

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Subject is a 23-year old peasant of peasant background, although his father was also a part-time cobbler.

He is short, muscular, a bit untidy in appearance, cannot be called handsome, but is very pleasant and agreeable. Has keen inquisitive blue eyes, a ready smile and a good sense of humor. His education is very meager, his spelling extremely poor and he speaks the village dialect of Northeastern Hungary. But, he has a lot of common sense and is able to grasp the gist of the problem. Not too well informed on events outside Hungary.

Subject regards everything from the peasant's point of view. He is very industrious and thrifty. Satisfied with his work here, he has already saved \$500. He is dreaming of how much land he could buy with this money at home, but does not plan ever to return to Hungary. Perhaps a bit homesick, he realizes that his active participation in the revolution would mean death for him if he returned now.

Very religious, he criticizes loose sexual morality in Hungary and claims to have had even more shocking experiences here in the US.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"The US started the revolution in Hungary by promising to help us if such a revolution ever broke out. When we did start a revolution, as we were urged to do, the Americans did not help us. They should know that this was not nice of them."

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

A. "In October 1956, I was in the army in Papa. I was serving my compulsory term of military service in the artillery regiment stationed in this city. I had been serving since 1954 and had attained the rank of corporal.

"On October 22, I did not expect anything unusual to happen. I did not know that on the next day the demonstrations would take place in Budapest."

B. "On October 23 I did not know anything about the demonstrations. However, when the fighting broke out in Budapest we were alerted in Papa -- that was around midnight on October 23. Our commander, a major whose name I have forgotten, addressed us. He told us that the revolution had been created by fascists and foreign agents. He urged us to fight and to defend the peoples' democracy.

"I was very pleased to hear that a revolution had broken out. I hoped that this would be the end of the communist regime in Hungary. I knew that the people revolted against the regime and against the conditions at home. They, and not enemy agents or fascists, had caused the revolution. I discussed the situation with eight or nine boys from our village. They were serving in the same regiment. They judged the situation as I did. We immediately decided to join the insurgents, the first chance we would get.

"Our regiment was divided into three groups. One group went to Budapest; one was sent to reinforce the Austro-Hungarian border. I and two other boys from our village remained in Papa to maintain order. Those three boys from our village who went with the groups sent to fight in Budapest, died in the fighting. I found this out later.

"On October 24 there was a large-scale demonstration in Papa. The demonstrators disarmed the police and the AVH. The demonstrators were mostly factory workers, students and other civilians. There were, perhaps, more women present than men. Most of the demonstrators were young people between 18 and 30 years of age. Students

from the neighboring villages were in the demonstration in large numbers.

"The slogans the demonstrators shouted were, 'Down with the red star! Down with the AVH!'

"The demonstrators forced the soldiers and the officers to take down the red stars from their caps. Those who refused were beaten up by the crowd.

"When the crowd surrounded the AVH building, three students climbed into the building through a window. They never came out and no trace of them was ever found. The building was immediately stormed and occupied by the demonstrators. The guard who shot a student in front of the building was beaten to death. The commander of the AVH was lynched.

"We were enthusiastic when we saw that the crowd was disarming the AVH. When they had arms they wanted to attack the Russian troops stationed at the airfield on the outskirts of the city.

who was with us

"Another soldier and I had no intentions of turning against the crowd. It would have been useless even if we would have wanted to. We were in small patrols consisting of two men each and were outnumbered.

"However, the commander of our unit (another major --not the one who had addressed us on the previous night; that major had gone to Budapest to fight.) ordered us to join the demonstrators. I was overjoyed to receive this command and so were the other soldiers.

"A few soldiers and some officers were evidently displeased. They were communists. They offered no resistance but behaved very passively. Some were beaten up by the demonstrators who noticed their reluctance.

"Our commander convinced the crowd that it would be very unwise to attack the Soviet troops who were armed with heavy guns and tanks. The crowd finally gave up the plan to attack the Russians.

"The entire revolution in Papa lasted from 10 A.M. on October 24 until 3 A.M. October 25. By then, the crowd calmed down. A revolutionary council was elected and our commander was also a member of this council. We were assigned to perform police duty together with civilians. We feared that the Communists would bring reinforcements and attack us.

"On October 25 there were more demonstrations. Some of the crowd, mostly gypsies, broke open several stores. We were ordered to stop such looting. There was also a silent demonstration held that day. The entire army in Papa participated in this silent demonstration.

"After the silent demonstration, some of the army in Papa was assigned to the Austro-Hungarian border. I, too, was sent to Mexico Puszta in Sopron County along the Austrian border. This was about 15 kilometers from Sopron. I was stationed here, on the border, from the night of October 26 until November 18, the day of my escape from Hungary.

"We were sent here to reinforce the border guards. Five other boys from my regiment and I were assigned to this particular border guard post which I just mentioned. It was under the command of a first lieutenant of the border guards and there were about 25 of his own men serving there.

"At first we were told that the persons now escaping from Hungary into Austria were all communists and, therefore, we should arrest them.

"From the questionings of the first persons we took into custody, it became evident that these persons were not communists and that the whole thing was only a trick on the part of the commander of the border guards to make us detain the escapees.

"From then on, we sabotaged patrol duty and let everyone go across."

C. "We knew from the radio and telephone reports from the headquarters of the border guards what was going on in Budapest and elsewhere. We were overjoyed to hear that the revolution had achieved a victory in Budapest and that the Russians were moving out of the capital. But we soon realized that the whole thing was a hoax. We saw the Russian troop movements and knew that instead of moving out of the country they were reinforcing the border area.

"After November 4 there was a constant flood of refugees that we let go into Austria.

"Around the middle of November, the border was completely occupied by Russians. Somehow, as yet, they had not taken over our positions. On November 16 we heard that the Russians were approaching. We also heard that one of our commanders from Papa, a first lieutenant, had removed the firing pins from the artillery guns and went ahead to meet the Russians.

"He telephoned back on November 18 that he was coming and we should wait for him.

"I was on guard duty along the road. He came in the company of a Soviet captain. I shot both of them. They died immediately.

