

#### CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

This man who evidently, due to his background, comes from the working class or proletariat, thinks himself to be of the middle class. Anyway, he indeed has worked himself up quite a bit, as to appearances at least. He is well dressed, neat and well groomed.

Subject is very passive, rather sluggish, and has shown very little interest in anything. I would call him the "wise" type who does not want to commit himself either pro or con, and this was also his attitude during the revolution. He is a Roman Catholic but his wife is a Jewess, and maybe this accounts for his attitude.

Also, I had the impression that having held quite a lucrative job with the state Food Supply Company, where his wife also worked, they had quite an adequate income, and food. His reasons for leaving Hungary were not because he was a great patriot but because he was fed up with the economic situation, and he felt that life in Hungary was too bleak and joyless. He often repeated that he missed "fun" and pleasure.

He is well adapted already to life here in the U.S. and is annoyed at himself for getting on too slowly with his English. His ambition is to set up his own business in food and delicatessen as soon as possible.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM UP QUESTION

When asked what he thought to be the most important things Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956, respondent said:

"The trouble is that people over here have no idea what kind of life we had to lead and were forced to lead during those 12 years. Our lives were absolutely futile. We couldn't make any plans for the future. I believe that this has been also the main reason for the revolution."

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

When asked to give an account of his personal experiences regarding the revolution, respondent said the following:

"I didn't hear anything on the 22nd of October yet. On the 23rd in the evening when I went home from work I saw on the Vamhaz Boulevard that the students were surging toward the Radio building. I also saw on the Calvin Square truckloads of young revolutionaries with arms. I was only looking on. I did not take part in the demonstrations. I tried to figure out what was going to happen and what the results were going to be. We hoped, anyway, for some change; that is sure. Only the next day I was amazed to see how freely people dared to talk and how they went on with their demonstrations and their fight. This was something that was unimaginable during the twelve years of oppression."

(I tried to get more details from him regarding his attitude and activities during the first two days of the revolution, but could get nowhere. Respondent was very passive.) When asked what he would have liked the government to do, he said "First of all we wanted Gero to be dismissed and then the Russians to leave Hungary. Furthermore, free elections were one of the major points the students were demanding, and to my mind this was the most important point."

"Regarding the age of the demonstrators, these were mostly the young people, but I also saw more mature people taking part, only not in the very first days. Regarding their sex, they were mixed. Boys and girls both took part in the fighting, and you could not make any distinctions regarding social class, because everybody took part as far as I could judge."

"I did not know that the demonstrations had any leaders, at least no central leadership. I think that by districts somehow somebody all of a sudden became the leader. Altogether, the revolution was very spontaneous, and there was no over all leadership."

B. When asked how the demonstrations turned into fighting, respondent said "Everybody knew that when, at the Radio building, the AVH started to use their weapons against the defenseless crowd, the people would not take it sitting down, and they would rise. This was the turning point of the revolution."

"Regarding what I thought would be the outcome of the revolution, I can tell you from the very beginning I was convinced that unless Western help was forthcoming the country itself would not be able to carry out the fight against the Russians. The numerical superiority of the Soviet troops was far too great."

"When the government called for the assistance of the Russian troops, everybody was terribly upset, even though we knew that this was bound to happen.

"Regarding the fighting, it was the young people who started it. Later on, they were joined by the working class, and by the industrial apprentices and the bourgeoisie too. I also was told that part of the police force joined the revolutionaries.

"Regarding where the fighters got their arms, I was told on the 23rd in the evening that from the various plants, where allegedly all sorts of consumer goods were manufactured, but where in fact they manufactured arms, the revolutionaries and the soldiers got their weapons. One of those factories was what they ~~xxx~~ called the lamp factory. Of course, this was only a cover. According to a Budapest quip, this factory was called "lampuska" factory. (This is a play on words. Lampa means lamp; puska means firearm.) Furthermore, the soldiers, the army, and also the police had probably given them arms.

"I did not hear of any central organization of the Freedom Fighters. The only person I heard mentioned was Colonel Maletar, whose joining the Freedom Fighters had a terrific moral impact on everybody. The heroic fight put up at the Kilian Barracks encouraged people greatly."

C. Respondent spent the days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the reinvasion, and as a matter of fact until he left Hungary, working at the Food Distribution Store.

He did not think that the Russian ~~x~~ retreat was a genuine one, because everybody among their acquaintances knew and told him that the Russians had dug in around Budapest. Also, he heard of the Russian troops pouring in by the northern frontier of Hungary.

Respondent saw the first Soviet troops returning on November 4th. On this day he was sleeping with some relatives out at Soroksar, the main route through which the Russian invasion started.

After the Russian army returned to Budapest, respondent continued to work in ~~xxx~~ the Food Distribution Shop.

Respondent started to plan his escape after November 15th. After the reinvasion of the Soviet troops, respondent saw that many people were being arrested all over the city, people who had taken part in the revolution, and he also, since he had been a member of the Workers' Council, was afraid that he too would be arrested. Respondent said he had enough of 1944 and 1945, and thought it would be better to come out to the West.

D. In respondent's opinion, Hungary gained only morally because of the revolution. Otherwise, she lost everything.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

When asked what he thought the West would do about the revolution, respondent said:

A. "I expected that the West would put its foot down and take a strong and firm stand against the Russians. Also I hoped that the UN would have the moral strength, and if not that then arms enough to make the Russians obey.

B. "My expectations were formed on the basis of my belief that the West would see at last the time had come to settle once and for all the problem of who is going to be the master of the world. Furthermore, the foreign radio broadcasts, which all the time ~~were~~ were holding out promises, made us believe that Western belief was forthcoming indeed. However, when the Suez situation became very acute we knew that this problem would be more important to the West than the freedom fight in Hungary."

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

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Regarding respondent's family background, his father was an iron foundry worker in the Ganz iron factory. He is on pension. He receives 46<sup>5</sup> forints after 32 years of service.

He further told me that there were altogether six children in the family, one brother who is a priest, and four sisters. He and the sisters were at home. His mother died in '26 and his eldest sister looked after the household and brought up the children. Respondent said that as far as he could remember, with the wages of his father and eldest sister the family could manage somehow.

Furthermore, he stated that under the Communist regime life was not better at all, but under Horthy at least everybody could budget the income, which was adequate, and besides everybody was able to save if he didn't drink or squander away his money. During the Communist regime, it was impossible, because you never could save money, and besides it wasn't worthwhile. What you earned you spent, he said. The purchase value of the money became always less and less, so it wasn't worthwhile, even if you could, to save.

As to the education of his parents, his father had eight grades, mother also.

B. When asked what social classes there are in Hungary, respondent said:

"Now, well on paper there aren't any social classes, because the Communists pretend that the society in Hungary is classless, but nevertheless there was the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals.

"The working class again was divided into those who were the so-called Cadre elite. These were the good Party members and they were always in leading positions. These people always kept to themselves and didn't mix with the other workers.

"The regime wanted to degrade the intellectuals, and also to create a new intellectual class from the working class. They succeeded only in creating a small group of people like this, but not a class in itself.

"I myself feel that I belong to the bourgeois class, and in my opinion it was this class, the bourgeois, the middle class, that was hardest hit by Communism. These people had mostly their own businesses, shops, enterprises, and through nationalization lost everything. Furthermore, the intellectuals were shut off from taking part in the life of the nation. They didn't receive jobs and they were deprived of their most fundamental rights of freedom.

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"The decent working class and the peasantry had much misgiving regarding that new working class, the Cadre elite.

