

• II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

Americans should be told that the Hungarian Revolution did not break out under the influence of Western propaganda. It was the result of the economic and political conditions in Hungary. They should also know that the university students, educated under Communism, were the ones who turned against it. They realized, best of all, the discrepancy between practice and theory.

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

A. and B.

In the first half of October 1956, there was much talk about debates and meetings at which political and economic questions were discussed. Under the influence of these debates, the 650-700 students of chemical engineering at the Chemical University at Veszprem also decided to hold such a meeting. This meeting was scheduled for 3 p.m., October 23.

On October 22, one day before the meeting, the representatives of the student body met with four trusted professors to discuss the plans for the meeting to be held the next day. These talks were held in one of the student dormitories. The professors were inclined to be more cautious than the students and advised us to take off the agenda of the debates such topics as: the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary, and the uranium mines in Pecs. They also advised us not to hold a demonstration after the meeting.

The advice given to us by the professors was not met with favorable reception. A heated argument ensued, but, due to the fact that the professors, in advance, stated that whatever resolution the student meeting would pass they would accept full solidarity with the resolution of the students. it was finally decided to accept the advice given by the professors.

On the morning of October 23, we went to university classes as usual. In the intermissions, however, there was much activity on the part of the students and some of the professors were drawn into the consultation.

It was decided only at the very last minute that the meeting should be held in the city theatre and not in the university building. The largest auditorium in the university proper would be able to accommodate only 300 people. Due to the fact that the number of students at the university at that time was between 650-700, and that the professors, the Party secretary, representatives of the secondary schools, and of the industrial workers were also invited, the largest auditorium would not have been enough to house the entire audience.

Not to attract attention, we were advised to go to the theatre building in small groups. Only students and invited guests were admitted. All of the professors were there.

The chairman of the meeting was one of the most popular and most trusted professors. Some six or eight student delegates were also beside him at the chief table. The previous day, the students elected student representatives. One representative for every 50 students.

I forgot to mention that at the previous meeting on Oct. 22 a student from the Szeged University was also present. He had already informed us of the demands of the Szeged University students and on the ways and means the meetings were conducted.

The meeting was in progress for over an hour when two more students from the Szeged University came to the meeting. They were returning from Budapest to Szeged. Both of them wore the Hungarian colors in their buttonholes.

At their own request, the chairman gave permission to these students to speak. One of the Szeged students recited the patriotic poems of Petofi. He received much applause. The other student read the demands of the Szeged students which included the withdrawal of Russian troops and the placing of the uranium mines under Hungarian control. He also informed us of his experiences in Budapest and told us about the student demonstrations which were to take place that afternoon.

This completely upset the plans drawn for the meeting the previous day. Caution was cast to the winds and everybody spoke his mind. A series of charges and accusations were made against the government, the Communist regime, Communism, the Communist youth organizations, the Party secretary, etc. Only two people attempted to speak in defense of Communism. One was the student secretary of the DISZ organization. We knew he received a salary of 1,200 forints a month. The other was a young Communist industrial worker who, however, was so stupid he made himself ridiculous.

The Party secretary and the secretary of the DISZ were requested to speak and to tell us whether or not the charges made against the organizations and against Communism were true or false. Reluctantly, they had to admit that we were right.

At about 6 p.m., a resolution was adopted concerning the liquidation of the DISZ. Instead, a new organization was formed -- the Federation of the Hungarian University and College Students. Its abbreviation in Hungarian is MEFESz. Plans to adopt this resolution were already made at the preliminary meeting the previous day.

After the meeting I found out that in the theatre (auditorium) there were many AVO officers in civilian clothes. Many of them could not conceal their anger. One of them said the whole crowd

was reactionary and all of them should be wiped out.

Around 7 o'clock, a busload of university students from Sopron arrived. At about 10 o'clock, two delegations -- one, the delegation of the Budapest University students and the other, the delegation of the Miskolc University students -- also arrived. Both these delegations numbered only two to three students, whereas, the Sopron students were about 50 or 60.

From these delegates we learned what was happening in Budapest. All of the members of the Miskolc delegation spoke not only in the name of the Miskolc University students but also in the name of the young industrial workers of Miskolc. His exact words were, "I am speaking to you not only on the behalf of the Miskolc University students but also in the name of 30,000 young industrial workers of Miskolc."

This statement was received with great cheers and much applause. However, it was a great blow to the Secretary (Party) who was present. The Communist Party Secretary left the room (theatre) for a few minutes. An hour later, a telegram was delivered to the chairman of the meeting in which the industrial workers of Miskolc protested that the students were misrepresenting them. A great commotion followed. The Miskolc delegates and some of our students went to the post office to telephone Miskolc. The students' and young workers' organization in Miskolc knew nothing about the telegram and reinstated the authorization to the delegates to represent them. The delegates and the students came back to the theatre and told the audience about the telephone conversation. It was immediately clear to everyone that the telegram had been a trick planned by the local Party secretary who left the theatre building for a few minutes.

An hour later, another Party secretary arrived straight from Budapest. He received permission to speak and he said, "If you knew what was happening now in Budapest, you would discontinue this illoyal talk against the government." We demanded he tell us what was happening in Budapest. He said that reactionists were demonstrating against the government. According to him, the demonstrators could only be reactionists and Fascists because they were crying slogans, "Down with the Red Star!"

Before midnight, our meeting adopted a resolution listing the demands of the Veszprem University students. Our demands were practically identical with the demands of the Szeged University students. They included the withdrawal of Russian troops and

the uranium mines to be placed under Hungarian control.

We decided to print the resolutions. However, the local printing press was warned in advance by the local AVO not to accept our demands for printing. The old janitor who managed the printing press at the university was ill and could not work for us. Finally, a gymnasium teacher in the audience undertook to publish the demands on the lithograph machine in his school. He had sufficient paper for this.

After midnight, the meeting was adjourned for an indefinite period. Everyone went home and it was decided not to stage a demonstration that night. But, in the dormitories, the students continued in the debate until the early hours of the morning. In general, everyone was satisfied by the outcome of the meeting. What happened that night in the theatre was, in itself, a great achievement.

On the morning of October 24 I went to the university as usual. That night, the leaflets containing our demands had been lithographed and already distributed. Some 3000-4000 copies were already handed out. I was hardly able to get a copy for myself.

At the university, no one wanted to start work that day. Everyone was discussing the happenings of the previous night, and, we already heard through the radio of what was going on in Budapest. The radio announced that counter-revolutionary bands were plundering and looting in Budapest. This announcement was repeated every half hour and the radio continued to play the same two or three records the whole day. We realized immediately that the program did not come from the studio proper but from some Army radio truck. The radio also announced that the Hungarian Army was liquidating these counter-revolutionary bands and order would be restored very shortly. Of course none believed this announcement and everyone waited with excitement to see what was going to happen.

The professors attempted to keep all the students occupied in small groups of 20 or 30. Each group was in the charge of a professor or assistant professor. In this way we were distributed among the three buildings of the university. Nevertheless, everyone talked politics. Even students and professors whom we thought were Communists by conviction spoke openly and criticized the regime and Communism.

Although the faculty attempted to keep us separated, the officers elected to the new federation of students the previous day, already convened and took over the offices of the DISZ. They immediately organized a radio monitoring service. They also established telephone contact with universities of Budapest, Sopron, Miskolc and Pecs. In this way we were fully informed of the events taking place in the capital and the other university cities.

We were much better informed than the AVO was. The AVO demanded, by phone, that we give them our information. When we refused to do so, they disconnected our lines with other university cities. Evidently, they had been listening in on our telephone conversations. Later, we had some difficulty in re-establishing contact with these student organizations.

All the leaflets lithographed the previous night, had been distributed and more were needed. A few students attempted to go again to the local printing shop and to try to get out demands published. But, there they were confronted by an ex-classmate who was now serving in the AVO as an officer. He pulled the gun on us and said, "Get away from here, or, I'll shoot." When the students came back and told us what happened it caused much indignation among students.

After this, the professors wanted to keep us out of trouble even more and forbade us to leave the building. Guards were stationed at the gateway and no one was permitted to enter. The faculty said that all this was for our best interests. The university has special privileges under which no police or military authority could enter the building without the consent of the faculty.

But inside the building everything was in an uproar. Amplifiers were rigged in the large auditoriums and were tuned in on the programs of the foreign radios. The students and professors, in small groups, were discussing the events everywhere. To my great amazement, even the professor of Marxism whom I thought to be a Communist by conviction, openly criticized the Communists and, was also in favor of the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary. He said that he was also almost arrested a few weeks before at the local Party meeting because he mentioned the fact that it would be advisable for the Russians to leave the country. He said that many of his students in class asked him why the Russians were still here, and, he was unable to give them the answer. In his opinion, he was not arrested only because the Communists wanted to avoid the publicity which his arrest would have caused.

Some soldiers in the AVO wanted to come into the building and, they said their purpose was to calm the students. But, the faculty refused them permission.

The university's Department of Military Science already began to brief the boys on how to handle arms. Practically everyone in the school had already undergone military training. But, it was thought advisable to review their knowledge on arms because it was expected that it may be necessary to protect ourselves against the AVO. The Military Science Department organized companies and squads. By this time we knew that fighting had flared up in Budapest.

A large crowd of civilians surrounded the university buildings. They were dissatisfied with our inaction. Some of them denounced us as Communists and said that we were sitting on our bottoms while the other students in Budapest were fighting against the Russians and the AVO. We felt very badly about this. On the other hand, the popular professors were begging us, with tears in their eyes, to remain quiet and not go out into the street. It was almost midnight and the crowd was still there. We were told not to turn the lights on in the classrooms facing the street. Around midnight we started to steal out of the building through rear windows and coalshutes. We went home to the dormitories. Soon the crowd realized that there was no one in the building and it dispersed.

During the next two days the faculty made several attempts to restore order in the school and told us to resume classes. No one obeyed these orders. We were very much embittered by the unjust opinion of the civilian population about us. We soon realized that the faculty which had many prominent Communists was leading us by the nose.

Demonstrations were held in Veszprem on October 24 and 25th. On October 24 the crowd went to the Soviet monument and tore down the red star on its top. Firemen came out and attempted to disperse the crowd by splashing water on it. After the firemen went away the crowd returned and completed its destruction of the Soviet monument.

The demonstration led to the monument of the 1848 war heroes. Here poems were recited, speeches were held. The slogans during these demonstrations were, "Down with Gero", "Ruskis go home!" "Down with the AVO." Wherever the crowd went, it destroyed the red stars it saw.

For about one or two days after the meeting in the theatre, the AVH was very active. It spread out its men in civilian clothes in groups of ten. They were stationed everywhere in the city. Some of the university students who attempted to send telegrams to other university students in Miskolc, Budapest, Pecs and Sopron were arrested by the AVH when they attempted to send these telegrams at the telegram office. When the influential Communist professors heard about this, they immediately took a taxi and went to the AVH headquarters and demanded the release of the boys. The AVH let these boys out.

Soon after that, the AVH disappeared entirely. We later found out that the AVH packed its families and went collectively to the commander of the Russian troops in Szabadi which is near Veszprem. A Russian tank division was stationed there and the officers and their families who previously resided in Veszprem also went there. We heard that the commander of the Russian troops disarmed the AVH men and, after a time, sent them away without their arms. Evidently, the Russians feared that the Hungarians, in their hatred of the AVH would go after the AVH men and attack the Russians. The AVH men came back secretly to the city only after midnight to visit their flats and homes. They again acquired some arms. Evidently, they had the arms hidden in their homes. Very often they would shoot at civilians, soldiers, and students. After firing a few shots, they would flee. The gradual rounding-up of these AVH men continued until November 4. The captured AVH men were taken to the Veszprem prison. Previously the political prisoners had been freed from the prison and now, the prison was guarded by the Army. Some of the AVH men who had nothing to fear reported voluntarily.