"The commander of the border guards came out to investigate what the shooting was

about. He started ~~xxxx~~ scolding me when he saw what happened. I wanted to shoot him, too. However, my immediate commander, a second lieutenant, knocked the submachine gun out of my hand. He said that the border guard commander was a married man ~~xxxx~~ with three children and we should do him no harm. The commander's family was also living there.

"From then on, my commander, the second lieutenant, was watching the border guard commander carefully to prevent him from reporting the incident by phone to headquarters.

"Late in the afternoon of November 18, headquarters reported over the phone that the Russians are coming to relieve us and ordered us to show no resistance whatever.

"On hearing this, the second lieutenant went out to explode the bridge over which the Russians had to come. While he was away, the border guard commander picked up the phone and reported what had happened. One of the boys overheard him.

"The second lieutenant asked all of us what we wanted to do -- whether we wanted to go to Austria or stay in Hungary. All six of us from Papa decided to go along with him. We sneaked out of the border guard station toward the border so that the other border guards would not observe us. We were only 20 meters from the border when the others noticed our escape and started to shoot at us. This was the work of the border guard commander. I am sorry that I did not shoot him also.

"In the dark, we were able to go across into Austria and there we surrendered our arms to the Austrian border guards."

D. "Despite the heavy losses Hungary suffered in the revolution, I still think that Hungary has gained by it.

"This small nation showed everyone in the world how to oppose the Soviet Union."

SUMMARY OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES.

October 22 - subject was stationed in artillery regiment barracks in Papa. Had no advanced knowledge of the demonstrations

October 23 - informed by commander of his regiment about the outbreak of the revolution in Budapest. This information was given just before midnight.

October 24 --respondent was ordered out with other soldiers to maintain order in Papa. Crowd attacks police headquarters and the AVH building. Lynching of AVH commander. Regiment commander orders all soldiers to side with the insurgents.

October 25 - silent demonstration in Papa.

October 26 - November 18 - respondent sent with other soldiers to reinforce border guards along the Austro-Hungarian border. Soldiers are told that escapees are communists and should be detained. They soon realized that this was a hoax and let everyone go through.

November 16 -- respondent's commander takes out firing pins from artillery guns and goes over to the Russians.

November 18 -- respondent kills returning commander and a Russian captain. ~~xxxxxx~~
He and the other boys of his regiment escape to Austria.

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

A.-B. "America had always promised Hungary and other countries behind the Iron Curtain aid before the revolution. When the revolution broke out, nothing happened. On the other hand, there was Austria, a neutral country. When the revolution broke out, they sent us not only supplies but even arms and ammunition."

C. "When I was stationed on the border, I met three foreigners -- one German and two Austrians. They brought a truckload of medical supplies into Hungary. This was on November 13.

"I was not able to speak with them because I did not know German. My commander spoke some German. They told him that they were going to stay in Budapest and fight against the Russians. I also saw many Austrian peasants bring in medicine to the border guard station in horse-carts. From there, the medicine and other hospital supplies were shipped by Hungarian trucks to Budapest."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "My father is a parttime shoemaker and a part time farmer. He received ten cadastral yokes of land in the land reform.

"My father completed six grades of elementary school; my mother completed two grades of secondary school."

B. (Considerable probing was required on questions concerning social classes. Respondent gave the impression that he was embarrassed and hesitated to answer because he feared that he was giving the wrong answers.)

"The social classes in Hungary are the peasantry, the industrial workers and the intelligentsia. I have known members from all three classes and have had contacts with all.

"The Hungarian peasantry is a very close class. The peasants always help each other. Most peasants are very diligent and industrious. A smaller portion of the peasantry would like to live well without working hard and only trade and barter. The majority of the peasantry is deeply religious. A small fraction was not religious and sympathized with the communists.

"The industrial workers I do not know too well. I worked among them for two months in a tobacco factory at home. There I saw that some workers liked to work while others preferred to loaf. The industrial workers had looser morals. They had to work less and after work could go chasing women or drinking. The peasants could not do that. They had to work. I think that the industrial workers had more opportunity to read and study than the peasants.

"The intelligentsia was more involved in communism than the industrial workers or the peasants. Their morals were also very lax.

"I belong to the peasantry.

"I think that the peasants were the hardest hit by communism in Hungary. Compulsory crop deliveries were heavy. What little was left was not enough for them and their families.

"I think that the peasantry realizes that all classes are interdependent. There are practically no differences between industrial workers and the peasantry.

(Considerable probing is necessary.)

"At one time the workers were angry with the peasants. This was when the industrial workers were sympathizing with communism.

"The peasantry and the industrial workers noticed that the intelligentsia is not sympathizing with them. However, the intelligentsia later realized that it must rely on the peasants and the industrial workers. This was about the time of the first Five-Year Plan -- probably in 1948."

C. "In my opinion, Party membership was the most important from the point of view of getting ahead in communist Hungary. The more new members a person could acquire for the Party, the better he was able to get ahead.

"Experience and talent did not count at all.

"Class origin was also indifferent in this respect.

"As an individual, a person who is willing to do almost anything that the Party wants him to do, is the one who is able to get ahead. For ex-

ample, the peasants who exceeded their crop delivery quotas and subscribed for large government loans, were able to get ahead better than the others."

D. "Such persons as the communist chairman of the village council, the council secretary, the Party secretary, etc. lived much better than they deserved. Their salaries were high and they got special premiums for enforcing crop deliveries."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Had there been no communism, our family life would have been better. We would have been able to live better and the children in our family would have been able to learn some profession.

"There were no disputes over political questions in our family but there were frequent heated arguments with the neighbors.

"Some families had a better life under communism. Either the husband or the wife joined the Party and acquired a good, well-paid job.

(NOTE: subject is not aware of any emotional effects of communism on family life.)

"Our family was not at all influenced by communism. The average family in Hungary also belongs to this group -- that is, the group where communism had not affected the family life at all.

"Communism affected the upbringing of children in the family. Sometimes, one parent became a communist and the other did not. The children felt this at home. In such cases it was ~~practically~~ impossible to bring them up as before.

