

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is a 49-year old tailor with a very low middle class background. He is short, stout, and slightly hard of hearing. Respondent is very good natured. His education ended with the eighth grade and he is not very intelligent. However, he does have a great deal of common sense. Respondent is very industrious and sometimes worked from 90-95 hours a week. He complains that, in the tailor's shop where he is now employed, the other employees are upset because he works much faster than they. Keeping his meagre existence in Hungary in mind, he is satisfied although he knows that he would earning almost twice as much now if the trade union were willing to admit him.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"It is not a question of what Americans should know now about the Hungarian revolution, but rather what they should have known at the time it broke out. Had they known what the situation in Hungary was at that time and what the Hungarian people wanted, they probably would have come to our assistance - at least sent us arms and ammunition."

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

A. "On October 22, I worked all day in my shop and did not know that something unusual would happen the next day.

"I did not hear about the demonstrations -- only late in the evening on October 23. As usual, I worked all day in my shop. Toward the evening, I left my shop on Dohany Street and went to the Korut which was three blocks away. I saw a large crowd of people there, both young and old, male and female, intellectuals and workers alike. They were singing the Hungarian national anthem and the Kossuth songs. The slogans they shouted were politically entirely indifferent. For example, 'Long live Hungary!' 'Long live Kossuth Lajos!'

"I saw many Hungarian flags, but none with the Communist insignia.

"I was not able to clearly understand what was going on. At first I thought that this was a demonstration staged by the Communists. I realized that trouble was brewing only when I heard Gero's speech over the radio. I became very nervous and did not know what to do. I was unable to concentrate on my work, although my wife scolded me, saying that the customers will be wanting their suits.

"I usually worked until midnight or 1 A.M. On October 23, I was not able to work longer than 8 P.M. I ran to discuss the situation with some of my friends living in the neighborhood. Rumors had already begun to pour in about what was happening in the city. I refused to believe them. My friends and I agreed that Imre Nagy would most probably form a new government and this would be favorable to us. He was the one who permitted us to re-open our shops. We expected a coalition government to be formed. After Stalin's death, the Communists probably realized his mistakes and we thought that they would change their policies entirely.

"The gates of the house were locked at 11 P.M. My wife is a very timid person and she was nervous. For her sake, I stayed at home and we went to bed early -- at 10:30 P.M."

B. "Around midnight on October 23, we woke up to the sound of shooting. Neither the neighbors nor we knew what this shooting was. Both my wife and I were afraid and she was very nervous. Nobody dared to go out in the streets to find out what was happening. Most of us had lived through two world wars and saw and heard enough of shooting.

"There were several people in the house who were working on night shifts. When they came home after dawn they told us what had taken place in the city. After 12 years of Communist rule, it was, at first, very hard to believe that we were free again.

"On October 24, I was unable to work the entire day. I had to go out into the streets and see what was going on. When I saw what was left of Stalin's statue, which had been dragged to the National Theatre (not far from us), I had a feeling that all of this would not end well. I was certain that the Russians would not tolerate this. However, I hoped that the UN and the Western world would interfere on our behalf.

"There was no fighting then in our neighborhood. We could hear the sound of ~~heavy~~ shots and heavy guns from a distance. I saw many people with rifles, sub-machine guns and pistols. Most of them were young men, probably industrial workers or students. They had trucks, cars and motorcycles. They were coming and going -- but we did not really know what was going on in the city.

"On October 25 I saw that young children had also obtained arms. I do not know where these arms came from. It was said that one of the Army barracks in Budapest was supplying the civilians with arms and ammunition.

"We also heard that the civilians had seized the police headquarters on Harsfa Street and had obtained arms there.

"I first heard the term, "Freedom Fighters," on October 24. I do not know anything about how they were organized. There must have been some organization among them because I saw young people on motorcycles coming and going and who were evidently couriers.

"On October 25, the fighting had drifted to our neighborhood. A young boy, not more than 12 years old, threw something at a Russian tank on the corner of Dohany and Sip Streets and the tank exploded. I heard about this from a friend who was there and saw the whole thing happen.

"There is a large hospital on Szovetseg Street, not far from us. Ambulances were coming and going, bringing the wounded and also the dead. They were very busy on the day the shooting in front of the parliament building occurred. A printer who lived in our house had been there and told us in detail about what he had seen. The AVH shot even at the Russian tanks. More than 2,000 people were killed there that day. A 20-year old newspaper reporter, who lived next door, was also killed there. A doctor and an armed Freedom Fighter came to break the news to his grandmother. They also brought his personal belongings. The grandmother had a heart attack when she heard the news."

C. "We first heard the news that the Russians had ordered a cease-fire and were withdrawing their troops from Budapest over the radio. We realized that the Russians had suffered heavy losses in Budapest and that their loss of prestige was even greater. We felt, somehow, that the Russians would not let this go unavenged. But we hoped that the UN and the Western world would force Russia to withdraw because, otherwise, it would mean war.

"Nothing of special interest occurred from the time the Russians withdrew until November 4. I had a few suits to finish for customers. I worked on these but could not concentrate very well on my work. Instructions had been given over the radio

to guard the gates of all buildings. The ~~tenants~~ tenants took turns and stood watch for two hours at a time. I was very curious to know what was going on and volunteered to stand guard in the gateway even when it was not my turn to do so. My wife did not want me to leave home because she was very much afraid. The telephones were operating and I conducted all of my affairs by telephone from home.

"We heard over the radio and from people who were coming to Budapest from the country that the Russians had stopped on the outskirts of the city and were entrenching themselves there. There were also rumors that the Russians were changing their troops in Hungary because the occupation troops, stationed for a long time in Hungary, had proved to be unreliable.

"Early, on November 4, we awoke to the sound of heavy guns. The women and children were immediately evacuated into the air raid shelter of the house. The fighting continued for seven days in our vicinity. There were several large resistance centers in our neighborhood and these offered stiff resistance. The Freedom Fighters occupied a large State department store building on Rakosi Street, a nearby cinema, the police headquarters, and a printing shop. Our neighborhood was heavily damaged by the fighting.

"The Russians surrounded our neighborhood with tanks and the few tanks that the Freedom Fighters were able to destroy, did not count much. We feared that the Russians would wipe out the entire civilian population.

"One night, the Russians burned out the department store where the Freedom Fighters were barricaded. They shelled the entire neighborhood with heavy guns, causing much damage.

"The shooting finally died down and the radio announced when the civilian population was permitted to go out into the streets to buy food, etc.

"When the revolution was suppressed in Budapest, I knew that retaliations and a general tightening of Communist policy could be expected at home. Around November 13-14, we already agreed that it would be best to leave Hungary. This was nothing new to us because since 1948 we had been constantly planning to leave Hungary and agreed that life outside Hungary would be much better for us. I had relatives in the US and had been able to maintain contact with them all along.

"On November 19 at 11 A.M., my brother-in-law came in to see us. He had contacted a truckdriver and had given him five rooms of furniture to take him and his family to the Austrian border (my brother-in-law was a cabinet maker and had very nice furniture). He told us that we could go with him if we wanted to.

"The truck left Budapest three hours later. The driver was a mine employee and had proper papers for his truck. We were stopped two or three times on the way by Russians, but they let us pass.

"At nightfall, on November 20, we reached Sopron. The driver hid us in an abandoned house. Later, a smuggler (male) came who took us over for 2,000 forints and two wristwatches. There were 16 of us, including two police men who we picked up on the road."

D. "Despite the heavy losses that Hungary suffered during the revolution, she succeeded in considerably weakening the Soviet power in Europe and has created great unpopularity for Communism everywhere in the world."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE
REVOLUTION

A. "We knew that the West was unable to send us troops because that would have meant war. But we hoped that the Western world, especially the US, would have sent us arms and ammunition. Had we had the arms and the military equipment, the Hungarian revolution would have ended differently."

B. "I expected the West to help us because the Western world is opposed to Communism. It is in the interests of the Western world to abolish Communism and to curb its expansion."

