

religion. If his responsibilities were given, he would be like
 business and nervous breakdowns, and gives up himself for

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION: his present, very difficult situa-
 tion, where he has to work unaturally first time in his

Subject is a young man of middle height with straight
 brown hair that is well kept; has deep-set feverishly
 shining brown eyes and rather fine bone structure. He
 is carefully dressed in comparison to his financial
 ability and has, in general, a smooth, pleasant appear-
 ance.

Respondent come from an affectionate religious well-
 doing peasant (kulak) family, where all the members
 were ready for sacrifice toward each other. This
 might be due partly to the long sickness of his mother,
 who had diabetes. Subject seemed to be the favorite of
 the mother and was spoiled by her almost as if he would
 have been a girl. As a result, he is much more inter-
 ested in good cooking than in politics or world events,
 has a delicate taste in food and colors and shapes. He
 likes theater, dancing, but not the movies and TV. Lacks
 real friendship here and finds the Americans too materi-
 alistic. He is versatile. On the whole, he could be set
 as a typical example of the peasant-aristocrats, which
 was a very Hungarian phenomenon and resulted with its
 generous noble pride the individualism of the Hungarian
 folk. The Communists knew well why they considered the
 kulaks as strictly class enemies just as the aristocrats,
 and annihilated them with the same passion. Respondent's
 anti-Communism is deep and convinced. He rejects Communism
 as basically hostile for him and for human nature in its
 present form, and has no doubts ~~wakker~~ and emotions to-
 ward it.

At the evaluation of his answers, the following should be
 considered about the respondent: his basic nature is ~~him~~
 calm, indifferent tending toward perfection in his work.
 He is able to learn from other peoples' unsuccess and
 has a sort of reserved wisdom. It was a pity not to edu-
 cate him, because he has a constructive, sometimes finely
 polished mind of an engineer or an architect. He thinks
 quite long about his answers and often formulates them
 with unexpected accuracy. He has almost no ambitions.
 And exactly at that point a second nature reveals in
 him. A terrible nervous tension, which causes a continuous
 fear in him. He tries to escape into fatalism, which
 works, because he always gets what he is afraid of, and
 then he becomes a pessimist. He wants to balance this

religion. If his sensitiveness gets worth, he escapes into sickness and nervous breakdowns, and gives up himself for a while completely. In his present, very difficult situation, where he has to work unnaturally first time in his life at night and has financial troubles because of his low salary, he tells, it would be the best again to get a nervous breakdown. At present, he has a food poisoning, eats almost nothing, and suffers in sleeplessness. Cannot relax easily and rolls up in a corner, as a hunted animal, from time to time. His nervousness and defensive attitude can be due to his years ~~xxx~~ as a prisoner of war in Russia, or reverse. He became a war prisoner because of his defensive character. Due to this characteristic, he behaved during the revolution as cautiously and passively as possible in spite of his basic idealism. His mind is full of the ceasing memory of the old family life and the regret about the lost home, the "lost paradise." Therefore, his only goal is to get back to nature and have "an apartment with my own furniture."

Due to subject's late arrival, ~~xxxx~~ during the one-and-a-half day available, ~~xxxxxxx~~ the interviewer had to skip some questions and details of minor importance and had to be satisfied with short answers.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION
these

"Americans should know about ~~the~~ events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956: 1) The people who took part in the Hungarian revolution expected ~~xxxxxx~~ armed intervention from America or, at least, ammunition. 2) We heard, over the radio, the UN resolutions and then, nothing happened. In this way, the Russians understood that they had a green light."

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

"I heard about the revolution on October 23. I was on a commission as a deep driller near Tata-banya (in a small village). On the evening of October 23, I went to the theatre where a group of visiting actors from Budapest were performing. After the performance, they told some members of the audience that a small revolution was going on in Budapest. At the time of the troupe's leaving, it was difficult to get through the city in a bus because of the crowd that was demonstrating. The whole thing sounded strange to us but nobody cared too much. We went home and had no idea what all of this really meant.

"On the morning of October 24, I went to work as usual and heard from my colleagues some more about the revolution -- that fighting was going on in Budapest. Around noon, we heard over the radio, that on the Margit Bridge ~~xxxxx~~ some troops surrendered, and an announcement was made about the Statarium -- and amnesty for those who would surrender. ~~We~~ We had a task wage system without fixed working hours. Therefore, while listening to this news we agreed that we would finish the job quickly and go to Budapest as soon as possible. Five of us set forth for Budapest on the morning of October 25. Our train did not run into the West Central Station when we reached Budapest but stopped in the suburbs around Ujpest. We continued our journey in a street-car. The city around Vacuut was quiet. In front of an army barracks, however, heavy guard could be seen -- about ten times more than usual. Reaching the West Central Station, I saw some ruins but not many. From the West Central Station, I had to continue going on to Marton Street in the Ninth District of Budapest ~~xxxx~~ on foot. This was the place where I lived. There was no traffic on the street at all. There were ruined tanks and torn electric wires all over. I heard some shooting from a distance. In front of the National Theatre, I stopped with a crowd who looked upon the remains of the Stalin Statue.

"Some people hammered some pieces of the statue as souvenirs. A woman started to talk to me about the events but, distrust still mastered the people. They were afraid to talk too freely. On the great boulevard, the Horizont (the Russian Library) was set on fire. The street was covered (about 50 yards long) with high piles of broken Russian records.

"I continued walking and around Mester Street there was some fighting.

"A policeman told me that it would be dangerous to go through that street. He advised me to take another street instead. The police, who apparently were indifferent, guarded the street. I took Ulloi Street instead. I had to run on this street because some shooting started. Two girls came from the opposite direction and when they saw me running, they shouted to each other, 'Look! there are men, too, who run away. Let's run!'

"Of course, I was afraid. The whole situation was so unexpected to me and I did not know what it really was. I started to walk from the West Central Station with one of my colleagues. However, he wanted to join the fighting and left me around the Great Boulevard. Altogether, it took me about three hours to get home to Marton Street, to our company's workmens' hotel.

"During the following days, I moved around only in the Ninth District because it was dangerous to go any further. Our neighborhood was quiet. I did some shopping for food. The stores were opened, but very little food was available. I saw a Red Cross truck in the middle of the street ~~BURNED OUT~~. The Russians had no respect even for the ambulances.

"On October 26-27, I met revolutionaries on the street. Boys, 20-21 years old, walking WITH ~~REVOLUTION~~ GUNS. On ~~the~~ ^{the} day, a truck came to our street loaded with such youngsters. They stopped and started talking to the people. They read their demands. Marton Street was very narrow and the Russians, who rumbled up and down on the avenues, were afraid to come into those narrow streets because of the 'Molotov Cocktails.' So, the youngsters could hold their speeches undisturbed. They read their points and asked for further changes in the government of Imre Nagy and also for the withdrawal of Russian troops. They called upon the people to strike.

"On October 28, I ^{WENT} ~~to~~ Hefelejts Street to see my father (this was near the Eastern Central Station) and talked the events over with him.

"I did not believe in the success of the revolution for a minute. I was in Russia for three years as a prisoner-of-war. I knew the Russians and knew that even if one Russian soldier remained in Hungary, there would be no hope for liberation. The Communists will ~~lose~~^{do} everything in order to keep their power.

"During those days, otherwise, I was mostly at home, talking to my colleagues and listening to the radio. The whole city was waiting for the UN action. From one day to the other, the Russians disappeared from the streets of Budapest but, I heard that they did not go far. They held all of the airfields and the entire withdrawal was only a concentration of troops. The radio talked about the government and the revival of the different parties. In my opinion, these political steps were thoughtless. The Russians were still there. I think that the military steps would have been much more important.

"Around October 30, the best Hungarian armoured division arrived in Budapest. I saw them crossing the Liberty Bridge. This was the first occasion during which I had some hope. Maybe, something would happen! ~~We~~ threw leaflets and everybody was jubilant. Then, some quiet days passed and then, came the night of November 3. I went to sleep, as usual, when I suddenly woke up to the S.O.S. signal of Imre Nagy. Somebody turned on the radio. However, after the S.O.S. signal, only music was played over the radio. We did not know anything more. Soon afterward, we heard the cannon shots coming from the direction of Soroksar. In the forenoon, the real fighting started. From Sunday to Wednesday, I could not leave the building because every time I thrust my head out of the door of the building, a shot was fired. I had no food -- not even a piece of bread. The inhabitants of the main floor cooked for me and my colleagues. It was very nice of them. Nobody could leave the house during these days.

"A few days later, our group leader visited us and said that there were no trucks available to go continue working in the country. He told us also that there was an overall strike. After that, I went to pick up my salary at the central office but, I did not return to work any more until I left Hungary.

"One day, two soldiers came to our house who had fought in UJ Pest. They had succeeded in escaping and they told us that they could not continue fighting without sufficient weapons against the Russians and all of the people had scattered.

