

Radio Unit car. In September 1956 he returned to his plant where he had worked before 1954, the company for the manufacture of transportation instruments.

Saying that he worked for the <sup>current</sup> Anode Distribution Company till 1953. The following:- from November 1953 until November 1954 he worked for the company for the manufacture of transportation instruments.

Respondent's both parents are living, the father being 51, the mother ~~is~~ 46. Both of them are at home at Szentendre. Respondent has two brothers and two sisters. One of his brothers, who is 21, is here in the United States; the other, who is nine years old, is at home. His two sisters, aged 14 and 7, are also at home with their parents.

Respondent left Hungary December 13th, 1956, and arrived in the United States on June 3rd, 1957. He only has stayed so far in New York City. His immediate plans are to finish school, if possible High School, and also then to get a <sup>LICENSE TO WORK</sup> permit in his own special field of qualification.

Respondent has only been interviewed by the American Consulate in Vienna. Respondent does not speak or write any foreign language.

#### CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Background of subject is that of the working class. He

had little education and not too many interests, except to get ahead in his work.

Subject is ~~fairly~~ <sup>VERY</sup> neat and tidy in his appearance, clean, healthy and good-looking - very primitive though, and immature. Polite, well-mannered and respectful nevertheless.

During that part of the interview which refers to the revolution and subjects' participation and activities, etc., I have the impression that he was not frank and held back information. I also had the feeling that he "was put wise" by someone not to talk too much. He also stressed that he is "cautious" type. He was reluctant and evasive in giving details and accounts of his activities despite the fact that I had assured him repeatedly that <sup>DATA AND</sup> proper names, etc., will not be made public, that his family's anonymity will be respected. Also when asked about the rank he obtained in the military service he hesitated a moment before giving the answer that he did not have any rank.

Altogether, he was mostly <sup>TIGHT-LIPPED</sup> <sup>ABOUT</sup> everything AND WAS RATHER BORED on the second day of the interview.

He also had the annoying way of repeating every question

and thinking for quite some time before answering,  
which may be due to his being cautious or not wanting to  
give himself away.

Interviewer: Podhorszky  
 Date:- 8-21-57  
 Place:-

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION.

His opinion regarding "What do you think are the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956?" is as follows:-

'First I think it is important that the Americans should know that the revolution started from within the nation. Second, that the events in Posnan had a great effect in Hungary because after all the Polish people and the Hungarian people had very much in common during their long historic past. Thirdly, I think people ought to know here that the terrific oppression of the nation has also brought about the revolution. The so-called "socialist" <sup>SYSTEM</sup> of the Communist consists only of that there are two classes. The top classes have everything, <sup>and oppress</sup> the lower class which ~~has~~ <sup>HAS</sup> no rights whatsoever.'

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

(Please note my remarks regarding this paragraph in character description, *ALSO I WISH TO NOTE* that subject was very much at loss regarding the dates. I think he mixed them up.)

A. ~~Before~~ <sup>AS</sup> I served my military service at the Budapest Airfield, which formerly was the so-called King Charles Barracks, I had very little notion of what was going on outside in the city. However, on the 22nd I believe, we have heard *AT THE BARRACKS FROM BOYS* who ~~have encountered~~ <sup>ATTENDED</sup> the university *THAT* the young people of the university ~~was~~ <sup>THEIR DEMANDS</sup> are drafting ~~the~~ <sup>THEIR DEMANDS</sup> ~~notes~~. On the 23rd of October I was in service. However, in the evening I went out to the University of Technical Science, ~~it~~ was not very far away, and looked at the posters that were stuck up on the ~~walls~~ walls and on the ~~trees~~ trees with the demands of the university students. At night, at twelve o'clock, I was ordered to go with a ~~troukful~~ <sup>troukful</sup> of men to the Radio Building. I drove the car, since I was a driver while doing my military service, with about thirty people. The *BOYS* were issued arms but our commander was a very decent man. He did not give them any

ammunition. He said, "Boys, I'm giving you the arms but I do not want that blood <sup>SHED</sup> should start and that's why I'm not giving you any ammunition." It so happened that when we arrived at the Radio Building it was the civilians who gave the boys the necessary ammunition when they <sup>SCRAMBLED</sup> DOWN from the truck. I THEN took back the empty truck to the barracks. Later on, the whole night, I was roaming the city seeing what was happening. I have seen that many of the soldiers have joined the young students."

" On the 24th I received orders at the barracks that at 8 o'clock I have to go and take the Radio Unit car, which was <sup>an anti-Hung and</sup> the receiving car, to the Kerepesi Street Military Academy. On our way there the young revolutionaries stopped our car and we were asked to take off the red stars and all <sup>Russian</sup> ~~xxxx~~ insignia from the uniforms. This we of course did. There were two others besides myself from the rank and file and one sergeant on the car. We then remained there at the Military Academy. On the 25th <sup>THIS ACADEMY</sup> ~~we~~ went <sup>ALSO</sup> over to the revolutionaries. On the 26th I again went out to the city ~~but~~ I did not bear any arms but I was still dressed in my uniform. I again looked around at what was going on and what was happening. I did not take part in any fighting. However, later on, I'm not quite sure which day it was, I think it was on the 29th, - some friends of

mine - we got hold of some machine guns and went to the Tisza Kalman Square and here we participated in the effort **ATTACK** on the Party ~~Headquarters~~ Headquarters there. When I returned to the Military Academy the sergeant, who was from ~~Kecskem~~ Csepel ISLAND, talked us into going with him to ~~Kecskem~~ Csepel. In the barracks next ~~to~~ to the Military Academy the AVH forces have left ~~an~~ many cars and trucks, so we just "requisitioned" one and also a Poveda car and with this car and our radio truck we went out to Csepel. Here we joined the militia of the freedom fighters and stayed for about two days. I did not do any fighting, I just took care of my car. As far as I remember, at the Csepel ISLAND there were no major fights until the return of the Russians by which time I wasn't there any more."

In the meanwhile, we always heard on the radio that the soldiers are being called back to their units. We did not go and one unit ~~passed the word~~ from Kecskem to Csepel took us to the Artillery Officer's School at Ulloi Street Barracks. Here I had to do some repairs on our car and after two days I sneaked back to the Budaorsiut Street Barracks which were my headquarters. <sup>IN THEIR WAY</sup>

"On the 3rd of November ~~they~~

~~but~~ I was awakened at four in the morning. There was a general alert at the barracks. Very soon afterwards the electric power-station nearby was shot to pieces and all the lights went out. The Russians had attacked the barracks. We defended ourselves but at seven in the morning finally we surrendered to the overwhelming majority of the attackers. We then were herded together outside the barracks on the square and here we ~~sit~~ stood until eleven o'clock. We were searched one by one by AVH men who were dressed in Russian uniforms. After seven in the evening we were released and we just "scrammed," but coming out ~~to~~ the street we were ~~beset~~ <sup>being shelled</sup> from two sides, from the Gellert Mountain and from the SAS Mountain. There were many casualties. My good friend from Csepel, the sergeant, too, was killed. We had to spend the night in doorways on our ways because we did not dare go out into the street."

"I also would like to add that at the barracks, the inside court was jammed with tanks, ammunition cars and Panzer cars. These were shoved there the day before the Russians occupied

the barracks. We were sure that it must have been treason. I think it was the Commander of that regiment who was the traitor."

"The next day I managed to get out to Szentendre to join my parents."

"I stayed with my parents in Szentendre until December 12th. I was temporarily discharged from the army since the whole Hungarian army was disordered at that time, and so I returned to my former working place where I worked before I was enlisted in the army."

DISSOLVED

"In the meanwhile, we received news from my young brother who was already in the West and all of a sudden I decided, ~~after~~ <sup>AFTER</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~ talking it over with my parents, to leave."