"The peasants, seeing that the industrial workers were much better off in the cities, seceded into the towns, and many of the youngsters got jobs in the factories. I believe that both classes, the working class and the peasantry, knew that they depended on each other. As far as I remember, there wasn't any animosity between these two classes."

C. When asked to give an idea of how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, respondent said: "At that time, while I was at home, the political views were the most important point. Then came class origin and only finally talent.

"It so happened, though, that if a person had some quite specific talents or classifications, the class origin was disregarded. Nevertheless, he was kept apart from the others. These were all sort of engineering specialists and scientists.

"In the last two years, maybe there was less attention paid to the class origin, and little by little the regime found out that the experts do play an important role in the economic life of the country.

"Some groups that got more out of the society than they deserve were, of course, the top Party ~~functionaries~~ functionaries and members of the AVH. These people lived far above the standard of any Hungarian."



## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Regarding his own family life, respondent gave the following information:

"My family life was pretty dire during the Communist regime, because we never could live as we wanted to, and would have liked to. We never had any free time to enjoy ourselves or to have fun. After work there was too much "social work" to be done for the office. My wife and I had to work too hard, and of course our nerves weren't in too good a state.

"The situation on the whole was very bad in Hungary because the families somehow split up. There were too many divorcées, and the kids grew up without the supervision of a mother, who also had to work, ~~because one wage earner~~ because one wage earner wasn't enough in a family where there were a couple of kids.

"My family maybe belonged to the second group. We talked freely about what we could not discuss with other people, and we somehow grew closer to each other. I believe this represents the typical Hungarian family during the Communist regime.

"Not having any children, respondent wasn't able to say much about the education of kids. He only said that something went wrong with the education of the children. Respondent was of the opinion that families who were able to hold on to the old ways were those who didn't indulge in politics at all, and those who had a very good and well paid job, and could afford to have everything as before the war."

Regarding the marriage, courtship and sex patterns, respondent was of the opinion that in general the morals greatly deteriorated in Hungary during Communism. He was of the opinion that there was much more opportunity for married people, both man and woman, to make new acquaintances in the offices, and sometimes the temptation was too great. Furthermore, the ban on religious instruction had a terrific impact on the young people. After all, you cannot preach materialism without any results.

In respondent's opinion, the so-called DISZ organizations ~~could be~~ could be blamed greatly for the loose morals of the young people.

Respondent also was of the opinion that there may have been illegitimate children, despite the fact that the regime tried to do away with the idea of an illegitimate child, because the child always got the name of the father. Altogether, he blamed the indoctrination at the schools for the bad behavior of the children and the immorality of the youth.

Respondent was of the opinion that within a family where the family life and harmony was stronger, then the family somehow

could salvage their life and their family circle.

In respondent's view, the reason for all these changes is mainly the ban on religious instruction, and also the doing away with the decent youth organizations, like the Boy Scouts. In his opinion, too much freedom was given to the kids, and too much right. Also, too many opportunities to lead an immoral life were given.

Prostitution was prohibited officially under Communism. Nevertheless, it still existed.

When asked whether he thought the sexual morality of the Communists was different from that of the average Hungarian, respondent couldn't answer.

C. Respondent was of the opinion that had a good friend of his joined the Communist Party after '45, he certainly would have broken off his friendship with him, because as he said, "It would influence our friendship tremendously, and besides I would ~~xxx~~ not like to have a man as a friend who ~~xxx~~ either to get ahead in his career or to get a better job would become a Communist Party member. In my opinion, friendships cannot be continued under such conditions. More so, since with a friend you like to discuss politics also, and this you cannot do if he is a Communist Party member."

D. Respondent was of the opinion that juvenile delinquency was not discussed by the Communist press at all, and nevertheless he knew that it did exist and it was a problem. Asked to tell something about the Jamoc, respondent smiled and said "These were mostly workers' kids who dressed flashily and behaved in a very blase manner, ~~xx~~ wore ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ long sideburns and wavy hair. I do not believe that the number of these kids was very high."

## VII. RELIGION

A. Respondent was of the opinion that religion plays an important part in the life of the average Hungarian. He thought that the Roman Catholic religion was hardest hit, because in his opinion the clergy, the Roman Catholic Church had a great influence on their flock. The Communist regime was scared of the might of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in the provinces.

According to respondent, religion was decidedly a bulwark against Communism in Hungary, the more so because the Communist Party membership was dead against any kind of religion and nobody could be a good Party member who led a normal religious life.

B. "Religion has not too great importance in my life. Nevertheless, you must belong to some sort of religion, but I do not believe that religion would ever influence any of my decisions.

"Compared to the religiousness of my parents, I am very much less religious than my mother was. Maybe I am as religious as my father is."

Respondent believed himself to be about as religious as the average person in Hungary.

C. Regarding the function of churches and their role in society, respondent was of the opinion that the church and the state should be quite independent of each other. Nevertheless, he also advocated the role of churches in education, because as he said, the parochial schools were always far above the average of any municipal or state school. Respondent also thought that the churches ought to have the responsibility for setting moral codes, and standards regarding movies, plays, etc.

However, he decidedly objected to the churches taking an active political part in an independent Hungary.

D. Regarding the Jewish minority, respondent was of the opinion that even though the Jewish religion has been hurt by Communism, maybe it was hurt less than the other religions. He thought the reason for it was that the Jewish people in Hungary were far less in numbers and their priests didn't have such an influence on their people as the Roman Catholics did.

"In 1948, when the Russians were occupying Hungary and the Jews were liberated, of course they had sympathy with the Communist Party," said respondent. "However, after the first nationalization when the shops, enterprises, etc. were taken from the Jews also, then the Jewry of Hungary started to turn against Communism.

According to respondent, there were many Jews who belonged to the Communist Party, and these were mostly in top positions. They did it mostly for material reasons.

According to respondent, the Jews were rather passive during the revolution, because they were cautious. After all, as respondent said they have gone through so many things that they didn't want to ~~mk~~ risk their lives again.

When asked whether or not the Jews wanted an independent Hungary, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ or whether they are afraid of pogroms or persecution, respondent said he does not believe this at all. He emphasized that the Nazi rule will never return to Hungary. Of this he was quite sure.

### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Respondent classified young boys and girls between 15 and 24 to belong to the Hungarian youth.

B. According to respondent, the young people of Hungary took an active part in the revolution. In fact, the young people did start the whole rebellion, and they were the force behind everything.

C. In respondent's view, the young people took the lead because despite the fact that they have grown up under the Russian oppression and the Soviet regime, the young people were dissatisfied. They were shut off hermetically from the West, spiritually and physically also. They saw for themselves and experienced for themselves that the Communist doctrine is quite different in practice than in theory. Furthermore, the young workers and industrial workers hated to be driven to work under the norm system.

The older generation refrained from taking part in the revolution, according to respondent, because the older generation thinks more, and is not so impetuous as the young people are. Also, he was of the opinion that his generation, for instance, was quite clear from the very beginning that without the assistance of the western powers nothing could be done.

The older generation, according to respondent, respected the young people tremendously. He said "We took off our hats to them."

C. ~~XXXXXX~~ Since respondent has no children of his own, he could not give any information regarding schools and educational systems in Hungary in the last ten years.

D. In respondent's view, the indoctrination of the Hungarian youth failed because the Communists went about ~~xxxx~~ it from a wrong angle. Respondent was of the opinion that the DIEZ tried to convert them by wrong methods. He thought that the indoctrination was put on too thickly, and everything was interpreted on a political level.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Respondent's main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary were, first of all, the terrific strain to make both ends meet, the high prices of staple commodities, of household commodities, dresses, shoes, etc.