"In our family, I did not notice any effects of communism on the upbringing of the children. Neither one of my parents was a communist. There were families who were able to bring up their children as before. The parents did not join any political party or organization."

B. "The number of divorces increased considerably under communism. Some marriages did not last three months. This was due to the fact that communists looked with disfavor on church marriages. Communist Party

members were allowed to be married only in a civil ceremony. Otherwise, they would be barred from the Party and would probably lose their jobs.

"Courtships also changed. In the past, if a boy courted a girl her parents did not allow her to stay out late. Now the parents could not say anything to the daughters because she would pack up and leave home. The parents preferred to let the girl stay out late than to endure the shame of her leaving home for good.

"The number of illegitimate children also increased considerably.

"The young people were so immoral that sometimes they made love openly in the streets.. However, this occurred mostly in the evening and night when they thought no one was able to see them. Such things also happened during the day in the fields or in the haystacks.

"Some young people had sexual intercourse because they were in love. However, often the young peasant girls went to work in the cities. There, they did not earn much and sometimes yielded to males for money. Sometimes, they quit working altogether and 'worked only with their rear ends.'

"I was 14 when I had sexual intercourse with the neighbor's 13-year old daughter. This was the first time I had anything to do with girls. Her mother caught us in the act and beat the daylights out of both of us.

"I was 16 when a distant relative, also 16, came to visit us. She fed my brother and me with some powder to make us love her. First, she tried this out on all the boys in the neighborhood. Her parents later chased her away from home.

"From 16 on, I had sexual intercourse regularly. There was a small brother in Nyi-

regyhaza and I went there once or twice a month. When the brothels were closed and prostitution was banned, the girls usually set up shop in their own quarters somewhere nearby.

"Parents did not have much to say in questions concerning courtships and marriages.

"I must mention that although people at home has loose morals, the situation here, in America, is much worse. At home, only prostitutes sold themselves. Here, in New York, in broad daylight, married women come out on the streets and offer themselves for \$3 or \$5, while their children are playing nearby. I think this is much worse than at home.

"I do not think there is any difference between the sexual morality ~~between~~ of a convinced communist and of a non-communist."

C. "If a good friend of mine were to join the Communist Party, then our friendship would cease. The Communist friend would be the one to terminate it because he is higher up than the non-communist friend, and therefore, he is inclined to look down upon him.

"I think it is impossible to continue a friendship under an agreement not to mix politics into it. The non-communist friend must be always on guard because a slip of the tongue may cause him immediate trouble."

D. "By juvenile delinquency I mean crimes committed by young children or people under 18 or 20.

"I think crimes committed by juveniles are more frequent than in the past. I think that children under communism are more immoral than before and parents have less control over them.

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

"Jampec means a Budapest loafer. He can be recognized by his clothes and conduct and by the way he dances. Jampec clothing consists of stovepipe pants with large wide pleats. The jampecs wear checkered shirts, small caps and comb their hair long. Their hair sometimes ~~is~~ make them look like women.

"I think that the conduct of the jampecs is criminal because they are corrupting the youth. A decent should rather go home than see the jampecs dancing, wiggling their hips.

"I do not know how widespread the jampec is. I was never in Budapest for any length of time. Perhaps it is widespread. There were some jampecs in Papa also."

VII. RELIGION

A. "There was sharp antagonism between communism and religion in Hungary. It could be seen when the communists took away the church property. In our village, they took away 70 cadastral yokes from our priest.

"All religions were persecuted under communism in Hungary.

"I do not think that religion is a bulwark against communism. One who is religious can still be a communist and vice-versa. I have seen such examples."

B. "I think I am just as religious as my parents are.

"Most people in Hungary are a bit less religious than I am.

"I go to church every Sunday. I go to confession and communion twice a year."

C. "I think there should be compulsory religious instruction in schools. People are not more stupid as a result of religion, quite the contrary.

"I think the churches should be allowed to curb immoral films, plays and books.

"I do not think that the churches should play an active role in politics in an independent Hungary. They should be concerned only ~~with religion~~ with religion."

D. "The Jewish religion was not persecuted at all by the communists in Hungary. This was due to the fact that most top communists were Jews.

"The Jews sympathized with communism in 1945 because the Germans were persecuting the Jews. The Red Army saved them from annihilation.

"Later, the Jews became disillusioned with communism because what was in Hungary was not real communism -- it was something much worse.

"Jews joined the Communist Party because it protected and supported them and because they were considered reliable by the Communist Party.

"I do not know how Jew reacted to the demonstrations and the revolution, but, I do not think that they liked the revolution much. They had many advantages from the communist regime. I think they remained passive. I do not think that Jews have to be afraid of an independent Hungary. They may be afraid because they fear deportatxon to Palestine."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "I think that the Hungarian youth consists of young people from 16 to 28 or 30. Children younger than 16 cannot be very well included in this group."

B. "The Hungarian youth led the demonstrations and the fighting.

"The Hungarian youth wanted to improve its future. The youth was more oppressed than before the communist regime.

"It was the Hungarian youth and not any other generation that started and led the revolution because the older people were not in the position to start a revolution. They were not organized as well as the youth, especially the students and the young workers.

"There were no differences between the youth and the older generation during the revolution. The older people helped the youth and gave it advice."

C. "I finished my six grades of elementary school in 1946.

"I think that pupils in the schools under the present regime were taught less than under the Horthy regime. The schoolmasters were not allowed to resort to physical punishment like in the past. Consequently, the children now studied less diligently than before.

"Teachers, in general, had to be Party members. The new teachers were less qualified to teach than the old educators. Their qualifications were not important -- only their Party membership."

D. "The Hungarian youth did not like communist ideology and rejected it.

"The communist indoctrination of the Hungarian youth failed because of parental influence. The present youth was still brought up by non-communist parents. The children now being born will be brought up differently."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "My main dissatisfaction in communist Hungary was peasant oppression. If the communists would have allowed the peasants to farm in peace like in the past, communism would have not had so many enemies in Hungary."

