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Interviewer: N. Ivansco
Place: N.Y.C.
Date: March 25, 26, 1957

I PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. Respondent's name: Code 26-M
2. Age; 26
3. Sex; Male
4. Marital status: single
5. Religion: Greek Catholic
6. Birthplace: Mezoladany
7. Spent most of his life: Mezoladany
8. At the outbreak of the revolution he lived in Budapest, on Gorkij Street near the Soviet Legation and the Stalin statue.
9. Ever abroad: Rumania in the summer of 1953 to attend an athletic track meet.
10. Military service: As a student he served in the Hungarian army one month in the summer of 1951.
11. Education: Graduated from an agricultural secondary school; enrolled in the Debrecen University School of Medicine in 1951. Before he could be admitted he had to undergo examinations from gimnazium subjects which were not taught in the agricultural school. ^{For} example, Latin) He was expelled from the University Medical School because of political reasons in December, 1951. He studied music in the Debrecen School of Music. In the Fall of 1956 he enrolled in the Academy of Music in Budapest. (Conservatory)
12. Occupation: Did not have regular employment. Worked for a time on his father's farm. As a music student in Debrecen he had a part-time job in one of the Debrecen theatres as a maintenance and prop man.
13. Parents: Both living in Hungary. Father 56; mother 51
14. Respondent has married sister age 30 living in Hungary
15. Children: None
16. Left Hungary: December 1, 1956

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17. Arrived U.S.: December 14, 1956
18. Travels in U.S.: Camp Kilmer, Bard College, and N.Y.C.
19. Immediate plans: Would like to continue his music studies.
20. Respondent has not been questioned since leaving Hungary except for routine interviews with government officials.
21. Foreign languages: Studied German in school for five years, but does not speak it well. Studied Russian for two years in school, but knows very little.

Respondent is a 26 year old music student of peasant background. Intelligent, silent, and meditative type. Frankly admits he had been afraid during the revolution, and took no active part in the fighting. It required some time to gain his confidence, and there were some questions he was reluctant to answer. He speaks slowly, weighing all his answers very carefully, as most Hungarian peasants do. This lengthened the duration of the interview considerably, but it was well worth the time, because his answers on many questions were not the stereotyped ones we have been receiving so far.

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II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The people in the United States should know that the Hungarian revolution was not organized in advance. It broke out spontaneously. It was the fruit of many years of terror and oppression. Had the people here in the United States realized all this, perhaps the U.S. government would have acted differently. The people at home, during and immediately after the revolution, expected effective U.S. aid very much. They have become very embittered and disillusioned.

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

A. On October 22, 1956 I spent my day as usual. I attended classes at the Academy of Music and practiced playing the bass viol in the afternoon. On the streets I saw crowds almost fighting to get copies of the "Irodalmi Ujsag", but I did not think, or suspect, that anything unusual would happen the next day.

I usually ate my lunch in the cafeteria of the University for Veterinary Medicine. Portions were ~~much~~ bigger here and I was always hungry. At lunch on October 23 the Disz chairman of the University for Veterinary Medicine announced that a peaceful and silent demonstration would be held that afternoon in sympathy for the Polish students. He requested all students to attend the demonstration, but he emphasized that the demonstration must remain a silent one. He said that if there were any shouting or noise the school would immediately withdraw.

After lunch I went back to the Academy of Music. On the bulletin board there was an announcement place there, probably, by the secretary of the Disz organization of our Academy. It said that a students meeting would be held in one of the auditoriums with two cadets of the Kossuth Academy (military academy for the training of officers) to speak on students' problems.

I do not know when the meeting began. It must have been about 3:30 or 4 p.m. One of the cadets spoke to us on the events in Poland. He urged that all students participate in the silent demonstrations regardless of whether the Minister of Interior permitted it or not. He said that the students of all ~~universities~~ other universities have decided to stage the demonstration even if it were to be banned by the Minister of the Interior.

While this cadet was speaking somebody came into the auditorium and announced that the Minister of the Interior had finally granted permission to stage the demonstration. The Disz secretary of our school immediately got up and proposed that we all line up and march to the Petofi monument where the other universities and schools would meet. This proposal was met with cheers and applause, and about 200 students marched with flags to the Petofi monument.

Here the whole square was filled with students from the other schools and universities. Several patriotic poems were recited by an Hungarian actor. Ribbons with the Hungarian national colors were distributed among the students, and everyone put the ribbon in his button-hole. After 4; /m/ we started off in the direction of the Bem statue. On the way the procession stopped in front of one house which was flying the Hungarian flag with the Communist red star. The ~~ent~~ students insisted that the red star be cut out, and the building superintendent or one of the tenants immediately cut out the star from the flag.

The demonstration did not remain a silent one. After leaving Petofi Square some of the students began shouting slogans. They were mostly the demands that had been adopted by the university students. They included no compulsory political or Russian classes in schools and universities, Rakosi should be brought to trial, the restoration of the Kosut crest, new uniforms for the Hungarian army, the resignation of Gero, and a new cabinet under Imre Nagy. I thought that the government would ~~grant some concessions~~ make some concessions and that a new government would be formed excluding such Stalinists as Gero and Piros. I did not think that the demonstrations end in an armed revolt.

Some of the other ~~univ~~ universities were much bolder than we were. They even shouted such slogans as "Out with the Russians." We did not dare to shout things like that because among our students were a few who were rabid Communists. For example, the brother of one of the students who lived in the same dormitory as I did was an AVH officer. He and some other Communist students tried to ~~mitigate~~ ameliorate the course of the demonstrations by shouting such harmless slogans as "We want free tuition." Our group was very suspicious of each other. We felt that there were many spies among us. The students who were living in the same students' home as I was I had known only for two or three months. Most of the students in our group I had never seen before. Nevertheless, the general enthusiasm of the crowd, and the boldness of the others had such an effect on us that we threw caution to the winds, and when we were returning from the Bem statue to Parliament Square, we shouted "Down with the AVO." when we passed by the Ministry of the Interior and saw that the building was heavily guarded by AVO men.

It was almost dark when we reached Parliament Square. By this

time many people other than students joined the demonstrators. All age groups and both sexes were represented. Trucks bearing young industrial workers began arriving. We also heard that a large crowd of industrial workers had gathered around the statue of Stalin.

We had a long time to wait for Imre Nagy to appear. The lights were not turned on in Parliament Square, only the Red Star on top of the building. The Communists hoped that the crowd would get tired of waiting in the dark, and that they would ~~disperse~~ disperse. When the Communists saw that we were making torches out of newspapers, they finally turned on the lights. The crowd simply would not disperse. It was getting more restless every minute. Some of the workers who came acted as cheer-leaders. The new slogans which the crowd took up were much sharper than before. They included such things as "Throw Rakosi in the Danube, and Gero after him."

Not everyone in the crowd was satisfied ~~as~~ with the course of events. There were among us Communists who disapproved of what was taking place, but were too interested and curious to leave. Some of them tried to throw in Communist slogans, but without much success. ~~Two~~ Two young girls students were standing beside me. One of them was furious. She turned to me and asked "Do you want the fascists to come to power again?" Nobody seemed to be paying much attention to her, and soon she was lost in the crowd.

When Imre Nagy finally came he tried to quiet the crowd. He told us to go home and that the government would consider our demands. He warned us not to cause bloodshed.

It must be mentioned that not everyone approved of Imre Nagy. When the crowds kept yelling for him to appear, many of us disapproved of him. We did not want him to head a government because he was Communist. When Imre Nagy attempted to address the crowd as "Comrades" the crowd, especially the workers, protested. His speech left us cold. We felt disappointed. Some of my friends who stood nearer to the Parliament Building later said that AVO officers were standing behind Imre Nagy.

After Imre Nagy's speech the crowd still remained for some time. But soon word was passed around that everyone should go to the radio building to demand that our demands be broadcasted over the radio. Practically the entire crowd started off toward the radio building.

The demonstrations were held and organized by the University

students. The students of the Szeged University were the first ones to abolish their Disz organization and organize a new one called "M.E.F.E.S.Z. 68 Mefesz. At a students meeting held the previous week they drafted their demands and decided to send delegates to all other Hungarian schools urging the students to take joint action. I met some of these Szeged University students in the cafeteria of the University for Veterinary Medicine.

It was almost midnight when we reached the vicinity of the radio studio building. We went as far as the corner of Rakoczi Street and the Museum Ring. We stopped because we heard shots. I had come this far with two friends. When we heard the shots one friend and I started running. We ducked into a side street and were heading for home. The other friend, however, remained there and shouted after us to come back. We did so, but very timidly, because the firing had become heavier than before. We were discussing what to do when the crowd brought an army officer who was very severely wounded or, perhaps, already dead. When we saw this, all three of us turned around and headed for home.

In the students' home where I lived everyone was excited that night. But we didn't dare speak much about what had happened because we were distrustful of one another. I did learn, however, that a large crowd had collected around the Stalin statue, and that demonstrations had been held there, also. Mostly by industrial workers.

On October 24, at breakfast, we learned that the previous night the crowd had destroyed the Stalin statue and its remnants had been dragged to the National Theatre. With the exception of a few Communist students, everyone seemed pleased. Cautiously we began to talk about the political situation, and decided that it would be much better for everyone if the Russians got out of the country. The Communist students said nothing.

For the next two or three days we stayed in the Students' home. This was not far from the Soviet legation in Budapest, and many Soviet citizens lived in that neighborhood. From the windows of our building we saw Soviet civilians and their families. They seemed very excited. Once or twice we heard and saw ~~from the windows of our building~~ Soviet tanks patrolling the streets. We also heard the sound of shooting from not far off.