B. Apart from big political things, respondent was most annoyed by the compulsory, so-called social work they had to do after working; also, to be obliged to attend all kinds of official demonstrations and marches. According to respondent, if you did not take part in those, something went wrong with your job, and the least you could expect was a transfer.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

Regarding the standard of living, respondent ~~gmx~~ gave the following information:

"Our standard of living was far below that of 1944. Things having been, so ~~s~~ to say, at the source, we had no worries regarding food, except for the prices. There was no rationing in Hungary in the last years.

"Regarding clothing, this was some sort of a problem. It cost you about one and one half month's salary to get a decent suit and a pair of men's shoes were around 700 to 800 forints.

"Housing was something of a problem in Hungary, because of the war and the bombardment. There were many people who had to live in co-tenancy with others. The greatest luxury while I was in Hungary would have been to go out and have dinner in a restaurant, or to go and attend the theatre.

"Of the above three, food, clothing and housing, clothing gave us the greatest problem.

"Our standard of living, as I said, was very much lower as compared to the living standard before the war. It was maybe slightly better after Nagy's new course, but then it ~~fallidown~~ ~~ngkxnx~~ dropped again. I mostly missed having fun. My wife and I couldn't afford to go ~~km~~ to the theatre, we couldn't travel, we couldn't go out on excursions, or to the movies, for that matter.

"Among people I knew, those who were better off than any others were mostly those who had a well paid job, or people who had the opportunity to work overtime and thus make more money.

"In respondent's view, the low Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years was due to the nationalization of private industry, and also to the exaggerated export to Russia. Respondent mentioned here that very often it happened that the export goods were sold to the West in order to receive the hard currency far below the production price.

B. Regarding his earnings, respondent gave the following data. He received of his salary of 1250 forints, 1137 on hand. His wife made 820, of which she received 730.

They did not have a secondary source of income. He also did not have any wage increases over the last five years. Respondent did get a commission every three months, which was figured ~~dx~~ out in ratio with the fulfilled plan.

C. Respondent said they bought the food in the state store ~~wxw~~ where they were both working, of course. He was of the opinion, nevertheless, that foodstuffs bought on the free market from the producer were always better than the goods one could get in the state stores.

Regarding the prices, these were always changing according to the season, and also if the government wanted to use the food supply and the prices for a propaganda purpose.

Regarding clothing, respondent said:

"I never could get ready made clothes for myself. (Respondent is a big, husky fellow.) And so I always had my clothes made, and therefore my clothes were very expensive. You could always find a tailor who, even ~~xxx~~ though he worked at a state enterprise, was willing to work privately in the evenings. My wife also always had her dresses made to order. On the other hand, it was worthwhile to have clothes made to order because the Hungarian ready made clothes industry is pretty bad. The materials are bad and the standard isn't too good either.

Regarding retail distribution in Hungary, respondent could give the following details:

"The distribution of goods was centralized in Hungary, and the whole country was divided into regions according to the population. For instance, the mining districts always received more of everything and also the industrial districts. These districts were pretty well taken care of, and the ~~distriktsion~~ retail distribution was continuous. However, regarding the other districts, this was very bad everywhere. It so happened, for instance, that you could get winter clothes only at the end of the winter or in spring. Regarding the Food Distribution Company for instance, we always had to make a plan for the next three months. Of course, this was purely guesswork. The idea was that according to the plan and estimate which we submitted, the production would follow these demands, but of course it never worked. It very often happened that commodities were manufactured which no branch of industry or clothing ever asked for, and then we were compelled to sell ~~xxx~~ them by all means. For instance, different kinds of textiles, or canned food, etc. Also, there were the export rejections which had to be sold.

"The situation regarding standard spare parts was pretty bad too. It was very revealing, for instance, that you couldn't even get spare parts for anything that was manufactured in Hungary. Let's say the Csepel factory's bikes -- motor bikes or push bikes, were manufactured in Hungary, and yet you never could get spare parts for them.

"Commodities that were especially short in supply were eggs and meat. For instance, I cannot remember during the past twelve years that we had veal. This was reserved for the hospitals only. Then if the field of textiles flannels. Then decent shoe soles, leather for soles, etc.

Regarding the Black Market, this was going on all the time. Whenever a commodity disappeared from the regular market, you always were sure to find it on the Black Market. There was a very strong Black Market in all textile materials, and also



electric appliances; for instance, electric stoves, etc. In general, I could say that consumer goods were always on the Black Market.

"The quality, of course, was always ~~km~~ much better on the Black Market than what you got on the regular market. There was also an undercounter sale, of course. Of this I could tell a few things. It wasn't done openly, but on the sly. You had to do this, of course, if you wanted to please your customers.

"The Black Market purchasing was under penalty, especially if it was a non-Party member who did it. Furthermore, much depended also on whether or not you were doing damage to the "people's economy" as they liked to put it. The penalties were always prison. The People's Democracy did not like to ~~now~~ dole out fines."

D. Regarding working conditions, respondent gave the following information:

"I was the manager of a state store ~~it~~ called Kozert. This is a food store for general distribution. The branch store of this state enterprise where I worked was at Soroksar. I could arrange my working hours as I wanted, but I had to work 48 hours a week. Overtime was not paid at all, and I very often stayed later. It took me about an hour by bus and the local train to get to my job. Before the Communists took over, I worked in a ~~a~~ similar job in the Co-operative of the Hungarian Civil Servants, and this was my chosen profession. I started as an apprentice, then I was a salesman, and finally I was shop manager already before the war.

"My relation with my coworkers within the store was extremely good. However, I did not agree with the opinion of my superiors in the central managing office. I had a few of my colleagues there who, due to the fact that they became Party members, got on top, and then they were throwing their weight around, and this I did not like. These people always had the opportunity if they disagreed with me to use reprisals against me. For instance, I didn't get the material or the foodstuff I was asking for, and thus I couldn't fulfill the plan. I didn't get the commission, and that was that. However, I was not scared of these people, due to the fact that after all they were my colleagues and some of them were very far below me before the war. I always argued with them.

"Ninety-five percent of the people working at our store were women. As a matter of fact, there was only one man besides me at this store.

"My employees belonged to ~~a~~ different social classes. There was, for instance, the wife of a wholesale merchant. Then there was a woman who formerly owned a butcher's shop. Then there was the wife of a doctor, etc. I can say quite honestly that for

anything that needed intelligence, of course the intelligentsia was far better. They were very industrious and reliable, and also as workers they were more accurate in their work. And this work was really killing for them. After all, it is not easy to stand on your legs the whole day.

"However, when I did my work well, I did receive official praise; this is true."

Regarding the Hungarian Vacation, Health and Compensation programs, respondent gave the following information:

"Every enterprise had a budget, and only as many people could use the vacation program as were selected by the Trade Union. The president of the trade union had to recommend the person. Of course, very few people had the opportunity to receive such an allotment. On paper the Vacation Plan worked well, but ~~xxxx~~ in practice it didn't. For instance, we had 840 employees, and the budget was only for 34, so you can imagine how few people could go. Besides, these 34 were mostly selected from the Party Secretary, trade union people, and the so-called shop steward, etc. Then there was another thing. You never knew when you were going to get your vacation. You got it sometimes in the summer, sometimes in the winter, but never when you wanted it.

"The health insurance was not bad because you received 75% of your wages if you were a trade union member, and 60% if you were not, in case you were sick.

"The medicines you received were pretty bad, and besides the doctors were instructed not to make too many recommendations for hospital admittances, or not to give prescriptions for too expensive medicines.