When asked what respondent ~~said~~ <sup>FELT</sup> during the revolution and the fighting, he said, "I felt somehow that all the demands of the young students were rightful and just. I was also very pleased that this was happening and even though I had many occasions to use ~~my~~ arms in the very beginning and against the revolutionaries I did, of course, not do so because I felt with them. ~~xxxxx~~ With the exception of the day when I fought ~~at~~ in the attack on the Party House at <sup>ROMM.</sup> the Tisza Kalman Square I did not take part in the revolution because I felt I must somehow be cautious and careful. I am fully aware that I did very little for the revolution."

demands

"I found the ~~xxxxxx~~ of the students to be right. I think the most ~~important~~ of these was freedom of press and the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary. Furthermore, I know that the so-called 'consulate system' should be discontinued. This was a system under which all enterprises, even the Army, etc., had a Russian Consul and no 'plant manager' or, for instance, commander of military units could draw up a resolution or act without the full approval of the Russian adviser!"

ADVISORY  
COUNSELLING  
ADVISOR  
COUNSELLOR

Regarding the organization of the 'freedom fighters', respondent said, "I do not think that ~~the~~ fight was organized at all in the beginning. The actual fighting when AT THE RADIO BUILDING THE 4th USED arms. And also I believed that it snowballed when the freedom fighters saw that the Hungarian police behaved



WORLD WARS → completely passively and also that the Army and the Police in the end stood at their side. I have heard, however, about local commands where small units had a kind of leader who was a member of the Army or had ~~even~~ even seen ~~two~~ ~~two~~ ~~two~~ where it was, like Uncle Szabo at the Szena Square. Much later, high ranking officers also joined the 'freedom fighters' such as Colonel Maleter and Kovacs who were in command of the Kilian Barracks. Colonel Maleter was about six foot tall, ~~firm~~ fierce looking officer."

"Regarding who took part in the fighting, I really cannot say. However, I remember that many of the young 'tough boys,' and what they call here 'hooligans', fought like lions. These were the boys of the working class. There was one thing which was very characteristic of the whole revolution, ~~that~~ that there was no looting going on whatsoever."

C. "I never believed that the Russians were sincere in withdrawing their troops. In fact, I had a ~~1~~ bet with a pal of mine. We have seen that the Russian ~~1~~ policy, even in the Czarist times, was that of ~~a~~ brutal double-crossing and I did not expect anything else from the Russians. The first time I saw the Russian troops returning was on November 4th at dawn as I told you already before. I did not plan to leave Hungary because up till the very end I was hoping that the situation would become better and some improvements would be achieved. My young brother, however, who was fighting at the K Corvin Cinema and who had already left in November, sent word that I too should come and join him, so, as I told you already, I discussed the whole matter with my parents and left on the 12th of December."

D. "I do not think that Hungary has gained because of the revolution. - It is only maybe the peasantry who, because they did not take active part in the revolution, are now being favored by the regime!"

Interviewer: Podhorszky  
Date: 8-21-57  
Place:

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

A. "I did not have any expectations from the West because I believed that the Russians would, ~~at cannon's mouth~~, AND ~~CANNOT~~ possibly give up Hungary, because that would mean that the other Eastern European nations would also want their freedom. However, after November 4th ~~only~~ Radio Free Europe gave so much encouragement and always told the Hungarians to hold out, then I was hoping sincerely and very much for Western help."

B. "I was greatly disappointed in the attitude of the United Nations because we somehow felt that the United Nations is vacillating and not standing firm. It seems to me that some people in this set-up are favoring ~~the~~ Eastern socialism rather than ~~the~~ Western democracy. Also, the West seemed to be terribly scared of the Russian might and maybe also there are too many pinks among the U.N. delegates."

C. Respondent did not come into contact with foreigners between October 23rd and the time of his escape.

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "My father was employed by the Hungarian State Railroads. He was what they call a "starter". I cannot remember the income of my father because from 1939 - 46 he was a soldier and he fought in the second world war. We lived mainly on what our grandparents gave us. My mother went also out to work in the fields sometimes to help out to harvest fruit, etc. I only remember that we had food enough but clothing was a major problem. I never had any new clothes of my own. My mother bought me always used or second hand clothes, and these were handed down to my younger brother. Also, to supplement our food supplies we were keeping poultry and so were always well stocked in meat and eggs. Later on, under the Social Welfare plan of the Minister of the Interior, we were assigned a house in the village.

"Regarding the education of my brothers I believe I am right if I say ~~xxxx~~ that my mother had five grades and my father eight.

B. "Regarding social classes in Hungary, to my mind there are only two classes. One is the privileged one. These, due to their political attitude, are enjoying all privileges and are oppressing and ordering about the second social class, the oppressed. The privileged ones are those who belong to the party and by means of the party are exercising their power.

"Communism has somehow de-classed the ~~xxxxxx~~ intellectuals and put them together with the working class and the peasantry."

Regarding the respondent's attitude towards the different groups he was of the opinion that among the intellectual class one can find very valuable and highly educated people. The working class, in his opinion, is made up mostly by city workers ~~xxx~~ on whom the Communist regime really was building, and in which they, in the beginning, had trusted. However, in the end, the working class has been found not what the communists wanted them to be.

In the opinion of respondent, the Hungarian peasantry, being very much backward, the Communists thought that they were going to have an easy time with them. However, respondent pointed out that the Hungarian peasant has a lot of natural common sense and also, they recalled, that after the Horthy regime they had nothing to surrender. The purchase value of the money was so much higher and on the whole they had it much better.

Respondent felt that he belongs to the working class.

He was of the opinion that all classes were hard-hit by communism but the most, maybe, the intellectuals.

As to how the different classes felt about each other, respondent was of the opinion that the spiritual superiority of working class has always prevailed, but somehow in other respects the classes were much welded together, <sup>DUE TO</sup> their common bad-lot.

C. As to how the individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, respondent had the opinion that the good political and right political views, that is communist views, are ~~much more~~ more important than the class origin, because after all, as he said, these people are now the first generation that grew up under the Communist regime. Only finally, and lastly, is talent important.

"However, I know that specially trained people who are indispensable for the regime, are being kept and are allowed to work. I am thinking now of ~~the~~ Professor Haynal. He is one of the many without whom the Communists cannot go ahead. Nevertheless, even those are kept under strict surveillance and control and whatever they write, (scientific papers; etc.) are being checked and controlled by the Party."

(Professor Haynal is a very famous heart specialist in Hungary and he is one of the very few who are allowed to practise medicine, and who still have the ~~job~~ Clinic.)

As a person, the kind who is a careerist and a turn-coat can get ~~xxx~~ ahead best in Communist Hungary according to respondent.

D.

Respondent believed that people who belonged to the Communist Party belonged to the groups that get out more often in society than they deserve.

From

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A.

"I cannot tell much about how children are being brought up, that is ~~of~~<sup>with</sup> the difference between the bringing up of children under the Communist regime and before the war years because first of all I was brought up in these times, and secondly at the time when I attended the elementary classes there was still religious instruction. But even now my youngest brother who is at home attends religious classes because my parents want it so. In our family nothing has very much changed because I remember that the male part of my family, father and brothers, we always have discussed everything openly and freely."

"I have seen however that the situation was very much different with other families, where the parents had no possibility in educating their children and so the children were ~~left~~ left to the day schools and roamed about in the streets."

"I believe that our family belongs to the third type of family you have mentioned here, because very little has changed in our family life. My father's principles were always not to influence us politically. He was ~~very~~ liberal. He just told us the facts about the life before the war and before communism. When our minds opened and we became a little bit bigger we soon found out by ourselves what is the truth in communism. Our father taught us mainly to be honest and decent citizens."

B.