B. "Other people complained about compulsory crop deliveries. Peasants were forced to queue up and buy bread in the stores." (NOTE: it is a sign of great poverty if a peasant is unable to bake his own bread.)

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "During the last years in Hungary, our family had to work extremely hard to be able to make ends meet. My three married brothers lived with their in-laws. Only seven of us lived at home, but from 1954 on, I was in the army.

"The food at home was nothing to brag about. One was unable to provide the food that growing children require. We ate meat only once a week and sometimes, not even then. We were not always able to afford 20 forints for a kilogram of meat each week. We mostly ate beans, peas, vegetables such as potatoes, and noodles. We were able to only slaughter one hog a year. (NOTE: the number of hogs slaughtered by a peasant family each year is the best standard for measuring the quality of their fare.)

"We had great difficulties in connection with clothes. Not everyone in the family had a Sunday suit. My parents wrote me that the few used clothes I was able to send them from America was more than they would have been able to buy in years.

"We lived in a three-room house of our own. The three rooms included the kitchen also. My parents slept in the kitchen. We children slept in the other two rooms.

"Electricity was installed in our village only in 1947. The floors were of clay but, the house had a tile roof. (NOTE: this is a sign of prosperity among peasants.)

"Decent clothes were already a luxury.

"Clothes were our greatest problem. Food, also, caused hardships.

"In 1945 I was only 11 years old but, I remember that before 1945 we lived much better and ate better food and had more clothes than after the war.

"Our standard of living was the highest, probably, from 1948 to 1951. It was the lowest after 1951. This hinged on the degree of compulsory crop deliveries.

"From among our acquaintances, the local forest ranger was probably able to live the best. A communist, he had a fairly high salary. He and his family farmed on 20 cadastral yokes of their own and on another 20 cadastral yokes which he received from the State Forestry enterprise in pay. He was also able to sell as much firewood or logs from the State forests as he could steal. He also had an ample meat supply from the wild game he shot in the forests.

"The low standard of living in Hungary was due to the fact that the State underpaid every one. The government spent the money on Soviet ~~reparations~~ reparations. Hungary was never able to pay as much as the Soviets demanded."

B. "My father's average income per month from the shoemaker shop was about 700 forints. This income was irregular and seasonal. He had the most work in the shoemaker's shop in autumn and winter. In spring and summer, he could farm. Other times, the rest of the family took care of the farm.

"The income from the 10 cadastral yokes that we had was hardly enough to supply our household ~~and~~ from what was left after tax and crop deliveries were paid.

"My father had worked mostly in winter and in spring and summer, he farmed. The children helped him.

"My father did not receive any premiums or extra pay. He had to subscribe for a 500 forint government compulsory loan, which we had to pay in 10 monthly installments."

C. "We bought what food we needed in the co-operative store.

(NOTE: There are no Kozert or private stores in the villages.)

"We purchased mostly groceries. One could ~~not~~ buy them only in the co-operative store.

"We bought clothes in the government department stores in a nearby city. I do not remember prices.

"Sometimes, certain commodities would not be available in our co-operative store and we would have to go to a nearby city to obtain them.

"There was no difficulty in obtaining spare parts.

"There were shortages of salt, sugar, bread, flour, soap, yeast, etc. at one time or another. I did not remember in which years.

"There was black marketing. For example, in 1948 black marketers came for poultry, oil, lard, butter, eggs, etc. They took these items to Budapest and sold them at black market prices. There they bought such scarce items as soda, soap, textiles. They sold or traded these items in the villages for more food.

"At one time there was a shortage of veal. Calves were slaughtered secretly and the meat was sold in Budapest at a big profit.

"I do not know how black markets were organized.

"Black marketing was dangerous. Black marketeers were often sentenced from five to six years' imprisonment. Sometimes, retailers sold commodities at black market prices. Nothing could be done against the co-operative manager. He was a communist."

D. "Until I entered the army in 1954, I worked on my father's farm at home. The amount of work I did varied according to the season. In summer, we worked from sunrise to sunset taking time out only for meals. A peasant cannot work only eight hours a day.

"In winter, we had less work on the farm. Then, we went to work in the tobacco factory where we worked only eight hours a day, six days a week. However, there was always work around the farm even in winter."

(NOTE: Questions concerning relations with co-workers, trade union, health program, etc. are not applicable.)

E. "In Hungary, I would prefer to live in the city. If there is employment there, it is much more pleasant and comfortable for a young man to live than in the villages.

"I think that the agricultural and industrial workers ate about the same kind of food.

"The standard of living was probably higher in the villages because life was cheaper there.

"I think it was easier, politically, to live in the cities than in the villages. In the villages, people knew each other better and could be supervised much easier.

"I was about 15 when collectivization was first introduced in Hungary. I did not like it. I did not believe that co-operatives would be able to grow more than the individual farmers.

"When the collectivization of farms was introduced in Hungary, I thought that it would affect us as well. There were already rumors to the effect that everyone will be forced to join the co-operative farms like in Russia.

"In my opinion, the co-operative farm movement in Hungary was all wrong. They achieved results about 20-30 per cent lower than individual farmers. It is not possible to cultivate land with tractors as well as with horse plows or with hoes.

co-operative farming

"When ~~collectivization~~ was first introduced, no one dared to speak out loud against it. However, small and large peasant farmers were equally opposed to it.

"I heard of co-operatives being dissolved only during the revolution."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. (Respondent is too young. Questions concerning political parties before 1945, in general, are not applicable.)

B. "The members of the Communist Party in Hungary were persons who wanted to achieve some material advantages. For example, those who wanted to become co-operative farm managers had to first join the Party.

"There were some, very few, Party members by conviction. There were also top communist officials and leaders.

"I knew many communists. Only about 50 per cent of them believed in what they were doing. The others wanted to do it whether they wanted to or not. Otherwise, they would have not been able to make a living.

"Party policy changed after 1948. Until then, Communist Party membership was more or less voluntary. After 1948, one could not leave the Party without getting into serious trouble.