C. "I did not have any contact with any foreigners before my escape to Austria."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "My father had been a bank runner and died in 1922. I was only 14 years old at that time. I had two brothers and one sister. We lived simply but fairly well. At one time we were even able to keep a maid. My wife's mother was a building superintendent. My father-in-law was a disabled veteran of World War I.

"My mother only completed six years of grade school. My father's education was equivalent to the eighth grade."

B. "Under the Communist regime there were only two classes -- the Communist upper class and the working class. The Communist upper class consists of top Party and government officials, AVH, and army officers. They are people who have much to lose if Communism is overthrown in Hungary.

"The second large class is the working class. The industrial workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia belong to this class. The intelligentsia also includes business men, tradesmen, artisans. This would be the equivalent of the middle class in the pre-war years.

"I have had contact with practically all classes and groups in Hungary.

"I think that the industrial workers were very poorly paid, worked much and were distrustful of every one. They were always in fear of losing their jobs and were envious of others.

"The Hungarian peasantry was very much embittered because of farm collectivization. They are very much attached to their land. If their land is returned to them, they will be most happy.

"The intelligentsia, and in general, the middle class, worked because they had to live. Their future seemed very hopeless. They lived fairly

well and had been happy in the past; now they lived in constant fear. I think this class was the hardest hit by Communism in Hungary.

"I consider myself to be a member of the middle class.

"In my opinion, the Hungarian peasantry got along well, both with the industrial workers and the intelligentsia or middle class.

"The industrial workers disapproved of the farm collectivization and realized that the future of Hungary would depend entirely on the attitude and conduct of the Hungarian peasantry. The industrial workers also valued the role of the middle class and the intelligentsia and got along well with them.

in

"The intelligentsia ~~and~~ the middle class realized its own importance in society but was democratic in its mentality and got along well with the other two classes.

"I did not notice any changes in the attitude of the various groups during the ten years of Communism."

C. "From 1949 until 1953, I was compelled to give up my tailor shop and to join a co-operative. Here I was able to experience that talent and know-how did not matter much with respect to one's chances of getting ahead. The most important factors in this were political views and class origin. A person who had a big mouth was able to get ahead extremely well if he was a Party member and had the proper class origin. The others who had skill but ~~who were not~~ good cadres had to do the work while the others reaped the profits and the advantages.

did not have

"A slight change in this respect occurred during the first Imre Nagy government. At that time, more care

was taken not to send shoemakers to bakery shops and bakers to shoemaker shops. Class origin and Party membership were not so important. The only political requirement was that the person would not be an enemy of the working class.

"As an individual, the person most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary is a careerist. He is willing to get ahead on the backs and shoulders of others."

D. "In Hungary, the group that got much more from society than it deserved was the Communist upper-class. The members of this class lived extremely well. They had to be reliable Communists. Perhaps a few talented scientists, artists, and actors also lived extremely well. They deserved to be rewarded for their talent but, comparatively, they received much more than their counterparts in other societies. Such talents were valued regardless of their Party membership or political views. But, as soon as this was possible, they were replaced by Communist cadres."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "During the past ten years, the family ties in our family became much more loosened than before. I had been in partnership with my ~~my~~ brother, but we were forced to set up separate shops because, otherwise, our taxes would have been too high. My sister, who had been working for me, was forced to look for another job. When I worked for the tailors' co-operative, I was forced to remain overtime almost every night for political discussions, etc. I would come home late and my wife would quarrel with me. She was very jealous and suspected that I had been running around with women. My wife was also working as a saleswoman in a Budapest department store. We had no children.

"However, my family life was still much better than that of other Hungarians. Families practically fell apart. The husband would be working on a night shift, the wife on a day shift or, vice-versa. They would see very little of each other. As a result, extra-marital sexual relations and divorces were more numerous. The morals were also deplorable. Such slogans as, 'To bear children is the duty of a woman and an honor for a girl,' were displayed. Fifteen-year old boys would have affairs with 13-year old girls. Since both parents would be working, they would have ~~no~~ no time to supervise the activities of their children. The language the young people used was very deplorable.

"Our family fell apart in the sense that I was unable to work together with my brother and my sister as before. However, in feeling, we were closer to each other. We never had reason to fear each other. This was probably more common in families where there were children.

"I think that the first type of family was more common after 1948. The family members grew apart and the children became drawn away from the parents. This was most typical of Hungarian families during Communism.

"The Hungarian Communists attempted to indoctrinate the children. The children were taught neither to obey nor respect their parents should the parents be enemies of the people. There were cases where children informed on their parents and had them arrested. Few very families were able to bring up their children in the same way as before the war.

"The Communist education and indoctrination of the children did not affect us because we did not have any children."

B. "In courtships, the young people never requested the permission of their parents, nor listened to their advice. They met each other at their places of work or at dances, parties, picnics, which were frequently staged by the factories and youth organizations. The young people were inclined to get married at an earlier age than before and they considered marriages less seriously. Sometimes, marriages did not last more than a month. Divorces were numerous. Extra-marital sexual relations, before and after marriage, were frequent. It was not difficult to get a girl or a woman.

"All of these changes can be attributed to the Communist policy of emancipating youth and also to the fact that the parents had less time for their children. The system of co-education also enabled the young people of the opposite sexes to be together more than before.

"Prostitution was officially abolished in Hungary. However, there was large-scale secret prostitution. Police raids yielded a large number of girls and women who were willing to give themselves to anyone for money, clothes, a supper, a theatre ticket, or a good time. The secret prostitution was often caused by loose morals, but very often, a girl or woman was driven to this by hunger or by her inability to buy herself clothes from her pay.

"I do not know whether Communists have more or less inhibitions in connection with their sexual life. However, I do know that most of the top Communists kept girlfriends. On one occasion, two employees of the Hungarian Radio were gossiping about the sexual affairs of the Communist mayor of Budapest. Just by accident, the room in which they were talking was switched on and every one in Hungary heard about the affairs of the mayor. Nothing happened to the mayor but the two employees were discharged."

C. "Many of my friends and acquaintances had joined the Communist Party after 1948. There was no change in our relations because none of them were Communists by conviction. They joined the Party only in order to get ahead.

"However, if in such cases a friendship ceases, it would probably be terminated by the Communist friend. It was not advisable for him to be seen in the company of class enemies.

"It was very difficult to continue a friendship under an agreement where politics would not be mixed into it. Politics were mixed into everything in Hungary. Even when one spoke about the weather, politics were brought into the conversation."

D. "By juvenile delinquency, I mean common crimes committed by young people. I think that juvenile delinquency increased under Communism. Crimes committed against 'peoples' property' were punished very severely. For example, ~~extortion~~ an employee of a tailor's co-operative who economized on thread and saved several spools and sold them to a tailor friend, received seven years' punishment for this act. At the same time, in the next court room, a young boy was sentenced to only five years imprisonment for murdering and robbing his father.

"I have not heard about hooligans, only about the jampecs. The jampecs were young people, usually from 15, 16 to 22 years of age. They imitated

American fashions and liked American dances. At one time they received much criticism in the Communist press. The jampecs behaved the way they did because, in a certain sense, it was opposition to Communism and also because it was prohibited. The forbidden fruit always tastes better.

"The behavior of the young people was often regarded with disfavor by their elders. Very often the parents did not like what their children were doing but could do nothing against it."

VII. RELIGION

A. "From 1949 to 1953, one was afraid of being seen in church. If one wanted to go to church, it was advisable to go to another section or district of Budapest where one was not known. If one was seen going to church, he was immediately termed a 'clerical reactionist' and 'unreliable.' This often would mean that one would lose his job. Many people did not dare to get married in church. Where only the civil ceremony was performed, the couple would often have a sense of inadequacy and devise some way of getting married in church secretly.

"The Catholic Church was the hardest hit by Communism in Hungary. This can be explained by the fact that the Catholic Church is the largest and often, the strongest opposition against Communism.