Referring to marriage, courtship and sex patterns, respondent said, "In my experience, girls and boys alike became more free in their relationships with each other; also, the young people were less under the control of their parents. Also, the social habits somehow have changed and become very slack. Formerly it was unheard of to run about without a tie, for instance, and this slackness, of course, has affected everything. Young people do not care

much about the opinion of the parents, but from what I have seen the situation is much worse here in the United States than it has been at home with us."

"Regarding the difference in marriage, or marital relations, before the war and now, I cannot give you ~~an~~ <sup>any</sup> opinion because I can only tell you what I have seen now. I was very young before the war and cannot judge the situation at that time. I know that there are many young people who live together without being ~~xxxx~~ married and there are also many illegitimate children because abortion was strictly prohibited. I knew a girl who received ~~xxxx~~ five years in prison for this offense."

"~~To my mind~~ <sup>also,</sup> I think that due to the fact that people were oppressed and unhappy and living under bad conditions many of them took to drink and this is also a factor which greatly contributes to the deterioration of morals."

According to respondent, few people ~~can~~ to be married in church because it happened very often that they were dismissed from their jobs when the boss or the management found out that they were married in a church.

According to respondent, the number of divorces ~~xxxx~~ has also increased, due to both parties being dead tired, irritable and jumpy when coming home after a day of hard work.

According to respondent, prostitution was prohibited under the Communist regime, but it went on just as before. He also voiced his disapproval of the many women he has seen drunk in the streets.

Regarding the <sup>MORALITY</sup> ~~sexuality~~ of the convinced Communist, respondent at first did not understand the question and I had to explain it to him. Then he was of the opinion that he did not think that a convinced Communist's <sup>SEXUAL</sup> morality would be different from that of the average Hungarian.

C. if  
When asked what he would do ~~if~~ a formerly good friend of his would become a Party Member and a minor functionary,

BE MAINTAINED

he said, "I do not think that I would break off the friendship because friendship can remain without confessing the same opinions. However, I do not believe that I would consider him such a good friend as I did before. Also, you must remember that it was not uncommon that people in '48, for instance, became Party Members because at that time many people did become members of the Communist Party only because they feared for their jobs."

D.

Regarding juvenile delinquency, respondent was of the opinion that there were many juvenile delinquents due to the immoral education. He thought that these came mostly from the working class and mostly from the teen-age group.

V JAZZ  
The Jampec, in the respondent's opinion, is the teenager who is aping western fashions and western dances, who loves ~~fast~~ music and dancing. He thinks them ~~xxx~~ largely to be harmless ~~mostly~~



VII. RELIGION

A.

"The Communist regime in Hungary knew perfectly well that they cannot count on the support of any religious groups and therefore I am sure that religion was quite an important part in Hungarian life. I believe that the Roman Catholic religion was hardest hit by Communism. And this because before the Roman Catholic priests were very much under the influence of the Pope and Rome, and the Western Hemisphere altogether. Also they were important factors in education and because this education is conducted in the true western democratic spirit. Also, the Roman Catholic Church had a very large assets and the Communists wanted to put their hands on these."

According to respondent, religion could not have been a bulwark against communism in Hungary because he has heard and known many communists who nevertheless went to church. So, in his opinion, he does not know how to reconcile these two facts.

B.

Respondent thought that religion is about the same factor in his life than in the life of his parents, and he believes that he is about as religious as the average person is. He does not attend church regularly but pretty often. He confesses to be religious and believes in God.

C.

Regarding respondent's views/ on the function the Church should play in society and what the relation between Church and State should be, he said, "I advocate that the Church and State should enjoy mutual confidence and should live side by side. However, I think that the Churches ought to take an active part in education because people will be brought up according to a stricter moral code if they receive religious instruction."

"I do not want, however, any Church to interfere in setting moral codes and standards for movies, plays, ~~xxx~~ books, etc."

When asked whether the Churches should take an active political part in an independent Hungary, respondent said, "No! No! No! For Goodness Sakes! By no means!"

D.

Respondent was of the opinion that the Jewish Religion has not been hurt by Communism to such an extent than any other Churches, and this due to the fact that so many Communist top politicians were of Jewish faith.

Respondent thinks that the ~~Communists~~ Jews in Hungary at first were accepting Communism but later on, when also the Jewish shops and Jewish assets were naturalized, they very soon ~~got~~ <sup>became</sup> disillusioned, even though there were many Jewish Party Members. NATIONALIZED

Respondent said, "To my mind, there are two kinds of Jews - one, the smart ones, and the others are the dumb ones. The silly and stupid Jew is very decent and is very hard working. However, the 'smarties' are the ones who always try to look after their own interests and with whom business comes first."

"During the revolution, the Jews also approved of the revolutionary ideas and therefore the Communists started disseminating the propaganda that there was growing anti-semitism in Hungary. In fact, I am sure that it was the Communists themselves who disseminated ~~the best~~ <sup>THIS</sup> propaganda and started to incite the people."

"I also do not believe that the Hungarian Jews would not want an independent Hungary. I am sure that they would not like to see the return of a Hitler but that's all, of course."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A.

"When people said 'the Hungarian Youth' they meant usually young people between the age of fourteen and thirty.

B. "The young people of Hungary played a very important part in the Revolution. To my belief, they acted as they did because they wanted freedom and they wanted better living conditions. Also, I think the youths took the lead rather than the old people because they were dissatisfied more than the older generation. During the revolution, the older ~~people~~ people always approved what the young people did. I do not know what the young people thought about the older ones."

C.

In reference to the schools and educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said the following:-

"The quality of education deteriorated; ~~to my mind,~~ and I'm thinking now ~~that~~ because of the slanted way we were taught, for instance, history, geography, etc., (the whole history was falsified and we have not learned a thing about the real and true Hungarian historical past.) — I have seen this when my younger sisters have shown me their books and I heard them recite their lessons. Otherwise, the material we had to learn was pretty much ~~correct~~ and we were expected to know a great deal. After '46 there was a great shortage of teachers, so the regime has introduced 'express' courses for would-be teachers. Of course, the result was disastrous. The older teachers, on the other hand, were pretty much obliged to teach what they were told to teach, and according to the slanted version of the regime. Only mathematics, maybe, were not slanted."

"However, I do approve of the innovation of the Communist regime that eight grades was compulsory for everybody to attend in Hungary, instead of the four grades as before."

"Regarding the political attitude of the teachers, I think that maybe twenty percent were really Communists, the rest certainly not."

D.

In respondent's opinion, the indoctrination of Hungarian youth failed because ever since 1948 the young people of Hungary could see for themselves that the Communists are preaching lies and are not implementing the laws according to the creed. Also, ever since the Russian occupation in 1945, they have seen what kind of people the Russians are.

## IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A. "

"Our main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary, <sup>AS FELT</sup> ~~showed up~~ in our every-day life were mostly the very low living standard, low wages and shortage of consumer goods.

B.

"Apart from political things we were mostly annoyed by the seminaries, the political seminaries, which we had to attend."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A.

"How my family got along financially during the last years in Hungary, I can give you an example. Before the Communist regime, my father worked only, and now in the last years four of us in the family were working and we lived just as bad as at the times when my father was away in Russia as a soldier, or when only he was working. Food, especially the main staple consumer goods, were extremely expensive and very often short of supply. Clothing was of a very inferior quality and expensive, and housing was bad. But this last was due to the fact that the heavy industry was being bolstered, no apartments were built, also the population grew steadily. Furthermore, ~~bureaucracy~~ bureaucracy was mushrooming to an unheard-of extent. Many houses were taken for offices or for Party premises."

"I considered it as a greatest luxury to own a good motor-bicycle. Not an automobile, an auto-bicycle would have been enough."

V ONE HAS "To my family housing caused the greatest difficulty because ~~to have~~ to pay a very high amount as a premium in order to get a good and decent apartment."