"There were also other changes in Party policy. After 1948, it became increasingly a Party dictatorship. Otherwise, there were no changes in Party policy.

(NOTE: Respondent did not mention the first Imre Nagy government by himself.)

"Imre Nagy, in 1953, wanted to end the pressure on peasants compelling them to form co-operatives. When the communists realized what he wanted, they immediately ousted him.

"All along the Party members were not satisfied with the policy of the Communist Party of Hungary. Most Party members wanted another kind of communism. I do not know what this other kind of communism is like. I think it is what Lenin once wanted in the Soviet Union.

"Top communists want to oppress the people completely. They wanted to show Russia that they are on her side. They are not sorry for the people because they are not Hungarians themselves. Rakosi is not a Hungarian; neither is Imre Nagy. He is of Austrian origin.

"None of the top leaders were on the side of the Hungarian people.

"As individuals, the top communist leaders in Hungary want the big pay they get from Russia. For this money they are willing to do anything.

"Only Imre Nagy alone can be said to have been on our side. He wanted to do good for all of the people. All of the rest are cruel criminals who did not hesitate to kill and torture people.

"Once Hungary is independent, all top communists will be either hanged or thrown into prison. They will deserve their fate."

C. "There was resistance to communism in Hungary. For example, it often happened in the villages that communists were beaten up in the streets. Many Party secretaries were killed. The police did not find out in many cases who committed the crimes because people did not inform on each other.

"There was also sabotage in connection with compulsory crop deliveries. Peasants often beat up even the police who came to enforce crop deliveries.

"The local council chairman wanted to take away our hogs. A policeman came with him but, we knew him well. My father hit the local council chairman over the head with a pitchfork. No criminal proceedings were launched against him and even our hogs remained ~~at home~~.

"There was also much grumbling ~~and~~ against the communists in the village. They were cursed and abused face-to-face. The women were even more active in this respect. Elder males were also able to curse the communists with more impunity than the younger men.

"The industrial workers also committed acts of sabotage. They always wanted more wages than they were paid. The government was forced to increase their wages several times.

"The intelligentsia also showed resistance to communism. For example, a government official was more on the side of the people in implementing government decrees. They were much better to us than the communist officials who formerly had been peasants or workers.

"Such resistance was of great help to the people because without it oppression and compulsion to join the cooperative farms would have been even greater.

"There were times when resistance was greater and times when it was smaller. It all depended on the degree of oppression.

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31/XI

"The resistance of the intellectuals centered around the movement to release Cardinal Mindszenty. This was in 1953. Subscriptions were collected to petition for his freedom.

(Did not mention the Petofi Circle.)

"I have not heard about the Petofi Circle. I do not know what it is. I only heard about the poet, Petofi."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The personnel of the AVH consisted of people who were morally degenerated, who were willing to carry out any order whatsoever. They were willing to torture people and thought that it was fun.

"I knew an AVH man who was a non-commissioned officer. He lived nearby. He was employed at the notorious AVH headquarters in Szekesfehervar. The man's wife went to live there for a year. However, she came back home because she could not stand the sound of people being tortured. Her husband also did some of the dirty work. There was something very shifty and cruel in his eyes when you looked at him.

(She, too, had a part-time job with the AVH.)

"Until my departure from Hungary, no member of our family was ~~was~~ caught or arrested by the AVH. But, from letters that I received here in the US from home, I was told that my brother had been caught attempting to cross the border. He was arrested for one week; after that he spent one week in a hospital and three weeks at home. What my parents wrote me implied that he had been tortured by the AVH.

"I know of a peasant boy who was drafted for service with the AVH. He was pressured ~~into joining~~ ~~into~~ ~~joining~~ the AVH as a re-inlisted non-commissioned officer but he refused because of the peasant persecutions which effected his family at home.

"If Hungary becomes independent, it will not be necessary to place the former AVH men on trial. The people would tear them to pieces when they recognized them.

"The Blue Police were divided -- some were communists and some were on our side. In the villages, some behaved well while others were rabid communists. They, too, beat up the people they arrested. Many men in the Blue Police Force complained that they could not stand the service and would have liked to have left it. This could only be done through disciplinary measures. But, this was difficult because if they neglected duty it was either entirely overlooked or, they were court-martialled and sentenced to prison terms of six months to several years. My mother's brother wanted very much to leave the Blue Police Force and could not.

"I know only about the conduct of the Blue Police Force in Papa during the revolution. I do not know they behaved elsewhere. how

"Those who did not side with the communists deserted the police force on the very first day. The communist policemen resisted and barricaded themselves in the police headquarters building. When the crowd broke in and disarmed them, the three most rabid police officers were beaten to death with gun butts."

(NOTE: The Blue Police in the villages were less popular than in the cities because in rural areas they sometimes exercised some of the functions of the AVH, notably ~~against~~ in the drive against the kulaks.)

B. "I do not know how the courts functioned in Hungary during the Horthy regime.

lution. I think that the units stationed in the provinces, far from the city, did not receive the same training as units stationed in the cities.

"I think class origin did not affect the conduct of the soldiers during the revolution.

"The joining of some army units in the revolution as a whole, while others did not, depended largely on the person of the commanding officer.

"Life in the army was not good. My brother served in the army before the war and told me that their life in the army was more fun ~~than~~ than ours. They had more time for recreation than we had.

"It was now easier to get promoted in the army and one could not pay his way out of the army as easily as before.

"The non-commissioned officers and enlisted men got along well in the army. The re-enlisted non-commissioned officers had to be Party members. The same applies to all officers. The officers hated the enlisted men and despised them. If one asked for a furlough, the officers called the enlisted men all sorts of names. A few of the officers were of peasant origin. Most of them were industrial workers.

"Some officers were as stupid as my rear end. They became officers because they were reliable communists. Very few officers were liked by the enlisted men.

"Some enlisted men in the army were treated better because they knew the officers from private life or ~~xxx~~ were related to them.

"In the army we had four hours of political indoctrination every second day. Political orientation was conducted every day in groups of 10 or 12. We received brochures which we had to learn and recite.

