

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is a tall, good-looking, muscular industrial worker with the same background. He is 21 years old; not very intelligent. Feels very strongly about the unkept promises made by RFE during the revolution and about the millionaires to whom the Suez crisis was more important than the bloodshedding in Hungary. Not very well informed on political issues. Questions pertaining to Hungarian economy, political situation, and the future of Hungary were far beyond his scope. Considerable probing was necessary to get him to answer these questions. Subject was very fidgety and restless. During the second day of the interview (from Section XI on) he seemed completely bored and was inclined to give short and sometimes, sassy, answers. This part of the interview was very trying. His conduct can, perhaps, be explained by the fact that he is a nervous, restless person who, for example, is extremely dissatisfied with the sedentary work he is doing on his present job. He stated that he liked heavy work where he can use his muscles and finds sitting beside an assembly table, putting together radio parts, simply unbearable. Perhaps, toward the end, he found sitting for two days in a chair answering questions also unbearable.

Respondent was not a very likeable subject. There was too much of "wiseguy" and cock-sureness in him.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION.

"The most important thing that the Americans should know about the Hungarian revolution is that Secretary General Hammarskoldj should have come to Hungary and postponed decision on the Suez crisis. If an organization, such as the UN, would have been in Hungary there would have been no bloodshed and our country today would be free. The UN is only a 'salt office' (a Hungarian term to indicate something very superfluous). It is not worth two cents.

"Probably, the millionaires interested in the Suez crisis financially bribed Hammarskoldj.

"The Hungarians were being fed promises and were given no help. Radio Free Europe should be brought to account for its irresponsible promises. The people at home, especially those now in prison, are very resentful of RFE and the US government as well. The US has ~~gained~~ lost just as much as it has gained by the Hungarian revolution."

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

A. "On October 22, 1956 I worked in a coal mine about 1 1/2 kilometers from the city of Miskolc. I lived in the miners' barracks near the mine. On that day, I did not know of anything unusual and did not expect any demonstrations or a revolution to occur on the next day.

"On October 23, I heard a part of Gero's speech. I could not listen to the entire speech because there was an accident in the mine and I had to do rescue work. Others told me that the speech was very impertinent and everyone was disgusted and incensed by it."

B. "I must tell you in advance that I accept no responsibility for the accuracy of the dates which I mentioned to you. At that time I did not know, or care, what day or what time it was.

"On the morning of the 24th, the commander of the anti-aircraft artillery stationed near our mine told us what was going on in Budapest. We younger workers were very much interested. The older workers were not so much interested. I never had a feeling in my life before which can be compared to my feelings when I heard the news of what was going on in Budapest. I am unable to describe my feelings. We young miners were overjoyed and enthusiastic. We wanted to go to Budapest and help in the fighting.

"On October 25 we got into three trucks and started out for Budapest. First, we disarmed the anti-aircraft artillery troops stationed there. Only the political officers tried to obstruct our acquisition of arms.

"The commander, the one who had informed us of events in Budapest, was very helpful. None of the soldiers came with us to Budapest. Two of the trucks were destroyed by Soviet artillery fire near Budapest. The third truck was able to go into the city on unfrequented side roads.

"I did not go with the boys to go to fight to Budapest. I stayed at home and took part in the Miskolc demonstrations and also helped organize the strike in our mine. I became the personal bodyguard of one of the top leaders of the Miskolc Revolutionary Council.

"The entire city took part in the demonstrations on October 27th. The majority of the demonstrators were students, iron and steel workers, and miners. The students of secondary schools were also there. The civilians were all there. From six year old children to octogenarians, every one was there.

"There were slogans of 'Independence for Hungary', 'Russkis go home', 'Hang Gero', etc.

"From the very first day on (October 25), I was in a very bloodthirsty mood. I wanted to fight against the Russians and communists.

"On October 26, I also took ^{part} in disarming the Blue Police.

"On October 27, the AVH headquarters in Miskolc was disarmed and the commanders were lynched. (Respondent refused to discuss details of this operation.)

"We found the dismembered bodies of some of the university students and factory workers who had been arrested by the AVH the previous day. These bodies were con-

sealed in the coal bin of the AVH headquarters. They were the members of a delegation who, previously had taken our demands to the AVH.

"The AVH fired on the crowd which surrounded the building. They hoisted a white flag when the crowd blasted the front gates of the building. However, some of the AVH kept on shooting even then. This was the cause of the lynching.

"On October 28, mass meetings and rallies once again took place in the city. By then, everything was in the ~~the~~ hands of the Revolutionary Council.

"The Revolutionary Council was already founded on October 25. There was a very active council member who organized the workers and miners. He gave us instructions. The miners of our mine formed a group of our own. We did not have a commander but we told one miner, who had military experience and knew everything about politics, to be our leader. But there was no strict discipline, orders or commands among us."

"

C. "After the Russian withdrawal from Budapest, we organized a miners' strike and made sure that there were no strike violators. This paralyzed the other industries. We let out only so much coal out of the mine as was enough to supply the power ~~plant~~ plant, hospitals, bakeries, and the homes of the miners.

"When the Russian withdrawal was announced, I, as every one else, was overjoyed. We foresaw a happy future for ourselves. Some boys bragged about the feats they accomplished during the revolution. But the more serious elements discussed the ~~tasks~~ tasks facing us. We decided to screen the miners for communists and planned to round up all AVH men and informers.

