

PERSONAL DESCRIPTION

Respondent is about 5'7" tall, just a little bit on the stocky side, has a round face which is ploughed by many wrinkles, particularly on his forehead, but which is always ready to smile. He has small shiny brown eyes, and brown hair thinned somewhat by age. His walk is pretty manly, but his bearing is not so erect as that of most Hungarian men of his age, because close to his neck his shoulders are a little bit bent forward, just a little bit. Particularly, his head and neck are thrust forward most of the time during conversation, and probably this is the difference, that he does not have such a proud bearing as most Hungarian men his age.

He speaks unusually softly, and he is very thoughtful in choosing his words. He seems to be a cautious but actually quite unafraid person in his way of putting things and of describing himself. He has a very good sense of humor, and, as I mentioned above, he is always ready to smile and to laugh.

Probably owing to his profession, he appears to be among the more educated workers, and in his entire attitude he appears to me to be a typical member of a classless society in development. By this I mean that he certainly cannot easily be classified as belonging to either of the classes. Of course, by his profession no doubt he is a worker, but in his attitude he belongs to the intelligentsia as well.

He has been in my English class for five months, and I find him to be a very attentive and quite intelligent student on whom every friend may count. Even for Hungarians of his social standing and age, who are usually quite sociable, he is particularly so. -- If it comes to serious debates, he is in them heart and soul, and usually reasons quite logically. He is not so apt to lose his temper as most Hungarians are, but he is not a total exception.

Emotional as he is, as are most Hungarians, I find it particularly characteristic of him that one can reason with him pretty well, and that he also appeals to reason when taking part in discussions and debates. He also displays, usually, much less impatience and much more understanding than most Hungarians of his sex and age.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

This is what respondent thinks are the most important things that Americans should know: "Even though not physically, but mentally and emotionally, every Hungarian took part in the revolution; I mean every~~thing~~ Hungarian worth speaking of. There are 9 million Hungarians whose only great wish is that the Russians should leave Hungary -- the earlier the better. The Kadar regime lies when it describes revolutionaries as criminals because there were no burglaries and no atrocities to speak of during the revolution. What little occurred was below the actual record of so-called peace time. I mean crimes aside from the excesses of the revolution, which were also very little in number. What actual stealing there was was committed by the Communist managers of stores who stold themselves and proclaimed afterwards that people looted their shops. I could tell you of concrete cases myself where I happened to have first-hand knowledge of such.

"I would like to say also a word about the shocking indifference of Americans which we experience here day after day that ought to be changed."

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

(Interviewer's Note: Respondent asks emphatically that if anything appears of what he says no reference to any concrete details should be made, and not even to the fact that he is a printer, because he thinks that not more than 10 or perhaps 15 printers fled after the revolution, and it would be easy for Communist authorities to discover who he is, and to exercise reprisals against his loved ones.)

"It was in the forenoon of the 22nd, that is Monday, that I was working in the printing shop and one of our engineers came to me and said that next day I should be at the Bem statue, because there would be some demonstration, and I should also attend. When I asked where he heard this, he mentioned the Petofi Circle.

"Next day, on the 23rd of October, this engineer came to me again as I was working with the printing machine and told me that I should be there by all means. He told me to be there at 4 o'clock. We worked until 3 o'clock and then I still had time to wash and change clothes and go out. By the time we were about to cross the bridge an immense crowd was visible all around and they crossed over to the Buda Street. Most of the crowd were students. I was with a friend and the engineer, and I also got mixed with these students. I saw many of the leaflets which contained the Fourteen Demands the revolutionaries set up. These leaflets were not printed but mimeographed. These leaflets were very much in demand. All people who were around asked for them and I had to argue that I was a printer and that I wanted this text to be printed; this is how I received one. This is how after I arrived at the Bem statue and saw the meeting get under way I hurried back to the printing shop and talked to one of my friends, asking him to print as many as they could. We went ~~right~~ ahead right away with the printing and we printed approximately 50,000 leaflets. When I received the leaflets I went back to the Bem statue and gave the leaflets to the students, who were happy to ~~xxxxxx~~ distribute them. By then we went over to another printing shop, an even larger one, where we had good friends who dared to do something and they printed even more, and we kept bringing them to the students. --(In a later phase of the revolution there was some very serious shooting in that printing shop between workers who were on our side and printed the leaflets and workers who resented this because they were Communists. As a matter of fact the Communists were not plain workers, but managers of the printing shop.) -- While leaflets were being printed I went back to the Bem Square eager to listen to the speeches and to watch the events unfolding. I was

lucky enough to listen to the speech of Bela Gero, and if I remember correctly I also heard Mihaly Sinka reciting a poem.

"You know behind the Bem statue is the Bem barracks. There you could see a great many soldiers leaning out the windows and climbing on the roof. I presume they were forbidden to join the crowd or to leave the barracks, and since they were still eager I presume they rather disobeyed orders but wanted to see and hear what was going on. There as well as everywhere in the Bem Square flags were appearing rapidly, and there was a real forest of flags all around. You could see flags which were already freed from the Communist emblem; that is to say, with a hole in their middle, and of course many flags which never had the Communist emblem painted or printed on them. -- (Interviewer's Note: Asked when he saw flags fixed in that fashion appearing everywhere in the Square, respondent said it was about 5 o'clock. Asked when he saw the first flag fixed in that fashion, respondent answers that it was right in the beginning of the meeting.) -- "It was too bad that they didn't have a loudspeaker system because the speeches were hardly audible, but we understood that they called on us to go over to the Parliament because they said the government ~~ixixixxxx~~ was in session and they wanted to hand over the Fourteen Demands to them. By then we could hear people chanting: "Down with Gero!" -- "Gero should perish!" and by about 5:30 we could also hear chants like "Russki go home!" We were also told not to cross the Kossuth bridge in too great numbers, because that bridge is not strong enough to carry a multitude of people. So most people took the course over the Margret bridge. I, however, still preferred to cross over the Kossuth bridge and fortunately enough this meant too that I was there earlier than most of the people; I mean at the Parliament Square, and I secured myself a place right in the first few rows.

"In fact, I stood just about 15 to 20 feet from the lions of the main entrance of the Parliament building. Most of the fantastically large crowd, the like of which I had never yet seen, arrived by about 6 o'clock at the Parliament Square, and by then you could see not only students and young people, but all kinds of other people as well -- women and older people and so on. The crowd demanded the resignation of Gero and the withdrawal of the Russian occupation army. Then people wanted to listen to Imre Nagy. They chanted "Let's hear Imre Nagy!" -- Unfortunately he was not in the Parliament at that time. Ferenc Erdei appeared first on the balcony. He told the crowd that Imre Nagy was not in the Parliament building but that he had been sent for, and that the people should wait patiently because he would come. He also said that

he resigned from his post in the Cabinet and that he did not identify himself with the Hegedus government. Erdei can really be commended on how he spoke, though very briefly, but it certainly pleased us. Meanwhile the crowd demanded that Hungarian flags be hoisted on the Parliament building and that the lights be put on. The plain red, white and green flag soon appeared on the Parliament building indeed. There was no emblem on it. The crowd kept demanding Imre Nagy and his wife appeared on the balcony and she said her husband would come, the people should wait patiently. It was about 7:30 when Imre Nagy actually appeared on the balcony.

"It is well known by now that he started his speech by addressing the people as "Comrades" and the crowd protested against it and then he corrected the address by saying "My dear friends." His speech contained a desperate plea for ~~some~~ people to be calm, but he didn't say anything essential and he withdrew. Meanwhile the news arrived about the infamous speech of Gero over the radio. People in the surrounding houses who listened to the speech of Gero shouted out the windows, telling us what the speech sounded like, that he wouldn't resign and so on and so on. Of course all of this was of people's sentiments and they demanded more than ever the resignation of Gero. It was about 8:30 when some cars came from the direction of the Radio with students in them, and the students shouted that everybody should go to the Radio building because the AVO was shooting at the college students. Then, mostly young people and men tried to get on all kinds of vehicles -- whatever they could seize -- trucks and cars and no matter what -- to get there as quickly as possible. People stopped all these vehicles and the vehicles stopped willingly and carried people over there. By then the streets were completely filled with crowds. I also got on a truck to see what was going on at the Radio building, but I got only as far as the Museum garden. It was a little after 9 P.M. There was a sea of a crowd all around, because people heard about the speech of Gero by then. As I arrived I saw firemen's hoses cut into pieces by the crowd. Those firemen were there to disperse the crowd and the crowd defended itself by cutting the hoses apart. (Interviewer's Note: Respondent seems to enjoy this memory very much. He laughs heartily as he tells about these events.)

"I saw from a distance but still was able to observe how an ambulance was seized by the crowd and how the AVO people (as I learned later who they were) were dragged out from the ambulance and were beaten to death -- in fact, I saw more and more people collapse and get carried out from the midst of the crowd. I heard the rattle of machine

guns again and again from the Radio building. I saw and heard at the same time a great many trucks rolling with college students in them, and from all directions you could hear again and again the voices of the people demanding the resignation of Gero.

"The students read the Fourteen Points of demand aloud again and again. It was about 11 o'clock when I decided to go home. It was not an easy ~~xxxx~~task for me to move in the crowd because people were packed so tightly together, and I had a hard time reaching Rakoczi ~~St~~Ut. (Interviewer's Note: It could also be called Rakoczi Ave.)

"As I moved on the streets I met a crowd coming from the direction of the Liget and they told us that they had toppled over the Stalin statue -- it was about midnight that I got home and then I went to bed.

"Next day, as work started at 7 A.M., I had to leave at 6:30. It was a foggy morning and I found it conspicuous that there were unusually few people in the streets as yet. As I went to the ~~Andrassy~~ Ut (Andrassy Ave.) I found myself all alone on the entire street. I saw only three Russian tanks, that is to say I thought they were Russian tanks because they wore no distinguishing marks; the Russians liked to do such things. I was afraid ~~s~~ of what might happen to me, so I drew close to the wall of the houses and kept sneaking toward my goal. One of the tanks turned its ~~side~~ against me and I expected that they might fire at me any minute, but nothing happened. I just kept sneaking. As the first tank passed me I sighed with ~~xx~~ relief because I knew that if the first one wouldn't fire on me, neither would the second or the third, and so it happened. As I approached the Western Railroad terminal I saw another group of tanks coming, and they were firing point blank with their machine guns at the windows of the houses they passed. I had only ~~xxxx~~so much time to run into the entrance~~s~~ of one of the nearby houses, and ~~xx~~prostrated myself there. Why not I wouldn't know, but those tanks fired their rounds at the third and fourth floors of the houses mostly. This was about 6:45 in the morning. As I got on the Bajosy-Zsilinszky St. some Hungarian military trucks overtook me. I saw them unload a lot of arms, pistols, machine guns, crates of ammunition, rifles. I saw them unload them on the pavement. ~~xx~~I did not stop. As I proceeded I stopped in front of the headquarters of the Ambulance Service and a driver standing there in front of the building asked me what was going on. I told him what I saw, and then I went to the printing shop and I found that our workers from the suburbs and particularly from the surrounding area did not come in. We hesitated what to do, and the engineers told us to start working as usual. As we obeyed these orders, we

worked hard for an hour or a little more when we at once heard a terrific noise of Howitzers and so on, the terrible noise of artillery pieces. It turned out that the Freedom Fighters started shooting at the Russians and at the AVO, and that they returned the fire and a regular battle developed. When the real battle developed it might have been about 11 o'clock and we stopped our machines. By then we received a message from other printing shops that the workers had decided to have a general strike until the Russian occupation troops withdrew from Hungary.

"Now I went home with the advice that next morning I should appear again in the printing shop as we all were told to do.

"Next day, Thursday, October 25, was that infamous day of the massacre in front of the Parliament. I was in the printing shop, and it was about 11 o'clock or 11:30 when we were alarmed by a terrific rattle of machine guns and all kinds of weapons. First we could not imagine what happened, and we realized that even our building was shot at, and the cook of our shop had been working upstairs on the highest floor, and was shot to death. At least he was heavily wounded; he was in a coma when they brought him to a hospital. Since our building had semi-automatic locking devices on the doors and since we had heavy iron doors one of us got so scared that he accidentally locked us on the third floor tract, and we couldn't even go down to the air raid shelter and had to witness the entire firing up there on the third floor. It was not very nice. The Russians fired the artillery pieces of their tanks rapidly ~~and~~ the entire surrounding area, including our building.