"After November 4, I saw that there was really no hope left, especially when the Kadar government announced the increased vigilance.

"Around November 23-24, I heard Kadar, in his radio speech, saying that those who did not like his regime and did not want to start working, should take their hats and leave. I decided to follow his advice. On the following Monday, I went to pick up my salary and on ~~Tue~~ Tuesday, I left Budapest. Many young men were deported. I was also a kulak offspring and, therefore, unreliable for the regime. I did not have anything to lose. The people spoke about leaving to the West openly. I heard two youngsters on the street as they asked one another: "Let's go to the West."

"I could escape without any trouble."

D. "Whether Hungary gained anything as a result of the revolution, respondent said, "We cannot see it yet. But, even if there will be any use of it, the prize was too high. Too much blood has been shed. However, I feel

that the great powers will be forced to negotiate about Hungary, and in the course of a new agreement Hungary cannot be left out as she was when they gave back Austria's independence."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. On what he thought the West would do about ~~the~~ the revolution, respondent said:

"I expected only one thing -- that was intervention for the withdrawal of the Russian troops. When the country herself could have taken care of the rest of her problems. If this withdrawal depended on armed forces, then I expected them too, by all means, no matter how."

B. To the question on what basis did he form his expectations, respondent said:

"In the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, we heard the UN resolutions, and I thought myself, as did everybody else, that those resolutions would be put into ~~effect~~ effect. This was the public opinion in Hungary."

C. "I haven't met ~~any~~ many foreigners during and after the revolution."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

Talking about his family background, respondent explains:

A. "My father was a farmer. He had 30 acres of land in two parts. One part, 23 acres, was confiscated in 1949 in the following way. My father was announced to be a Kulak. The farmers' cooperatives took out 23 acres of land and gave us an exchange property. Our land was one mile away from the village-- beautiful, good soil with orchards and domestic animals. They gave us, for exchange, 23 acres of bare sand 9 miles away from the village. From this time on we couldn't make a living. My father left the land alone and tried to work for other farmers. This was a little bit better than working on his own. Even so, he was sentenced in 1952 to three months of imprisonment because he took some of his own corn from the other small piece of land left for us on my mother's side. He wanted it for the horses as fodder. Somebody reported him and he was taken by the police. When he was released he came to Budapest and worked with me, first on the subway constructions and later on as a doorman. My mother came and joined us pretty soon too, because she didn't have anything to eat back home. She died within a half year of diabetes in 1953. At present my father is a doorman in a large state company."

"Before the war we could make a good living. Then we had 10 acres from my mother's side and 10 acres from my father's. He got the land from his father when he became independent. Later on, after 1945, when I was a war prisoner in Russia, my grandfather divided the rest of his land among his nine children (my grandmother had thirteen children; four of them died. My grandmother today is 92 years old and in good health). The children pay my father an allowance. In 1949, when the best part of our land was exchanged, we couldn't make a living anymore as I said, because of the delivery obligations. They were always more than our output produced under the official supervision of the state, and everything my father had was taken for taxes. When he left his land we had about 65000 forints tax arrears. We lived on what we could steal.

In 1952 the end finally came. The executor took everything we had."

"My father's education is 6 grades of elementary school."

B. Regarding social classes, respondent said:

"Before 1945, Hungary had the upper class; the aristocrats, the middle class; the intellectuals, the workers and the peasants. Under Communism there was an upper class which was made up of the Party functionaries, factory directors, AVH members, etc. They were all yes men. We could call them the aristocracy, and they were those who could make money."

"The rest of the people were divided according to occupations but the intellectuals were not paid better, if not worse, than the workers. Communism didn't pay for knowledge."

"I haven't had contact with groups other than my colleagues."

"I myself belong to the workers class."

"The intellectuals, peasants and workers all together were hardest hit by Communism. Most of the intellectuals were dismissed from their jobs because they didn't join the Party. Who was left in his job as a teacher made the same as an unskilled worker."

"The peasants' land was confiscated or they were exterminated by delivery obligations. Those who gathered 3 or 4 acres of land from the Communists weren't well off either. They couldn't save anything with such a small piece of land, and when the government requested they were not able to pay the installments. So they had to join the farmers' cooperatives."

"Workers could not make any money because ^{with} the complicated norm system they could cut everybody's salary to the minimum if they wanted to, and they ~~and~~ definitely did."

"These three classes were put on the same level, but none of them could make a living. There were very few specialists who were exceptions, but even for them, it wasn't the same as before Communism."

Regarding the attitude of classes towards each other, respondent says:

"In 1946 under the inflation, the city workers hated the peasants because they got only very little food in exchange for their clothing. However, later on the workers saw that the situation of the peasants became even worse than their own, and then the balance was reestablished."

"There was no sign of contempt on the part of the intellectuals toward the workers. There were individual differences, but in general there were just the two big classes -- the Party and all the other workers. Nevertheless, the workers wished to kill the new aristocracy and vice versa. There was the most extreme hostility between these two classes. The good example is right there. The Kadar government wanted to imprison everybody who had a different opinion from the Party."

C. Concerning the chances for an individual to get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent answered:

"Two things are necessary in Hungary to get ahead -- Party membership and class origin. If there was a 100% expert somewhere, he could easily be dismissed for a 50% one who was a Party member. There were some indispensable specialists whom the Communists kept, but nobody else. The head driller of our group wanted me to become his assistant, but there was another young man who got the position because he was a Party member, and my class origin was unreliable. Party members are the only ones who have advancement. They have been put into higher categories while the rest of the workers stayed in the same category forever."

Concerning the changes in conditions after 1953, respondent says:

"I worked for my father before 1952, therefore I cannot compare the conditions before and after 1953. I know only that my uncle, who was a sugar beet inspector, as a kulak couldn't get a job before 1953. But during the last years he had assignments. His work is seasonal. The people are newly selected and appointed for it every year. Now under the Kadar regime he is unemployed again."

"According to my opinion, honest, straight people can't get anywhere under Communism, only those who are time-servers, swindlers and double dealers could have individual success."

tha:

D. "The group ~~xxx~~ gets more out of the Communist society without deserving it are in the upper ten thousand, high Party ranks, and their relatives. They help their relatives into easy jobs. This was just the same all over history (laughing): "He whose friend is Christ is saved easily." (Old Hungarian phrase- Interviewer's Note.)

"The children of the Communists had free vacations through the Disz, the Communist youth organization, and enjoyed hundreds of different advantages."

"Besides the top Communists, the sportsmen got more out of the society. They didn't even have to go to the Party meetings and seminars (laughing)."

"any people entered the Communist Party because they were sportsmen and as such were put continuously under the pressure of agitation to enter the Party. Officially, they didn't exercise the pressure, but actually the sportsman couldn't get ahead, couldn't even win in a competition. Summarizing once more the whole problem, whenever there is a choice between a Party member and a non-Party member, the Party member will get the job."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

"My family, or my brother's family, wasn't influenced by Communism. However, in other families in which both parties had to work, the effect was very bad. Everybody had to attend the production conferences. The husband was usually at a different meeting from his wife. They went home late in the evening and saw very little of each other. Most of the dates happened under the cover of those production conferences, and many family scandals were due to the Communist system. Morally the new circumstances ~~definitely~~ definitely lowered the society. There was a woman, for instance, who divorced her husband because he became an informer of the Party and caused trouble to many people. The woman was afraid of the consequences in case of a change and divorced her husband."

"There were never before so many divorces, cohabitation without first getting a divorce, and other scandals. But even so, I guess, the highest number was of those families who were not affected by Communism at all, and mine and my brother's family. We could say that Communism influenced every family's life but if the people loved each other and ~~was~~ understood each other they couldn't be harmed."

Talking about child rearing, respondent says:

"The children of my brother were not registered for religious class, but there ~~was~~ was an old nun in the neighborhood who took up the task of instructing the children. The people paid her about 40 forints per month. This was less dangerous than to register the children into official religious class. But anyhow, the authorities made all kinds of difficulties for those who wanted to register ~~their~~ their children and never announced the registration dates. People learned about it only ~~szűrt~~ *szűrt* (a good old Hungarian phrase), which means in English "ON THE QUIET."

"Other ways the children were completely under Communist influence -- the poems, the celebrations -- everything was concentrated on the worth and glory of Communism."

"The national character of our education was completely dropped."

"I saw, for instance, an English textbook for the first grade of high school, which talked about November 7, the celebration of the October revolution. I definitely didn't want to learn that in English (smiling)."

B. Regarding marriage, courtship, sex patterns, respondent said:

"In general the sexual morality changed for the worse. This was due partly to the abolition of prostitution, which brought about the necessity for men to look around in the neighborhood and try to get just any girl who could be persuaded. The girls had an independent, free life in 90% of the cases. They went up from the country to work in the big cities. The families were broken up. I didn't know one girl who was the same as the girls before the war. If a girl wanted to marry she kept that particular man at arm's length until he married her, but in the meantime went out with other men. The parents were not able to intervene too much. For instance, a 17 year old girl became pregnant and got a slap from her parents. A neighbor reported the case and the father was taken by the police because Communism protected the girl-mothers."