"My family's standard of living was at its best in '48, at the time when the purchase value of the money was still good. Ever since, our standard of living went steadily down."

"I cannot recall that any friend of ours lived better or was better off than ourselves. I only knew that people who were Party big-wigs lived well; they had a very good income."

~~The extremely low Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years is due only to the regime's bad economic policy, the nationalisation, the low quality of the consumer goods due to the norm system, and also, of course, and maybe primarily, the foreign trade policy~~

of the Government, because everything that was produced in Hungary was sent out to Russia. It was always ~~Russia~~ <sup>RUSSIAN</sup> instructions were to and what ~~can~~ be shipped." ON  
WST

FOR "I also believe that the so-called planned economy which was carried out in a very haphazard way was greatly <sup>RESPONSIBLE</sup> causing the bad standard of living. Furthermore, the all-out effort of the communist party to convert Hungary to an industrial state."

B.

Respondent could not give any data regarding his income because in 1956, the last couple of weeks, he received 4.60 florins per hour wages and that was all he could say.

Besides the head of the family, himself, his younger brother and mother were working in order to supplement family income.

C.

According to respondent, his family mostly bought food at the state stores, especially the main consumer goods. Very often, however, they had to resort to the open market where goods were, even though more expensive, of much better quality and fresher.

According to respondent, the price differences were greater in the years when the Black Marketeering was at its full swing in 1945 and 1946.

"Regarding clothing, as I told you before, up to the time when I did not yet work, my mother always bought me second-hand clothes. Later on, I bought my own clothes or had them custom-made because I was very finicky about my clothes."

"Retail distribution was very bad in Hungary. The clothes were mostly directed to the cities where workers lived or industrial centres. The retail distribution in the provincial areas was very bad. The regime always tried to please the working class."

"It was extremely difficult to get fairly standard spare parts. Many people had to throw away their machinery because they could not get the necessary spare parts."

"Especially short in supply ~~was~~ was meat mainly. Then good quality shoes and clothing."

"Regarding the black market, as I said, this flourished mainly in 1945 up to 1947 about, and mostly in food-stuffs and clothing. The black market goods were usually pretty expensive. Black marketeering was dangerous and naturally everybody who was found guilty was locked up. Usually the sentences were for "hoarding." Pretty bad were the times between '52 and '53 in the field of food-stuff hoarding. I remember once seeing a big shop window where goods were displayed that were confiscated from somebody and huge letters said, 'This and this man was being caught in hoarding food-stuffs.'

D.

In ~~reference~~ reference to working conditions, respondent gave the following information:-

He worked as an electrical technician from seven till four p.m. with half an hour lunch break. He had this job of his own choosing because he went back to the same plant where he worked before he joined the army. And this was his own profession.

His relations with co-workers were very good as well as with his superiors. He disclosed that all co-workers and his superiors were excellently qualified people and very decent. They had only one party man there, a Jew, who was also the Trade Union Steward.

He was satisfied in his job but not satisfied with what he earned.

Regarding the Hungarian vacation, health and compensation program, respondent said, "Every enterprise and plant had usually its own health resort whereto the workers were sent. However, the quota was set very low. How many people ~~could~~ could attend such vacation programs always depended on the Trade Union recommendation. It was extremely



SPA  
difficult to get a vacation at a coveted nice ~~job~~ or at THE  
time you wanted."

"The health program was pretty good. There was a certain amount deducted from your wages for this purpose and when you became ill the health organization took care of you.

"The compensation or pension program on the other hand was very bad. You had to pay deductions for your pension fund but in the end you received very little. I have heard that people received as little as 300 florins pension per month."

E.

When asked where he would have preferred to <sup>LIVE</sup> be while in Hungary, respondent said, "I always preferred, and still would prefer, to be in the country because I like nature and the open fields, trees, flowers."

According to respondent, the city-workers had a much better diet in Communist Hungary, the general standard of living, too, was higher in the cities. In his opinion, however, politically, people had it easier in the countryside.

"When collectivisation was first introduced in Hungary, I did not think very much of it because in our <sup>GOOD WILL</sup> locality every man who was entrusted with it didn't know a <sup>RESULT</sup> thing about it. Also, I knew that the Hungarian peasant does not like to work for somebody else. They prefer to work on their own land."

"I believe that all peasants, the well-to-do and the less well-off ones too, objected to collectivisation.

"I heard that collectives have been dissolved ~~and~~ during the revolution, and for the very reasons that people knew that it cannot and will not work."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A.

Respondent was too young in 1948 in order to give any opinion about the political parties at that time.

He has heard about the Communist Party before '48 and the regime of Bela Kun but could not give any opinion on it. But respondent's opinion of the Communist Party is very bad.

B.

According to respondent, there are three different classes of party members. One, the idealist communist. Two, the careerist and opportunist. And three, the one who was forced or compelled to join the Party for some reason or other.

R

~~xxxxx~~ regarding the attitudes of the Party Members to ~~what~~ the respondent said; "I do not know whether or not ~~we~~ express any opinion because it was allowed to exercise constructive criticism only and no destructive criticism was welcomed by the Party."

IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR A PARTY MEMBER TO

"Regarding party policies, I do believe that these have changed during the last eight years because the plans did not fulfill their hopes, industry and agriculture did not run smoothly. Regarding party membership, in the beginning anybody could join the party but later on restriction were imposed, ~~also they had so many perjuries all the time.~~ I believe that there are always some factions and fights within a party because the so-called socialist ideology is just bunkum and every top party leader wants to be a dictator."

"The general trend of the party policies depend always on how the wind blows from Moscow. I am referring here to the case of RAEK."

Regarding Party morals, respondent could not give any information. However, he said, "There was a party dictatorship, anyway."

Regarding the aims and motives of the top leaders of the Communist Party, respondent said, "I do not believe that these people can have any individual aims or motives. They are directed by the central Soviet leadership and are under their command. What they pretend to achieve is what they call a 'socialist state' but I do not believe this, of course."

When asked what respondent thought should be done with Hungarian communists when Hungary is independent, he said, "I would judge them according to what they have done. I believe that the most fair way to treat them would be to give them the same sort of treatment they gave to the Hungarian people under their rule."

C.

Regarding opposition to the Communist Government before the revolution, respondent was of the opinion that very little could be achieved ~~this way~~ because the oppression was far too great and the reprisals too strong. He did not hear of any sabotage or slow-downs of this kind, either.

Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, respondent disclosed that he has heard about the intellectual ferment that started in Szeged University. He also has heard of the Petofi circle. When I asked him, 'How?', he said that there was a boy with him in the Army who wrote poems and who attended the meetings and told him about them.

In respondents opinion, the intellectuals only formulated ideas everyone held but did not bring anything new.

He believed them to be the spearhead of the revolution.

According to ~~the~~ respondent, the intellectuals stood up against the regime because they wanted freedom of speech and did not want to continue to write ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ slanted literature any more.

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## XIII THE APPARATUS OF POWER

## A.

Respondent summed up his opinion and views on the Hungarian AVH as follows:-

"As far as I know, sixty percent of the AVH rank and file are peasant boys who are drafted into the army and who are specially trained by the AVH for their own vile purposes. Then about thirty percent of the force are the leaders who are kept by the force due to their specific knowledge and training. And ten percent of the AVH force are the top executives of the AVH who are all-and-out-communists!"

"As I said before, the rank and file is drafted military personnel. They have to serve three and a half years, which is longer than usual because at home we served only ~~two~~ or, in certain units like the Airforce and Panzer Corps, three years, ~~only~~.

Respondent and all his family, friends, etc., had no personal experience with AVH men. Also, he did not hear of anyone who wanted to leave the AVH, suffered remorse, etc.

When Hungary is independent, respondent again wants to have the AVH punished as the top communist leaders according to their activities. He also said that he would have them tortured the same way that they tortured their innocent victims.