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"I acted as a bodyguard for one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Workers' Council in Miskolc. I accompanied him on one occasion to the commander of the Russian units stationed nearby. This commander promised to help us and assured us that he would not fire on civilians.

"From this Russian commander we learned that fresh Russian troops are arriving into Hungary. When the situation became critical, he killed ~~his family~~ his family and committed suicide.

"On November 4, the Russians occupied Miskolc. They re-occupied it as easily as we had taken it over.

"After November 4, I was arrested several times. Once by the Russians because I was caught passing out leaflets and posting them on the walls. The AVH let us go because our miners threatened to attack if they would not ~~release~~ free us. The AVH tried to calm us and to convince us that the bloodshed had been ~~superfluous~~ superfluous. They wanted the names of the leaders.

"When the Russians captured ~~me~~ me, a friend who was acting as an interpreter for them, helped me escape from the building.

"Around the middle of November, the AVH began to round up the counter-revolutionaries. I then began to plan my escape from Hungary.

"I left Miskolc on December 1 with six other miners and reached Austrian territory on December 2, near Szombathely. By then, several of our friends had been arrested.

"In Miskolc, the insurgents were called 'Freedom Fighters' from the very beginning."

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"Politically, Hungary has gained much by the revolution. The Hungarian Communist Party disintegrated. After the revolution, it is impossible to communize Hungary."

SUMMARY OF REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS

October 24 - subject learns about revolution from Hungarian Army units stationed nearby.

October 25 - helped organize three trucks of volunteers to help Budapest insurgents.

From October 25 to November 21, was body-guard of one of the leaders of the Miskolc Revolutionary Council. Helped organize and enforce the miners' strike.

October 26 - took part in demonstration.

October 27 - helped disarm the AVH.

November 4 - Russian re-invasion; little resistance.

Mid-November - arrested three times, twice by AVH, once by the Russians. Was caught distributing leaflets.

November 21 - was sought by the AVH; from then on, went into hiding.

December 1 - departed for Austria with six other friends.

December 2 - arrived in Austria.

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IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

A. "During the revolution, ~~xxxx~~ we were constantly sitting beside our radio receivers and listening to the promises of RFE. They are ruthless scoundrels. They gave us instructions and promises but nothing happened."

B. "In the first days, we did not expect military troops to be sent to help us, only arms.

"Later, we frantically hoped for, at least, diplomatic aid through the UN."

C. "Until I left Hungary, I have had no contact with Western citizens in Hungary at all."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. "My father is a mechanic and a locksmith with, at least, 35 years of practice. He has never been self-employed.

"I do not know what my father's income had been before the war, but he was able to feed and clothe his family much better than under the communist regime.

"His last pay was about 850 forints a month. He was employed at a government tractor station.

"My parents did not own any property.

"Both my father and mother had six grades of elementary schooling."

B. (After considerable hesitation:) "The social classes in Hungary are the workers, the intelligentsia, the peasantry and the ~~politicians~~ politicians. I have had contact with all of these groups, with the exception of the politicians. By politicians, I mean top communists, AVH officers, etc. I think the industrial workers are the most progressive, especially the miners. They are very class-conscious and keep together.

"My opinion of the intelligentsia is not the best. They were more involved in politics and communism than the industrial workers. It is true that many of them were underpaid.

"I was very sorry for the peasantry. Everything they raised was taken away from them and they were practically ~~starving~~ starving.

"I belong to the ~~industrial~~ industrial workers.

"I think the industrial workers were the ~~most~~ hardest-hit by communism because of the production norms and labor competitions.

"Twenty-three to 24-year old miners in our mine became crippled for life in the labor competitions.

"The intelligentsia did not like the industrial workers. They considered themselves better than the workers and were paid less. I do not know what the relations between the intelligentsia and the peasantry were. I think there were less differences between them than between the intelligentsia and the industrial workers.

"The peasantry and the industrial workers got along well. This could be seen especially during the revolution. It was then that the peasants said they would rather give everything they had to the industrial workers rather than to the Russians.

"During the revolution, differences between the classes ceased entirely. Every member of every class wanted the same thing. Never before had there been such a unity among Hungarians."

C. "To get ahead in Hungary, one has to be a cadre. This means that one has to profess communist political views and, have a good class origin. Talent was of little importance. There was no change in this, in general.

communist
"The person who can get ahead in Hungary is a very peculiar person who is able to denounce his own parents if their political views are obsolete. He must be ruthless and completely devoted to the Party; He must cast out all human feelings and sentiments."

D. "In Hungary, the AVH officers received much more from society than they deserved. They had higher pay and more advantages than anyone in Hungary."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Communism in Hungary had a very bad effect on family life. Every child had to go away from home and find an occupation in various parts of Hungary.

"Being away from each other also meant emotional difficulties. The members of every family sometimes had a feeling that the others did not care for them at all. From 15 on, I was at home only twice a year for short vacations.

"In general, the situation was the same practically in all families. Young boys went away from home to work. Parents lost control over their children and they often fell under undue influence.

"We never discussed politics at home. Sometimes my father talked to me about politics but not when the others were present. We were together so rarely that there were other things to talk about. When we were at home, guests were usually present.

"Of the types of families mentioned our family does not resemble any one. We trusted each other but were able to be together so rarely.

where "Most families resembled the Type 1, ~~xx~~ the members of the family grew apart after 1948 and ~~xxxxxxx~~ where family members often had political difficulties and differences with each other.