"During the first years of Communism, abortion was very difficult and expensive. Now in the last year the authorities wanted to persuade the girl to keep her child, but if the girl insisted on getting rid of the child, then she was put in a sanatorium for five days, which cost her about 50 forints. For the mothers who had many children and didn't want to have more, abortion was permitted too."

"Parents had not much role in their children's marriage. The doorman, for example, in our hotel, met his son by chance on the street, not having seen him for three weeks. His son told him right there on the street that he had married in the meantime. However, there were disciplined children too who honored their parents. Engagements were not celebrated as before, only in family circles, and weddings were the

same. Even the people in the provinces didn't have the great wedding feasts anymore."

"The marriages among the young people had varied success. Many of the young people were divorced after a few months, but there were good marriages too."

"Prostitution was abolished under Communism. However, there were still prostitutes in Budapest who asked from 50 to 100 forints a night, but they were hunted by the police."

B. About the sexual morality of convinced Communists, respondent said:

"Mostly these people became Communist Party members who were basically on a low moral level. The Communist principles can be very good, but in practice they were exercised by the most unreliable persons, and it looked like it."

C. Concerning friendship under Communism respondent answers:

"In several cases it happened that one of the friends became a Party member, and that meant the end of the friendship. If I met someone and I was told somehow or other that he was a Party member, I immediately withdrew and was careful not to get involved in a friendship with him. Very often Communists informed the Party about their friends, but it was just the other way around too. Some honest, mostly old people who became Party members, but were never real Communists, informed us about the Party meetings -- what sort of trouble the Party had, inside stories, etc."

Friendship could be broken by both parties. The Party member was watched, and the Party didn't like him to be with non-Party members. However, one could continue friendships, keeping politics out of them. Many old friendships existed among people who had the same political opinions. I myself had a very good friend who was forced to become a Party member. We were together in the Russian

prison and nothing could ever break our friendship."

"The young people usually tried to avoid politics in their affairs, and didn't question each others Party membership or other affiliations."

D. Juvenile Delinquency

Concerning juvenile delinquency, respondent said: "I heard that there was juvenile delinquency in Hungary. There were 13 and 14 year old boys and girls who committed burglary, etc. I guess their main motive was to acquire money. If the police caught them, they were sent to reform schools."

"There were many Jampec in Budapest -- young, eccentric boys from all age brackets of the youth. They wore flashy narrow pants, etc., and danced the wild West dances which were prohibited in Hungary."

VII. RELIGION

A. About the religious life in Hungary, respondent says:

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"The people didn't go to church freely. Many people didn't want others to see them going to the church, but most of the people visited the churches, and ~~gave~~ religious education for their children. However, Communism interfered with them in some cases. People kept their children away from religious education and they ~~themselves~~ themselves didn't teach the children about religion either. In the schools' day care centers the Communists kept silent about religion, but basically religious people remained religious."

"I guess the Catholic religion was hardest hit by Communism ~~because~~ because they found the greatest resistance among Catholics. In the villages and small cities the priests' opinions played a basic and important role, and the priests usually preached against Communism. Only the so-called "peace priests" did not, but the people usually didn't go to the churches where peace priests preached. The youth -- its organizations and schools -- were taken out of the church's hands. We had a Catholic culture house in our village which was established in 1938. The building was confiscated by the Communists and the Disz was set up ~~to~~ to it. This was a really harmful ~~society~~ ORGANISATION. The religious influence was much better for the youth than Communism. Religious schools are necessary."

"The priests couldn't preach what they wanted. The youth were taken away from the church, which lost its power. Therefore religion couldn't be a bulwark against Communism, but individually the religious people didn't become Communists. The two ideas couldn't be reconciled. Even if they didn't go to church, in their hearts the people kept their old faith, especially in the country. In Budapest it was a little different. People could go to church more easily and demonstrate once in a while on behalf of their religion. They didn't have to close it completely inside and this somehow united them in their religion against Communism."

B. Talking about his own religious life, respondent says: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"For me, religion was important. I was more religious than my father, but not more than my mother. I went to church to confession, and took the sacrament. Sometimes I went to church every second Sunday only, but not because of fear. I didn't mind the Communists. I was independent. As long as I worked with my father, and when I was a helper, I knew they needed me. They wouldn't throw me out of my job for that. I didn't have too much to lose anyway. I could get the same kind of work easily."

"The average Hungarian is less religious than I was."

C. Respondent's opinion on the function of churches in society is the following:

"I ~~dis~~disapproved of large estates for the churches, but they should have financial independence. However, the church should not have power through its ~~many~~ estates to influence ~~xxxxxx~~society, nor should the state be in a position to influence the church. The solution can hardly be radical."

"The church cannot prohibit anybody from learning about all sides of life. It doesn't do any harm if the people are well-informed, even about the improper books. If we want to fight against something, we have to know about it. The very immoral things can be censored by the church for the sake of the youth."

"The church has to be engaged in politics, but only to enlighten its members about the different political activities through their religion. For instance, the churches have to teach their priests and the ~~xxx~~people that they should never agree with Communism."

D. "The Jewish people also had to neglect their religion, especially if they wanted to get ahead. Their church was affected the same way as the other

For instance, the rabbi moved out from our village and the congregation remained without a priest."

"The Communists put many Jewish people into leading positions. They were reliable because they didn't have to be afraid of Nazism in their case. The Communists knew that the Jewish people would never be good Communists, but at least indifferent and not very hostile. However, the nationalization affected the Jewish people very strongly, so I don't know how they really felt toward Communism. They never showed it openly. They adapted themselves to the circumstances, and therefore quite a large number were Party members, but I cannot tell how many."

"During the revolution, they were afraid of the change in case it brought about the loss of their importance. But nobody ever thought of Fascism during the revolution. I didn't know their point of view on an independent Hungary, but after the failure of the revolution, many of them escaped."

"I didn't hear that they were afraid of pogroms."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. To the question what he considers the Hungarian youth, respondent answers:

"From 16 to 25 -- those who were members of youth organizations, the University students, etc. The sportsmen, for example, belonged to the youth group under 18."

Concerning the part youth played in the revolution, respondent says:

B. "The revolution was based on the youth. They saw their precarious future and that they had no outlook, no chance for a choice. The Russian oppression was the only possibility."

"If the adult middle class, the class enemies, started that revolution, with their background it couldn't have been anything but a conspiracy for the reestablishment of the past. However, the older generation fought together with the youth. The older people were happy that the youth took the initiative, but they sometimes set an example for the youth, teaching them how to fight and how to use their weapons. The youth honored them (excited and happy). Everybody was united. The only trouble was that the abruptly organized leadership couldn't take over the army on time."

D. Concerning the reaction of youth to indoctrination, respondent says:

"Everybody usually hated the indoctrination and the seminars. The life was so different from the Communist theory, and the youth lived in the reality. However, in the youth organizations, such as the Disz, there were some convinced members. The Communists tried to influence them very strongly there."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was because of the low salaries and difficult housing problems, and the high prices. In general, the absence of the prime necessities of life. Besides those, the individual vexations, interferences, confiscations, arrests, the informers of the AVH and the lack of freedom of speech were the things that people complained about most in Communist Hungary."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Regarding how he and his family got along financially under Communism, respondent answers:

"Sometimes I had great troubles; sometimes it was easier. I can talk about it in two different sections--Before 1952, at Batonya, as a peasant, and after 1952 in Budapest as a worker."

"In 1948, when I came back from Russia, it was very good. Then, to 1952 there was a great ~~dxix~~ decline. In 1948 the food prices went up. We had to buy ~~hard~~ for 35 forints, meat for 25 to 28 forints at 2 lbs. We couldn't slaughter even one pig--it was illegal. When our land was exchanged, we didn't have fruit, vegetables, domestic animals, etc. anymore. From 1949 on, we even had to buy our bread. Sometimes we managed to steal a little grain from our own granary and illegally grow it under somebody else's name. But we had to keep the flour at our friend's house. By the way, we had to do everything ~~under~~ cover. If we worked for other farmers we had to do it under somebody else's name because otherwise our salary was taken by the tax commission."

"To give a clear picture of our economic situation in the country, I would like to explain ~~xxxxxx~~ the compulsory delivery ~~xxxx~~ system a little. The government paid for the surrendered wheat, 80 forints for 100 weight. But our family never got any price because the whole amount went direct to the tax office. If we had, for instance, 4000 weight wheat, 2000 weight of it had to be delivered, 900 weight duration for 2 persons, 300 for seed grain. Altogether, 3,200 weight. From the remaining 800 weight 600 had to be surrendered too, but the government gave a higher price for it -- about 120 forints instead of 80 forints per 100 weight. The remaining, 200 ~~xxxx~~ weight was free. This was the so-called C wheat, and it could have been sold for 5 forints per 2 lbs. on the free market. This was of course an illegal price. However, our compulsory delivery was figured by the authorities so that we never had

any C wheat. Our whole crop was taken for taxes."