"A Russian tank came to the entrance of our building and when we wanted to go out to go home we were prevented from doing so. It was only at 2 P.M. that we were permitted to leave the building. I hurried to the Parliament building because I had heard by then that something terrible happened in the Parliament Square and I found that the news was not exaggerated at all. I saw dead, dead, and dead everywhere. I saw dismembered bodies which were cut to pieces by the rounds fired at them everywhere and by the exploding gunshells. I will never forget seeing the forearm of a little girl. She had her little ring on her finger and she could not have been more than about 10 years old. It was terrible -- I saw many students dead who still had their brief cases under their arms, and others had their books in their hands. In front of the Parliament there was still a little remainder from the excavations that were made in order to build a ~~subway~~ subway system under Budapest. This little remainder was a small hill on which grass was growing. I wanted to

climb on top of that small hill to look around even better and I slipped back because I found that coagulated blood covered the grass entirely. It was about one and a half or two inches thick in some spots. You could find pieces of lungs and so on all around.

"This day was the 25th, and it was the day when Gero resigned and wherever I went I saw confusion and the ~~revolutionaries~~ became stronger in a great many points throughout the city. I think it was because of this unbelievable massacre that people grew even more irate and that more and more groups of revolutionaries set up points of resistance.

"From then on, I checked into the printing shop every morning, all the more since it was there that we received food which was very hard to get all over town -- As I say I checked in every morning and after the resignation of Gero I was very happy hoping that at least, this much gained, the revolution could perhaps win even more concessions. The few days up to November 4 went without any major events as far as I as a person was concerned. I was filled with ~~un~~unspeakable happiness in the days of freedom, and prayed that they would be with us from then unto eternity.

"It was dawn of November 4th, some time about 4:30 A.M. I heard a tremendous noise of bombardment. It was apparent that the Russians were attacking and were shelling Budapest. And indeed I could hear the speech of Imre Nagy. After his speech I heard a writer read a letter asking for help from the free world, and ~~from~~ then on I could hear only the national anthem and the Solemn Appeal, these two most famous Hungarian national songs, played on phonographs in the studio as long as the ~~Russian~~ radio was not silenced completely. I looked out the window and saw an immense number of Russian tanks approaching from the direction of the Andrassy Ut. -- You can imagine what I felt -- how profound those emotions were. One ~~didn't~~ just didn't know whether to weep or to rave about what was happening.

"By then, ~~the~~ the securing of necessary food became so hard that the worries and the chores connected with that ~~occupied~~ occupied most of my days which followed. I had to keep checking in at the printing office every morning, or at least once a day, because the only way to ~~make sure~~ make sure that I got paid. Until November 8th, nothing ~~significant~~ significant happened to me.

"It was on November 8th that the battle reached the vicinity where I was living. One group of revolutionaries found a shelter in one of the nearby buildings, and they made that their headquarters and their point of departure for every attack. By attack I mean that they took either

their anti-tank gun or just their machine guns or their gasoline bottles, and appeared in various places and at various points, attacking the Russian tanks, particularly the ones that were unaware and that were not in a larger unit. These were hit-and-run attacks and the Russians were ~~desperate~~ desperate about not being able to find their attackers. Finally, on November 8th, the Russians were fed up with these hit-and-run attacks and they surrounded the entire block in which we lived and launched an all-out attack against us. In the adjoining building a group of the Freedom Fighters found a good place to attack one of the tanks which was detached from the unit. While they were busy with that attack I saw another group of approximately eight Freedom Fighters surrounded by Russians from all sides. They appeared to have lost their sense of orientation and they had a hard time finding cover from the firing of the Russian tanks from practically all sides. I stood on the balcony of the building in which I was living and I saw a way to escape. I yelled to the Freedom Fighters that they should wait until I signalled them what way to run when the tank that stood guard at one of the corners turned away. I yelled to them to wait for my signal and then to run into our building as fast as they could. This was exactly how it happened. The boys had some flame grenades with them and had some machine guns and pistols. They asked me whether I had been a soldier and whether I knew how to handle these grenades. As I said already, I served with the Hungarian army and in fact with anti-tank units. They told me they wanted to join the group which was waiting to attack that certain tank I mentioned before which was detached from the unit. I brought string and tied three of the flame grenades together so that they could have more effect. Now I explained to them what building they should sneak to, because that was an abandoned building. I wanted them to attack the tank from an empty building so that if the Russians retaliated the damage in ~~many~~ people's lives should not be great. They infiltrated that building one by one and I stood on our balcony. I also instructed the boys to throw the grenades right behind the truck because that is the weakest part of the armor of the tank. They seemed to follow my advice because after hardly 5 minutes I heard "Bang! Bang!" and the Russian tank stood in flames. The tank crew jumped out and these boys shot them all with their machine guns. By then the other tanks of this unit from which the single tank had been in a somewhat detached position noticed its plight and started closing in on the building in which these boys were. Some 15 tanks approached and they started shelling all ~~the~~ buildings they passed. One of the buildings completely collapsed because the ~~hit~~ Russians destroyed its first floor -- (Interviewer's Note: Asked whether people were hurt, respondent says that, practically speaking, all people were

in air raid shelters, and he was alone in his building and saw another man in another building also looking out frequently from the window, watching things. He was an old man, by the way.) -- The boys I spoke of managed to escape from that building, and in fact next day I met them, or at least a few of them.

"Well, next day, that is November 9th, I met them when they distributed the supplies of a food shop which specialized in canned goods. I recognized four of these same boys, together with some others, doing the job. It was a fine job indeed. They all had sub-machine guns hanging from their necks and I saw them distributing the cans to each of the people who stood ~~at~~ there patiently in a long, long queue. As they were distributing the canned food, all of a sudden two Russian tanks approached this spot. The boys hid their sub-machine guns very quickly under their coats and they also took a place in the queue as if they also wanted to get something, and as if they were also with the others. The Russians came, got out of the tanks, ran around and barked something, and left. The boys took their sub-machine guns out, hung them around ~~their~~ their necks again, and the ~~distribution~~ distribution of food went on as before. Believe it or not, this is exactly as it happened. I saw it with my own two eyes, but I would also find it hard to believe if others told me the same story. It is just unbelievable how bold and inventive these young boys were.

"In the next two weeks nothing in particular happened to me. I kept going to the printing shop every day and it was on November 26th that I went to Salgotarjan. I went there to see my mother and one of my brothers, I was eager to know what had happened to them during the revolution and I wanted them to know that I was alive and healthy. As I got off the train in Salgotarjan I met some regular policemen and acquaintances among them, and other acquaintances. I started talking to them about what things looked like in Salgotarjan. To my greatest surprise I learned that the AVO never gave up, but kept the upper hand in Salgotarjan all throughout the victorious days of the revolution. I was flabbergasted and dismayed to hear this, and I told them my opinion frankly my opinion -- that they were yellow, no-good guys for not kicking out the AVO as we did in Budapest and so far as I knew as was done in all other places in Hungary. I later told this opinion to all acquaintances and friends whom I met.

"On November 28th I went back to Budapest to check on developments with my estranged wife, with whom I still lived in the same flat due to the tremendous housing shortage in Budapest, and since our divorce six months earlier we had not been able to find other living quarters for either her or me. Well, I learned from her that the AVO

was looking for me. I also learned that many people had been picked up in the last 2 days in our vicinity. Apparently there were some informers in our neighborhood. I decided to leave.

"It was on November 30th that I left. I went through Szombathely, and crossed over to Austria on the night of November 30th-December 1.

A. The Demonstrations

Asked what he thought and expected before the start of the demonstrations, when he saw that great demonstrations were preparing, respondent says: "I expected like most other people that the Russians would see and realize that the occupation did not pay because they harvested more hatred than if they were to leave Hungary. I knew this to be the main point of the Fourteen Demands, among which were also the resignation of Gero, and the handing over of the uranium mines to Hungarian management, and I certainly hoped that the Russians would withdraw."

Asked whether respondent himself really took part in the demonstrations, he says that he took part in a great many, not only before but also during the revolution.

Asked what his feelings during the demonstrations were, respondent answers: "I met the group which was headed by Dudas particularly often; that is to say, I took part in the demonstrations which were lead by Dudas. One of those larger demonstrations was stationed in front of the American Legation, and was also led by Joseph Dudas."

Respondent joined the demonstrations usually together with friends with whom he had talked over the events before. Nobody ever tried to dissuade respondent from participating in demonstrations.

Respondent remembers the demonstrations more now as we mention them, and he volunteers: "On October 29th we went to the tanks which surrounded the building of the Parliament and we talked to the Russian soldiers and distributed Russian language leaflets among them. We tried to explain to the Russian soldiers that they should not fire at us because we were neither landholders nor American agents, nor anyone of the sort, Fascists and so on, whom they were supposed to fight. I am confident that this way we saved the lives of many Hungarians, because the Russian soldiers read these leaflets and they listened to us."

Asked whether the Russian soldiers talked to them,

respondent says that they did, most of them anyway, until the officers discovered this and ordered them to shut up.

Asked whether he thought of consequences respondent says that he did not think of consequences that might be detrimental to him.

Asked what he wanted to achieve, respondent says the fulfillment of the Fourteen Points of Demand.

Asked what he ~~thought~~ thought the probable outcome of the fighting would be, respondent answers: "As I said before, I hoped that the Russians would learn that occupation in Hungary doesn't pay, and that they would withdraw."

Asked who the demonstrators were according to sex and class, respondent answers that you could find all ~~kind~~ kinds of people from all walks of life and from all age groups. It seems to him that there were just about the same number of women as there were men.

Asked who stayed away, respondent says he didn't see army units or police units in the demonstrations.

Asked who the leaders were, respondent says that he met Joseph Dudas on more than one occasion as the leader of some demonstration.

Asked how he found out about Dudas respondent answers: "I shouted at him during the demonstrations and asked him who he was, saying that he should tell the people whom he was now leading in this demonstration. He introduced himself as Joseph Dudas, formerly a member of Parliament of the Small Holders' Party, and he spoke of himself as a person who had spent some eight years in Communist prisons. He reminded us again and again not to believe any of the Communist promises. "They promise us an amnesty! -- They should be happy if we extend amnesty to them!" This is what he said as an answer to one of my questions addressed to him. -- That man certainly knew no fear. When we went to the Russian tanks around the Parliament building, of which I told you before, he went there right in front of the barrels of the artillery pieces of the tanks, and he beat his chest and said, "Well, come on and fire right at my very chest. Don't shoot at the others." Then he turned to us and told us not to be afraid, because if they shot they would shoot at him first. -- On another occasion I listened to one of his speeches in which he explained what the revolution actually wanted. He held this meeting on

C. The Reinvasion

Respondent already told us how he spent the days between the time of Soviet withdrawal and reinvasion.

Asked what he thought when the army began its "retreat" respondent reiterates what he said before about his hopes that the Russians were persuaded that it doesn't pay to keep Hungary occupied and oppressed.

Asked about the first news of the fact that Soviet withdrawal had been ordered, respondent explains that he heard everything over the radio.

He saw the first Soviet troops returning at 5:30 AM on ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ November 4th.

Respondent told us about how he spent the time between the army's return and his escape. He told us about it in the story.

Respondent started planning his escape when he heard, upon returning to Salgotarjan, that the AVO was looking for him, and that many people who did very little on the side of the revolution were taken to AVO prisons.

D. Conclusions

As for whether on the whole Hungary has gained because of the revolution, respondent ~~XXXXXX~~ answers: "Unquestionably Hungary has gained and made a tremendous reputation and credit in the eyes of the world for fighting so heroically. -- More important than this are the feelings of the ~~Hungarian~~ Hungarian nation itself, namely the feeling that they were able to throw off the yoke imposed by foreign oppressors and that they were able to do so without external aid. It has never happened before that all strata and all groups, social, cultural and other groups of the population, were so fantastically united as during the revolution and the weeks that followed it."

IV. EXPECTATIONS

Asked what he expected from the West, respondent says that he expected no armed help from the West, and hoped only for some material help in the line of food and medicine. -- "But at the same time I may tell you that I as well as hundreds of thousands of our people were terribly bitter when the second Russian attempt took place and the free world let us down completely, because when the borders were thrown open by the victorious revolution, the West ought to have sent a fact-finding committee. If they had been present in Budapest the Russians would have thought twice before they attacked. But, as I say, they let us down and didn't do even that much for the Hungarians."

Asked about the basis on which he formed his expectations, respondent answers that the borders were completely thrown open and anybody could have come and gone. As newspapermen came from the West, a UN Committee could also have come into Hungary.

Asked whether he met Western newspapermen and so on during the revolution, respondent says that during many of the demonstrations he saw Western newspapermen and he spoke to several of them and among others he describes a crowd in front of the Ministry of Defense, which was observed mainly by American newspapermen and news photographers, and in which Russian soldiers were also involved. Hungarians tried to talk Russian soldiers out of fighting, and as this occurred Russian officers ran there and forbade their soldiers to have any fraternization with Hungarians.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Family Background

Respondent's father was a stonemason working, practically speaking all his life, for a large ~~xxxxxx~~ steel plant in Salgotarjan. -- His father earned approximately 140 to 150 pengos before the war, and that was, according to respondent, a large enough income to take good care of his five children. -- Respondent reports died in the meantime and so he couldn't ~~xxxx~~compare incomes at various times.