A few of the boys who were braver than the rest of us went into the ~~streets~~ city and took part in the destruction of

the Soviet bookshops. They came home and told us about what had happened. We were now openly listening to the foreign radio broadcasts, and speaking more freely. But we were still careful not to speak in the presense of the boy whose brother was an AVH officer. He was very much concerned about his brother and was telephoning him several times a day.


On the 26 of October my cousin telephoned me. She was a country girl who had just begun her ~~stx~~ studies at the School of Pharmacy. She was very much afraid and asked me to visit her. I went to see her, but was careful to avoid the main streets. She was living in a students' home which was set up in one of the buildings of the Ludovika Academy. Their ~~domatorgas~~ were facing a large square on which Russian tanks were stationed. On two or three occasions I was stopped by young boys who had rifles. I heard the sound of shooting from the distance, but I did not see anything of importance.

I reached my cousin's safely and helped her move to another students' home nearby. I quieted her and went back home, promising her that we would go back to our village as soon as it was possible.

The next day I went out to the square where previously the Stalin statue had stood. There I saw young workers and older ones also armed with rifles. There were several truck loads of them. When Russian tanks and armored cars appeared they began firing with their small arms at the tanks. Of course, they did not do much damage to the tanks. When the shooting started I immediately turned around and ran home.

When the radio announced that the Russian troops are ~~withdrawing~~ withdrawing from the city, everyone in the students' home was happy, with the exception of the boy whose brother was an AVO officer. Until then I was very pessimistic about the outcome of the revolution. I had the depressing feeling that the revolution would be suppressed by the Russians. Now, for the first time, I began to have slight hopes that perhaps the Russians would leave the country, after all.

Until now I had not seen much fighting. I met armed groups of university students of both sexes, and of young and old workers. I do not know from where they got their arms and ammunition. I did not see any signs of wide spread organization among them. There were only small fighting groups. The ~~commanders~~ commanders of these small groups were various people, mostly with some kind of military experience who also had qualities of leadership.



D. Two days after the Russians withdrew from Budapest I packed up my cousin and started ~~for~~ for home. The trains were not running and we had to resort to hitch-hiking. Trucks ~~was~~ from the country were bringing food to Budapest. I managed to find a truck driver who was returning to Debrecen, and who would take us along. This was on October 31. On the road it seemed that the Russians who, a few days ago, had been withdrawing from Budapest, were now returning. Once or twice the highway was so crowded with Russians that we were forced off the road. Where it was possible we left the highway and went by byways. We arrived at Debrecen late that night. We spent two days in Debrecen with friends. It was impossible to get a ride from Debrecen on because the Russians were not permitting Hungarian trucks to leave the city. I had to go in the direction of Nyiregyhaza and Zahony. The Russians were using this highway to evacuate their civilians and families to the Soviet Union.

We started off on foot. On the outskirts of the city a peasant took us on his wagon. The traffic restrictions imposed by the Russians did not refer to carts and wagons. This peasant took us for about twenty kilometers. Then we walked a distance and again got a ride on another wagon. Further on we were able to get a ride on an Hungarian dairy truck. This truck took us as far as Nyiregyhaza. We arrived there about 6 p.m. This was on November 2.

We still had about 30 kilometers to go from Nyireghaza. This part of our journey we had to go on foot. There was heavy Russian traffic along the highway in both directions. For this reason we avoided the main highway and went on dirt roads which the Russians did not use. We arrived home at about 4 a.m. on November 3. My parents were very glad to see us. We had to tell them what happened in Budapest and what we saw on the road. It was only late in the afternoon when I could get some much needed sleep.

Next morning a family friend woke me up. He came with the news that the Russians were attacking Budapest. We also heard that there had been some fighting in Zahony between the Soviet troops and the Hungarians. The Soviet artillery stationed on Soviet territory fired at the barracks of the Hungarian border guards in Zahony. The Hungarian station master refused to hand over the railroad station to the Soviets. The Hungarian railroad men refused to work for the Soviets and went home. The Soviets had to ~~bring~~ bring their own railroad workers from Csap. That is the Border station on the Soviet side.

Our village has a population of about 2500 to 3000 people.

Nothing happened there. I heard from my parents that when the fighting broke out in Budapest and it seemed that the Russians were getting the worst of it, the Communist leaders of our village staged a demonstration against the Soviet ~~Union~~ regime. They marched through the village and put out Hungarian flags. But they staged the whole thing so cleverly that they remained in power. They only put on the Hungarian colors. Now, when the tide turned, and the Russians started to attack Budapest, they seemed very much relieved.

I stayed home until November 27. Nothing unusual happened. Most of the time we sat by the radio. We waited very much to know what would happen. The inactivity of the West was exasperating. We saw that nothing was going to happen and were prepared that the Kadar government ~~was~~ would be even worse than the Russian regime.

About two weeks before the outbreak of the revolution a small orchestra had been formed at the Academy of Music in Budapest of which I was a member. This orchestra was scheduled to play in Austria and Czechoslovakia. We had already been rehearsing for the tour. Originally we were to leave Budapest on October 28, but the outbreak of the revolution made our plans impossible.

When, at home, I saw that the revolution had been subdued, and realized that the coming regime would probably be worse than the Rokosi had been, I decided to go to Budapest and try to find the other members of the orchestra. I, somehow, hoped that we would be able to go together to Austria as originally planned.

I left home on November the 28. My parents did not know that I was leaving the country. Confiding only in my brother-in-law, I left for Budapest and stayed there for two days. It was hopeless to try to round up the members of the orchestra. Therefore, on November 30 I started off with a friend. On the train we met a family who ~~was~~ was also going to Austria. They had a guide, a Hungarian who had already been once to Vienna and had come back to lead this family out. Their relatives were American citizens and were waiting for them on the border. The guide and the family had no objections if we went with them. We went by train as far as Sopron, getting off one station ahead of the city. In the dark the guide took us along country roads and foot paths. We met no one, and after midnight on December 1 we arrived at Austrian territory.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

IV. EXPECTATION OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. When the revolution broke out I hoped that the West would send either military assistance in the form of troops, or at least, secretly, arms and ammunitions. I did not believe that the revolution could succeed without Western aid.

B. I expected aid from the West because I knew that the West was against Communism and knew was an opportunity for the West to weaken the Soviet Union by liberating Hungary. Then the other satellites would follow suit. I don't know what the opinions of the others were because this was something we did not dare talk about. We feared that stool-pigeons were in the students' home.

C. The only foreigners I saw during the revolution were Chinese, Czechoslovak, and Korean students who were studying at Budapest. The Czechoslovak girl flatly refused to take part in the demonstrations. The Koreans came and sympathized with us, but they did not fight in the revolution. I did not meet or see any Western citizens until I came in to Austria.

The Hungarian peasantry is very simple, very hard. It does not demand much of life, but what it has it wants to keep. Some of the middle peasants and the landless peasants tried at first to become party members and joined farm cooperative production groups. They soon became disillusioned. A part of the peasantry youth seemed to have been susceptible to Communism, but the influence of the parents at home counterbalanced this, to a great extent. Before the war Hungarian peasantry was divided into sub-groups on the basis of wealth. At that time there existed the rich peasantry, the middle peasantry, and the landless peasantry. But there were no barriers among these groups. A peasant who owned forty saddle-trail yokes would drink in the same public house with the peasant who had only five. My father went to school together with the children of my grandfather's share croppers. They remained the best of friends all their lives.

The difference between the various groups of peasants could be felt only in the case of marriage. Parents usually wanted their children to marry someone at least

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. My father is a peasant who, before the war, farmed on 35 cadastral yokes of his own land. This included five cadastral yokes of apple orchard, one cadastral yoke vineyard, and the rest was fields. We also had a large house of our own. Before the war my father won several prizes in livestock breeding and in farming. After the war all our livestock was taken away by the Russians. We had to start all over again. The land was not taken away from us. My father even acquired five more cadastral yokes. This he inherited from my grandfather. Twice my father's lands had been taken away from him in the Spring, when everything was ready, and sold. Farm cooperatives harvested the crops and then gave my father his land back again. In 1950 and 1951 my father was declared a kulak. He was imprisoned once for two months. All our livestock was taken away, but after the Nagy regime my father again acquired livestock and things were much better.

Both of my parents have only six grades of elementary school.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the peasantry, the industrial ~~men~~ workers, the new upper class, which consists of the Party officials, AVO and army officers, and finally, the intellectuals. I have known members of all these classes.

The Hungarian peasantry is very simple, very sane. It does not demand much of life, but what it has it wants to keep. Some of the middle peasants and the landless peasants tried, at first, to become Party members, and joined farm cooperative production groups. They soon became disillusioned. A part of the peasantry youth seemed to have been susceptible to Communism, but the influence of the parents at home counterbalanced this to a great extent. Before the war Hungarian peasantry was divided into sub-groups on the basis of wealth. At that time there existed the rich peasantry, the middle peasantry, and the landless peasantry. But there were no barriers among these groups. A peasant who owned forty cadastral yokes would drink in the same public house with the peasant who had only five. My father went to school together with the children of my grandfather's sharecroppers. They remained the best of friends all their lives.

The difference between the various groups of peasants could be felt only in the case of marriage. Parents usually wanted their children to marry someone at least

as wealthy as they were. But marriages between the children of rich peasants and those of poor peasants were not rare exceptions. Peasants may have been divided on the basis of their wealth, but their education, rather than their lack of education, their customs, their way of life united them in a large group.