"We had the executor at our house every two weeks, and he urged us to pay the taxes. Almost every time they took something from us. Once they took all my good shirts, once the kitchen cabinet. Another time the stove was taken. We eked out by selling our old agricultural machines one by one. When the executors took our last carriage and our stove, I wrote to the executor's council a complaint. They called me in and gave me back the carriage and the stove (laughing). The latter we sold right away before they took it again. However, these confiscations were mostly individual abuses of local municipal councils. They took more from the people than they were instructed to take. Once I had a bad personal experience with these authorities. Somehow or other I had a little argument at the municipal council and told the president of the council that their duty was to manage our affairs. Saying that, I put my hand on the table. The president immediately jumped up, started to yell, gave me a big slap on my face, grabbed the telephone and called the police. He filled out a report that I banged the table with my fist. I was sentenced to 8 days in jail and fined 200 forints for offence.

"We lived in our own house, therefore housing was no problem for us. But clothing was the greatest problem. I had an old winter coat from 1942 and wore it till 1955. If we bought anything in the family, it was bought for me. My father said always that as a young man I was the first on the list. From 1948 to 1952 he bought for me a ~~winter~~ *WINTER* coat, one suit, one pair of shoes, some socks and a few workmen's pants. That was all. My mother made some shirts for me after mine were taken by the executor. The front and the back of these shirts were of different material. All of our better clothes were kept at our neighbors because of the executor. I really didn't imagine that they would take even my shirts (smiling). On Sunday mornings I always went to our neighbor to dress up."

"When I went to Budapest in 1952, my nourishment

was very insufficient because I had no money. I got lunch at my working place for 2 forints. Outside it would have cost 6 or 7 forints. For breakfast I usually ate something cold -- cold-cuts, etc.-- on the way to my working place, and for supper I usually bought something cold again."

"Clothing was very hard too. At the beginning I was glad if I could buy a piece of used clothing in the second-hand market."

"Housing wasn't better either. I was a night lodger. I hired a bed in ~~szexszarkmanixa~~ one-room apartment without a bathroom. It was owned by a 72 year old woman. She was extremely clean. She had three beds in the room. I rented one, another young man rented the other bed, and the woman slept in the third one in the same room. The poor soul had a 200 forint pension. I paid for this bed 120 forints a month. To rent an apartment was much cheaper, ~~szexszark~~ but you had to pay about 10,000 forints premium for it. In 1954 I moved into the company's workmen's hotel, and there I didn't pay rent anymore."

"The greatest luxury for me was an ~~szexszark~~ apartment with my own furniture -- a real home in Budapest. Even if somebody was entitled to an apartment, he was not allotted one because of the shortage."

"Since 1954 my standard of living went up gradually. I had a better salary, I was better dressed and fed, but the apartment was still my biggest problem. I finally saved 10,000 forints in 1956 for an apartment, and then I had to escape."

"Mine and my parents' standard of living after 1945 couldn't be compared in any respect with our lives before 1945."

"As I said before, what I missed most was a quiet home."

"Between 1948 and 1946, ~~szexszark~~ my and my family's standard of living was the highest in 1948 and lowest in 1952."

"People who were Party officers were better off. They had nice apartments, they went to the Balaton for vacation. They could enjoy life. They used the company's car and said they had to go to work on Sundays exactly to the Balaton, and everything was billed to the company. They had entertainment, good clothing, good food -- whatever a person could wish.

"I was personally lucky in getting a better job in 1954, quite by chance. That is why my standard of living improved. But the agricultural policy of the government was so bad that I was amazed they could produce even as much as they did. They took the best lands from the farmers and then left them to lie uncultivated. They had extremely high production costs. I heard, for instance, that on a state farm the production of 100 ~~weight~~ wheat cost them 700 to 800 forints. In the meantime, as I said ~~before~~, they paid us 80 forints for a 100 weight wheat. The fields were neglected because of lack of efficient management."

B. About his income, respondent says the following:

"Before the revolution, my salary was, together with my per diem, 2000 forints. This was the salary of the 4th category in my field, but when I started to work in Budapest from 1952 to the middle of 1954, I made only 600 forints, and my father 800 forints. Then it went up gradually to 1000 and 1200 forints. In 1954 when our ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~driller group was established ~~x~~(it usually consisted of 8 or 9 drillers) it was organized by the Ministry of Housing and Public Construction, on the request of the Canalization and Plumbing Industrial Company. We were sent out to experiment with the drilling possibilities as practically the first explorers. At that time nobody knew anything about the soil testing regarding its ~~weight~~-carrying capacity. We had a set norm and a financial limit which we were not allowed to overstep. The Company never paid more than 120 or 130 percent of our norms. The Head Driller was a former intellectual who

always estimated the percentage of our fulfillment for us, and how much work it was reasonable to do before we were working for nothing. Or if we made better norms, the Company would have raised our norms, which is what happened later anyway, with reference to our better skill. This way it happened that we didn't work more than 3 days a week because we finished our necessary output within that time. To make this point clear, I give you an example. At the beginning, it took us a day to erect and to demolish a drilling tower. The Company gave us 120 working hours for that work. We had let's say 8 drillers in a group. All eight men working 8 hours daily finished the work in 64 hours. The remaining 56 hours were free for us. We didn't have to do anything for it, but we weren't paid more either if we put up another drilling tower. However, the Company learned too, and they continuously lessened the hours. At the end, in 1956 before I left, we were given only 40 working hours for erecting and demolishing a tower. But in the meantime we became such experts that we made 3 towers a day. Nevertheless, then the Company didn't mind if we made more money, and let us work more."

"Deductions from my salary were the following: 4 percent bachelor's tax, 3 percent Social Security, 1 percent Union dues. I paid altogether about 8 percent of my salary."

"I received premiums twice -- in 1955 700 forints, and in 1956 1100, because our group was a Stachanovist brigade. Our per diem can be considered as extra pay. It was daily 15 forints, but I included it in the above 2000 forints, my monthly salary. Our housing was paid by the Company. I had no other income than those mentioned above. When my mother moved to Budapest my father and I lived in two separate old men's homes. My mother couldn't work and she had to rent a room. We supported her with my father."

"The increase in my income between 1954 and 1956 was not a wage increase. It was valid for the group and was nothing else but an increase of our fulfillment as I explained before. We worked more

be able to exist without the Black Market. The stealing was almost an establishment on a large scale. The defects brought about by stealing were taken care of by the bookkeeping at the state organizations."

"Even if the Black Market was not really organized, the people knew the ways and means. If somebody heard about such cases and didn't inform the authorities, however, he was a criminal too. The sale of goods at a higher price could be done only among acquaintances, never in the store, but in a private chain, and it was dangerous."

D. Talking about his working day, respondent says: "Our group made the experimental wells, testing wells, drilling for building piles, etc. One well was about 25 yards deep. Our group, as I said before, was the first soil-testing driller group for the building industry. The basic purpose in our work was to find out the capability of the soil to carry weight. In general, we started between 6 and 8 in the morning and worked until 4 or 5 in the afternoon. First we erected the tower, and with hand drillers we drilled the hole. It was hard work. I worked sometimes in two shifts and sometimes in one shift. We usually made an agreement, my colleagues and I, when we would get up in the morning and when we would finish work. We didn't have set hours. Nobody told us how many hours to work daily. Sometimes we worked 12 hours a day, and other days we waited on the truck for 2 days in a row and didn't do anything. It happened sometimes that we worked during the day and travelled at night, sitting on the truck all night for seven or eight ~~xxxx~~days. We had almost no sleep during such assignments. When we arrived at a new place, we had to find housing for ourselves at private homes. We paid 10 forints per day in a private home and 18 forints in a hotel. The bill was charged to the Company. I usually slept 8 or 10 hours a day, and whenever I had a chance I had a regular household. I cooked for myself and, for instance, when I was in Budapest, I bought 2 geese, or a big piece of porkmeat, broiled it, and put it in lard. When I had to leave for the country I put this meat in a large container and took it with me. This way I could assure a little better food for myself."

"I liked my work. When the government put an

end to the subway constructions where I worked before, and I saw there already that drilling was well paid work, our whole drilling group looked for a new working place. We heard about ~~and~~ opening at the Canalization and Plumbing Industrial Company, which wanted to create a new driller group, and the Company hired us. In Hungary our driller group was paid the best. We didn't have to go to Production Conferences because we were always on the road. I like to travel and could travel this way all over the country."