"I think that religion was a bulwark against Communism in Hungary. Religion and faith in God are incompatible with Marxism."

B. "My parents were neolog Jews. There were much more religious than I am. I go to the synagogue only twice a year on the death anniversary of my parents. I do not know Hebrew and do not know any Jewish prayers.

"I think that the average person in Hungary was less religious than I am."

C. "The ideal relations between Church and State are co-operation and non-interference. Churches should be allowed to exercise censorship over books, plays, and cinemas. But this censorship should apply only to the church members and not to the public in general.

"The church schools and educational institutions should be restored to the churches. I do not think that the churches should take an active part in politics."

D. "Only the Jews who were not Communists were hurt by Communism. The Communist Jews were not affected. This was only seemingly so because there is anti-Semitism even in the Soviet Union.

"The Communist government nationalized Jewish church institutions and took away the money of Jewish organizations and kept them under the same tight control as other religions.

"The Jews in Hungary were more in favor of Communism than the Christians. They feared that the end of the Communist regime would result in fascism which would bring pogroms. For this reason, they thought that it would be better to remain Communist.

"Most of the Jews were businessmen, merchants, or industrialists. When commerce and industry were nationalized, they were affected materially. The Jews did not want the return of the Horthy regime. They would ~~preferred~~ have preferred the Austro-Hungarian Empire which existed before World War I.

"The Jews were not in favor of Communism. They only made a compromise with it. Any Jew who was considered a Communist by conviction was considered to be a fool by the other Jews.

"Many Jews were members of the Hungarian Communist Party. Their average, perhaps, does not exceed the average of Christians in the Party.

"During the revolution I had met with no Jew who was not glad that the revolution had broken out. They were only anxious lest the revolution turn into anti-Semitic pogroms. When the Imre Nagy government was formed, many Jews immediately opened their stores and shops. This proves that they had confidence in the Imre Nagy government.

"Many of the young Jews took part in the fighting. The son of a close friend of mine was seriously wounded during the revolution. He fled from the hospital, although he was seriously wounded, when Russians and interpreters came to question the patients in the hospital.

51-M
H

VII/20

"I think it is an exaggeration to say that the Hungarian Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary. They are only afraid of pogroms and Auschwitz. The concern of the Jews can be explained by the fact that most of the Hungarian top Communists were persons who had been born Jews. We never liked to see any Jew in a top political ~~position~~ role."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "By Hungarian youth we mean the young people from 17, 18 to 28 years of age."

B. "The Hungarian youth played an important part in the revolution. The young people were the very soul of the whole movement. The Communist regime favored them. Nevertheless, they were the first ones to take arms against the Communists. They probably saw very well how miserable a life their parents were forced to lead.

"The youth was forced to take the lead in the revolution and not the elder generations because the people who had lived through two world wars were tired, insensible and had lost hope. Youth, in general, is always most enthusiastic.

"During the revolution, the older people were very enthusiastic and approved of the actions of the youth. Only a few people who lived well and were afraid that with the fall of the Communist regime their favorable positions would cease, were against the young people. On the whole, the older people approved of what the young people were doing."

C. (Not applicable because respondent has no children.)

D. "It is difficult to say what youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination was. Seemingly, many of the young people were affected by Communist indoctrination. However, it was difficult to tell what was sincere and what was make-believe. The revolution finally proved that indoctrination had failed and that the Hungarian youth had rejected Communism.

"Communist indoctrination failed because the youth received a compulsory overdose of it. The more seminars they were forced to attend, the more convinced they became that Communism was a fraud.

"Seemingly, at one time or another, all social classes and groups were affected by the Communist indoctrination of youth. However, the young people never really sympathized with Communism, despite Communist attempts to gain their favor."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "I was dissatisfied with the lies one read in the paper. The propaganda in connection with work competition was irritating. You saw politics everywhere you went.

"I had much trouble with taxes. When I thought that I had earned 2,000 forints, it turned out that I had to pay 3,000 in taxes. Another source of constant irritation was the fear in which we lived. You never knew when you would be arrested on false charges only because somebody coveted your home."

B. "Other people complained about low wages and the general poverty in which they lived. Every one was ragged. Clothes were a very difficult problem to solve."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "In 1945, I was freed from a German concentration camp and I had to start life anew. I opened my tailor shop and started to work. Until 1948-49, I lived well and was always able to buy myself something. When the lean years of Communism came, I was always forced to sell gradually what I had acquired in the first post-war years.

"Our food was not too good. My wife complained bitterly that she had to stand in line for hours to buy a few eggs. We were not able to afford meat more than once or twice a week. Our meals consisted mostly of coffee, bread, beans, potatoes and other vegetables. We did not have pastry or cake very often. The food we ate cannot be compared at all with the food we are eating now.

"Clothes were the less difficult problem for us. I am a tailor and was able to buy left-over textiles at a comparatively low price. I made all of my own clothes and most of my wife's clothing.

"Our housing was satisfactory. We had two rooms. One of these rooms was my work shop.

"It was a luxury to buy oranges at 36 forints a kilogram, or chocolates at 20 forints for four ounces. Such luxuries we could only afford once or twice a year. It was also a luxury to buy a pair of crepe-soled shoes made to order. That would have cost about 800 forints. That was something I could never afford in Hungary. We were never able to go away for a vacation. Before the war, we spent every summer on Lake Balaton.

"Food problems caused us the most difficulty.

"Before 1945 I had a very good shop. Many customers came and I had a large stock of suit materials. I worked a great deal but also earned a great deal. Our pre-war standard of living cannot be compared with what it was like after the war.

"From 1948 until 1956 our standard of living was equally low. There was a slight improvement in 1953. After that, our taxation was more tolerable. Our standard of living was the lowest in 1949-52.

"From all of our acquaintances, one friend probably lived better than anyone else I knew. He worked in a factory and only earned 1,000 forints a month. At the same time, he spent from three to five thousand forints. He had a three-room well furnished apartment and his wife did not work. They had one child. He could afford a motorcycle. They spent much time on Lake Balaton. Later, I found out that this man was a member of the black market ring selling Doxa watches which had been smuggled into Hungary.

"The extremely low standard of living in Hungary was caused by the labor competitions and low production norms. The workers earned practically nothing."

B. "In 1956 my average monthly income was 1,500 forints. I paid 18 forints a month in trade union dues; the compulsory government loans amounted to only 300 forints which had to be paid in four monthly installments. I did not receive any premium or extra pay and I had no secondary source of income. Until 1953, my wife was also employed as a sales woman in a department store. For reasons of health, she was forced to give up her job.

"My income increased in 1953 when I left the tailor's co-operative and opened a shop of my own."

C. "We did most of our purchasing in the Kozert food stores. Not everything was obtainable in the private stores which operated after 1953. The private stores were able to sell only fruits and vegetables. They were not able to sell eggs, lemons, sugar, flour, etc.

"We did not buy any foodstuffs on the open markets.

"There was a considerable difference in price in the Kozert stores versus privately owned stores.

The Lozert stores were able to sell for much less than the private stores. However, the merchandise in the private stores was always better, even if the price was somehow higher. There was an inclination on the part of the public to buy in the private stores whatever was obtainable there.

"I do not know exactly what the price differences were nor do I know in what years were these differences greater. Most of the purchasing had been done by my wife.

"Textile goods could be obtained only in government stores. The same applies to ready-made shoes, hosiery, shirts, and other apparel. From year to year, the quality of these goods was always declining.

"It very often happened that certain articles which were needed in the villages were available only in the city and vice versa. This was not always the result of bureaucracy. Sometimes, it was done intentionally. Had all of these goods been sent to the places where they were required, they would have been an acute shortage in them. I was told this by a friend who was working in the Ministry of Commerce.

"There was great difficulty in getting spare parts. From time to time, there were shortages in foodstuffs. The better quality goods were always much more difficult to get. There was never any shortage in so-called 'type goods.' But sometimes, even toilet paper was hard to get.