I was too young to know anything about the Hungarian industrial workers before the war. I can form my opinion of them only on the basis of what I have read and heard. But after 1945 I had an opportunity to observe the life of the industrial workers in steel and iron works of Csepel. My impression was that the industrial workers ~~was~~, at least a great number of them, had welcomed Communism. They soon became disillusioned with it when they saw that, under the Communist regime, they were much more exploited than by the industrial barons who owned the iron and steel works. They soon saw that they were ~~unable~~ to buy very little with their wages. They resented labor competitions and other forms of labor exploitations. They saw that the records established by the outstanding workers was based on fraud.

Seemingly the industrial workers had an opportunity under Communism to increase their knowledge. Workers and their children were admitted to the universities to study. The government encouraged them to do this, but very often with their newly acquired diplomas the workers were able to earn even less than they would have if they had remained industrial workers.

The vast majority of the industrial workers is very diligent. But many of them are inclined to drown their sorrows in drinking on pay day. Despite this, I think they are thrifty.

The new upper class consists of Party official, AVO officers, army officers and the workers' aristocracy. They are the selected few who enjoy all the privileges of the Communist regime. They are the present exploiters of the working class, but without the knowledge or culture of the previous upper-class.

The Hungarian intelligentsia was assigned a very insignificant role under Communism. That part of the intelligentsia which had been brought up under the previous regime was kept only as long as it was needed. As soon as it was possible the Communists began replacing them with their own cadres. Children of the intelligentsia were barred from schools. The majority of the intelligentsia realised that this regime was not theirs. If any of them joined the Communist Party it was

not from conviction; only to keep their jobs or to get ahead. The greater part of the rural intelligentsia sold its political and religious convictions for a larger slice of bread.

Under Communism the old upper-class of the previous regime had been hit the hardest. It had been almost entirely liquidated. They could find work only as laborers. Many of them were forced to leave the country. The majority of those who remained were deported.

The Hungarian peasantry was also hard hit by Communism. This refers especially to the kulaks. But the entire peasantry, with their strong sense for private property, was an obstacle to the Communists in carrying out their doctrines in practice.

The industrial workers had the most to gain by Communism. But they too soon became disillusioned when they saw how badly they were paid and how they were being exploited by such means as labor competition, etc.

By birth I am of peasant origin. On the basis of my studies I can be considered as a member of the intelligentsia. I stand somewhere half way between. I do not ever want to sever the ties of my peasant origin.

C. The Hungarian peasantry was inclined, to a certain extent, to blame the industrial workers for the political situation which arose under Rakosi. The peasantry thought that if the industrial workers had not cooperated with the Communists to such an extent immediately after the World War II the present situation would not have arisen, or at least not so rapidly.

class

There was a certain barrier between the peasantry and the intelligentsia. This can be attributed to the difference in the education of the two classes. But there was no hostility either way. This was the attitude of the peasant during and before the war. When the Communists came to power, the peasantry felt hostile toward the intelligentsia. In the villages the primary representatives of the intelligentsia with whom the peasantry had the most contact were the school teachers. Regretably the majority of the school teachers, fearing for their jobs, became Communist Party members, but without conviction. They began to teach as they were told. It was also the school teachers who, in the villages, were ordered to collect subscriptions for the compulsory government loans. All this did not contribute to the popularity of the intelligentsia among the peasants.

The peasantry hated and despised the new upper-class. Many

talented young workers and peasants had been educated by the Communist regime. This new intelligentsia either joined the new upper-class or shared the fate of the previous intelligentsia. If these educated young peasants and workers became members of the new upper class, then both the peasantry and the workers had no confidence in them. The young peasants were more likely to sever all ties with their social class than the young workers.

The Hungarian industrial workers were influenced by the so-called "class war" which the Communists waged against the peasantry and the intelligentsia. The purpose of the regime was to divide the peasants by discriminating between the working peasants and middle peasants or kulaks. According to the Communist doctrines the middle peasants in many cases, and the kulaks always, were ~~always~~ considered exploiters. The industrial workers were inclined to consider all peasants exploiters, regardless of how much land they owned, or whether they employed others or not. They also blamed the peasantry for the high food prices.

The industrial workers got along better with the intelligentsia. They worked together in plants and factories. Most of the engineers and executives ~~was~~ refused to have anything to do with such things as, for example, labor competitions and determining production norms. They were willing to handle only technical problems. In this way the industrial workers and the old intelligentsia were united in their struggle against Communist labor exploitation methods. Some of the younger engineers, educated by the Communists, were more willing to cooperate with the Communists, but such people belonged more to the new upper-class than to the intelligentsia.

The Communists wanted to create an intelligentsia of their own. This new young intelligentsia would have liked to be considered different from the old intelligentsia, but it soon realized that it is sharing the fate of its ~~predecessors~~ predecessors. They soon realized that their future outlook was just as bad as that of the old intelligentsia. This served to unite the two groups.

After World War II there could be noticed a definite equalization of social standings. The intelligentsia sank down and the other two classes rose up. Class barriers were even less distinct than before.

E. Immediately after 1945 anybody who had talent, experience, or knowledge could get ahead. As the Communists took over

gradually, the importance of talent and knowledge declined proportionately. At the end talent was not at all important. Most emphasis was placed on class origin and political creed. At first, the Communists were not interested in whether the person who professed to be a Communist was really a Party member by conviction or not. Later on they also tested the convictions of the person concerned. But even then, talent played a very important role in such cases where talent and knowledge were essential. For example, in the case of a professor of medicine. Beginning with the first Imre Nagy regime in 1953, class origin began to play a less important role.

Under Communism the person most liable to get ahead is one who is capable of changing his political beliefs and convictions as the situation ~~has~~ requires. In other words, he must be a turn-coat. His class origin is very important. He must be willing to kill his own mother should the Party ask him to do so.

17 /VI

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism in Hungary effected family life to a great extent. In our family it served to strengthen family ties. We had to suffer very much, because my father was a kulok. He was imprisoned. This united the family more than ~~before~~ before. Persecution under the Communists also helped to improve our views on life. I think this can be said of all persecuted people. I never felt that there were quarrels or strife because of the frustration and bitterness which often arise in such situations. I think that our experiences under the Communists served to make us more religious.

But in general, Communism served to loosen family ties. Young people were inclined to consider marriage less seriously. The parties staged by the Communists on Saturdays and Sundays often ended in revelry which did not improve morality. The atmosphere of compulsory lying in ~~which~~ which one was forced to live probably affected family life also.

With respect to family life, there is a considerable difference between the city and rural population. I think that in rural Hungary, morals did not decline to such an extent as in the cities. Divorces were comparatively much less frequent than in the cities. Also, people regarded marriages more seriously.

B. Even under Communism, usually, the children received a basic religious education at home. In school the teachers attempted to change the child's views and beliefs. A conflict arose between school and home. The parents attempted to counterbalance what the child was taught at school. Children of school age are usually very impressionable. The fact that they were taught by their parents to tell lies did not have a good effect on their moral character. The children who were older in 1945 received a proper religious and moral basis, so Communism was able to do comparatively less harm to them than to the children of the younger generation. The generation educated entirely under the Communist regime is much effected by Communism despite the fact that this generation fought bravely against the Communist during the revolution.

The Soviet form of co-education, as it was introduced in Hungary, had a very bad effect on adolescents. Co-educational student homes gave ample opportunity ~~for~~ to the boys and girls for sexual relations. Some of these student homes were almost as bad as red-light houses. The child who came into a student home may have brought with him from home good morals. But in this stormy period of sexual

awakening the opportunity provided by such co-educational homes would prove too great a temptation for them. It is true that very many of these boys and girls would have had sexual intercourse anyhow, but perhaps not so frequently and not so openly.

I think that Communism also effected the extent to which children ~~may~~ obeyed their parents. Three rooms of our home had been taken away for class-rooms. Therefore, I had opportunity to see how grade-school children were being brought up under Communism.

The teachers were not allowed to administer physical punishment to the children. They tried to do everything else possible to make the children behave. Their conduct was simply intolerable. This probably effected the conduct of the children at home, but, in general, I think that the children were still obeying their parents. At least, in the villages. There was more opportunity for disobedience in the cities. City children were also obeying their parents, but not to the same extent as before the Communist regime. The increasing degree of disobedience of parents can be attributed to not only the influence of school, but also to the general atmosphere created by Communism. I am not aware of any change in the obedience to children which can be attributed ~~only for~~ ~~to~~ ~~social class.~~

were

C. The relations between young people/~~was~~ greatly influenced by the Communist custom of addressing one another in second person ~~singular~~ singular instead of formal third person plural, as was the custom before. (using the German "Du" instead of "Sie") Previously one could use such forms as address only when speaking to friends, relatives, and persons ~~with~~ with whom one was on very familiar terms. The relations between two young people of the opposite sex previously had been greatly influenced by their religious and parental education. Under Communism there can be noted a general laxity of morals.

The Communists attempted to keep religion out of marriage. Civil marriages were compulsory in Hungary even before the war. But after the civil ceremony, almost always, a church ceremony was performed. The Communists did not ban church weddings directly, but a ~~man~~ person who was being married in church would be termed a "clerical reactionist". This would be a dark spot on his cadre sheet and he would very likely lose his job.