"In general, the education of children in families was not affected but children were affected outside the home -- in school, in youth organizations, etc.

"Children also went away from home earlier than before. I was 15 when I was enrolled in an industrial apprentice home in Vac."

B. "The situation concerning courtships is much better in Hungary than here in the US. Here, 12 to 13-year old girls are already dating and having sexual intercourse. At home, all of this happened at a later ~~later~~ age.

"I was 19 when I had anything to do with a woman for the first time. She was one year older than I was. She was a nurse in a day and night nursery for the children of working parents. I met her at a trade union dance and courted her secretly for 18 months. Her parents disapproved because I was not good enough for them. They had one son who was a doctor and another who was a top AVH officer. After 18 months of courtship, she yielded to me but, only once. I did not use contraceptives and I do not know what she did that there was no baby.

"Because of her parents' disapproval, we finally split up but, remained very good friends.

"I have had sexual relations with four other women, mostly divorced women who were employed in our mine as machine operators. There was no real love between us, only sympathy and a desire to have fun.

"Under communism, many marriages went on the rocks because of disputes between married couples. These disputes occurred mostly over financial problems; sometimes, because of differing political views. The latter, however, was very rare.

(NOTE: subject is too young to be able to make comparisons with the pre-communist era.)

"I do not know whether there was prostitution in Hungary. I never had any experience with prostitutes.

"I do not think there is any difference between a convinced communist and any normal person with regard to sexual morality."

C. "If a good friend of mine were to join the Communist Party, I do not think that our friendship could continue. It would be I who would sever the friendship. I think it is impossible to continue the friendship under an agreement not to mix politics into it."

D. "By juvenile delinquents I mean young people under 18 who commit crimes -- mostly political crimes or beat up a Party secretary.

"I have heard the term, hooligan, before but, I do not know what it means.

"Jampec is a young boy, or girl, who lives practically on the edge of the underworld. The clothes of the jampecs are different and so is their conduct.

usually
"The jampecs are young people from 15 to 21 or 22. I do not think their conduct and behavior in itself is criminal.

"The jampecs existed in the past regime. It exists in every country. The jampecs later changed by themselves. They are the smart set but later life teaches them how to act. Or, their conduct changes when they get married."

VII. RELIGION

A. "A part of the Hungarian youth was influenced against religion. The communists were unable to influence the older people in this way. There was religious persecution. In the press, propaganda against religion was frequent.

"All religions were equally affected by communism. Where there is communism, there is always religious persecution. Their teachings basically differ. Communists do not want to believe in anything."

B. "I think I am just as religious as my parents are. I think the average Hungarian is like myself.

"I went to church regularly with my fiancée. I went to confession and communion every two weeks. I could not go every week because not every Sunday was free. I had to work on Sundays."

C. "I think there should be religious instructions in school. This is an old tradition and people at home want it.

"I think that the churches should be allowed to exercise censorship over films, plays and books. Their censorship should be compulsory.

"No, I do not think that the churches should have anything to do with temporal problems but, the churches should be allowed to safeguard their interests and to protect their members."

D. "All religions, without exception, were persecuted by the communists ~~xxxxxx~~ in Hungary. The position of the Jews was slightly more favorable. The Jews were in top posts in government and in the Party and the leading the leading communists were also Jews.

"Very many Jews liked communism at first. They were well paid and were given good jobs in the army, the AVH, and the government. But, there were also decent people among the Jews who had the same tough time as every one else.

"I do not know how many Jews took part in the demonstrations or fighting.

"I do not know how many Jews were communists.

"They joined the Communist Party because of material advantages and also from conviction. But, in my opinion, there were really no convinced communists in Hungary.

"Jews should not be afraid of a free Hungary. If they do not like it, they can always leave the country if they want to."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "By Hungarian youth I mean the young people who are already able to think and realize what is going on around them. I would say that the Hungarian youth is from 16 to 30."

B. "The Hungarian youth led the demonstrations and the revolution. They were dissatisfied with communism because communism did not give them any opportunity to live well and achieve their plans for the future.

"It was the Hungarian youth who had to lead the demonstrations and the revolution because the general attitude of the older people was, 'What little time I have to live, I would like to live in peace.' On the other hand, the young people were concerned about their future and also had less responsibilities.

"The older generation approved of what the youth was doing during the revolution. Older people also joined the struggle of the youth against communism. They urged the youth to keep on fighting."

C. "Under communism, much more was demanded of the youth in schools than before. I attended the industrial apprentice school for foundry and steel workers in Vac. The course lasted for two years. We lived in an MTH (Bureau of Labor Reserve) Students' Home. We received only pocket money. We had theory three days a week and practical training for the other three.

"There were cases where young people were unable to learn the profession or trade they would have liked to. I, personally, always wanted to become and iron an steel worker.

"In school we had to study. If we did not show progress in our work any studies, we were slapped. Not openly, but in the director's office or by the instructors in the shop.

"We had political indoctrination. This was generally included in most subjects. We also had such subjects as Hungarian Constitution, under which we received only Marxism and Leninism.

"One or two professors and instructors were communists. Their majority, however, was not communist. Instructors and supervisors in the MTH Home were Party members.

"Our instructors were good experts and had an excellent knowledge of their subjects."