"We had a good friendship with our colleagues. We were like a big family." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"The Head Driller and a woman technician were our superiors. She was a Communist Party member and didn't do too much. Our manager visited us quite often from Budapest. He was a former reserve captain in the army. The head driller was a regular lieutenant about 37 years old. We had the same friendly contact with the superiors. They were fine men and took good care of us. I was satisfied in my job. All of my colleagues were skilled workers. Lately everybody who joined a driller group had to take a technical examination showing that he had some knowledge of mechanics. We also had to answer political questions on that examination, and if somebody failed answering those, he surely couldn't get the job."

"Our superiors never praised us but we didn't care. We were more interested in money."

Concerning ~~XXXXXX~~ Vacation, Insurance, etc. Plans, respondent says:

"I paid a ~~XXXXXX~~ fee of 112 forints for a Vacation Plan in 1955, but at the end, I made up my mind and left the money there without going for a vacation, because somehow, that vacation system had a 'Kulchoss smell!'"

"The OTI was good. I was satisfied with the medical treatments, only they were short of medicine. But this was the government's fault, not the OTI's inefficiency."

b. Regarding city life and country life, respondent says:

"I myself would like to live only at Budapest. The living standard and the supply was much better in Budapest than in the country. In the winter of 1952-53 the people going home for weekends or holidays to the country took bread with them-- The circumstances were so bad in the country. I guess if you think back this was the first time in Hungary's history that people had to take bread from the city to the country. On Saturdays the bakers regularly baked twice as much bread because ~~all~~ the country people bought it up. This was the same with lard and meat. There was an established Black Market in lard between Budapest and the provinces. People took 8 or 10 ~~kilograms~~ kilograms, which means 16 or 20 pounds, of lard to the country and sold it there for high prices. It was just the other way around in 1946, when the country people brought food up to Budapest for an illegal price. This awkward situation was due to the following. The villages were declared self-supporting, therefore in principle they didn't need to depend on the fat, bread, etc. allotted by the state. However, at the same time in connection with the compulsory deliveries, the local authorities, overstepping their competence, collected everything from the peasants. My father when he visited our village once ^{TOLD ME} that a mother committed suicide because she couldn't give bread to her two small children. When the woman was pulled out of the well into which she had jumped, the ~~small~~ small 3-year old son went to her and said, crying: "Dear mother, please open your eyes once more. I will never ask for a piece of bread again."

"In the larger cities and on the ^{mine} mines ^{plants} plants, everything was much easier to get. For instance, we went to the Tatabanya mines to get lemon."

"From a political point of view it was also easier in a great city, but not everywhere. At the big plants everybody had to attend the production conferences. The office workers were also more imposed ~~upon~~ upon by the political molestation. The unskilled laborers were the most independent, especially in the building and construction business. Indoctrination had much less actual ~~possibility~~ possibility there

than, for instance, in a factory, which was a close unit."

"The freedom of speech was also much easier to exercise in Budapest than in the provinces."

XAbout the introduction of collectivization in Hungary, respondent says "I guess the first farmers' cooperative was formed in 1948. I just came back from Russia. I knew well what the Kolchoz meant. The Kolchoz, which was equivalent in Hungary to the farmers' cooperative, was even worse than the state farm, the Sovhoz. I knew that the collectivization was the end of our private enterprise. I wanted to escape right then, but it was too painful for my mother, so I stayed."

"The best thing would be to dissolve all the farmers' cooperatives right away. They had a very bad influence on the economic life of the country."

"The farmers' cooperatives were opposed more by the richer peasantry and the people with more common sense, but many small peasants, who got 4 or 5 acres from the government, would never have willingly joined the farmers' cooperatives either, because they were individualists. They like to be their own master. Those who couldn't get ahead and didn't have anything anyway, joined the cooperatives. Usually, at the time when the state called upon them to start paying the installments the government wrote off the debts of those ~~max~~ who joined the farmers' cooperatives."

"I have no knowledge of any farmer's cooperative which was positively dissolved. The Communists made up the whole story, more or less. Some individuals left the cooperatives but then they were either taxed so high they couldn't make a living or indicted for ~~tax~~ incitement."

XRegarding the ideal agricultural system for an independent Hungary, respondent says:

"Some members of the farmers' cooperatives made very good money. This happened if the leadership distributed a high profit among its members, but then the authorities immediately warned the leadership that they shouldn't distribute too much among its members but make new investments in buildings, machines, &c."

It happened around Szaszhalombatta. This particular farmers' cooperative didn't have a Party secretary. A clerk and a president were the only management. The president himself worked in the fields. This was a cooperative with Kulak members only. They worked very hard and effectively. All of them were experts. They didn't use the tractor stations but they ploughed and harvested themselves. Usually if a tractor station did the work, the charges were so high that they took up most of the profit. In the above-mentioned farmers' cooperative the members finished all the work before the tractor station arrived there. The station was usually far behind in its schedule anyway, and the cooperative just announced that they didn't need the tractor station anymore. This kind of cooperative could be ideal for a free Hungary, ~~made~~ up of 8 or 9 members. They would work in case private ownership could not fully be established. Otherwise, I would completely abolish the farmers' cooperatives and the state farms. The real solution for our agriculture would be the private ownership. Some cooperatives to take care of the purchases and sales would be necessary, but nothing else. Hungary's agriculture should be intensified for the future, and in my opinion, private husbandry in which the peasant works for himself is ~~more~~ more perfect to any of the cooperatives' production. There are a lot of dwarf holdings right now in Hungary which are disadvantageous for the economic life. However, I believe that in the course of a healthy, free agricultural system, these small units will keep up or dissolve according to the owners' best interest."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Respondent was never interested in politics and has no knowledge about the situation before 1948. Regarding the Communist Party before 1948 he says:

"I heard about the Communist Party in 1918-1919 only from my father, and I knew what we learned at school. During the war I often listened to the Communist propaganda broadcasts, and I found them disgusting. On the other side I heard the anti-Communist propaganda that the Communists weren't any good. I believed that and definitely didn't want to get into the hands of the Communists. In 1944 I went to Budapest because it was closer to the West than ~~in~~ our village. However, I couldn't continue my escape because I was drafted into the army and that way finally the Russians caught me, maybe because I was so eager to get away from them. Since 1948, my opinion of the Communist Party became even worse."

B. "I knew some Party members. In our village there was an old, convinced Communist. He was sick, bound to his bed for 7 years, and even in this state he chased his children to the Party continuously, to meetings, etc. His daughter was very active in Party life. She went around with the executors and informed the Party about everything. Her morals were very low in general, but there were other cases as well. A friend of mine entered the Party because of the promises. They sent him to the Party seminar and then he became ~~an~~ reviser of norms who controlled the villages. He was unwilling ~~to~~ ^{to} reduce the salaries of the workers. He didn't want to do that dirty job. He left his easy work and asked for work as a construction laborer, which he was before. Not everybody was bad in the Party."

The merger of the Communist and Social Democratic Party produced lots of Communist Party members. Also people joined the Party because they wanted to get or keep jobs. ~~There~~ There were misled people in the Party ranks as well as opportunists."

Concerning changes of Party policy during the last eight years, respondent says:

"With the abolition of the 'personal cult' the

Party started a loud propaganda that in the future the non-Party members would be able to get ahead as well as the non-Party members. But it was all theory. Essentially nothing has been changed. Only, for instance, they didn't tell us every 5 minutes that we were ~~Kulaks~~ Kulaks or class enemies."

Regarding Party morale, respondent continued:

"The Party members had to agree with the Party policy. Some of them really did, and some of them were only yes men. This way there was no such thing as real Party morale, only a continuous adjustment to Moscow's directions. After the 'new course' the persons were replaced but the main power ~~remained~~ remained the same: Moscow."

"I have no knowledge of the top Party leaders. I was only acquainted with simple, gray members."

"I think we won't have much of a chance to worry about what to do with the top Party leaders in an independent Hungary, because the real Party leaders will escape into Russia anyway before Hungary is liberated. I don't wish to have them executed. I think the leadership at such a time would know what to do with them."

C. Regarding opposition, slow-downs, and so on to the Communist government before the revolution, respondent says:

"I cannot say that there was an open resistance, but there were so many blunders it is hard to ~~believe~~ believe that all of them happened just by chance. For example, they ~~erected~~ erected a building near the National ~~Theater~~ Theater in Budapest. When it was ready, they ~~decided~~ decided it wasn't good, because there wasn't enough space for an engine house. They pulled it down and started to build the same building all over again farther on with five yards. Maybe it was due to their ignorance, but maybe some people did it on purpose. In the mines of Anna ~~Valley~~ Valley there was erected a 2-story building. When it was planned, the administrators both understood that under the building there was a layer of coal with a certain thickness, to serve as a sort of holding pillar for the building. Therefore that coal should never be exploited. However, within

a year the coal was somehow or another taken out, exploited, and the whole building had a big crack in the middle. It was propped up all around and certainly the building was of no use anymore. But in every part of the economic field there were unbelievable mistakes which might have been done on purpose to hinder the Communist system. If the ~~Communist~~ government wanted to find a charge against somebody, they simply picked out one of these cases, announced that this and that person were saboteurs, and dismissed them. In the state farm of Batonya, for instance, all the agronomists were arrested at once for sabotage in 1952 ~~and~~ 1953 because some mistake in production was discovered."

