn and winter of 1956 the United Nations should have accepted the declaration of neutrality issued by the Imre Nagy government, and should have guaranteed the neutrality of Hungary. In my opinion there is not much hope in the near future for effective United Nations action in behalf of Hungary. The problem of Hungary is strongly and ~~is~~ ~~is~~ closely linked with the problem of Germany and other European countries. My impression is that the Western world is not yet strong enough, or has not yet decided to take firm action against the Soviet Union. Until then, no United Nations actions can be expected to ~~aid~~ aid Hungary.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD
SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. The greatest Hungarian living today is either Cardinal Mindszenty or Imre Nagy. I have great esteem for Cardinal Mindszenty ~~because~~ because of his firm convictions, and his opposition to Communism. He did not leave the country despite the danger which he was exposed to.

I consider Imre Nagy ~~was~~ great because, although he was a Communist, he chose to side with the Hungarian people.

B. Laszlo Rajk was the representative of national Communism or Titoism in Hungary. Had he succeeded, he would have been a great man. But, although Rajk was one degree less unsympathetic, than the other Communists, he nevertheless was still a Communist.

Erno Gero mere appearance has something ~~diabolic~~ diabolic in it.

Janos Kadar is an insignificant little person who ~~is~~ is only a tool in the hands of the Soviet.

There is something objectional ^{able} in the military bearing and manner of General Bela Kiraly. But, I realize that he is the ~~sole~~ sole representative of the Freedom Fighters Federation, and therefore he has my support, despite his faults.

I have a very high opinion of Anna Kethly. I spoke to her on one occasion here in New York. I was impressed by her firm conviction, and her simplicity. She told me that she believed that she could help the Hungarian ~~cause~~ cause more by going to Europe and maintaining contact with the Social Democratic parties of Europe.

There are many things about President Eisenhower that indicate his complete naivete.

His indecision marks the entire American foreign policy.

I do not sympathize with Secretary General Hammarskjold, especially now when he has ~~xxxx~~ declared that keeping the Hungarian question on the agenda is not wise when the world is trying to achieve disarmament.

Perhaps I am mistaken, but ~~xxxxxxxx~~ State Secretary Dulles gave the impression of being very energetic. At least this was my opinion when I saw his photograph for the first time in Hungary during the Geneva Summit Conference.

Eden is a great statesman, but I consider it a blunder from our point of view that he chose a time to attack Egypt when it was very detrimental to us.

President Truman during his administration in many questions was firmer than President Eisenhower is today.

Before my departure from Hungary I did not know anything about ~~Mi~~ Mikoyan. There were rumors to the effect that he was in Budapest during the revolution.

Indian Prime Minister Nehru is trying to sit on two horses with one ass. His cautious statements about the Hungarian revolution did not do justice to the leader of a nation which has recently gained its independence. ~~xxxxxxx~~

I consider Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek too old to be the leader of nationalist China. I think he should give up his place to younger leaders who are destined to create a great independent China.

Ferenc Nagy is not very popular among the

Hungarian peasants. He ~~was~~ adopted too many aristocratic customs at the time when he became Prime Minister.

Roosevelt was unquestionably a great president from the American point of view, but he was a very naive day-dreamer with respect to his policy toward the Communists.

I am only sorry that Chancellor Adenauer is not twenty years younger. I like him very much, especially his firmness.

I can compare Stalin only to the Caesars of the Roman Empire.

I think Malenko is a very intelligent person and a believer of co-existence.

~~Mr~~ Generalissimo Franco has done his duty in connection with Communism in Spain, but now he should retire and give over control to ~~some~~ someone ~~else~~ else.

I would very much dislike to see Bevan gain control of the British Labor Party. He is too coy toward Communism.

Khrushchev's very appearance is comical. He looks like a rural ~~man~~ horse trader whose ambitions are greater than his talents.

I did not sympathize with Molotov because he was cruel and wicked, but it must be admitted that he was a very capable minister for foreign affairs. He was a tough, shrewd firm Communist.

