

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is a greyish tall gentleman, well dressed, with a slightly voluptuous face, soft features. In his eyes there is a continuous inquiring expression eager to find out the wishes of the person he is speaking to, not in order to fulfill them, but to use them for his own purposes. He is a mixture of a peacetime officer of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and a sly businessman. He is superficial in every field of life but business and his own interest; however, even from this angle his personality disintegrates because of a subconscious guilt complex. This could be explained by his married life.

His participation in the revolution is unique in its kind. He didn't join the fights out of heroism or patriotism, but with an urge like that of the criminal who goes to the spot of offense. He wanted to be a witness of something that couldn't be defined clearly. At the same time he just wanted to do something ~~unlike~~ contrary to what his wife wanted, and he was amazed and somehow pleased to see that she agreed with his adventurous excursions. His escape from Hungary shows clearly that his mind was occupied with his own fate and concentrated on how he could get something out of the situation.

It is interesting to notice that with such a materialistic set of mind respondent is strongly bent toward religion. His best companion was a Baptist priest, with whom he studied a primitive form of mysticism, the elementary rules of the mystic numbers, and the Bible in general. He draws his examples from Biblical stories and tries to explain everything around him through mystical rules. He would be easy to hypnotize.

Respondent is not interested in politics, has a very primitive knowledge of world events, understands almost nothing of the present international relations, organizations, etc. He confuses even NATO and the UN. Therefore he doesn't seem to be competent to formulate such a definite opinion about the possible instigation of the revolution by the Soviet, as he emphasizes it.

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

A. "On the 22nd of October, I worked as usual on the morning shift from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M., and when I went home I didn't hear anything about the coming demonstration or other unusual circumstances.

"On the 23rd of October, I worked again on the morning shift from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M. When the next shift came in at 2 P.M. I met the people in the washroom and they told us excitedly that there was a terrific demonstration in the city, huge crowds all over and speakers drawing the attention of thousands of people at several Circles and statues. They said that everybody was wearing the national cockade and the police were doing absolutely nothing to disperse the crowd. I had an appointment with my wife to go to the movies to see a picture entitled "Professor Hannibal" because I had a role as an extra in this film, and we wanted to see me in it. Therefore I ran home to the Florian Circle. I worked at Kobanyai Street and had to cross the Stalin Bridge. Taking the bus that way, I didn't see the center of the city where the demonstration was going on. This part of the city looked quiet and ordinary. I ran home and we went to the movies at 4 O'clock. After the picture, the people coming out of the movie talked about the demonstrations. I got interested in it and told my wife that I would go to the city. She insisted that I was tired and had to go to work next day, and anyway it was late and she was sure everything was over and I wouldn't find anybody on the streets. However, I stuck to my first plan because I was really interested. I told her goodbye and took a bus, which brought me to the corner of Rakoczi Street and Muzem Boulevard. There the bus couldn't continue because of the huge crowd; everybody had to get off. As I mingled with the crowd I heard people shouting all over that we should go to the Studio. I rolled slowly with the crowd; it was about 7:30 in the evening. Pretty soon I came quite close to the Studio building. I was shocked by the huge dimensions of the demonstration. My first thought when I saw the crowd was how right I was to insist on coming here instead of going home. I had no fear, just eagerness and interest to know what it was all

about. I heard from the people that the students wanted to force their Sixteen Points through the radio. I have never been interested in politics so I didn't know the connection very well and I didn't quite understand what they wanted and why. I heard for years over the radio that we would be liberated and nothing ever happened, so I reached the point where I just didn't believe anything any more. But now the enthusiasm of the crowd caught me and I was carried away by it. I didn't care whether what was going to happen there would harm me personally; I continued my route ~~thru~~ toward the Studio. The crowd shouted to be let in and banged the doors of the Studio building. They wanted to break the doors but they were too strong. From the Radio building somebody threw a tear gas bomb among the crowd. It didn't affect me because I was quite far from the building. I only saw it. When I saw that it crossed my mind that there were so many people crowded in that small place that if anybody used any weapon against the crowd many people could be killed with just one bullet.

"Suddenly a police car arrived, the type which has benches inside and usually carries policemen. I saw quite a few policemen get out, but they stood aside in a group and didn't do anything. Soon another car arrived, I guessed with soldiers, ~~xxxxx~~ but I couldn't see it very clearly. They didn't shoot either or show any hostility toward the crowd. Then a third car arrived with AVH men, about 12 or 15 of them. I could recognize them from their green caps and machine guns. Pretty soon I heard ~~xxxxxx~~ the very dull and short but well known noise of a machine gun from the direction of the building, but I didn't see what happened, and I wasn't even sure whether it was shooting or not. I saw the AVH men mix with the crowd. One held his gun high above his head and the people shouted to him to give them his weapon. Then he smiled; he didn't say anything but lowered his arm with the gun and then 3 or 4 people grabbed it and he let them have it. In the meantime some people ~~xxxxxx~~ overturned the AVH car and it was set on fire. There were again a few shots toward the building, but I couldn't see anybody. I didn't see who shot and where. I didn't see shots from the building. In the meantime the students still wanted to break the door of the Studio but as they didn't succeed, slowly the crowd started to dis-

perse. I heard some people saying that they were going to the Stalin statue. It was around 11 o'clock in the evening. One part of the crowd went toward Eazterhazy Street, the other part went toward the Museum Boulevard, and a third part started to go slowly down the Sandor Street. I went with this part of the crowd, but I guess some people still remained around the Radio. People formed little groups and talked over what to do and where to go. I knew that my wife was afraid and worried about me, therefore I went up to a friend of mine at Dohany St. who had a motorcycle, and I asked him to take me home. He said he was busy, he had an appointment but he would take me half way. He put me down at the Margit Bridge because we stayed on this side of the Danube. I looked around and everything was very quiet and normal looking. There was no crowd anywhere or any disorder. I walked over the Bridge and took the Streetcar #7. The people on the streetcar were mostly workers who just came from their working places, and they all inquired about the demonstration.

"I arrived home about 12:30. My wife was very angry that I came home so late and didn't believe a word I said. She just didn't want to believe that such a demonstration was possible at all. Pretty soon my son came home and when he started to tell his experiences about the demonstration then finally my wife believed us and she was very sad that she missed this ~~xxxxxxxx~~ occasion. We went to sleep talking over the events.

"At the Radio building I heard a few claims of the crowd. Whatever I could understand was that they asked for an independent government. They demanded the broadcast of the Sixteen Points. They talked about Stalin as a dirty dog and they shouted anti-Communist slogans all over. They said Gero was a scoundrel, and in general ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ everybody was terribly excited, shouting and waving the flags with the national colors. It could be felt that this event was something important and significant, that the demonstrators had conviction and determination. There were all kinds of people there from the most elegant to the poorest beggars in rags. Every layer of ~~xxxxxx~~society was represented, regardless of age, race, religion or belief. There were women and, what was most striking, even very small children. In general, the youth was in the majority. The whole demonstration didn't seem to

be directed by anybody. The students started it and the crowd just grew bigger and bigger of itself. Like a magnet it drew every person and caught him up completely.

"On the 24th of October I got up around 5 o'clock and left around 5:30 for my regular work. I went to the bus station but no busses were coming. Pretty soon a small crowd was waiting and nobody could understand what happened. Suddenly I saw my wife approaching us; she had come down for shopping. She told me that if I couldn't get a bus I should go home and shouldn't go to work. We waited together for a short while. When we were about to leave we saw trucks approaching with young men bearing national flags. They shouted to the people on the street and stopped at several groups asking them to join them on the trucks. I asked my wife, a little afraid of the experiences of the day before, whether I should go or not. To my great surprise, she told me definitely to join these young people. Three of us ~~got up~~ ~~from~~ the little crowd which waited for the bus got up on the truck. The driver and all the workers on the truck were civilians. They were in a very good mood and told us not to worry about where we were going, we would see when we reached our destination. They took us to Jozsef Boulevard into a regular apartment building where an older man about sixty years old ~~tagged~~ us one by one, and asked the youngsters if we were the people whom they took for him. We said yes, we came by ourselves to do whatever they wanted us to do. He sent us upstairs; there were already many people there. He told us up there to look each other over very carefully and to check whether we identified AVH men among us. As long as everybody was picked up on the street the same way as we were they didn't know who was who. He told us in case we found any AVH men we should just throw them out the window down into the court. I looked down through the window; nobody was down there. After this checking procedure, they told us to help carry ammunition. It arrived continuously on big trucks from the Maria Terezia barracks. Our house was located between Baross St. and Ulloi St. The youngsters stood at the windows with guns and we heard shooting from the streets, but from our house nobody fired. From time to time new groups of people and new packages arrived. This operation went on in every house in the neighborhood as we could see later on. At 7 o'clock in the evening

I said I had to go home. The boys gave me a machine gun but I left it on the truck before I said goodbye because I was afraid of our superintendent, who was a Communist. The revolutionists didn't like my leaving the machine gun there very much so I told them that I didn't want to take it because my wife would have been scared. My wife asked me at home what happened to me all day long. She wasn't able to go to her working place either. I told her whatever I saw and said that the next morning between 6 and 7 the young men would pick me up again at the same place. At that time I could see more clearly what these young fighters wanted. They were sure that they could overthrow the Communist government. They said they were strong enough, especially if the whole country was united to beat the AVH and the Communist regime, ~~with the Russian troops~~ ~~together with the Russian troops~~ present at the time in Hungary. They said that new Russian troops couldn't enter the country because if one soldier crossed the Hungarian border the West wouldn't accept it and would mean an immediate outbreak of the Third World War. They said their victory was definite and the Hungarian people were all on their side. The enthusiasm was great everywhere.

"When they heard over the radio that Gero, or at that time we thought it was Imre Nagy, asked the help of the Russians, they were shocked and full of anger, but pretty soon a positive approach prevailed again, and they still believed in their victory.