Respondent's father owned a very humble, small house. Both his father and mother had 6 years of grade school education.

B. Social Classes

Respondent knew two classes under Communism, one was "the working people, the people who really toiled, and the Communist aristocracy consisting of but a handful of people of the Communist leadership."

Asked what kind of contact he had with these groups, respondent laughs and says that he had contact only with the working class. -- Pressed for a more elaborate answer, respondent says that there were several persons who had previously been his workmates, but who, because of their Party membership, advanced fast and received managerial positions. This way he says he had some contact also with the ruling class, little as it was.

It is respondent's opinion of these classes that the lowest social class rose ~~xy~~very much during Communism, particularly intellectually and in its attitude, but he doesn't think that they rose economically, at least not such large numbers of them that it would be worth mentioning. -- He also reasons that this is due to a great extent to the fact that people had no chance to accumulate any amount of capital to start enterprises ~~xy~~of their own or to build houses or to go on good and expensive vacations. Their only real pastime became increasing their education.

Asked to what social class he himself belongs, respondent laughs and says of course to the working class. When I press for a more explicit answer and call his ~~xxxxxxx~~ attention to various strata within the working class, respondent argues that ~~the~~ Hungarian society became almost entirely homogeneous and former social differences dwarfed. He explains quite plainly that the only real difference between one person and another was the amount of their knowledge and skill. He adds that this was true at least in the eyes of the common people.

Asked what class was hit the hardest, respondent answers that the workers' lot was worse than anybody's because they were easily controllable in the plants and they had an

awfully hard time politically, economically and psychologically. Only persons with exceptionally scarce and needed skills were in a more favorable position, and respondent thinks that he was one of those.

Asked what opinions social classes maintained of each other, respondent says that he experienced that they appreciated each other genuinely. He recalls having traveled extensively in various villages and he was received everywhere in a most friendly way wherever he went before the revolution as well as during. --"But people were completely agreed on one point: they all ~~unanimously~~ profoundly detested the Communist aristocracy.

Asked about changes, respondent says that people gradually became more homogeneous and more friendly to each other, and Stalin's death may be considered a turning point in this respect. After it the improvement became almost rapid.

C. Asked how a person could get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent says that one had to have a very much sought after skill, or had to prostrate himself completely. Indispensable experts in much-needed fields and Communist Party members could well forge ahead in life. Party members, he says, did not need any special skills; it was enough for them to parrot the Communist Party line.

Respondent doesn't think that worker origin or peasant origin played any considerable part in one's getting ahead in Communist Hungary. He thinks that those allegations were rather the window dressings and matters of propaganda. -- As an example he quotes his own case. He was, namely, offered a high position in the Ministry of Industry at the time when the Social Democratic and Communist Parties amalgamated, and the only condition was that he join the Communist Party. But since he refused, he received no position in the Ministry.

Asked about the changes brought about by the New Course, respondent thinks that the initial changes, which were quite favorable, and for which Imre Nagy was responsible, were later wiped out practically all over the country.

Speaking about him as a person, the question is what kind of individual would get ahead, and respondent answers that it must be a person who has no principles and convictions whatsoever, or if he has, then he is ready to change them at will.

D. Favored Groups

Respondent thinks that the Party leadership is a favored

group which enjoys privileges it doesn't deserve at all. Probed as to whether this is not also true of Party members, respondent ~~and~~determinedly says that he means only Party leadership. Respondent adds that by Party leadership he means also those who perhaps did not exactly have a leading position in the Party but became leaders in economic life or in administration because of their Party roles.

Asked whether there were any other groups that got more than they deserved, respondent says "Of course, if we take the AVO as ~~in~~ a special group, well, they certainly belong ~~into~~ those!"

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communist Effects

Asked about the family life of his own family in the last ten years, respondent says that it is hard to speak of any harmony in his own family life because his wife was pathologically jealous. In the beginning she was jealous without any foundation and any sensible reason, but later her jealous attitude kind of forced respondent into situations which really warranted the jealousy of his wife. This development took about ten years and respondent emphasizes that it was only his wife who divorced him, he didn't divorce her. He said even at the last session in the divorce suit he said he would like to remain married to his wife. But his wife was too proud, he says.

Respondent says there were no changes brought about by Communism in the life of his family, and that the tragedy that happened in his family was due to ~~xxxxxx~~ personal matters rather than those brought about by Communism. He did not allow Communism to enter his home.

Told about the three theoretical types of family families' reaction to Communism, respondent says that his family belonged to the third type, where there was no change.

Asked which type of these theoretically created families ~~xxxxxxxx~~ represents the majority of Hungarian families, respondent says that he knows of a considerable number of cases in which one or the other of the parents became a Party functionary, and this brought about great difficulties in family life. He also emphasizes that aside from this, Communism had other effects on family life and respondent hems and haws and says he doesn't mean this to represent the average, but he mentions again and again how rapidly the divorce rate rose in Hungary and so he seems to be beating around the bush of the first type of families.

Asked how the children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent says: "If I think back on ~~xx~~the revolution I should say that they raised them very well!" and respondent laughs heartily. -- Pressed for his personal experiences prior to the revolution, respondent explains that he has the impression that most families raised their children very well without the ~~xxxxxx~~disturbing influence of Communism. -- At the same time he emphasizes that most families were not as strict in raising children as they were in his time.

Asked which families were able to hold on to the old ways, and not succumb, respondent says: "Independent small tradesmen who were able to make themselves independent of everything. Those people detested the Soviets more than anybody." He emphasizes that highly skilled workers were particularly in a position, in addition to the small independent tradesmen, to raise their children the way they wanted.

B. Sex Patterns

Asked about ways of courting and marriage, respondent says that there were pretty big changes in this area in Hungary under Communism. He names among his reasons the fact that the Communist authorities were anxious to provide the young people with a lot of opportunities to enjoy themselves at dances and balls. -- "If Hungarian youth had not had an inherent inclination to shun sin, it would have sunk awfully low." -- Asked what facts he based his estimates on, respondent refers to summer camps in which boys and girls were in the same camp, consisting of tents or of barracks in which a high number of sexual intercourses took place. But he says many more would have taken place had Hungarian youth, or at least a very large part of it, not had higher ideals than their Communist masters.

Speaking of the time of courtship, respondent says that it shrunk to practically zero, and he says almost the same about the role of parents. Youth became much more independent than before, he asserts.

Respondent thinks that the main reason for all of these changes is the attitude of Communism to give more leeway for the free development of youth, in order to woo them into their camp. Youth took quite a bit of advantage of the excessive freedom in moral fields, he explains, but at the same time it did not embrace Communism.

Respondent says about prostitution that officially there was none, but otherwise there was quite a bit. Misery brings it always with itself, he explains. Many otherwise good girls, he explains, lost their heads because their take home wages were so small that they were forced to look for another income if they were not to starve, and particularly if they were anxious to dress well.

Asked about the sexual morality of Communists, respondent says that he couldn't say a word because he had no chance to associate with Communists. But he doesn't think that there was an essential difference.

C. Friendship with Communists

Since respondent spoke about that before, we need not suppose, but we know it is true that he had a good friend before 1948, and some time later this friend became a Communist Party member and a minor functionary. Respondent says about him that their relations became a little cooler, although his friend tried to keep up their friendship by favoring him more than anybody else. He never had to attend seminars, and if any complaints were filed by his colleagues, this supervisor friend of his received all those complaints, and warned him strictly between themselves he should keep his mouth shut in the future. -- Asked whether his superior tried to convince him of Communism, respondent says: "He knew very well that he could not convince me of it, and he didn't even make an attempt." -- Respondent also adds that this Party functionary was not a persuaded Communist himself at all. He made no secret of the fact to this friend that he only joined for financial reasons.

Asked about other cases of a similar setup, respondent says that most friendships in a case like this became very cool and were practically given up. -- "Such a Communist Party member had to fear that he would be accused of having anti-Communist friends, and that he would be purged because of that."

Respondent says that usually both parties broke the friendship. The one who became a higher-up because of his Party membership for the reason told in the above paragraph, and the other one because he detested the friend who joined for financial advantages. -- Asked whether such friends who stayed outside of the Party voiced their opinions of friends who joined it, respondent says that it was amazing how freely such people usually spoke against their former friends, like: "How you have also become a rotten Communist, you dirty pig you!" Respondent has mixed feelings about continuing a friendship while keeping politics out of it. He quotes his example in which the other party of their friendship didn't have time anymore, and it was usually every other week that they got together to have a little drink or a little chat. Before, they had been bosom friends he tells us. If they got together, it was always on the initiative of the Party functionary who became manager of that printing shop.

D. Respondent says that juvenile delinquents are called the ones who violate the law and are under 18 years of age; if he remembers rightly, he says, 18 was the age limit for minors. Asked about the frequency of juvenile delinquency, respondent seems not to have much knowledge. He quotes

however, some example that he either read or heard several times, that there were some packs of young people who caught a girl and brought her to ~~xxxx~~the room of one of them, and there they raped her. But he adds that the girl probably was also guilty because she should not have been so foolish as to go to such places were this might happen. Respondent thinks that poverty is the prime cause of delinquency -- poverty and the lack of good education. Education is usually lacking because poor parents don't have the time to busy themselves with their children, nor the energy.

Respondent doesn't know what the term "hooligan" stands for. About the Jampecs respondent says that he had a very low opinion of them until he got acquainted with a number of them, and then he realized that they were actually okay, and that there was nothing odd about them. -- During the revolution he thinks that the Jampecs, generally speaking, regained their lost reputations because people realized that they were among the best fighters of the revolution.

Respondent thinks that the only real distinguishing mark between Jampecs and others was their peculiar way of dressing and that was a sign of their admiration for the West.

Respondent is under the impression that you could find Jampecs in all social classes, but still mainly among workers.

The average age of Jampecs is about 20, he thinks.
~~XXXXXXXX~~

Respondent maintains that the Communists hated the Jampecs particularly because of their admiration for the West, and that they exaggerated the danger of them very much.

E. Homosexuality

Asked about homosexuals, respondent shrugs and laughs and says that he was not interested in homosexuality at all. Finally he says that he knew that there were a number of homosexuals in prisons. When he himself spent 3 months in prison, he met criminals also and heard from them that homosexuality was not unknown among people who were sentenced to long terms.

C. The Role of Churches

Respondent is all for complete independence of church and state. He reasons that it would be very detrimental to both if they were not independent of each other.

Respondent favors the compulsory teaching of religion in every school and he thinks that church schools should have freedom to operate, because he heard so much good about them.

Speaking of church censorship, respondent explains that he is against any kind of censorship. Things should be influenced by the church by teaching and by educating people to recognize the difference between good and bad, he explains.

Respondent is against any political role of the church.

D. The Jewish Minority

Asked whether the Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism, respondent says that he knew too little of the role of Jewish churches and so he couldn't say anything about the subject.

Asked about the attitude of Jews toward Communism in Hungary, respondent says that Jews could be divided into two large groups from this angle. One group was the Zionists who opposed Communism very determinedly, and another group which was not very religious, and those people were not very choosy about how to get ~~h~~ ahead in life. They were anxious to regain their lost positions and to gain much more than that. -- (Interviewer's Note: A brief probe makes it clear that respondent means by "Zionists" all religious Jews.) -- Coming back to speak of the group he describes as opportunists, respondent explains that they actually should no longer be regarded as Jews because they left their churches, practically speaking, completely. He adds that such people could be found in all churches who left their church for Communism's sake. Take for instance the Catholic Kadar.

Asked about the changes in the attitude of Jews in the last ten years, respondent ~~now~~ explains that he knew very little of it because he knew very few Jews closely. There was one old Jew who was a close neighbor of his and they exchanged views on a great many occasions -- "This old man spoke very frankly of Jews and non-Jews alike. He told me on many an occasion that he was afraid that Jews ~~would~~ be hit again as Jews, because wherever he looked he saw Jews in too many high

positions, whether in industrial management or in state administration. This old man was 79 years old when I spoke to him for the last time before he died. He said again and again that too many Jews lacked wisdom and modesty and forged ahead relentlessly to higher positions, thus becoming the target of hatred of too many common people."

Asked whether there were many Jewish Communists, respondent says: "In proportion to their numbers, there were much too many." -- Speaking of their motives respondent says he has no doubt that most of the Jews who became Party members did this for material gains and for higher positions only.

Speaking of the attitudes and actions of Jews during the revolution, respondent says that he heard of Jews participating both in the demonstrations and in fights, but he has not had an opportunity to have personal experience with them. He explains that he had much more important concerns during the demonstrations than to look around to see whether people belonging to this or the other faith were around him.

When respondent is told that some people say the Jews do not want an independent Hungary, he says that he doesn't think this is true of the Jews because "if it were so we wouldn't experience day after day that the Hungarian Jews, among all ethnic groups, retain their nationality longest in America. They would not cling to Hungarian language and culture, and would not emphasize ~~xxxx~~their attachment to the Hungarian people if they did not feel one with the mass of Hungarians!"