"Not much was heard about black market operations because they were dangerous. Black market operations were conducted in secret among good friends and acquaintances. In general, the black market prices were lower than the regular retail prices. For example, one was able to buy a Doxa wrist watch for 700-800 forints. This same watch would cost 1,200 forints in a jewelry store.

"I do not think that salesmen or store keepers ever dared to ask a higher price for goods which were difficult to get. There were, however, under the counter deals when and if the customers were considered reliable by the store keeper or salesman. For example, at one time it was very difficult to get lining material. I had a friend who was a salesman in a textile store. He gave me lining material regularly. I paid him an extra 10 forints per yard.

"Black market operations were very dangerous. If one was caught, one was liable to be sentenced from five to 15 years' imprisonment."

D. "I usually started working at 7 A.M. and worked until midnight. I took time out only for lunch and supper. I worked from 90 to 95 hours a week. I like my trade very much. Under normal conditions, it is very profitable. I worked entirely at home, keeping only one apprentice. Hungarian tailors are regarded as good craftsmen everywhere in the world.

"Although I had been self-employed since 1953, I was a member of the Hungarian Socialized Medical Service. I received free medical care and had only to pay 15 per cent of the medicine bill. I was satisfied with the medical service.

"I never took part in the Hungarian trade union vacation program.

"At one time, pensions paid by the government were extremely low. I have a 55-year old sister who, before 1953, received only 200 forints per month pension. After the first Imre Nagy government, she received 550 forints a month."

E. "In Communist Hungary, I would prefer to live in Budapest and not in any provincial town or in the villages. I am bound to Budapest by my trade. I

think that the agricultural workers had a better diet than the city workers. Life in the country was generally cheaper than in the city. However, it cannot be said in general that the standard of living was higher in the country than in the city. This varied according to districts.

"Politically, it was probably easier to live in the villages during the Communist regime in Hungary. People were less conspicuous in the villages than in the cities.

"When collectivization of farms was first introduced in Hungary, I disapproved of it. I was certain it would bring no good. ~~Everything was different~~ I was certain that prices would go up and we would be compelled to work more in order to live.

"My present opinion of collectivization of farms ~~has not changed~~ remains the same.

"I think that richer peasants, the kulaks, protested more against the collectivization of farmlands than the poor peasants or the landless agricultural workers.

"I have not heard about farm co-operatives being dissolved.

"In an independent Hungary, I favor free agriculture and the free marketing of agricultural crops."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "Before 1948 I was not much interested in politics. This is something I do not know much about and therefore, I left this to others who were better educated than I am.

"After World War II, in 1945, I joined the Social Democratic Party. I did not know much about the program of the Social Democratic Party but it seemed better than the Communist Party. I have no political views -- all I want is to be let alone and allowed to make a living.

"In 1918-19, Communism in Hungary did not differ much from the Rakosi regime. Bela Kun was the same kind of gangster that Rakosi is.

"During World War II, we did not know that the underground movement was Communist. We thought that it was Social Democratic.

"After World War II, I disliked Communism from the very beginning. I was freed from a German concentration camp by Russian soldiers in 1945. When they called me a bourgeois because I had an apartment of my own, I immediately realized that Communism was not for me.

"My opinion of the Hungarian Communist Party changed considerably after 1948. I did not think that they were such scoundrels as they proved themselves to be."

B. "No honest and intelligent person can ever be a Communist.-- that is, a Communist by conviction. There are people who join the Party because they want to get ahead or because they are afraid of losing their jobs. There are some misled, well-meaning people in the Party but there are also many ~~misleading~~ evil-faced Party members. The judge would give them ten years by just looking at them.

laughed

"I have had contacts with all sorts of Party members during the three years I was a member of the tailors' co-operative. It is my opinion that even the most loud-mouthed Communists secretly at Communism and did not believe in it. For example, Tamas Aczel, one of the most caustic Communist writers in Hungary, had been a customer of mine for years. The Communists gave him a villa and a car of his own. He was able to keep a very expensive looking girlfriend and was a manager of a printing enterprise. Nevertheless, in private, he voiced opinions which were the exact opposite of what he wrote for the public.

"Party policies changed constantly during the last eight years. There was an immediate notable change after Stalin's death. A change in policy always reflects the struggle for power within the Kremlin. There were differences of opinion also in the Communist Party in Hungary, namely, between the Rakosi group and Imre Nagy and his followers.

"Party morale, as such, never existed in the Communist Party. The large masses of Party members were entirely indifferent ~~for~~ or secretly against what the Party said. Only during the Rakosi era were they able to express their opinions. When they finally mustered enough courage to speak their minds, it turned out that the Party members who had been most diligently applauding the Party leaders had always disapproved of Party policy.

"I think that the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party are maniacs who crave power. They are entirely puppets who cannot do anything which is contrary to Moscow's wishes. To a certain extent, they are compelled to do what they are doing. Should they hold different opinions, or revolt against Moscow, they are immediately liquidated. Their primary purpose is to strengthen Communism in Hungary and help spread it to all parts of the world. They want to enslave the entire world and to enjoy more power. Their primary aims are power, but all the

advantages of power are also important to them. It is very difficult to separate moral and material advantages. Some of them may have true convictions, but it is difficult to say who they are. I think they are evil people. It is hard to believe that they do not know what they are doing. Whether they have personality or not is indifferent -- their personalities must be suppressed.

"If Hungary is independent, it would be a pity to execute the top Communist leaders. It would be much better to sentence them to life imprisonment and compel them to work under the same treatment that they are giving the prisoners at home."

C. "There has always been resistance against Communism in Hungary. Little is known about the more important forms of resistance. From ~~the~~ time to time ~~there~~ there were show-window trials in which aristocrats, peasants, students, workers, were given stiff sentences for conspiring the overthrow of the Communist government. There probably were many conspiracies which were either not made public or not even uncovered by the AVH.

"Workers in the factories and peasants in the countryside tried to commit acts of sabotage but these were extremely dangerous and suspicious. Very often, the AVH would send agents provocateurs who themselves would start some conspiracy only to get others in trouble.

"However, there was always grumbling and dissatisfaction among the population.

"The Hungarian revolution had proved that these acts of resistance were effective. Without them, resistance would have died out long ago in Hungary.

"Opposition behavior was more intense or more frequent at such times as, for example, when the production norms were increased, prices were raised, or when the compulsory government loans came out.

"I do not know anything about the activities of the Hungarian intellectuals. I have heard about the Petofi Circle only during the revolution."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "Young peasants and workers, and children of reliable Party members were appointed to the AVH. In the apartment building where we lived previously in Budapest, there was an AVH first lieutenant. He was a very sympathetic man. In 1949 he was deprived of his rank and thrown out of the AVH because he concealed the fact that his brother had been a top member of the Hungarian Fascist Party.

"In the apartment house on Dohany Street where we lived at the time of the outbreak of the revolution, there lived an AVH major. He had been a shoemaker in the village of Monor, not far from Budapest. Before the war he was a member of the Social Democratic Party; after the war he came to Budapest and was assigned to the political police. He was a very level-headed man but not very intelligent. His son was also an AVH officer. I believe he held the rank of first lieutenant. The boy's sister and brother-in-law were also AVH officers. The brother-in-law had attended a two-year training course in Moscow and had been assigned to command the AVH force in Győr. During the fighting, only the mother and daughter were at home. They did not dare to leave their ~~xxxxxx~~ apartment. The major and the first lieutenant came home only after the Russians had returned. The brother-in-law, who was the commander of the AVH in Győr, went over to the Freedom Fighters when it seemed that they were winning. When the Russians returned he went back to the AVH.

"I do not know of any AVH officers who had pangs of conscience or who wanted to leave the service. I do know, however, of several cases where people were dismissed from the AVH. Sometimes they were merely transferred to the Blue Police force or some other government job.