"These political classes were very much disliked by the enlisted men. Everyone was afraid of them. If you did not know your lesson, you did not receive permission to leave the barracks on Saturdays and Sundays. I had much trouble with political orientation classes and was unable to leave the barracks for over eight months in succession."

D. (NOTE: Respondent was puzzled by the Kossuth question but admitted that the participation in the 1848 Revolution may have made the Russians unpopular in Hungary. That is, that this might have contributed to it but, was not the primary cause.)

"I was 10 years old when the Russians entered Hungary. They raped every one they saw. Four Russians raped an 85-year old woman in our village. The poor woman died immediately. The Russians called every one a bourgeois, even the poorest peasant.

"When the Russians were approaching in 1945, the Romanians and Slovaks who served in the Hungarian Army told my father he had nothing to fear from the Russians. They soon realized their mistake. They were the first ones the Russians beat up and robbed.

(NOTE: After 1945, respondent had no contact whatever with Russian occupation troops or dependents.)

"During the revolution, in Papa, many of the Russians -- the officers who

lived in the city and their families -- took part in the demonstrations and even helped to attack and disarm the AVH headquarters. They were in civilian clothes and some of them said that they did not want to return to the Soviet Union."

E. (Already covered in the section on resistance.)

F. "It was possible to circumvent government regulations if one had contact or was willing to bribe officials. For example, a good friend of our village council chairman never had to complete his crop deliveries. Our neighbor was able to get out of crop deliveries by bribing local officials.

"It was difficult to catch a person accepting a bribe. This was rarely discovered."

G. "Some of the top officers in the AVH may have been intelligent but most of them were stupid, loyal communists.

"The average non-commissioned officer in the army was more intelligent and knew more than most top army officers.

"The top Russian officers are not as well trained as they should be. They also have no manners.

"I do not think public administration officials are very intelligent in Hungary. Most of them are reliable communists who know nothing about what they are doing."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "Oppression in Hungary is now greater than ever before. Kadar will stay as long as the Soviet Union needs him. The people will do everything to remove him from office, but the Soviet Union is satisfied with Kadar.

"Kadar's policy is the same as Rakosi's, or perhaps, even worse. Outside Hungary, there will be a third world war and this can break out any minute.

"Both the people at home and I would be in favor of war between the US and the Soviet Union, even if it may mean an eventual atomic war. All would depend on who starts it first. If the US throws the first bombs, it may be enough to end and win the war.

"War between East and West is inevitable but, no one knows when it will break out.

"The Soviet Union will not rest until it erupts a world war.

"I think the international situation could be solved by peaceful means but, the Soviet Union will want war because that is more favorable for it. The Soviet Union has enough people and can risk losing millions of its population."

B. "At home, from 1945 on we thought that the Americans ~~will~~ would at once become aware of the dangers of communism and attack the Soviet Union. At one time, on the basis of radio broadcasts, we thought that a settlement would be reached through peaceful negotiations. But, soon after that, we realized that there is no other solution but war."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "In an independent Hungary, I would like a regime that would not oppress the people and everyone would be able to live freely."

B. "In an independent Hungary, both agriculture and industry are necessary and important. Both the heavy and light industries are important for Hungary.

"The production of everything that is being taken out of Hungary to the Soviet Union, should be stopped. The production of agricultural machinery should be increased.

"There is no need for national enterprises, kolkhozes, and State farms in an independent Hungary. The national enterprises should be given back to the former owners.

"The kolkhozes and State farms should be dissolved and given to individual peasants. People in Hungary lived much better before kolkhozes and State farms existed.

"I do not approve of nationalization in any form but the State ownership of transportation facilities, post and telegraph, are necessary. These have always been owned and managed by the State.

"I am against nationalization in industries, both in the light and heavy industries.

"In an independent Hungary, there should be no upper limit on agricultural property one could own. No one should be told what and how to grow and there should be no crop deliveries.

"The State farms and the co-operative farms should be given back to their former owners even if they are large estates. The land

reform, however, should not be rescinded. If I were to choose between a bread-and-butter dictatorship and complete democracy with no insured standard of living, I would choose democracy. Freedom is more important than anything else.

"In an independent Hungary, I would not be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party. Every party, even the Communist Party, should be allowed to exist just like in America."

C. "An international situation, like that of Austria, would be ideally the best for Hungary. Hungary would be able to maintain relations with all nations, with the exception of the Soviet Union. Relations should be only economic and cultural, but not military.

(NOTE: Subject has heard nothing about plans for a federation of Danubian States.)

"I would like to see Hungary get back all the territory she lost in the World War I peace treaties. Hungary would then be a prosperous little country. These territories should be acquired through peaceful negotiations.

"I am concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. They should be resettled into Hungary. The question of frontiers and minorities are very important not only to me but to every one in Hungary. Life was much better for every one in Hungary when Hungary was big."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

"I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress when I was in the army. This was a speech in which Stalin was denounced by Khrushchev.

"I have not heard anything about Senator McCarthy or about his Un-American Activities Committee while I was in Hungary.

"Peron is a South American foreign minister. I do not know in which country.

"Before the revolution I only knew the biography of Rakosi which we had to learn in the army."

B. "While I was in Hungary, the most important source of information was the foreign radio. My parents listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts.

"Domestic news sources were not interesting or reliable. They were mostly about production and labor competition."

C. "All kinds of news could be obtained by word-of-mouth. But, this was not reliable. There was too much distortion in it (the news)."

D. "I did not read newspapers regularly -- perhaps once a week when I was in the army. Then, newspapers were compulsory. There was usually some article one had to study.

"I did not have much time to read. I did not read any books."

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. "A change can be expected also in the Soviet Union. A revolution can break out there as it did in Hungary. Soviet students are restless. Soviet soldiers who were in Hungary and elsewhere, saw what life was like outside their country.

in

"I think that most people ~~within~~ the Soviet Union do not like communism. At least, not the kind of communism they have.

"If free elections were to held in the Soviet Union, communism would be overthrown and the present leaders would all be tossed out. There would be no need for political parties in the Soviet Union. Whoever experienced communism does not like any party at all.