By paying extremely low wages to everyone, the brides were also compelled to work. It was impossible to support a family by only one salary. There was no home in the real sense of the word. Mothers had to take their children to day-nurseries and kindergarten. Here the Communists had the opportunity to take the first steps in the process of making Communists ~~janizaries~~ out of them.

I think, that under Communism, the women in Hungary have lost much of their femininity. Long working hours, labor competitions, fatigue made them much coarser than before. They too were inclined to ~~forget~~ forget their troubles ~~by drinking~~ by drinking and having a good time, even when they could not afford to do so.

There was also a change in the way young people learned to know each other. Formal introductions were not required as before. The meetings, parties, dances, excursions organized by the Youth Organizations gave young people ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other. It also gave them the opportunity to indulge in sexual relations. I have already mentioned the effect of co-educational students' homes.

In general, sexual life was much freer than before. The number of illegitimate children increased considerably. The last year before the revolution abortions were officially permitted. Before that they were severely punished. Prophylactics were available at all times.

Legal prostitution was tolerated until 1950. Then it was banned. The current joke circulating in Budapest at that time claimed that the government closed the houses of prostitution because the Women's Democratic Federation complained to the competition. But there was secret prostitution, especially in Budapest; not so much in the country.

Most ~~of~~ of the girls and women could not afford to buy clothes and bear the expenses of their recreation from their salaries. Some of them would become acquainted with some male who could pay their expenses. This was not exactly prostitution. They did not get any money directly from the person concerned, and they went steady with him for a considerable time.

I do not know what the official Communist view on sexual life was. I never read anything about this in the newspapers, nor heard about them over the radio. But, I am under the impression that the Communists were so opposed to religion that they professed the opposite views even in such matters as sexual conduct. I think the Communists by conviction, in general, were less inhibited by church precepts ~~and~~ and moral views in their sexual life than ~~the~~ other people.

D. If, of two friends, one would join the Communist Party and become a Party secretary, the friendship would probably continue. However, it would lose its sincerity. It would be in the interest of the non-Party member to continue the friendship in order to have an influential Communist friend who could help him if needed. If the friendship were

to be terminated, it would probably be done by the Communist friend, because he must be careful in his associations with non-Party members. I think that it is impossible to continue ~~if~~ a friendship in such a way that both friends agree not to mix politics in the friendship.

E. I think the number of crimes, especially the number of crimes against property, increased considerably under Communism. But there were certain thefts which were not considered crimes by others. Extremely low wages, and financial difficulties compelled practically everyone to steal if it was possible. It was not considered a shame if someone ~~was caught~~ ~~was caught~~ stealing from the office or the factory. In the villages it was not considered a crime to steal from a kulok. In general, one would get a much stiffer sentence for stealing 200 forints worth of merchandise from a government store than for robbing a kulok of 20,000 forints. The children of the poor peasants were also brought up to believe that it is not a crime to steal from the gardens of the kuloks, or to break their windows.

Such thefts in ~~existence~~ an atmosphere of constant lying made people reluctant to believe even ~~themselves~~ themselves. For example, everyone had ready five or six versions of his own biography, to use the various versions as needed.

I do not know the crime rate of women. But I think that ~~the~~ juvenile delinquency increased during the Communist regime.

The police did not do much about the increased rate of crimes. They were mostly concerned with political crimes. They were apt to consider all crimes from this point of view. They were not so efficient as the police of the Horthy regime.

I think that there has been an ~~increase~~ increase in alcoholism, also. On Saturdays and pay-days the workers were inclined to drown their sorrows in drink. This was done despite the fact that the price of alcoholic beverages was extremely high.

The so-called "Jampec" were young people of the cities, mostly the ones who lost contact with their families. They could be recognised by their style of dress, the way they danced, and the way they wore their hair. The ~~life~~ lives they usually led could not be termed exactly moral. Most of them did not have a proper moral upbringing. Some of them became criminals, or better said, some criminals spent their ill-gotten gains by copying the ways of the Jampec.

I think that the Communist press and government spokesmen exaggerated the situation. It was not by far as dangerous as they made it appear. They tried to mix politics in it. Everything that was American was

immediately termed "Jampec". Practically anyone wearing a checkered suit was in danger of being called one. The situation was somewhat better in Budapest.

I think that the phenomenon of the Jampec can be explained by the natural inclination of all young people to copy and imitate others. In every country there are probably young people who are too shallow to be interested in serious problems, and their interest is centered on their personal appearance and recreation. Such youngsters set the style and others are inclined to imitate them. But there may also be political reasons for the conduct of the Jampecs. In his opposition to Communism he prefers to ~~stare~~ dance the American jitterbug dances instead of the Russian mazurka, and to wear bright colored sport-shirts instead of the Russian gymnastyorka or rubashka.

The majority of the Jampecs are young people from industrial workers' families. Young people who did not want to study, had no ambitions, or could not study were Jampecs. I think that in this group there were very few such ~~members~~ young members of the intelligentsia who became Jampecs because they were unable to continue their studies for political reasons. In general, I think that the Jampecs are more of a city phenomenon than a rural one. Peasant children did not indulge in such things. ~~Sov~~ Sport clubs and youth organizations also contributed to the Jampecs.

The age of the Jampecs varied from 16 to 25.

I do not consider their conduct criminal. I think that the parents of such children were, themselves, in favor of such conduct. They were of the same mentality.

III. RELIGION

A. Communism had a great effect on religion in Hungary. Interference in religion began by poisoning the minds of the children in day-nurseries and kindergarten, and extended to the arrest and imprisonment of the higher clergy. The effects of religious persecution in Hungary either made people more religious, or it drove them to the other extreme. That is, they lost their faith. Nevertheless, churches were always full, even in 1951 and 1952 at the time when religious persecution was at its peak. University students did not dare to attend religious services. The AVH sent stenographers to the churches to take down the sermons.

I believe that the Catholic Church in Hungary was hardest hit by Communism. This was because the moral principles of the Catholic Church basically differs from those of the Communist Party. The Catholic higher clergy was unwilling to make any concessions to the Communist, and would not make any compromises. A few of the Protestant higher clergy were willing to do so, but it is another question that the vast majority of the Protestant lay men disapproved of this.

I do not think that the Jewish religion was persecuted in Hungary. This was probably because the Jewish synagogues were able to reach ~~an agreement~~ an agreement with the Communists.

Religion plays a very important role in my life. My parents are also very religious. I think, in general, I am more religious than the average person in Hungary. I go to church frequently and attend Mass and participate in Holy Communion often.

C. Religious freedom should exist not only on paper, but also in practice. The State should never interfere in the affairs of the Church. But it is necessary in such countries as, for example, Hungary where the church is relatively poor, to have the state contribute to the support of the church. In an independent Hungary I approve of the return of the church schools to the churches. I would make religious training compulsory. I think the churches should be allowed to voice their opinion in such matters as the censorship of films, books and plays. In an independent Hungary I would not want to have clergy head the government, but members of the clergy should be allowed to play an active role in politics.

D. (The respondent could not be persuaded to answer questions on Judaism.)

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. In your question concerning the Hungarian youth, do you mean the youth before the revolution or the youth which took part in the revolution?

Before the revolution, under Hungarian youth, one usually meant the members of the Disz organization. This included school children from 14 ~~to~~ until the completion of their university studies. I am not certain, but I think there was an age limit of 25 or 26 when a student ceased to be a member of the Disz, even if he had not completed his university studies.

But, if you mean the youth which took part in the revolution, then, the Hungarian youth includes youngsters from 6 to 8 to young people of 30 to 35.

B. In the last six months before the revolution, a certain restlessness could be observed among the Hungarian youth. They too were aware of the intellectual ferment. They were also effected by it. But in this intellectual ferment they did not play a leading role, they only participated in it.

outbreak of the revolution

The demonstrations which lead to the ~~demonstrations~~ were organized and staged entirely by the university students. Some secondary schools also took part, and when the demonstrators were already out on the street, then other people, mostly workers, joined them. It can be said that the Hungarian youth, especially the university students, organized and staged the demonstrations. But here ~~xxx~~ again, they had the assistance and advice of young intellectuals such as assistant university professors, writers, and so on.

I don't think that the Hungarian youth led the fighting. It is better said that they only initiated the fighting.

It must be mentioned that some of the students who participated in the demonstrations were Communists, and did not want a revolution or a change of government. But, by subsequent events they too were caught by the tide of the revolution and participated in the fighting. It can be said that the fighting was started by the university students, but very soon, the industrial workers took over. It can not be said that there was any leadership at all during the fighting. There was no leadership even within the Hungarian army, itself.

I think it was the Hungarian youth who initiated the revolution, and not ~~xx~~ any older age group, because the youth in general is always more enthusiastic. The Hungarian university ~~xxxx~~ students were the best organized class in Hungary. They had close contact with each other, and they were also intelligent enough to understand the basic political problems and issues. And they were influenced by the intellectual ferment which took place before the revolution.

I think that the older people had a very good opinion of the Hungarian youth at the time of the revolution. They were effected to tears by the conduct and bravery of the youth. They were also moved to action by the youth. The Hungarian youth, on their part, had a deep regard for the older generation, and they accepted their directions and advice very readily.

C. The Communists changed the educational system of Hungary to a certain extent. Previously, from the fourth grade of primary school one could go to the gymnasium, the curricular of which was eight years. Now, the Communists reduced the gymnasium to four years, and introduced a general grade school of eight years. (NOTE: Children not wishing to study in secondary schools had to complete six years of grade school and repeat the last class until they reached the age of 17.) This new school system slightly raised the level of education of those who did not wish to continue to study, but it reduced the level of the education of the secondary schools. Politics were mixed into all subjects, even mathematics and physics.