About the activities of intellectuals resisting Communism, respondent says:

"I heard around May, in 1956, about the Petofi Circle, that some very daring political speeches were made there. One day a colleague of mine passed the building where the Petofi Circle was located in the 5th District of Budapest, and there a small crowd was already gathering under the window. My friend stopped on the street, too, and listened to the speech inside. He left pretty soon because he was afraid that the AVH would arrest the whole group, they spoke so freely. It was a political speech about the mistakes of the system. X But this was all I knew about the Petofi Circle."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Speaking about the political police, respondent said:

"I didn't know any AVH members, but whoever joined the AVH couldn't do anything but remain in it or go to prison. None of my family members were ever arrested by the AVH. I know about a friend of mine, a Kulak, who was arrested by the AVH because of a gold watch. He was badly beaten up and had to remain in bed for days to recover. But when he left the AVH building, at the door he was asked by the guard whether he was touched by anyone. He said no. Then the guard said okay and let him go."

"One of my uncles was arrested by the AVH too and kept in its prison for a while, but he never told us a word about what happened to him there."

"I heard about AVH members who were fired but ~~the~~ people who left on their own were under guard and apt to be sent to prison any time. This I only heard by word of mouth."

"If Hungary is liberated, I think every person's activity should be examined and judged accordingly, and this applies to the AVH members as well."

Regarding the regular police, respondent says:

"The regular police was different from the AVH. They were engaged in the public security order only as in the past. The regular police was closer to the people than the AVH. I heard only from first information that the revolutionists stopped the police cars and the policemen gave them their weapons, but later on the AVH members put on the uniform of the regular police, and they couldn't distinguish them from the police. But the regular police definitely didn't fight against the revolutionists."

B. The Courts

"The courts were objective before 1945. They treated rich and poor alike."

"From 1945 the people's courts were influenced by the government. The authenticity of the witnesses didn't have to be proved."

"The war criminals were usually not guilty. I don't know about the politicians, but for instance, the army officers were accused because they fought against the Russians. This was crazy."

C. Regarding the army's role during the revolution, respondent says "Everybody said during the revolution that the Russians wanted to crush it with the army, but the army didn't want to fight against their fellow countrymen. They gave over their arms to the fighters, or started fighting themselves on the side of the revolution. I saw two revolutionists standing with weapons in our street. An army truck passed by and the two boys jumped into a doorway because the revolutionists were not sure about the army at that time. The soldiers saw the two boys but didn't care. Then the boys came out of the doorway and finally they and the soldiers waved to each other. This was around the 4th day of the revolution. Later on, the army and the revolutionists united completely."

"The people usually took the army's behavior for granted. The army knew about our distress as well, even if they were better off than the rest of the population."

Regarding life in the Hungarian army before Communism, respondent said:

"In 1944, October 1st, I was drafted for military service. We had a training period of one month and after this we were sent to north Hungary and there we moved from one place to the other, just idling around, not doing anything. I never fired a rifle or used a weapon. At that time the Hungarian army was already in a state of dissolution. The soldiers didn't care about anything except how to get out of the army as soon as possible and get home to their families, because they heard about the Russian atrocities and they wanted to join their wives and children. There was not much discipline anymore in the army, and everything depended upon the individuals within the army ranks. We had, for instance, a commanding

officer who was a Nazi, and everybody had a very bad opinion of him. The crazy man always wanted us to fight then, when everybody knew that the war was over and there was nothing to fight for. However, the squadron commander was an excellent man. He cared for nothing but the interest of human beings. He had tears in his eyes when he told us that we had to leave Hungary for Germany."

"Around the 30th of March, 1945, we were stationed in Nograd county at Joka. We were supposed to fight against the Russians but we didn't like to fight. There were as many Russians as ants. We simply withdrew, and a few of us stayed in the next village until the Russians occupied that village and gathered us as war prisoners. I was taken by the Russians to Vac, and after the 9th of May we left for Russia. First, they took us to Zakorosje on the coast of the Dnyeper river. Our duty was rubble clearance. The Messerschmidt factory from Germany was transplanted there, and we put the machines in the right places. In the spring of 1947 they took us to Novistroy, northwest of Moscow. There was an airplane motor factory there. We built the so-called "Finn" houses for the factory workers. These were prefabricated wooden model houses. Our life was endurable compared to the Russian living standard. ~~XXXX~~ Many Russian civilians were in a worse situation. They bought our bread from us. They earned 250 to 400 rubles and 2 lbs. of bread cost 40 rubles. After the ruble crisis in August 1947, the living standard went a little higher. In the camp the prisoners regularly worked 8 to 10 hours. Our food was scandalous. We made our own tools usually from little pieces of wood or metal we could steal around the factories. One day, without any advance notice, they gathered us in the court and gave a big speech. They said they hoped we wouldn't be anti-Fascists, and if we behaved we could go home. It took another week before they finished all the medical examinations and filling out our papers, and then one day we could leave the camp. I got jaundice and was very weak. My weight was 99 lbs. Therefore I got a straw sack during the trip home, which made it a little bit more bearable in the crowded wagon."

D. Respondent has very incomplete information about the Russian army because he was a war prisoner and after he returned to Hungary, naturally he tried to avoid even seeing Russians. However, the fragments of his opinions are as follows:

"The unpopularity of the Russian army was due to their behavior and terror in 1945, and not to the events in 1848. I myself expected nothing good from the Russians before 1945, as I told you already. I even wanted to escape from Hungary because of the Russian invasion. There were however people who waited on the Russians, mostly the old Communists and those who were affected by the Communist propaganda. But in general, the Hungarians didn't sympathize with the Russians. Their behavior was terrible all over the country. They traveled, for instance, like animals on the highway. They never signaled and hindered us when we traveled from one place to the other with our truck."

"I don't know about marriages between Russians and Hungarians. Only the women of the street associated with the Russian soldiers."

"About the behavior of the Russian soldiers during the revolution, the only thing I know is the following. After November 4 the Russian soldiers searched for weapons, going from house to house the same as in 1945, and they gathered people for deportation. Nevertheless, I heard about Russian soldiers from people who joined the revolution. I read an article myself in the newspaper of the revolutionists with a picture of a Russian soldier who was a war hero on the side of the revolution. The Russian army stationed in Hungary was ineffective by the time of the revolution, because they saw the situation in Hungary, how people lived and struggled, and the Russians as human beings were not too willing to fight against the population."

E. Regarding government officials who were supposed to help people who were in trouble, respondent said:

"I heard about government officials who helped people, but only their own friends or for money. My friend knew an office worker at the Housing

Board. She had a very low salary but she always wore very elegant dresses and led quite a luxurious life. Everybody could figure out that she couldn't do it on her salary. But I have no knowledge of the details of how they got around the rules."

D. Concerning the efficiency and competence of the people who hold power in Hungary, respondent said:

"I didn't know those people who held power under Communism, but the consensus of opinion was that whoever had such a position didn't get it because of his ability."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "To what the Hungarians can expect in Hungary, I can answer with a joke: 'At the present, there is freedom in Hungary. All the prison doors are free open for everybody.'"

"In the case of Hungary, I cannot believe in any evolution regarding the Russian policy. The Russians will never leave Hungary willingly. Therefore, there are only three factors which could bring about a change in Hungary. The first is the diplomatic way, which proved to be rather weak in the past. The second is a forceful intervention, and the third is the collapse of the Communist power within Russia. A revolution would be possible in Russia, because the dissatisfaction was extremely widespread there too. For instance, when the Russian army which fought on the side of the West in the Second World War, returned to Russia, the largest part of the army, the soldiers, were put into concentration camps. The Communists couldn't afford to let them go home and talk about their experiences in the West. We worked together with those soldiers in the prison camp. I didn't speak any Russian, but with the help of a third person, I talked to such a Russian soldier once. He said that all the Russian leaders should be hanged. If the Russians would stand up they could sweep away Communism."

"I don't want war, and the Hungarians at home perhaps are still waiting for a war, but the hopes are fading. I don't think a war will break out between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. I don't want the atom bomb, and I don't think anybody does."

B. Regarding the prospects for Hungary during the last 8 or 10 years before the revolution, respondent says:

"The people hoped that some diplomatic help would come sooner or later which would force the Russians out of Hungary. After all, the situation couldn't go on indefinitely. I myself had no dreams. I thought the Russians would go out of Hungary only if Communism had already been

established so strongly in Hungary that the Russians didn't have to be afraid of a change in the system. I was a pessimist. My father always came with different news about possible changes, but I never believed in any of them."

automatically for the inhabitants. But anyway, human rights are above all."