Respondent adds that he traveled extensively in Czechoslovakia, and he saw the same phenomenon among Jews in Slovakia. They retained their Hungarian culture and their Hungarian consciousness, even during Czech domination, whereas it would have been much more advantageous to them to switch over and become attached to the Czechs or Slovaks.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. After much reluctance, respondent is brought to define the Hungarian youth as people between the ages of 16 and 25.

B. The Part of Youth

According to respondent, Hungarian youth played the role of initiative in the revolution. He remembers speaking to his colleagues, saying that he thought it was a shame that the students started what the workers actually ought to have started in the revolution.

Asked why this was so, respondent says smilingly that it was always the youth that was the most receptive to new ideas, and it has always been youth that initiated the revolutions. Youth is somewhat more easygoing and somewhat less burdened by the feelings of responsibility for the family when they go out, ready to die.

Respondent says that the older people looked with the greatest admiration on the youth, and that they supported them wherever they could. The more mature workers took over more and more during the later phase of the revolution. -- "The 'Workers' Councils' and 'Revolutionary Councils of Workers' were creations of the workers, respondent explains, and they "played the role of a state authority actually and prevented Hungary from living under a chaos of lawlessness!"

During the revolution the youth expected the older people to support them in their heroic fight and at long last they actually received this support, respondent explains.

C. Educational System

It was respondent's experience with children of acquaintances and friends that the children were required to work even harder than before Communism in grade school.-- In colleges, however, he thinks that the Party influence was much greater. Students who worked in the DISZ and for the Party, respondent says, were required to work much less than those who were independent of the Party. Respondent says the most generally known facts about the restriction on vocational choices were, namely, that Party membership was the only safe conduct pass to any vocational choice, and that family origin could help a little bit. Otherwise, the state determined the need or lack of need for certain vocations, and determined how many students were admitted to one or the other department.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Respondent thinks that the low wages were responsible first of all for dissatisfaction, particularly for people with children who were desperate to see that they could not feed and clothe their children well. Secondly, he names the many compulsory regimentational participations, such as demonstrations, Party seminaries and Party meetings.

Speaking more of annoyances, respondent says that people were bitterly annoyed by the apparent and arrogant exploitation of Hungary by the Russians. -- "We toiled in vain, because all the real fruits of our labor disappeared in the bottomless bag of the Soviet Union." --

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

Asked how respondent and his family got along financially during his last years in Hungary, he answers that he earned actually very good wages, and he was in a really exceptional situation. -- Here is what this "exceptionally good situation" actually meant:

Food: Respondent and his family ate well, both with respect to quality and quantity.

Clothing: Respondent was able to have a new suit made every ~~xxxxxxx~~ three years.

Housing: Respondent had a very good home in the heart of Budapest, but after his divorce he and his ex-wife had still to share the same home. But still he says they were very well off because, after all, they were at least good acquaintances, whereas a great many people had to share their homes with another family with whom they had nothing in common. -- In further conversation it turns out that actually they didn't have a completely independent home before the divorce either, because they shared it with his mother-in-law. After the divorce, he, his wife and his mother-in-law continued to share the home.

Speaking of changes in his standard of living, respondent says that with the exception there was no actual change until 1948, and from then on his standard of living gradually became ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ lower than it used to be. Before 1945 he says he could even think seriously of buying a family house, and never more afterwards.

This is how respondent ~~describes~~ describes a family that was better off: This man was a small tradesman with special skills in a quite unusual trade. He produced rubber articles maybe for medical use and for use in fine mechanical instruments; also in airplanes. Since his was a very special line he could ask for about as much money as he wanted to and he was paid well. He might have almost 8000 to 1000 forints income. He had one associate in his business, and one journeyman, but he had the journeyman only secretly because he didn't want to report it. Then he would have fallen into a category which enjoyed much fewer advantages. He had two small children. He worked like a beast of burden but they lived very well. He dined in expensive places and he threw parties on his birthday and other occasions. He had a wonderful home; he lived as most of us would like to live. Every summer he took a vacation and went to some resort with his family. He himself was there for about two or three weeks, but his family stayed for about two months.

Asked why the Hungarian standard of living sank in the last eight years, respondent says that it was due to Soviet exploitation. -- Asked whether this was the only reason for Hungary's poverty, respondent says: "I know my people very well, and I know that even under Communism Hungarian ingenuity would have found a way to live much better, had the Hungarian products not been skimmed by the Soviets.

Respondent's monthly income was 1800 to 2000 forints. There were about 24 forints withheld for union dues a month. Respondent paid money for peace loans only in the first few years; later he signed for less and less and at the very end for no peace loans at all.

Respondent received no premiums and no extra pay.

Asked about other sources of income, respondent explains that he knew about Oriental rugs and he bought and sold them, deriving a good monthly income from these sales. That income ranged from 100 to 1000 forints a month.

Respondent's wife also had a source of income, because she weaved imitation Oriental rugs in her home. She realized an average income of 800 forints a month.

C. Prices

Asked in what stores they bought food, respondent answers that they patronized the state stores. They also bought food in the open markets, and they found that the quality of food was better in the open markets, but availability was much better in the state stores. Producers' markets brought better quality food at higher prices, but the difference in prices was worth it.

One of respondent's brothers was a tailor and he made the suits necessary for the family. He gave them bargain prices. Respondent bought the material and his brother tailored the suits.

Respondent found that the quality of most articles deteriorated since the Communists took over, and the deterioration was constant and gradual.

Speaking of distribution and availability of merchandise, respondent says there were many cases in which merchandise was not available in one place or another. He quotes the case of onions, for instance, as an example.

Asked about standard spare parts, respondent says that in the printing shop they usually got them from

Germany.

Respondent says that articles which were produced in Hungary, but were suitable for the foreign market, were particularly short in supply. These were such products as eggs, onions, and the like.

Speaking of the Black Market, respondent says that relief parcels sent from America were often sold, or at least part of their contents were sold, on the Black Market.

Respondent heard of cases in which buyers paid a higher price than that authorized, in order to be able to get the merchandise at all. But the usual case was, he explains, that the dealer insisted upon the customer's buying something else he wanted to get rid of.

Respondent thinks that the Black Market was not much persecuted in the last few years.

D. Working Conditions

Asked about his own work, respondent says that he was a machine master in a printing shop, and he describes what his work looked like in detail. He emphasizes that it was just about the same as that of the so-called machine master's job in the U.S.

But this refers only to the last few years, because before he had all kinds of jobs in the printing business, also with newspapers and so on.

His work time was either from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M. or from 7 A.M. to 3 P.M. He worked six days a week but in his trade they had a half hour lunch break, ~~xxx~~ so actually he worked only 45 hours a week.

Respondent praises his colleagues and he says that he lived and worked in amity with them.

Speaking of his superiors, respondent says that he was in an exceptional position because a former ~~xx~~ good friend of his, of whom he spoke before when discussing Communists, was his boss and treated him exceptionally well.

Respondent thinks that the competence of both his superiors and his co-workers was excellent.

Respondent was very much satisfied with his job.

Coming back to speak again about his co-workers, he

says that the newly trained ones were very poorly trained, although they had special vocational schools and high schools to train in.

Asked about the vacation, health and compensation programs, respondent says that retirement pensions were ridiculously and impossibly low, but the vacation programs were very good, and certainly better than in the past. There was a lot of favoritism. Above all Party members were favored, but not only they could go on vacation programs. -- The health program as such was good, he thinks, but it depended ~~approximately~~ very much upon what kind of doctor treated one. They ranged from excellent to very poor.

E. Agriculture

Asked where he preferred to live, respondent says that he liked living in Budapest very much. He thinks that people in the country lived better as far as diet is concerned.

Speaking of the general standard of living, first he hesitates, then he decides for the city.

Speaking of the political situation, respondent says that the individual had a better situation in villages than in cities, because there people were not so organized and regimented as people working in ~~plants~~ large plants.

Asked about collective agricultural methods, respondent says that he expected agriculture to deteriorate ~~when~~ before the collective farms were introduced.

His present opinion is that his expectations materialized.

He presumes but he does not have any factual knowledge that the well-to-do peasants objected more to collectivization. "But this is only an assumption" he emphasizes.

Respondent heard of the dissolving of collectives both in the time of Imre Nagy's regime and during the revolution.

He says that apparently the reason was that the farmers saw that the collective farms were not profitable.

Asked what kind of an agricultural system he would

like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent says without hesitation that he would like to see an ~~entirely~~ economy entirely based on private ~~xxxxxx~~ initiative.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948

Respondent was interested very little, if at all, in politics before 1948. He was a confidence man in the printing shop in which he worked, and he was quite active in the Union, because he was a Union confidence man. He was a Social Democrat and he describes the unions in those years and the Social Democratic Party as being almost identical, particularly prior to 1945. Respondent joined the Social Democratic Party in 1942.

Respondent liked that party particularly because he found an atmosphere of ~~frat~~fraternity among them. He thinks that the organization in that party was really democratic.

Respondent's father was also a party member from his youth; ~~that~~ that is, a member of the Social Democratic Party.

Asked why he himself joined only in 1942, respondent explains it was the age when he actually started thinking and acting completely independently of others. He was 24 years old at that time, he says, after he is asked.

Respondent was a shop confidence man of the Union until 1953. Respondent says that the national leadership of the Union of Printers consisted of Social Democrats until the Communists took over the party. From then on, the national leadership consisted of Communists until the revolution, when the printers, including respondent, made the Communist Union members resign, and instituted the leaders who had been deposed by the Communists.

Asked what he knew of Bela Kun and the Communist Party of 1918 and 1919, respondent says: "I knew that he was at that time also in Salgotarjan -- I know it from what I heard from my father -- starvation and clothes made out of paper characterized his regime, and a terror second only to the one of today. In connection with terror I heard the name Tibor Szamuely very often."

Asked ~~about~~ about his opinion of the Communist Party before and during the war, respondent says: "I never considered it as something really existing and something worth thinking about."

After the war and before 1948 respondent thought of

the Communist Party as an affiliate station of Moscow.

Asked about changes respondent says that he sees things now in just about the same light as he did prior to 1948.

B. The Communist Party after 1948

This is respondent's assessment of Party members: "Most of them are out for material advantages; they are so-called careerists. Mostly people of lower quality are in the Party. They were people who were not able to get ahead in life on their own merits and wanted to get power this way; people with inferiority complexes which they sought to compensate for through the good offices of the Communist Party, and people out for material gains. A third group was the frightened ones, but I don't think that fright was in most cases something serious to reckon with, because after all they tried to scare me as well and they couldn't frighten me into joining. -- I just don't know any really persuaded Communists."

Asked about contact with Communist Party members, respondent said that he spoke already of his superior who was a Communist Party member, and he knew several others pretty well, but their relations were not very cordial.

Asked what he knew of the attitudes of the Communist Party members toward the Party, respondent says: "They did not much reveal their convictions or their feelings, because they were usually quite timid and yellow people. This was well proven during the revolution, when you couldn't find one Communist Party member who took up arms in defense of his Party. There was a radio appeal on October 24 or 25 to all members of the Communist Party to report at the City Hall to receive arms, so that they could fight for the Communist regime, and there was not one member who would have appeared there to get arms and go out to fight."

Asked about changes in the Party line, respondent mentions only the "new course" of Imre Nagy, which was done away with before long by Matyas Rakosi. Respondent thinks that the real reason for this change was the economic bankruptcy of the Communist regime, which they meant to alleviate by handing over the power to Imre Nagy.

Respondent didn't know much about differences within the Party until the Imre Nagy type politicians got the upper hand during his short-lived regime, but then these things came out in the open.

Asked about Party morale, respondent says that he heard so little from Communist Party members that he can base his opinion only on the fact that during the revolution there was not one Communist Party member who took up arms in defense of his glorious Party.

Asked about the aims and the ~~xxx~~ motives of the highest Party leadership, respondent says that they were anxious to get a good name and reputation with the Russian leaders, and this is why they were so eager to exploit the country. They wanted their good standing to get them as much power as possible.

Asked about personal motives, respondent says that he thought well only of Imre Nagy. He thought that he was a good Hungarian who tried his level best, but all the others were no more Hungarians than the Muscovites were. Further, respondent describes the highest leadership of the Communist Party as men of evil character, of diabolic will to ~~xxx~~ subjugate the entire world, and an unquenchable thirst for personal material gain and power, a sway over the lives of other people. He denies that they have any measure of good intentions.

Respondent's opinion of Rajk is not any better. He mentions that ~~xxx~~ Rajk was merely the one who founded the AVO. Respondent thinks that the common members of the Party didn't know what the Party was actually doing, and what was going on above and even around him. But the actual leaders of the Party were probably aware of the degree of evil they were doing to the country, he explains.