D. "Hungarian youth disregarded communist indoctrination entirely. Communist ideology was rejected because the old people were always able to tell the youth what life was like before. The youth was more inclined to believe the elders than the communists.

"On the surface, the youth accepted communism. They were compelled to. But, they never accepted it in practice.

"Only the children of the AVH officers and top communist officials accepted communism without reservations. They were brought up to believe in it."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE.

A. "I was dissatisfied with life in Hungary because there was no freedom at all. The intensive work which was required of everyone was very exhausting. I had no family life and no parental affection."

B. "These complaints were general among the youth."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. "I was not able to get along too well in Communist Hungary. In general, if a person wanted to dress better, then he was unable to eat. If he wanted to eat better, he was unable to buy clothes. If he wanted recreation and amusement, he could neither eat nor dress.

"I usually ate meals in the miners' canteen. Sometimes, I bought supper and breakfast myself. This was usually cold food or, I fried some eggs or cooked some vegetables.

"I had four suits. I was able to buy ^a new suit twice a year.

"I lived in the barracks. Forty forints a month was the rent. Three of us lived in one room. We cleaned our room ourselves.

"I was unable to afford any luxuries. It would have been a luxury to go to Lake Balaton for two weeks for a vacation in the summer. My financial problems centered around my parents. I was unable to help and support them as I would have liked to.

(Respondent is too young to compare the standard of living before and after the war.)

"My standard of living was highest in 1956, immediately before the outbreak of the revolution.

"I did not have any friends who lived any better than I did. I had little contact with people other than the young workers of the barracks where I lived.

"The low standard of living was due to Soviet exploitation."

B. "In 1956, my average monthly income was 3,000 forints a month. Of this, 150 forints were deducted for government loans and trade union fees. My income included production bonuses from 400 to 500 forints a month. There were months when production was very low and we got nothing.

"I did not have any secondary source of income.

(Respondent did not live with his parents and was unmarried.)

"During the last five years, my income increased but not because my wages were increased, but because I changed jobs."

C. "I did most of my purchasing in the miners' canteen. I did not do any purchasing in Kozert stores or on the free market.

"I bought clothing material in government textile stores and had it made to order by a private tailor. A suit cost me about 2,000 forints; a ready-made suit in a government department store would cost about half as much. It was better to have clothes made to order, even if the cost was considerably more.

"There were commodities and goods in all stores but, storekeepers reserved some scarce items for friends and acquaintances. I think it was possible to get spare parts but I am not certain. Meat, fat, bacon, rice, sugar and spices, at one time or another, were very scarce. However, mostly there was a shortage of money. One did not have the money to buy commodities with.

"There was black marketing, mostly in textiles, watches, gold, foreign currency, jewelry, nylons, and other goods smuggled into Hungary from abroad. I do not know how the black market operated or how they were organized.

"I do not know anything about the quality of goods and prices on the black market.

"It sometimes happened that legal outlets refused to sell goods unless buyers paid a higher price or bought some other article also.

"Black marketing was dangerous, but how dangerous I do not know. The person who was caught was probably arrested."

D. "There were three shifts in the mine where I worked. We always rotated. One week on one shift, the next on the other, and the third on the third. We worked eight hours a day. I lived in the barracks near the mine. Therefore, I did not have to spend much time in getting to work. We worked 48 hours a week but, for two months, it was 56 hours a week.

"I was not exactly satisfied with my work because it was very tiring and exacting. My health suffered considerably because of the working conditions. (Gas, water, coal, etc.)

"I got along well with my co-workers.

"My superiors did not have much authority. Directors, Party, secretaries and trade union chairmen had no respect at all. The other superiors were fairly good and understood their work.

"I was not afraid of my superiors.

"I would have liked to earn more money but my job was the best I could hope for.

"My colleagues also understood their jobs. Our superiors never ~~praised~~ praised good work. They always wanted us to work more.

"The Hungarian trade union vacation program was not the best. It depended on contact. If you knew the trade union officials then, you were assigned to a good place. Otherwise, you were sent to some dreary place for your vacation.

"The trade union health service was fairly good and I made use of its facilities fairly often. But it was a lengthy affair. Sometimes you came out of the hospital more sick than when you entered it.

"Pensions were very low and pensioners complained that they were unable to sustain themselves from their pensions."

E. "I would not like to live in Communist Hungary at all -- neither in the city nor in the country.

"Agricultural workers ate better food than city workers. I think that political persecution was the same in the villages and the cities. The standard of living was also the same.

"I was only 11 years old when collective farming was first introduced into Hungary. I do not have any opinion of it.

"However, I disapprove of the way farm collectivization has been carried out in Hungary. Peasants are not interested in their work and do not work as well as they would on their own farms.

"I think all peasants opposed farm collectivization in the same way. I heard of collective farms being dissolved before the revolution because they were going bankrupt."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. (This sub-section is not applicable because subject was only 11 years old in 1948.)

B. "All communists are Party members only for material reasons. I do not think there are any communists by conviction at all.

"The aims of the Party have not changed during the past eight years. Only leaders changed from time to time. For example, there were differences between Imre Nagy and Rakosi. Instructions would be given one day and withdrawn the next.

"I think that the personal changes in the Hungarian Communist Party were caused by struggle for power within the Party.

(NOTE: considerable resistance to questions -- hesitation and uncertain answers. No mention of Soviet influence.)