"Regarding the pensions people received, this was really a pittance. It was too much to die of starvation and too little to live decently, as we used to say. I heard that now the whole problem has been regulated by a new law."

E. "Since I always lived in the city, and because I always worked in the food distribution business, I would have preferred to live in the city while I was in Hungary. ~~xxxxxxx~~ In my opinion, the city workers had a much better diet than the agricultural workers. Also, the general standard of living was much better in the cities, especially in the last two years regarding food distribution.

"People living in the cities had also a much easier time politically, because in a small village or a small town everybody knew everybody else, and ~~x~~ in a big city you could always disappear.

"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, it was evident from the very first moment that the country would not benefit from it. The way it was practiced -- by sheer terror and force -- and intimidation -- already were reasons enough for a failure.

"Only the poorest of peasants who didn't have an inch of soil to their names expected something good to come out of it. The other peasants tried to evade it as much as possible."

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "Even though I didn't belong to any political Party, I was quite interested in politics. I especially liked the Smallholder's Party, because I thought that the platform of this Party was the one I would have endorsed. It was factual and not exaggerated.

"Since I was too young at the time of Bela Kun, I cannot give you my opinion of the Communist Party at that time. However, of ~~xxxxx~~ the present Communist Party, I do not hold a good opinion of course. A Party and a group that uses terror in order to achieve its egotistic aims can only be despised. The way they started and continued when the Russians returned to Hungary was just enough for me."

B. "Regarding the members of the Communist Party after 1948, I believe that the majority ~~of~~ were workers who joined only because they were afraid to lose their jobs. Also, then, there were quite a few who thought that with very little work they could make lots of money. These people took part in the administrative work of the Communist Party mostly. Then, of course, as always there were some who wanted to gain power.

"Regarding differences within the Party, I am sure that people who joined the Party only under duress certainly did not like the Party and criticized it if they dared to. If they didn't, then they tried to do as little as possible for the Party. On the whole, I believe that a very small percentage of the Party members were really all out and convinced Communists. The others were either stupid or in error.

"The first break within the Communist Party occurred after the death of Stalin when the idolatry of the Party bigwigs was disapproved. Then, under the Prime Ministership of Imre Nagy in 1953, the Party had to change its policy because of the bad economic conditions and they wanted to improve the living standard in Hungary.

"But ~~at~~ on the whole, I am convinced, and so is everybody else, that the Hungarian Party always followed the instructions of the Russian Communist Party.

"Regarding Party morale, I am sure that this has decreased greatly, especially in the last years. Even the Communists didn't know in the end what to do. There were ~~so~~ many controversies in the Party.

"Regarding the top leaders of the Communist Party, I do not believe that they have any individual aim. They have completely accepted the Soviet command, and there isn't even one among them, like Tito or Gomulka, who would dare to deviate.

"Individually the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party are frantically sticking to the last vestige of their power. They are deadly scared of the surges, and they always

try to be better than their predecessors. I believe that only a very small minority of the top Communist leaders are sincerely and honestly convinced by the Communist doctrine. Their motives are mostly to remain in power, and I think that they are evil and diabolical people on the whole. Rajk might have been a fanatic and an idealist, and that is why he dared to stand up against Moscow, but he was soon purged.

"I do not see any difference between the motives of the rank and file members and those of the leadership, because after all both kinds of members joined the Party for material reasons, I think."

"When Hungary is independent, the top Hungarian Communists should be put before an unbiased and fair court. They must answer to the nation for their crimes."

C. "Before the revolution, there was always some opposition to the Communist government, and the Communist decrees. People were always grumbling and discontent, but to act they did not dare. I never heard of any serious sabotage."

When asked what he knew of the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said:

"The activities of the Petofi Circle were known already in the Fall of 1955, and they ~~disappeared~~ were more intensely effective ever since the beginning of 1956. The debates held at the Petofi Circle were public, and in consequence the newspapers and magazines dared to write more openly and to criticize more strongly the regime. This was something we never heard during the preceding twelve years."

"I do not think that the intellectuals had something very important and very new to say, but I believe that they only voiced and formulated the ideas that everybody else in Hungary held. I am sincerely convinced that their preliminary activities had much to do with the outbreak of the revolution, because they greatly encouraged the masses."

"In my opinion, the intellectuals stood up against the regime because they were oppressed for long years and they were fed up with the slanted literature, with having to write what they were told rather than what they wanted. I think they just wanted to be human beings again, and Hungarian authors."

## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "Regarding the AVH, the Hungarian secret police, this was a military-political organization used to keep the regime in power. Otherwise, the government would never have achieved any success in Hungary. These people were extremely well paid, and the top AVH people, ~~many~~ were, I believe, megalomaniacs. I must point out that among the AVH there were the rank and file soldiers who were regularly drafted for military service, and then assigned to the AVH force; only if ~~a~~ they had achieved some outstanding acts did they become one of the AVH leaders. Many diligent and opportunist Party members were sent to the AVH for special training, and then sent back to the different plants, ~~factories~~ factories and offices to act as informers. On the whole the AVH people were corrupt persons who wanted to ~~earn~~ earn large amounts of money with very little work.

"My own experience with the AVH was quite short lived, thank heaven. They picked me up once in the middle of the night at 2:00 o'clock, and asked for my identity card and registration card, and took me over to the AVH headquarters. Here they started to ask me questions about whom I knew and whether I knew this and that officer. I was ~~also~~ shown several photographs of people, and when I told them that I didn't know them at all, they let me go. I don't know to this very day why they took me and what they wanted ~~to~~ to find out. Maybe it was a case of mistaken identity.

"I have not known or heard of any AVH man who wanted to leave the AVH forces or who suffered remorse.

"When Hungary is independent, the people who have been members of the AVH should be tried and should receive very severe penalties for all their ill deeds. Of course, those boys who served within army units with the AVH should be judged differently. I have seen many AVH rank and file soldiers who looked to the other side when they saw the Hungarian refugees passing the border, and on the 23rd of October I saw young AVH boys surrendering their arms.

"If I compare the regular police with the AVH, I can only say that the regular police was the first armed unit who joined the Freedom Fighters in the very first hours of the revolution. In general, it was a well known fact that the police force and the army hated the AVH. Communism did affect the regular police regarding their training and competence, because the training was very bad, and also they enrolled ~~many~~ people in the police quite indiscriminately, and of course very low grade persons joined the police force after all. I cannot blame them if they took bribes because they were badly paid and, after all, everybody has to live. There is only one thing that the newspapers of course never mentioned -- whether or not the police force was competent. During the revolution, as I said before, I heard of many instances in which the regular police joined the Freedom Fighters. In particular, I was told that in the 20th District of Budapest the whole police barracks also went over to

the Freedom Fighters. Many of them fought in uniform also.

B. "Regarding the Hungarian courts before 1945, the Hungarian courts were known to be independent and fair. People at court always received fair treatment, regardless of their social standing or financial status.

"In contrast with this courts, the peoples' courts as set up in 1945 and 1947 were anything but true and fair. The judges were unqualified appointees who represented the government and the policies of the Communist Party. They were biased and unfair.

"Regarding the so-called war criminals, I am sure that there were few among them who deserved their sentences, but on the other hand there were many sentences that were unjust. In particular, I am thinking now of Szalassy and company. He and his henchmen were actually guilty, but I do not consider that Imredy, for instance, did deserve the sentence he got."