Respondent suggests that members of the Communist Party and its leaders should stand trial in regular courts. The independent courts should find out whether they actually committed crimes against the Hungarian people.

C. Opposition

Respondent explains that opposition began at the shop level, where ~~xxx~~ many of them, including he himself, refused to go to the Party's meetings open for the public, or to take part in demonstrations. On payday most workers complained quite openly, he explains. But he says that the system of work made it almost impossible for the people to effect work slowdowns and sabotages.

Asked about changes in opposition behavior, respondent again points to the death of Stalín as the turning point and says that from then on there was much more opposition. Respondent wishes to add to what he has ~~xxx~~ said so far about opposition behavior, and mentions

that he took part in one of the May 1st marches, and he observed all the marchers going in complete quiet instead of cheering and clapping as they were ordered to do by blaring loudspeakers. People went without uttering a sound, he says, as if it had been a funeral march, and he saw only hatred and desperation in their eyes. This was, respondent thinks, on May 1st, 1954. Asked whether he did not take part in any other ~~May~~ May Day celebrations, respondent says that he always refused to take part in them.

Asked about the activities of the intellectuals, respondent says that he knew very much about them, particularly about the writers who led the intellectual opposition to Communist rule. -- "One could sense at least, and quite often understand from many of the articles of Irodalmi Ujsag how much those writers opposed the regime."

Asked about the Petofi Circle, respondent says that he was pretty well informed, although he never had time to attend a meeting himself. He says that big crowds attended these meetings, and he didn't take part himself only because he had to work in the printing shop in the afternoon and at night.

Respondent heard for the first time, about six months before the outbreak of the revolution, about the Petofi Circle. He heard from colleagues, particularly from a chemical engineer who worked in his plant and attended every meeting, and who told him about the outcomes of those debates.

(Interviewer's Note: Respondent asks on this point again, and this interviewer is very emphatic in his own request and insistence that such concrete details not be referred to, because the plant in which respondent worked could easily be identified and so could all the persons to whom he refers in his report.)

Asked ~~about~~ intellectual ferment even prior to the Petofi meetings, respondent says that it was amazing to read sometimes articles in outspokenly Communist papers which actually spoke up against Communism or various forms of Communist rule quite openly. He particularly refers to Tibor Dery and Peter Veres.

Respondent says that conscientious writers saw that the regime of Rakosi did not have any intellectual leadership and they saw that they must provide such for the Hungarian people. -- "They published things which were actually in everybody's mind and soul, but of course their style was polished and they were able to express things well."

Asked about his opinion of writers, he explains that he was very much disgusted with what writers produced for a long while, because that was not much more than the glorification of Stalin. He explains that he was happy to see how many of the writers changed.

He considers these writers the spokesmen of the revolution.

Asked about the intellectuals in general, respondent says that those among them of whom we just spoke suddenly showed their outstanding value before and during the revolution.

He thinks that the writers turned against the regime because of the degree of intellectual and national oppression, and because of the exploitation of the nation.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret Police

Asked what kind of people the AVH members were, respondent says: "They were terrible, as if they had not been begotten by human beings. I was in their hands for four weeks."

This is what respondent has to say about his personal experiences: "It was in 1949, when terror was at its worst in Hungary, that I wanted to leave to get to the Western world, and I tried to escape. But I was caught and held captive by the AVO for four weeks. In those four weeks I found the AVO men to be criminals completely devoid of any trace of human feelings. As I stepped in, they received me at the entrance with terrible abuse, "Fuck your whore mother, fuck the God of your whore mother," and the like. They kicked me wherever they could. They used the filthiest language to me that you can imagine. Their behavior was not worthy of a human being. I had to take off all of my clothes and stand there completely naked. They thoroughly investigated every ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~my~~ ~~naked~~ ~~body~~, including the genitals. I was in a prison for two weeks, and my daily ration consisted of nothing else but three pints of very thin potatoe soup and a very small piece of bread, not a loaf of bread, mind you. In two weeks nobody spoke a word to me. At the end of two weeks I was so worn out physically, so weak, that I understand why prisoners of the great show-trials behaved as they did. One becomes so weak, and indeed feeble, one is ready to say things which he doesn't believe himself either. It was only after two weeks that they started interrogations. It was in winter time, and I should mention that we lay on wooden berths and there was neither a blanket, nor a mattress nor a straw back, nor a sheet under us, and we received no blankets to cover ourselves. It was bitter cold in those concrete cells deep under the surface of the earth, and even those ~~warm~~ ~~berths~~ ~~were~~ ~~constructed~~ were constructed in such a way that the rifts between the boards were more than an inch wide, and it was terribly cold. There were some unfortunates among us who had been brought in when it was still summertime and we had no warm clothes, let alone any coats. I shared my overcoat with another unfortunate victim. After 2 weeks ~~at~~ the interrogation started and on every occasion they first beat my palms and my hands with rubber sticks, and they beat them so hard that they were terribly swollen after the interrogation was over. They treated my soles in a similar way. They literally stood on my legs and turned their backs toward me, and this is how they beat my soles. I could hardly walk after such treatment. -- But I still belonged to the more fortunate ones, because there were much more horrible tortures given to other victims. They wanted me to confess that I was a spy. -- There was one among us whose guts were literally trampled out of his body by the AVO. I spoke to him myself

and learned the fact, and saw the horrifying scars on his body. There was another cell mate whose head cracked wide open because he was so terribly beaten. They banged his head against the wall. -- Even the judge who sentenced me to three months because of illegal border crossing told me, after the trial was over, that he felt very sorry for me because he knew "that one month in the hands of the AVO is worth more than a year in prison." He also said that he had to sentence me because if he had not, I would have been taken back to the AVO and that would have been much worse for me."

Asked whether he heard of AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH or who suffered remorse, respondent says that he never heard of such. But he had experience with one AVO man who showed some human feelings because when he took him from one town to another he did not put heavy ~~XXXXX~~iron shackles on his hands.

Asked what should be done with those who have been members of the AVH, when Hungary is independent: "The very ~~X~~ least they can receive is the same treatment they allotted to the constabulary force of the Horthy era, namely, putting them into internment camps. But ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXX~~ the best punishment for them would be to collect them all, put them on trains and ship them to the Soviet Union. I can't imagine a punishment that would be worse for them."

Respondent thinks that there is a tremendous difference between the regular police and the AVH, and that this was clearly revealed during the revolution. He quotes an example: "It happened on the second or third day, that is to say rather night, of the revolution, that I witnessed ~~XXXXX~~the fact that the AVO brought also regular policemen with it to fight against insurgents, and one of the regular ~~X~~ policemen saw me standing at the entrance of the building and came to me and hugged me, saying that he had the worst time of his life because he was also a Hungarian and a good man at heart, and he would not harm any of the boys who fight for freedom. I also experienced the fact that the other policemen were very reluctant to fight. They fired shots in the air rather than aim at the Freedom Fighters. -- But I experienced a similar ~~XXXXX~~~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ attitude right on the first day at the first demonstration at the Bem statue where a police captain stood right beside me and he demonstrated with just as much enthusiasm as the others."

Respondent says that he knows~~X~~of no case in which policemen actually fought against Freedom Fighters, but he knows of many cases in which they actually handed over their weapons, and knows of some cases in which ~~X~~ policemen actually fought on their side.

Ex The ~~XXXXX~~

B. The Courts

Respondent has no doubt that everybody was treated well and justly in the courts prior to 1945.

He heard much about people's courts. Among his cellmates in prison was one who himself had been the victim of such a people's court, and he told him much about their doings. But he says he knew anyway that hangings were executed almost on an assembly line, and human life counted very little.

Respondent is convinced that pro-Nazi Hungarian leader Szalasi and several others were real war criminals, but he thinks that there were quite a few people hanged who ought to have received only small sentences.-- Respondent brings up a case of one of his good friends, whom he knew to be an honest and in every respect a good man, whose only crime was that he distributed, in the bitter cold days of 1944-45, the fuel of the Jews who had been deported months earlier. He distributed it among the inhabitants of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the apartment house whose civil defense leader he was. "For this crime" he was tortured for six months as a prisoner of the secret police, and when he returned he was a sick man who never ~~xx~~ really recovered.

C. The Army

Respondent says that he saw the army behave only in 2 ways during the revolution. Most of the army assumed a passive role, and others participated on the side of the revolution. He saw only one case of an army unit fighting against the revolution. It was in his ~~xx~~ neighborhood and that fight only lasted for one half of a forenoon, because all of his neighbors went to the soldiers and persuaded them not to fight against the revolutionaries, but to turn their weapons against the Russians, because the Russians were the actual enemies. This incident took place, he recalls, on the sixth or perhaps the seventh day of the revolution, and the unit was an armored unit from Kecskemet. The soldiers referred, in the debate that developed, to their political officer.--"So I told that that was only one person and the best they could do was to turn their weapons against him and to shoot him, but not to shoot at good young Hungarian boys. 'You guys should be ashamed of yourselves' I told them, but my neighbors did the same, and not without results. After a few hours of fighting, they disappeared."

Respondent also saw many young boys in army uniform fighting on the side of the revolution, and he saw many of them fleeing to Austria.

Respondent had no chance to observe differences in the behavior of various units to an extent that he could draw any conclusions.

The same refers to differences between officers and enlisted men.

In conclusion respondent thinks that at least in mind and soul 99% of the people in the army were with the revolution. Asked how he could explain the proportionately slight participation of army units in the revolution, respondent says that as far as he knows ammunition was not at the disposal of Hungarian army units because the Russians surmised something, even before the revolution, and they saw to it that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ soldiers could not find ammunition if it was needed. He himself had a debate with army officers in the latter part of November. Those were officers who just received their discharge at that time and they told him what he just explained.

Respondent did not serve in the "People's Army," that is to say in the Hungarian army in the Communist regime. In 1944 he found out by an unexpected chance and he told interviewer in detail how he happened to find out -- that he was considered an utterly unreliable person, and this is why they never drafted him. This was the consequence of his three months imprisonment.

D. Russian Troops

When respondent is told that Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848, he answers that there might be some grain of truth in it, but only a small grain, because nobody had any personal recollections of the events of 1848. Laughingly he says that the events which took place in 1945 were plenty to bring about the lack of popularity of Russian soldiers. He names stealing, plundering and rape as the main activities of the Russian army in 1945.

Asked about personal experiences, he says that he had to extend first aid to a seventeen-year-old girl on the second day the Russians conquered that part of the city in which he lived. The girl bled from many, many wounds on her back, buttocks, and the hind part of her legs. All those wounds were cuts from pieces of glass, because the room in which she was raped was strewn with pieces of glass which came from windows which broke in the course of the fight. The poor girl's body was covered with these horrible cuts, and she became a nervous wreck.

Asked what he expected of the Russians before they actually entered Hungary, respondent says that he above all expected the end of the war, because he hated Hungarian participation in it to begin with. But he did not expect the Russians to behave as bad as they actually did, although he knew that they were very primitive and brutal.

He thought of them in 1945 that they were "barbaric, Asiatic hordes."

Asked whether his opinion changed since 1945, respondent says that he had very little chance to gain more experience with Russian soldiers, but during the revolution he saw several cases in which Russian soldiers ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ displayed good will.

Respondent recalls one incident he saw with Russian soldiers in 1947 or 1948. On that occasion, Russian soldiers entered a fashionable Budapest restaurant and ate and drank like people who had a lot of money, and when it came to paying they had none. They were slapped, beaten up and kicked out by the waiters, and they sat on the pavement and cried with tears, lamenting how badly they were treated.

Respondent had contact with Russian soldiers only on one occasion. He doesn't know the exact date, but perhaps on the 26th or 27th of October, when he went with Dudas and many others as he mentioned before, ~~to~~ Russian soldiers ~~were~~ standing ~~around~~ in and around tanks on Parliament Square. They argued with the Russian soldiers that they were humble workers and the Russians should not harm them. Respondent says the mere fact they accepted the Russian language leaflets and that they did not shoot at them or chase them away reflected some sympathy with their side.

Respondent also knows of a case in which Russian soldiers helped the Hungarians. It was in the last few days of the actual fight at the beginning of the revolution, that is to say, in the last few days of October, that some 15 revolutionists, young boys, were captured by the AVO and were brought to one of their buildings on the Andrassy Ut (Ave.). A crowd of several thousand people assembled and they demanded that the AVO release the 15 boys. The AVO refused, and then some of the people persuaded 2 Russian tanks stationed at the Western Railroad terminal to come and face the building. Then the people gave an ultimatum to the AVO to release their prisoners, because otherwise the Russian tanks would shell them. -- At a ~~probe~~ probe whether or not the Russians were misled by some other explanation, respondent shrugs and laughs that he doesn't know how people managed to persuade the Russians to assume a threatening ~~and~~ position. But at any rate, they achieved their goal.