Although I am in favor of a social economic era, I would nevertheless not like to see Ollenhauer win the present elections in West Germany. From the point of view of European security and the struggle against Communism, it would be more desirable if he were to lose to Adenauer.

I heard very much about Churchill in the Communist press at home. He was described as an arch foe of Communism. I sympathize with him very much.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The refugees that left Hungary can be divided into three groups: those people who took an active ~~fight~~ part in the demonstrations and in the fighting. They knew very well what to expect if the revolution were defeated. Therefore, they had to leave the country. The second group is ~~the~~ persons who became fed up with life under Communism, and came away to start life anew. The third group consists of persons who fought in the revolution, but did ~~it~~ so only for the fun of it and not from political convictions. They came out to seek adventure, and in many cases they discredit the Hungarians abroad. Fortunately, this group is in the minority.

The average age of the refugees is 21. More boys came out than girls or women. All three social classes are represented, but perhaps there are more industrial workers than members of the intelligentsia, and peasants are the fewest in number. Most of the refugees come from Budapest and from the cities of western Hungary. Peasants came from villages along the Hungarian-Austrian border.

I know several cases where persons who knew what was to be expected if they remained home, nevertheless remained for patriotic reasons. They could have come out if they had wanted to.

If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary and come West, I think that the majority of the people now in Hungary would nevertheless remain, especially the peasants. The revolution has proved that the peasants are ~~very~~ very attached to the soil, and are unwilling to leave behind their few possessions.

B. From Western radio broadcasts we at home in Hungary knew about exile political organizations and exile politicians here in the West, especially in the United States. I must add that such exile politicians were not very popular at home. The general feeling about them was that they are living here in luxury and have, to a certain extent, betrayed us. Our feeling at home was that we will decide ourselves who is going to be who in Hungary once the regime changes.

We at home heard about the Hungarian National Committee and that Bela Varga was its chairman. We realized that, for the time being, the National Committee was most suited to represent us. We also knew that there was a military group headed by General -- Ferenc Farkas.

The MHBk was the military group I just referred to.

I have heard about the International Peasant Union which has united all the peasant parties of the satellite countries.

My opinion of Bela Varga can be summed up in one sentence: I do not like to see priests mixed up in politics.

Tibor Eckhardt is a brilliant man, and I have a high opinion of him. But, he has left Hungary so long ago that I do not think he does what is going on, and his evaluation of the conditions at home are not reliable.

Imre Kovacs was one of the leaders of the Hungarian young agricultural elements at home. His books and he himself were popular at home.

Charles Peyer was a right wing Social Democratic leader who fled to the United States

in the first years of the Communist regime. He is accused of betraying the Hungarian workers during the Horthy regime.

Miklos Kallay, a former prime minister of Hungary, was pro-Western in his foreign policy. He represents to a certain extent feudal Hungary, and does not stand much chance of ever having influence in political affairs in Hungary again.

Zoltan Pfeiffer was one of the opposition leaders in the 1947 elections. He was democratic.

I do not know much about Istan Baronkovics. He too was an opposition leader in Hungary. He had a fairly large Catholic party in the 1947 elections.

I heard about General Zako only here in the United States.

General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak is a general of the old Hungarian army who is now somewhere in the West. He is against Communism.

I heard that Otto of Hapsburg is a very educated young man, who has political aspirations, and wants to return to the Hungarian throne. With this I do not agree, because I favor the ~~Rak~~ republican form of government.

Admiral Horthy as governor of Hungary was against Communism and defeated the 1919 Hungarian Communist regime. But, it cannot be denied that during the 25 years that he was in power in Hungary he did very little to ~~mm~~ improve social conditions. That is, he could have done more than what was done.

I am unable to give any criticism of the work of the Hungarian National Committee, and

of the military groups in Austria and Germany. I do not know much about their work, nor of the possibilities of what they could have done. But, my impression is that they were too much absorbed in intrigue and in occupying top positions in these organizations instead of working ~~as~~ earnestly for Hungary. The military organizations in Austria and Germany, which were supposed to be able to free Hungary from Communism, were inactive when the decisive moment arrived.