C. In connection with the international position desirable for an independent Hungary, respondent says:

"As I said before, the ideal would be an independent Hungary like Austria at present."

Respondent's idea on relations with the U.S.S.R., eastern Europe, the rest of Europe and the U.S.A. ~~was~~ is the following: he doesn't want military connections with any of these countries or parts of the world. However he wants economic and cultural relations with the whole world with no exceptions.

Respondent has no knowledge of a federation of Danubian states.

Regarding Hungary's present boundaries, respondent says:

"The present borders were forced upon us but the re-annexation is a very difficult question. For instance, when I was in North Hungary in 1945, the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia wasn't very enthusiastic about the new Hungarian regime. The minorities have to have free elections about their situation."

"In general, the Hungarian people were too busy with their own troubles to consider boundaries and minority problems."

XV/ THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent has no knowledge about Khrushchev's secret speech, nor about the other questions under this point A.

B. Regarding from what sources he drew most of his information during the last ten years in Hungary, respondent says:

"I gathered my information from the radio and newspapers equally, and my third source was word of mouth."

C. Talking about word of mouth, respondent says:

"In general I got news through word of mouth which was not included in the newspapers and radio broadcasts. For instance, our newspapers never wrote about the accidents and crimes. If it was a major accident then they had to talk about it, but they wrote the news as if 2 deaths had occurred in the accident, whereas in reality 200 people died on the spot. Maybe all this happened out of hypocrisy. All the three sources were rather unreliable. The radio and newspapers were just as bad as word of mouth. For instance, the newspapers never wrote about the UN resolutions."

Because of the short time available for the interview, the reading habits were completely omitted. * Interviewer's Note.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the chances of change inside Russia, respondent says:

"A revolution inside of Russia is possible, as I said before. The situation in Russia cannot go on like this forever, because of the strong dissatisfaction among Russia's population."

"If Russia had a free election, about 10% of the population would vote for the present regime. There were about 3 to 4% convinced Communists in Russia, and about 6 to 7% sympathizers. Under Lenin, they say, the life was better, and anti-Communism wasn't so strong. However, I don't know the people so well, I don't know their real motives, and therefore I can't prophesy what kind of government they would choose in case of a free election."

"I have no knowledge about the motives of Russia's leaders, or of their personalities."

B. Regarding the sympathies and antipathies toward the eastern European nations, respondent says: "I don't know any of these people, and I have no particular sympathy or antipathy toward any of them. From Hungary visitors went only to Czechoslovakia or Rumania, and I heard a few things from these people. I heard that from a political point of view Rumania was the most pro-Russian; I mean the government of Rumania, and Czechoslovakia was the smartest. They had a capacity for adaptation which helped them to lessen Moscow's oppression. In case of free elections in these countries, I think most of them would refuse Communism. Concerning the living standard, I guess it was the highest in Czechoslovakia; otherwise it was about the same in the other countries."

C. Regarding the Polish situation, respondent says: "There is no real change in Poland in my opinion. If G/omulka got a freer hand than he has right now, maybe he could gradually rule with

success. But whether he will get more independence from Moscow than he has now, I don't know."

"The Polish events influenced the Hungarian revolution very much. When the Hungarians heard about the Polish developments, they said to each other that we Hungarians should do something about our situation too."

"I don't know whether there were any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before the Gomulka regime."

"I don't know whether I would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along the Polish lines, because our revolution was so unexpected that I didn't have time to consider this question."

D. Talking about Yugoslavia and Titoism, respondent said:

"I guess Tito was the originator of National Communism, and as such, had an effect on the whole of eastern Europe. In Hungary, Rajk's power, and later on his showdown, were both in connection with Tito's policy. Tito is a great politician, and maneuvers skillfully in the field of international relations. He would like to get everything possible from the West as well as from the East, and in spite of that his country is poor. During the Hungarian revolution, Tito didn't take a firm stand on any side. Nobody knew what he really wanted. However, one thing is sure -- Tito didn't want an independent, neutral Hungary. A Hungary oppressed by Moscow and Communism is much more convenient for his purposes."

Respondent doesn't have any particular opinion for or against Titoism. He has no knowledge whether Tito is popular in Yugoslavia or not."

E. & F. Respondent doesn't know anything about the details of these two points. He only says a few words about the German question:

"A newspaper in Hungary wrote that Germany might start another war, but even the people who liked the idea didn't believe in it."

"The German occupational forces were a little

more popular than the Russians according to public opinion. But in general, as far as I knew, the Hungarians didn't sympathize with the German army. After 1945 I was a prisoner of war and therefore I cannot compare the popularity of the two armies."

G. Respondent knows the name of NATO, but nothing more about it, nor about the British Labor Party. He says he has no knowledge of the standard of living of the various countries in Western Europe ~~xxxxxx~~ while he was in Hungary. He didn't seem to be willing to make guesses.

H. ~~xxxxxx~~Turning to the United States, on what surprised him particularly about America when he arrived here, respondent says:

"I was most surprised, when I arrived in the U.S., by the number of cars, and what beautiful cars the Negroes have. Another surprise came when I saw how youthfully dressed were the old ladies sitting around in the lobby of the hotel where I stayed when I arrived."

Concerning what the United States should do for the nations of eastern Europe, respondent said:

"As long as the Iron Curtain is there, not much can be done. But anyway, if the United States really ~~xxxxxx~~ wanted to do something she could have done it during the last six months."

"In connection with Hungary, the U.S. won't start a war. Maybe the West can do something in a diplomatic way, but I don't know what they are willing to do. Anyway, one thing is sure -- the United States shouldn't acknowledge the Kadar government, because at least this is a political denunciation of the present situation and the government."

"I know that the people of Hungary would like to see ~~xxxxxx~~ all kinds of Western visitors in Hungary, especially the UN observers. Our foreign tourist traffic is very low. Hungary shouldn't be so isolated. In the past Hungary, and especially Budapest, was almost a center of foreign visitors from all over the world. However, I really don't know what such visitors

be told about Hungary before they go there."

"Hungarian people would like to receive Western books and periodicals very much, but it is impossible to send them there because we do not have a free press inside of the country."

"It is dangerous for the people in Hungary to receive foreign visitors, especially those who are associated with Hungarian exiles. If, for instance, somebody would go to my father, he would immediately come under suspicion of spying."

Concerning the Korean War, respondent has no ~~know~~knowledge about it.

j. To the question whether the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary during the revolution, respondent answers:

"Yes, the UN could have influenced the Hungarian situation. First of all, they could have sent observers to Hungary. The disadvantage of the UN is that they have no military power to carry out their resolutions, especially if they are against the great powers. The UN had very good and strong resolutions against Russia, but Russia simply didn't care. If the UN starts its sessions again and takes up the Hungarian question, I am afraid the situation will remain still the same, and the resolutions won't be carried out."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Concerning who is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent says:

"This is a difficult question. After 1945, I was a prisoner of war for three years. When I returned to Hungary, everybody was already in prison or escaped. Maybe Ferenc Nagy was a great man. The people in our village said that he made excellent speeches, pointing out whatever was wrong in Hungary. They said he saw the situation clearly."

B. Respondents reactions to a number of persons in world affairs are the following:

"Imre Nagy - According to public opinion, he would have been good temporarily and, according to whether he was willing to change his own point of view, he could have stayed or not. It is true that already in 1953 Imre Nagy wanted to change the politics toward a more liberal trend, therefore he was dismissed. But it is impossible to form a clear opinion just playing with possibilities. He was a Communist, therefore he would have been a good link between Russia and Hungary in a transitional stage."

"Cardinal Mindszenty - I didn't know about his activities because I ~~didn't~~ was in Russia at that time. I only knew that the people admired him and the Communists didn't like that. He was so much favored by the people that he endangered the Communist success."

"Laslo Rajk - I didn't know him."

"Erno Gero - He was the other puppet after Rakosi who most ruthlessly carried out the orders of Moscow."

"Janos Kadar - He is just the same as Gero but without his abilities."

"General Bela Kiraly - I didn't know him. I heard his name only during the revolution."

"Anna Kethly - She was a member of the ?

government, but I don't know her personality and nothing about her."

"President Eisenhower - He is sympathetic because he took in the Hungarian refugees. I see an extreme good will in him~~xx~~, but I have no other knowledge about him."

"Secretary General Hammarskjold - He wanted to help the Hungarian revolution to succeed."

"Dulles - I know that he is the Secretary of State of the U.S., but nothing more."

"I have no knowledge about Eden."

"Truman was the president of the U.S. but I don't know more about him."

"Mikoyan is a Russian but I don't know who he is."

"Nehru is the Premier of India."

"I don't know Generalissimo Chiang-Kai Shek."