Respondent knows of a case which proves that there were many Russian deserters, because he personally saw a building not far from where he lived where such Russian deserters were imprisoned by the Russians, who had been recaptured after their desertion. Those people were not given any food by the Russians, respondent recalls, but were fed by the population of Budapest, who saw to it that they did not starve. They gave them food through the basement windows where they were locked up.

Asked of the individual brutality of Soviet soldiers, respondent says that it was on November 6 when two Russian tanks came along Aradi Street, and they fired point blank at the queue in which he was also standing, waiting for bread from a bakery shop. There were four or five who died instantly, and several wounded.

Those dead were buried immediately in an adjoining lot.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

E. Government Officials

Respondent had no personal experience, but heard of government officials who would be willing to forget the rules to help people.

F. Corruption

Respondent laughs and says definitely yes when he is asked whether he knew of cases of corruption in government offices. He names the Office of Private Housing, and the Customs Office, as examples of offices in which it particularly depended on how much money one had to bribe officials.

Respondent knows also of a great many cases where influential friends could help a great deal. His own case in the printing shop was also an instance in which an influential friend was a benefactor, respondent explains.

G. Competence of Leaders

Respondent thinks that leaders of the secret police were on the whole quite competent in their terrible job. Their questioning technique was very highly developed, he says.

Respondent declines to guess how competent army leadership was.

The same is true about Russian army leadership.

Respondent saw a great many very stupid and very incompetent people in public administration.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next Few Years

Respondent hopes and believes that in a few more years the Russians will have to withdraw from Hungary. He hopes that diplomatic negotiations might achieve this, because the Russians will find out that it does not pay to keep Hungary occupied and oppressed, because the resistance is still tremendous even though passive. He also hopes the Western world will exert so much pressure upon the Soviet Union that they will give up.

Asked how the Kadar regime will behave until the Russians withdraw, as respondent hopes, he says that its behavior depends completely upon the international situation from day to day, and somewhat on the behavior of the Hungarian people also.

Respondent hopes of the West that they will also find out that Hungary needs the free world very much, morally as well as politically. He hopes they will unceasingly demand that the Russians withdraw, and put all kinds of pressure on them.

Speaking of the Russians, respondent says that he hopes, as he said before, that the Russians will come to the realization that it is wiser for them to withdraw from Hungary, but he is not sure of it, and he is afraid that the Russians will be blind enough to start another war which, however, will lead to their destruction.

Respondent does not wish a war because it brings about only misery and suffering for everybody.

Asked about the probability of such a war, about the likelihood of it, respondent says that he thinks that even the Soviet leaders are not so senseless as not to recognize that a future war would bring complete destruction. He thinks that the Russians go very, very far, but stop short of an all-out war.

B. Hopes in Retrospect

Asked about his views in the last 8 or 10 years, respondent expected very much from the ferment that, according to him, took place in Hungary as well as in the Soviet Union and other Russian occupied countries after the death of Stalin. He hoped that this ferment would lead to the inner collapse of the Soviet Union, and he says that he hopes for the same even now, and he sees much justification for his hopes.

Before Stalin's death, respondent always hoped that the leaders of the Kremlin would split up and fight against each other, and laughingly he says that in part his hopes came true, when first Beria, and then Malenkov and Molotov were discarded.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary

Respondent expresses his views in these words: "As a matter of course, I want to see representatives elected by free election in secret ballots, to become members of a Parliament, and these members enacting laws according to the desires of the people. -- At the same time, I want to see a completely neutral Hungary, internationally speaking, like Austria."

B. Details on Economy

Respondent would like to see agriculture as well as industry highly developed in the future.

Respondent wishes to see light industry developed, and heavy industry neglected, because he thinks that heavy industries are always connected with preparation for war. Respondent would like to see the aluminum industry well developed particularly, because Hungary abounds in aluminum ore and he would like to see craftsmanship flourishing. He thinks very much of Hungarian craftsmen. -- Respondent also suggests Diesel Engines be manufactured.

Respondent would like to see the armaments industries changed to industries manufacturing commodities in a free and independent Hungary.

Asked about national enterprises, respondent says that small enterprises should be handed back to their owners, but mammoth enterprises should remain in the administration of the state, and he refers to examples in former Hungary, that there were also a number of thriving industrial enterprises that belonged to the state. -- Still better, he says such enterprises should become "cooperativized" in ~~the~~ such a way that the workers of the enterprise ~~are~~ become the stockholders.

Asked about Kolchozes and state farms, respondent says that all individual farmers should receive their own farms, but the large estates of several thousand acres should not be handed back to their former owners.

State Farms may be administered by the state if they had not been taken away from small individual farmers.

The role of the state should be restricted to organizing foreign markets, to ~~a~~ developing a good policy of taxation, and to furnishing expert guidance for the farmers who desire it. Respondent thinks the building of roads is another important program.

Respondent ~~is~~ favors a maximum of approximately 2000 acres of land for any one person or family, but he emphasizes that on the whole he is for the free enterprise system.

Told about two theoretical forms of government, respondent is all for the government of freedom.

Respondent thinks that it would be completely superfluous to outlaw the Communist Party because the Communists would not have any supporters anyway, but he thinks that outlawing political parties is not democratic anyway.

C. International Position

Respondent thinks that the United States of Europe would be the ideal ~~xxxx~~ solution for the international problems of Europe, but until such a dream could be realized, he is all for a neutral position of Hungary, and he refers again and again to the position of Austria.

Respondent is only for economic relations with the U.S.S.R., for trade relations, that is, when considering the position of a neutral Hungary.

He desires the highest possible degree of amity in relations with all neighboring countries, in trade relations as well as in cultural relations.

The same refers to Western European countries and all other countries of the world, in fact.

Respondent heard and read very much about the Dan Federation of Danubian States, but he brings up the ~~xx~~ view that a United States of Europe would be much more effective and desirable than a small union of Danubian states only.

Still if he had to choose between an isolated Hungary and a Danubian Federation, if there is no possibility for a United States of Europe respondent would still favor the Danubian Federation of States.

He would include Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Poland.

Respondent finds Hungary's present boundaries acceptable only in an international situation ~~xx~~ in which the neighboring states which house millions of Hungarians ~~xxxx~~ are also completely free and democratic. In such a case, boundaries do not count much if these countries are completely friendly with each other. But he refers again to his dream of a United States of Europe.

Respondent would favor plebiscites if such could be held, because he thinks that they would be completely in the line of democracy, and would be the means to determine to what country groups of people should belong.

Respondent is very much concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary. He thinks that democracy in those countries would be the only help for them.

Respondent says that all of this is very important for him.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World Events

Before the revolution, respondent heard of Krushchev's secret speech that in it Krushchev really called Stalin a murderer and really dressed him down.

His opinion was that Krushchev was not much better than Stalin himself.

Respondent says that they spoke quite frequently about Krushchev's speech with friends, and they were very happy to see that they were divided among themselves. They thought that the more of them die, the earlier the sad drama will be over.

Respondent heard that Senator McCarthy founded the Un-American Activities Committee, and he knew that this Committee watched over federal offices to see that they were not infiltrated by Communists. His opinion was that the Committee was not strict enough.

Respondent thinks that Peron was a Brazilian dictator, and that a military coup got rid of him. He could not form an opinion because he knew too little of the facts.

Respondent knew of Rakosi's private life before the revolution that he lived in the greatest of luxury. A friend of his was a friend of one of Rakosi's cooks, and this cook, a woman, by the way, told him that there is so much waste in that household that a town could be fed from it.

B. Sources of Personal Information

Respondent's sources of information were friends and Western radios, and a few relatives abroad. The London BBC was the most important of all the sources of information.

C. Word of Mouth

Respondent thinks that there was all kinds of news which they discussed with friends. He says that printers were particularly well informed, and they knew, for instance, whenever there was a change in prices. They even knew it well in advance of publication.

Respondent thinks that there were red herrings among radio news as well as among news received by word of mouth.

D. Reading Habits

Before the war respondent read the newspaper Pesti Naplo regularly.

(Interviewer's Note: It was one of the view most liberal papers.)

Of magazines respondent read only the most widely known and read a magazine of the entertainment world called Szinhazi Elet and the printers' trade bulletin.

Before and during the war, particularly before, in his younger years, respondent read all kinds of adventures in books, later very many novels and other works of fine literature. He also read ~~his~~ biographies and travelogues, and just a few works dealing with foreign policy. He read one biography written by a White Russian, and he read that before the war. He remembers that in that biography, Lenin is supposed to have signed his own mother's death sentence.

Respondent thinks that the availability of literature before the war was ~~is~~ unlimited, but there came some ~~restricting~~ restricting measures during the war which, however, were not carried out at all. In the last phase of the war there were some Jewish authors whose books were pulled out of circulation. But he thinks that Communist literature was not permitted to be published because he never saw any. In the last 8 or 10 years, respondent read Pesti Hirlap as long as it was not outlawed. (Interviewer's Note: Another liberal Hungarian paper.) -- After it was outlawed, respondent read Magyar Nemzet. (Interviewer's Note: A paper with a glorious liberal past which became, under Communism, a somewhat ~~sophisticated~~ sophisticated Communist paper.) -- He read those papers "up to the last letter!" Asked how reliable he find the papers, how much trust he placed in them, respondent says that it was quite easy for someone with practice and good judgment to read between the lines, because even Communist newspapermen inadvertently wrote many things which betrayed the actual goings-on.

Respondent mistrusted news coming from the Soviet Union particularly.

There were sometimes some United Nations reports which came directly from the UN in some form, and respondent found those reliable.

Asked whether he or his friends read papers coming from the Soviet Union, respondent says no.

The same is true about papers coming from satellite countries.

Asked about publications from the West, respondent says that he looked at quite a few Western periodicals because he quite often went to the Embassy of ~~in~~ one of the Western countries, ~~and~~ and picked up magazines over there, alleging that he spoke English, and he received quite a few magazines coming from the West. He ~~was~~ was questioned about whether he spoke English only in cases where they didn't have too many magazines.

Asked what embassy it was, it turns out that it was the American Legation, and respondent remarks that on one occasion the AVO took him for questioning when they saw him leaving the

Legation, and the only thing that saved him from torture and prison was that he made it plausible that he, as a printer, was interested in Western printing techniques.

Respondent ~~is~~ only heard about illegal publications.

Asked how available legal publications coming from the West were, respondent says they were very scarce. Even they in the printing shop managed to get papers and magazines only through him in the way he described above, and he had a friend who was a tailor and worked for a Diplomatic personnel, and he managed also to get magazines. They were very eager to study them at the printing shop.

Asked about whether he read illegal publications and books in Hungary, respondent says for a while there was an immense number of books declared illegal, which had been written by patriotic authors. For instance, all books written by Nyiro. (Interviewer's Note: Nyiro was a pretty good patriotic Hungarian author, who worked and published books mainly in the '30's and '40's up to '45.)

Respondent says that such books were not much hidden, and people quite freely circulated them among ~~themselves~~ each other. ~~Respondent~~ Respondent thinks that books which were declared illegal by Communists were usually not annihilated by people, but were read quite freely. They hid them only from Communist authorities.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

Here are respondent's views on the possibility of change within Russia: "I think that the highest leaders will keep fighting among each other, and will liquidate each other. -- If not, the people will finally recognize what a prison their so-called freedom is, and they will shake off the yoke by themselves, either by kicking out their present leaders and substituting for them ones whom they trust, or by an ~~an~~ all-out revolution; I couldn't tell."

Respondent thinks that the Russians are fed up with Communist rule. He refers to friends who were in the Soviet Union, some among them as POW's during the war, or as fighting soldiers during the war, and some as visitors to the Soviet Union, and the consensus of their opinion was that there was a very wide dissatisfaction in the Soviet Union, and even much bitterness.

Respondent thinks that in the case of ~~the~~ re-elections a very strong peasant party would win, perhaps a social democratic party.

Asked about the top leaders of Russia, respondent says: "Murderers! Murderers!" He thinks that they are out to establish control over the entire world.

He thinks the only real difference between Russian and Hungarian top Communist leaders is that ~~they~~ those in Russia speak Russian and those in ~~the~~ Hungary speak Hungarian.

B. Eastern Europe

This is the sequence respondent establishes as far as popularity is concerned in Hungary: Poland, ~~the~~ Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Romania. Respondent asserts laughingly that the sympathy is for the peoples and the resentment is directed toward the government.

Respondent shares the feelings described above.

Asked about contacts with these peoples respondent says that he traveled for about a month in Czechoslovakia at the end of the '30's, and he travelled quite extensively, and his experience was that the people were ~~xxxxx~~ completely all right and he certainly likes them. During the revolution, he saw Czechoslovak tourists, visitors to Budapest, turn over their busses willingly and happily to the demonstrators, and they seemed to sympathize completely with the revolution, and this was accepted with great happiness and appreciation by the Hungarians. -- After the Germans defeated the Polish in 1939, hundreds of thousands of Polish fled to Hungary, and respondent met a great many of them in his home town ~~in~~ of Salgotarjan. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ In his experience those people were on the whole very good and very friendly, and had very amicable relations with

the local population, who favored them in every field of life.