When we heard that the students were fighting in Budapest, we also demanded to be armed. The local military commander of Veszprem was Lt. Col. Santha. He refused to give us arms, and when he saw that the soldiers in the nearby camp of Hajmasker were sympathizing with us he took away their ammunition. The soldiers were sympathizing with the students because one of the demands we published was that military service should be reduced to 12 months. In general, the junior officers, from Captain downward, also sympathized with us.

In Veszprem there was a barracks at which a regiment of AVH guardsmen was stationed. These AVH guardsmen were regular drafted soldiers who were assigned to this duty. They wore

blue insignias. When the demonstrations started, overnight they changed their uniforms to red insignias. This was the insignia of the artillery. When we inquired why they changed their uniforms, they told us that they sided with us and did not want to be mistaken for AVH men.

One of the captains of the AVH guardsmen was in favor of arming us. He knew that the Lt. Col. in command opposed this plan. Nevertheless, he told us to get military trucks and drive to the Danubia barracks nearby. When we reached the barracks, we found it was empty and there were no arms there. However, we found a large supply of military boots, trousers and underwear. We received boots and uniforms, but at our own request, we wore only military trousers and boots and retained our own coats. We did not want to be mistaken for regular soldiers.

A few days later this captain supplied us with submachine guns, ammunition, and hand grenades. The university also got some heavy machine guns and a few anti-tank guns.

There was an amateur short-wave radio club in the university. With this club's equipment and the equipment we had found at the university we set up a radio station that began to broadcast a program of news. It was called Radio Free Veszprem. It could be heard in the radius of 300 kilometers. The building in which the radio station operated was heavily guarded. No one without a proper pass was allowed in the building. On October 25, a revolutionary council was formed in Veszprem. This council was elected by the representatives of the university students, workers, small tradesmen and officials. The representatives of the Army were also there. At this meeting a revolutionary council consisting of 30 persons was elected. Later that number had to be reduced to 15 because that is more practical.

When the revolutionary council was set up it formed a civilian militia. Patrols consisting of one soldier, one blue policeman, one university student and one worker patrolled the streets day and night. The major task of this militia was to round up the AVH officers. Some of them were continuing this type shooting and many of them were still returning secretly to their homes at night.

The militia arrested a large number of AVH personnel. Some of them had a large amount of ammunition and arms concealed in secret cupboards in their homes. On one occasion the guards ~~arrested~~ stopped a car. The car was decorated with Hungarian flags and it bore a sign stating that it belonged to the students' revolutionary council in Budapest. On the rear seat of the car, however, a heavy machinegun was installed. Occupants

of the car turned out to be AVH men. They were taken to the Veszprem prison. Until November 4 the university buildings were converted practically to barracks. Uniforms, guns, ammunition could be seen everywhere. The students received their meals at the university in army mess kits.

At that time everyone was enthusiastic. Almost the entire city took part in the demonstration. No one thought about the consequences. Everyone was certain that the revolution would be victorious. We were certain that the government would restore liberty and freedom in Hungary.

I do not know where the idea of forming revolutionary councils comes from. No such instructions were broadcast over the radio. The majority of the members in the university revolutionary council consisted of professors. But when the students saw that these professors were too cautious, then the revolutionary councils of the students were taken over by the students themselves.

I must note that we were not entirely satisfied with the composition of the Veszprem revolutionary council. For example, the Lt. Col. Santha, whom I'd mentioned before, was also a member of this council. He was the man who previously refused to give arms to the university students. He seemed to be opposed to the revolution, and was always awaiting instructions from the Ministry for Home Defense.

C.

The Russian re-invasion took us completely by surprise.

We felt that the revolution had succeeded in that the Russians were leaving Hungary. From the windows of the student dormitories we were able to see the Russian planes landing and taking off the airfield just outside of Veszprem. Most of us thought that the Russian planes were taking the Russians home. However, some of the students were suspicious that the planes seemed to be loaded when they were landing.

We knew that outside of Veszprem 120 Hungarian anti-tank guns were lined up. We were confident that a tank attack against Veszprem would be repelled.

On the morning of November 4 we were awakened by machine gun fire at about 4:15 a.m. Russian tanks and armored cars were firing at the outskirts of the city. The students on duty at the university sounded the alarm to the students at the dormitories by telephone. Every student had in his possession submachine guns, pistols, ammunition, and hand grenades. The officers of the university's military science dept. allowed us to take ammunition and arms home. They knew that in the case of a surprise attack it was best to have the arms in our possession.

Everyone dressed hurriedly. But, by the time we were ready to start for the university, the telephone contact between the dormitories and the university had been severed. From this we knew that the Russians had captured the university.

When the Russians started their attack on the city there was no opposition whatsoever. They fired on every building in which they saw a light. Many buildings were in flames.

The student dormitories were in the citadel of Veszprem. The narrow road leading from the citadel to the university was blocked by Russian tanks. We were forced to return. Some of the students wanted to try to sneak out of the citadel by a back road. But we received information by telephone from a building near the university that the Russian tanks had surrounded the university buildings and that the students in the university had surrendered.

Later we found out that the Russians surrounded the university with tanks and disarmed the guards. The disarmed students were rounded into a large auditorium and there they were guarded by Russian soldiers. The Russians searched them, taking away their wrist watches, fountain pens, money, wallets, pocket knives. The students were kept in the university building until about 8 o'clock. Then, they were released. But 200 yards from the university building they again started to round the students up. This was a trick of the Russians that they did not want to harm the university students.

In the meantime, we, who were in the student dormitories in the citadel decided that it was better for us to stay there. From this favorable position we were able to throw hand grenades upon the Russians and to fire on them from submachine guns. Regretably, we had no mine throwers or heavy machine guns. Such arms were left at the university which was now captured by the Russians.

The Russians tried to approach us in tanks but we were able to shoot off their chains with the aid of hand grenades. When the Russians attempted to come out of their tanks to repair the chain of their tank we shot at them and they retreated. Finally, they radioed for help and two other tanks came and covered them while they repaired their tanks. Then, all three tanks left. This fighting continued until about 10 a.m.

By that time we were able to smuggle into the citadel a heavy machine gun, several cases of hand grenades and many bottles filled with gasoline for Molotov cocktails. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ When the fighting started, some of the students still had time to place supplies of grenades and ammunition at convenient places everywhere in the city.

We learned that the other student dormitory which was in the market place had been surrounded by Russian tanks. The boys woke up only when the Russian tanks began firing at their windows. All of them were captured. They were taken to the city prison.

All of the AVH officers who were in custody at the city prison were released by the Russians. Previously it had been agreed that should the Russians or anyone else try to attack the city, the soldier who were guarding the AVH men would immediately kill them. But the attack on Veszprem came entirely by surprise, or perhaps, the guards were unwilling to carry out this unpleasant assignment. Therefore, all of the AVH men were saved by the Russians.

By 11 o'clock we saw that the citadel was completely surrounded by the Russians. They had captured such strategic positions as the post office, the barracks, the national bank. We saw them looting the bank and the stores.

We realized that we were in a precarious position. We did not know what to do. Regretably, there was no one among us who was willing to assume the responsibility of taking command. Our indecision was so great that in the matter of an hour we hid our arms about three times and took them out again. I finally decided to leave the dormitory and to go to an acquaintance who lived nearby.

On my way I saw that all the students and civilians were armed with submachine guns and hand grenades. Five or six students were concealed on an arch gateway which led to the entrance of the citadel. They were ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ armed with submachine guns, machine guns and hand grenades and had also bottles of gasoline. Their plan was to let the first tank approach

and to ~~smatxixmxx~~ explode it. This would block the narrow road for the other tanks and they would not be able to come near the citadel.

I reached the house of my friend without greater difficulties. I was already in the house, when, from out of the window of this house I saw a Russian tank approaching. It was a T-34. One of the students on top of the archgate seemed to me to be very nervous. He began firing at the tank too soon. He should have waited until the tank approached at least 10 meters closer. In this way they were unable to explode the tank with gasoline bottles. The tank stopped and shot the gateway to pieces with its heavy gun.

A machine gun nest was concealed in the entrance of the building where I was. From here students began firing at the Russian infantry which came behind the tanks. The Russians suffered heavy losses. The tank silenced the machine gun with one shot.

I realized that the Russians would come and search the house. I saw Russian soldiers approaching. I threw away my sub-machine gun and grenades, took off my uniform, donned civilian clothes and jumped out of the rear window. I went into the house next door through the rear entrance. I went into a room where about 20 people were sitting and sat down among them without saying a word. A few minutes later, the Russians came and searched everyone for arms. They were very rude and threatened to shoot everyone. They were looking mainly for students. One of the women in the room could speak some Russian. She told the Russians that her husband was an AVH man who had been arrested by the students. I felt very uncomfortable, but this woman did not betray me. Perhaps she did not know that I was a student. The Russians said that anyone leaving the room would be shot immediately. They went away and never returned.

I spent the night in this crowded room sitting on a chair beside a broken window. It was very cold. Outside, the Russians were constantly firing rockets. It was as bright as daylight. I could have read a newspaper.

From the window I saw that both the Russians and the civilians were building barricades in the city. Later I heard that the Russians were able to approach the dormitories in the citadel only with tanks, but, they did not dare leave the tanks.

The fighting in Veszprem stopped only by noon the next day. Before that, Russian fighter planes were constantly diving over the city and firing from their machine guns.

I heard that the Russians took everyone who was found in the citadel to the prison. The Bishop of Veszprem and his secretary were also taken to prison and kept there for over one day. The charges against him were that he harbored the students, giving them medical treatment when they were wounded and feeding them. One of the Russian soldiers ~~xxxx~~ stole the bishop's gold cross.

I did not consider it advisable to remain in the house where this AVH woman lived. Therefore, the next day, as soon as it was possible I ~~xx~~ crawled on hands and knees to three houses further where I had friends. I stayed with them for several days. From their window I saw the Russians herding people to the prison. The captives were made to march with their hands raised. I saw the Russians shoot one man in the head because he did not raise his hands high enough. I later heard that three other cases of this kind occurred.

The city slowly quieted down, but a curfew was imposed and no one was permitted to go out on the street after dark. It was not advisable to be on the street even in daylight. The Russians were inclined to arrest anyone who looked suspicious to them and march him off to prison.

On November 8 I saw a convoy of Russian trucks taking prisoners, mostly students, to the railroad station. There were ten prisoners ~~xxxxxxx~~ sitting on the floor of each truck and an armed guard with a submachine gun stood in each corner of the truck. We had no news of these prisoners for several weeks. We later heard that these students and other prisoners were returned to Veszprem after about six or eight weeks. They said that they had been taken ~~x~~ by train ^{sub-Carpathian} Russia to Uzhorod. Their hair was cut short. ~~xxxxxx~~ Here they were questioned and photographed. ~~xxx~~ They were allowed to return home with the warning that should anything happen in Hungary they would be the first to be re-arrested.

The Russians looted everything they could put their hands on. One became accustomed to such sights as bundles of pillows and quilts tied to the sides of T-34s.

I was able to start home to Győr, to my parents, only on November 12. The train started from Veszprem at 5 p.m. That day we

were able to go only as far as Veszpremsany. By that time it became dark and the curfew was enforced. The stationmaster advised us to stay in the train and not to leave it. Russians were everywhere around the railroad station.

RESUMED

The next morning the train, its journey to Gyor. Here in the city proper there were no Russians. The railroad station was full of people who were evidently wanting to go to Austria. Everyone ~~xxxxx~~ spoke of this openly. The conductors jokingly said, "All aboard for Vienna." Taxis in front of the station were offering to take people to the border for 300 forints a person.