"When Hungary regains her independence, every AVH officer, who, according to acceptable evidence had committed atrocities or other acts of injustice, should be sentenced to hard labor and be given the same treatment as the ~~xxxxxx~~ Freedom Fighters are receiving now in Hungary.

"There was an enormous difference between the AVH and the regular police force. I am unable to say to what extent Communism effected the efficiency of the police force. I think that the police force under the Communist regime was not as efficient as during the past regime. There may have been some corruption, especially among the police who handled economic crimes.

"During the revolution, the vast majority of the officers and men in the regular police force sided with the revolution. The Communists had not considered them reliable for years."

B. "I think that the courts in general were just under the Horthy regime. For example, I was able to win a law suit against my wealthy employer when I was only an apprentice.

"The People's Courts were organized in 1945 and operated until 1947. They tried political and war crimes cases. How could they have been just? The lay judges were assigned by the political parties. Many of them had not more than four years of formal education.

"The major war criminals were guilty beyond doubt. However, the other sentences often were too severe."

C. "I know about the conduct of the army during the revolution only from hearsay. I have heard that the army behaved itself very decently and immediately sided with the revolution. I do not know of any differences in the conduct of the various army groups which could be attributed to geographical location, to the ranks of the officers and the enlisted men, or to their class origin. Even among the top army officers ~~there were many who had served under the Horthy regime~~ ~~General Pal Maleter was one of these~~ and sided with the revolution. General Pal Maleter was one of these.

"The fact that some units sided with the revolution while, did not, can be attributed only to the ability

OTHERS

of the Communist officers in maintaining control over the unit.

"I was very much surprised by the conduct of the army. I was certain that it would be loyal to the government.

(The rest of this sub-section is not applicable because respondent had not served in the army at any time.)

D. "What happened in 1848 had been long forgotten by the public in Hungary. The unpopularity of the Russians in Hungary can be attributed only to their conduct in 1944-45.

The first impressions of the Russian Army were very good. However, their subsequent atrocities frightened me. They killed my brother in 1945.

"I have had no contact at all with the Russian occupying forces after the war, before the war, or during the revolution.

"I saw Russian tanks decorated with Russian flags on the day of the Parliament Square incident. I know only from hearsay that Soviet soldiers helped Russians, refused to obey their superiors, fought on the side of the Hungarians, and fought against the AVH or each other. I have not heard of any cases of individual brutality on the part of the Soviet soldiers against Hungarians."

E. "Sometimes there were government officials who were willing to help a person in trouble and to disregard government regulations and rules. However, they did not do this for altruistic reasons -- only for material gains."

F. "If one had the right contacts and had money almost everything was possible in Communist Hungary. Even ministers could be bribed. For example, there was Minister Vas. His girlfriend was the wife of a business man dealing in chocolates. As long as it was possible, Vas acquired the necessary export and import licenses for his girlfriend's husband. When the nationalization of industries occurred, Vas obtained passports for his girlfriend and her husband and obtained permission for them to take out all of their furniture, art treasures, silverware, etc. from Hungary. It was rumored that with much money even AVH officers could be bribed.

"If any person was caught trying to bribe an official or any official were caught accepting a bribe, they would be sentenced to five years' imprisonment."

G. "Most of the top officers in the AVH belonged to the so-called 'new intelligentsia.' They were either peasants or workers who were clever enough to learn the most essential things that their new professions required. Otherwise, they could not be called intelligent.

"The situation within the top army leadership was exactly the same as in the AVH.

"I do not know what the top army leadership of the Soviet Union was like.

"The situation was somewhat better in the Hungarian public administration. Here, less people were dismissed than in other branches of the government. The majority of the ~~officers~~ public administration officials who had served under the previous regime were very intelligent and had vast experience in public administration."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "If the Western world does not help us, there will be no change in Hungary. We have scored a great moral victory in the revolution but, the final outcome has brought no political concessions. The Soviet Union is such a big country and is so strong that we cannot do anything against it ourselves.

"Resistance will continue in Hungary but will bring no results. The forms of resistance will differ but there always be resistance.

"Kadar will remain in power as long as the Soviet Union can use him. I think that the Communist policy in Hungary will revert to the Stalin line of 1948-52. One of the concessions made by Kadar so far will be kept. For example, he has even abolished the Kossuth crest. What will happen outside of Hungary is difficult to say. The leaders of the Soviet Union are bandits who never keep their word or promises.

"I hope that by economic sanctions the Western world will be able to force the Soviet Union to liberate the satellite countries.

"I have always hated war but if peace and freedom can be restored to the world only through a war, then let there be war even if it would mean the loss of my own life.

"I do not know how the people at home feel about this. Probably, about half of the people say that life in its present form is unendurable and prefer war to the present conditions. The ~~the~~ other half is weary. They say that there has been enough bloodshed in Europe.

"It is a difficult question to answer whether I would prefer an atomic war even if it meant the possible use of atomic weapons, atomic bombs, in Hungary. I am not now in Hungary. Therefore, I cannot say that I prefer war. However, if I

WERE
in Hungary, I would not mind risking my own life if it meant the end of Communism.

"It is my firm conviction that Communism can be overthrown only by war. It would be better if this could be achieved through diplomatic means. If the senators of the US think that war can be avoided, then, I believe them. However, I only hope that they are right."

B. "In 1945, life in Hungary was gradually being restored to normal. There was an inflation but, it lasted only for a short time. By 1948 the Communists were gradually taking over. At that time I hoped that the nationalization of industries would not affect the small tradesmen and craftsmen as Rakosi had promised us. Regrettably, three days after his promises were made, the nationalization of industries and even of small tradesmen and artisans was carried ~~in effect~~ into effect. After 1948, the foreign radio broadcasts always kept our hopes alive. The numerous conspiracies which had been uncovered by the AVH also made us hope ~~that~~ one conspiracy would not be uncovered by them and would succeed. There was always something to hope for. If there had not been anything ~~for~~ to hope for, every one would have committed suicide."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "In Hungary I would like to see free trade and an economic system where everyone is able to make a fair living. Something like the socialism in Sweden would be ideal. There, labor is always worth more than material. It is all the same to me whether there are rich people, millionaires, or if everything is owned by the state. Only, I do not want Communism. I want freedom and I want free trade. Whether the government be a republic or a monarchy is all the same to me."

B. "Hungary is an agricultural country and for this reason, the main emphasis should be placed on agriculture. Industry is of secondary importance. The heavy industry serves only war purposes. It is an unnecessary burden. We do not want guns and tanks; instead, it would be better to manufacture cars and motorcycles or bicycles -- instead of tanks, it would be better to manufacture tractors.

"If the Communist regime were overthrown, it would be impossible to give back everything to every one. It would be advisable to form some sort of stock company and some of the stocks should go to the workers who work in the enterprises or factories.

"I think that all co-operative farms should be dissolved. The government should get back what it invested in these co-operative farms.

"The government farms should also be dissolved. Their lands should also be distributed among the peasants in the course of a land reform. Ex-land owners should also get back some of their land, at least.

"I do not approve of any form of nationalization or government ownership. Neither do the people I had associated with in Hungary.

"I think the government should allow free agriculture. The peasants at home know more about farming than the government experts who prepare the agricultural plans. There should be no compulsory deliveries of crops and the peasants should be allowed to sell their crops on the free market.

"I do not think that the government has any business in setting a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own.

"If were to choose between a dictatorship with a fair standard of living and a democracy with no ~~standard of living~~ guaranteed standard of living, I would still prefer democracy. I prefer to live in peace, even if I do not live as well in exile.

"I would not be in favor of abolishing the Communist Party in Hungary. I would ~~make~~ let them make themselves ridiculous. I do not think that even before the revolution, in a free election, the Communists would have received as much as two per cent of the popular vote. Now, after the revolution, they would not even receive that much."

C. "A neutrality like Austria's would be most ideal for Hungary. If Hungary wants to live in peace, she should be independent and neutral.