This is respondent's listing of countries according to standards of living: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania.

C. Poland

Respondent thinks that the Gomulka government means a change, and some favorable change. He thinks the Soviets chose Gomulka as a lesser evil when they considered the possibility of a Hungarian-type revolution in Poland.

Respondent thinks of Gomulka's policy that anything is better than 100% subservience in attitude toward the rule of Russia. He says that any easing is welcome, and far as it may be from 100% freedom and independence, half a loaf is better than none, and a few grains are better than none at all.

Asked about the outlook for Gomulka's policy, respondent says he couldn't judge it but he knows that Gomulka is trying to do the same as Imre Nagy tried in 1953 in Hungary.

Respondent doesn't think his opinion changed in the last 5 or 6 months.

He says that Polish events had a great effect on the events in Hungary, and that they listened to the news coming from Poland with great ~~xxx~~ excitement before the October revolution.

At the outbreak of the revolution, respondent thinks that the Polish events were a very good point of departure to refer to, and Hungarians took advantage of it.

During the revolution, respondent says, people were too busy with their own concerns and did not think much of Poland, and so there was no effect on the Polish events.

Respondent had no knowledge about relaxations before Gomulka seized power.

Thinking of the thousands of Hungarian dead and the thousands who are being tortured by the AVO right now, respondent says he would have preferred, in hindsight, the Hungarian bid for freedom to take place along the ~~xx~~ lines they took and are taking in Poland. -- At the same time, he adds, thinking of the development of the situation of the entire world, the Hungarian revolution was necessary to ~~strengthen~~ strengthen the democratic front of the world, and thus it is very hard to decide whether it would have been better if Hungary had followed the path of Poland.

D. Yugoslavia

Respondent thinks the situation in Yugoslavia has been

influential in Eastern Europe because everything that was done against the Soviets made a good impression on the Hungarian people. Respondent thinks that Tito's rule contributed to the strength of the Hungarian people to ridicule Communist rulers. Humors may be murderous, he says, and people crack a lot of jokes about Communism in connection with Tito's rule, and particularly about the great changes that took place in Moscow's relation with Tito.

Respondent doesn't think much of Tito because he thinks that there is only one Communism, and Tito has retained the Communist line in his policies, but at the same time he is very happy that Tito is not in 100% cooperation with the Soviet's dictates.

Asked about Tito's relations with other East European nations, respondent says that Tito is an opportunist, and everything in his policies is determined only by his hopes for momentary gain.

Speaking of Tito's relations with Russia, respondent says that he doesn't believe that they sincerely trust each other. They would do anything against each other if they didn't fear the common enemy -- namely, the free world.

In conclusion respondent says that Tito is completely rootless, and he tries to play both ends against each other.

Speaking of Tito's position vis-a-vis Hungary and the Hungarian revolution, respondent says that the fact that Tito did nothing for or against the Hungarian revolution attests to the basic fact that he is for no side, only for himself.

Speaking of Titoism in general, respondent doesn't think much of it. He says ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ only that it is still better than complete subservience to the Soviets.

Respondent doesn't think that Tito is popular, nor does he think that the standard of living or the measure of freedom are in any way satisfactory in Yugoslavia.

E. The Middle East

This is what respondent thinks of the invasion of the Suez Canal Zone: "The only news more shocking we received was the bombardment of Budapest by Russian artillery pieces at dawn on November 4th. It is a shame of history and will remain one that the English and the French tried to find an approach to their goals over the dead body of Hungary! . . . The Suez invasion served no other purpose, in the final analysis, but the purpose of the Soviet, because from then on the Soviet was able to do anything in Hungary because it referred to the Anglo-French invasion, saying if they could do that why couldn't we! . . ."

Respondent hasn't been able to form any views on the Israeli invasion.

The same is true about ~~xxx~~ respondent's views on whether Egypt had a right to nationalize the Canal. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Respondent has already answered above with ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ his reference to how the events in Egypt influenced the Hungarian situation.

F. West Germany

Respondent thinks that West Germany's living standard is the highest in Europe.

He doesn't think that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war, although he admits that no doubt the Germans are very bitter against the ~~xxxx~~ humiliation suffered under the Soviets.

Respondent doesn't have any knowledge of West German rearmament, but he thinks that ~~xxx~~ if there is one, it is justified.

He thinks that the German army is weaker than that of Britain and that of France, but he emphasizes that, considering the ability of the Germans to organize, he thinks that in a few months they will catch up with Britain and France, particularly with France.

He thinks that the term of service in the West German army is 2 years.

Respondent emphasizes that he found both occupations very distasteful, but if he had to compare he found that of the Russians much more so.

He found the Germans much better disciplined.

He thinks that the Soviet occupation was much more unpopular than the German.

G. Western Europe

Asked about the NATO, respondent says that apparently the Western powers got scared of the advance of Russia, and they banded together, but he is very unhappy to see that ~~a~~ they didn't move when the Hungarian revolution gave them a chance to give a fatal blow to Russian power.

He thinks that the Warsaw Agreement and the NATO Pact are unlike because NATO is an alliance of democratic countries, and the Warsaw Agreement was a dictate.

He thinks that the idea of NATO is very good, because anything

that can stem the tide of Communism is right, if it is morally sound.

Respondent thinks that the British people are intelligent and educated enough to govern themselves well, and he thinks that all strata of society are mature enough, thus also the strata that provides the leadership for the British Labor Party, namely, British labor. Thus he thinks that the British Labor Party can provide a good government at any time. In fact, respondent hopes that at the next elections the Labor Party will win.

Speaking of the living standard, respondent established this sequence of countries: West Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Egypt, and last, the Soviet Union.

H. The United States

These are the things that most surprised respondent in the first few months spent in the U.S.: the measurable wealth, the wonderful roads around N.Y.C., the abundance in every field of life. As a consequence of this abundance respondent mentions the unpleasant amount of filth and dirt in the streets of N.Y.C.

Respondent thinks that the U.S. should do everything in its power to persuade the Soviet Union to pull its forces out of Hungary. Respondent suggests that if there is any chance that the peoples of those countries could get any amount of the aid, the U.S. should extend aid to Eastern European countries.

He thinks that the U.S. should by all means maintain diplomatic relations with Hungary, and if the U.S. wants to break up diplomatic relations, it should start doing so with the Soviet Union.

Respondent doesn't think that his opinion changed since he came to the U.S.

Respondent thinks that the Hungarians would be happy to see Western visitors in Hungary, because any Western visitor brings with himself the atmosphere of freedom, and because Hungarians are hospitable by nature. He thinks that people would like Western visitors to see the degree of oppression in Hungary. He mentions that he was quite often among those Hungarians who surrounded Western tourists on many occasions, in Budapest, and spoke with them quite freely about the situation in Hungary. He says he didn't care much whether the AVO would pick him up because of this, but he wanted to tell those people the truth. He found that these Western visitors were usually quite restrained, because apparently he thinks they were afraid that among those talking to them, agents provocateurs are to be found. He spoke on such occasions to Swiss people, to Belgians, to people from the Netherlands, French people.

He thinks that visitors should come from all walks of life.

He suggests that Western visitors should be told that they would be guided by government agents and they should try to cut themselves loose.

He thinks that recent refugees should be among those who inform Western visitors.

He suggests that books and periodicals be sent to Hungary, and that such be sent to private people, if the Hungarian government allows them to receive such.

He thinks that Hungarian refugees should play as big a role as possible in everything connected with Hungary.

Speaking of the Marshall Plan, he says that the U.S. had two reasons for extending Marshall Plan aid to countries: one, to stop Communism, and secondly, to get rid of too much surplus material in the interest of good business.

Speaking of the Korean conflict, respondent says that America had great interest in Korea among others. There was wolfram ore found in South Korea, and it was very much in the interest of the United States not to lose those mines. The other reason was the strategical position of Korea.

Asking about some more reasons for America's intervention, respondent says that he would like to think that the Americans were eager to save the freedom of the South Korean people, but he is ~~strongly~~ dissuaded from thinking so because the U.S. did not do the same when the Hungarian revolution was on.

I. The United Nations

He thinks the UN could have greatly influenced the situation in Hungary last Fall.

Speaking generally of the UN, respondent quotes an American word: "monkey-business!" -

Asked what the UN ought to have done, he says:

"The UN should have sent in a very high number of diplomats and correspondents of the free world so as to cover the entire area of Hungary by such. The UN should not have sent any armed troops, but only foreign statesmen, and that would have prevented the Soviets from attacking again."

Respondent hopes very little from the UN. He rather hopes that the Russians themselves will come to their senses and pull out of Hungary.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. The Greatest Living Hungarian

Respondent thinks that the greatest living Hungarian is the nameless Freedom Fighter who grabbed gasoline bottles and fought ~~Russian~~ Soviet tanks.

B. Persons in World Affairs

Imre Nagy: "He is a good and honest Hungarian."

Cardinal Mindszenty: "He was the only Hungarian in a leading position who up to the moment of his imprisonment dared openly to say everything he thought was right. He is a hero, a martyr."

Laslo Rajk: "He is just like ~~many~~ the others." (Interviewer's Note: Respondent means to say as bad as the other Communists.)

Erno Gero: "He is a Muscovite scoundrel, he is not a Hungarian!"

Janos Kadar: "He is what people in the West say about him: he is a puppet!"

General Bela Kiraly: "He is a very good and a very honest Hungarian."

Anna Kethly: "I like her personally very much because, ~~as a printer~~ as a printer, I knew her, and I know very well that she has always been a very honest, good and kind person."

President Eisenhower: "He is a very old man, a man too old to govern a world power."

Secretary General Hammarskjold: "He is a very dull figure."

Dulles: "He is the most active, the most energetic American statesman."

Eden: "He is an English aristocrat who thinks only of himself and perhaps of England, but nothing else in the world."

Truman: "He started the American intervention in the Korean conflict, and so he did at least something against Communism."

Asked whether his opinion of these people was the same in Hungary as it is now, respondent says that he thinks he didn't change his opinion.

Mikoyan: "It was he who was sent to Hungary and he gave orders to the Soviet troops to attack Hungary again. I wish the plane bearing him had crashed!"

Nehru: "What he is doing is a very curious mixture of politics and religion; indeed, of religious fanaticism."

Generalissimo Chiang-Kâé-Shek: "I cannot think much of him because he let China get lost."

Ferenc Nagy: "He tried his level best to save Hungary for democracy and he was let down by all other free countries, including the United States. Now I don't know how well he is working in exile."

Roosevelt: "He was the one who sold Hungary down the river at the Malta Conference."

Chancellor Adenauer: "He accomplished a miracle in Germany; he made the richest and most progressive nation out of an impoverished and politically confused nation."

Stalin: "A sadist, scoundrel; a murderer who had the blood of at least 15 million people on his hands."

Malenkov: "A fat pig."

Generalissimo Franco: "He reminds me very much of a clown in all of his behavior."

Bevan: "One of the politicians of the British Labor Party, but I don't know enough of him."

Krushchev: "He is a worthy follower of Stalin."

Tito: "He is a turncoat Communist."

Peron: "No opinion."

Molotov: "At ~~last~~ long last he received his right reward -- he belongs to the very dangerous group of Communists, the intelligent Communists."

Ollenhauer: "He is just as much of a scoundrel as Kadar, and his companions."

~~Churchill~~ Churchill: "He was also among the ones who signed the Malta agreement, and I can never forget that."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARDS EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of Escapees

Respondent ~~divides~~ divides the escapees into three groups; one, those who actively participated in the revolution and had to flee. The second group is those who had been eager to go to the West because they had some relations there. The ~~group~~ third group consists of those who just wanted to find some better economic possibilities in the West and a chance to forget all the troubles they went through.

Respondent thinks that most people fled from Budapest and that students and young workers were particularly represented, but that on the whole you could find people from all walks of life.

Asked who remained at home, respondent answers: "The Hungarian nation remained back in Hungary." -- Asked why, he says after all not everybody could leave Hungary; a great many of the people realized that a new start somewhere in a foreign land would be very problematic for them.

Asked for an example of a person who could have fled but chose to remain~~at~~ home, respondent says that one of his colleagues with whom he planned to escape together changed his mind, perhaps under the impact of the news they received from the border zone that there were too many of the fleeing people shot to death. Besides, he personally had nothing to fear politically speaking.

He thinks that people in Hungary think well of those who fled to the free world, because they know that most of them had to fear a very bad life if they remained in Hungary.

He thinks that people in Hungary hope that ~~they~~ the refugees won't leave them in their plight, and they think that they have a ~~mission~~ mission to bring the message of the revolution to the free world.

Asked what percentage of the population would have remained in Hungary, if there had been no fear of consequences, he thinks that about 90% of the population would still have remained, because most people stick to their nation and to the ~~ground~~ ground from which their lives originated.