Until then I had not thought of leaving the country. I was eligible for my diploma and I wanted to finish my studies. But a few days later university students I knew came and said that the AVH was already looking for them. A colleague came and visited me in Gyor saying that the AVH was after him also. Then I realized that this was no joking matter and that it was most ~~af~~ advisable for me to leave the country. I talked the matter over with my parents and they permitted me to go most reluctantly.

With a friend I left Gyor for Hegyeshalom on November 22. We went by train. At one station before our final destination ~~wxxxxxx~~ the train was checked by Russians and by policemen. We knew then that most of the police men were AVH men. The majority of the passengers became panicky and ran from the trains in every direction. The Russians did not shoot at them but laughed. They got trucks and rounded them up.

AS

We were extremely lucky inasmuch ~~that~~ we remained in the train. A Hungarian policeman began checking the passengers at our end of the car. ~~we~~ He was suspicious of us, but, did not say anything. The Russians began checking the passengers from the rear of the car. They took many young people into custody. They did not come to us because they saw the Hungarian policeman had already checked us.

The train was a small motor train. After it left the station where this checking occurred we spoke with the engineer. We wanted him to stop the train at one point nearest the border. He said that he was willing to do so but advised us to go to Hegyeshalom instead, and there he would tell a railroad friend of his to show us the way. We accepted his advice and went ~~as~~ as far as Hegyeshalom. There he introduced us to his friend.

The old railroad worker willingly showed us the way. But he MADE a condition that we follow him at a distance and not to speak to him. He told us to follow him under the cover of shrubs and bushes whenever this was possible. We went, in this way, for several hundred yards. He then told us that the Austrian border was near and showed us the direction. We started to run and ran several hundred yards. We stopped only when we were far in Austrian territory.

This railroad worker was unwilling to accept anything for his services. We started from Gyor at 9 a.m. and at 12 noon we were already in Austria.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A.

During the revolution we expected effective aid from the Western countries through the UN. We were confident that the Russians were going to leave the country for good. We thought that perhaps the UN would send paratroopers in to HUNGARY. The Western radios, especially Radio Free Europe, urged us to keep on just a bit longer. They said that aid was coming.

B.

I thought that Western military aid was forthcoming because Hungary lies on the border of the Russian empire and it would have been in the interest of the West to take Hungary into its sphere of influence. I did not believe what the Communist press previously wrote about the West preparing to stage a World War III.

C.

From the outbreak of the revolution until I came to Austria I had no contact of any kind with foreigners.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDE

A.

Before and during World ^{WAR} II, my father was a truck driver. After 1945 he became a mechanic in a textile factory in Gyor. I did not know what my father's salary was before and during the war. His last income was an average 1,100 to 1,200 forints per month.

My parents did not own any real estate property. Both of them completed only ~~six years~~ six years of grade school.

B.

The social classes in Hungary are the industrial workers, the peasants, and the intellectuals. ~~There are~~ There are also the small tradesmen who can be classed with the intellegentsia.

AS A I had contact with all these classes. The industrial workers ~~of the~~ class are a necessity. Society cannot exist without them. In general, the individuals belonging to this class are assets to society.

The intellegentsia must play the leading role in society. Value of the individual belonging to this class always varies according to the person concerned.

The Hungarian peasants are very diligent people.

Personally, I stand half-way between the industrial workers and the intellegentsia. By birth, I come from an industrial worker's family. But, by profession, I belong to the intellegentsia.

Of all social classes, the Hungarian peasantry was hardest hit by Communism. The compulsory surrendering of crops affected them very much. They had practically nothing left for their labor.

C.

The industrial workers did not look with favor upon the peasantry's practice of seeking seasonal work in the industrial factories during winter. They felt that the peasants were able to make

their living in the country and should not take away jobs from other industrial workers. The peasantry, in turn, did not deem this attitude of the industrial workers as reasonable. They wanted to earn some extra money in the factories, but when farm work started they immediately left the factories and went back to the land. Because of their preference for agricultural work, the foremen were reluctant to hire them.

To a certain extent the intellegentsia was mistrusted by both the peasantry and the industrial workers. Some members of this class were inclined to look on the other classes with disdain.

During the years immediately before the revolution there was a general inclination of the classes to come to a general understanding.

E

Immediately after the close of World War II, education and talent played a less important role in determining a person's chances of getting ahead. The greatest emphasis was placed on a ~~xxxxxxx~~ person's cadre report. Political belief and origin were the most important factors. Talent and education played a secondary role.

In later years the Communists realized the mistake of placing the main emphasis on a person's political beliefs and class origin. After that, an equal emphasis was placed on the person's talent and education.

As an individual, the person most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary is a person without convictions. He must be ambitious and it must be of no significance to him to say one thing today and the exact opposite of it tomorrow.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A

Communism had a destructive effect on family life in Hungary. It caused a general decline in morals. Labor conditions often tore families apart. Everyone had to work. Sometimes the wife would work the day shift and the husband the night shift. They would hardly meet.

B

Communism in Hungary also had a great influence on the education of the children. From the very earliest age, the children were taught that the day nursery and school were better than the home. The Communists attempted to indoctrinate the children with their creed. They wanted the children to grow up in Communist surroundings, take it for granted, and never think about it. For the older children, political indoctrination continued in the Pioneer Camps. Concerning the effects on adolescent children, much depended on what kind of schools they attended. If the children attended secondary schools, very often they lived at home and did not miss the influence of family life. On the other hand, the industrial apprentices who lived in the MKH homes were separated from their parents and families, and the effects of Communism on them were even more detrimental.

The disobedience of children shows a strong increase in all areas. Disobedience in religious questions was almost complete.

The increase of disobedience is due to improper educational methods. Physical punishments was banned in all schools. This affected the discipline of the children at home also. Only a very strict and severe parent could counterbalance the lack of discipline in schools.

This change is not seen in all social classes. The greatest degree of disobedience can be noticed in the children of the peasants and industrial workers. This was due to the fact that most of these children got away from the family surroundings very early.

C

Marriages under Communism were more irresponsible than before. The intentions in courtships were mostly dishonorable. The result was many divorces after comparatively short periods of marriage.

Under Communism it was much easier to get acquainted with someone of the opposite sex than before. Formalities and rules of etiquette, in this respect, were abandoned. Ample opportunity was provided for the young people to get acquainted with each other. Communist youth organizations staged dances, parties, etc. very often. Sexual life in general became more intensive. The number of illegitimate children increased despite the fact that abortion was allowed.

When the Russians came into Hungary in 1945, abortions were permitted. A year later they were prohibited. Later on, they were again allowed and again prohibited. About a year and a half before the revolution they were again allowed.

I was too young to take notice of what effects World War II had on morals in general. But, I think that the conduct of Russians in 1945 was a bad example to many Hungarians.

There was secret prostitution in the last years under Communism. Licensed prostitution ceased in 1951.

The Communist government did everything possible to check the moral decline in Hungary. The Communist Party demanded of its members the observance of rules of Communist morality.

Practically nothing appeared in the Communist papers about sexual problems. But, it was a frequent topic of discussion especially among persons of the same sex.

The degree of sexual inhibitions in Communists cannot be judged in general. It always depends on the individual.

D

If, in Communist Hungary, a friend of mine would have joined the Communist Party the outcome of that friendship would have depended on what kind of Party member he became. If he joined the Party only to keep his and be able to support his family

Job

the friendship would continue. But, if he should have become a Communist by conviction, then, he would cease to be a friend and would remain only an acquaintance. If the friendship would cease, he would most probably be the one who would break it. It would be impossible to continue a friendship with a Communist by conviction.

E

I am unable to give you exact figures, but, it is my impression that crimes against property have increased under Communism. This applies especially to crimes against government property. Feeling exploited and defrauded by the government, no one had pangs of conscience against defrauding or stealing from the government. Everyone compensated himself in the best way he could.

I do not know the crime rate for such crimes as robbery, murder, etc. Nor am I able to say whether the criminality of women increased or declined. But, I presume that there was an increase in juvenile delinquency because of the deterioration of education.

I think that the Communist police force, that is, the Blue Police, were less effective than the police force under the previous regime.

I was too young to remember how much people drank before and during the war. But I think that there was an increase in alcoholism. Probably this was the reason why the government increased the price of alcohol to three times its previous price about six months before the outbreak of the revolution.

Hooligans were the young people who wanted to obtain the money for recreation without work. This was a more frequent phenomena in the city. Their age was generally from 17 to 20. The reason for its increase was the very fact that the parents themselves did not have the time to look after their children.

The Communist press preferred to neglect the question of hooliganism. But when it became more widespread they were forced to discuss it.

VII. RELIGION

A

Communism did have a great effect on religious life in Hungary. The freedom of religion existed only in principle. If one was seen going to church, there would appear a bad mark on one's ~~fixaxaxax~~ information sheet. The clergy in general was considered to be reactionary.

We had to listen to lectures in schools in which the Communists tried to explain the origin of religion. Religion was described as a habit or a superstition. It was propagated only because of the great financial benefits derived from it by the clergy.

Those churches were hit hardest by the Communists that offered the most resistance. They were: 1) the Catholic church and 2) the Protestant churches. Communism did not affect the Jewish religion so much as the others. The reason for this is probably that so many Jews were Communists.

B

Religion plays an important role in my life. I think it is just as important to me as it is to my parents. I am a Catholic who goes to church regularly -- I go to confession and communion. I think that I am more religious than the people in Hungary in general.

C

I think it would be necessary to make the teaching of religion compulsory in secondary schools and voluntary in the universities and colleges. I think that the churches are entitled to exercise censorship over books, plays, cinemas, etc. Such things have a great influence on people, especially adolescents.

It is not desirable for the church to play an active part in politics directly. But I would not prohibit the clergy from accepting a political office.

I do not think that the Jewish ~~religion~~ religion had been affected by Communism. The reason for this, as I have already mentioned, is that so many Jews were Communists.

Jews in general considered membership in the Communist Party a means of acquiring good jobs and good pay. I do not know whether the attitude of the Jews toward Communism underwent changes or not during the last ten years. But, it is certain they were the first ones out of Hungary when it was possible to leave the country during the revolution. Their views on Communism probably underwent a change, but, it is very difficult to say what motives led them to become members of the Communist Party. Some of them may have been Communists by conviction; others may have joined merely to get a better chance of getting ahead in life.

The ratio of Jewish Communists in proportion to the total number of Communist members was comparatively small. On the other hand, the great majority of Communist Jews occupied high posts and positions in the Party. Perhaps, not even a half of the Jews were Communist Party members. More than likely, they joined the Party for selfish interests and not because of conviction. There were very few Communists by conviction in Hungary.

The Jews remained quiet during the demonstrations and during the fighting. When the western frontiers were opened, they were the first ones to leave the country. I, personally, did not see one single Jew take part in the demonstration during the fighting. There were many Jewish students in our university. But after October 24th, all of them left for home.

It is possible that some Jews were afraid of an independent Hungary. The reason for it is that so many top Communist Party officials were Jews. Because of this, anti-Communism, to a certain extent, also meant anti-Semitism.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A

By Hungarian youth one generally means the young people between 15 to 25.

B

I agree that the Hungarian youth played the major role in the revolution.

There were no definite preparations for the revolution six months prior to it. However, the Hungarian youth conducted debates on the political and economical situation and expressed their dissatisfaction. The Petofi Circles and other such circles were organized by the SZIT.

It is simple to explain why the youth lead the revolution. About 70 percent of the Hungarian students came from peasant and workers' families. They were better educated than their parents. On the other hand, the industrial workers and peasants had confidence in the Hungarian youth.

During the revolution the older people had a very high opinion of the Hungarian youth. Only when the revolution was crushed did some of the older people complain that it was not worth the while and sacrifice.

C

In general, students were taught more in the Communist schools than in the same schools before and during the war. The same thing can be said about the first years of the post-war regime. For example, I was surprised to see that my younger sister was studying almost the same things in physics that we studied in the gymnasium.