"~~Rxxx~~ Ferenc Nagy was the premier Minister of Hungary, but I don't know more about him than what I told before."

"Roosevelt was the president of the U.S. during the war."

"Chancellor Adenauer is the Chancellor of West Germany."

"Stalin - He could have died before."

"I have no knowledge of Malenkov."

"Generalissimo Franco is the leader of Spain but I don't know how his country gets along."

"I have no knowledge about Bevan."

"Khrushchev is the Russian Party chief but I don't know him."

"Tito is the Premier of Yugoslavia and I don't know more about him than what I told before."

"I have no knowledge about Peron."

"Molotov was the Secretary of State of Russia but he was dismissed."

"No knowledge about Ollenhauer."

"Churchill was the Prime Minister of England. He is one of the greatest politicians because he conducted the English politics during two World Wars victoriously."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Talking about those who escaped to the West and those who stayed in Hungary, respondent says:

"All kind of people left Hungary, but the largest in number were the youth. People came mostly from Budapest from around Miskolc, and West Hungary. From the section between the Danube and the Tisza River less people succeeded in escaping. From the region beyond the Tisza just a few escaped. The reason these people left Hungary was that they didn't want to be deported or imprisoned. Some of them were looking for adventures; some others were dissatisfied people who didn't find any answer to their problems in Hungary. There were also class enemies among the escapees."

"Those people who stayed behind in Hungary were mostly big families, old people who were not afraid of being called to account, who were not class enemies. Some others believed that after the revolution the situation would turn into something better. There were quite a lot of people also who just couldn't succeed in leaving."

"I don't know about anybody who decided to remain in Hungary even though he had an opportunity to escape."

"Those people who remained in Hungary had have no resentment. They have a longing for the West and envy those who succeeded in escaping. They expect financial help from us."

"If they were a chance to come to the West, then those who are in prison right now would come out without a doubt. But many others would remain at home. It is not easy for someone to leave his homeland."

B. Respondent doesn't know anything about exile personalities or organizations.

In connection with the list of individuals respondent made the following remark:

"Tibor Eckhardt - If I remember correctly

he came out of Hungary because he didn't want to cooperate with the Germans. He was a smart politician; he had good ideas. The people in Hungary sympathized with him. They said maybe he knew what should be done, and this is why he left Hungary."

"About Ferenc Nagy I talked before."

"Bela Varga was a member of the Parliament and of the Small Holder Party."

"Pfeiffer and Barankovic had their own parties in Hungary."

"I don't know anything about Otto of Hapsburg."

"Horthy was an honest Hungarian man. He made his own mistakes as everybody does. Nevertheless his regime is outdated today."

C. Respondent didn't meet any Hungarians who escaped to the West after 1945 but returned to Hungary later on.

D. Regarding what people who have left Hungary should do, respondent says:

"First of all, the Hungarian people would like to know everything about the escapees -- the prices abroad, our living conditions, etc. The exiles can't do anything more than send home packages and money. I don't know what I myself could do for them personally. I didn't think of joining any exile organizations."

Talking about the latest Hungarian political parties, respondent says:

"The bread that any party gives is the most expensive and dangerous bread. I was never a party member and I didn't particularly like any party."

E. Regarding respondent's plans for the future, he says:

"If Hungary is liberated, I would like to go back. But it would depend upon the situation

in Hungary whether I would return for good or just as a ~~visitor~~ visitor."

"I definitely would like my children to learn Hungarian if I had any, and every other language. The more languages one speaks the better."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

Regarding listening to any foreign radio stations while he was in Hungary, respondent says:

"I listened only to the American stations-- the Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. The jamming of these two radio stations was not always the same. I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts. During the revolution, evenings I listened to both stations, but otherwise I listened to the foreign broadcasts only 3 or 4 times a year. We were always in different places and didn't know the people. I was afraid to listen to the radio with strangers, but I didn't even have much chance, because the strangers didn't offer me their radios. I didn't even tell my colleagues what I heard over the radio. I never mentioned that I was listening to the West, but they sometimes mentioned to me what they heard. Before the revolution, as I said before, I listened to the broadcasts only with some friends of mine. But during the revolution I listened to the radio at different families in the same house. Then it wasn't so dangerous anymore. The authorities never said that they punished anyone for listening to the foreign broadcasts, but looked for another excuse. If they knew someone was listening to the foreign broadcasts regularly they sentenced him, using another charge."

Regarding this reactions to the foreign broadcasts, respondent says:

"There was a secret station which called itself "the Black Voice." This program told in the evening about the atrocities of the Communists which were committed during the day, and shouted in a dramatic voice "You will pay for your deeds." I was startled by the fact that they could do this; I wondered how they got their information and could refer to the agents so fast. It was very impressive. In my opinion, the foreign broadcasts were reliable in general. However, they didn't make too deep an impression on the people in Hungary,

except those who optimistically believed in the changes, which I did not, as I said before. The news on these broadcasts was always reliable."

Regarding Radio Free Europe in particular, respondent says:

"Radio Free Europe encouraged the fights during the revolution. I heard them telling the soldiers to hold on. The broadcasts gave hope to the people of the possibility of Hungary's liberation."

"I guess Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary. It is not bad to have information from the West as much as possible."

To the question what he thinks is most important to broadcast to Hungary, respondent says:

"I think the most important would be to create a program which would regularly give exact reports about the internal affairs of Hungary. For instance, they could tell which cases are handled by the courts and what kind of judgments are carried out, in general about the function of courts all over Hungary. Furthermore these reports should give an account of the infringements and frauds of the Communist authorities. The Hungarians know only what is happening with themselves, but they are isolated. They don't know anything about what goes on next door. Besides such a program, cultural and economic programs are good. These should come from every country in the free world."

"The people are very interested in the lives of the Hungarian escapees all over the world."

B. Respondent heard about the leaflets of FEP, that they exist, but although he traveled all over the country he never saw one or talked to any person who had one. Otherwise he didn't know anything about the leaflets.

D. Regarding what he thinks the Western broadcasts and leaflets aimed to tell to the people behind the Iron Curtain, respondent says:

"I guess the purpose of the foreign broad- casts was to talk to the embittered Hungarians."

"I guess there was a small difference be- tween the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. The Voice gave mostly the news and didn't insti- gate against the Communists. Radio Free Europe had more propoganda in its programs. However, in 1940 the Kossuth and 'etofi' stations made much stronger Communist propoganda against the West."

... learn to read is a Communist song
or something like that when they go to school
the parents have to balance their education
their state of mind, if they don't want their
children to become Communists. This way respect
for adults and parents was lowered very much
during Communism. The children were very im-
pudent. I remember that a child would be
brought in to be well-dressed and polished.
In the morning, the child would be dressed in a
suit, with a tie and shoes. In the evening
the child would be dressed in a pair of
slacks. There was a big change in the way
the kids behaved."

"When I was a child I was beaten by my
father bitterly with anything he could reach
for. Whether he was with a leather belt
only once. Otherwise he slapped my face.
The Communists by beating me as hard as the
Cossacks, I sneaked out with my brother on a
Sunday forenoon to play instead of having her
in the kitchen. I was about 10 years old and
my brother 12 when that happened. My parents
never let me see I was afraid of my father."

... the way the kids behaved...
... all without thinking that."

"... the kids behaved...
... all without thinking that."

... the kids behaved...
... all without thinking that."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Regarding how children are brought up in Hungary right now, respondent says:

"Child rearing is under very bad circumstances today in Hungary. The small ~~xxx~~ children are taken in the morning by their mothers into Day Care centers and this way they are completely out of the hands of their parents. The first thing they learn to recite is a Communist poem or something like that. When they go to school the parents have to balance their education, their state of mind, if they don't want their children to become Communists. This way respect for adults and parents was lowered very much during Communism. The children became very impertinent. I consider that a child should be brought up to be well-mannered and religious. Nevertheless, each child needs a different discipline. Some children can be persuaded with nice words, while others must be given a few slaps. There are some who cannot be changed, who are basically bad."

"When I was a child I was beaten by my father bitterly with anything he could reach for. My mother beat me up with a leather belt only once. Otherwise she slapped my face. The occasion of her beating me so hard was the following. I sneaked out with my brother on a Sunday forenoon to play instead of helping her in the kitchen. I was around 10 years old and my brother 13 when that happened. My parents stopped beating me when I was around 16 or 17."

"At the beginning, under Communism, children were not allowed to be beaten in the schools. But later on this changed somehow. If the teacher beat up the children he wasn't punished anymore because he was not able to keep discipline at all without beating them."

"In general, children are beaten up in Hungary until they are 10 or 12 years old, even under Communism. Before Communism children were beaten regularly."

Regarding what characteristics respondent

values most in a friend, he says:

"I like steady, temperate and tolerant friends."

"There were no changes in real friendship under Communism. For example, my friendship wasn't influenced at all by the fact that my friend was imprisoned. On the contrary, maybe I liked him even better."