According to respondent, the regular police was different from the AVH because, first of all, and mainly, the AVH have selected the top-best people for their own rank and file thus leaving only the stupidest part of the drafted soldiers for the police.

He was of the opinion that the intellectual level of the police force was extremely bad, especially in the detectives' force. He was also of the opinion that the rank and file especially, is open to bribes but only under

✓ FOR  
TWO  
YEARS

four eyes.

In respondent's experience, the regular police force was displaying a neutral attitude towards the Freedom Fighters, but later on joined also in the fight. He has seen, himself, at the Stalin Bridge, (formerly called Arpad Bridge,) that policemen handed over their arms to the revolutionaries.

B.

Regarding the Courts, and how they worked before '45, respondent was too young at that time and cannot give any opinion. Regarding the People's Courts between '45 and '47, he said, that he knew that these were set up to judge the so-called 'war criminals' and volunteered the opinion that probably some of the so-called 'criminals' were really guilty and maybe some of the sentences were just, but he said in the end, 'I really do not know for sure.'

C.

When asked about the Hungarian Army and its attitude during the revolution, he said, "The rank and file was certainly not against the revolution and later on all of us went over to them. I believe that ~~knux~~ on the whole the Army was quite enthusiastic about the revolution and most of the officers. As I mentioned, we too had some officers who really wanted to help the revolutionaries. At first, I have heard that the Kilian Barracks went over and then the Military Academy where I was on that very day. It was quite interesting to see that there I observed two Korean officers who also joined in in the fighting and they were shooting and killing Russians like mad. //

"I do not know any differences <sup>IN THE BEHAVIOR OF THE ARMY</sup> ~~we have here regarding~~ <sup>UNITS</sup> geographical differences. SITUATION."

REGARDING

When asked whether there was any difference in the behaviour of soldiers during the revolution relating to class origin, he said, "I couldn't tell because in our unit we did not have any peasants or intellectuals, we were mostly working class people."

"I was not surprised by the Army's actions during the Revolution but by the actions of our officers, like our Commander who did not give ammunition to the soldiers who were ordered out to fight against the revolutionaries. On the whole, it seems that everybody was very pleasantly surprised by the attitude of the Army."

The Army's actions were explained by respondent like this:

"I knew that everybody in the Army was very much dissatisfied, that we were dressed and trained according to Russian patterns and not as Hungarian soldiers. Everything was shaped according to the Russian military pattern."

Regarding the Hungarian Army during the Communist regime, the respondent could give the following information:-

"I belonged to a technical unit, that of the Radio Cars, and here of course everybody was trained. I had to serve two years and, as I said before, we were all mostly of the working class. Our sergeants were not Communists, they just used to bark about a great deal, and I am sure that most of the officers did too. For instance, the one who taught us the Political Seminary Class usually told us what to learn from the books. He never asked us whether we knew anything and during the whole class he was reading a novel. Anybody who wanted to become an officer, and who had some brains, could become an officer. He was accepted by the Officers' Academy, where he had to study for three years. We had some officers who belonged formerly to the Horthy Army and they were NCOs and became regular officers later on. Our Commander, for instance, was a former Master-Sergeant who belonged also to the Radio Unit in the Horthy regime. I only know of two officers who belonged to the Communist Party and these were of the Intelligence Service Unit."

"The relations of the officers to the enlisted men depended on the officers themselves. On the whole, our officers, since they were specially trained people, and we were, too, were very decent with us. I was told that with the infantry units it was different."

"Even though/ the regulations demanded that only 20 to 30% of the men were allowed to go out for the day because there was a 24 hours alert constantly in every barracks, we were on a war-alert all the time, -our officers usually let about 50-60% of the men have their outings at the same time."

"Those who got better treatment in the Army than others, were the ones who did participate in some sport or excelled in some sport. For instance, we had the top <sup>HUNGARIAN</sup> boxer champions in our unit, but ~~these~~ we have never seen in the barracks. They <sup>PEOPLE</sup> openly confessed that they never had it so good."

"We did have political indoctrination lessons. We were taught Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism and the Communistic Doctrine four hours per week - sometimes we even had six."

"However, I do not think that any of us or our ~~Group~~ Group was greatly influenced or taken in by those indoctrination classes. But maybe the younger generation was."

"We never talked politics among ourselves. We rather talked about the girls."

D.

When asked whether feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1848, respondent said, "No. I rather believe it's due to their behaviour in First World War. Many Hungarian soldiers were in Russia at that time also and my grandfather told me a great deal about Russia of that time, how the people and the soldiers are. Furthermore, the behaviour of the Russian Army when they came in 1944 and 45 to Hungary, the way how they behaved, how barbaric they were, this, I think, is the main reason why the Russian Occupation Army was so unpopular in Hungary. As a child, of course, I had experience enough with the Russian Army because they were billeted in the village where we lived. I remember one day I went over to beg some bread from them and when I came home my mother had all her hands full to de-lice me. They were filthy, they raped and looted all over the whole village."

Otherwise respondent could not give any opinion on Russian soldiers during or after the Revolution. However, he heard that the Russian troops that were stationed for a longer time in Hungary liked to live there and did not want to return to Russia. This was why the Russian troops were exchanged about every two years. The so-called military and industrial "advisers" were exchanged every six years, said respondent. He also added that during the Revolution as long as the old troops were in Budapest, these were quite decent. The new ones sent in on November 4th were fierce and barbaric Mongols and Kirgiz troops.

Respondent could not give any information regarding the behaviour of Soviet soldiers during the revolution. He also has not heard of any cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers towards Hungarians during the Revolution.

E.

Regarding whether or not local government officials would be willing to forget the rules and ~~xxxx~~ help people in trouble, ~~the~~ respondent disclosed that it so happened that some acquaintance, relative or friend was willing to help.

F.

Whether or not you could get around some of the regulations to a certain extent by bribery or by pulling ropes, respondent said, "The best way was to have some connections, whether through a friend, or through a relative; ~~also~~ there were certain offices ~~se~~ were bribed, was the most useful way to get around the regulations." He mentioned here the Housing Allocation Office. Respondent also added that at the Army and the AVH you could not bribe anybody.

"Any officers caught in accepting bribes was immediately dismissed and imprisoned."

G.

Regarding the efficiency, talent, intelligence of the different groups and people who held power in Communist



Hungary, respondent said the following:-

"I know that the officers of the AVH were intelligent and highly trained ~~my~~ people. They have trained their personnel in the different political sciences also they have ~~were~~ very well trained radio and other technical staff, not to speak about the detectives and the espionage group."

"Among the Army top leadership they also had some very good and highly trained people, mainly of the older officers from the former Army, and the so-called partisans. Usually, the system was to keep the former Horthy regime officers as long as they did not have anybody trained for the same job. Then they dismissed the old man immediately. On the whole, the whole Hungarian army had to obey orders from the so-called Russian advisers! The same refers to public administration."

"Regarding the Russian Army leadership, they too have some very shrewd old foxes like Zhukov. However, what we have seen, even the Russian Army is being purged and reshuffled according to the Russian Communist Party policy."

"The public administration officials are mostly badly trained people because the new public administration employees received only a very short and inefficient training. The lower echelon consisted mostly of the ~~retained personnel~~ <sup>RETAINED PERSONNEL</sup> of the old regime were the ~~once-they-were~~ <sup>WHO WERE</sup> efficient ~~ONES~~ <sup>ONES</sup>."

## XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent does not hope that things will take a turn to the better in Hungary in the near future, but he expects that Russian dictatorship will, one day exterminate itself. He believes that a passive resistance will continue in Hungary ~~was of the opinion that a future~~ <sup>was</sup> Nevertheless he believes that war would be the only radical solution of the problem.

public opinion was much against war because nobody wants bloodshed.