C. "Regarding the part played by the Hungarian army during the revolution, I can only say that I saw several members of the Hungarian army forces in their uniforms fighting with the Freedom Fighters. But I do not know of the circumstances under which this happened. Of course, we were not surprised by the army's actions during the revolution, because everybody was expected to turn against the Russians. It was very unfortunate, however, that the resistance was not organized within the army.

"It is very easy to find a reason why the Hungarian army acted as it did, because after all the members of the Hungarian armed forces were primarily Hungarians and Hungarian citizens who resented serving ~~under~~ under foreign command, and who also knew the mistakes and the failures of the regime perfectly well. The regime tried to kill the national feelings of these youngsters by putting them into Russian uniforms and also giving them Soviet type training."

The next paragraph regarding service in the Hungarian army cannot be applied.

D. In reference to the Russian army troops in Hungary, respondent had the following to say:

"I do not believe that the Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848. After all, don't forget more than a hundred years have passed since. The prejudice against the Russian army and the hatred of the Hungarian nation towards them is due only to the behavior of the Russian troops in 1944 and 1945, and the years that followed. After all, it was due only to the presence of the Soviet troops that the Russians and the Communist Party could remain in power in Hungary. The moment the Russian troops left Hungary, the Communist Party wouldn't have a leg to stand on.

"Before the Russians actually entered Hungary, everybody knew what was coming. We didn't expect anything good. Maybe there were a few who were expecting "liberation" but every normal person knew that after the Nazi terror now came the Red terror. Since I had had enough experiences with the Russian occupation army in 1945 and after, I have a very bad opinion of the occupation army, as you may well imagine. My attitude toward the Russian army in Hungary has not changed of course. The only good thing I can say about them is that maybe during their long stay in Hungary they became a little bit more civilized, at least those troops which remained.

As to the behavior of Russian soldiers during the revolution from October 23rd until after November 4th, respondent said the following:

"From what I saw, the Russians displayed rather a passive attitude during the revolution, and even when the hostile crowd shouted "Russky, go home!" they never used their weapons against them. I heard of several cases in which the Russian soldiers surrendered their arms. However, I didn't see this myself."

E. "This is true, that local government officials now and then were willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble, especially those who were of the old school, and the newer ones who were decent and kind hearted people. These people acted on the principle that the new Communist rules are illegal anyway."

F. "Of course, you could always get around some of the regulations, at least to a certain extent, if you had connections or you had someone who helped you along. The best connections, of course, were always on the Party line.

"Bribery was very often accepted, and the Housing Authority was well known for this. I also heard that at some courts you could get better treatment if you bribed certain people. Then, the income tax authorities and the different controllers of the regime were always open for bribes.

"Officials caught accepting bribes were of course arrested and put into prison, unless they could bribe the judge."

G. "I cannot say anything about the efficiency of the secret police, army leadership, Russian army leadership, bureaucracy administration, etc."



XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "There is no doubt about it; Hungary will revert to the former Rakosi methods, and Kadar will go back to the old Stalin line. The Russians, on the otherhand, will try to seal off Hungary from the West even more than before. I do not believe that the Russians will ever change their policy.

"Nothing at all, short of independence, is acceptable as a compromise in Hungary, because that wouldn't bring about a radical solution. As long as Hungary remains within the Soviet orbit, nothing can be done. I personally would like to see an independent and neutral Hungary, but this can only be brought about if the Russian troops leave Hungary, and free elections can be held there.

"I am quite sure that my hopes could be realized if the Western world would finally decide to enforce a complete economic blockade against the Russians. I am sure that such an economic blockade would not lead to a world war."

B. "Regarding our ideas during the last 8 or 10 years, as to what Hungary's future will be, the majority of the people and myself included always hoped for Western assistance. We even thought of the possibility of a war, because ~~otherwise~~ otherwise Hungary wouldn't have been able to regain her independence. On the other hand, very often it occurred to me that if things continue as they do now, Hungary will be completely absorbed in the Soviet Union in ten years or so, as a member of the Soviet Union. After all, don't forget the Russians are within the Carpathian Mountains."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "Independent Hungary I would like to be a bourgeois democracy, not what they call now people's democracy. I would like to see a democracy in Hungary that is similar to the one in Switzerland and Austria."

B. "As to the economic system that ought to be emphasized in Hungary, I believe Hungary should revert to agriculture, because the country is predestined for this. We do not have enough raw materials for our heavy industries."

"Hungary could be entirely self supporting in agricultural products, and also we could easily have a very good export in fruit, for instance; also, in cattle, meat, etc.

"As to the industries, the light industries in Hungary should be developed. I must mention here the precision instruments industry, for instance, then optical industry, textile, in which Hungary is extremely good.

"If the Communist regime were overthrown, I believe that the national enterprises should remain in the next hands of the state, but the former owners should be ~~awarded damages~~ awarded damages. The small commercial enterprises and trade enterprises should be returned to their rightful owners. I also strongly advocate that land should be returned to the people who owned it before.

"The state, however, should keep the public utilities, and the heavy industries further; also, everything that is connected with transportation, mining, etc. However, I think it would be a good idea for the state to issue bonds and shares which every citizen of the country could purchase, and thus really and finally have a word to say in the management of these companies. Regarding the state farms, the ones which formerly also belonged to the state, and were farms for experimenting and for raising export cattle or horses, etc., like the famous state farms at Mezohegyes and Babolna, which were so famous for their stud farms, should remain in the hands of the state. The cooperatives should by all means be dissolved.

"Since I object to any kind of restriction, I do not believe that the government of any free country should set a maximum limit to the amount of land or other assets any person may own. I believe it would be much better to tax the land progressively, so if someone has much land, he pays much more taxes.

"Regarding the kind of government I would like to see in an independent Hungary, there is no doubt about the one I would prefer. It is the government that gives me the freedom rights, because in a free country everybody can find work, and jobs according to his liking.

"There wouldn't be any need to outlaw the Communist Party

in an independent Hungary, because the Communist Party would fall to pieces anyway, and nobody would want to belong to the Party anymore."

G. "I would like to see an independent Hungary like Austria, one which would preserve a neutral status.

"Such a neutral country of course couldn't have any military relations with the U.S.S.R., East Europe, the rest of Europe, or the U.S.A. I would like to see trade relations with all the countries, even including Russia, but I would not like to have any cultural relations with Russia. I would like to have them with all the other countries in the world."

XRespondent has read somewhere, sometime, about the Federation of Danubian states, but could not give any further information on this. However, he thought the idea is good, if the Federation is of a completely commercial and trade nature, and has nothing to do with any kind of military alliance.

However, he would like to see only Austria and Hungary included in this Federation.

Respondent did not find the present boundaries of Hungary acceptable. He would like to see a territorial adjustment of Hungary's borders which should be brought about by plebiscite, and controlled by international authorities. Respondent is concerned over the fate of the Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary, because "After all, as he said, they are Hungarians too, and we have known what it means to live under foreign rule."

#### XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent heard about the 20th Party Congress and Krushchev's secret speech even before the revolution. He first heard it through the foreign radio. Later on the Hungarian papers and radios also commented on it.

Respondent thought that Krushchev's speech was against the ideology of Party bigwigs, especially Stalin's, and also Krushchev in his speech disclosed freely the mistakes and faults of the regime. Respondent thought that this came about because in Russia, too, there is a slow ferment going on which maybe, given time, could bring about a change within Russia.

Respondent has heard about Senator McCarthy, and what he heard he read or got from the Hungarian press. According to the Hungarian newspapers, McCarthy was a strongly rightist man who persecuted Communism, democracy and the Left side.

Respondent had not heard about Peron.