The level of education in the secondary schools was good, but far below the level of secondary schools during and before the war. This refers only to the average student, because there were exceptionally brilliant pupils in all schools. I think probably the few remaining religious schools were the only ones to maintain the previous level of education in the secondary schools. ~~Research~~

Few of the old experts on education were tolerated in the Ministry of Education. They were replaced by Communists who copied Soviet methods, and who had Soviet text books ~~transferred~~ translated to Hungarian.

The Hungarian Communists, in order to insure all possible technicians needed for their expanding industry, introduced a series of vocational schools. There were agriculture gymnasiums, chemical gymnasiums, and gymnasiums for the iron and steel industries, and for the construction industry, et. In these schools, all importance was attached to special subjects, and such subjects as Latin ~~and~~, history, literature, foreign languages (with the exception of Russian) were cut down considerably.

It was interesting that ~~and~~ in the universities special departments for military science, Marxism and the Russian language were set up everywhere. Some university professors attempted to maintain the previous level of university education. But many of them were unable to do so because of the large number of young workers and peasants who were sent to universities after comparatively short training courses. They did not have the proper educational background to continue ~~their~~ university studies. Very often political pressure was brought on university professors to let such students pass.

Some university professors resisted as long as they could, but many of them were compelled to take directions from the educational department of the Ministry of Education.

At the universities the Communists introduced a system of study-groups. Students of one class were divided into groups of ten or twelve. They studied together. Such groups also served to provide detailed information of the conduct and mentality of the students. There was a police spy in every such group. Groups were often changed so that the members would not get accustomed to each other. It sometimes required two or three years to enable ~~xxxx~~ a person to decide in whom he can confide.

The majority of the university professors were professors who had received their nominations from the previous regime. They were eminent scientists, and scholars who could not be dispensed with. Some of the professors who had been nominated by the Communists were, at least seemingly, Party members. But even these professors were well qualified to teach at universities.

In the secondary schools the previous instructors depended, to a great extent, on the director of the school. This was a key position to which, usually, ~~xxxx~~ reliable Communists were assigned. Not all of the young instructors who finished their studies under Communism were politically reliable. A few of them were Communists and were assigned to key posts. ~~positions~~ The rest of them were satisfied if they were left alone by the director.

It is my impression that the young gymnasium instructors who finished their studies under Communism did not know as much as was required during and before the war. The political conduct of the school teachers was not as favorable as that of the secondary school instructors. Many new young Communists were assigned to teach school, and the majority of the old staff did not have enough backbone to resist or ~~sax~~ sabotage Communist instructions concerning education. This caused a very unfavorable impression in the villages about the intelligentsia.

E It is true that the Communists spent much time and effort to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth. Their indoctrination began in kindergarten. In ~~xxxx~~ grade schools and secondary schools textbooks, especially those on history and literature, were entirely rewritten according to Communist taste. Secondary school students were taught Communist theory in the form of "constitution." At the universities Communist doctrines were spread in economic classes, and also in special classes on Marxism. The teaching of Russian was compulsory in the universities.

The Communist were unable to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth because

the youth was able to see the contradictions between theory and practice. If something is repeated on and on, at the end you will believe it, but not if you see the opposite result in everyday life.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE.

A. The ~~most~~ thing we wanted most in Hungary was freedom; freedom to talk without fear, freedom to travel, freedom to express our opinions. Communist pressure did not allow one to do any of these things. It was so depressing to know that my close relatives lived only a few kilometers away on the other side of the Hungarian-Russian border and I was unable to visit them. But even more unbearable were the spiritual restrictions, the regimentation of thought and beliefs.

The peasants complained most about the pressure to form farm cooperatives. They were also troubled constantly because of the compulsory delivery of products. Their taxes were extremely high. Perhaps everybody in the country complained because of a constant lack of funds. There were also periodical shortages of goods, and goods which could never be obtained. The Soviet taste in culture was also very irritating. All cultural contacts with the Western world were prohibited. We lived in constant fear. People were very poorly paid. This applied also to those young workers and peasants who were urged by the government to study.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. DURING my last year in Hungary our family managed to get along fairly well financially. Since the first Imre Nagy government in 1953 the life of the kulaks became more tolerable. About one year before the revolution they were practically all rehabilitated.

This rehabilitation of the kulaks was not the same in all villages. Much depended on the composition of the village council. Sometimes they simply refused to carry out the instructions of the ministries. On the other hand, it must also be admitted that during the kulak oppression the situation was more tolerable in one village than another if the village council consisted of men with good intentions. In our village the situation improved considerably compared to what it had been before.

My father farmed our 35 yokes of ~~land~~ land. My brother-in-law helped him sometimes. My mother had a liver ailment, and she was unable to do more than the housework.

The food at home was the simple village fare, but there was an abundance of this. We did not have milk ~~because~~ or dairy products because during the last year my father did not have a cow. We were not so well off in the matter of clothes, but you must consider that in the villages people do not need as many clothes as in the city. My father had three or four suits. This included his work clothes as well.

My parents lived in one room, one kitchen, and one small hall. Previously, we had had a five room house, but three rooms were confiscated for classrooms, and a fourth was taken away to use as an office of the farm cooperative in our village.

From the Fall of 1955 I had been living in Budapest, studying and practicing to pass the entrance examination to the Academy of Music. I had to ~~practice~~ practice as much as six hours a day. I received about five or six hundred forints a month from my brother-in-law and parents. I paid 180 forints for a month, and meals cost me 380 forints a month at a students' cafeteria. I did not have much clothes, and my winter coat was a very thin one.

It was a luxury for me to spend one or two weeks in Debrecen during the summer vacation. I lived there with an elderly lady in whose home I lived at the time when I was a gymnasium student. I did not have to pay any money for my room and board, but my parents sent her potatoes and other produce in the autumn. All I needed was a little spending money, but this in all was to be considered a luxury.

My greatest problems were quarters. I had to have a room in which I

could ~~xxx~~ practice, and one in which there was a ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ piano. I could not afford to rent one.

Although Hungarian peasants are very unpretentious, nevertheless, we live much better before 1945. For example, before and during the war my parents were able to buy me a bass viol, and to pay for my music lessons. They could not afford to do so after the war. Under Communism there have been certain changes in my standard of living, but this can be attributed to not the better economic conditions, but to the fact that I had grown up and was living in a different environment.

Our standard of living was the highest in 1948, and the lowest in 1941. Among the families I knew in Communist Hungary, probably a distant relative of mine lived the best. He was a young school teacher ~~xxx~~ who married the daughter of a comparatively wealthy peasant. Although his father-in-law was comparatively rich, he was not termed a kulok, and not persecuted. The young couple lived with their in-laws. The wife did not work. They did not have to pay anything for rent or food, what the husband earned they spent only on clothing.

The low standard of living in Hungary under the Communist regime is due to political and economic reasons. To end the private ownership ~~in~~ of land in Hungary, it was the purpose of the Communist party to ruin the peasantry. The introduction of labor competitions served to exploit, to the greatest possible extent, both industrial and agricultural workers. This was done in order to increase to the maximum the exports to the Soviet Union. Very much was taken from Hungary to the Soviet Union, and under the pretext of reparation shipments.

On the other hand, the Communists created a new small class of ~~xxx~~ well paid Communist officials and officers who lived considerably much better off than before.

B. I don't know what the average monthly income of my father was. I think that the income of a peasant such as my father was determined by the amount of his tax. He had to work until he could pay off his taxes. I believe that in the last year ~~xxxxx~~ before the revolution my father's annual tax was 25,000 forints. ~~xxxxx~~ Since the rehabilitation of the kuloks began my father earned enough to pay off his taxes, and to have a bit left for clothing and other essential expenses.

In the last year before the revolution I did not work. I was studying to prepare for my entrance examination to the Academy of Music in Budapest. I received about 500 forints a month from my brother-in-law and my father. I had great difficulty in making ends meet, and had to live a very simple life.

My father did not pay any trade union dues, but I think that his last

subscription for government loan was 2500 forints.

My father did not have any secondary source of income.

My mother kept house for us, but she was unable to work on the farm, because she was ill. While my grandmother was living, she did the house work at home, and my mother was able to help on the farm. My brother-in-law and my sister would come to help my mother and father. We did not dare to hire any help for the farm.

C. Peasants were not always permitted to sell their produce on the open market. They could do this only if they had met all compulsory farm deliveries, and had paid their taxes. Then what was left, and what they were able to spare they could sell on the free market for somewhat more than ~~the~~ what the same products sold for at the government stores. But I do not know how much the differences in prices were.

Suits and clothing were obtainable only in government stores. You could order custom made clothes, but this cost much more than ready-made clothes. The government commissioned shops sold only second-hand articles.

The items available in Hungarian retail stores were items of mass-production. Their quality was inferior. I did not notice any change in the quality of the goods during the various years. The poor quality of the products can be attributed to the ~~labor~~ labor competitions, and the attempts to economise with materials.

I did not notice any bottle-neck situations arising in the distribution in retail articles. What was not available in village stores was not available in Budapest ~~either~~, neither. It was most difficult to get foreign spare parts, but Hungarian spare parts were available. I do not think there was any spoilage or waste of food.

At one time there were shortages of flour, meat, and lard. People had to line up for these, not only in the cities, but also in the villages.