C. I have heard of several people who left Hungary after 1945 and later returned when the Hungarian government declared a general amnesty for persons who had left the country illegally. Such persons were often interviewed and even filmed on newsreels after their return. ~~and~~ The Communists started their redefection campaign as a propaganda measure. They wanted these people to tell the people at home of the indifference of the West about the future of Hungary, and the uselessness of leaving the country illegally. I think that these people came home because they were either homesick, or they had relatives at home. The people at home were unable to understand it, because most of the people I knew wanted to leave the country, and would have done so had they had the chance.

D. The people at home would very much like to know what the exiles are doing in their behalf politically. They are under the impression that the exiles are representing their cause here in the West. They would like to know what has been done. Also, they would like to know how their friends and acquaintances, ~~and~~ and relatives are getting along in their new homeland.

I think they should know what can be done

by the exiles at all.

The Hungarian emigrants should conduct propaganda and spread information about the ~~XXXX~~ true situation in Hungary. They should try to win the support of other nations in behalf of Hungary.

I am already a member of the Freedom Fighters Federation. I do not mind earlier Hungarian exiles joining this organization if they accept our views and demands which we ~~XXXX~~ published during the revolution.

I know very little about the Hungarian political parties in exile, and cannot give an opinion on them.

During the revolution I knew about the revival of the political parties at home. I also participated in this work in as much as I was the local representative of the Hungarian Peasant Party, which was called then the Petofi Party. This happened after the withdrawal of the Russians from Budapest. I disapproved of these activities because I thought them premature. I resigned my post and urged my colleagues from the other parties to do so also. I thought that the whole formation of parties at that time only served to split Hungarian unity. My opinion was that as long as there are Russians in Hungary the revival of political parties should be postponed.

I think that the groups that went into exile previously did not have to return to Hungary to participate in the revival of the political parties after entering the revolution. We could have gotten along without them.

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E. I want to return to Hungary only when she becomes independent, and really democratic. If I get ~~married~~ married here in the United States, I will insist that my children learn Hungarian.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. At home I listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts. I listened to broadcasts of B.B.C., the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and the Paris Radio. All these broadcasts were jammed. Probably the Voice of America and the Radio Free Europe broadcasts were jammed the most. Still, Radio Free Europe broadcasts were able to come thru ~~for~~ fairly well. I listened only to Hungarian broadcasts by these stations. I listened to them at least twice a week at home on our own radio in the company of my parents and sometimes the neighbors. There were some special precautions I took in connection to listening to foreign radio/ broadcasts.

I did not keep the radio near the window, and when we turned it on to some foreign broadcasting station, we usually closed the windows and doors.

When I myself was unable to listen to Western radio broadcasts, I always received a second-hand account of what had been said/ from friends or relatives.

Listening to foreign broadcast in itself was not ~~not~~ a punishable crime unless one listened in the company of others. But, talking about these broadcasts was considered inciting against the people's ~~democracy~~ democracy, and if he was caught he was liable to get a sentence of up to two or three years. I do not know of any changes in the degree of danger during the years of Communism. I think that this danger did not deter many people from listening to foreign radio broadcasts.

I liked the B.B.C.'s Hungarian broadcasts best of all. They gave the best news service which was the most reliable and most accurate. Their tone of broadcasting was impartial, and ~~was~~ calm, whereas Radio Free Europe was inclined to incite against the Communist. We could also judge the accuracy of these broadcasts on the basis of what the Hungarian newspapers wrote about them.

Before the revolution foreign radio broadcasts were without doubt preparing the way for the revolution. During the revolution itself these foreign radio broadcasts had moral prestige until it became evident that the Western world is not willing to do anything on our behalf. Then the foreign broadcasts became extremely unpopular, and lost their authority. In connection with R.F.E. broadcasts I must mention that they were a bit overplayed and theatrical. Their tone was inciting. The broadcasts should have been calmer and more impartial. We also had the feeling that even the language which they used was a bit archaic. It was not the language which we spoke at home.