He was of the opinion that no means other than war can achieve anything because the Russians are hard too conceited and double crossing.

D.

Regarding how the people back in Hungary assessed the prospects for Hungary during the last eight or ten years before the Revolution, respondent said, "They did not expect anything good to come out of the whole situation. We only expected that things go from bad to worse. Nothing good results from a Communist regime. During the last ten years we were, however, quietly hoping that maybe one day the whole of Russian dictatorship and tyranny will collapse."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A.

Respondent would like to see a truly democratic political system in Hungary similar to that one in Austria.

B.

Regarding the desired economic system and emphases, respondent said, "I am of the opinion that Hungary should 55% percent emphasise agriculture and 45% industry but the LIGHT INDUSTRIES only. We do not have enough raw material to supply our heavy industries. ~~But~~ regarding the light industries, I think that the textile industry would be worth while to ~~be~~ developed and also the production of all consumer goods.

"Regarding agriculture, I think that the fruit growing should be mostly encouraged in Hungary and also the ~~xxx~~ manufacture of wines then. Regarding agricultural products I think Hungary ought to grow wheat and other corns.

overthrown

"If the Communist regime were ~~xxxxxxx~~, I believe that the State-owned national enterprises should to a certain percent be given back to the people. I am thinking of giving out the shares of each state enterprise to the people, so that really the people should be the owners

"Regarding the state farms and ~~xxxxxxx~~ kolkhozes I would return the land to the former owners up to one hundred to two hundred acres, and the rest I would keep in the hands of the State. The kolkhozes I would like to see dissolved altogether."

"Regarding the different enterprises, the transportation companies and all power stations and public utilities should remain in the hands of the State, as well as anything that is connected with the Hungarian ~~uranium~~ ~~ore~~

"I believe that a hundred to two hundred acres of land should be the maximum limit of land any one person or family

may own in an independent Hungary."

When asked which kind of Government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary he chose the first possible kind offered, the one that guarantees personal freedom to the individual. He said, "If every person is granted his personal freedom then there is free enterprise also which is a healthy economy under which every one can make a good living."

Respondent would not favour the outlawing of the Communist Party in an independent Hungary because, "there wouldn't be any members for that party any more. The Hungarian people have known for twelve long years what Communism means."

C.

Regarding what kind of international position the respondent would prefer for an independent Hungary, he said, "I would like to have a complete neutrality like Austria has, but on the other hand, due to the strategic situation of Hungary I think you need a close alliance with the West like the one of West Germany would be more useful and more sure." Regarding respondent's ideas on relations with the U.S.S.R., East European States, Rest of Europe, and the United States he would not like to see any military alliances with the above-mentioned countries; however, he would not mind to have economic and cultural relations even with the Soviet Union but he would certainly very much welcome all economic and cultural ties with all the rest of the world.

Regarding the federation of Danubian states, the respondent has heard something about this idea but could not remember when and where. He added that this federation, in his opinion, would only work if it would consist of an economic federation and no military ties attached. He said that the idea is good, and if workable, all Danubian states should participate for different reasons. The Czechs and Austrians because it would be very favorable for Hungary, and also the others, because as he put it the other three Danubian countries are under-developed and would mean a very good market for the Hungarian products.

Respondent did not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. He thought that ~~the~~ plebescite would be the best solution under international control. However, he added, that at present he doesn't think that the Soviet Union would concede that any such plebescite be held in these areas and therefore at present he does not see any feasible solution of this problem.

Respondent was quite concerned about the problem of Hungarian minorities but admitted that the problem is too complex and possibly would not be solved for quite some time.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A.

Respondent has never heard of the 20th Party Congress or Khrushchev's secret speech to this congress.

Neither did he hear anything about Senator McCarthy or the Un-American Activities Committee, the fall of Peron, and the reason for it.

Regarding the private life of Rakosi, he also was very uninformed. He said the only thing he heard, that it was rumoured his wife was Russian one who wore the pants in the family and issued the orders to him.

B.

Regarding sources, *WHERE* from respondent drew most of his information, he listed them as follows. First of all, word of mouth, then radio and newspapers. He thought that of these sources the news he got by word of mouth was the most important for him because he very seldom listened to the radio and very seldom read a newspaper. And also, as he said, "Anything that was in the papers, or given out on the radio, was slanted and distorted. You couldn't believe even Radio Free Europe, they sometimes put out a pack of lies also."

C. Respondent received mostly political and economic news by word of mouth from his co-workers, friends and relatives. He thought that about thirty percent of the news he received by word of mouth he believed.

D.

Regarding the reading habits of respondent, he disclosed that he very seldom read any newspaper and sometimes had a glance at the SZABADNEP. 'Life and Science' periodical, however, he read quite regularly. He also read fiction, usually Hungarian translations of foreign authors, classics and modern, and also Hungarian classics and moderns.

Respondent disclosed that he never ~~that he never~~ trusted the Hungarian Communist press and usually the contrary was always true.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A.

REGarding the chances of changes inside Russia, respondent's ideas were as follows:-

"There might be some change happen inside Russia but only by means of a revolution."

Regarding the feelings of the people in Russia about the communist regime, respondent told that several of his comrades in the army who were taken to manoeuvres inside Russia told upon returning that the people inside Russia are dissatisfied with the regime.

However, respondent said that he does not believe that changes would happen if Russia had a free election because, "the Russian people are far too stupid and backward. They do not know for what to vote."

Regarding the aims and motives of the top Communist leaders of Russia, respondent said, "I believe that these people have only one aim and this is the dictatorship by one person only and that's why they will keep on fighting between each other. Globally their aim is to impose Soviet ~~xxx~~ world domination.

"The difference between the Russian top Communist leaders and the Hungarian Communist leadership was so in defect that the Hungarian are the 'yes-men' and servile puppets of the Russian leaders who issue the orders. "

B.

The relative popularity in Hungary of the other satellite nations was put by respondent as follows:-

Most popular was Poland because of a mutual and centuries-long hardship and historical ties. Second come the Czechs because many Hungarians have to live under the Czech rule. Then, he said, came Eastern Germany because everybody in Hungary respected the talent and the industry of the Germans.



According to respondent, Yugoslavia was not so popular in Hungary since the '45 bloodshed. Rumania and Bulgaria were at the bottom of the list of popularity for the respondent because the Rumanians, as he said, "are dirty people," and because Bulgarians are very backward.

In respondent's opinion if free elections were held in these countries, apart from Poland, he was sure that in ~~Eng~~ Yugoslavia National Communism as enforced by Tito would prevail. In other countries, the Communists would lose out.

Regarding the standard of living, respondent gave the list as follows;-

According to the best of his knowledge, the standard of living is best in Eastern Germany. Second best, is in Czechoslovakia, followed by Hungary, Poland and ending with Rumania and Bulgaria.

C.

Regarding Poland, respondent was of the opinion that the Gomulka's Government at first was a genuine change but now in the meantime it has become a puppet government.

He does not believe that Gomulka's policy represents a step in the right direction and also he was of the opinion that Gomulka's future depends entirely on what the Russians want. He does not believe that Poland outlooks are too bright. In fact, he said that he even thinks that the situation in Poland will deteriorate.

Respondent's views have changed to the effect that in the very beginning he was of the opinion that Gomulka's actions were right, now he sees that he could not improve the position of his country very much.

In respondent's opinion events in Poland did have an effect on events in Hungary before the Revolution because the Polish thaw was mostly the reason why the Hungarian intellectuals have dared to raise different issues.

During and after the October Revolution, however, he did not see any effects on the events in Hungary.

Respondent has heard of the Poznan events and the Poznan trials by getting the news by word of mouth, and also he said that the Hungarian press and radio has also dealt with this news.