The curriculum of the universities was ~~xxxx~~ also widened. Often the ~~xxx~~ newspapers complained that the students were overburdened with studies.

At one time the Communists layed great emphasis on the specialization of education. They wanted the greatest number of specialists possible in the shortest time. However, this did not work out well in practice. A typical example of this is the Veszprem University of Chemistry. Previously, it consisted of four separate schools, namely, the School of Electro-Chemistry, the School of Silicote Industrial Chemistry, the School of Coal Chemistry, and the School of Inorganic Chemistry. The curriculum in each school was four years. But, when I began my studies in 1952, the separate schools within the university were abolished. The curriculum was raised to five years. During the first four years all subjects for all students were similar. The students were permitted to choose a specialty only in the fifth year.

The choice of a vocation was restricted by the mere fact that not everyone was permitted to study, and if he was permitted to study, he could not attend the school he wanted to. First of all, the political background and class origin of the prospective student were taken into consideration. But, in the years just before the revolution, the Communists layed equal emphasis on political background and educational qualifications as well.

A great deal was demanded of the students in our university. An example of this is our class. When we began, we were 260 students in the first years. At the beginning of the fifth year this number dropped to 140. We were so overburdened with subjects and lessons that an average student could consider himself lucky if he was able to pass.

The professors at our university were well qualified for their jobs. Some of them were Communists, but even so, they had good qualifications. Many a professor was proud of the fact that he had studied in some Western university and, many of them criticized openly Soviet and Communist industrial and economic methods.

E

The political indoctrination of the youth was conducted mostly through the DISZ. Every student enrolled in any school was automatically a member of the DISZ. By the time the instructions for political indoctrination got down to Veszprem from Budapest

the local DISZ people were inclined to regard it, ^{AS} less important than the people in Budapest. In the last two years before the revolution nobody cared much about the DISZ indoctrination classes. Previously, it was necessary to attend them because otherwise one did not receive scholarships and tuition. Usually, a professor of the school was in charge of the DISZ organization. Some students showed activity in the DISZ because by pleasing the professor in charge they hoped to get better marks in the examinations. But, really, no one cared about the organization.

We have already spoken about the failure of the Communists' attempt to indoctrinate the youth and the reasons for this. A person has to be very stupid indeed to believe something -- the opposite of which he can experience in everyday life.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. In the main, dissatisfactions in Hungary can be laid to one thing and that is the extremely low wages. Under Communism, a phrase was coined in Hungary and according to it, "if you worked, you did not have time to earn money".

B. The other causes for complaint in everyday life in Hungary were: bad transportation facilities, constant police supervision and the always-changing production norms.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A

During the last years in Communist Hungary I had constant financial difficulties.

I lived in a students' home, sharing one room with three other students. In this respect I could consider myself fortunate because other students were living six, eight, and even ten to a room. We also received our meals there. The food was good, but there was never enough. It had to be supplemented by parcels from home.

In the matter of clothes, I was also fortunate. Before I started my university studies in 1952, I worked in a factory as a laborer for one year. By living at home I was able to save my pay and, from this money, I bought myself three suits. These three suits, and another suit my parents bought me were enough to last me the five years of my university studies.

Such things as frequent cinema and theatre tickets, boat rides, skating, outings, I considered a luxury. The things I bought were all of equal importance to me. If I bought such things as books I had to economize on food, and, vice versa.

I think that the standard of living of my family has increased in comparison to its pre-war standard. This is due to the fact that at that time all children were small. Now my two sisters are working and are contributing to the support of the family.

Our standard of living was highest in 1955-56, and lowest, probably, in 1952.

Among my acquaintances there was a family which lived extremely well. The father was a gentlemen's tailor in Veszprem. They had seven children ranging from 25 to six years of age. The oldest child was a chemical engineer. A 22-year old boy was studying music at the Budapest Conservatory; a 20-year daughter was a school teacher; another 18-year daughter just graduated from the gymnasium; there were two smaller boys attending grade school and the youngest child, a daughter, was still in kindergarten. They had a house of their own but that was now occupied by the Russian officers and their families. They rented a five-room house with bathroom, hall, and kitchen. Their home was nicely furnished and they ate good food with meat two or three times a week. The family always wore decent clothing.

This tailor was a very diligent man and a very good craftsman in his field. Before the war he had owned a small clothing store in Veszprem. This was taken away from him after the war. For a time he tried to work in a tailor's cooperative. Later, he opened a shop of his own and kept only one apprentice. He worked from early morning until 10 or 11 p.m.

In general, the standard of living in Hungary increased until 1952. For a few years it remained unchanged. After that it showed a sharp decline. This decline in the standard of living was caused by extremely high norms and over-industrialization.

B

During my university years my scholarship ranged from 320-460 forints a month. From this I paid 90 forints, later 50 forints, for a room and 201 forints a month for meals.

At home, my father's average income was 1,100-1,200 forints a month. From this amount 3 per cent was deducted for old age pension and five per cent for trade union fees. Deductions were also made for payments on the compulsory government loans. These loans had to be paid in ten equal monthly installments. The deductions always depended on the amount of government loans the persons concerned subscribed for.

Sometimes my father would have to work overtime and, as long as the children were in school he received 70 forints a month for two children. But overtime pay and allowance for children are already included in the 1,100-1,200 forints I mentioned. My father had no secondary source of income.

My eldest sister was a stenographer employed by a trade union organization and earned 1,000 forints a month. My younger sister was a clerk in the social security agency and earned 850 forints a month.

Once my father received a raise of 200 forints per month. I do not remember exactly in what year this occurred. This was a personal raise and in no connection with the general wage increase.

C

In general, food products were cheaper in the government stores than on the producers market. For example, the peasant was compelled to surrender eggs at 30 fillers apiece. The government stores sold these eggs to consumers at 1 forint 20 fillers apiece. The eggs that the producers were permitted to sell directly to the consumers were sold at two forints apiece.

In the State Commission stores one could only get second-hand articles. Clothes were sold only in government stores. There were practically no privately-owned clothing stores.

The laws of supply and demand regulated the free market. At a higher price one could get such food items on the free market which were not available then at the government stores. The price differentials were usually the same each year.

The quality of goods, especially that of textiles, was extremely poor immediately after the war. Later on the quality improved because in each factory so-called quality control departments were set up.

There was a lot of confusion in connection with the retail distribution of goods in Hungary. For example, it very often happened that one store would have a certain size of shoes but no other sizes, while other stores lacked this size. Very often the village stores would not have the articles needed by the rural population. At the same time these articles were obtainable in the city stores where no one needed them. For example such items as lamp cylinders.

It was very difficult to get spare parts. Such items as bicycle chains were sometimes unattainable. It was even more difficult to get parts for a sewing machine.

In private households there was no spoilage or waste of food. There may have been some waste of food in factory and office kitchens and similar places.

There was a recurring shortage of such items as rice, fats, and meat. Sometimes certain ^{grades} of flour were unavailable, in order to compel customers to buy higher-priced flour. Such spices as paprika and black pepper were frequently unobtainable. It was impossible to buy such items as ~~citric~~ fruits, dates, figs, etc.

CITRUS

If one was hardpressed for something, the last resort was to purchase it on the black market. For example, at one time I was unable to buy bicycle chains. For this reason I asked a friend who was going to Czechoslovakia for a vacation to buy me some bicycle chains and to smuggle them back into Hungary.

After the introduction of the forint the black markets and trades in black market were restricted to such items as were smuggled into Hungary from abroad. Watches, nylons, cocoa, chocolates, tea, coffee were among these items. Some people made a living out of this. It was easy to make black market deals with the Russians while they were still stationed in Austria. The Russians brought in large quantities of nylons, watches, emeralds, etc. It was possible to buy 10-15 watches from a Ruski for a price of 300 forints apiece. The person in turn could sell these watches for a price of 800 forints apiece. The price of the same watch, for example, Doxa, was 1,260 forints in the stores.

I don't think that retail stores dare to sell scarce articles ~~at~~ at the higher price. This would have been too dangerous for them. Nor have I heard of cases where storekeepers made the customer buy something else that he did not need in order to obtain some scarce article.

Black market operations in general were very dangerous. The minimum punishment was one year's imprisonment, depending mostly on the price of the goods involved.

D

Before leaving Hungary, I was a student, but, I worked from June 1951 until September 1952 as a laborer in a paint factory in Gyor. At that time we worked 8 1/2 hours a day -- that is, from 6 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. There was a quarter of an hour break for breakfast and a 20-minute break for lunch. But, ~~in course of the five minute movement~~ we had to be at our place of work five minutes before work started. In accordance with this our factory clocks were set five minutes ahead.

I usually slept 6 1/2 - 7 hours a night. As a rule I rode to work on my bike. This required 20 minutes each way.

I wanted to continue my studies. I considered this job only a temporary one. I did not mind what I was doing as long as I was paid for it. I was on very good terms with my col-

leagues. I had respect for my superiors and foremen but did not fear them. Most of them, especially the older workers had much experience and know-how. The director of the factory was a Party member who knew nothing about production.

Every employe had social security benefits. It is interesting that in the last few years before the revolution the government introduced a new restriction in connection with accidents. If there was evidence to the effect that the accident was caused by the employe who was injured in the course of this accident he received no social security benefits.

In case of illness every employe could receive social security benefits only for six months continuously. If, after the six months, he worked just one day he could receive social security benefits for six more months. There was an exception to this rule in the case of those employees who were hospitalized. In case of illness a person received 60 per cent of his past average pay if he had no dependents. In case of dependants he received 75 per cent of his pay.

In case of disability social security payments depended on the percentage of disability. The percentage of disability was established by the medical board.

For a long time old age pensions were paid only to persons after 65. Old people complained that these pensions were very small. In the last months before the revolution this age limit was lowered.

There was too much bureaucracy in connection with the vacation programs for workers. You had to have influence or good contacts to be able to get a reservation in a good resort.

E

In Hungary I would rather live in the provincial towns or cities rather than Budapest.

I think that the city population in Hungary ate a larger variety of foods, but the peasantry ate more. The standard of living was higher in the cities. I think that the rural population of Hungary was not pestered so much by politics and Party organs as in the cities. But this varied and it always depended on the person in charge of political activity. For example in the paint factory where I worked we were not bothered with politics at all.

When the collectivization of farms was first introduced in Hungary it sounded good theoretically. Had this program been carried out by experts on a voluntary basis it would have improved agricultural conditions in Hungary tremendously. But now I think that the American system of farming is much better. Private enterprise and individual interests are better incentives.

I think that the entire rural population of Hungary, that is, both peasants and kulaks alike objected to farm collectivization.

Last summer I heard that farm cooperatives were ^{being} dissolved in the village where my grandparents lived. Peasants who brought ~~ten-cattal~~ yolks of land into the farm cooperatives and worked hard the entire agricultural year did not receive more than ten quintals of grain. They could have grown this amount of grain easily on one yolk of land. The system of labor points was not just and not practical. Everyone cheated in every way he could.

If I were an agricultural worker in Hungary I would prefer to work on my own land however small. If I had to go to work for someone else I would prefer to work on a government farm.

I am not in favor of privately owned large estates. Large estates are necessary but they should be owned by the government.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A

Before 1948 I was too young to be interested very much in politics. At that time I sympathized with the Hungarian Smallholders' Party. I believed that this party was able to represent the interests of the people best. My father never was a member of any party.

Before 1948 we were taught in school about the Communist Party and Communism. Our director taught this subject. He was a Communist fanatic. When he talked to us about Communism coming to a stage when money would be superfluous and anyone could go into a government store and take a suit of clothing if he needed it, we would laugh at him.