(Respondent is unable to ~~firm~~ define Party morale.)

"The Party members were not satisfied with the constant changes in the Party policy.

"The top Hungarian communists want to serve the Soviet interests in Hungary. Individually, they want fame. Big politicians are usually cruel and wicked people.

"The top Communists are also interested in material advantages that their position offers them. They have very little conviction.

"If Hungary becomes independent, the top Communists, if they do not like the new regime, can go to their Soviet brothers. Those who deserve it will be punished. It will be all the same -- whether they are punished by the people (NOTE: he means lynching) or by the courts."

C. "There has always been resistance to Communism in Hungary, especially among the peasantry. This resistance consisted mostly of grumbling and general dissatisfaction.

"I remember something vaguely about a miners' strike that was crushed by the AVH but, I do not know when or where this happened.

"Sabotage was conducted mostly by the peasants, especially in crop deliveries.

"Industrial workers also sabotaged production.

"I think these forms of resistance were useful. Peasants and workers would have been oppressed much more without this resistance. It also encouraged others to resist.

"I do not know of any changes in the degree of opposition to Communism during the different periods of the Communist regime.

(NOTE: answers were slow, hesitating. Needed much probing.)

"The intelligentsia also showed resistance to Communism, the same as the peasantry and the industrial workers.

"The Hungarian intellectuals have always resisted Communism. They had an underground movement through which they ~~promoted~~ paved the way for the revolution.

"Much was done by the Petofi Circle in this respect.

(NOTE: mentioned spontaneously.)

"I first heard about the Petofi Circle in the summer of 1956 from university student friends. All they said was that the Petofi Circle was opposing the regime very strongly. I think the intellectuals did not have anything new to say. They just expressed what every one else thought.

"The Petofi Circle prepared the revolution but did not lead it. The revolution was led by the people themselves.

"I think that the Hungarian intellectuals are good patriots and practical people.

"They turned against the regime because they, too, resented Communism just like the workers and peasants. They may have had a somewhat better life but, enjoyed no freedom."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The AVH men were generally drafted for military service and assigned to the AVH.

"The officers joined the service because they were very well paid and had vast powers.

"I have had no contact whatever with AVH officers or other personnel.

"Neither I nor any of my friends have been arrested by the AVH prior to the revolution.

"I have not heard of any AVH officers who had pangs of conscience or wanted to leave the service.

"When Hungary is independent, I think that the same thing should be done to AVH officers as had been done during the revolution.

"The Blue Police are entirely the same as the AVH. I do not ~~know~~ know to what extent Communism influenced their efficiency and work. I have had ~~no~~ no contact with the Blue Police and do not know anything about them.

"During the revolution my experience with the Blue Police was that they did not oppose the insurgents and gave their arms to them willingly -- at least, this is what I experienced in Miskolc."

(When asked, 'Was not the commander of the Blue Police in Miskolc also lynched?', he smiled and refused to answer.)

B. "I was too young to remember anything about the course of the Horthy regime.

"I do not know anything about war criminals or Peoples' Courts."

(NOTE: further probes proved to be of no use.)

C. "In Miskolc, the Hungarian Army did not play too big a role in the revolution. They did not oppose the people. Most of the soldiers deserted and went home. From hearsay, I know that in Eger the army did not disintegrate but joined the revolution as a whole.

"I do not know about the influence of geographical location on the conduct of the army during the revolution. I only know what I saw in Miskolc.

"In Miskolc, with the exception of one or two commanders, the entire army, men and officers alike, sympathized with the revolution.

"I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the enlisted men or officers, which can be attributed to rank, social class, or occupation.

"I was very surprised that the army deserted and did not cite with us. I was also surprised that they did not support the regime."

(The rest of this sub-section is not applicable because respondent has never served in the Hungarian Army.)

(Questions concerning Russian troops and German and Russian occupations are not applicable because of respondent's age. He has had no contact with Russian occupation troops or their dependents before the revolution. He had some limited contacts with Russians, notably the Russian commander of a unit stationed near Miskolc. This has already been reported under Section III.)

E. "I have never experienced or heard that local government officials were willing to forget rules and to help rules."

F. "I do not know of any ways it was possible to circumvent laws or regulations."

G. "I think that the Secret Police was controlled by officers who were not intelligent at all. There were a little better than illiterates and they were very cruel and ruthless.

"I have no opinion at all about the Hungarian Army leadership because I have never served in the army.

"I have no opinion at all about the Russian Army leadership.

"I have had no contact with bureaucrats or public administration officials."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. "I am certain that within two or three years Hungary will regain her independence through diplomatic means. Kadar will stay in power as long as ~~the~~ the Soviet Union needs him. He may be replaced by some one else in the near future. The Kadar government has already exceeded this Stalin policy. Outside of Hungary, there will be political conferences between the East and the West which can be expected to bring about a settlement of at least all Central European problems.

"I do not think that the people at home would be satisfied with a Polish-type solution in Hungary.

"I am not in favor of war. War would not be good. A peaceful settlement would be better.

"During the revolution, the people at home were in favor of war even if it would have meant an atomic war. Now they have had enough and they, too, would prefer a peaceful settlement to war.

"I do not know when war will break out between the US and Russia. It is not very likely."

(NOTE: Too much probing is needed. Subject is very reluctant to answer. He admits these problems are beyond his scope.)