Shoes and clothing were available because they were too expensive to buy. At one time it was entirely impossible to get oranges, citric fruits, dates, bananas, etc. Coffee, tea, and cocoa were also hard to get. However, one could see ~~some~~ lemons in the last year before the revolution. I do not know how much they cost, I never bought any. There was an acute shortage of bread in 1950 and 1951. At that time ~~the~~ Bread rationing was introduced, and even the farmers who grew the wheat had to stand in line to buy bread.

There was an extensive black-market in Hungary during the 1945, 1946 inflation. I have had no personal experience with the black-market after this date, but I heard that articles, especially textiles, smuggled in from abroad were obtainable on the black-market. I do not

know anything about their prices or about their quality. I don't think any retail merchant would have dared to demand more than the official price for any product or article he sold. He could do this only if he knew the customer very well and trusted him. I do not know what the punishment for black-market speculations was.

D. (Respondent was a student who never had any full time employment. His father was also self employed on his own farm. Therefore, questions under sub-section D had to be omitted.)

E. In Hungary I would like to live in a city, but to spend summer vacations in the country. I prefer city life only because of my interest in music.

In my opinion the rural population of Hungary ate more and better food, but perhaps, the demands of the peasantry are much smaller in this respect than those of the city population.

I think that the general standard of living was higher in the cities than in the country.

Perhaps it was easier politically to live in the cities than in the country. Many peasants left their farms and moved to the city because they could stand the oppression no longer. On the other hand, there were some of the ex-members of the intelligentsia who went to the country and lived there much more peacefully than in the city.

The Hungarian peasants heard about "kolhoz"-es long before 1945. Hungarian soldiers who fought on the Russian front told much about their experiences in Russia when they returned home for home-leave. Everyone was prejudiced against the "kolhoz"-es system, and it was useless to substitute "farm cooperative production group" for it. The agricultural policy of the Communist Party gave every possible assistance to the first few farm cooperatives. They operated at a considerable loss. Seemingly, life on these farm cooperatives was better and easier for the peasants than it had been before. But such show-window cooperatives were very few. Soon the Hungarian peasants realized the difficulties and disadvantages of farm cooperatives. ~~This~~ These were disagreements concerning management, farm cooperative members had less incentives to work than when they owned their own land.

I think that the kulaks were most opposed to farm cooperatives and collectivization. The middle peasantry at one time played with the idea of joining. Some of the small peasants were opposed to farm cooperatives, others were in favor of them. The Hungarian agricultural ~~proletarians~~ who had no land of their own were the ones most in favor of collective farming. But they too soon became disillusioned with it when they saw that they were earning less than they had before.

~~Before~~ Before the revolution I had heard of some farm cooperatives being dissolved. The papers did not write about this; I do not know any of the details.

These farm cooperatives were probably dissolved because they were operating at a loss. The members were earning practically nothing. There was much argument about management problems. Too much bureaucracy and red tape were involved. In general, everyone wanted to sit in an office and direct others, instead of going out to the fields and work.

If I were an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary I would much prefer to work on a private farm.

In an independent Hungary farmers should be allowed to sell their produce on the open market. Market prices should not be regulated by the government. But if prices get too low, then the government should come to the assistance of the farmers, the same as here in the United States. The agricultural reform introduced by the Communists should not be abolished, but the larger estates should not be restored to their previous owners. I think it would be advisable to continue the mechanization of the farms, and to introduce an upper limit of 100 yokes per family.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948 I was too young to be interested in politics. I don't see any difference in the Communist Party before 1948 and after 1948. There is basically no difference between Bela Kun and Rakosi. I state this opinion despite the fact that before 1948 I had had no practical experience with Communism.

B. I think that a sharp distinction should be made between old Communist members and new Communist Party members. The old ones are the Communists who took part in Party activities at the time when the Party was forced to operate underground. Many of them infiltrated the Social-Democratic Party.

In 1945, when the first elections showed how few Communists there were in the country, the Hungarian Communist Party began to recruit members. At that time Communist convictions were not necessary. The vast majority of the people, then, joined the Party because they felt reprisals because of their conduct or political beliefs during or before the war. Communist Party membership offered them immunity from criminal prosecution. They were also able to keep their jobs.

~~The more recent Party members are either Communists by conviction or people who want to get ahead in life. The latter are willing to pretend that they are Communists by conviction.~~
The more recent Party members are either Communists by conviction or people who want to get ahead in life. The latter are willing to pretend that they are Communists by conviction.

Many people have joined the Communist Party without the slightest intention of aiding it. However, they unwittingly contributed to the rise of Communist Party, because the Party was able to always refer to its large membership. Immediately after the ~~World War II~~ World War II many people thought that Communism may be a change for the better. They soon became disillusioned. This is true especially of the industrial workers. Many small and middle peasants also joined. The intelligentsia resisted Communism as long as it could, but finally they, too, had to give in.

Our impression was that the policy of the Communist Party always depended on political and economic conditions (for examples, ~~quarrels with Tito, the~~ Rajk case, Stalin's death, etc.) The policy of the Hungarian Communist Party was always directed by Moscow.

There were necessarily differences of opinion within the Communist Party, because the Communist Party was created by absorbing other parties, such as the Social-Democratic Party. This absorption was complete only seemingly. However, terror also existed within the Party and no differences of opinion could be expressed. Only when Imre Nagy came into power could some of these differences be expressed.

True Party morale could not exist in the Communist Party which considered only obedience and which was quick to punish the slightest deviation from Party line. Terror within the Party and the uncertainty of the Party members made them refrain from expressing any opinions. One could feel that the Party members were forced to take the opinion that the Party was right no matter what resolution was adopted, or what was to be said at the meetings. The Communist Party tolerates no contradictions and no deviations.

When, after a meeting, one entered a room which was now empty but for the cigarette smoke and cigarette butts, one felt that this was the scene of a meeting of which a few people with bad consciences nodded approval of what the only omnipotent party had to say.

There were necessarily changes in Party Morale, but these were not evident. Only after a limited freedom of expression was granted in the post-Stalin era. ~~When~~ Even many of the older Communists who were members of the underground Communists became disillusioned with Communism. This, however, they had to keep strictly to themselves, or they could tell only their most reliable friends.

The quality of Party morale within the Communist Party is necessarily determined by the composition of its members.

The top leaders of the Communist Party are either diabolic fanatics, ambitious people with no moral inhibitions, and the majority are Communists by conviction. Some of them have personality. For example, people like Rijk who fought in Spain, or Communists like Rakosá who spent long years in prison. They have character but they do not have morals.

The intentions of some top Communists' members may have been good at the time when they joined. Later on some of them may have realized their mistake, but they were unable to get off the moving train. Most of the top Communists are after both material and personal gains.

The top Communist leaders must accept and follow blindly the resolutions adopted by the Party. The true motives of the Party's policy are not always made public. Very often, they are disguised in pretexts. In the hierarchy in the Communist Party the resolutions adopted by the top leaders must be accepted without question by all lower officials. The common Party member must conceal his dissatisfaction with Party policy, and cannot leave the Party if he wants to. ~~There are many~~ The reactions to the common Party members to Party policy vary according to what group they belong, and for what motives they had originally joined the Party.

If Hungary becomes independent the top members of the Communist Party should be brought to justice.

✓ C. There was open and official opposition to Communism in Hungary from 1945 until 1948. That is, as long as other political parties were allowed to exist. When the opposition parties had been liquidated in 1948, strong opposition to Communism could be noticed in the villages where Communists were unable to find people willing to join their farm co-operatives. Their answer to this was higher taxes and higher compulsory delivery quotas for the kulaks and middle peasants. The peasantry resisted and sabotaged this the best it could.

The Hungarian industrial workers showed resistance when labor competitions were introduced, and when workers were not allowed to leave their jobs and seek employment elsewhere without official permission.

Grumbling always existed, but to what extent it was done openly ~~depend~~ depended largely on the political pressures at the time. At the height of the Communist terror in 1951 and 1952, people complained very much to reliable friends only. Police informers were everywhere. I have not heard anything about strikes among industrial workers.

The facts which I have mentioned are public knowledge in Hungary.

I think that these small acts of opposition were, in a certain sense, effective. They kept up the dissatisfaction of the people. The government was not entirely indifferent to public opinion, and I think that had there been not the slightest evidence of resistance, the government would have proceeded at a much more rapid pace its program to make Hungary Communistic.

Open opposition in Hungary declined somewhat in 1951 and 1952. It increased after Stalin's death, and was at its height before and during the revolution.

The intellectual ferment in Hungary started immediately after Stalin's death. The first writers were probably instructed to write the articles which appeared only to enable the Communist Party to show that there was freedom of opinion in Hungary. With the loosening of the reins the intellectuals became much bolder. Finally, the "Irodalmi Ujsag" appeared, and the Petofi Circle was formed.

I heard about the Petofi Circle only immediately before the outbreak of the revolution. I read about it in the "Irodalmi Ujsag". The Hungarian intellectuals in the Petofi Circle and the authors who spoke their minds during the new course ~~and~~ played an important role, but did not represent anything new. What they had to say was known to everyone long ago. Their importance lies in the fact that they wrote openly for the first time what everybody felt in secret.

At first I did not trust the new intellectuals. Many of them had been awarded Stalin prizes. But it can not be denied that they started the avalanche that culminated in the revolution.

I value only those intellectuals who had principles and character, and who were silenced under the Communist regime. Many of them had been imprisoned. Most of the others had been prominent others who had only been carried away by the tide of the revolution. Many of them have now recanted.