"On the 25th of October I waited on the truck from 6 to 7:30, but the boys didn't come. Some others came with trucks also, but I didn't want to go with them, I wanted to wait for my youngsters whom I knew already. However, when I saw finally that they didn't come at all, I climbed up on another truck which went toward Szenater. The trucks took us to a private apartment house again. There were many young girls there preparing gasoline bottles; these were the so-called "Molotov cocktails." There were many weapons in huge piles and I was asked again to check the people present to see whether I recognized any AVH members. Then they sent me up to the 4th floor. There I was questioned about whether I understood military problems. I said I was a reserve officer. Then they gave me a machine gun, telling me to take a window and shoot from there wherever I saw a Russian tank

or any hostile activity down on the street. There was shooting outside all during the forenoon. I just drew back to sit down for a short while and take a rest when I heard very heavy shooting close by. I went to the window and there was a Red Cross car in front of a barricade toward Glasz Fasar. The Freedom Fighters opened fire on it; the people shot back from the Red Cross car and some Molotov cocktails were thrown on it. Finally it was set on fire. We also shot at the car and the people in it. These were AVH men. It was their regular routine to use Red Cross cars and doctors' uniforms. After this short battle finished, around 3 o'clock in the afternoon, I went with some people to the South Central station and pushed some wagons for barricades. I stayed there until 7 o'clock and then I went home again.

"The next day I didn't go to help the revolutionists because I wanted to visit a friend of mine in Falk Miksa St. On my way there I saw around the Ministry of War and around the AVH building, Russian tanks in 3 tight circles. There was heavy fighting there and the Russians checked the identity of everyone who appeared on the streets around. But I could see that basically the Russian soldiers were afraid. Whenever somebody shot back they behaved like cowards. When I left my friend, going home, around the Western Railway station I saw a Russian tank coming. People ran into doorways but the tank didn't shoot. It just passed us. Around the Zalka Mate barrack I saw 6 or 8 Russian tanks stationed there with Hungarian flags, and the Russian soldiers were sitting around the tanks and chatting with the people in a very friendly manner. When I went home I told my wife about everything I saw.

"The following day my truck took me, in the morning, to the Ulloi St. again, but into a different apartment house. I told them to take me to the house in which I worked first, but they didn't care and took me into another house. I was questioned again about the AVH members. It seemed to me that this was the most important problem for them, and when I went downstairs to a group which was already gathered there, I saw people looking at something. I joined them and I saw about six or seven dead bodies. People said they were AVH members. An old woman there was weeping and said to the people around that there was a boy whom she called Janny among the bodies who was

not an AVH member, but some people argued back that he was. So I imagine that during these fights many people on both sides were killed innocently.

"We hung around there for a while and then the revolutionists came and distributed hand grenades, revolvers and guns among us, and they took us to the Szabad Nep building at the National Theater. They gave me ten young men and asked me to supervise them during the fights and teach them how to use the different weapons. When we reached the place I told my group to stay on the side of the National Theater and we hid ourselves behind the huge column of the theater. From time to time some liasons came to us and told us in which direction to fire. There was a heavy fight all day long. Around night-fall some troops attacked the building and stormed into it. After a short while a liason came and told us to go into the building too. On the higher floors there was still some shooting in the building but in general we saw only many dead. Everything was broken and ruined and bloody, but the building was already quiet. As long as there was nothing to do there, we went back to the National Theater, gathered all our people and returned to the Ulloi St. into the building from where we started in the morning. The evening was usually quiet but I spent the whole night there standing by ready for action with my ten young men. ~~It~~

"The next morning, the 28th of October, Hungarian tanks arrived around Boráros Circle. They started to have a fight with Russian tanks stationed there. The fighting became more and more bitter. It was a very serious war. We were sent out to fight too. We saw all kinds of strange things on the street. For instance, I saw a group of civilians gathering, and another group of civilians standing them against a wall and shooting all of them. Somebody told us they were shot because they were AVH members. Some others said that they were AVH members who shot innocent people, but nobody could find out what it was. Anything could happen there. The whole situation was completely confused.

"We got our orders from an older civilian, and fought all day long, sometimes in the building, sometimes on the street. Once, standing at a window, I heard continuous fire and I saw a man running across the street. He was shot just before he entered the house. Then people ran to his body and started to kick him. Our order was not to let any AVH car

or man cross the street or cut through the barricades. We were supposed to destroy everything which indicated that it had some connection with the political police. I was there until late evening, when finally the fight quieted down. Going home I carried my weapon with me. I knew I would arrive late and the superintendent was already asleep. I used my own key entering the house. The superintendent had seen me a few days ago when I arrived home with the truck. He told me that what I did was stupid and I could easily burn my fingers in the game I was playing. I told him I didn't do anything, that I only asked the truck to pick me up and take me home.

"To my greatest surprise my wife didn't keep me home and didn't hinder me from joining the fighters from the second day on. In general the wives and the women members of the families were extremely courageous. They sent the men and made them ashamed if they didn't want to join the fighting. They had a beautiful role and they were full of enthusiasm. Everyone of them was a heroine like Ilona Zrinyi or Catalin Dobo, who were the two greatest women fighters in Hungarian history. Many of them took part in the fights, but besides this, they were practically the motor, the innerdrive of the men, from the background. Their heroism and patriotism will take its proper place in the history of this revolution.

"When I arrived home I was very tired and the next morning I overslept. My wife had already left for shopping when I woke up. When she returned I was still in bed. She asked me why I didn't go to fight today. Therefore I got up and went out. I saw a large group of people around a Hungarian tank and presently some more tanks arrived at the Stalin Bridge. I asked them if they were directed to the Radio building. I also saw a small Russian tank which passed completely closed. Nobody could be seen; it just moved forward but it could pass because nobody cared. I climbed on a tank myself and went to the Margit Bridge with it. Then the tank turned in another direction so I left it. I saw a fantastic scene there at Lukacs Bath, which was a famous swimming pool. A great crowd was on the street. They wanted to liberate three young revolutionists who were supposed to be kept in the basement of the Council House which was across the Bath building. I saw there again a complete confusion. Some people climbed up the building and wanted to remove the Red star. On the corner six men with guns who were AVH members arrived, and they started to

seize some people in the crowd. In the meantime, some people came out of the Council House and they said that the crowd could enter the building, that some delegate from the crowd could go in and check to see if they could find the three men they wanted to have released. About twelve people went into the building but when they appeared again after a while they told the crowd that they were not let down into the basement. A terrible roar went up from the Council House and he started to talk to the people. However, the crowd shouted back that he was a liar and somebody from the crowd shot him. They attacked the building, ran into the basement and released six men from there. They Communists they found in the building were seized; many of them were killed. They broke all the drawers open and found them filled with weapons. All this was quite enough for me to see; I didn't feel like going to another place ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to fight, and so I went home from there. I was very hungry, too. I had a lazy afternoon talking to the other inhabitants of the house. Later on my wife came home and we went out for a walk together. We could see groups here and there all over the city. We went to a few of these groups, joining them and listening to the different stories, some of which were rather controversial. We couldn't figure out the present situation clearly. Finally we went home.

On the 30th of October I wanted to go to Pesterzsebet on the outskirts of Budapest to visit my friend. I couldn't get any transportation, therefore I stood at the corner of Stalin Bridge and looked for a good life. I stopped a few cars but they were all going in the wrong direction. Finally I saw a very luxurious looking German car which was driven by an elderly man. I stopped him and began to explain to him in the little German I knew where I wanted to go, and I told him in the meantime I would show him the important points of the city, those which would be of interest to a foreigner. He told me that he was a reporter from Munich and promised to take me to Erzsébet. I went with him all over the city taking several pictures, and then we went together to Erzsébet where I visited my friend and then we returned home. On the way back I asked him if he would mind if I went out with him from the country. He was extremely willing and pleasant and he said that I could go with him where-

boy why he didn't go home and wasn't he afraid of being killed. He shrugged his shoulders and told me in an easy voice 'And what then? At most, my mother will mourn for me.'

"I wasn't definite about the over-all outcome of the revolution. I didn't believe in the Russians for a minute and this was basically why I escaped. I thought anyway that it was safer to be abroad.

"It was in my opinion only natural that Gero called the Russian troops back. He had to defend himself; he knew how much everybody hated him."

"Regarding how the demonstrations turned into fighting, I have a strange idea I can't shake off. This is that somehow the Communists provoked this revolution with all the changes they invented long before it started. They wanted to annihilate this small nation. I myself couldn't understand otherwise how they could look upon all the changes and see that the people became more and more free and entirely different from the way they were before. For instance, a Party secretary told me a few weeks before the revolution broke out that they don't distinguish anymore whether people are Communists or not. It is all over. Everything became easier -- the working conditions, freedom of speech. Maybe I'm absolutely wrong, but I still cannot understand how the Communists could let all these things go without some special intentions.

"In the first days of the revolution I heard the Freedom Fighters' slogan.

"Everybody took part in the fighting as far as I could see -- old women, children, girls. All these Freedom Fighters got their weapons from the police, the army; or they simply used the weapons they had already on hand. The real trouble was that they had no cannons, no heavy artillery. There wasn't an organized leadership. Everybody discussed what was the logical thing to do in the next half hour and they did it. We could see whatever was necessary to solve the present problems and everybody did it because they were Hungarians and they hated the whole system."

D. Regarding whether Hungary gained because of the revolution, respondent says:

ever I wanted. I asked him if he would be willing to take my family too and he agreed heartily. I thought this was an excellent chance because I had wanted to leave Hungary for years. This was my only aim -- to escape by all means. When we arrived home I told my wife about it. However she said she couldn't understand why I wanted to leave Hungary now when the Russian troops were defeated and some of them had joined the Hungarian fighters. Some friends came over from next door too and we discussed the possibilities. Finally I told my wife that I would leave with the reporter anyway. I could still come home from Germany if things turned out all right in Hungary. This wouldn't be any problem. But if I was right and the Russians came back as I felt they would, it would still be much better if I at least could be out of the country. I could help them to join me. She agreed but she said as long as her son wasn't at home she didn't want to leave without him, she preferred to stay.

"I told her goodbye and left Budapest with the German reporter. On our way to the border we were checked a hundred times and it wasn't without risk. At the border we had to wait for hours and I was extremely nervous ~~xxxx~~for fear that somebody would take me out of the car finally. However, the reporter's papers were fine and he asked me where I wanted to go as a final goal. I told him if he could take me through Austria direct into Germany this is what I preferred. This way he took me direct to Munich. The frontier police of Salzburg asked me to stay there first because they wanted to have some information about the revolution and they questioned me for a long time.

"A few weeks later my wife escaped with a family next door and arrived in the U.S. in December of last year. I got her address through our friend in Hungary and now I have joined my family.

B. Regarding the fighting, respondent says the following:

"I didn't feel any fear during the fights. We had small children around and I once asked a little

"The present situation shows that Hungary gained absolutely nothing. The terror and the oppression are greater than before. This unhappy country only lost. That the West feels sorry for us doesn't help a bit."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "I expected from the West what Radio Free Europe said. First of all, I expected that the country would be saved from the second Russian invasion. I didn't think that it was impossible to get armed intervention from the West. However, I knew that America's interest wasn't involved in the Hungarian revolution.