B. "People at home were so engrossed in their own immediate problems and troubles that they were little concerned their future. They first had to solve the problems of sustaining themselves and their families.

"Aside from this, every one was certain that once the regime will end -- how and when, no one knew."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "I would like an independent Hungary which is under no foreign influence, where citizens are free and have rights. They do not have to fear the police and are secure."

B. "I think in an independent Hungary both agriculture and industry are necessary. Agriculture must be developed because it has been neglected.

"I think that emphasis should be placed on light industry. Agricultural machinery should be manufactured because it is very much needed. There is also an acute shortage of consumers' goods. The production of arms and war materials should be stopped.

"When Hungary regains her independence, the national enterprises should be turned into stock companies where the stocks are owned by the workers.

"The co-operative farms and State farms should be dissolved and given to the peasants. Neither the national enterprises nor the large estates should be given back to their former owners. But even the past ~~may~~ capitalistic system would be better than Communism.

"Whether transportation facilities, heavy industries, mines, light industries are government-owned or owned by individuals is all indifferent.

(Considerable probing is required.)

"I do not know what agriculture should be like in an independent Hungary. I think that the government should set a limit to agricultural property which can be owned by one person or one family but, I do not know how much this limit should be. There should be no crop delivery. The government should not interfere at all in agriculture.

"I neither like the democracy that does not insure ~~any~~ a standard of living, nor the dictatorship that does. But, if there is no other choice, then, I would prefer democracy. Where there ~~is~~ is dictatorship, there can be no acceptable life.

"In an independent Hungary, I would be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party. Where there is Communism and a Communist Party, there can be no freedom. Communists conduct destruction and underground activities. I am also in favor of outlawing fellow-~~traveling organizations~~ traveling organizations. They serve as a cover for the Communists."

C. (Subject is not competent for these questions.)

"I am not satisfied with the Hungarian borders. I would like to get back the Hungarian borders of 1918, or, at least, the ones of 1940-41. I do not know how this can be accomplished.

"I am concerned about the role of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring coun-~~tries~~ tries. The best would be to re-annex them to Hungary.

"Hungary would be stronger and we have a moral right to all the territories that were once ours.

"I think that everyone at home feels the same as I do ~~in regard to these questions~~ and regards these questions as important."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. "I have not heard anything about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress.

"I have heard nothing about Senator McCarthy and his Un-American Activities Committee at home.

"I do not know who Peron is and did not hear anything about him.

"At home, we did not know much about Rakosi's private life. We only knew that he was living in great luxury."

B. "In Hungary, my most valuable source of information was news received by word of mouth. Such news I received mostly from some of the professors and a few actor friends. I liked to be in their company. The next in importance were the foreign radio broadcasts."

C. "By word of mouth I received both foreign and domestic news in an anti-communist's light. It was impossible to determine the extent to which such news was true."

D. "In Hungary, I read much, but not regularly. Sometimes I would read a good book the night through and sometimes, I would read nothing for weeks.

"I liked Hungarian writers, especially the Hungarian classics, such as Jokai.

"I always read the local communist newspaper published in Miskolc. I was called, 'Northern Hungary.'

(NOTE: Subject is not competent to answer questions concerning illegal publications, and the availability of publications in general.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY.

A. "I think the repetition of the Hungarian revolution is possible in Russia. This is because of the great dissatisfaction there.

"If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, I think that the Communist Party would be overthrown. A multiple party system would be created and a coalition government would take over.

"I ~~think~~ think that the top leaders of the Soviet Union crave power. They want world domination. I do not know what they are like as individuals. Basically, there is no difference between the top Soviet communists and the Hungarian communist leaders. But, the Hungarians must take orders from the Soviets."

B. "Of the countries mentioned, I think Eastern Germany and Poland are the two most popular because they, too, are opposed to communism.

"~~Yugoslavia~~ Yugoslavia is unpopular because Tito is not liked in Hungary. Since 1948, there have always been conflicts and incidents between Hungary and Yugoslavia.

(Respondent is unable to decided which country would be the second least popular.)

"If elections were to be held in these countries, I think communism would be overthrown everywhere.

"I think the standard of living is highest in Czechoslovakia with Eastern Germany second. The standard of living is lowest in Hungary with Poland second.

"I think that Gomulka in Poland represents a virtual change. He, too, is a communist but, of late he is becoming a puppet just like Kadar or the other satellite leaders.

"I do not know if Gomulka's policy is right or wrong.

"I do not think that Gomulka will remain in power because the people in Poland will want someone else to replace. They are no longer satisfied with Gomulka.

"The events in Poland had a direct influence on events in Hungary. The Polish events were the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution. At least, that is why the demonstrations were staged which turned into the revolution.

"I think that events in Poland had an influence on the outcome of the situation in Hungary. The Soviets acted more brutally in Hungary because a general revolution in all satellite countries was feared. The Soviets made an example of Hungary.

"I do not know whether there has been any freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power.

"I have heard about the Poznan riots but, I do not know any details. I either heard it on the radio or read about it in the newspapers. I think that people in Hungary know about the Poznan riots.

"The Hungarian revolution could not possibly take the same path as in Poland. The revolution was inevitable. It had to happen as it did. The communists themselves provoked the revolution."

D. "I do not know whether Tito is or is not the originator of national communism. I do not like national communism because it still is communism. There is no difference at all.