"I do not want even cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union. During the 12 years we had cultural and economic relations with the Soviet Union, we were retarded 50 years in our progress. I have been using a handkerchief practically since the day I was born. Most of the people in the Soviet Union to date do not know what a handkerchief looks like. I do not want economic relations with them either. Everything the Soviet Union has is obtainable elsewhere.

"If the other countries of Eastern Europe are able to cast off Communism, then they too, will be against it. In that case, cultural and economic relations with other Eastern European countries are possible and desirable. With Western Europe and especially with the US, Hungary should conduct close economic, cultural relations but no military relations at all. Military agreements would be rendered impossible by Hungary's strict neutrality.

"I have heard of plans for a Pan-Europe but not for a Danubian Federation. I do not know much about such a federation and am unable to give you my opinion on it.

"I am not at all satisfied with the Hungarian boundaries. The peace treaties after World War I were entirely unjust. Hungary should regain all of the territories she lost after World War I. However, these territorial adjustments should be accomplished only by peaceful means and not by war.

"I think that only in Transylvania is there cause for concern because of the Hungarian minorities' situation.

Both

"~~On~~ the questions of boundaries and minorities are very important not only to me but to everyone in Hungary and not only for patriotic reasons but for economic reasons as well."

XV. FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. "Before the revolution I did not know anything about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress. I have not heard anything about Senator McCarthy or the Un-American Activities Committee.

"I read or heard something about the fall of Peron but I do not exactly know what. I knew that he was dictator in South America.

"We did not know much about Rakosi's private life before the revolution. It was rumored that he was living in a luxurious villa in Buda and was very closely guarded. It was said that he liked women very much."

B. "While I was in Hungary I received most of my information from the Hungarian newspapers and radio, from foreign radio broadcasts, and from friends and acquaintances. The most ~~of~~ important of these sources were the foreign radio broadcasts; second in importance was the news acquired from friends.

"Among friends we discussed both foreign and domestic news. One was constantly on the lookout for news and acquired everything possible. We had to be careful inasmuch as we could talk about news only among reliable friends. Some of the people, by their very nature, were inclined to exaggerate news and put much wishful thinking into what they had heard or read."

D. "I heard for an hour or an hour-and-a-half every day, usually in bed before going to sleep. I also read a great deal on Sunday afternoons when I did not work.

"Before and during the war, I read (regularly) the following newspapers: Rassay's 'Esti Kurir', the Pesti Naplo, the Reggeli Ujsag, and the Az Est. I also leafed through foreign magazines. This was necessary for my trade. I wanted to see what the latest fashion was abroad. I do not understand any other language than Hungarian but my sister spoke English and French and she translated what I was interested in for me.

"I read the Hungarian translations of foreign classics and modern writers as well. I also read very many detective stories. I found them very restful.

"In general, before and during the war, I was satisfied with what I was able to read. At that time it was possible to get anything one wanted.

"After the war there was only one daily newspaper in Hungary and that was Szabad Nep. All the other newspapers published practically the same things Szabad Nep wrote. I also regularly read the Nemzeti Sport because I was interested in sports and athletics.

"I was mostly interested in the sports results published in Szabad Nep. News of Party life and paper competition and production records did not interest me. The political news in the Szabad Nep served only one purpose -- it was a basis of comparison for the foreign radio broadcasts.

"I did not believe the statistical reports published in the newspapers. I think that the exact opposite of what they printed was true.

"I believe that publications from the Soviet Union and other satellite countries were available in Hungary but since I did not speak any other language than Hungarian I was not interested in these.

"Some French, Italian and English -- also German -- Communist newspapers were available in Hungary. I did not read them but my sister bought them sometimes. I do not remember the names of these newspapers.

"I do not know of any illegal publications from the West. Books which had been placed on the index

XV.
51-M
H

XV/43

were passed on from hand to hand and exchanged among friends frequently. All of the books that were placed on the index had been withdrawn from the public libraries and from stores. I had a friend working for a State publishing company who told me that their cellar was full of books which had been placed on the index. He told me that the premises where these books were kept were locked and sealed. I requested him to bring me some, but he was not willing to do so.

"Most of the people did not surrender their books when the list of forbidden books appeared. They did not hide them but they did not keep them in the front rows of their bookcases."

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. "I think that the chances for a change in the Soviet Union are very good. I do not think that the Soviet people are satisfied with the conditions prevailing at home. I would not be surprised if a revolution broke out in the Soviet Union. I do not believe that gradual liberation is possible there. My friends at home shared my opinion on this question.

"I think that most of the people in the Soviet Union are disgusted and afraid of Communism. I formed this opinion on the basis of what I learned from some of my customers who very reluctantly told me ~~what~~ one or two things about their experiences in the Soviet Union. They had been there as members of official Hungarian delegations.

"If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, I think that three-fourths of the population would vote against the Communists. It is hard to say what kind of government would come to power. I do not know whether there are any underground political parties in the Soviet Union. Probably, the government that would come to power would be a truly democratic -- perhaps, Social Democratic -- party. I do not think it is possible for the czars to return to Russia.

"I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Union are fanatical idiots. Their purpose is to enslave and subjugate millions of people. They want power and all of the advantages which go with it. They are maniacs who want to rule others and are afraid that they will lose their power.

"The chief difference between the top Communists of the Soviet Union and the top Hungarian Communists is that whereas the Moscow Communists are independent and exercise control over the Communist Parties of all satellite countries, the Hungarian top Communists are only puppets of the Moscow politburo and must carry out their instructions to the dot.

B. "I think that of the countries mentioned, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are the most popular in Hungary. They are the nearest to us and both have large Hungarian minorities.

"Bulgarian and Romania are probably the two least popular countries in Hungary. People in general do not know much about Bulgaria at home. Romania is unpopular because of its treatment of Hungarian minorities in Transylvania.

"If free elections were to ^{be} held in these countries, I think that in Czechoslovakia from 60 to 70 per cent of the people would vote against Communism. This would happen despite the fact that life there is much better than in Hungary and Communism in Czechoslovakia is not like Communism in the other satellite countries.

"In Poland the Communists would unquestionably be defeated.

"I do not know what would happen in Yugoslavia. Communism and Tito there are linked too closely.

"In Romania the Communists would also be overthrown. Had the Soviet Union not strengthened its forces in Romania during the Hungarian revolution, the Romanian youth would have also followed suit.

"I do not know what the situation is in Bulgaria and what would happen there if free elections were held.

"I think that the standard of living is highest in Czechoslovakia with Hungary next in line; it is lowest in Romania and in Bulgaria."

C. "I think that Gomulka in Poland is also a Russian puppet but does not ~~execute~~ carry out Moscow's instructions like the top Hungarian Communists do. He has obtained more concessions for his people.

"In general, however, I do not think that the Moscow government will tolerate Gomulka longer than is necessary for tactical reasons.

"I still do not think that Gomulka ~~represents~~ represents a considerable change in policy in Poland. Gomulka is still a Communist and people are getting impatient with him.

"The events in Poland certainly had a strong influence on events in Hungary. Had not the Poznan riots served as a precedent, the Hungarian revolution, probably, would not have occurred.

"I do not believe that there were any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. At least, we in Hungary, did not hear anything about it. We only heard about the Poznan riots. We heard this not only over the foreign radio broadcasts but also read about it in the Hungarian press.

"I still think that the Hungarian revolution, despite the heavy losses in life and property, was the better course to take. Neither Poland nor Hungary have achieved much. At least Hungary has won a great moral victory and the people at home have learned what the sentiments of their neighbors are. Until the revolution, everyone was compelled to conceal his feelings."

D. "The trouble with Tito is that no one can be certain of what he has in mind. Once he is a friend of the Soviet Union, then again, he seeks the favor of the West. Later, he patches up his differences with the Soviet; again, he scolds the Soviet Communist Party for its policy in Hungary, lets in Hungarian refugees, and again seeks Western aid.

"Tito is the originator of national Communism but, I do not like Communism in any form -- national or international.