"The top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party are convinced communists. They believe in what they are doing. They want to communize the entire world.

"Individually, some of the top communists in the Soviet Union are communists because of material advantages and high pay; others from pure conviction and are not concerned about money.

"There is no difference at all between the top Soviet and the top Hungarian leaders."

B. "From the countries mentioned, Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia are the first and second most popular. Friendship with these countries existed long before 1945.

(Gypsy is a very derogatory term in Hungary. It serves to indicate a dishonest, shifty, unreliable person.)

"Romania and Yugoslavia are the most and second most unpopular in Hungary. The Romanians are gypsies who betrayed Hungary in World War I. With the Yugoslavs there has been much trouble and many border conflicts.

"If free elections were to be held in these countries, communism would cease everywhere and coalition governments would be formed. (NOTE: respondent had difficulty pronouncing the word, coalition. It was completely distorted.)

"From the countries mentioned, the standard of living is the highest in the Czechoslovak Republic and the second highest in Bulgaria. It is the lowest in Romania and the second lowest in Poland." (NOTE: mere guesswork.)

C. "Gomulka may have meant some change in Poland but he is a Soviet puppet just like all the other leaders of the satellite countries.

"The future outlook of Poland is the same as Hungary's. A Hungarian-type revolution can break out in Poland.

"I heard something about changes in Poland before the revolution but I do not know what these changes were.

"There may have been some freedom before Gomulka's rise to power, but I do not know.

"I have not heard about the Poznan riots.

"Events in Poland had an influence on the Hungarian revolution. Poland

was the example followed by Hungary.

"It would have been better for the Poles had a revolution followed the same path as the Hungarian revolution."

D. "I think Tito is the originator of national communism. I am not certain. I do not like national communism -- any sort of communism is not good.

between the

"Relations ~~with~~ Eastern European countries and Yugoslavia are bad. This is the result of the Soviet quarrel with Tito.

"Relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are not exactly good now. Yugoslavia is a big country and does not want herself be directed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also fears Yugoslavia. If Tito were to attack the Soviet Union, he would certainly run her down.

"I do not know what the relations are between Tito and the Western European countries and America.

"I do not think that Tito is popular at home. I do not know anything about the conditions in Yugoslavia, only what we were told in army orientation classes. The ~~xxx~~ situation in Yugoslavia is, perhaps, the same as it is in Hungary."

E. "Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal. On the other hand, England, France and Israel had a right to attack Egypt because she was obstructing traffic through the Canal.

"The Suez crisis affected the outcome of the Hungarian revolution. Both the East and the West had to divide their attentions between Near East and Hungary."

F. "I think the standard of living in West Germany is very high.

"The Germans may start a new war. Every nation is afraid of them.

"I approve of German rearmament because it is aimed against Russia.

"I think that the length of military service in West Germany is one-and-a-half years.

"I think the West German Army is stronger than either the British or the French armies."

(Subject is too young to compare German occupation of Hungary with the Soviet occupation.)

G. "NATO is an island of England. I have not heard of the North Atlantic Treaty.

"I do not think that the British Labor Party is communist.

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

H. "I was very much surprised that on my arrival to the US we were taken to Camp Kilmer. I thought that we would be kept there as prisoners.

"After Camp Kilmer, I was very much surprised by the high standard of living here in America. I was astonished when I was taken to Macy's. In the army we were told that there is unemployment and a depression in the US.

(NOTE: Subject does not know the meaning of foreign policy.)

"Regrettably, America is unwilling ~~to~~ to wage war against the Soviet Union. The US will have to resort to war later on.

"The US has been helping Hungary. It would be good to give loans to the Hungarian people but not to the Kadar government. What the government gets goes to the Soviet Union and will have to be repaid by Hungary.

"People would like to speak with Western visitors, but the government will not give them an opportunity to do so. They fear that this would incite the people.

"The people at home would also like to read Western publications but, the Soviets will not tolerate that.

(Respondent has not heard of the Marshall Plan.)

"The US fought in Korea because it feared that China would be overrun by the communists."

G. (Subject thinks that the UN and the US are identical. When I mentioned the ENSZ which is the Hungarian abbreviation for the UN, he had some faint recollections that it is some sort of a foreign discussion panel but, he is still not aware of the UN structure and functions.)

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD
SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. "I think that Imre Nagy is the greatest living Hungarian today. I consider him to be the greatest Hungarian on the basis of his character, conduct, knowledge and experience."

("Why" needed some probing.)

B. "Poor Cardinal Mindszenty does not deserve the constant persecution he receives. He did not do anything to deserve it. I do not know why the communists are persecuting him.

"Laszlo Rajk was a communist who wanted to safeguard the interests of the people.

"Erno Gero is a communist. I think he meant well.

"Janos Kadar had no right to become prime minister. He isn't even a Hungarian.

"I do not know who General Bela Kiraly is or was.

"I do not know who Anna Kethly is.

"President Eisenhower is all right for the American people and he meant well ~~with us~~ also, for Hungary. But, he was powerless to assist us militarily.

"I do not know who Secretary General Hammarskoldj is.

"I do not know who Dulles is.

(Most answers are mere guesswork. Subject was very self-conscious about his lack of education and information about political affairs. He tried to improve his score to save face.)

"I do not know who Eden is.

"I do not know who Truman is.

"I have never heard of Mikoyan.

"Nehru is a poet.

"Chiang-Kai shek is a British minister.

"Imre Nagy is the former prime minister of Hungary, now living in the US. He would like to go back to Hungary as prime minister. This will be possible only if the US government supports him.

"Roosevelt is a Russian leader.

"I do not know who Chancellor Adenauer is.

"Stalin was the Soviet boss who wanted to dominate the entire world.

"Malenkov was Stalin's successor. He was only a bit better than Stalin.

"Franco is the boss in one of the European countries but, I do not know in which.

"I do not know who Bevan is.

"Khrushchev is the present Soviet leader who should be in prison.

"Molotov is the Soviet foreign minister. I have no opinion about him.