"Tito's relations with the Soviet Union are always changing. There is mutual mistrust on both sides.

"I do not know what Tito's relations are with the other Eastern European countries.

"Tito has lost his prestige in the West because he is a double crosser.

"I do not know if there is any national communism in the satellite countries. I do not know what Tito's attitude was toward the Hungarian Revolution. I do not know whether Tito is popular in Yugoslavia, or not. I do not know anything about internal conditions in Yugoslavia."

E. (There is absolute resistance to questions on the Middle East. He is unwilling to answer questions and appears to be very bored.)

F. "I think that the standard of living in West Germany is the highest in Europe. I do not think that the Germans are dangerous. They only want unification, and not a Third World War.

"I approve of German rearmament because it is against the Soviet Union. "I think that the West German Army is stronger, technically, and more developed than the armed forces of either Britain or France.

"I think that the term of duty in the West German Army is probably five years for volunteers. I do not know how long the non-volunteers drafted men have to serve.

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

G. "I do not know anything about NATO.

"I haven't the slightest idea of what the British Labor Party is like.

"In my opinion, the standard of living is the highest in Western Germany, after that, Britain, Italy, the Soviet Union, Greece and Egypt."

H. "On my arrival to the US, I was very much impressed by the freedom and equality in this country. There is no racial discrimination.

"The US foreign policy is not firm enough in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union can trick the US whenever it wants to.

"Whether the US should give loans to Yugoslavia, Poland, or Hungary depends on for what purpose the money is being used.

"The US should hold Kadar responsible for his deeds in Hungary. This should be done before the UN.

"I think that the people at home would very much like to see more foreign (Western) visitors. They would like to exchange information with them.

"Before going to Hungary, Western visitors should be warned not to let themselves be deceived by the official guides assigned to them.

"I am certain that the people at home would like to see more Western publications but, I do not know how these can be sent to them. I think that they can be sent only, legally, in an agreement with the Kadar government.

"I do not know whether it would make any difference that Hungarian exiles are ~~xxxx~~ associated with such activities.

"I have never heard of the Marshall Plan.

(Subject is too young.)

"The US became involved in the Korean War because, otherwise, she would have lost all of Korea. It was important both economically and politically."

J. "The UN is a 'salt office.'

(NOTE: In Hungarian, this expresses something very superfluous.)

"The ~~UN~~ UN is the slowest organization in the world. It should have acted immediately and firmly in the fall of 1956. The UN is to be blamed for everything that happened in Hungary.

"I do not think there is any chance of effective UN action on Hungary in the near future. They promise everything but, they do nothing."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDE TOWARD
SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. "I think that the greatest Hungarian living today is General Paul Maleter or, perhaps, Imre Nagy. I consider both of them great for their conduct during the revolution."

very
B. "I am/sorry for Imre Nagy. He behaved very well during the Hungarian revolution.

"Cardinal Mindszenty has suffered much and deserves to regain his freedom.

"I do not have any special opinion about Rajk. I was too young at the time when he was the Minister of the Interior.

"Erno Gero is a dirty Communist.

"Janos Kadar is ever dirtier.

"Bela Kiraly -- it was nice of him to join the revolution when the fighting was all over. His name was first mentioned when the Russians withdrew from Budapest.

"I think that Anna Kethly should have been more firm before the UN.

*President Eisenhower, as president, should be more firm on the Hungarian issue.

"Secretary General Hammarskoldj wet his pants and was afraid to enter Hungary.

"I have no opinion of Secretary of State Dulles. My opinion of him is neither good nor bad.

"I do not know anything about Eden.

"Truman is a former president but, I do not know anything about him.

"I know that Mikoyan is a Soviet politbureau member but I do not know anything about him.

"Nehru is India's prime minister. I do not know anything about him.

"Generalissimo Chiang-kai Shek is a Chinese president. I do not know anything about him.

"I know who Ference Nagy is but I have no opinion about him.

"I do not know who ~~Franklin~~ Roosevelt is.

"Adenauer is the boss of West Germany but I do not know anything about him.

"I did not know Stalin -- how can I have an opinion about him?

"Malenkov, too, is a hangman just like the others.

"Franco is a Frenchman.

"I do not know who Bevan is.

"I would like to slice Khrushchev's heart into pieces. I have the ~~worst~~ worst possible opinion about him.

"My opinion about Molotov is the same as about the others. They all should be hanged from the same tree.

"I do not know who Ollenhauer is.

"I do not know who Churchill is."

XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. "The people who escaped during and after the revolution from Hungary are mostly young people who had to fear retaliations because of their participation in the demonstrations and the fighting. There were also the people who wanted to lead a better life.

"Mostly of the refugees are young people, some children, a very few elderly people. Many persons came out with their families.

"Most of the refugees are industrial workers, next comes the intelligentsia and finally, there a very few peasants.

"There are more males among the refugees than females. Most refugees come from along the Hungarian-Austrian border region and from Budapest.

"Most of the people who stayed at home feared the uncertainties of starting a new life abroad.

"I know one Freedom Fighter who could have come out but did not because he was so embittered over the failure of the revolution. He deemed it his duty to stay at home and continue the fight.

at home
"I do not know how the people/feel about the refugees who left Hungary. But, my parents wrote me that when they went to report my absence to the military authorities who had sent me a summons to appear before the draft board, my mother was told, 'Don't worry about him. He is better off where he is.' This probably shows that the people at home envy us.