"It was difficult to determine what Tito's actual standpoint was on the issue of the Hungarian revolution. He criticized foreign policy and interference but he also criticized the Hungarian uprising.

"I do not know anything about Titoism in the other satellite countries.

"I think that Tito is popular in Yugoslavia. Conditions in Yugoslavia are much better than in Hungary.

about

"I base my opinion ~~on~~ Tito and conditions in Yugoslavia on what I learned from customers who had been in Yugoslavia in an official capacity. The one-time commercial attache of the Hungarian legation in ~~the~~ Yugoslavia was one of my customers."

E. "I am certain that the Suez crisis had been provoked by the Soviet Union. I do not think that Egypt had a right to nationalize the Suez Canal. The Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt was justified. An open canal is very vital to Europe.

"The Egyptian crisis had a detrimental effect on the outcome of the Hungarian revolution. It served to divide attention. The Western world was more concerned over Egypt than over Hungary."

F. "I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is probably the highest in ~~Western~~ Europe.

"I agree that the Germans are dangerous and may provoke another world war. But I think that the Western world would take care and, although the Germans are being re-armed, caution will be exercised to keep them in control.

"I approve of Western German rearmament because it is aimed against the Soviet Union and Communism. However, it is only a defensive measure and not an offensive one.

"I think that the Western German army is not as strong as the British armed forces but probably equal in strength to the French army. The length of military service in Western Germany is probably one year or 18 months.

"I must confess that I regard this question from the Jewish point of view and consider the German occupation of Hungary during World War II as being much more unfavorable than the Russian occupation after World War II. It must be admitted that the German officers and men acted more disciplined than the Russians. I think that most of the people in Hungary agree with me that the German occupation was more unpopular than the Russian occupation."

G. "We heard about NATO at home because the Communist newspapers wrote much about it. However, we were unable to get a clear picture of what NATO was and how it functioned.

"I think that the Warsaw Pact was the Soviet answer to NATO. I think that NATO is essential to curb communism.

"The British Labor Party is not Communist. I do not know much about it.

"I think that the standard of living is highest in Western Germany, followed by Great Britain, Italy, the Soviet Union, Egypt and Greece."

H. "On my arrival to the US, I was very much impressed by the New York skyline and by Broadway at night. I was also very much impressed by the high standard of living here in the US.

"I am not at all satisfied with American foreign policy with regard to Eastern Europe. At the time of the Hungarian revolution the US did not seem to care much about us. Probably the US government was afraid of a World War III. If America would have wanted to help us, she could have done so.

"The US should give aid to Poland and Yugoslavia.

"In connection with Hungary, the US should not recognize the Kadar government but, if possible, should maintain diplomatic relations with Hungary. It is essential that the US know what is going on inside the country, but no economic or cultural relations should be maintained with Hungary.

"There has been no ~~at~~ change in my attitude ~~am~~ toward these questions ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ since my departure from Hungary.

"I am certain that the Hungarian people at home would very much like to see more Western visitors. I do not think that it would be advisable to send trade union representatives to Hungary because they would be suspected of being Communists. Our best bet would be newspaper journalists because they know how and what to look for.

"I do not think it is necessary to warn prospective visitors to Hungary before their departure. If they do not speak Hungarian, the persons ~~which~~ with whom they speak in Hungary will be anti-Communist. Anyone who speaks a Western language is more or less against the Communists.

"I am certain that people at home would very much like to receive Western books and publications. However, it is possible only to send these to them through the mail. I do not think that the present Hungarian government will permit such shipments through the mail.

"I think it would be entirely indifferent to the people at home whether or not Hungarian refugees are associated with such activities as informing prospective visitors and sending publications home.

"We heard about the Marshall Plan in great detail at home. Its primary purpose was to aid the countries of Europe which had been pauperized by war. There may have been political motives involved on the part of the US government but I do not know exactly what they were.

"I am sorry that the Russians did not allow Hungary to participate in the Marshall aid.

"In 1950 America took part in the Korean war because she wanted to curb Communism. As a capitalistic country, America is not indifferent to Communist expansion."

J. "In 1956, during the Hungarian revolution, the UN adopted the resolutions which would have helped Hungary. The only trouble was that the Soviet Union was unwilling to carry out the UN resolutions. However, it would have helped Hungary had the UN in November 1956 sent an international police force to maintain order in Hungary and to ^{keep} the Russians out.

"I see no chance of the UN taking effective action on Hungary in the near future."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. "The greatest living Hungarian today is probably Ferenc Nagy."

B. "Imre Nagy, despite the fact that he had been a Communist, very clearly saw the Soviet exploitation of Hungary. I think that had he remained in power, he would have achieved a complete independence of Hungary from Russia. About 90 per cent of the people at home supported him.

"Cardinal Mindszenty had been terribly mistreated by the Hungarian Communists. He is a true priest and likes the Hungarian people. Were he free today, he would be able to do much for our country.

"Laszlo Rajk is a Communist by conviction but not a Stalinist. He wanted to support Tito.

"Erno Gero is a dirty rascal.

"Janos Kadar is a puzzle to me. Were I in his place, I would have committed suicide long ago. When he was arrested, the Communists castrated him and urinated in his mouth and he is still willing to serve them. He is not Count Teleki who preferred suicide to serving the Germans.

"I know very little about General Bela Kiraly. He will probably do everything in his power to liberate Hungary.

"Anna Kethly was a popular Social Democratic member of parliament in Hungary. She is an old hand in politics and has an abundance of experience.

"President Eisenhower is an excellent soldier and a good statesman. On numerous occasions he has shown sympathy for Hungary. Regrettably, his hands are tied by Congress.

"My opinion of Secretary General Hammarskjold is the same as of the UN. Hammarskjold ~~is not doing~~ ~~nothing~~ has not done what he should have.

"Secretary of State Dulles is a very clever statesman and diplomat.

"Ex-Prime Minister Eden is a true gentleman, both in character and in appearance. I had a very good opinion of him and am sorry that he had to resign. (NOTE: since arriving to the US, subject had no opportunity to read newspapers. He ~~did~~ was not aware of the fact that Prime Minister Eden had resigned.)

"President Truman was more in favor of war than President Eisenhower is now.

"Mikoyan is a Russian in the politburo but I do not know much about him.

"Prime Minister Nehru is sympathizing too much with the Communists.

"I would like to see Generalissimo Chiang-kai Shek sweep the Communists out of China.

"Ferenc Nagy was a much better statesman than his successors in Hungary. As long as he was in power, there was still hope that Hungary would be free.

"President Roosevelt was a great statesman. If he were alive today, the world situation would be entirely different.

"Chancellor Adenauer is a true friend of the US. His chief aim is to unify Germany.

was
"Stalin ~~is~~ a notorious mail robber who remained true to his past.

"Malenkov is Stalin's disciple.

"Generalissimo Franco is also a dictator. I do not like dictators.

"I do not know who Bevan is.

"My opinion of Khrushchev is the same as of the other Soviet Communists.

"The same can be said about Molotov.

"I do not know who Ollenhauer is.

"Churchill is a great statesman who had regard only for the welfare of the British empire."

XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. "The people who came out during and after the revolution from Hungary were, first of all, the freedom fighters who feared retaliation. There were also the families who wished to ensure a better future for their children. Many people who came out had relatives in the US and in Western Europe and had been planning to come out for a long time.

"The majority of the refugees are males. Their average age is, perhaps, about 25. Most of them are industrial workers and intellectuals. Very few peasants left.

"The people who remained at home were those who did not dare to risk leaving Hungary. There were also those who were unable to come either because of age or family ties. I pity every one who remained at home with the exception of the Communists.

"I know of several persons who had an opportunity but were ~~unable to come out~~ unwilling to come out. A very good friend of mine remained because his son was too young to undertake such a trip in winter.

"The people who remained at home are glad that we are safe and, perhaps, envious. Some of them may even be angry with us thinking that it would have been our duty to remain at home.

"In my opinion, if every one were allowed to leave Hungary, about two-thirds of the people now at home would come out."