"As I said, on the basis of the foreign broadcasts I expected the above and I didn't think it was impossible, but in the bottom of my heart I didn't believe in it and I didn't have hopes that anything would happen from the West. Those foreign broadcasts made us believe for years and years and every time it was a bitter frustration. We learned not to hope, not to believe, and to be frustrated.

"The only person I came into contact with who was a foreigner, in the summer period from October 23 to 30, was the German reporter who brought me out in his car. He didn't tell me anything about the West and I only showed him the points of interest during the revolution."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's family background was the following:

"My father was a colonel in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy until the end of the first World War. We lived in south Hungary, first at Brassó, until I was a year old, and then we moved to Arad, where we lived until 1914. Then we remained in south Hungary in Nagybecskerek from 1914 until 1918. My father was continuously at the front. We lived under very good circumstances. My mother's family was wealthy. She inherited 3000 acres of excellent land in south Hungary. However, she died when I was 6 months old. My father married again. We had a beautiful home and five servants. At the end of the War, when south Hungary was annexed to Yugoslavia, my father was expelled from Nagybecskerek and we had to escape into the motherland. We lived for a year in a freight car and of course my father lost everything, including my mother's 3000 acres. Finally we settled down at Abadszalok, Szolnok County. There my father became the teller of the Steam Saw and Steam Mill Company. Later he was promoted into a directorship. He died in 1946 when he was 83 years old. At that time he had a pension as an army colonel, of about 600 pengos, before 1945. After 1945, it was changed to 300 forints, which was not enough to live adequately. My father's education was high school matura, and afterward he graduated from the military academy. My stepmother had six grades of elementary school.

"I myself lived under very well-balanced conditions before 1945. I was a bailiff with a salary of 1500 pengos. After 1945 I had only a miserable existence."

B. Regarding the social classes in Hungary, respondent says:

"Before 1945 Hungary had four different classes--the peasants, workers, middle class or intellectuals, and the aristocracy. After 1945, the aristocracy was annihilated. Those members of the aristocracy who still staid in Hungary didn't admit their

origin. The middle class was also rifled and ruined. Most of the intellectuals became industrial workers, and just a very small percentage of them could keep their intellectual jobs. But even those ~~was~~ were exchanged for the new generation educated by the Communists. The only people who could escape this gradual replacement were the doctors, lawyers, engineers -- they stayed in their positions because it was a difficult problem to find young Communists with the necessary training.

"After 1945, Hungary had a different class structure. The former intellectuals included the above-mentioned irreplaceable members of the former middle class and the army officer who built up the new Hungarian army and were afterward executed by the Communists. The second part of this new intellectual or middle class was made up of the newly appointed company directors, factory and farm managers who were chosen from the lowest classes of peasants or former factory workers. The peasant class and the workers' class was almost the same as before 1945, but there was a new class, a fourth class, which included the leading political and Party functionaries. This class was continuously changed according to Moscow directions. For instance, a newer person who was an office messenger before 1945, and even after 1945 for a few years, as a Party member was promoted to an assistant directorship of the State Salary Office. But after a few years, because of a change of the political line he was dismissed and went to work as a construction worker. This way that new fourth class was fluctuating continuously. Its members were lifted, dropped; the roles were distributed among them according to the changes in the Party line.

"I personally didn't have any close contact or connection with any of the classes or the class members. I was glad just to be able to survive and take care of myself. Under Communist Hungary I belonged to the peasant class because I denied my education. Whenever I had to write a ? I never admitted the occupation of my father and my education. But if you ask me here, I am again my old self, and this way I belong to the middle class.

"All the classes were equally hit by Communism

but maybe the hardest treatment was applied to the upper ten, which included not only the aristocracy but the capitalists. They were absolutely annihilated.

Regarding how the different classes felt about each other, respondent says:

"Officially all the classes worked together in harmony. Everybody was supposed to be equal without distinctions. This equality succeeded, however, only in that everybody suffered equally and was disillusioned in the Communist leaders. The ~~fourth~~ class, anyway, was hated by everybody, and nobody believed in them because they used terror as their only tool.

"We heard and read all the time about the worker-peasant cooperation. In reality, this didn't exist. The workers were in a slightly better position than the peasants. If there was a job available, usually a person with a worker's background was put into the position."

C. Regarding how an individual could advance in Communist Hungary, respondent says:

"The two most important factors to get ahead in Hungary were the political background and the class origin, but even more important, besides ~~these~~ these two, was to be an informer. This was a new rank under Communist Hungary -- the class of informers who were not only paid well as always in human history, but put in the highest positions.

"Talent didn't count at all. It was much more important for a doctor to know about the Stalinist-Leninist doctrines than about anatomy. Whoever had a well-based Communist indoctrination could get a good job. Those students who were children of Communist officials very often got their questions at school in advance. At the state farm of Inares, where I worked for 3 months, once the Communist supervisor spent all the wages of the workers and never returned a penny. In spite of that he wasn't ever called into account and charged with forgery.

"As far as the class origin is concerned, the

destitute peasants and workers were trusted the most by the Party. If anybody had private property this was a mark against him.

"In 1953 there were a few exceptional changes, but there wasn't a real basic change.

"An individual had to be dishonest, without character, to get ahead. Such persons, who were ready for anything, could be used by the Communists for every purpose. They had the fastest career."

D. Regarding certain groups who get more out of society than they deserve, respondent said:

"The Party members formed a group who had all the privileges. They simply couldn't be without work as long as the other part of society struggled the hardest way to get a little job. The Communist Party members were recommended from one place to the other and listed all the good jobs, keeping them for themselves. Another group was maybe the doctors of medicine, those individuals who held illegal abortions. They charged extremely high prices until the new decree was introduced, and in general doctors made a great deal of money in comparison with any other citizen."

VI. LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

The Communist effect on family life, marriage, friendship, etc. in Hungary is explained by respondent as follows:

"The Communists did the utmost to win the youth. They wanted them to grow up as atheists. They had a good chance to do it, because of the new way of life. Both parents worked, and the children grew up on the street.

"I married in 1948 when my stepson was 17 years old. In spite of the fact that we both worked, my wife and I, our son was a very good child. He was very strictly disciplined by his mother. When we came home in the evening he gave an account of everything he did during the day.

"From the three types of families you told me about, I find the second one to be the closest to describe our family life. We grew closer together under Communism, talked over everything within our family ranks how to defend ourselves against Communism. My son hated Communism very much too. When he was in the army he was sentenced to six years imprisonment and forced labor for denial of command and illegal possession of firearms. He was lucky because in the meantime, during an amnesty, his sentence was lessened to three years, and ~~his~~ ~~his~~ his output in forced labor camp was very high, he was released after two years of imprisonment. But even so, they could never win him back into their Communist society.

"I guess the most typical Hungarian family belonged to the second category -- those who grew closer together and had a closer family life than before. At the beginning after 1945, the families were broken up because one of the members became a Communist Party member. However, later on they became frustrated and returned to their husbands or wives who, happily justified, started the family life ~~small~~ over again.

"I don't know how children were brought up during the last ten years. I was very busy making a living and my wife took care of the education of her son."

B. Regarding marriages, courtship, sex patterns, respondent says:

"During the last ten years the morals and marriages changed quite a lot. Marriages were very badly influenced by Communism, and it was due to the changed situation of the women. The women became independent, but at the same time they were bound to accept jobs unfit for their physical structure. Besides this difficult work, they had to work for their husbands. It was generally said in Hungary that the wives were the servants of their husbands as regards salary. Therefore certainly women didn't want to marry at all. They lived with men only to share the high rents and make life a little easier with a routine. But the new system led, of course, to the destruction of the moral life.

"There were many marriages among young people, but at least as many divorces too.

"I don't know anything about courtship and engagements. I didn't discuss these things with anybody.

"Abortion was first punished very severely. A doctor, if he was caught, was sentenced to ten or fifteen years, but then there were so many unlawful children born that finally the regime itself became frightened of it, and they had too many problems. Therefore, they changed the decree and at the present time in Hungary abortion is allowed.

"Prostitution was abolished in Hungary but, for instance, in Budapest the whole city was full of prostitutes. A large number of the young girls became a sort of prostitute, sometimes even unknowingly, unconsciously. They knew that I had some better friends, so my women friends asked me all the time whether I had somebody who had more money. They talked about these problems as naturally as they would ask for a cigarette. The women offered themselves sometimes for a pair of nylon stockings or a car ride. Whoever was a little richer than the average could find as many women as he wanted to. This of course spurred the men on too, to make money in order to get the girls. Everybody became a thief. But even if they were put in prison, afterward, when they were released, they continued all over again. The moral level was tragic and at the same time the

Communists played up the highest morality publicly.

"The sexual morality of a convinced Communist was just the same as anybody else's. The ideology was high and attractivenesseeming. They talked about a happy country in the future, just the way religion talks about heaven. The ideology was extremely hypocritical, and on the other hand they taught to hate everything that wasn't Communistic, which in itself is immoral."

C. Regarding how Communist Party membership influenced friendships in Hungary, respondent says:

"Many times friendships were influenced if two friends diverged and one became a Communist Party member. People had an aversion to Communist Party members. Especially many women entered the Party. If they were not married, it was very difficult for them to support their old parents and even themselves, and they were afraid of losing their jobs; therefore they entered the Party. However, most of the people became Party members without conviction, and the friends knew that as well. There was a good joke in Budapest about that: Two friends met on the street and started to complain, calling the Communist Party terrible names. Before they part they embrace each other, and one of the friends feels something sticking his fingers. He reaches there and turns up the collar of his friend to find out what it was that stuck his hand. Then he sees a Communist emblem. He is rather shocked and asks his friend, "But look, what is this? Is this a Communist emblem?" His friend laughs, a little bit embarrassed, and answers, "Oh no, this is not a Communist emblem. This is my bread coupon."

"In the case of such friendships, the non-Communist friend would break the relationship out of fear.

"But in spite of the fact that everybody politicized in Hungary after 1945, it was possible to have a friendship, keeping politics out of it, or even if politics were involved, because most of the ~~members~~ Party members, as I said, were basically not Communists.