Regarding Rakosi's private life, respondent said that they heard very little about his private activities. This simply was not a topic in Hungary. However, everybody knew that he lived in great luxury, and like a prince. It was also known that his wife was a Mongolian woman.

B. "During the last ten years, my main source of information was the foreign radio broadcasts. I also read Hungarian papers now and then. Of these two sources, the most important to me was of course the foreign radio broadcasts, because the Hungarian press was directed and slanted and also there was censorship."

C. "I did get news by word of mouth, and this sometimes even from Party functionaries at the place where I worked. They slipped up sometimes. The news you got by word of mouth depended entirely upon whom you received it from. Some were always less reliable than the others, of course."

D. Before and during the war, respondent read all the daily papers, right and left wing, also many picture magazines and books, mostly translations from English and French or German, and also by Hungarian authors. He read the so-called light literature and fiction.

During the Communist regime in Hungary he also read the papers, whichever he could get hold of, and quite ~~sketchy~~ detailed at that.

Respondent did not put much trust in the papers because these were centrally oriented and slanted. All articles were carried in the same way by the papers, therefore all areas of information were mistrusted by him. Respondent also said that he very often read the papers only to help him get an idea of what happened by reading between the lines.

Respondent never read any publications from the U.S.S.R. or any other satellite nations. Of illegal publications he only saw a few pamphlets which were calling the Hungarian workers to sabotage. Books that were proscribed were usually not surrendered by people, but kept in their possession and lent out to several friends.

## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. According to respondent, there is a possibility of change within Russia. In his view, the Russian people are not happy and dislike the terror and the constant control. Also, their lives seem to be pretty hopeless and without much aim. Respondent is of the opinion that little by little the Russian regime will also be forced to give more and more to the people in order to make their living standard better. But, in the end, according to respondent, it will be arms that will decide the fate of Russia also.

When he asked what he thought would be the result if Russia had free elections, respondent said: "I do not believe that the Russian people have grown up and are mature enough to judge what is good for them and what is not. I do not think that they would understand or know for whom to vote. If, for instance, several parties were formed in Russia, I am sure they wouldn't know which party to vote for. After all, even in the old times, during the Czars, they were not allowed to vote the way they wanted to.

"In my opinion, the top leaders of Russia collectively want to achieve world Bolshevism. As individuals, they are either contaminated by wrong ideologies or they are megalomaniacs, and as such they wish to maintain their positions as long as possible.

"Regarding the differences between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian Communist leaders, I see it like this: The power is in the hands of the Russian leaders, and the Hungarian Communists are only servile puppets."

B. The relative popularity in Hungary of other nations of Eastern Europe was put by respondent as follows. "First I believe Bulgaria is very popular in Hungary because the Bulgarians are an industrious people, and Hungary never had any frictions with them. Then, second most popular is Poland, because we had so much in common during the long years of history. We even had the same king once upon a time. The people there are Catholics and they have suffered just as badly as we under the Soviet rule. Then comes Eastern Germany, because this country could be instrumental in bringing about the fall of the Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, if at a given moment they would revolt. In my mind I can't even look upon Eastern Germany as a separate country because, after all, they belong to Western Germany and it is only due to the Russian occupation that they act as they do.

Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are unpopular in Hungary.

These preferences and dislikes, of course, refer always to the nations.

"If free elections were held in these countries, I am sure that all countries would ~~reject~~ reject Communism, maybe Yugoslavia to a lesser extent.

XRegarding the living standards, respondent gave the following order: The highest living standard, according to him, is in Eastern Germany, then Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria comes last.

C. On the situation in Poland, respondent held the following opinion:

"The situation in Poland is a development for the better, maybe. It is a little bit similar to Tito's Yugoslavia, and I think that Gomulka's policy is a step in the right direction.

"In my opinion, Gomulka's position depends entirely on what he can achieve in the field of national economy.

"In my opinion, the events in Poland had a great effect on the events in Hungary, because they encouraged people to a very great extent.

XRespondent did not hear of any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. Of the Poznan riots, however, they had heard via Hungarian newspapers and the radio.

Respondent would not have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines. He said: "At that time we were so sure that the Hungarian revolution would succeed that nobody even thought of a Polish type of solution. On the other hand, if I think back now, maybe we could have avoided the blood bath and all the unnecessary sacrifices, since Hungary was left in the ditch, but who could have known that at that time?"

D. Regarding Tito, respondent held the following views: "I believe that Tito was indeed the originator of National Communism, and I have some respect for him that he dared to break the ties with the Soviet bloc. On the other hand, I believe him to be a fence straddler and an opportunist.

"His relations with the other European nations, just because he has broken his ties with the Soviet Union, weren't very good. However, he was again on more friendly terms with Russia lately, and from the West he always accepts the economic and military aids he needs. But at the same time, he is giving the glad eye to the Soviet Union also. Tito's attitude toward the Hungarian revolution was quite typical of him. In the beginning, he blamed the Russians, and then later on approved of their attitude.

"On the whole, I can say that I ~~disapprove~~ disapprove of any sort of Communism, whether it is National, International or Soviet."

Regarding Tito's popularity in Yugoslavia, respondent said: "I believe that he is quite popular, and especially for his activities during the Second World War. As far as I know, the internal conditions in Yugoslavia as compared with Hungary's are better. There is more personal freedom. However, I hear that economically, troubles are brewing. The difference is that in Yugoslavia Tito is using other ways and means to enforce Communism than the Russians are using."

E. Regarding the problem of the Middle East, respondent disapproved of the Anglo-French invasion, and of the Israeli invasion as well. He also was of the opinion that Egypt had no right to nationalize the Canal, the more so since, as he put it, "I am against all nationalization." Besides, he should have reimbursed the shareholders of the Canal, but I am sure that he didn't do this.

"Events in Egypt had influenced the events in Hungary tremendously, because they happened simultaneously, and at that time the big powers were tied down by the events of Suez, and ~~xxx~~ couldn't intervene effectively for Hungary."

F. In respondent's opinion, the living standards in West Germany are the highest in history, and second to the living standards in the U.S.A.

"I most emphatically deny that the Germans would be dangerous and ~~x~~ might start another war. Only in the event of the unification of Eastern and Western Germany could ~~xxxxxxxx~~ there arise a possibility that the Germans would start a war, but this then only against Russia; nobody else.

"The West German rearmament is a necessity, and Germany must be bombed in order to be able to defend the West."

Respondent did not know how strong the German army was or how long the term of service in the West German army is.

When asked to compare the German occupation army and the Russian, respondent said:

"The difference ~~x~~ can be put like this. The Russians came like a horde of animals, looting, raving all over the country, and taking away even state property in Hungary. The German army, on the other hand, has always strictly observed the rules.

"The occupation force that was more distasteful to me was the Russian one. The German army as to officers and enlisted men was the better disciplined, and the Russian occupation~~xxxxx~~ army was more unpopular in Hungary than the German one."

G. When asked about NATO, respondent said:

"NATO is a Western alliance which has an army supported by all Western powers and Western countries, in order to defend the



West in case of an attack. I only find that the NATO forces are not strong enough, and not active enough.

"The difference between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO is ~~that~~ this. The Soviet Union is having Russian ~~soldiers~~ soldiers stationed all over the countries that have signed the Warsaw Agreement, and no satellite soldiers are stationed in Russia, so if ever anything happens in a country, it is the Russian troops who have the weapons and who can quell the uprising, as it happened in Hungary. The Warsaw Pact is really nothing else than the justification of a Russian military occupation in the satellite countries.

"I do not know anything about the British Labor Party."