During and before the war I was a child and did not even know about the existence of the Communist Party. Since 1948 I think that Communism is ridiculous and that its aims can never be accomplished.

B

In my opinion, Communist Party members can be classified according to the following: 1) fanatical Communists, Communists by conviction 2) opportunists, that is, people who join the Communist Party in order to achieve a career or to get better jobs 3) Communists by compulsion -- people who enter the realms of the Communist Party only because they were in fear of losing their jobs or, in order to get work at all. I have known Party members of all three groups. The attitudes of the Party members toward the Party always depended on what group the Party member belonged. But I think that many of the Communists by conviction became disillusioned with Communism.

The policy of the Hungarian Communist Party did undergo changes during the past eight years. From 1948 until 1953 the Party demanded strict discipline from its members. After Stalin's death, the Imre Nagy government in 1953 brought short pause. When Imre Nagy was deposed the Party went back to the old strict Party line. I think that the leaders of the Hungarian Communist themselves realized that they were heading in the wrong direction. They wanted changes

but they had to comply with the instructions sent to them from Moscow. I was aware of differences within the Communist Party. This was a widely discussed topic in the political courses at the university.

By Party morale I mean satisfaction and ^{AC} acceptance of the principles directing the policy of the Party. But I think the question of Party morale should be examined according to the different groups of Party members. The fanatical Communists accepted without criticism the current Party line. Perhaps ~~the~~ even the fanatical Communists sometimes saw that the Party line was a mistake but they did not dare express their views. The careerists and opportunists pretended to be good Communists but were not at all concerned with the Party line as long as it served their purpose. The Party members by compulsion were indifferent to the Party line and did not care anything about it.

During the "New Course" all groups of Party members were able to exercise ~~the~~ criticism over the Party. They could do so more openly than before..

I think that the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party are fanatical Communists by conviction. Nevertheless, the recent Hungarian revolution showed that many of the top leaders of the Communist Party saw the mistakes in Party policy but feared for their lives and were not able to exercise criticism.

The top Hungarian Communists are mere puppets who carry out the instructions sent to them from Moscow to the dot. Perhaps some of them entered the Party with good intentions but were carried away with the tide. As individuals, the top members of the Hungarian Communist Party may be persons with good intentions or they may be characters of the diabolic type. They are after both personal and material gains. It is my opinion that to such top posts only persons with adequate experience in Party work are assigned by Moscow.

Imre Nagy, for example, is a Communist by conviction. But, he is a person of good intentions. When it suited Moscow's purposes he was placed in charge and, when there was a change in Party policy in Russia, he was deposed.

In my opinion there is a difference in the motives of the top Communist Party members and of the rank and file members. The simple rank and file member of the Communist Party is more

inclined to accept his conscience as his guide. The top members, however, must blindly obey the commands of Moscow.

If Hungary should be independent it is my opinion that the deeds of each top Communist Party member should be investigated and each one should be punished according to what he has done.

C

In general opposition to Communism in Hungary took place in the form of grumbling and discontent. It was very difficult to sabotage production because everyone was paid on a piece basis. Where there were no norms production was sabotaged more often. But in general active opposition to the regime was out of the question. Opposition was very widespread among the peasants who tried to sabotage the surrendering of crops by concealing a part of their products. This was something of general knowledge and everyone talked about it but only among reliable friends and acquaintances.

Immediately before the revolution opposition behavior was more open. ~~xRxxxxxxxmxxxxxkxxxxx~~ than, for example, in 1952-53. In 1951-52 there was widespread secret opposition and much grumbling against the government because of the retrenchments. Many public administration and commercial employees were discharged and forced to accept jobs in industrial plants as workers. Actually they earned much less than before.

I was too young to notice the opposition behavior before 1948.

I was first aware of the intellectual ferment about six months before the revolution. I first heard of the Petofi Circle immediately after its formation. The newspapers at that time also brought reports of the debates conducted by the Petofi Circle. We heard that the debates in the Petofi Circle dealt not only with economic questions but frequently criticized the government. We heard that on one occasion, when the wife of the executed minister for the interior, Rajk, was also present and the debate was to be on the Rajk trial, the police banned the meeting.

The two newspapers published by the intellectuals were the Irodalmi Ujsag and Hetfoi Hirla. The first issues of these

papers were published about two months before the outbreak of the revolution. These papers were very much in demand. They were very hard to get and some of the news dealers hid their copies and sold them at the black market price.

The debates of the Petofi Circle and these newspapers had nothing new to say. Their significance lay in the fact that they spoke out openly the things which no one dared to speak about. At that time I admired the intellectuals for their bravery -- for what they said and for what they wrote they were liable to be arrested. I did not have the good fortune of knowing any of these intellectuals personally. I know them only through their writings. Judging by these standards I think that they are capable, practical, and decent people.

I think that the intellectuals realized very early that the contradictions between theory and practice. But for a long time they did not dare voice their misgivings and had to keep their opinions to themselves. Slowly each intellectual realized that the other intellectual is dissatisfied to the same extent that he is. With this realization they dared to express their dissatisfaction.

XII. APPARATUS OF POWER

A

In discussing the AVH and similar organizations I think a sharp distinction must be made between those secret police men who joined the organization voluntarily and between the AVH guards who were recruited for this service in the course of compulsory military drafting. These guards were either assigned to the frontier guards ~~xxxx~~ and wore green patches or they were assigned to guard public buildings inside the country and they wore blue patches. However, the officers of these guards fall practically into the same category as the secret police ~~xxxx~~ officers.

In general the secret policemen are people without convictions who are capable of carrying out any command. They enjoy their sense of power and their opportunity to satisfy their sadistic tendencies.

Neither I nor my family had any personal contact with the AVH. But a classmate in the gymnasium told ~~me~~ me the following story: Just before graduation ~~in~~ from the gymnasium he received by mail an anonymous letter asking him to join the Fascist organization. The letter was addressed to the school. It was given to him by the janitor. My friend became suspicious and thought that the whole thing was a hoax. He feared that the school authorities knew about the ~~xxxx~~ letter and if he did not report the incident to his director, who was a top Communist, he would get into trouble.

When he told the director of the letter, the director was very pleased. It was the boy's feeling that the director knew about the letter in advance. Soon after that my classmate was contacted by a secret policeman and was forced to supply the man with information concerning his classmates. He had several meetings with the AVH man. But as he was unwilling to tell the policeman anything of importance about his classmates and teachers, these meetings ceased.

It is hard to imagine AVH officers who were dissatisfied with their work in the AVH and wanted to quit. The pay of the officers began at 8000-10,000 forints a month while a well-paid industrial worker earned only 1,200 forints a month. They also had their own PX stores where they were able to buy very fine goods ~~as~~ at the lowest prices. They were permitted to make purchases in the Russian PX stores as well.

A

It is not an exaggeration to say that people in Hungary lived in constant fear and uncertainty. One could never tell when, by whom, and where he was observed.

Should Hungary regain her independence it would be necessary to conduct a close investigation into the deeds and activities of the AVH. The top-ranking leaders of the AVH and those officers who were brutal and cruel and who had people arrested and sentenced on false charges should receive the punishment they deserve.

The blue police were instructed to hand over to the AVH any case involving politics that came to their attention. In general I think that the blue police were not so efficient as before the war. I do not have a very good opinion of their plainclothes men.

I think there was corruption in the blue police forces, especially among the higher officers.

When the demonstrations started last fall in Hungary the blue police, in general, acted passively. When it looked like the revolution had a chance to succeed they joined the people. After the Russians came in, many of them, fearing their jobs, went back to the police force and put on the red star caps again.

I remember an incident which took place on October 24 in Veszprem. The crowd recognized a top Communist on the street and began beating him. A blue police man stood by, saw the whole thing, and did not do anything.

Later the police men did not give us arms but they gave us sheepskin-lined overcoats which we wore when we were on duty by night. They had enough ammunition but they did not have as many arms as the AVH had.

In Veszprem there was not much fighting against the AVH. When the AVH saw that the situation became very critical, the members collectively went and took refuge with the commander of the Russian tank division nearby.

B

I did not have any personal experience with the Hungarian courts but I think that in non-political cases the courts attempted to be just.

I think that before 1945 a poor man had less chance of getting fair treatment from the Hungarian courts than a rich man. This was due to the fact that a rich man could afford to hire a good lawyer while a poor man could not.

I do not know much about the people's courts in Hungary after 1945. I was too young at that time. I think that some of the war criminals deserved the punishment they got, but, ~~xxx~~ in many cases the sentences of the people's courts were too severe.

C

Immediately before the outbreak of the revolution there was a sharp difference between the conduct ~~xxxx~~ and attitude of the soldiers and that of the officers. In general, the soldiers were more inclined to act according to their convictions. The officers, on the other hand, always wanted to know what the attitude of their own superiors was.

When the fighting started the officers from the rank of captain downward sided with the revolutionaries. This does not include the majority of the political officers of this rank, although some of the political officers joined the revolution. The officers in the rank of major upwards were more inclined to carry out the orders of the Ministry for Home Defense.

In general the Hungarian Army fought against the Russians as well as against the AVO. It gave arms to the civilians. The officers gave tactical instructions and advice to the civilians.

It is my impression that the army units in the Transdanubian district were more active than army units elsewhere. This was due to the fact that the population was more active there also. Where there was less activity on the part of the civilian population the local commanders were able to keep command over the army better than elsewhere. I do not think there was any difference in the conduct of the soldier on the basis of class origin.

I was not surprised by the conduct of the army during the demonstrations and the revolution. I expected them to act accordingly.

I served two summers in the Hungarian Army. But as university ~~students~~ students we received different treatment than the ordinary recruit. I think that our training officers were more intelligent than elsewhere. Even so, our basic training was ridiculous. It was evident that most of the officers did not have the proper education or background. They became officers after only a very brief training period.

We had four hours of political indoctrination each week. We were also compelled to hold seminars. These seminars were conducted in small groups. We sabotaged the seminars by sleeping during the entire period and only one person remaining on guard to be on the lookout for the political officer.

As chemical engineering students we served in a anti-chemical warfare regiment. One summer the food was excellent and we gained about ten pounds in weight. The next summer the food was bad and everyone lost weight. We spend the summers in camps sleeping in tents.

Off duty, we were (in general) on good terms with the officers. The majority of the officers came from worker or peasant families. In the last two or three years before the revolution the army required officers to pass gymnasium graduation examinations. The officers who received their promotions previously without such an examination were required to pass an examination of this kind within a due time limit.

The non-commissioned officer were promoted from the most capable enlisted men.

Many of the army officers chose this profession because it was comparatively easy, well-paid, and had many advantages. The non-commissioned officers strived to achieve rank because in this way ~~less~~ ^{FEWER} people could give them commands.

The political officers were all Party members and fanatical Communists. The other officers were also Party members but from personal and material gains, not from conviction. The enlisted men in general were anti-Communist.

Some of the officers and most of the non-commissioned officers were very competent. In general the non-commissioned officers treated the enlisted men worst than the officers did. It is

difficult to make distinctions between the conduct of officers and non-commissioned officers on the basis of their class origin.

In ~~general~~ general, the technical units in the army received better treatment. Their work was more valuable and more appreciated. About 70 per cent of such troops had the proper educational background.

D

In my opinion the unpopularity of the Russians is due to their conduct in ~~XXXX~~ 1944-45. The entire civilian population feared their arrival because the news of their conduct preceded them. When the Russians came in I was quite surprised by their conduct but only for the first day. When the fighting moved a bit further away from us they began to act their old selves.

They were thieves, robbers, and murderers. There were 20 people in the air raid shelter in which we stayed at that time. The Russians shot a young girl in the head, in our presence, because she refused to comply with their will.

For about a year there was no change in their conduct. Later on they were held under stricter discipline and it seemed that some of them were trying to get accustomed to our ways.