D. Regarding juvenile delinquency, respondent said:

"The juvenile delinquents were thieves, robbers -- they made holdups, plundering, stripping and they were also ~~DRUNKAROS~~. They wanted money. Many of them had

never heard about crime before, because especially under Communism in the newspapers and on the radio it was prohibited to talk about criminal cases. They had a feeling want, and insofar as nobody ever taught them the moral rules, their consciences never told them what to do and what not to do. They had no moral inhibitions. They thought if they stole smartly it was fine, and if the circumstances were favorable, they never failed to commit a crime. The age of juvenile delinquents ran from about 9 to 15, both girls and boys, but the boys were in the majority.

"Juvenile delinquency was against the law, but sometimes just nothing could be done. For instance, once a child stole money from a teacher's handbag, and nobody in the class ever admitted who did it, therefore they couldn't catch the child. They were afraid to question the Communist members of the class.

"Juvenile delinquency was widespread, but the Communists denied it. The newspapers never wrote about such cases and lessened the importance of itx if sometimes they did. Such articles were written in such a way that, for instance, they wrote about the American children, how terrible the problem of juvenile delinquency is in America and so, and so ~~many~~ many crimes happened within a certain period. At the same time they put down that in comparison, in Hungary during the same period only 2 or 3 juvenile delinquency cases occurred. By this method they praised Communism -- how wonderful everything was there and how terrible in America and abroad. At the end they added that even in those few cases of juvenile delinquency in Hungary the children read trashy American literature.

*Talking about the Jampecs, respondent says:

"The Communists wanted to make ridicule out of the Jampecs. They put all kinds of cartoons in windows on what Jampecs looked like, what kind of clothing they wore, how they are loafers, how they stand around ~~day~~ daydreaming about women, sit in bars drunk, and how they are usually dressed in an American style. They wanted to show by that how everything of that sort comes from America, and that even fashions which come from there are bad. It wasn't a crime to be a Jampec, but it was not worthy for a dignified Communist to be a Jampec."

VII. RELIGION

A. Regarding what part religion played in Hungary, respondent says:

"The Communists wanted to discard religion from the life of the people. Officially, God was a silly foolishness which was used by the capitalists to force the people under their yoke, and under the yoke of the priests. They exploited the people for their purposes, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ threatening them with hell ~~xxxx~~ * proved that God couldn't exist. It was scientifically deducted. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Church attendance wasn't prohibited by law but, for instance, there was a gypsy boy in our church who we knew put down the names of every single person who entered and announced them to the ~~xxxx~~ political police. In order to hinder students from going to church, they held all their important political celebrations on the big religious holidays. * THE COMMUNISTS

"The Catholic religion was hardest hit because it opposed Communism more strongly than the other religions and Mindszenty and the Catholic priests scolded Communism publicly. The priests of the other religions made agreements with the Communists more easily, but they had a lot of trouble with the Catholic priests. These were the simple trials when they could catch a priest, but it always happened to Catholic priests. I have never heard about a priest in another religion who was tried.

"According to my opinion, nothing was a bulwark against Communism. Religion couldn't be effective either because it had no power; it couldn't defend the people. People believed in God firmly but their religion couldn't do anything for them. However, God did. I ~~xxxx~~ myself saw in how many cases a prayer helped people.

B. Regarding what part religion played in his life, respondent said:

"I found religion to be a very important factor in my life. If I got into trouble the only thing I could do was to pray to God for help. Nobody else could help me, neither my parents nor my wife nor my family -- just God.

"My parents were as religious as I.

"I went to church mostly on Sundays. I missed maybe a few Sundays a year. The churches were always crowded in every religion, not only in the Catholic. Everybody felt lonely and went to the church, because there he at least knew that the rest of the ~~man~~ people there had the same thing in their minds and hearts. Before 1945 people had friends, connections, large family circles. But now everybody was left alone and stayed alone with God. I considered many things in my life as miracles. When I was in great trouble and I prayed God always helped me. Even the fact that I am here right now is a miracle. Who on earth would have believed it a year ago?"

Regarding the function of churches, respondent says:

"I guess the churches have a definite role in education. It's much better if they teach the children rather than any other civilian authorities. The church won't teach a child to steal, but to keep God's rules. They wake up the conscience of the child and impress upon him that he shouldn't commit any crimes, not because of fear of prison, but because of a true and clean conscience, which is a very important factor in life.

"However, I don't think that the church should set moral codes because very often it is against evolution. Pornographic literature and trash literature are not allowed anyway by the state, or at least they shouldn't be allowed. Even the Communist government punished those who tried to distribute pornographic books.

"As far as an active political role is concerned, I think that if a church takes a position on a question it will usually stand on the good side, and as long as it takes the good standpoint, I don't believe the church can be harmful for anything it works with. This way it can't influence politics badly either."

D. The Jewish Minority

"The Jewish religion was hurt by Communism as well as any other religion. Communist leaders hold speeches

against the Jewish religion, and for its abolition, as well as against other religions.

"The attitude of Jewish people in Hungary was in general strongly critical of the Communist system. Everything was taken from them and they were forced into the same fate as anybody else in the country. Most of them wanted to escape Hungary. This was generally the same during the last ten years. There were Jewish Communist Party members, but as far as I could see, they helped each other very much and held their positions perhaps to be able to defend their friends and acquaintances. The Jewish people always held together very tightly. I had interesting experiences in connection with this. I was twice in immediate danger of losing my job. Once, it was because I didn't take a gypsy woman who was a Communist Party official to the next city in my car. I did the utmost to find her at the place where she said she would be, but I could not. The next day when I returned I was called to the Party house and I was told that I had lost my job, I could take my papers and leave. I had a very good friend at this Party house who was a Jewish boy. I went to him and told him about what happened and I also reminded him of how much sympathy I felt toward the Jewish people. I told him also that my grandmother and my wife's relatives were Jewish. In ~~my~~ 5 minutes my case was clarified and I could keep my job. Another time they wanted to dismiss me from another position I held, and I told the Party secretary that it was really terrible that we were always in the same boat-- that we were hurt under the Nazi regime and we were hurt just the same under the Communist regime. I played up that I was Jewish, but anyway I liked the Jewish people very much. He went in to the Director and in no time came back and told me that I could keep my job.

"The attitudes of the Jewish people were the same as the rest of the population during the revolution. Every kind of ~~human~~ people took part in the revolution. I personally knew two Jewish men who fought for the revolution. There were no anti-Semitic slogans during the revolution in my experience, and I didn't here either that the Jews didn't want an independent Hungary because of any sort of fear."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Regarding what people called the Hungarian youth, respondent says "I would call the Hungarian youth the people from 15 to 30 years old."

B. Regarding what role the youth played during the revolution, respondent says:

"The youth had a very active role, an extreme role, in the revolution. We really can say that from the babies on the members of the youth ~~were~~ had a heroic role in it. They hated Communism. The work was more and more and the wages lower and lower. At school they didn't hear anything but politics. They had the courage and the energy to resist. The old people never started a revolution in all history.

"The old people were proud of the heroism of the youth but I don't know what the ~~old~~ youth thought ~~about~~ about the older people."

C. Regarding the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent says "I don't know too much about it but from what I could see in my stepson, the Communist propaganda was emphasized in everything the youth learned. For instance, even in mathematics or any other subject Russia was always involved, and the history of Communism. Practically the education came down to a basic concept. ~~The~~ ~~was~~ Statistical data were drawn continuously between the past and present of the Soviet. This way they wanted to build up in the mind of youth that the only acceptable and wonderful system ~~and~~ rule is the Russian.

"They restricted the choice of subjects. If somebody wanted to become a doctor and the quota of students was filled, they advised the person to become a pharmacist and he couldn't do anything about it. At the universities persons who didn't have worker or peasant backgrounds weren't admitted at all. The quality of the education was very low. The ~~university~~ professors were very often only big-mouthed demagogues and the teachers were bound to teach word by word what the textbooks said. It was a prescribed educational system that the Communists used in Hungary. The most important thing

in connection with education, either to get a job as a teacher or to become a student, was the life biography we always had to include among our papers whenever we applied for anything. This was the basis of existence in Hungary. Many people falsified it in order to be able to get ahead or to get a job. I was asked once to become an assistant professor at the Technical University. I put down in my [?] a false datum on the class origin of my parents. But one of my friends told me that it was very dangerous and they would consider it as sabotage if they discovered the fact; therefore I had better throw out the application."

XThe youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination was the following:

B. "At first, the youth was on the side of the Communists and believed in their ideologies, which gave high aims. But later on they realized that everything was a lie. They could see how people became hypocritical and how they bid against each other just to prove that they were better Communists than the others. The intelligent young people realized first that Communism was a big lie, and they enlightened the simpler worker and peasant youth."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Regarding the main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary, respondent says:

"In our everyday life the worst thing was maybe the personal insecurity. We couldn't even judge when we did or said something that was enough to put us in prison. The second thing was the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ competition for work, which tortured the population. First the Communists told us that we could make so and so much money under the past regime, but today everything was changed and we could make much more with the new invention of piecework system. They we could ~~xxxx~~work as much as we wanted and we would be paid according to our output. At the beginning it was all right, but later on they set the norms. This meant that we were not allowed to put out more pieces of a given good than the norm permitted. Otherwise, they said, the quality of the good would be harmed. This way they didn't let us overstep the norm. For instance, we were allowed to do eighty pieces of a given good in an hour, and this was 100% -- that was the norm. So no matter whether we made 100 or 150 we were paid just the same. Therefore we worked only a few hours a day very often as long as we couldn't make more money anyway. But later on they changed over their own system. They invented the Stachanovistes and raised the norms in such a way that we had to produce 250 pieces of the same good that we were formerly allowed to produce only in a quantity of 80 within an hour, and 250 was the norm. But the hourly wage remained the same. Whenever we wanted to defend ourselves and asked the Stachanovistes to compete with us, there was an excuse for them. They didn't let them work with us to let us see how they could fulfill this high norm.

"The third thing which upset the population was the high cost of living. The average wage in Hungary was 600 to 1200 forints. At the same time, a suit cost 1500 to 1600 forints and a pair of shoes 300 or 400 forints."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

"In our family all the three members worked and all three of us had a miserable life. Beside my work I tried everything to make a little more money but even so, my financial situation was never in the least satisfactory.

"As far as food is concerned, after the war first we had rationing of food and then the Black Market was so high that nobody could afford it. Now at the end, everything could be purchased but nobody had the money to buy anything.