Asked about exile organizations, respondent says that he knew back in Hungary of the Hungarian National Council. He says that they heard about it from broadcasts. They also heard of various Hungarian-American Societies.

Speaking of exile personalities, respondent says that

Ferenc Nagy, Bela Varga and Zoltan Pfaiffer were names which were known in Hungary as people who were still active in exile.

He knew that these exile statesmen tried to help Hungary to become free.

Asked about his views on these organizations and persons, respondent emphasizes that he wouldn't like to make a blanket statement.

One by one, respondent has this to say:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Kedszatsan

ACEN: Respondent heard over the radio of its existence and that's all.

Hungarian National Council: Respondent knew of its existence.

MHBK: Respondent didn't know anything of it.

Liberal Democratic Union: He knew of its existence.

Christian Democratic Union: Respondent thinks that he heard something about its existence.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Exile: He didn't hear of it.

International Peasant Union: Respondent heard of its existence.

Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe: Respondent heard of its existence.

American-Hungarian Federation: Respondent heard of its existence.

Latohtar:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Respondent thinks that he heard of its mere title.

Respondent didn't hear anything about the Hungarian high schools enumerated.

Monsignor Bela Varga: Respondent knew of him while he was in Hungary, and heard of his being active in exile, but didn't form any special opinion about him.

Ferenc Nagy: Respondent said that he often thought of him with bitterness, as well as others, because he has the feeling, that so many Hungarians shared, that people abroad could speak easily, but it was an impossibility to do the same at home.

Tibor Eckhardt: A well meaning but too old politician of whose activities he knew very little in Hungary.

Imre Kovac: He thought of him that he was a representative of the Small Holders' Party.

Imre Sellig: A Social Democrat whom he knew when Sellig was a newspaperman and he never thought much of him, because he thought that he was too dogmatic.

Charles Peyer: Another Social Democratic leader whom he didn't like because he thought that he made deals above the heads of the workers.

Laszlo Taubinger: Respondent never heard of him.

Miklos Kallay: Respondent thought that he tried quite commendably to leave the German alliance and to be with the Western Allies, but otherwise he didn't think he did much good in domestic policies.

Zoltan Pfeiffer: He didn't think much of him. He knew only that he was an opposition leader.

Istvan Barankovics: The same is true about him as about Pfeiffer.

Msgr. Josef Kozsi-Horvath: ~~Unknown~~ Unknown.

Bela Fabian: A liberal politician, well-intentioned without much weight.

General Zako: Unknown.

General Ferenc Faras de Kisbarnak: ~~Unknown~~ Unknown.

Otto of Hapsburg: He thinks that he is a handsome man with nice manners and quite intelligent, but ~~is~~ thinking of him as a king, respondent begins laughing and says that such a king would be all right in an operetta only.

Admiral Horthy: Respondent thinks with sadness that Horthy had a chance to step out of the war sooner than he tried, and that he had another chance to arm the people when, on October 15, 1944, he tried to step out of the war but didn't dare to arm the people. He thinks Horthy was well-intentioned but way behind his time, although he sincerely was against Hitler, but he didn't dare enough.

C. Redefectors

Respondent thinks that most of the people who had once come to the West and then went back to Hungary did so because they had family ties with people remaining in Hungary which they

could not cut loose. Others, just because they had a terrible homesickness, and still others ~~whom~~ ~~they~~ actually felt disappointed in what they experienced in the West.

Respondent says that these people were remembered as fools back in Hungary, and he thinks that most of them actually regretted their decision to go back.

D. Exile Tasks

People in Hungary would like to know about the exiles how they get along in ~~the~~ America and other countries, respondent says.

Respondent says that they should know the reality.

He says that exiles should do everything possible to direct the attention of the world toward Hungary, so that people realize that a world divided against itself cannot stand.

Respondent says that he does the following things for Hungary: he regularly helps his loved ones in Hungary with gift parcels and money; he takes part in demonstrations in front of the UN, and he tries to learn in this country as much as is humanly ~~possible~~ possible so as to go home with much more skill and knowledge when Hungary becomes free.

Respondent would like to stay in the exile organization of the Hungarian Freedom Fighter Organization, and he says that its aim should be the liberation of Hungary and to serve it as much as possible.

He thinks that new and old refugees alike should be its members.

Speaking of various Hungarian political parties, respondent says that there were only two ~~important~~ ~~significant~~ significant parties: one, the Small Holders' Party, to which most farmers belonged, and the Social Democratic Party to which most of the workers belonged. Respondent thought quite highly of both parties and thought that they represented the interests of the Hungarian people quite well.

Respondent knew very little and thought even less of the ~~political~~ political parties in exile.

Respondent would like to see all political parties in exile united, and not playing party politics here in exile. Respondent's attitude toward the parties resuming activity during the revolution was a quite positive and favorable.

He thinks that exile politicians should have returned and taken part in the work of political parties only if they didn't want to claim more rights for themselves than for the others.

E. K Plans for the Future

Respondent would like to return to Hungary as soon as it becomes a free and independent country again.

He would like to have his children learn Hungarian as well as English.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

Respondent regularly listened to Radio Free Europe, to the Hungarian broadcasts of the British Radio, and also to the Voice of America, sometimes to Ankara, Turkey, and a few times also to broadcasts coming from Paris in France.

Respondent says that the BBC and Radio Free Europe were the two stations he could receive best.

He says that all stations were jammed, but most of all, Radio Free Europe.

Respondent listened only to the Hungarian language broadcasts, almost every day.

He listened mainly to Radio Free Europe and to the BBC.

Respondent spoke quite freely, whenever he had a chance, to acquaintances, colleagues and friends about what he heard.

Respondent listened to his own radio, usually in the family circle.

Respondent and his family took no special precautions when they listened to these stations. They were not afraid and didn't even tune it down.

Respondent thinks that practically speaking all people exchanged their news about radio broadcasts, so he heard a great deal.

Speaking of risks, he says that he heard of people who were caught and taken to AVO prisons because they spread the news they heard over such stations of the free world.

Still he thinks people were not frightened, but kept listening to such broadcasts.

Asked about changes respondent says there were more and more jamming stations and jamming became more and more successful.

Respondent listened to BBC with the greatest satisfaction.

He thinks the BBC was reliable to quite some 90%, but that Radio Free Europe and the others were not more than about 70% reliable.

Respondent judged their reliability by comparing their news with reality.

Speaking of effects in Hungary, respondent says that one

shouldn't think that radio broadcasts prompted the revolution.

It was usually basic human curiosity, respondent says, that was satisfied by foreign broadcasts, and people appreciated the news very much. They enjoyed hearing about new discoveries and new inventions, and the like.

Speaking of Radio Free Europe in particular, respondent says there were ~~many~~ many unreliable reports, but it had some real great merits. Among others he ~~listened particularly~~ listened particularly with great enjoyment to a program devoted to popularizing new inventions and new discoveries in various scientific fields.

Respondent states that ~~neither~~ neither Radio Free Europe nor other radio stations incited the Hungarian revolution.

Respondent holds a very remarkable and unique view of the fact (or alleged fact) that the Radio Free Europe broadcast news and speeches which promised the help of the free world, and encouraged the Hungarian Freedom Fighters to keep on fighting: "I know very well why they said 'Hold out for 2 more days!' - because if the Hungarian revolution could have been suppressed in a few hours or even days it would have been rated as nothing but a police action. But as it became a serious revolution it could no longer be called a police action; it had to be reckoned with as a serious revolution.

Respondent maintains that the same broadcast to which he listened which encouraged people to hold out for 2 or 3 more days did not contain any promise of Western help. But it contained the explanation which he just gave us, namely, that ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the uprising of the Hungarian people had to be rated as a full-scale revolution and could become a serious weight in international negotiations.

Respondent thinks that Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts into Hungary.

Asked what programs in particular should be broadcast, respondent says straight news above all, and scientific news; and news and informative broadcasts in various fields of science, and particularly in Hungarian history, the real history which is completely hidden from the youth of today. Respondent also brings up the great necessity of ~~the~~ English language lessons. He thinks that the audience would be very appreciative if they were given.

EX Going item by item, respondent says he wants to have straight news, but no anti-Communist propaganda whatsoever. He laughs and says that people who live under Communism don't need any of that stuff. He wants programs about life in Western Europe, and about life in the United States. They are also interested in other countries of the world.

B. FEP Leaflets

Respondent heard of the NEM, and knows that it is an abbreviation for something, but remembers the actual words only as I tell him. Respondent heard about many people having found leaflets. They were found in the neighborhood of Budapest, but not in Budapest itself.

He also heard about, but only vaguely remembers, the Twelve Demands.

C. More about Free Europe Leaflets

Respondent hasn't seen any, but he heard of many. He heard that people found them and thought them interesting.

There was risk involved, he says, but he knows of no concrete cases.

He doesn't think that anybody was intimidated and deterred from picking up the leaflets.

Respondent doesn't think that any of these leaflets have any major role, and he thinks they are superfluous. He is rather afraid that many people might get hurt if they are caught picking up leaflets, hiding them or distributing them. A leaflet is concrete ~~evidence~~ evidence, he says, whereas with radio news it is not so bad. Respondent doesn't think the leaflets had any more effect than to stir up the interest of people.

He thinks that they had no effect during the revolution.

He thinks that their distribution should be discontinued.

Goals

D. Goals of Western Groups

Respondent thinks that the goals of Western organizations are to help Hungarian people to regain their freedom. Even after probes respondent doesn't seem to think of any other goals of these organizations, and he thinks quite highly of their motives.

He thinks the goals of various organizations are identical.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent thinks that the most important things a child should be taught are: appreciation of parents, honesty and the love of truth, and the love of his fellow man.

These are respondent's views on discipline; respondent heartily laughs and says that he is an example of strict discipline in a family, because his father had to discipline him quite often, not only by words, but also by taking a stick into his hands. When he is asked whether he approved of that, respondent says that he certainly did, because there were five brothers in his family and they had to keep very strict discipline, even if by quite tangible means, so that they might become honest and good men. Respondent thinks that spoiling a child is worse than being perhaps even a little too strict with him.

He thinks that girls need only half as much strictness in discipline.

He thinks that as the child grows older persuasion can do more and more, and less and less "tangible" discipline is necessary. He stresses the great importance of very sincere and friendly relations between parents and children, and stresses above all the importance of good example.

Asked for a concrete example, from his own memories of disciplining, respondent comes up with this story: "The last spanking I remember I received when I was 13 years old. I was playing with the other children in our back yard, and my father shouted that I should go in; he wanted to tell me something apparently. It seems that I expected another call of his and I didn't go in. But the second call didn't come; instead it happened that when I entered the house I received a thorough spanking with a belt."

Asked who among his acquaintances punished children above six, respondent says in most cases it was the father. Girls were punished very little, he says, because there just wasn't any need for it.

Asked about differences in social classes, respondent says that the differences are determined less by one's social class standing, and much more by his actual intelligence. The more intelligent a parent is, the more he uses persuasion and example and the less actual punishments, and those punishments are much more of an intellectual nature than a physical.

Respondent didn't observe any change in the last ten years with respect to whether the father or the mother became the person who disciplined the kids more in a family.

Asked when physical punishment is abandoned, respondent answers that it varies very greatly. He, for instance, received his last spanking when he was 13, and one of his brothers when he was 13. The only difference was that his 18 year old brother received slaps in his face and not a spanking, and for a more serious misdemeanor; namely, for coming home at a late hour of the night without having asked for permission, or having at least reported that he would come home late because he had a date.

Summarily, he says that physical punishment is usually abandoned in the case of boys at the age of 13 or 14, and even 12. In the case of girls, it is abandoned at about the age of 8 or 10.

Asked about other types of punishment, respondent says that if we include reproachment and scolding among punishments, both boys and girls are punished until they leave the home for marriage or to take a job elsewhere.

Asked about differences in social classes, respondent again refers to his former ~~statement~~ statement that the differences are determined less by social standing, and much more by actual intelligence of the parents.

Asked what changes Communism brought about, he says that he heard of a case in which a boy ~~threatened~~ threatened to report his father if he punished him. ~~Asked~~ Asked whether such phenomena were commonplace, respondent says with great conviction that they certainly were not. He thinks that on the whole there were no greater changes.

Asked about disciplining methods in schools before Communism, respondent says slaps in the face, sometimes quite strong ones, and spankings were commonplace. Also students were kept at school after hours, and kneeling and standing in the corner were commonplace, he says.

During the Communist regime, he says, he heard that physical punishment of children was not allowed.

These are the characteristics respondent most appreciates in a friend: mutual appreciation of each other, frankness and readiness to help, even at one's own disadvantage.

Asked about changes in friendship under Communism, respondent says: "I had actually only a few true friends, but to them it didn't make any difference whether it was before, after or under Communism. Friendship was just the same for us."

THE END