Respondent's impressions of the living standards of various countries were as follows: West Germany has the ~~g~~ highest living standard, followed by Great Britain. Then comes Italy, and respondent said that he doesn't know the living standards in Egypt and Greece, but he was of the opinion that the living standard of the Soviet Union comes last.

H. Regarding the United States and respondent's general impressions about America during his first few months here, they were as follows:

"I was most impressed by the amount of freedom anybody here in the United States can enjoy, personal freedom, etc. Also, I was very astonished to see how the newspapers here can and dare to criticize everybody, and especially the high government officials, or the President of the United States for that matter."

As to the present policy of the United States, respondent was of the opinion that the U.S. foreign policy is much too rigid in the present situation.

He was of the opinion that the U.S. should not give any aid to the present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, etc., unless it can be assured that all aid given will go to the nation and not out to the Soviet Union.

Respondent was of the opinion that the American government should not recognize the present Hungarian government because it is an illegal ~~?~~ government. However, he doesn't see any reason to break off diplomatic and commercial relations with the Hungarian nation.

Respondent was of the opinion that Hungary would like very much to see more Western visitors, and all kinds of visitors for that matter. However, he believed that these visitors must be told before going to Hungary what to expect, what to see and where to go if they want to find out the truth. He thought that the recent emigres would be the best persons to inform them.

People at home, according to respondent, would like to receive Western books and periodicals, and he thought that if the government

would let this printed matter come into Hungary, then it could be sent to anybody, or should be sent to anybody who is interested in it and asks for it. He also thought that people in Hungary would approve of the fact that the recent exiles were associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications.

Respondent knew of the Marshall Plan and its purpose. He said that the Marshall Plan was launched in order to help the war-damaged economically. He thought the plan to be a very wise and good one, and the motives ascribed to the U.S. for ~~starting~~ setting up the Marshall Plan, according to him, were to strengthen the Western countries economically.

Respondent was of the opinion that America became involved in the Korean war in 1950 to put an end to the Soviet expansion in Asia.

I. In reference to the United Nations, respondent said: "I am convinced that the UN finally will share the fate of the League of Nations, and in the long run will not achieve anything ever."

Respondent held the opinion that in the Fall of 1956, had the UN taken a stronger stand and sent UNO troops to Hungary, order could have been restored, and free election under UN control could have been held in Hungary. But of course, according to respondent, the UN has missed the boat.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked to name the greatest living Hungarian, respondent, after long meditation, finally said: "I believe him to be Zoltan Kodaly, and for the reason that through his art and talent, he has made k Hungary known."

B. When asked about his opinion about a number of persons of importance in world affairs, respondent said:

"Imre Nagy is a Communist to my mind."

"Cardinal Mindszenty I respect tremendously. All the charges against him were trumped up by the Soviet Union, and are just Communist propaganda."

"Rajk - He was a Communist also. However, he advocated the break with Moscow, and therefore he had to be put down by the Soviet Union."

Of Gero and Kadar respondent held that both are crooks.

In reference to General Kiraly, respondent said: "I do not know anything about his activities. At the time when there was the greatest need for him in Hungary, he thought it better to kx leave. He belongs to the Communist Party after all."

Of Kis and Kovacs respondent held that both are crooks.

Regarding Miss Kethly, respondent said: "She was an old Social Democrat and respected by that party, but now I believe her to be a senile old woman, and she really should stop interfering in politics. Her political activities should have ended in 1935."

When asked about President Eisenhower, respondent said: "He is a very good soldier, and a very good head of the nation. He is honestly trying to solve the international problems by peaceful means, despite the fact that he is a soldier by profession."

When I asked respondent about his opinion regarding General Hammarskjold, he said: "I hold the same opinion of him as of the United Nations."

Respondent could not say anything about Dulles, Eden or Truman. He said "I know too little about their activities."

Continuing with the other famous, internationally known people, respondent held the following opinion of Mikoyan: "Among the present Russian politicians, this man has maybe the most brains."

Of Nehru, he said: "He is doing well in the interests of India, but internationally I believe him to be a fence straddler. He tries to be on good terms both with the East and the West."

Respondent couldn't give his opinion ~~is~~ regarding Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek.

As to Roosevelt, he said:

"He ~~has~~ committed the very great error of supporting Russia's policy during the war. Without the assistance of America, Russia would never have been able to come beyond the Carpathian Mountains, and thus to Europe. The United States could have won the war in another way too."

Respondent had a very high opinion of Chancellor Adenauer, and pointed out that he is a wonderful statesman who has ~~lifted~~ lifted Western Germany from the rubble and ruin of the war to the top of the world now.

Referring to Stalin, he said: "He is the dictator of all dictators, and in his own way he was a very able man who could keep the whole ~~USSR~~ country, and such a huge country as Russia under his rule. He also made the Sovietk Union's rule extend all over Eastern Europe." Respondent believed Malenkov to be a puppet of Stalin.

In reference to Franco, he said: "He is a very good soldier, and at the time of the Civil War in Spain, he did achieve something for his country, but I do not think that he is a good expert in national economy."

Respondent didn't know anything about Bevan.

Referring to Krushchev, he said: "This ~~is~~ man is the product of the Communist regime, and now he is on the top. He is doing his best in order to deserve this position."

Of Molotov, respondent thought him to have been a close friend of Stalin.

In reference to Ollenaer, he said: "He is the Social Democratic leader in Germany who has great following, but I do not approve of his policy."

Regarding Churchill, respondent said: "This man is the greatest living politician."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Regarding people who escaped from Hungary, respondent gave the following information:

"Those who left Hungary belong mostly to the middle class who had plans for the future, and who couldn't achieve anything under the Communist regime. Then, of course, all those who took part in the revolution and who were afraid of reprisals also left the country. These were mostly the students and the workers. Regarding their age, they were mostly young people and also middle aged ones.

"Those who stayed behind were the ones who did not dare to face the future, who feared danger. Many people feared the language barrier and the economic situation. Then, there were quite a few of those who did not want to leave their homeland who had a family, ill or elderly people whom they didn't want to leave behind.

"My feelings about those who stayed behind can be put like this. Everybody has to decide on his own future, and probably they had their reasons why they stayed behind."

"The people in Hungary do not blame the ones who left. In fact, I believe that they are a little bit envious of us. Of course, they do not dare to write openly about everything, but I know from letters received from home how grateful they are for all the packages and help we can send to them.

"Assuming that people had a chance to come to the West, in case the Russians are still in Hungary and legally they are allowed to leave Hungary, then maybe 30 percent of the population would remain at home."

B. Of the exile organizations and individuals that have been active in the West during the last ten years, respondent heard of the Hungarian National Council and, as to individuals, he heard about Francis Nagy, Mr. Eckhardt, and Msgr. Varga. When handed over the list of ~~xxxx~~ individuals, he had the following remarks to make. Regarding Msgr. Varga, he said that he heard a great deal about him through the Hungarian newspapers in Hungary. They always wrote nasty things about him.

In reference to Francis Nagy, he said: "At the time he was the head of the government he could have protested against the Russian atrocities in Hungary, but when there was danger he just skipped. Therefore, I do not like him."

In reference to Mr. Eckhardt, he said: "As much as I have heard, he is by far the most able politician in exile now who compares to our great statesman Apocny."

Respondent also believed that Social Democratic Imre Sellig and Mr. Fabian both are able and good politicians. In reference to Otto of Hapsburg, respondent was of the opinion that it is mainly the Roman Catholic Church which supports his claims to the Hungarian throne. In respondent's opinion, the kingdom of Hungary is something of the past. Of Admiral Horthy, he said the following:

"He is one of the greatest Hungarians that ever lived. Under his regime, the country which had lost a war was again restored to its former riches. He certainly was not to blame for the war."