Just before and during the revolution I did not have any contact with the Russians. There were very many Russians stationed near Veszprem and Russian families were living in the city. When the Russians heard that the revolution broke out in ~~the~~ Budapest the officers immediately packed their families and took them from the city to the barracks of the Russians stationed some distance from the city itself. In many places the Russian commanders announced that they would not fight against the civilian population unless they themselves were attacked.

The Russian commander of Veszprem, for example, warned us that his artillery is aimed at the university buildings and should we try to prepare to attack the Russians he would fire on us.

When the revolution broke out the Russian troops in Győr had been stationed in Hungary for a quite some time. The Russians informed insurgents that they will not fight them because they too are workers. The new Russian troops had to fight their way into these barracks. The Russians on both sides suffered heavy losses. I heard about this from my parents and also saw the badly-wrecked barracks from the train window on my way from ~~maxwx~~ Veszprém to Győr.

The newly-arrived Russian troops did not know where they were and wanted to know where the Suez Canal was. They mistook the Danube for the Suez. At home they probably received pep talks in the course of their political indoctrination ~~xxxxxx~~ lessons in the army.

When we saw the situation, some of us manufactured handbills in Russian and distributed them among the soldiers. We tried to explain to them what the situation in Hungary was and why we were fighting. I think that this propaganda was effective because very shortly afterwards the first new batch of ~~R~~ new Russian soldiers also had to be relieved. Among them were many young boys from South Carpathian Russia who spoke or understood Hungarian. They assured us that they would not shoot at the civilians.

Before the revolution there was some contact between the Russian officers and their families on one side, and between the city population in some cities where Russians were stationed. This contact applies to the Hungarian trades people and craftsmen. The children of the Russian families did not frequent the same schools as the Hungarians. They had private schools of their own. There was some courtship between Russian officers and Hungarian girls and women. I have not heard of any marriages. Otherwise, there was practically no social contact between Russian officers and their families and Hungarians. Those Hungarian girls and women who accepted the courtship of the Russian officers were looked down upon. I had a very good-looking girl classmate at school who was being courted by a Russian officer. She seemed to be a good Communist. Nevertheless, the Party officially informed her to terminate her relationship with this Russian officer.

There was almost no contact with the Russian soldiers themselves. The soldiers and the non-commissioned officers were confined strictly to the barracks.

I think that the Russians were educated to believe fanatically that everything which is different from their system is Fascist. I do not know anything about their views on patriotism and Communism, or about the economic and political situation in Russia. But judging by what some of the Russian officers told the Hungarians about their life in the Soviet Union I think that the Russians must have had a favorable impression of the economic and political conditions in Hungary. They probably envied the Hungarian people.

From October 23 to November 4 I had no direct ^{CONTACT} with the Russians other than fighting. When the demonstrations and fighting started in Budapest, the Russian officers immediately took their families from the city to their barracks nearby. But news of their activity always filtered into the city. Sometimes the Hungarian Army had to take them their food supplies. At other times the Russians came into the city for their supplies themselves, but, only by night.

At the outbreak of the revolution the Russian troops ~~staged~~ stationed near Veszprem were White Russians. They had been in Hungary for some time. They probably considered the Hungarian revolution justifiable. They promised ~~to~~ not to interfere unless attacked. This, of course, was the attitude of the officers. We do not know much about the attitude of the Russian soldiers themselves -- but I think that they were under the strictest discipline of the officers. The soldiers belonged to the younger age groups -- only the officers were somewhat older.

The fresh troops brought in on November 4 were Mongolians.

During the revolution many Russian soldiers came over and fought on the side of the Hungarians. This I saw -- and heard of similar incidents from reliable friends. I have not heard or seen any cases of Russian soldiers refusing to obey their superiors. However, many Russian soldiers deserted and fled into Austria. I do not know the number of those who did. My colleagues who fought in Budapest told me ~~that~~ later that they had received many arms and even tanks from some of the Russian soldiers.

I have not heard of Soviet soldiers fighting against the AVH. But there were many cases where Soviet soldiers fought

against each other. I have already told you about the events in the barracks (Soviet) in Gyor. We also experienced some fighting between the Russians themselves in Veszprem. But this was accidental. There was a lack of communication between the Russian troops and they were inclined to shoot everywhere where they saw gunfire. For example, in Veszprem, a Soviet machinegun operating from the church steeple was shot out by one of its own tanks. How many Russians were killed by their own troops in Veszprem I do not know. It was rumored that several truckloads of Russian bodies were carried away.

I have not heard of any individual cases of brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E

The best example of bureaucracy which I experienced in Hungary was the housing authorities in Gyor. The apartment house in which my family lived was requisitioned for the use of the Soviet consulate in Gyor. We were assigned to another apartment which we had to share with another family. My father handed in numerous petitions to the housing authorities requesting a home of our own. Everything was in vain. The housing authorities were unable to find us another home. You had to pay much money to get a home or flat of your own.

My impression of the bureaucrats is that they are small insignificant people who perform their work most mechanically.

F

There certainly were ways and means of circumventing government regulations. But now I am unable to quote you any example on how this was done. I think there was much corruption in government offices. The consequences of accepting bribes depended largely on ^{who} caught the official and what the official's Party standing was.

G

I think that the top-ranking officers of the secret police were efficient, capable and intelligent. The same cannot be said, in my opinion, about the Army leadership. I was unable to form an opinion on the ability of the Russian Army leadership. Many of the officials in Hungarian public administration never performed office work before.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A

I think that the Russians will eventually vacate Hungary. Then, Hungary should become neutral, or, it should become part of the Austro-Hungarian union. Perhaps a confederation of the neutral countries could be formed. Hungary cannot remain as it is today.

Despite the fact that so much Hungarian blood was shed in the recent revolution I think that fighting will flare up again in Hungary. I do not predict a long term in office for the Kadar government. The Hungarian people hate and distrust him.

If the Soviet Union will refuse to leave Hungary, the Western countries and the United Nations can compel it to do so by imposing a complete economic blockade on the Soviet Union. In this way it would lose much more than it would gain by remaining in Hungary. However, it is very likely that if the Soviet Union vacates Hungary, the other satellite countries will follow our example.

An intellectual ferment can also be noticed among the ~~xxxxxx~~ students of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Communist Party is not of one mind. The Soviet foreign and domestic policies ~~xxxxxx~~ always reflect a struggle for power within the Kremlin.

Only complete independence of Moscow can be accepted by Hungary. A Polish-type solution is not acceptable. I think this is the general opinion of all the people at home.

In my opinion these aims can be achieved by placing the entire Soviet Union under a complete economic blockade. An ~~xxxxxx~~ internal collapse of the Soviet Union can also be expected.

I think war may be very likely break out between the US and the Soviet Union if the Russians will want to continue their policy of Communist expansion. This will probably happen in the Near East, ^{WAR} between the US and the Soviet Union is also likely ~~is~~ if the fighting breaks out again in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany

A

and other satellite countries follow suit. In this case domestic public opinion here in the US will compel the government to help these countries more effectively than it did during the Hungarian revolution.

During the Hungarian and Suez crisis it has become evident that the United Nations are of no practical value.

B

Before I entered the university I did not think much about the political future of Hungary. At that time I thought that the government would be able to increase the standard of living and that everything would be well. I expected a change only during the past two or three years. We realized that Communism could not work in practice. We wanted socialism. That is, not Communism and not capitalism but something in between.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A

When and if Hungary becomes independent I think some kind of union or federation with Austria would be necessary. Both countries would fare well. Austria has the industry that Hungary needs and Hungary has the agriculture that Austria needs. I think that Hungary should have the same form of government that Austria has today.

B

In the economy of an independent Hungary emphasis should be placed on agriculture. All such industries that have comparatively high production cost should be discontinued. This applies, first of all, to the Hungarian iron and steel industry. We have very little ore and what we have is of an inferior grade. However, the Hungarian aluminum industry and our uranium resources should be developed.

Should Hungary become independent the larger national enterprises should continue to be managed and owned by the government. The smaller national enterprises should be sold or leased to private enterprise. The farm cooperatives should be dissolved unless the members themselves wish to continue collective farming. Those state farms which were not formed by confiscating the agricultural property of other people should continue to operate under state management. On these state farms the government could cultivate what it wished. The farm cooperatives and the private farmers, on the other hand, would have a free hand to grow what they wished. I think the public ownership of railroads, busses, streetcars, and other transportation facilities should continue. But private enterprise should also be allowed to operate bus lines. The heavy industries should continue under state ownership. In the light industries the state ownership of larger enterprises should continue. Smaller enterprises should be sold or leased to private individuals or corporations.

If a person has acquired agricultural property by just means then he should not be restricted in its ownership no matter how much he has. But, by just means I mean the means other than the exploitation of workers and peasants.

B

If I had to choose between freedom and a high standard of living I should choose freedom.

I think that it will not be necessary to outlaw the Communist Party in an independent Hungary. The Party would have no membership. Would, however, the Party conduct subversive activities, it would be necessary to outlaw it. I would not outlaw fellow traveling organizations. I do not think that these fellow traveling organizations really sympathize with the Communists. Only the Communists exploit them for their propaganda.

C

For Hungary a neutrality like that of Austria would be ideal. A Polish solution is quite unacceptable. A Western German solution would be acceptable as a compromise.

Hungary should form no military alliance neither with the Soviet Union nor with any European or American country. But she should maintain good economic relations and also cultural relations with all countries.

I first heard of the Federation of Danubian States at the students' meeting on October 23 in Veszprem. I think it is a very good idea. It is desirable and possible. All Danubian countries should participate in such a federation. I think that there majority of people in Hungary would favor such a political union -- there would be many who would oppose it.

I do not consider the present Hungarian boundaries as acceptable. In my opinion all territories which have a Hungarian population of at least 65 per cent should be re-annexed to Hungary. In my opinion everyone at home is in favor of reannexing Hungarian territories to Hungary. The only exception to this is the Communist Party. The Communists think that it is impossible to take up the questions of Hungarian territories outside of Hungary because the Soviet Union has settled this question by drawing the boundaries in the peace treaties after World War II. I think that the Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary want very badly to belong again to the mother country.

The re-annexation of Hungarian territories to Hungary is of great importance here and at home. It is also an economic necessity.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A

I do ~~not~~ not know which of Khrushchev's speeches you mean. At the political indoctrination classes at the university we heard so much about Congress reports and speeches that we probably studied about this one also. (Respondent was told that Khrushchev's speech was the first denunciation of Stalin and of his methods.) Yes, I now remember. This speech was no secret in Hungary. We discussed it at political indoctrination classes at the university.

I have heard the name of Senator McCarthy, but, I do not know who he is. I have ~~also~~ also heard of the existence of an un-American activities committee, but I do not exactly know what that is.

I do not know who Peron is.

Before the revolution I heard that Rakosi was living in a luxurious villa outside Budapest. It was closely guarded by AVH officers. The villa had a secret exit through which he could escape if necessary. During the revolution I heard that his monthly ~~income~~ exceeded 70,000 forints.

INCOME

B

My father is an industrial worker who does not read much only the daily newspaper. Perhaps, one or two books concerning his profession. I do not remember what paper or papers my father subscribed to during and before the war. I know he always subscribed to the local paper before Communism and during Communism as well. But I do not remember the names of the Budapest newspapers he purchased or subscribed to before Communism.

and

Under Communism we subscribed to Szabad Nep, Szabad Ifjusag; for local newspapers I read the Szabad Ifjusag regularly and Szabad Nep upon occasion. In general people did not read newspapers in great detail up to a few months preceding the revolution. At that time, Szabad Ifjusag was extremely interesting, but Szabad Nep wrote very little about the intellectual ferment. If anything of political significance was written in the newspapers, one always attempted to use his own judgement to determine what was true and what was not.