"If every one were allowed to come out of Hungary, not every one would do so. Many people, especially peasants, would not be willing to leave their homeland."

XVIII.

B. "At home, the only exile organization I had heard about was RFE. I also knew that there were other exile ~~organizations~~ politicians living here in the US. But, I did not know their names or what they were doing.

"Since my arrival in the US, I have had no contacts whatever with exile politicians or exile Hungarian organizations.

"I heard about the Hungarian-American federation only here in the US.

"I am too young to remember what the Horthy regime was like. But, on the basis of what other people have told me I think that Horthy was a good governor but, perhaps, could have been even better.

"I do not think there was much that exile politicians or exile organizations could have done in the West for Hungary.

"During the revolution, I did not have time to think about emigrants but, we did expect which did not come."

C. "There were persons who left the country after 1945 and later returned. There was, for example, the Hungarian actor, Pager, and there were others also. They came home because they wanted to be good Communists; or, they came for a visit and were not allowed to return.

"The Hungarian Communist redefection campaign was only propaganda. We knew at home that the people who returned would regret their decisions later."

"I think that the people at home want very much to know how the refugees are getting along in their new homeland. They are also interested in our experiences. I

"I think that the people at home should be told that we are working for their liberation.

"I think it is the duty of every refugee to settle down in this country, make money and support himself, and not forget about the people at home.

"For the time being, I do not wish to join any Hungarian exile organization. But, when I do, I will have no objection against earlier ~~emigrants~~ Hungarian emigrants joining an organizations of which I am also a member.

"I was never interested in politics. I did not know anything about the political parties in Hungary. I do not know anything about them in exile.

"During the revolution, I heard about the revival of the political parties and considered this move premature.

"Exile politicians could have returned home to assist in the revival of the parties but that would have not altered the situation much.

"I intend to return to Hungary either to fight against the Communists or when the present Communist government in Hungary is overthrown.

"If I get married and have children, I will insist that they learn Hungarian here in the US."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. "At home, I listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts. That is, I listened only to the broadcasts of RFE. These broadcasts were jammed, sometimes, completely. I only listened to Hungarian broadcasts over RFE. I listened to these broadcasts in the company of friends with whom I associated. I considered them reliable friends.

"I listened to these broadcasts openly ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ over my own radio in the workers' barracks near the coal mine where I was employed. We did not take any special precautions in listening to the radio. But, if someone, a stranger, came we usually turned the radio to another station.

"Whenever I was unable to listen to radio broadcasts, my friends informed me about the broadcasts that I missed. It was dangerous to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, to talk about them, or allow others to listen to them. The person caught in such acts was usually arrested and his radio was confiscated. I am not aware of any changes and the degree of danger during the various years.

"Radio Free Europe is not reliable. It promises everything and does nothing. Its news coverage, in general, was reliable. This could be determined on the basis of what happened at home. Often, RFE told us in advance what was going to happen.

"In general, foreign radio broadcasts spread enthusiasm among the people at home and urged them to resist Communism. During the revolution, RFE promised aid but never gave us facts.

"I think RFE should continue its broadcasts into Hungary but its programs should be altered. What is promised should be kept.

"The most important item on the RFE radio programs would be news coverage and commentaries. Anti-Communist propaganda is also necessary. It must counter balance Communist propaganda."

B. "I have never heard of the initials NEM or of the 12 Demands."

C. "I have never seen RFE leaflets. I heard that leaflets were being sent into Hungary by balloons. They contained news and anti-Communist propaganda. I have never spoken with anyone who has seen such a leaflet himself.

"I think that picking up a leaflet, talking about it, passing it on was even more dangerous than listening to the radio or speaking about that. I do not know of any changes in the punishment of such crimes. It almost always meant imprisonment.

"I have no opinion about RFE leaflets because I have not seen any in my life.

"I think that RFE should continue sending such leaflets into Hungary because they are useful. They seem to spread information at home.

"The leaflets should also warn Communists to stop the persecution and arrests at home."

D. "I think that the primary aim of all news agencies and organizations broadcasting and sending leaflets into Hungary is to spread information. I do not know of any differences in their motives."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

"I think that the most important thing that a child should be taught is to love his parents.

"Discipline is necessary. This includes physical punishment as well.

"I think there should be no difference in the treatment of boys and girls with respect to discipline. As children grow older, less physical punishment should be administered and, finally, it should be stopped altogether.

"I was 13 years old when I made a bet that I would slide on ice with my bare feet. My father beat me on my rear end and my legs with a rope. That was the last time I received a beating at home.

"In the families, children over six were usually punished by the mother. I do not know of any changes in this respect according to social classes or the sex or age of the child.

"I think physical punishment in Hungary for both boys and girls is abolished, usually, at the age of 17.

"Punishment altogether is abolished at the age of 20 for both boys and girls. I do not know of any changes according to social class.

"I do not think that Communism had any influence on the frequency of parental punishment, the kind of parental punishment or the age at which it was abandoned. Perhaps, the age was influenced because children got away from home at an earlier age than before.

"In school, in the first years, it was possible to apply physical punishment. Later, this was prohibited but it was not observed strictly. Nothing happened to the teachers and instructors who did not observe this rule,

"The traits I value most in a friend are sincerity, sobriety, good-naturedness and a sense of humor. I think, under Communism, many friendships were terminated."

THE END.