In respondent's opinion, all the politicians in exile did try to do something for Hungary. "The will was there, but the means were lacking" as he said.

C. Respondent has not met any person who returned to Hungary later on, after he had escaped. In reference to the Communist redefection campaign, he said this was only propoganda on the part of the Communist Party, and as far as he knew, only very few people did go back in fact.

D. In respondent's opinion, people who have stayed back in Hungary would like to know most about the exiles how they live, what sort of life they lead, how they are faring, what kind of jobs they have, and altogether about the living standard and the political situation here.

In respondent's opinion, the emigres on the other hand ought to write back home that the start here is extremely difficult, but you are given every chance to make good. Also, the new emigres ought to inform people back home about the extremely high living standard here in the U.S. In respondent's opinion, the exiles should accept any kind of work they receive here, and work at this decently. Also, he thinks it extremely important to learn the language as soon as possible, and to make as many American friends as possible, in order to be able to inform them about the situation back home.

This is what respondent would also do personally:

Whether or not he would like to join an exile organization, he said: "Only an organization that embraces all Hungarian immigrants. It must be a united and closely united association, which would represent the interests of all ~~the~~ Hungarians enrolled.

Regarding the various Hungarian political parties that were active before '48, respondent held the following opinion. He thought that the so-called bourgeois parties were working in the right direction, and in the interest of the Hungarian nation. As long as the Social Democrats were independent, even then he thought ~~they~~ them to be a little bit oinko, for which respondent blamed the leaders, because as he said, the Hungarian working class itself was ~~not~~ never Red.

Respondent was of the opinion that it wasn't necessary at all for parties to be revived during the revolution. He said they were mushrooming hourly and daily. There were so many more important things to be done at that time. He disapproved of the too early revival of the political parties.

E. When asked about his own plans for the future, respondent said that he would like to return to Hungary, but only if Hungary becomes a normal and independent, free country, and no longer belongs to the Russian orbit. Also, of course, if a living could be made in Hungary. If he ever had children, he would like them to learn Hungarian here as well as English.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

When asked whether he listened to foreign radio stations while in Hungary, respondent said:

"Yes. I listened regularly to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and the BBC. I sometimes managed to catch Barcelona and even the Hungarian broadcasts from Moscow. We listened mostly to the Western stations, and of the three mentioned above, to the BBC, and always in the Hungarian broadcasts. I always listened regularly and mostly to the BBC, then to Radio Free Europe. Of course, we always talked to each other, I mean friends and relatives, about what we heard. I always listened to the R radio on my own set, alone with my wife and also in company, with friends and relatives. I also heard about Western broadcasts second hand, from people who thought the way I did, who held the same opinion I did.

"There always was a risk involved in listening to the broadcasts, but nobody cared very much about it. After all, everybody was used to listening to the foreign radio broadcasts with doors and windows closed."

When asked for his reactions to these broadcasts, respondent said:

"We mostly preferred the BBC for the very reason that they gave out the most factual information. They were short and unbiased. ~~They were~~ The quickest, however, in giving out the news, was Radio Free Europe. We only did not like the way they interpreted news. I believe that this could be the fault of the management. There was too much cliché, too much propaganda. Also, they exaggerated too often, which of course greatly biased the people.

"It was easy to judge the accuracy of the radio broadcasts by comparing them with your personal experience.

As to the effect of these broadcasts in Hungary before the revolution, respondent said: "People were greatly encouraged, and became hopeful by listening to the radio broadcasts. During the revolution, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America were encouraging the Hungarians to fight and to put up a resistance, and when, in the end, no help was forthcoming, people turned against the radio and were terribly mad."

When asked whether Radio Free Europe, in particular, helped to incite the Hungarians by holding out promises of Western help, respondent said:

"Yes. This is very true."

"However, I believe that Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary, because after all, this is going to be the only link with the other side of the world. However, I believe that they should give only facts and truth, and they shouldn't exaggerate a thing."



"I believe that news, political and economic, would be useful, and commentaries on the same. Also, anti-Communist propaganda; but in this, the mistakes, the contradictions and the lies of the Communist doctrine should be pointed out.

"Programs about life in Western Europe and life in the U.S. would also be welcome."

B. Respondent saw Radio Free Europe leaflets near the place where he worked at the suburbs of Budapest. He couldn't remember what the text of these leaflets was. He only remembered that the police were ordered to pick up whatever they could find, and then respondent mentioned also that he knew that these leaflets contained anti-Communist propaganda. Respondent was of the opinion that there was risk involved in picking up Free Europe leaflets, and if anybody was caught doing so, he was out in prison. Nevertheless, that did not deter people.

Respondent was of the opinion that these leaflets were good propaganda, and the Free Europe Committee should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary.

In his opinion, these leaflets should disclose the lies of the Hungarian government, and about ~~xxx~~ their activities, should point out the mistakes they are making, and also encourage people.

D. Respondent believed that all Western groups that broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary had the same aim: the fight against Communism, and he thought that these motives are laudable.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Even though respondent had no children, he held very strong views regarding how children should be brought up.

"I believe that it is most important that a child should be taught religion, then that a child should be brought up to a strict moral code. A child must be educated and trained in family life. He must learn to respect his parents and also must learn to love his homeland."

According to respondent, discipline is extremely important. Even though he did not advocate physical punishment, he said that in given cases and occasionally it is very useful.

When asked to mention an instance of how he was disciplined when he was a child, respondent recalled that he was 11 years old and didn't want to study and do his homework. Then his elder brother gave him a good beating.

Among people he knew, they usually punished their children even if they were over 6 years. It was usually the father who punished the children.

Respondent thought that the education and disciplining of children varies greatly for the different social classes. He said: "In the upper classes, it is not so much the parents who bring up their children, but the governesses or teachers at school. In the middle class, the parents educate their children if they can spend much time with them and don't have to work. If a couple, both mother and father, have to go out to work as it happens so frequently in the working class, then of course they are not able to bring up their children very well. The Hungarian peasants teach their children mostly how to work hard, and make them work hard. They also employ physical punishment much more, and at a later age also than others.

"There were terrific changes in the last ten years in this regard, because the authority of the parents and the educators has been annihilated by the regime, more or less. The Communist regime gave, as we say, a horse under the kids, and they were indeed riding high."

As far as respondent could remember, physical punishment in Hungary is abandoned for girls before 14 and 15 years old and for girls between 10 and 12. But, he added, this greatly differed according to families.

Respondent was also of the opinion that punishment in general is abandoned about the same age. "But by all means," he said, "it is always abandoned the moment a child becomes a breadwinner."

He also thought that this does vary according to social classes.

"Communism brought about changes in this respect because the parents did not dare to punish their children as frequently. Besides, physical punishment was abolished in schools."

Since respondent finished his schooling before the Communist regime took over, he was unable to give information regarding the ~~discipline~~ changes in discipline during the last ten years.

When asked to tell what characteristics he values most in a friend, respondent said: "I cherish sincerity, confidence and straightforwardness most in a friend. I also want him to be of assistance and to stick to me through good and bad."

"Under Communism there certainly have been changes in friendship, because if one of the friends ~~was~~ politically sided with the Communist regime, then ~~the~~ the friendship was broken off. Also, people make friends more slowly because there is always fear and mistrust. You never know, at least not for a very long time, what the person really is."

THE END