During the revolution I myself ~~was~~ never heard that Radio Free Europe promised affective military ~~was~~ or other aid, but during the years it was broadcasting into Hungary, it always implied that once we did something, help would be forthcoming.

I think R.F.E. should continue its broadcasts into Hungary. The people at home want to be informed, but the broadcasts should contain more information which is objective, and less inciting and propaganda. I think that the people at home would appreciate it very much if, from time to

time, Radio Free Europe would report on the life of the refugees here. This would sort of establish a link between them and the people at home.

I especially like the so-called 'Black Book', which gives information about Communists and informers at home, and about their deeds.

B. I heard about the initials N.E.M. in 1951 or '52 from one of the workers with whom I worked. He told me that ~~it~~ it is the abbreviation of the Hungarian resistance movement.

I have not heard about the Twelve Demands.

C. In 1955 on several occasions balloons containing leaflets dropped in our neighborhood. I found and received such leaflets about seven or eight times. The leaflets contained news and propaganda against the Communists. They contained pictures from time to time. I always passed the leaflets I found to others, and I ~~often~~ often received them from others also.

There were times when I was unable to obtain a leaflet, but was told about its contents. I also read in the newspapers the protests of the Hungarian government against such balloons and leaflets being sent into Hungary.

It was considerably more dangerous to pick up, keep, pass on, or speak about Free Europe leaflets. This too was considered a crime of instigating against the people's democracy. This danger ~~was~~ perhaps deterred some people from doing such acts. I do not know of any changes in the severity with which this 'crime' was punished. Perhaps, after 1953, punishment was somewhat more lenient.

The Free Europe leaflets were not bad. Very often they made a more lasting impression than the radio broadcasts. I do not know of any leaflets being sent into Hungary by balloons during the revolution.

Press

I think Free Europe should continue sending leaflets into Hungary. For example, pictures of a refugee in his new car would be very affective at home.

I think that the works of some of the writers who came out of Hungary now which cannot be sent into Hungary thru regular channels should be sent in by balloons.

D. The primary motives of the Western organizations sending broadcasts and leaflets into Hungary is to spread information. I am not aware of any differences in their motives.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. In my opinion the most important things a child should be taught ~~is~~ are patriotism, honesty, respect for parents, and character.

I am not in favor of corporal punishment for children, but there are cases where it ~~is~~ is ~~sometimes~~ inevitable.

I think that girls are more sensitive than boys and they should be handled with greater care, and less severity.

Parents in general should take notice of the fact that their children are growing up, and should treat them accordingly. It is a great mistake I think to treat a child who is 14 or 15 as if he were still only eight or nine.

I was ten years old when on one occasion my ~~father~~ father sent me to the ~~store~~ store to buy something. I short-changed him, and he became suspicious. He asked me whether I had bought something else for the money beside what he told me to. I denied that I had bought candy. He took me to the store and asked the storekeeper. The storekeeper told him that I had also bought some candy. He gave me two or three slaps not because I wanted and coveted the candy, but because I ~~had~~ had lied.

I know some families where the children are punished by the mother, and in other families by the father. But, I think that the older children are usually punished by the father. That is, with the exception of girls because the older girls are always punished by the mother only. I do not know of any changes in this ~~respect~~ respect according to social

class.

Physical punishment for boys is usually abandoned at 15 or 16, for girls at the age of 12 or 13.

Punishment in general is abandoned only when the boy or girl finally leaves the family. That is, when he or she gets married.

There may be some changes in this respect according to social class. For example, I know of a 60 year old peasant who slapped his 40 year old son, who had 20 and 21 year old sons himself. It was a tradition in the families in our neighborhood that the grandfather retained control of the family until the very end.

The only change which Communism brought in respect to parental punishment is that the children usually left home earlier than before. Therefore, punishment of children was abandoned at an earlier age.

Despite the fact that officially physical punishment in schools was abandoned, in our village and in the neighboring villages, children in school, if they misbehaved, were spanked just as during the Horthy regime.

The characteristic traits which I value most in a friend are willingness to help, and sincerity.

T H E E N D