The intellectuals turned against the Communist regime probably because they were fed up with the tight control over their literary activities. They were always told what to write and how to write.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Prospective AVO men and officers were selected when they appeared before the military draft board. If their class origin and background was right, they were selected and sent to special training camps where they underwent radical training. I had a friend who was a very likable young peasant boy. He was drafted for the AVO. In a special training camp near Szeged he was taught, among other things, how to torture people. He said that a diabolical non-commissioned officer taught them how to hit people and where to hit them.

The officers of the AVO were very carefully selected. They had to have spotless proletarian backgrounds. They were villains ~~and~~ capable of anything. Their top officers were intellectuals who sold themselves to the regime. ~~xxxx~~

I have had no direct contact with the AVO. I only knew the boy I just mentioned and also heard a few things from my roommate whose brother had been an AVO lieutenant.

My father had been arrested and mistreated not by the AVO, but by the Blue Police. When they finally let my father go he had to report every Sunday at the Police station. He did not tell us much about what went on there, but he feared these weekly visits to the police station very much. Once or twice, when he drank a bit ~~xxxxxxxx~~ more than usual, he started to cry and hinted that he was being mistreated and tortured by the police.

I have not heard of any AVH man who wanted to leave the service, or had pangs of conscience.

It is true that the vast majority of people in Communist Hungary lived in constant anxiety and fear. There was only a very small new upper-class which lived extremely well.

The question of what is to be done with the AVH men in a liberated Hungary is a very difficult one. There were among them some simple peasant boys who had been recruited for this service. It is hard to imagine that they too mistreated prisoners or were brutal to others. The AVO officers were probably less humane. I think it will be necessary to investigate the conduct of every AVH man and, if the evidence warrants it, he should be brought to court for trial.

Most of the men serving with the AVO border guards were

recruited for this service. I think they are less dangerous than the Blue AVO had been.

The political role of the Blue Police differed considerably from the AVO. They too had their plain clothesmen and investigators, but the dirty work was left for the AVO to do. However, in the villages the Blue Police filled the role of the AVO, especially in the persecution of the kulaks.

The Blue Police force was also Communist, but the government did not trust it to the same extent as it did the AVO. I think that the Blue Police operated less effectively than the police force during the war and during the Horthy regime. In the first few years a few police officers were retained from those who had served under the Horthy regime, but they were replaced by new Communist trained officers as soon as it was possible.

In some places the Blue Police acted the same as the army during the revolution. That is, they fought together with the insurgents. In other places as, for example, in Debrecen the Blue Police fired on the demonstrators. In Debrecen ~~the~~ three people had been killed when they attempted to remove a red star from one of the buildings. In Budapest the Blue Police conducted themselves well, but very many AVO officers put on ~~blue~~ blue uniforms to disguise themselves. I personally saw policeman who were fighting in the revolution.

B. I think that the civil courts in Communist Hungary were also influenced by Party politics. The courts were ~~quite~~ prejudiced by the social background of the people whose cases they tried. Much depended on the class origin of the person appearing before the court. In criminal cases the court was influenced also by the ~~fact~~ social origin of the person against whom the crime was committed. Crimes committed against kulaks were punished much less severely than crimes committed, for example, an industrial worker.

I was too young to notice how the courts functioned during and ~~before~~ before the war. But on the basis of what I have heard from my father and older people, I think that both rich and poor received the same treatment before the courts. The financial position of one influenced the outcome of the trial only in one respect: the party who had more money had a better chance of soliciting the services of the better lawyers.

I have heard about the people's courts which were set up in

1945 to try war criminals. I do not consider those Hungarian army officers who fought in the war as war criminals. I do not believe that the sentences imposed by the People's Courts could have been just for the mere fact that the judges were delegated by the various political parties and were not impartial or unbiased.

C. When the Hungarian students started their demonstration, the soldiers inside the barracks felt that something was in the air, despite the fact that they were not allowed newspapers. A few officers and the ~~heads~~ heads of military science departments of the Budapest universities played an important part in organizing the demonstrations. It is hard to say at this stage how far these officers these officers wanted to go. For example, the cadet who spoke at our meeting had to go through a certain screening before he was admitted to the military academy. Therefore, he must have been a Communist. He may have wanted only certain small concessions.

In some of the barracks the soldiers saw the demonstrations from the windows and cheered them. But they were influenced by the uncertainty of the officers. For example, in the Barracks facing the square where the Bem statue stood, soldiers cheered us enthusiastically and placed Hungarian flags on the barracks, but were afraid of their officers and did not leave the building.

Another thing must be taken in to consideration in order to understand the conduct of the army. Among the enlisted men there were very many who, for political reasons, were not permitted to study and had been drafted for military service. These enlisted men did much to influence the others.

It can not be said the Hungarian army fought as a unit. This was out of the question because there was no central leadership. But many smaller units of the army fought together, and many officers and enlisted men left their barracks and joined the revolution individually.

The conduct of the army depended to a large scale to what events took place in the vicinity where the various troops were stationed. By this I mean that the troops in Budapest reacted ~~to~~ differently when they saw the large scale demonstrations and the start of the fighting, than the troops stationed in some little place in the trans-Danubian district where nothing at all happened. Other units were influenced by the conduct of their officers. I think that if the officers sided with the revolution, then they could bring all their men to join in the fighting. But, I think, if the officers were opposed to participating in the revolution then their influence was comparatively smaller.

I was not surprised much by the conduct of the Hungarian army during the revolution. In the one month that I was in the army I saw enough of army life to know that the ~~soldiers~~ soldiers were not satisfied with the regime.

I served in the Hungarian army for one month in the summer of 1951. At that time I was a first year medical student. I was stationed in Hajdusamson in a summer ~~army~~ army camp set up especially for university students. We were the first group of university students who had to do compulsory military service during their studies, that is, during their vacations.

We received infantry training. We had to get up at dawn to the sounds of a Russian bugle. We had to perform Soviet military exercises. In course of this it was compulsory to urinate. After the military exercises we washed and prepared for inspection. Breakfast consisted of dehydrated potatoes and some bread. After that we had political instruction classes for one hour or sometimes for two. Then we went out for drills. For lunch we usually received some stew with very little meat in it and a slice of bread. After a short rest, exercises and drills continued. Supper was at 7 o'clock and we received some coffee, a slice of bread, and a slice of bacon. About every second evening there would be a film, but it was compulsory to attend the performance. Retreat was sounded at 10 o'clock.

The army fare was very bad and not enough. We were not permitted to receive parcels from home. There was no drinking water, but we were able to buy bottles of beer from the canteen. The cess pools were too near the wells and we did not dare drink that water. The officers and the non-commissioned officers, from sergeant on, did not eat the same food as we did. We were quartered in tents, twelve men to a tent.

The majority of the officers were ex-industrial workers, the rest were ex-peasants. The non-commissioned officers were mostly peasants. The officers had been selected to attend military training courses at the Kossuth and Petofi Academies. Few of the non-commissioned officers were reenlisted men.

The officers chose this profession because it was well paid, it did not require much work, they received uniforms, quarters and food. The non-commissioned officers who reenlisted were not paid as well as the officers, but they too had many advantages and did not like to work. The non-~~commissioned~~ commissioned officers who were not reenlisted men had been promoted to their ranks during their terms of compulsory military service.

I think that all officers were Party members and most of the non-commissioned officers. Our commander was a Major who completed the famous school for non-commissioned officers in Jutas during the Horthy regime. Somehow, it was my feeling that he was not a Communist by conviction. The other officers were seemingly Communists, especially the political officers. It was hard to decide who of them were really were really Communists and who were only pretending.

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In the line of ~~training~~ both officers and non-commissioned officers played ~~many~~ mean tricks on us. Our training was very stiff. We had to march many weary kilometers. We were very tired at the end of the month when we were discharged.

It was my impression that our officers had inferiority complexes towards us. They ~~did~~ did not have the same basic education as we had. Their knowledge of military matters was fairly good. The training proceeded entirely along Russian lines. It could be seen that it was based on an abundance of man-power. From engineering students who served in the anti-air craft artillery, I heard that the training of their officers was very inadequate. The conduct of the officers and non-commissioned officers toward the men had nothing to do with their Party membership or class origin.

Seemingly there was equal treatment for everyone in the army. But there were one or two Disz secretaries who were in easy office jobs, and did not have to go out for drills and exercises. Needless to say, they were Communists.

We had one and a half to two hours of political orientation a day. This consisted of lectures and reports prepared by the men. We had to take notes and our notebooks were examined. Most of the material we heard in political indoctrination classes was not new to us, because we had had such subjects at the university previously. Political indoctrination classes were entirely a matter of indifference to us, but perhaps we even preferred these classes to military drills.

D. I think very few people in Hungary remember or read about the conduct of the Russians in Hungary when they crushed the 1848 revolution. But everyone remembers their conduct in 1945. Basically, this is the reason for their unpopularity in Hungary.

I was still a child in 1945, but I remember very well that my grandfather, who had been a prisoner-of-war in Russia during World War I and others who were there with him, had a favorable impression of the Russian people, but they feared Communism after their experiences of the 1918-1919 Communist regime in Hungary. Therefore, we feared the arrival of the Russians very

much in 1944 and 1945.

The first Russians who came in, ~~and~~ took our horses, and everything else they took a liking to. Later some drunken Russians came and even pulled the boots off my mother's feet. Everytime the Russians came my father had to hide in a secret cellar, because they were taking away the men for compulsory labor. The Russians were also committing atrocities against women.