When asked whether or not he had preferred the Hungarian Revolution to take a path along Polish lines, he said, "at that time when I was back in Hungary I would not have liked to see a Polish-like solution but now when I am looking back and from a distance I think it would have been better because after all so many lives have been lost in Hungary and the situation is getting worse really. In Poland on the other hand, even though not very much has changed at least they haven't lost so many of their people."

D.

According to respondent, it was not Tito who invented National Communism. He, however, said that Tito is a pretty smart politician.

The respondent's attitude to National Communism, was as follows:-

"National Communism is a little bit better than the so-called 'Social' Communism, but the Hungarian nation would not be satisfied with any sort of communism, and nobody would like National Communism either because after all this is also a dictatorship."

Respondent's views on Tito's relations with East European nations, Russia, and the West, were as follows:-

"Tito is the man who always pre-determined his policy, how it is the best for him. He can be lovey-dovey one day with one partner and at break the next. He is an opportunist."

"As far as I remember, his attitude was that of strict neutrality regarding the Hungarian Revolution."

"As to Tito's popularity, I think he must be pretty popular since the standard of living is <sup>HIGHER</sup> and labor conditions are better than in Hungary. <sup>THAN IN HUNGARY</sup>

"However, I do not know how freedom of expression and other personal freedoms are in Jugoslavia."

E.

"The whole situation in the Suez was brought about on Russian instigation by Nasser, and therefore I think he was completely wrong. I think that the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was right but I hold the opposite view regarding the Israeli invasion.

"I do not think that Egypt had the right to nationalize the Canal, because after all an international agreement must be respected.

Whether or not events in Egypt had any effect on developments in Hungary, respondent could not tell.

F.

According to respondent's knowledge, the living standards in Western Germany are extremely high and the highest in the whole of Western Europe.

As to whether or not the Germans are dangerous and may start another war, respondent said, "If the Germans will be united one day, they might start a war but only against Russia.

"The West German re-armament therefore is quite right because they are arming against communistic domination.

"As far as I know, the West German Army is one hundred thousand men which is much less than the French and the British, I think. I am not sure how long the term of service is in the West German Army. Is it three years, or less? I do not know."

Regarding the popularity of the German and the Russian as compared to each other, respondent said, "The most distasteful occupation army to me, personally, was the

Russian one because I find them an immoral, barbarous, cultureless lot.

"The German Army was far better disciplined as to both officers and men.

"In my opinion, it was the Russian Occupation Army that was more unpopular in Hungary."

G.

When asked about NATO, respondent said, "Yes, I know why NATO was set up. It was supposed to be a military strength against communist aggression and I am sure that hadn't it been set up the Russians would sit now in the blank middle of Europe."

When asked to compare NATO with the Warsaw Pact, he said, "Members of the Warsaw Pact had ~~to~~ to sign under duress and it was compulsory, and this is the main difference if you compare it to NATO."

Respondent thought that NATO is an international defence organization which has ~~xxxx~~ a very important role in the defence of Europe.

Respondent had no opinion to give about the British Labour Party.

Respondent's impressions of the living standards of various countries were as follows:-

He put the highest living standard for Western Germany, followed by Great Britain, then Egypt, the Soviet Union, Italy and Greece.

H.

When asked what surprised him most about America during his first few months here, he said, "First of all, I was quite amazed to see those outside ladders on the apartment houses. At first I thought that these are the regular steps where you come down from the houses. Only later on did I find out that they are fire escapes.

"Then I was very much taken aback by the credit system here. I am thinking now that you can open a charge account and buy anything on very little down and pay on the instalment. This is quite unusual for us because people just buy things without having the material backing. I think this is wrong.

"Furthermore, I was greatly appalled to see how children were educated here and the ~~the~~ moral standards ~~the~~"

As to what the United States should do now for the peoples of Eastern Europe, respondent said, "United States should do nothing for the Eastern European nations but ought to enforce economic, and very strict ones, sanctions on the Soviet Union. In my mind, the actual policy and present foreign policy of the United States is far too slow.

"The United States should not give any economic assistance to the present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary and all the rest of Eastern European nations because this economic assistance would only go into the pockets of the Soviet Union."

Respondent said that his attitude did not change since he came to the United States.

Respondent was of the opinion that the American Government should not accept the present government of Hungary as the rightful one. However, he did not see any reason to break off diplomatic relations.

Respondent was also of the opinion that people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors, mostly tourists, the newspapermen, and also actors and singers of international fame.

He thought that such visitors should be told beforehand that any conversation they would like to conduct with the people in Hungary should be under 'four eyes'. Respondent believed that the right people to tell these prospective visitors to Hungary would be the new immigrants and especially the intellectuals.

Respondent was of the opinion that if the Hungarian Government would permit then people back home would rejoice in getting Western books and periodicals. These would be sent to libraries, universities.

Respondent was also of the opinion that people would be favorably impressed by the fact that Hungarian exiles are associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications because, as he said, "this would prove to them that we have not forgotten them and are trying to help them in a way."

Respondent had no idea why the United States has launched the Marshall Plan in 1948. Upon second thought, he said that probably the Marshall Plan was some sort of an aid.

Respondent believed that in 1950 America became involved in the Korean War for economic and political reasons. The economic reasons he saw America's intentions to ensure the Korean market, the political reasons, in order to stamp Communist expansion.

J.

On the United Nations, respondent held the following opinion. He thought that the United Nations has missed the bus and they do not exploit the Russian weakness and hesitation at that time. In his opinion, the United Nations is very weak and can't enforce its will and MIGHT only on the small countries, but cannot do anything against Soviet Russia. Respondent does not see any chance of effective U.N. action for Hungary in the foreseeable future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A.

When asked who in his opinion is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent said, "I cannot give any name as to politicians but I think that Zoltan Kodaly is a great Hungarian because of his musical achievements. He is a great connoisseur of Hungarian music.

B.

Regarding the respondent's reactions to a number of persons of importance his *OPINION WAS* as follows:-

"Imre Nagy to my mind is a serious, reliable and sensible person."

"Cardinal Mindszenty is the one who always fought against Communism."

"Laszlo Rajk, he dared to diverge from the Moscow line and then he was 'done in', now they have rehabilitated him."

"Erno Gero and Janos Kadar are only puppets of the Russians."

"I have not heard anything about General Bela Kiraly."

"I am mad at Anna Kethly because she left Hungary at the time when we would have needed her most. I do not know why they make such a fuss about her here."

Regarding the other selected personalities, respondent had the following views.

"President Eisenhower, in my opinion, seems to be unable

to enforce his will on the Congress."

"Secretary-General Hammarskjold is a drawing-room Communist."

"Foreign Secretary Dulles of the United States is a good politician."

"Eden was the former Foreign Secretary to England. I don't know anything about him."

"Neither have I any opinion about former President of the United States Harry Truman."

With reference to the third part of selected personalities, respondents reactions were as follows:-

"Mikoyan? Who was he?"

"Nehru? He's all out for peace. It really has to be seen how he is going to exploit this situation."

"Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek? He is the Chinese dictator."

"Ferenc Nagy was a bad politician."

"I disapprove of Roosevelt's policies."

"Chancellor Adenauer, on the other hand, is a very smart politician."

"Stalin is a notorious dictator, or rather was."

"I do not know anything about Malenkov. I know that Generalissimo Franco is the dictator of Spain."

Respondent did not know who Aneurin Bevan is. Of Khrushchev he had the opinion that he talks too much and is bragging.

On Molotov, he said, "Isn't this the one who allegedly committed suicide right now." Respondent did not know who



Ollenhauer is."

On Churchill, he said, "This was the greatest politician of our times and must be a great loss for the British people that he is no more active in politics."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A.