"I do not know who Ollenhauer is.

"Churchill is a Czechoslovak statesman."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. "Most refugees fled the country although they did not have to do so. There are so many Freedom Fighters who have nothing to do at all with the revolution. They came out because they wanted to live better than they did in Hungary.

"Then, there are the real Freedom Fighters who had to come away because they feared retaliations. Also, persons who were in prison and feared that they would be taken back once the revolution was crushed, had to leave the country.

"Most persons who fled the country are young people. The average person is between 16 - 40. And, of course, there are people over 60 as well.

"The refugees mostly being to the industrial working class. There are very few peasants and a few members of the intelligentsia among the refugees.

"Most refugees come from Western Hungary and from Budapest.

"The persons who stayed at home either had no opportunity to leave the country or, refused to leave for patriotic reasons.

"There were some boys in our regiment who said they preferred to die at home than to leave the country. They could have come out, but stayed.

"If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary, then perhaps, 70-80 per cent of the people would leave. The rest would remain at home because they are communists.

B. "At home we heard over foreign radio broadcasts that there are immigrant politicians and organizations in the West. I do not remember any of the names mentioned over the radio, only Ference Nagy and former governor Horthy.

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

"I heard about the MHBK in the army. The communists were very angry at them.

"I also heard about the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe and about the American-Hungarian Federation in army orientation classes at home.

"I heard about Bela Varga, Tibor Eckhardt, Miklos Kallay, Istvan Barankovics, General Zako and General de Kisbarnak in the army orientation classes. I do not have any opinion about them.

"I heard about Miklos Kallay also at home because he comes from the same county in Hungary where we lived.

"I do not remember the Horthy era but my parents spoke well of him.

"The pre-1956 immigrants tried to do something for Hungary but I do not think that there was much they could have done. Ferenc Nagy always spoke over RFE."

C. "I have heard of persons who left Hungary during the war and later returned. But, I have not heard of any persons who left the country after 1945 and then returned."

D. "The people at home would very much like to know what the situation is like here. They want to know and they should know how we are faring in our new homeland."

"I think that all Hungarian refugees should settle down and do their best to make a living."

"I do not wish to join any political organization or other refugee organization."

"I did not like any of the political parties in Hungary."

"I did not know anything about the political parties in exile."

"During the revolution I heard about the political parties being revived and I approved of it because it was necessary. I think that the former leaders of the political parties in Hungary should have returned to participate in their revival."

E. "I do not think I ever want to return to Hungary."

"If I get married in the US, I will want my children to learn Hungarian."

"I think the danger involved deterred many people from listening to foreign radiobroadcasts.

"I think that foreign radio broadcasts for Hungary were useful because they kept people informed. I liked the VOA and RFE programs best. They even had religious services over the radio.

"All foreign radio broadcasts were accurate. I was able to determine this when I came out from Hungary and saw that everything was like they told us.

"These radio programs gave hope to the people at home and encouraged them to oppose communism.

"I do not know of any special influence of the foreign radio broadcasts during the revolution. I know that ~~then~~ at that time the programs were jammed very strongly. Even when I was stationed at the border ~~we~~ RFE kept urging the Freedom Fighters to keep on fighting. We kept on fighting but, we were too few against the Russians.

"I think that RFE should continue its broadcasts into Hungary. These broadcasts help to spread information at home. Anti-communist propaganda is very important in the programs of RFE. The people should also be told what they can expect."

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

C. "I have seen RFE leaflets. In 1956, when I was in the army, we were ordered out several times to go out and pick up leaflets. We were given such assignments almost every week.

"The leaflets we picked up contained news and anti-communist propaganda. We did not dare keep any of the leaflets. One of the boys hid a leaflet in his army cot. He was sentenced to six months in prison.

"We heard also heard about such leaflets from civilians who picked them up.

"I think that to pick up and distribute, pass on or keep, or talk about such leaflets was even more dangerous than listening or talking about foreign radio broadcasts. Persons caught doing this were sentenced ~~to~~ from five to six years' imprisonment.

"I think that the danger deterred many persons from picking up, passing on, or speaking about leaflets.

"I do not know about any changes in severity with which such acts were regarded.

"I think that the leaflets were very useful. They helped to encourage the people at home and gave them hope. I do not know of any leaflets being dropped into Hungary during the revolution.

"I think that RFE should continue dropping leaflets into Hungary. They are useful."

D. "All Western organizations sending leaflets and broadcasting into Hungary want to spread anti-communist propaganda. I do not see any difference in their motives."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

"The most important thing a child should be taught is to study.

"I think that it is necessary to discipline children and, physical punishment is also necessary.

"I think that both boys and girls should be treated alike from the point of view of discipline.

"As children grow older, less punishment is needed if the child is taught to obey when it is young.

"I was 13 years old when I played hookey from school for one month in succession. My father found out. He whipped me with a razor strap and my mother slapped me. He also banged my head against the table.

"I deserved this punishment and I wish they would have been firmer with me in connection with studies.

"In ~~the~~ most families, it was usually the mother who punished the children. In our family, it was our father.

"I think a child is always more afraid of his father than of his mother.

"I do not think there is any change in who punishes the child in the family according to the sex or age of the child.

"I am not aware of any changes according to social class.

"I think that physical punishment is abolished for boys, usually, at the age of 18 and for girls at the age of 14. Punishment in general is abolished for boys at the age of 18 or 19, and for girls at the age of 16 or 17.

"I do not know of any changes in this respect according to social class.

"Under communism, parents were not allowed to punish their children. If they beat their children, the children could complain in school and the parents were punished or fined.

abandoned — "The age at which ~~punishment~~ punishment was ~~abandoned~~ changed, perhaps, under communism because children were naughtier than before.

"I mean that the age at which punishment was ~~abandoned~~ abandoned had become lower and for this reason, the children were naughtier.

"In schools, physical punishment was abolished. Instead, the children were scolded. In this way, schoolchildren became spoiled and misbehaved.

"The traits I value most in a friend are trustworthiness, discreetness, reliability and true friendship which is not selfish."