We developed a certain feeling by which we could tell if this were true or not. But there were articles concerning production methods, output, education, scientific developments which in general we did believe.

We always tried to read in between the lines. Often reliable friends would discuss what was behind the news.

Publications from the Soviet Union and from other satellites were available in Hungary. But none from Yugoslavia. I didn't read any of these, but, I did read a few Soviet text books.

Our university library received Western scientific and technical magazines regularly. Universities, factories and scientific institutes subscribed to such magazines and periodicals. They were excellent in their content and had only one drawback -- about half of their material consisted of advertisements. I do not know of any illegal publications from the West.

In the last two or three months before the revolution there were many leaflets which were illegally discharged from balloons over Hungarian territory. My ~~father~~ grandfather found many such leaflets outside his village near Gyor. He hid them, but showed them to me in strictest secrecy. These leaflets contained pictures of how workers lived in the West. It praised the high standard of living in America. Our general reaction to these leaflets was a feeling that it would be good to live as these workers did.

When, in 1945, many Hungarian and Western books were placed on the Index by the Communists not everyone destroyed his books. People continued to keep these books in their bookcases, but in such a manner as not to attract the attention of eventual Communist visitors.

C

I received much news by word of mouth. Reliable friends and relatives always exchanged the news that they heard. In general such news was less reliable than news received by radio, or from the newspapers. There was a greater danger of the news being distorted when it was handed from mouth to mouth. The reliability of the news handed down by word of mouth always depended on the person who told the news and whether this was first, second, third, or fourth hand news. I, too, very often passed on news I had heard

by word of mouth. This was always done among friends, relatives, providing there was no danger of being overheard.

F

I did not have too much money for cinema tickets but I went at least once a week. Veszprem did not have a permanent theatre company and for this reason I went to theatres only when I was in Gyor. This was about five times a year.

With one or two exceptions the Russian films were very bad. Most of the Hungarian films were also worthless being only Russian imitations. But, especially in the last years, there were many Italian, French, German and Swedish films. The situation in the theatre was similar. After about seven or eight bad plays, one or two good plays would follow. No one was interested in the plays that had Communistic tendencies. Very often the theatres had could be filled only by giving free tickets to the students.

The two best films I saw were a French film, "The Haughty Princess" and an Italian film, "She Danced Through Summer."

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A

I think that it is very possible that the Hungarian revolution will repeat itself ~~and~~ inside the Soviet Union. I think that the Russian soldiers who were now in Hungary to subdue the revolution, and before the revolution, knew what the situation was. They will probably tell others at home about their experiences. Also certain signs over the radio and the newspapers indicate that the Soviet youth, especially the university students are also getting restless. The people in Hungary know about this and consider it a good sign.

I have never been in the Soviet Union but I don't think that the Soviet people are satisfied with their regime. I think that the complete regimentation of thought and action is unbearable to any human being. But I don't think that a change in the Soviet Union will take place though gradual liberalization. The government has had bitter experience in connection with Poland and Hungary. The Communists now realize that if they let the reins go the results will be the same as in Hungary.

~~xxxxx~~ By free elections naturally we mean elections in which more than one party can run. If such elections were held in the Soviet Union and the Soviet citizens were entirely sure that no repercussions would be held because of how they voted I am certain that Communism would be defeated. In this case I think the Social Democratic Party or a party similar to the British Labor Party would come to power.

I think that the principal aim of the top Communist leaders in the Soviet Union is to establish Communist world rule. Thereby, they would ensure their own existence. To achieve these aims the Communist leaders are willing to use nice words and terror alike depending on which is needed. The chief difference between the top Communist leaders of the Soviet Union and the top Hungarian Communists is that the Soviet leaders are the ones who issue the orders and the Hungarians are the ones who carry them out.

B

Of the nations listed I think that Poland and East Germany are the most liked in Hungary, and Czechoslovakia and Rumania the least liked. The antipathy against Czechoslovakia and Rumania concerns chiefly the government and not the people. The people cannot help it. Hungarians feel ~~f~~ very strongly against the Czechoslovaks because of their conduct during the revolution. Along the border the Czechs rigged up loud-

speakers on the other side of the Danube and broadcasted anti-revolutionary propaganda.

I think that ~~mm~~ if now, after the Hungarian revolution, free elections were to be held Communists would suffer defeat everywhere.

Among the countries listed I think that East Germany and Hungary have the best and second-best highest standard of living. Rumania and Poland have the lowest and the second-lowest standard of living.

C

I think that Gomulka is a very tricky politician who would like to please both East and West. Gomulka is sympathetic to me only because during the autumn of 1956 and during the Hungarian revolution, he repeatedly took a firm ~~amxkxk~~ stand against the Soviet Union. It is difficult to say whether Gomulka's present policy is right or wrong. This depends entirely on what line his present policy will follow in the future. But, I think that he will remain in power because the people have confidence in him.

Before the Hungarian revolution we heard about the Poznan trial. But the facts in the Hungarian newspapers and over the Hungarian radio were very much distorted. When the ~~mxkxkx~~ university students were becoming very restless before the revolution one or two Communists asked us the question, "Do you want the same thing to happen here as in Poland?"

I did not know that freedom was granted to the Polish people one year before Gomulka's rise to power. I have not heard that more freedom was granted to them before the Poznan trials.

Today I think it would have been better for Hungary if the events in Hungary would have taken the same course as in Poland. Thousands of Hungarian lives would not have been lost. If we could have achieved, without a revolution, the withdrawal of Russians from Hungary and free elections that, too, would have meant the end of Communism in Hungary.

D

I have not heard that Marshal Tito is the originator of national Communism. My opinion of national Communism is that it is Communism even if it is national and it cannot be accomplished in practice.

I think that Marshal Tito is a very capable politician. He knows what he should do under the most difficult situations. Until 1948 he stood in good favor in Moscow. This determined his standing in the other satellite countries as well. On instructions from Moscow, Rakosi in 1948, charged him with deviationism and with planning the overthrow of Communist regimes in the satellite countries. Until 1955 relations between Yugoslavia and the other Communist countries were very ~~strained~~ strained. In 1955 Moscow thought it advisable to patch up its differences with Tito. As a result of this, Tito was not referred to any more as "chained dog of the West." Since the Hungarian revolution relations between Moscow and Tito have again become strained. He has received much economic aid, and even arms, from the West...especially from the US.

I think that Tito is popular in Yugoslavia. However, I know very little about internal conditions in Yugoslavia. What Szabad Nep and other Communist newspapers wrote about conditions in Yugoslavia was evidently very distorted.

E

The Chinese Communists gained control of China with the aid of the Soviet Union. The great poverty in which the majority of Chinese live made the people more susceptible to Communist propaganda. I do not think that the Chinese Communist is more independent of Moscow than any other Communist satellite country. I base my opinion on the conduct of the Chinese Communist government during and after the Hungarian revolution.

All I know about the relations between England and India is that once India was the colony of Britain and had been given its independence.

Complex economic problems are the real cause of the Suez situation. In my opinion Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal. For our purposes, the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt was ill-timed. It gave the Russians an excuse to send in troops into Hungary. The outcome of the Hungarian revolution would have been entirely different if the Suez events would have taken place at another time.

F

I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is one of the highest in Europe. I think that Germany can cause the outbreak of a third world war only after a successful unification has been carried out. I approve of the rearmament of Western Germany if it is carried out only for defensive purposes. I think that the West German army is stronger than that of England or France. The German general staff officers are much better than their British or French equivalents. Their technical equipment is very good. The length of compulsory military training is probably three years.

During World War II the German Army behaved much better than the Russian occupation army. Both the German officers and the men were much better disciplined than the Russians.

G

I do not know much about the political situation in Britain. But I think that before the Hungarian revolution the British Labor Party sympathized with Moscow and Communism. Since the Hungarian revolution, however, I think that the British Labor Party has become estranged from Moscow.

With respect to higher standards of living the countries mentioned rank as follows: West Germany, Britain, Italy, Greece, the Soviet Union, and finally, Egypt.

H

Immediately after my arrival in the US the things that struck me most were: completely free enterprise, 50-60 automobiles in the showroom of one dealer, and the forests of TV antennae on the roofs of the homes.

I think that the US foreign policy should be much firmer in Eastern Europe than before. The US should extend foreign aid program to such country as Poland, if the Polish government should request financial aid. But it is difficult to imagine that Moscow will allow the Poles to ask for money from the US.

With respect to Hungary US foreign policy should do everything possible to get the Russians out of the country and give Hungary economic aid. It is true that the Kadar government does not merit diplomatic relations with the US. But I am convinced

that the Kadar government will be overthrown in the near future.

Since my arrival in the US my views on US foreign policy have changed considerably. I now realize that US foreign policy is much weaker than ~~xxxx~~ I thought it was.

I think that the people of Hungary would like to see more visitors from the West. Geographically, Hungary is an interesting country and there is a considerable income from the tourist rate. It is entirely indifferent what kind of visitors would come to Hungary from the West. In my ~~x~~ opinion, visitors to Hungary from the West should not be told anything about the country and the political situation there. They should find out everything for themselves.

I think that the people of Hungary would be very much interested in Western publications. An agreement should be reached with the Hungarian government to allow the sale of Western publications.

At the university in Hungary we only heard the Communist version of the aims and purposes of the Marshall Plan. The purpose of the Marshall Plan, according to the Moscow version, was to give economic assistance to European coun-
~~xxxx~~ tries ~~xxxx~~ thereby making them economic and political satellites of the US. This is why the Moscow government forbade the people's democracies to accept such aid. I personally do not believe that this was so. But I do not know all the facts and am ~~xxxx~~ unable to form a definite opinion on this question.

The same is true about the Korean war. At the university we were taught that the purpose of the US in entering the war was to subdue and colonize the people of North and South Korea.

J

My opinion of the United Nations is that ~~ix~~ it is very weak and had no practical purpose. The right of veto should have been abolished long ago. It serves only the purposes of the Soviet Union. If the United Nations would have sent troops to Hungary it would have probably meant the beginning of world war III. But if the United Nations could have imposed a complete economic blockade on the Soviet Union and other satellite countries this economic pressure would have been so great that Russia would have been compelled to comply. Now, however, there is very little possibility of effective United Nations action for Hungary in the near future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A

In my opinion, the greatest Hungarian living today is either Cardinal Mindszenty or General Pál Malater. Cardinal Mindszenty is a martyr and the symbol of Hungary -- Malater is the bravest leader of the revolution.

B

Imre Nagy, in my opinion, is a Communist who is slightly more humane, or rather, somewhat ~~xxxxxxx~~ less inhuman than the other Communist leaders. When Moscow wanted to pursue a softer policy Imre Nagy became the Prime Minister. But when Moscow ~~she~~ chose to return to its hard line Nagy was again deposed. It is my suspicion that even during the Hungarian revolution the sentiments of Imre Nagy were pro-Soviet. He was intended to be the head of the Hungarian government only for a very short time. To place a non-Communist member at the head of the Hungarian cabinet immediately would have been a more flagrant break with Moscow.

Cardinal Mindszenty is a good priest and has a strong character. He never makes concessions on his principles.

I am unable to form a close opinion on Laszlo Rajk. I have seen his wife at the students' meetings. She is sympathetic.

My opinion of Erno Gero and Janos Kadar are the same. I would like to see them both hanged as soon as possible.

I am a bit disillusioned about President Eisenhower. I thought that he was a stronger and firmer ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ statesman. He should have acted immediately without hesitation. If the Russians would ~~have~~ seen his determination there would not ~~have~~ been a third world war and, the Russians would not have returned to Hungary.

I have heard the name of Hammarskoldj but I do not exactly know who he is.

Secretary of State Dulles is also a weaker statesman than I thought him to be.

Both Eden and Truman were too cautious and timid.

I do not know who Mikoyan is.