B. "We at home knew that many Hungarian politicians were active in the West. For example, Bela Fabian, Ferenc Nagy and others. They even spoke to us

sometimes over the radio. We also knew that they had a sort of a cabinet here in the West which was called the Hungarian National Council.

"I realize that these organizations were not able to do much for us.

"I have had no contact with exile politicians or Hungarian political organizations since my arrival in the US.

"I have heard about Bela Varga only here in the US.

"I remember Tibor Eckhardt as a Smallholder, member of parliament during the Horthy regime. He was one of the founders of the Smallholders' Party. I have a very favorable opinion of him.

"Charles Peyer was a Social Democratic leader who allegedly betrayed the trade unions.

"Miklos Kallay did everything possible to outsmart the Germans. He was prime minister of Hungary until the Germans occupied the country.

"Istvan Barankovics was an opposition leader.

"Bela Fabian has been a member of the Hungarian parliament for many years. He is a democrat and represents the middle class in the Social Democratic Party. My opinion of him is favorable.

"I know very little about Otto of Hapsburg. I do not know what kind of person he is. It is entirely indifferent to me whether he returns to the Hungarian throne or not.

"Admiral Horthy was the governor of Hungary and, in this capacity, tolerated many atrocities in the early 20s. However, after that, his rule was just and good. I would prefer, a thousand times, Horthy to any Communist government.

"I am convinced that many of the Hungarian politicians in exile attempted to do what they could for Hungary. Regrettably, there was not much they could do. It would have been good if some ~~one~~ of the Hungarian politicians in exile would have buried their differences and had formed one strong exile Hungarian organization and ~~split~~ not split up in different actions."

C. "I have known many persons ~~who~~ who have left Hungary after 1945 and later returned. They ~~were brought~~ came back because they could not stand the climate in their new homelands or, they felt very homesick. I had a very good friend who left Hungary in 1947. He went to Palestine. Four years later, he came back home. He forgot that the conditions in Hungary were entirely different in 1951 than they were in 1947.

"I have another friend who was lured back to Hungary by his mother. He came back in 1956. He had been working as a musician somewhere in North Africa. He ~~was~~ almost went insane when he saw what life was like in Hungary.

"The purpose of the Communist redefection campaign was to prove to the Western world that many people prefer life in Hungary because it is as good, if not better, than the life in the West. Most of the people at home realize that the redefectors are only the tools of Communist propaganda."

D. "I think that the people in Hungary should know how the new exiles are faring in their new homelands.

"I think that it is the duty of every Hungarian refugee to do his utmost to get settled and become financially independent. The refugees must be careful of their behavior. They must not, through their conduct, ruin the good name which ~~Hungary has acquired through the~~ ~~revolution~~ Hungarians had acquired through the revolution.

"I do not know anything about the Hungarian refugee exile organizations here in the US. I would like very much to join in such an organization, preferably a cultural or social organization. I have no objections against older exiles joining this organization.

"I do not know anything about the Hungarian political parties in exile.

"During the revolution we knew that the Hungarian political parties were being revived. I approved of the revival of these parties even during the revolution. It was necessary to hold an election as soon as possible and form a new legal government.

"I think it was impossible for the Hungarian political leaders who were in exile to return home and participate in the revival of the parties."

E. "I do not wish to return to Hungary in the next five years. First, I want to acquire American citizenship; after that, I will go home if Communism is overthrown in Hungary.

"Should we have children, I would insist that they learn Hungarian here in the US. That would be the only language in which we could make ourselves understood. I have given up all hope of learning English well."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. "Every night, behind closed doors and windows, I listened to the Hungarian programs of RFE, VOA and BBC. Sometimes I listened to the Hungarian programs of the Paris radio.

"We were able to receive VOA programs best. It was more difficult to get the RFE programs.

"All of these programs were constantly jammed. The RFE radio programs were especially jammed.

"I preferred the VOA programs because that was the easiest to get ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ on my set.

"We always discussed the radio programs among friends. We also compared notes because everyone did not listen to the same program.

"I listened to these programs on my own radio in the company of my wife.

"Talking over the programs with my friends, I always got a good account of what the other programs said in case I had not listened to them.

"Listening to foreign radio stations was not prohibited in Hungary but it was not advisable to be caught in the act. One would be placed under police supervision and very probably would lose his job. There were many people who did not dare to listen to foreign radio programs because of the danger involved.

"Since the first Imre Nagy government the listening of foreign radio broadcasts was not taken as seriously as before.

"The RFE programs were very aggressive and bold. It was held in Hungary, in general, that one should not listen to RFE programs because these programs were not unbiased.

"The VOA and BBC programs were more realistic. In general, the refugees have not the best opinion of RFE. It always said more than what was true.

"The accuracy of the programs could be judged by the domestic newsday broadcast. It was always possible to control the accuracy of the domestic news in Hungary. Very often, the foreign radio broadcasts exaggerated the news.

"The people at home believed more than half of what was broadcast to Hungary. They derived hope and courage during the darkest days of the Communist era.

"There is much truth about what people say about RFE, namely, that it helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help. Many times RFE announced that the day of reckoning ~~of~~ was coming. It also promised that everyone who fled from Hungary would receive a warm welcome in Austria. Many people now in Austria who are unable to come to the US feel that they have been misled.

"I think that RFE should continue its Hungarian broadcasts. The people at home will be well informed about what is now happening not only outside of Hungary but, sometimes, what is going on in Hungary. However, RFE should take care to broadcast what is true. Exaggerations should be avoided. The radio broadcasts should not kindle false hopes.

"I think that programs of straight and economical news and programs concerning life in the US and in the West are of equal importance."

B. "I have never heard of the initials NEM or of the 12 Demands."

C. "I have never seen RFE leaflets. I have heard that such leaflets were dropped into Hungary but I know this only from hearsay.

"I think that picking up, or distributing, or keeping such leaflets was more dangerous than listening to radio programs. I do not think there has been any change in this respect during the past five years. The danger involved deterred many people from speaking about such leaflets or ~~not~~ distributing them.

"I have never seen such leaflets, therefore, I cannot give you an opinion about them.

"I think that RFE should not continue to drop leaflets into Hungary because it will only serve to jeopardize many people. The information contained in the leaflets can be easily broadcast into Hungary."

D. "The purpose of all Western organizations is to spread information in Hungary and all of the other countries behind the Iron Curtain. I am not aware of any differences and motives of any of the organizations."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. "Children should be taught good manners, patriotism and brotherly love.

"I think it is necessary to discipline children but I do not favor physical punishment. I think that girls should be treated differently from boys when disciplined. Boys, in general, are much wilder than girls are.

"As children grow older, they should be made to understand the reason of the conduct required of them.

"I was seven years old when I took a pipe that appealed to me very much from a neighbor's table. When my mother found out about this, she whipped me with the carpet beater. It was a punishment that I will never forget. After that, I never touched anything that did not belong to me.

"On another occasion, I was 28 years old and already a tailor. I was not yet married and was living with my mother. On a New Year's party, I went away from home telling my mother I would be late. I came back the following day. My elder brother scolded my mother for treating me as a child.

"In every family I knew there was one parent who was more severe than the other. The more severe parent was the one who administered the punishment in the family. This could be either the mother or the father. The person to administer punishment did not depend on the sex of the child, the age of the child, and it did not differ according to the social class. I do not know of any changes in this respect for the past ten years.

"Physical punishment for boys was abolished, generally, at the age of 18-19; for girls, at the age of 17-18.

"Punishment in general was abolished only when the child married and left home.

51-M
H

XX/62

"I do not know of any differences in this respect according to social class.

"The only change that Communism brought in connection with the punishment of children is that in some families the parents did not dare punish their children at home.

"Under Communism, it was forbidden to administer physical punishment to children in school. But there were some old teachers who disregarded these rules.

"The traits I admire most in a friend are: ~~sincerity~~ sincerity and altruism. Reliability is also very important."

FIN