"Clothing was very expensive. A really good suit cost 2000 forints. Once when I bought a new suit and was caught in the rain in it, it shrank so completely that my trousers reached above my knees. Walking on the street I was afraid the whole garment would melt away. However I don't know too much about the prices either of clothing or of food, because I gave all my money to my wife and she bought everything I needed for me.

"We had a one-room apartment with a small foyer, kitchen and bathroom. It cost 110 forints, and electricity and gas were about an additional 30 or 40 forints.

"As long as the wages were not sufficient even for the prime necessities of life, everything that was additional had to be considered as a luxury. It was a luxury to drink demi-tasse or go to the movies.

"As long as all of our money went for food with very few exceptions to buy a few pieces of clothing, everything caused us just the same difficulty.

"Our standard of living was much, much better from every point of view before 1945. The prices were lower, the salaries higher, and there was much more opportunity for work. We had a quiet, orderly way of living and the possibility of continuing our own professions.

"Our standard of living was highest around 1953 and 1954, and the lowest in 1955 and 1956, because my norms were lessened.

"I remember some people who were much better off than any others. A friend of mine was a doctor who earned about 16000 forints per month. He could afford everything -- elegant clothes, entertainment. He wasn't a Party member. I knew another person who was a Director of a company. He was a Communist and he as well as all the other Party officers had very high salaries. They had cars -- either private or Party cars for their personal use and led exactly the same life as did high society before Communism.

"The low standard of living can be accounted for by the Moscow Party line, which simply took everything from every subjugated country. In Hungary, for instance, there was a decree to prevent overhead expenses. The Hungarians had to work like slaves for nothing in order to produce cheaper for Moscow. The Communist regime could do it by different means -- lowering the norms, putting the people in slave labor camps, and by other economic and political rules. Even the animals, the horses and cows, didn't get to eat, at least not first quality fodder."

B. Regarding his income during the last ten years respondent says: "Before 1953 I changed my jobs too many times to remember what money I made. Anyway, I made a little. In 1953 I had my best period; I made 2500 forints and then just with the raising of norms my salary became 1100 to 1200 forints without any direct reduction. By the way it is very interesting to notice that this was the way the Communists wanted to exterminate the members of the former middle class -- by creating such conditions that the people had to slowly die out by hunger or overwork, etc.

"Deductions took about 40% of my salary. I don't remember specifically. I received a premium once, in 1955, of 150 forints, because I worked without spoilage.

"My secondary source of income was whatever I made illegally. I sold shoes with rubber; I repaired nylon coats, raincoats, etc. I made artificial honey out of sugar and I made fig wine. I really tried

everything but it didn't help too much.

"Besides me, my wife and my son had to supplement the family income. My wife made 600 to 800 forints as a factory worker, and my son worked in 1955 and 1956 after he was released from the army, and earned about 900 or 1000 forints.

"As I told you before, I had only decreases in wages instead of increases or raises. This reminds me of an old joke in Budapest under Communism. It is the following: What's the difference between the skirt of an old woman and the salaries in Hungary? It is that neither of them is raised willingly."

C. Regarding the prices and quality of goods, respondent says "We bought food mostly at the Kozert state stores. There were some Maszek stores, but they had to pay very high taxes; therefore the prices were high too. Sometimes the peasants brought in some food from the country on the state markets. The only advantage of the Maszek stores was that they gave the real quantity that we could never get at the Kozert -- there it was always a little less than what we asked for. This way they could steal quite a lot. If somebody complained they just didn't serve the person next time he came in. At the Maszek stores and especially the state markets, farmers' markets, there ~~was~~ was a possibility of bargaining, especially if they couldn't sell their goods.

"We bought our clothing in state stores. The quality was garbage; it was impossible. The expensive clothes were good but nobody could afford them.

"In general the retail distribution in Hungary was quite all right, but there were some goods which were missing or very difficult to get. These were mostly the imported goods like cocoa, oranges, lemons, which were available very seldom and disappeared immediately after they were announced to be available. I heard, on the other hand, that the Communist Party members could get them all the time. This means that whenever they got such a transport they kept it hidden and they gave it to those who had protection.

"The standard spare parts made great difficulties. Very often they couldn't be purchased at all. For instance, once on the state farm where I worked, 3 tractors out of 5 during the whole period of the

spring plowing, couldn't work, because some parts were not available.

"Especially short in supply at all times was fuel, copper and ~~aluminum~~ and many other things I can't recall right now.

"There was an extensive Black Market in Hungary. It wasn't organized, but through acquaintances everything was bought and sold, the American dollars as well as any kind of good. The prices on the Black Market were about 5 times higher, and the quality was usually bad.

"The shopkeepers didn't dare to do Black Marketing in their stores, but they let the people know that the goods could be purchased in their apartments.

"Black Marketing was dangerous. The sentence could be a fine, confiscation of property or imprisonment.

D. Working Conditions

"During the last 4 years I worked for the Rubber Industrial Producing Cooperative as a foreman. We worked in three shifts from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M., from 2 P.M. to 10 P.M., and from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. I always went into the workshop 10 minutes before the shift started. I checked my machines. My basic work was to produce ~~the raw~~ mass of rubber for different rubber goods. I took the raw mass of rubber, softened it, and mixed with different chemicals artificial materials according to the purpose it was going to be used for. When it was mixed it came between ~~two~~ huge rollers to be pressed, and then it was vulcanized.

"I worked regularly 8 hours daily. If I had ~~any~~ overtime it was paid on the same basis as my regular work.

"In the morning I traveled about an hour with the bus or the streetcar to my working place, and then I had about 20 minutes of walking. We worked six days a week and sometimes even on Sundays. I slept about 8 hours daily and in my free time I worked on my side jobs or went after other businesses.

"I held that particular job because our company

was an industrial manufacturing cooperative, and I was a member of it. They didn't ask me for a biography when I entered the place, or a work book. First, a person was accepted there as a worker, and then about after 3 or 4 months he could apply for membership. Then the General Assembly put it to the vote and if it was favorable the person was admitted. From that time on, he was entitled to a share of the income and his share was deducted from his salary. This way everybody who worked there was a member sooner or later. In the case of dismissal, the General Assembly also had the authority to put the question to the vote and one could be dismissed only if the majority voted against one. This way we had a sort of security and I liked the place because nobody bothered me and nobody ever looked ~~me~~ into or cared about my background or my past.

"I liked my co-workers very much. We had a good spirit. I worked among people who were similar to me. Most of them were former Maszeks, or wholesale dealers or army officers.

"Our superiors were very pleasant too. They were members of the cooperative just as we were, only in higher positions. During the last year we got an unpleasant slave-driver, an AMAVH man. He wasn't an expert and always watched us seemingly with a bad will. He told us himself how he tortured people at the Andrassy St. 60 in the AVH building. Of course we didn't like him, but in general our superiors were polite and pleasant. They were Communist Party members but they didn't bother us.

"They never praised us but they didn't report us either if we did something wrong."

Regarding the Hungarian health, vacation and compensation programs, respondent says:

"We had health insurance at the OTI. It was very good. I knew most of the doctors from the past because my uncle was a university professor. The only thing I noticed during the last ten years was that the medicine was free at first, and later on we had to pay 10% of its price. I didn't use the vacation plan and the pension plan was not interesting at all, it was so little.

E. Regarding the city life and country life in Hungary, respondent says:

"I preferred living in the city to the country. The agricultural system in Hungary was upset by Communism so much that ~~the~~ survival was definitely very hard, and every single person there was watched so much that to hold a job in the country involved all kinds of difficulties.

"In Budapest the food supply was better than in the country and in smaller cities, and the standard of living in general was higher there. From a political point of view it was also better in a big city. The gossiping was terrible in the country and everybody was watched by the Communists.

"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, I knew right away that it would ~~be~~ as bad for everybody else as it was for me, as long as this was my profession. Everybody had to be dependent on Communism under the regime.

"Exactly what I expected happened. I guess the collectivization was a catastrophe for the country. When the regime invented the farmers' cooperatives, the old professionals ~~who~~ who understood their jobs were removed, and they put persons with absolutely insufficient backgrounds into ~~the~~ leading positions. For instance, animal husbandry, which was always famous in Hungary, and which had succeeded in raising wonderful species, became simple animal keeping on the state farms and in Kolchozes.

"I don't think anybody could object strongly to collectivization. They simply didn't dare to, and nobody was asked anyway.

"During the last years, I heard over the radio and read in the newspapers that people ~~could~~ could leave their farmers' cooperatives if they wanted to, but I didn't hear about ~~the~~ the dissolution of cooperatives.

"The ideal agricultural system, in my opinion, in an independent Hungary, would be private property. I would even leave the large lands in private hands. I am the backer of big lands and private ownership. I wouldn't keep any of the innovations since 1945."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "I have never been interested in politics and I was never involved in them. I was never a party member, and didn't even bother to form an opinion about politics. In general, I am against Communism and I can tell just the worst about the system. Everything they did just invoked my hatred of them.

"In 1919 whatever I heard about Communism was the worst, and when I got involved in it myself then it was much more horrible than I could ever imagine."

Regarding his views on the Communist Party from 1948, respondent says:

"Most of the people entered the Party for jobs, against their convictions. They were forced to make a living, and the Party was used for that purpose. There were some Communists who did just everything to get ahead, but it still didn't mean that they were ~~un~~convinced Communists. I don't think there were practically any convinced Communists in Hungary. Those Communists in the higher ranks were executed from time to time, so people said after a while that it was better to be a worker under Communism than to be a minister. Therefore I really don't believe that even those leaders were convinced Communists.

"In confidential or friendly circles, the Party members had the worst opinion about the Party. They admitted that they entered the Party only for jobs.

"As far as changes in the Party policy after Stalinism failed are ~~con~~cerned, there ~~came~~ a new trend, and some concessions ~~followed~~ followed too. But the trend came from Moscow because the leaders in Moscow revised their policy in order to strengthen themselves. This was the time when in Hungary Rask started to diverge from the Party line. But I didn't care enough for politics to know more about its inner problems. The higher Party members, as far as I know, had just one goal within the Party, and that was to Communize the whole world, to unite the proletariat of the world. They never gave this up. The Party members couldn't express their ~~in~~dividual opinions whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied. There was a rule and this had to be followed. There were no individual ~~claims~~ claims within

the Party.

"The Party morale was false. Everybody pretended to be a convinced Communist, but it wasn't true. However, many of them were wicked, crippled, ill-natured and stupid people without character.