Nehru is the secretary general of the French Communist Party.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai Sek fought against the Soviets in the Korean War.

I do not know what nationality he belong to.

Ference Nagy is a mediocre person. He is honest and timid.

I have no definite opinion on President Roosevelt.

I know who Chancellor Adenauer is but I have no opinion on him.

Stalin was a dictator and ruled with an iron hand.

Malenkov is his disciple.

I do not know to which country Generalissimo Franco belongs.

I do not know who Bevin is.

Khrushchev is a dictator who is continuing Stalin's line of policy.

We have already discussed Marshal Tito.

I do not know who Peron is.

Molotov is a representative of the Stalinist line.

I do not know who Ollenhauer is.

I have no definite opinion about Churchill.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A

I think that most of the refugees came from the Transdanubian district. Armed uprisings, and other revolutionary activities were more frequent there than in most parts of Hungary.

The majority of the refugees are young people. About 70 per cent of them are ~~xxxxxxx~~ intellectuals -- the rest are peasants, workers, and soldiers. Very many of them fled from Hungary because they had reason to fear repercussions because of their participation in the revolution. Others made use of this opportunity to emigrate from Hungary. The majority of the people who were freed from prisons also came. People who had some profession or ~~xxxx~~ training were more inclined to make this decision to leave Hungary.

The people who remained in Hungary were: a few Communists, many ~~xxxx~~ people who clung to their possessions, many who had no reason to fear repercussions, and people who thought it is more dangerous to attempt to come out of Hungary than to remain.

I know of one priest, a man of 30, who came out to Vienna and there decided he was more needed in Hungary and returned.

The people in Hungary, either envy the refugees or are sorry to be separated from them, or are glad that the refugees are now in safety.

If people were allowed to leave Hungary at any time it would not be necessary for them to leave the country at all. If the people would be allowed to leave Hungary and never to return, then I think that about 2/3 of the population (now in Hungary) would remain.

B

In Hungary I heard very little about exiled politicians and exiled political organizations. Since leaving Hungary I have had no contact with such organizations or individuals.

In Hungary I have heard only about the Hungarian National Council, but I know practically nothing about who its members are and what its purpose is. I heard about the American-Hungarian Federation only after arriving in the US. I do not know much about this organization.

Charles Pryor was the leader of some sort of a political party in Hungary. Otto Von Hapsburg is the pretender to the throne of Hungary. We are better off without him. I was too young to know much about Admiral Horthy. According to the communists, he was the leader of the white terror which reigned in Hungary after the first revolution.

Ferenc Nagy, Imre Kovacs, Miklos Kalai, Zoltan Feifar, Istvan Baronkovics are people about whom I have heard, but I do not know much about them.

I have never heard about Bela Varga, Tibor Eckhardt, Paul Auer, Imre Selig, Laszlo Telvinger, Josef Kuzihorvath, Lila Farbian, General Zakhov, or General Ferenc Farkas.

Some of the people who had left Hungary before 1956 are Hungarian Fascists who want to restore Fascism to Hungary. In this they are mistaken. They will never succeed. I do not know anything about the activities of the non-Fascist Hungarian exiles.

I think that the Hungarian exiles and refugees should inform the public about conditions in Hungary.

During the revolution, I did not think much about the exiles who were in the West, but now in retrospect, I think that some of them attempted to come home, especially Fascist elements.

C. I have not met anyone personally who, after 1945, had left Hungary and later returned. I know that very many people during the war left Hungary in fear of the Russians. Later they returned. The vast majority regretted having returned. The vast majority of the people who returned were poor officials who had no professions and were unable to make a living in exile.

I think that the Communists started their re-defection campaign because they are in need of skilled and trained people who have left the country. I think it will be a very great blow to Hungary if many skilled, trained people who have now left Hungary do not return if conditions change. In my opinion, the majority of the people at home thought the Communist re-defection campaign ~~as~~ mere propaganda and ridiculous.

D. I think that people in Hungary would like to know about the exiles, the conditions among which they live and about how they are able to get along. Now I think it is the duty of the refugees everywhere to keep awake public interest in Hungary. They

should tell everyone everywhere what the conditions are and were in Hungary.

I would like to join a cultural organization for exiles. The purpose of this organization would be to propagate Hungarian culture. Everyone who feels that he could contribute to the work of such an organization should be allowed to participate in its work.

Of the political parties which were active in Hungary prior to 1948, I sympathized mostly with the Small Holders' Party. I do not know much about the Hungarian political parties in exile. During the revolution, we heard about the revival of the Hungarian political parties. We thought it was a very inopportune time to do such things. Disputes between various parties only contributed to the Russian cause by weakening the revolution.

I think that among those groups which left, prior to the revolution, there was no need for the one time Hungarian Fascists to return home. They should stay where they are.

E. If conditions change in Hungary, I shall return to marry my fiancée and to bring her out together with my parents. I would insist on my children learning Hungarian here in the United States.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. While in Hungary, I listened regularly to news broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, the BBC, the VOA and sometimes, to the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Rome. Reception of these programs depended upon what kind of radio a person had and where the jamming stations were situated. Sometimes the same program would be broadcast on five wave lengths and of these, four would be jamed and one would receive excellent reception. In general, the reception of the VOA broadcasts were excellent. BBC programs' reception was fair, but only on short wave. It was very difficult to get Rome. With the exception of the Hungarian news broadcasts from Radio Moscow and from other radio stations behind the iron curtain, all ~~foreign~~ foreign broadcasts in Hungarian were jammed. Radio Free Europe and VOA broadcasts were probably jammed the most.

I only listened to the Hungarian news broadcasts on these radios. Usually from 8 P.M. to 10 P.M. I listened regularly to the 8:30 P.M. London news broadcasts and to the 9 PM. VOA program. Both of these programs were in Hungarian. What we heard over the radio, we usually discussed among friends if the friends were reliable.

I listened on our own radio, usually the whole family listened to the program together. Sometimes we would have friends staying with us who also listened to the broadcasts. We were always careful not to tune the radio too loud, but such things did not matter during the revolution. Very often, I would be informed about the contents of the foreign radio broadcasts when I had been unable to listen. If there was some sensational news over the radio, we immediately told each other and asked each other's views.

Allegedly, it was officially permitted to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, but it was not advisable to do so and speak about it. I do not know of any instances where people were apprehended while listening to or talking about foreign radio broadcasts, but I would imagine that such things would have very disagreeable results.

The fact that listening to foreign radio broadcasts may have had consequences did not serve to deter people from listening. It only made people be very cautious when they did listen. A few months before the revolution, the people listened to a radio broadcast openly.

I listened to both the Radio Free Europe and the Budapest radio programs. I did not believe either of these programs completely. I always tried to decide what the truth was between these two extremes. There were things which I believed without reserve and other things which I simply could not believe.

Since my arrival in the United States, I was able to listen only once or twice to VOA programs. It was very disillusioning to hear that, in a half hour program, hardly any mention was made of Hungary at all.

Of all foreign radio stations, I prefer the Hungarian program of the BBC. Its news programs lasted only ten to fifteen minutes, but it was very compact and well edited. People in Hungary lost their confidence in the other broadcasting stations. These stations, in the past, had very often given false news and, by this, they have lost their right to confidence. These foreign broadcasts, in Hungarian, permitted the Hungarian people at home to have unlimited insight into life in foreign countries. During the revolution, however, these broadcasting stations often gave news which was unfounded and untrue. Such organizations as Radio Free Europe should not permit itself to broadcast news which is based entirely upon hearsay and which has not been checked.

RFE did urge the Hungarian revolutionists to continue their resistance against the Communists. I personally did not hear any promises of assistance, but my friends told me that they did.

I think that RFE should continue its broadcasts into Hungary, but these broadcasts should be based upon reality in order that RFE may regain its prestige in Hungary.

The broadcasts should consist primarily of news about political and economic events. Commentaries on the news are also valuable because they teach people to read in between the lines at home. Messages to relatives in Hungary are of great importance, now. The programs should not incite against Communism. It should only reveal the true situation, and they should leave it up to the listener to decide for himself.

B. I have never heard of the initials NEM before.

I do not know which twelve demands you mean. There have been so many. On one occasion, I saw a leaflet which contained twelve demands, but I do not know, now, its contents.

C. On several occasions, my grand-father, who lives near Gyor, found leaflets in the fields outside his village. I have also heard about the existence of such leaflets from colleagues. I, myself, have never found such leaflets.

The leaflets which my grand-father showed me contained descriptions of the life of workers in the West and in the US. One leaflet contained the twelve demands. Some leaflets contained cartoons of the Stalin statue falling on Rakosi. The reverse side of some of the leaflets was glued so that one could stick them against things and they would adhere.

There was much talk about these leaflets, even the Communist papers complained that the Americans were sending leaflets in balloons over Hungary.

To pick up such leaflets and not turn them in, or to distribute them to others would mean criminal proceedings against the person doing so. The danger involved made the leaflets more interesting and the people who found them were inclined to conceal them. I do not know of any change in the criminal consequences for the possession or distribution of such leaflets.

Some of these leaflets were useful, but it is unnecessary to instigate action against Communism. The people at home know what Communism is by now. These leaflets passed on some new information to the people living in Hungary, but they were of no major significance. I have not found any leaflets or heard about them during the revolution proper.

Whether to continue to drop such leaflets into Hungary depends upon what the contents of these leaflets will be. If the leaflets continue to contain only plain facts with no comments attached, then they will be useful, but great care must be exercised to make the verbiage of these leaflets plain and simple so that everyone could understand them. But these leaflets are unnecessary if their purpose is only to incite the people at home.

D., The Western groups which broadcast and send leaflets into Hungary want to strengthen the resistance of the Hungarian people and, in general, of the people behind the iron curtain and in Russia proper against Communism. I do not see any difference in the motives of the various organizations.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. I think that one of the most important things that a child should receive is a religious education. I think that religion has a very great and beneficial influence on the life of the individual.

It is necessary to maintain discipline among the children and for this purpose, sometimes, the use of physical punishment is unavoidable. In general, I think that boys should be dealt with more strictly than girls. Girls probably need physical punishment less frequently than boys do. When a child is small, it is very difficult to appeal to his reason and make him understand. A child is liable to forget, but if he receives physical punishment, he will remember better what he has been told to do or not to do. As a child grows older, the need for physical punishment gradually ceases.

I was twelve years old in 1944. The war was in progress and air-raid alarms were frequent. On one occasion, we were sent home from school because of an air-raid alarm. The air-raid alarm ceased and I was told by my parents to go back to school. I disobeyed. My father took a strap and beat me.

Children six years of age or older were usually punished by the parents. Boys were punished by both parents, but girls were usually punished by the mother. Very rarely were girls punished by their fathers. A boy of twelve would not receive physical punishment from the mother. In the families of the intellectuals, the father would be the one to administer punishment to the children, but the physical punishment of girls over six would cease. I don't think there was much change in this respect during the last ten years.

In the family, physical punishment for boys was stopped at the age of twelve or thirteen, for girls, at the age of six or seven. Punishment, in general, was abandoned for both girls and boys at the age of sixteen. By this, I mean punishment other than mere scolding. But this varied within families. Sometimes, a boy would be scolded even after he got married, but then the scolding would be done, mostly, by the mother and not by the father as before. I think that in the families of the intellectuals, children had to be scolded less than in the families of other social classes. I don't think that Communism has brought much change in this respect.

The Communists abolished physical punishment in the schools for all age groups. Disciplinary proceedings would start

against any teacher or professor who used physical punishment against any student. The result of this was that children, in general, were impertinent with the teachers and professors. Instead of physical punishment, the Communists wanted to use persuasion.

The characteristics which are valued most in a friend are sincerity, honesty, religiousness, diligence, and abidance by one's principles. I don't think that Communism has changed my relationship to my friends. That is all.

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