When asked who escaped from Hungary primarily, respondent said, "It was mostly the intellectuals and the workers who left Hungary after the Revolution. Their ages varied from 18 to 40 mostly and the great majority of them came from the cities, even from as far as Debrecen, and even from Zahony, but the greatest part of them came from Budapest and the western cities.

When asked as to why they left Hungary, respondent thought that because they wanted to live in freedom.

According to respondent, the Hungarian peasants came out in very small numbers because the Hungarian peasant is very much tied to his land. The respondent also believed that, of course, the Communists did not leave Hungary. However, he could not give any opinion or his feelings about them.

In respondent's opinion, people in Hungary say that those who have escaped have done the right thing.

Assuming that the Communist Government is still in power in Hungary, and people had a chance to come to the West, respondent believes that only 20% of the population would stay behind. These would be the very old and the Communists.

B.

Respondent, while in Hungary, was not aware of any organizations or individuals active in the West. When I handed him the list of organizations and individuals I drew a complete blank. There were very few of ~~xxxx~~ them he heard the names mentioned but didn't know anything more about them.

C.

Respondent has not met any Hungarians who escaped to the West after '45 but returned to Hungary later on.

Respondent, however, heard about the Communist redefection campaign launched now after the Revolution. He thought that the aims were twofold, economic and political. Economic because the refugees were mostly highly skilled workers and there was a great shortage of them, and secondly, political because they wanted to show to the West that everything is fine within Hungary and people want to go back.

Respondent was of the opinion that the whole redefection campaign was sheer propaganda on the side of the Communists.

Respondent told me also that he has heard ~~xxxx~~ about people who when expressing their wish to return to Hungary were told ~~that~~ the Hungarian Communist Legations what to take back. For instance, one boy took back industrial diamonds from Canada and, of course, was promptly relieved of them at the Hungarian border.

D.

As to what people in Hungary would like to know about exiles, respondent said that all of them back home are interested in what kind of life the immigrants are leading here, what jobs they have, and how they are faring. He, on the other hand, thought people in Hungary ought to know that you have to work very hard here, also he thought that they ought to know how high the taxation in this country is.

(Respondent seemed to have resented very much that he has to pay so ~~xxxx~~ much in income and other taxes on his earnings.)

As to what the exiles should know, respondent said, "First of all, they ought to learn English fast and well." He, however, was unable to give any other idea what the exiles or he himself could personally do.

Respondent thought that he would like to join an exile organization but a purely social one and he would not mind an existing one or one that ought to be set up now. In his opinion this organization ought to inform the Hungarians

of all world events.

He thought that this organization should be made up of new and old exiles alike.

(Respondent had great misgiving regarding those old immigrants who are here already forty years or so and still do not know English properly. He thought this is a disgrace.)

Regarding Hungarian political parties before '48, and parties in exile, respondent could not give any information. He was much too young before '48 anyway.

As to political parties revived in Hungary during the Revolution, respondent said, "This was far too soon, that the political parties were revived in Hungary. I have heard of the Smallholder's Party and the Peasant Party at that time but probably there were quite a few more. I think that it was wrong to start parties and divide forces when the Russians were still in Hungary.

Respondent did not see any reasons why groups that went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revived parties.

E.

Regarding respondent's own plans for the future, he said, "I would want to go back to Hungary only if as a visitor, even if Hungary is free."

However, he was very emphatic about the teaching of Hungarian as well as English to his children in the United States if he ever has any.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A.

Respondent stated that he listened to foreign radio stations while in Hungary, to the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, BBC, and to one Yugoslav station in Hungarian. He thought that the reception was best for the Yugoslav station and Radio Free Europe was jammed mostly. He always listened to broadcasts in Hungarian but very seldom and not regularly at all.

He, however, told everybody what he had heard and he, too, received news the same way.

He listened on his family's radio or on the radio of the Army in the barracks. He disclosed that all the boys listened quite freely and did not mind ~~whaxixaxix~~ who listened to it. Very often, their officers also were present when they listened to the foreign radios.

He also heard Western broadcasts at second hand from people he knew.

Respondent could not tell what kind of risk was involved in listening to the broadcasts. He did not care very much about them. However, he said that in 1956 people became more careless and listened to them more openly and freely.

Respondent summed up his reactions to the foreign radio broadcasts as follows:-

"I do not have a very good opinion of the Radio Free Europe broadcasts and sometimes I was downright mad at them because very often they would put out lies. It was very easy to find out the truth. I preferred to listen to the radio from England or from Washington. They were more factual.

The respondent was of the opinion that Radio Free Europe has encouraged the population during the Revolution. He was of the opinion that the Radio Free Europe did help to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help.

Respondent thought, however, that Radio Free Europe should nevertheless continue to broadcast into Hungary but, as he said, less talk and more facts.

He thought that political and economic news would be all right and also he would welcome any programs in reference ~~with art, music, etc.~~ with art, music, etc. But, he said, no anti-communist propaganda should be broadcast to Hungary any more.

B.

Respondent did not know anything about FEP leaflets.

C.

About the Free Europe leaflets, respondent disclosed that he has seen them coming down but did not have any one in his hands. This happened in the vicinity of Budapest.

He had no information whether or not there was any risk involved in picking up Free Europe leaflets. He knew, however, that they had to be surrendered. He did not have any opinion about these leaflets and thought that leaflet dropping into Hungary has no effects whatsoever and also he did not see any reason why it should be continued.

D.

Respondent thought that Western Groups that broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary had one common aim and that was anti-communist propaganda but they went about their aims with different methods.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

When asked to give his idea or his views on how children should be brought up, respondent said:-

"I think that a child must be taught first of all to be honest, to lead a moral life, and to be respectful towards his parents and his ~~better~~ <sup>ELDER S</sup>

"In my opinion, a child must be disciplined and regarding discipline that depends on the child, physical punishment never hurt anybody.

"I think that quite naturally the treatment, or rather the education, of boys and girls is different."

When asked to give an incident, what happened when he was punished for his demeanor, respondent recalled that he was about three or four years old when his mother set the table and was expecting guests. He pulled down the table-cloth and everything went down to the floor. He got a terrific beating, of course. He said that on the whole both of his parents punished him and it always depended on the misdemeanor. Sometimes he was just being talked to properly, other times he was beaten up.

Amon g people respondent knew, all families punished their children who were six years old or even older, both girls and boys.

Respondent thought that the form of punishment varied for the different sorts of classes because, as he said, "The peasants were always much more brutal with their children and they beat them much more than the intellectual class where they treat their children better and try to talk sense to them rather instead of beating."

Respondent saw a change in this during the last ten years because, he thought, the authority of the parents and the teachers has greatly diminished.

As to when parents stopped punishing their children, among people respondent knew, he said, "Physical punishment for boys is usually abandoned between fourteen and fifteen, for girls between ten and twelve years.

"Punishment, in general, among people I knew was abandoned for boys around twenty and around sixteen for seventeen for girls.

"I do not know whether this varies by social class or not. This was as I have seen it."

"Communism did bring about a change in this respect because the parents have no more time enough to look after their children, and since both parents usually work children are left very much to themselves."

According to respondent, there were changes through the last ten years in the way children were disciplined during their first eight years in school.

The nature of discipline before Communism consisted, according to respondent, in getting a good smack now and then, they were put in a corner, they got raps on their knuckles with a ruler, they were often locked up after classes. Then there were the report cards that were sent to the parents.

The nature of discipline during the Communist regime were only the report cards and sometimes, in the lower ~~classes~~ <sup>GRADES</sup> the children were kept after classes, locked up, or had to kneel in the corners, but that was all.

When asked what characteristics respondent valued most in a friend, he said, "Mutual understanding, for me, is the most important thing. A good friend of mine must understand me well, and should always be ready to help."

"Whether or not there have been any changes in friendship under Communism, I cannot say because I was too young before communism took over in Hungary and so I cannot compare it to the situation now."