"The small Party members just wanted to keep their jobs, but those who had more ambition fulfilled the prescriptions of the Party without thinking, and served all the causes of the Party without inhibition. These people became the Party leaders.

"When Hungary is independent, I guess the Communist top leaders should be executed."

C. XRegarding any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, respondent says:

"I didn't know about any real opposition. However, the regime ~~made~~ invented trials of ~~saboteurs~~ saboteurs, etc., but the people were beaten to confess and to sign records of evidence even if they were innocent."

Regarding the activities of intellectuals, respondent says:

"I heard about the activities of the Writers' Association that they talked anti-Communist slogans and things without having been arrested. I guess the intellectuals turned against the regime because the Communists didn't let them work in their own field and they had to work physically in factories and ~~and~~ couldn't make ~~enough~~ enough money. I heard about the Petofi Circle too, but I have never been there. I only heard from other people that members of the Circle made statements which were incompatible with the Communist ideology and that infuriated the Communist authorities. This free speech was the direct result of the revolution, but as I said before it seemed to me that the Communists somehow prepared this revolution."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Regarding the AVH ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, the secret police, in Hungary, respondent says:

"I was one of those lucky people who have never had any personal connection with the AVH. I only heard from other people how cruel and base were the members of the AVH. They tortured the people -- this was their main occupation -- until they the report of whatever information they wanted to get out of them. My friends who were caught by the AVH told me about the different tortures they went through.

"I have never heard about any AVH men who wanted to leave the political police.

"When Hungary is independent, those people should be put on trial and sentenced according to their activities. But in general, such people should be discarded from society for the future."

Regarding the regular police as compared with the AVH, respondent says:

"In general the regular police were all right, but there were some abuses on its part as a result of the influence of the Communist system. But I guess they were mostly invented to drive money out of the pockets of the population. It was a nuisance, for instance, that everybody was caught all the time on the street ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ crossing the streets irregularly and fined for it. ~~XX~~Also, for instance, if somebody didn't clean the snow in front of his, he was fined immediately. It was a nuisance for the population and amounted to a second form of taxation. Of course the regular police were indoctrinated by the Communists and had to learn the ideology, but I don't know any further how it influenced the members of the police. During the revolution, their activity was good. Many members of the police helped the revolution; maybe we can say ninety-nine per cent. They gave over their weapons and at the different headquarters people regularly went in and asked for weapons if they needed them, and the police gave it to them. I don't know any member of the police who fought with the AVH. I saw them myself and heard about their positive ~~ms~~behavior. To come back to the

previous point, the police helped a great number of people; whenever they could they helped secretly. For instance, I myself was taken to the police and the chief officer who was there told me that his order was to beat me. However, he didn't want to do it. He said he would slap the table and I should shout loudly, pretending that I was being beaten.

"There was no definite corruption in the police, but if somebody wanted to have a certain or a quick result, and left money under a piece of paper on the table or something like that, of course the money disappeared and the case was favorably decided on."

B. The Courts

"Before 1945 the courts were fair and just. They made no distinctions among people.

"The people's courts after 1945, however, were entirely different. They had an evil system built up against the people. There was a Hungarian decree that the report which was signed by the police could not be changed during the trial, and everybody knew that the confessions were forced out of the people by the political police. However, they couldn't deny that at the trial.

"There was another decree that the witness couldn't be called into account. For instance, it happened that somebody reported a young man to the police, saying that he had killed his son during the Nazi regime. The boy was hanged. A few weeks later the son, who was supposed to have been killed, arrived back from a German camp, but nobody ever was called to account for the execution of the other boy.

"The people's courts committed the most infamous crimes in world history in the most shameless manner. The treatment of all criminals was unjust. Most of them were not guilty at all. For instance, in cases of deportation in forced labor camps the people just acted according to the rules, and I don't think that those who reported the innocent people would have done anything different in a reverse situation."

C. Regarding the Hungarian army, respondent says

the following:

"The army's role during the revolution was positive. They joined the revolution and helped wherever they could. I myself saw the tanks and the soldiers fighting. In this attitude the whole army was united, no matter whether it was an army group in Budapest or in the country, and there was no difference between officers and simple enlisted men.

"The army behaved exactly as I expected ~~and~~ them to behave. They were Hungarian men, and I wasn't surprised by it a bit.

"The army, during the past regime, was well disciplined. I enlisted in 1934 and 1935, and experienced this severe discipline myself, but whoever did his duty was never harmed. The rules had to be kept strictly, and whoever overstepped them was punished justly.

"The behavior of the officers was sort of isolated. They didn't have social contact with the other members of the army. But I myself was of the opinion that if the peasant boys didn't see a sort of power and superiority in the officers, they just didn't obey them.

"The officers had to have a high ~~school~~ matura and to pass the School of Officers of the army, or the regular officers had to have a degree from the Army Academy. But the class origin of the person could be anything. Among the officers there were boys from simple families -- peasants, workers -- and the children of middle class and aristocratic parents. As long as he fulfilled the prerequisites, anybody could become an officer. The officers were just, but severe. They were excellently educated and had to continue their studies indefinitely to pass all kinds of examinations by the general staff if they wanted to reach higher ranks. The NCOs had as a prerequisite 4 grades of elementary school and 2 years of Non-Commissioned Officers' school. By the way, the Hungarian NCOs were world famous, excellent soldiers.

"As individuals, the officers as well as the NCOs could be good or bad. It had no connection with their origin or their education. However, it was just natural, as it is all over the world, that

whoever had relatives in higher political positions or among the high-ranking officers usually had more advantageous treatment."

B. Regarding the feelings of Hungarians about the Russian army, respondent says:

"It is not true at all that the Hungarians had a bad feeling against the Russians because of the events in 1948. Their unpopularity was definitely based on their deeds and introductions after 1945.

"I myself got from the Russian army what I expected; I wasn't disillusioned. But some people waited on the Russians and hoped that they would help them personally. For instance, the Communist Party at Mako went out to the border of the city to give a fine reception to the Russian troops. They were nicely dressed in leather jackets and rubber boots, and when the Russians reached them they simply didn't even listen to their speeches, but took off their clothing, took everything away from them, and chased them away. Nevertheless, the majority of the population was extremely afraid of the Russians. Many of them wanted to commit suicide before the Russians entered their homes or apartments, and many of them even did.

"My personal experiences weren't pleasant either. They stole everything from my apartment and the women in our house were raped. Furniture was broken. They wanted to deport me to Siberia, but I gave my wristwatch to the guard and could escape that way. Later on, the Russian soldiers were prohibited to steal and rob, and this way the Russians behaved a little more quietly and better. Only sometimes they committed different atrocities against the population. I myself never talked to a Russian soldier and I had no knowledge about the troops and their behavior. I know only what everybody did, that the population had no contact whatsoever or friendship with the Russian army. They tolerated them but they didn't like them. I heard from other people that the Russians hated Communism as much as we did, and they talked about the unbearable terror in Russia. As human beings the soldiers were good; only the political officers instigated the soldiers. The Russian people had a very unbalanced emotional life. They

could pray and cry one minute and kill somebody the next minute.

"During the revolution as I said before, the Russians, especially the groups who were stationed in Hungary for years already, joined the revolution and made friends with the population. I saw Russian soldiers fighting and Russian tanks bearing Hungarian flags in Baross St. But almost all of those who joined the Hungarians were ~~xxxxxx~~older Russians, not the young ones; they were wild and infuriated. It happened too that the Russians fought against each other in the darkness or by mistake. In general, the revolution was marked by confusion. I have no knowledge about the individual brutality of Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution."

D. Regarding government officials who would be willing to forget rules and help people, respondent says:

"I had just one personal experience regarding this problem. I was reported by the court of Győr to the effect that I talked ~~xxxxx~~against democracy. The official person at the court who handled my case didn't know me and didn't know anything about me, and in spite of that he helped me by every means, and showed a moving humaneness toward me. But such old officials were ~~soon~~ changed by the Communist regime."

F. ~~X~~Talking about bribes or protection under the Communist system, respondent says:

"I had no actual experience of such things, but I heard about a lot of cases in connection with passports or getting apartments, that people gave money, ~~xxxxx~~cigarettes or whatever was difficult to get, and then their cases were favored. Bribery was widespread, but if it was discovered, the official lost his job and was sentenced to ~~xxxxx~~imprisonment."

G. Regarding the efficiency and competence of those who hold power in Communist Hungary, respondent says:

"The high officials everywhere were cunning people. They managed things as they thought was good, without any professional knowledge, and this way they harmfully influenced public affairs. We

could never understand why the society was changed around the way it was. For instance, in a state bakery the leader was a chemist, and in our rubber factory the leader was a former baker."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Regarding what he thinks will happen to Hungary in the future, respondent's guesses are the following:

"If Hungary isn't liberated, then the Russians will annihilate the Hungarian people by every means.

"I still hear from Hungarians that within Hungary the resistance goes on, but at the same time the Kadar regime does everything to oppress all those forces who might take part in the revolution. In other words, the regime's activity is absolutely reactionary against the intentions of the revolution.

"Outside Hungary, I would like to know myself what the West is going to do. The refugee program was fine, but ~~it~~ I hope it didn't intend to solve the problem. It was a side road taken by the West in order to gain time not to deal with the basic problem. As far as Russia is concerned, she wants to Communize the whole world. Her intentions are unchanged and never will be changed. I have no knowledge and no opinion of how the hopes of the Hungarian people can be realized other than by complete liberation ~~of the Hungarian people~~ ~~and the complete annihilation~~ of the Communist system from the whole world.

"I myself do not want war between the U.S.S.R and the U.S. and neither do any of the Hungarians. However, there is such a tension that it must lead to a war, and if war breaks out I can tell only this much, that the greatest terror from the side of the Russians won't hinder any population under Soviet rule from turning against the Soviet Union. Whether we desire war or not, it does not alter the fact that this question cannot be solved other than by a war. This was proven already during the different meetings between the West and Soviet Russia, which never led to any sort of success. Hungary has to get rid of the Soviet, no matter how much it costs. This is the general attitude. The people are not afraid of the atom bomb. They don't have anything to lose but their lives, and they are willing to lose them. I don't believe in diplomatic solutions as I said, nor in an internal change in the Soviet Union. I cannot imagine this because of the terror.

B. Regarding the prospects for Hungary during

the last 8 or 10 years, respondent says:

"All the people expected help from the West on the basis of the radio broadcasts. Whenever there was a conference the hope of the people was awakened again, and strengthened, and after nothing followed those events, people became more and more disillusioned."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. ~~What~~Of what he would like an independent Hungary to be, respondent says:

"As I said, I don't understand politics. I want a free, independent country which serves the interest of the Hungarians."

B. Regarding the economic system of the future Hungary, respondent says:

"The emphasis should be put on agriculture. We have no industrial raw materials -- no wood, coal or iron. Therefore, we cannot be real competition on the world market. However, some branches of heavy industry ~~xxxxxxx~~ in which Hungary was always world famous should be kept. For instance, ~~the~~ locomotives of the Ganz factory and busses and ships. Otherwise light industry should be emphasized more than heavy industry.

Regarding nationalization, respondent says:

"The nationalized enterprises should go back to their former private owners. They were seized unjustly.

"I have the same opinion about the state farms and the farmers' cooperatives. All the lands should go back to their former private owners.

The state ~~has~~ always had influence regarding maximum limits, if not otherwise, then with decrees. And the state also ~~sets~~ rules how to handle industry and agriculture. If a person gets back his private property, then they should pay capital levy, or the problem should be solved by some other means.

~~Choosing~~ between the two possibilities of government, respondent says:

"I would choose the first kind. Personal rights and freedom are more important. We can always get work if there is freedom somewhere.

"The Communist Party should be outlawed in an independent Hungary. Anyway, it won't have any reason for ~~existence~~. If the Communist Party ran in an election, it would have such a small membership that it couldn't put out even one representative, and it would become ridiculous. I guess

the fellow-traveling organizations should be outlawed too."

C. Regarding the ideal international position of Hungary, respondent says:

"I would prefer a neutrality like Austria's. Hungary shouldn't have any kind of relations with the U.S.S.R. but our country should definitely have all kind of relations -- military, cultural and economic as well, with liberated Eastern European states, with the rest of Europe, and with the U.S."

Respondent doesn't know about the Danubian Federation but he says the following:

"The best solution would be a united Europe. This would solve all the problems, and we wouldn't need any particular solutions, such as the Danubian Federation just for those countries on the Danube. A united Europe would solve the problem of wars for a long time."

Respondent doesn't find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. He says the following:

"The territorial adjustment and problem of Hungary should be solved with the tools of rational justice. The minorities shouldn't be harmed, but neither should the Hungarian minorities. They definitely should come back to Hungary. Maybe an exchange of populations or some more suitable solution could help to set back the old borders of Hungary."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Regarding Krushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress, respondent says:

"I heard about Krushchev's secret speech over the radio but I don't remember what it was. I only thought at that time when I heard it that it was just the regular routine of the revolution. One child of the revolution eats up the other.

"I heard about Senator McCarthy. He was a friend of the Hungarians and, as much as I heard, a good honest man. I don't know anything about the fall of Peron, I only heard his name and knew who he was."

"Regarding Rakosi's private life, I am of the opinion that nobody knew anything. What the people say is only gossip. Everything around him was kept so secret that only his closest collaborators could know about him."

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

"The discussions with my friends, word of mouth, and the foreign broadcasts over the radio were the two tools whereby I gathered my information. I almost never read the newspapers.

"The radio was the most important for me. Even when I talked to my friends, it was mostly about the foreign broadcasts. My friends were lawyers, intellectuals in general with whom I had an exchange of opinions. However, both of these sources were not very reliable."

D. Because of lack of time, this section was omitted from this interview. (In general, respondent didn't show any intellectual interest; insofar as he didn't even read the newspapers and wasn't interested in politics, interviewer thought this section could be omitted without any harm to the quality of the interview.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

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

"The possibility of a change within Russia can be imagined, but to rely on it would be an absolutely naive concept.

"I don't know the Russian people but I don't think they are Communists. In case of free election, I am sure the Communist regime would fail ridiculously.

The collective aim of the top leaders in Russia is world Communism, regardless of ways and means how they can reach this goal. They have no individual intentions, though -- not such things as personal motives or individual conceptions. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Insofar as the Hungarian Communist leadership is just a branch of Moscow, they are no different. They are just the same."

B. Regarding the other nations in Eastern Europe, and their relative popularity in Hungary, respondent says:

"The most popular in Hungary is East Germany and Poland, but the people are popular, not the governments, and the least popular in Hungary is Yugoslavia and Romania, the people and the governments as well. In Hungary people like Poland and Germany because they didn't take any territories from us. However, Yugoslavia and Romania took the largest part of our country.

"I personally never had contact with any people of these Eastern European countries. I guess if there were a free election in these countries Communism would fail everywhere."

Regarding the standard of living in the different countries, respondent says:

"The highest standard of living is in East Germany, and the lowest in Romania."

C. Regarding the Polish situation, respondent says:

"My opinion is that Gomulka is just a puppet of Moscow, like anybody else. He has a Communist government and I don't think it means any change

Polish
for the ~~Russian~~ people. At the beginning they always show some softening and they want to make believe for the West that there are changes but after a short while they usually catch up with their basic policy and apply ~~it~~ ~~the~~ the general rules of Communism twice as severely.

"I guess the Polish events had some influence on the Hungarian revolution, but maybe this was also all prepared by the Communists. During the last five or six months my opinion didn't change any. I see that basically there is never a real change under Communism."

D. Regarding Tito and Yugoslavia, respondent says: "I guess Tito is the originator of national Communism. However, he behaves at the same time as a spy on America.

"My personal opinion of national Communism is that it is stupidity. Communism is Communism, no matter in what clothes it is dressed. I guess the Soviet Union basically doesn't like Tito's behavior, but they have their own ~~internal~~ troubles, and basically they know that in case there is a minute of choice, Tito will always stand on the side of Russia, and not on the side of the West.

"Tito's position toward Hungary and the Hungarian revolution was the worst. Even the refugees who are in Yugoslavia now are handled as animals ~~as~~ as badly as possible.

"I don't think Tito is popular in Yugoslavia, but I don't know exactly."

Regarding the Suez situation, respondent says: "I have no ~~further~~ further knowledge about the Suez situation than that it has influenced the Hungarian revolution very ~~harmfully~~ harmfully."

F. Regarding West Germany, respondent says: "I didn't know too much about West Germany while staying in Hungary, but during the last few months I spent in Germany, I could experience the extremely high standard of living, and the good will and honesty of the Germans. I can thank them a lot. They did a lot for me.

"There isn't anything like German military strength. The German nation doesn't want any war. The German rearmament was just started. They had the first drafting not long ago."

Regarding the German and Russian occupational forces in Hungary during World War II, respondent says:

"In my experience the Germans behaved well. They helped the population and were well disciplined. However, the Russians were just like a band of gangsters -- unintelligent, unethical robbers."

G. Respondent has heard no more about NATO than its name and its basic purpose, that it was a unification of the military forces of the West. He says the intention was good but it wasn't very effective during its existence. It had not much prestige in Hungary.

Respondent has no knowledge about the British Labor Party.

Regarding the standard of living in the listed countries, respondent says:

"I may say the highest standard of living is in West Germany and the lowest in Soviet Russia, but I have to admit that I don't know much about the rest of the countries as far as living standard is concerned."

H. What surprised him particularly about America during his first time here, respondent says:

"The abundance, the high standard of living, and production on a large scale were the things which surprised me the most."

Regarding what the U.S. should do for the Eastern European people, respondent says:

"I am sorry, but I can't see any way for the United States to help the Eastern European nations other than to liberate them completely from Russia, and this cannot be done any other way but through a war, if they want a real change."

"The American government should have no relations with the present government of Hungary, and shouldn't accept the Kadar regime."

"The people in Hungary would like to see Western visitors, mostly tourists. They should know that they should not be involved in political questions in Hungary if they go there, otherwise they would become suspicious as spies for the political police. They should be able to take care of themselves. It

would be a good idea for them to talk to the newcomer Hungarian refugees before they go to Hungary.

"The people in Hungary would like very much to receive Western books and periodicals, but I don't know how they could, if not secretly. They are not allowed to receive anything.

"I guess if visitors bring messages from Hungarian exiles to the relatives within Hungary, it would make the connections between the visitors and the Hungarians more intimate."

Regarding the Marshall Plan, respondent says:

"I have not a detailed knowledge about the Marshall Plan. I know only that it was a sort of charitable ~~intention~~ intention toward the people who needed help, and this came out of good will and sympathy toward the nations hit by the war."

Respondent has no knowledge of details about the Korean war.

J. Respondent has no knowledge about the activity of the United Nations. It becomes clear in the course of the questions he doesn't even know what the United Nations is; he confuses it with NATO.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. To the question who is the greatest living Hungarian in his opinion, respondent says that he doesn't know about anybody. Maybe Mindszenty could be called the greatest living Hungarian, but he is not definite in his choice.

B. Respondent's reactions to a number of personalities of importance are the following:

1. Imre Nagy - "He was educated in Moscow. He is a little better than the rest of the Muscovites, but he is a Communist Party member and therefore I wouldn't trust him.

Cardinal Mindszenty - "He stood firmly on the side of truth, knowing but not caring about the consequences.

Laslo Rajk - "He was a ~~murderer~~ villain and a bad person. He deserved his ~~execution~~ execution."

Erno Gero - "He was a ~~cheap~~ cheap Muscovite scoundrel."

Janos Kadar - "It is not even worthwhile talking about him."

Bela Kiraly - "I don't know him."

Anna Kethly - "I don't know much about her but I guess she works for the Hungarian cause and maybe she does something good for it."

2. President Eisenhower - "He tries his best to find a way out of the world situation with the best will, but he works under very difficult circumstances.

3. Secretary General Hammarskjold - "I don't know anything about him."

4. Dulles - "Aside from the fact that he is the Secretary of State of the United States, I don't know anything about his line or activities."

5. Eden - ~~X~~The same as Dulles.~~X~~

6. Truman - "The same as previous two.

3. In connection with personalities included in this section, respondent knew all the names and occupations, but in general nothing more about the personalities. He made some short remarks in connection with the following persons:

Roosevelt - "He prepared the altar and led the Russians into the heart of Europe."

Ferenc Nagy - "He was right when he escaped from Hungary. Otherwise he would have been arrested."

Adenauer - "He is an excellent man."

Stalin - "He is a monster of world history."

Churchill - "Excellent person."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Regarding the views on people who escaped from Hungary, respondent says:

"Generally speaking I can make 3 ~~xxxx~~ groups out of the people who escaped from Hungary because of the revolution. First, people who took part in the revolution, the fighting, and had to save their lives. Second, a large group of people who wanted to leave Hungary a long time ago but didn't have a chance. The third group were those Communist persons who escaped out of fear of the revolution. People escaped from all parts of Hungary, but most of them from Budapest, from every social class -- workers, peasants, middle class.

"Those people stayed home mostly who were not strong enough to leave their home, ~~xxx xxxx xix~~ or who were afraid of the escape itself. They didn't know any foreign languages. Some others had a fairly good life and didn't know whether they could make out any better abroad. There were of course sick and old people who didn't leave the country. ~~R~~

"Regarding persons who decided to remain in Hungary even though they had an opportunity to escape, I can give an example of my neighbor who wanted to leave with my wife, but half way she saw the danger, how many times they were caught by different guards, she became scared and returned.

in

"Those who stayed ~~staxt~~ Hungary think that the escapees did well to come out. Some of them believe that the ~~xx~~refugees have a mission abroad, and they can serve the Hungarian cause better in ~~x~~the free world.

"If there were a chance to come to the West, I guess a very small percentage of the Hungarians would remain in the country."

B. Regarding ~~Hung~~Hungarian exile organizations and individuals, respondent has no knowledge at all about those. ~~xxxxxxx~~He said the only things he heard were the messages over Radio Free Europe from the refugees.

In connection with the list of organizations and individuals, respondent gives the following two remarks: Of Otto of Hapsburg, he says:

"I know that he would like to become king of Hungary. I don't think I would mind a kingdom."

"Admiral Horthy - He was a fairly good governor, but not a great personality at all."

About what refugees could accomplish or try to do for Hungary, respondent says:

"I guess that the exiles tried to do their best for Hungary but they couldn't achieve much. Anyway, their real role couldn't be anything else but to keep the Hungarian cause awake.

"I don't think that they could have done much. They had no power. The only thing they really can do is to help each other.

"We in Hungary during the revolution knew that the refugees couldn't do anything for us. We had one single problem -- the Russians had to leave our country and we couldn't see anything the refugees could do for that.

"I didn't know anybody personally who escaped to the West after 1945 and returned to Hungary later on. I heard about such cases and every time I thought that the person was a scoundrel and a loafer. He just simply didn't want to work and this is why he returned. About the Communist redefection campaign the people thought that it was a dirty thing that the Communists did it at all, and whoever listened to them made the biggest mistake. For instance, Antal Pager, the great Hungarian actor, was promised everything if he returned. But he didn't get anything."

D. "People in Hungary would like to know about the exiles first of all how can we get along abroad -- all the details.

"I guess this is what they should know; everything that happens to us here in the free world gives the clearest picture to them. If they hear about somebody else and they don't know how the person gets along, they can't visualize it as well as if they hear it from their own relatives. What we can do in exile, either we or any other exile, people or organizations, is to keep the Hungarian cause on the surface and in front of the conscience of the world and influence public opinion to help those people by all means who are still behind the Iron Curtain."

"I wouldn't like to join any exile organizations.

"I don't know any Hungarian political party in exile. Neither do I have an opinion about the political parties in Hungary after 1945."

E. "I would like to return to Hungary if it is liberated."

"If I had children, I would want them to learn Hungarian in the free world or in the United States, I guess out of patriotism."

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XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

Regarding what foreign radio stations respondent listened to while ~~staying~~ staying in Hungary, respondent says:

"I listened to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, BBC, the Paris station, and sometimes some other stations as they came in.

"In the evening, Radio Free Europe was very good and clear, but during the day it was jammed. In general, all the stations were jammed. I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts. From 7:30 every day I listened to the foreign broadcasts one after the other, but mostly to Radio Free Europe.

"I discussed these foreign broadcasts with my friends and my family. However, after 1955 I somehow dropped the habit of listening to the broadcasts because I thought that everything was a lie, and most of the people in Hungary had the same opinion.

"I listened to the foreign broadcasts on my own radio with my family and friends. We closed the windows and if somebody rang the bell we shut the radio. However, we found out pretty soon that when the AVH checked on people about listening to foreign broadcasts, it happened for instance with one of our friends around Stalin Square, that the AVH stopped under his window and hearing some radio noise, dropped into his apartment. When he heard them coming upstairs he shut the radio. When the AVH men arrived in the apartment they went directly to the radio and opened it; it was on the wavelength of RFE and RFE started to talk. Learning from that, whenever we shut the radio we also turned the wavelength. For a long time it was rather dangerous to listen to the foreign broadcasts and it was easy to get a sentence of a few months for it. However, it couldn't frighten the population; everybody listened to the radio. Later on, the regime jammed the stations very much, but they didn't imprison people anymore and didn't check on their listening so strictly. They put up so many jamming stations that only the strongest and most powerful receivers could catch the foreign broadcasts clearly, and this way they minimized the number of people who could listen to them.

"Regarding my reactions to these programs, I

told you already that first I believed in them but after many years in which nothing happened I just left off listening to them.

"The accuracy of the different stations was about the same. Radio Free Europe was the most interesting, but in general we didn't rely absolutely on any foreign broadcasts. However, it was good to listen to those slogans and programs. If they talked about the events inside Hungary, we could check whether they were true or not and they were usually all right. We could judge it from the situation. But if I really would like to characterize the effect of the foreign broadcasts in Hungary, I can tell you only an old joke. During the revolution an old man goes into the tobacco shop and asks for two cigars and one Szabad Nep, which was the official newspaper of the Communist Party. The woman in the shop gives him the cigars, but tells him that there is no more Szabad Nep because since the revolution broke out there is no more Communism and Communist Party in Hungary. The next morning the same old man appears again in the shop and asks again for the same. The girl tells him patiently again, giving him the two cigars, that there is no newspaper available because the Communist Party doesn't exist anymore. Then the old man comes in every day for a week and finally the girl loses her patience and tells the man, "Please, I will give you the cigars, but stop asking for the newspaper. I told you clearly that the newspaper doesn't exist anymore because the Communists are not in power. Then the old man turns to the girl and tells her in a pacifying way, "I know, I know, lady, that there isn't any more Szabad Nep but anyway it is so good to ~~listen to it~~ you say so."
HEAR TO

Regarding the reactions of Hungarians to the foreign broadcasts, and particularly to Radio Free Europe, respondent says:

"The broadcasts of Radio Free Europe contributed to the hope of the people that the West would help them. The broadcasts prepared the revolution, fostering the thought in the people, which was born a long time ago, that the West would help by all means, if necessary, even with weapons. During the revolution, the broadcasts became instigating. Radio Free Europe said several times that the fighters should hold on, keep going, because help would come. I heard it myself over the radio. For instance, they also told us that Tito would march into Hungary at the beginning of the revolution. In spite of that, I think

Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary to keep the idea of freedom and democracy alive in the people.

"The programs should be news with commentaries, some cabaret programs, which help us to relax, but no more propaganda. Nobody believes in it. Programs about life in Western Europe and in the U.S. are fine. It would be good to talk about books which are published in the West because this should counterbalance the fact that in Hungary nobody can ever read anything without a reference to Communism or the Soviet Union."

B. Regarding N.E.M. respondent says: "I heard about N.E.M. that it was an underground movement and some people were even imprisoned in connection with it. But all this was just very vague and gossipy. I didn't know anything definite about it.

"I heard also about the Twelve Demands which were thrown down in leaflets on Hungary, and I thought during the revolution that maybe the students took their Points from these twelve points included in the leaflets, but I didn't know anything particular about what the twelve points were.

"I heard about the balloons and the leaflets. I haven't seen any, but once a balloon was found by the G? factory of Obuda, and also in West Hungary I heard that such balloons were found. When anything like this happened, the AVH went right out to the spot where the balloon was found. They surrounded the territory and everybody was checked. Wherever they found a leaflet the person was arrested. The population was frightened by that, but still if somebody found a leaflet he put it in his pocket and hid it. According to my knowledge, what was in the leaflets didn't make much sense. I really don't think such leaflets should be sent to Hungary in the future. It is just a danger without any good results.

D. Regarding what Western groups wanted to achieve by sending leaflets and broadcasting programs behind the Iron Curtain, respondent says:

"I guess the only aim was to keep alive the possibility of liberation and that people should wish to throw off the yoke of Communism.

"I guess all those Western organizations wanted the same. Of course, they couldn't find out that it wasn't necessary at all in these countries to

awaken these ideas. ~~It~~They were terribly awake in the people. Everybody wanted to get rid of Communism because the Communist way of life was not suitable for those people. I don't think, by the way, that it is ~~unsuitable~~ suitable for any man."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. Regarding his idea on how children should be brought up, respondent says:

"The most important things a child should be taught are: morality, religion, honest ~~work~~ and diligent work. He should be taught not to commit any crimes and to tell the truth."

2. "Regarding discipline, I guess that once in a while a good slap on the face helps quite a lot. In general, I am of the opinion that strictness and discipline are very necessary. However, there are children who can be influenced with just a good word, and some others need very strong methods. This is even the art of pedagogy.

"I guess the treatment should be softer with girls than with boys and certainly as the children grow, the treatment should be changed."

3. Regarding how he himself was punished when he was a child, respondent says:

"I was nine years old when I stole my father's hunting gun and went out to the fields. My father noticed it and ran after me. He ~~slapped~~ slapped me hard on my face many times. I was always punished by father, but in general they punished me not too many times, and only when I did something very wrong.

"In general, usually the father punished the children in the families, but there was not much difference among the different social classes. They treated their children the same way.

"Under Communism, physical punishment was abolished. Parents and teachers were forced to discipline the children with words only and with influence. ~~It was~~ Pretty soon the bad results could be seen very clearly in society. ~~It was~~ ~~that~~ Juvenile delinquency increased a lot; the youngsters started to steal and their behavior became much worse."

5. "Physical punishment was ~~abandoned~~ abandoned for boys and girls alike usually about 14 years of age, and I guess punishment was stopped generally when a ~~youngster~~ youngster was about 15 or 16 years old. Under Communism, the only change was what I said before -- physical punishment wasn't used at all. Maybe the parents used it at home

secretly. They wanted to bring up the children in the worst fashion. They blamed the children a hundred times for the same thing under Communism, but they didn't discipline them for it. It was really frightening to see how the youth got loose."

7. Regarding the characteristics he values most in a friend, respondent says:

"I value the highest trustworthiness and honesty."

"My opinion is that Communism brought the really good friends much closer together, but there were just a very few like that."