My opinion of the Russians did not change much ~~in~~ with time. To me they always represented Communism in Hungary. I did not sympathize at all with them.

I personally did not have much contact with Russian occupation troops. One summer I ~~was~~ worked full time on a road construction job near the Russian airfield in Debrecen. I talked to some of the soldiers. A friend of mine who played the piano well, ~~thought~~ taught the children of one of the officers to play jazz music. ~~He was permitted to make a few purchases in the Russian army PX, and on one occasion I went with him.~~

Russian troops in Debrecen were stationed on the airfield and in one of the barracks in the city. The Russian officers and their families were living either on the airfield, or in ~~the~~ special apartment houses in the city. We could see them and their families on the streets often. The Russian enlisted men were not let out from the barracks or the airfield ~~very often~~ so often.

Their sometimes ~~exotic~~ oriental features and their rude manners did not make the Russians very popular. This in itself had a peculiar effect on a person, regardless of his previous experience with Russians.

The enlisted men were simple people and basically not evil. But the Soviet military system had made Janizaries out of them. The officers went about town very much. It could be seen that they had plenty of money. They were well fed and well dressed individuals who looked contented.

There was very little social contact between the Russian ~~officers~~ occupation troops and the Hungarians. Before the revolution there was practically no contact whatever. The Hungarian women ~~wh~~ they contacted were mostly prostitutes. I do not know of any courtship, although I have heard that in 1946 Russian women wanted to marry Hungarian men very badly, in order to be allowed to stay in Hungary. This was before the Communist government in the Soviet Union prohibited marriages between Russian citizens and foreigners.

There were no social contact between Russian families and Hungarian families. Russian officers could be seen more often on the streets, but there was no basic difference in the attitudes of the Hungarian population toward the Russian officers or the Russian enlisted men. The Russians were disliked and despised by the Hungarian civilian population.

My general impression of the Russians is that they are Russians first and Communists only second. They are patriotic despite their rigorous Communist indoctrination and training. I do not know what their opinion is of Russia economically and politically, but I think that they like the situation in Hungary, and many of them wanted to remain here. It is my impression that the Russians liked the Hungarians more than the Hungarians liked them. Probably the officers were more Communistic than the men. During the revolution neither I nor my family nor any of our friends had any direct contact with the Russian troops in Hungary. From the windows of our students' home, I saw many Russian soldiers and civilians alike, but I did not speak to any of them. I also saw ~~many~~ many Russians on my way from Budapest home.

The Russian civilians seemed very uncertain and frightened. The women were crying.

I do not think there was any difference in the conduct of the Russian officers in comparison to the enlisted men. All of the Russians were young, with the exception of a few high ranking officers. Most of them were Ukrainians and White Russians. I saw Mongolians and Asiatics only in the first days of November. The ~~Soviet~~ Asiatics gave the impression of being very wild, but at the same time, they too were uncertain. I think that the Russians who had been stationed in Hungary a longer time before the revolution fought very unwillingly against us. Probably, this is the reason why they had to be replaced.

I know about the conduct of the Russian troops during the revolution only from hearsay. In the first stage of the revolution I don't think that the Russians committed any acts of atrocity against Hungarian citizens, but this may have happened after November 4. I heard of ~~many~~ such cases, but only know of them from hearsay.

E. One of the rooms of our house at home had been taken away from us and was used by the local cooperative store as an office. The manager of this cooperative store was a young Communist of 17 or 18 years of age. His father had also been a Communist from 1945 on. He received a very good pay, getting about 2000 forints per month. He did not have more than ~~tax~~ ~~xx~~ eight grades of elementary school,

but was a very bright young chap. I think that he was a Communist by conviction. He had talent, but did not have training. He was a typical bureaucrat preparing the many superfluous reports and statistics. He was disagreeable to my parents because he had taken away one of their rooms.

In Hungary I have known one or two public administration officials who had concern, primarily, for the benefits of the Hungarian people. But such officials did not remain in office long.

F. In Communist Hungary it was sometimes possible to circumvent regulations and rules. For example, when I applied for admission to the ~~University~~ Debrecen School of Medicine I submitted false facts in order to be enrolled. This was done with the assistance of the local Party secretary in our village. My brother-in-law knew him well and induced him to give me a report in which the amount of land my father owned was stated to be less than what he really had. I was admitted to the school, but after a year they found out and dismissed me.

After the introduction of village councils, it was more difficult to circumvent government regulations in the way I had done with the aid of the Party secretary. In some villages where the public administration officials were more cooperative, much could be done to alleviate the burden on the kulaks. For example, some villages permitted the ~~kulaks~~ kulaks to buy livestock jointly for the purpose of delivering it to the government for the quota. ~~xxxxxx~~

I have heard of a few cases of ~~extensive~~ bribery, but this was very dangerous. If the official concerned was caught it meant prison, both for him and also for the person who bribed him.

G. I do not know much about the competency of the Hungarian secret police. I think that in the first years they retained very many experts from the previous regime. When the police force began to function better these people were dismissed. But, I think that in general the AVO achieved its results, not by its knowledge of criminology, but rather with the aid of informers. I don't think that the officers of the AVO were intelligent or competent.

I think the same applies to the Hungarian army leadership.

I think that the Russian ~~army~~ army leadership is basically the same as the Hungarian army leadership.

The average of competent and intelligent public administration officials is much higher than it is in either the AVO or the army. The reason for this is that many of the public administration

experts who were serving under the Communists' regime had been trained and had acquired long experience during the Horthy regime.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. With the revolution has begun the process of liberation for Hungary. The people at home are impatiently waiting to be freed. The process has just begun and it has not ended. It has only seemingly been scueled. It is impossible to imagine that this process will not continue. But the people at home realize that they themselves can do nothing now. They are waiting for Western assistance. The Communist empire has been shaken to its very foundations. Probably the Russian people at home are also waiting for their own freedom.

No matter how hard the present Communist government in Hungary tries to turn back to the Stalinistic policy it had abandoned, they are unable to erase the Hungarian revolution from the pages of history. The concessions that had been made have been regretted both by Moscow and Budapest governments. Even those concessions which were made during the revolution will be withdrawn.

Outside Hungary the armament race continues. Both the East and the West are preparing for war. I hope that the time for the final settling of accounts with Communism is not far away.

If there were any way to avoid war between the Soviet Union and the United States, then it should be avoided. But it is not very hard to imagine how this can be done. No matter how much I would like to avoid a third world war, the outbreak of such a war is very likely because of the Soviet foreign policy.

I don't think that the Soviet Union cares very much about United States Nations sanctions.

In the Soviet Union the Party policy will go back to the Stalin line. I do not think that any gradual liberalization in the Soviet Union is probable. The possibility of a revolution in Russia hinges on the future of the satellite countries. Should the Hungarian revolution repeat itself, let's say in the Eastern German Republic or in Poland, this may also have unforeseeable effects on the internal situation in the Soviet Union.

B. During the past ten years we were forced to witness the gradual Communization of our country. The formation of government farms, farm cooperative production groups, the nationalization of industries and enterprises all indicated that Hungary would soon be a member of the Soviet Union. Our future outlook was very grim. We saw the first rays of hope after Stalin's death. The second time, after the fall of Rakosi.

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Western radio broadcasts assured us that one day our country would be free again.

We hoped that the unification of Germany may also bring about the solution of our problems.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. I think it is a great mistake to continue the development of the Hungarian iron and steel industry. We should expand only our light industry to the extent that this is justified by our resources of the necessary raw materials. We must also develop our agriculture. Farm mechanization programs should be continued. Our agriculture should become more intensive. More orchards and vineyards should be planted; ~~the~~ truck farms should also be created.

If Hungary should become independent, all national enterprises and government farms, ~~the~~ and farm cooperative groups should cease.

In principle, the nationalization of industries is acceptable only in such countries where the form of government insures that the government ownership of industries and transportation facilities serves only the interests of the people of that country, and not the interest of some foreign government. In principle, I approve of the nationalization of both the heavy and light industries.

The government should not direct agriculture, it should only give advice to the farmers. The farm cooperatives and the government farms should be abolished, and the land given back or distributed among the peasants.

I would ~~set~~ set the maximum limit of land which one person or family could own at 100 yokes.

If I had to choose between two forms of government, one of which insured a fair ~~of~~ standard of living, but gave no freedom, and the other insured no jobs, but granted full freedom, I would choose freedom. If once freedom is insured, then everyone would be able to make a living. In an independent Hungary, I would be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party. There would be many top government officials and AVO and army officers who were very much satisfied with the present regime, and who may use the framework of the Communist Party the next regime to overthrow the government and reestablish Communism.

I would favor the outlawing of Fellow Travelers organizations only as they are dangerous to state security.

C. The ideal international situation for Hungary would be for her to become a neutral country like Austria.

I would prefer to have only economic relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union.

With the other Eastern European countries the Hungarian government of an independent Hungary should maintain both economic and cultural relations, provided that their culture is really not the culture of the Soviet Union.

I would prefer to have close economic and cultural relations with the Western European countries, and the United States.

I heard about plans for a federation of the Danubian states here in America from other Hungarian students. People at home know about this only from history. I would rather prefer Hungary to be independent like Switzerland and Austria, instead of forming such a federation. I think it ~~will be~~ will be very difficult to realize this plan. If such a federation is set up I would prefer to have Austria and Germany in it. I am not so keen on the participation of Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia in this federation. I have no objection to Bulgaria.

People in Hungary, especially the country people, do not know much about this idea.

I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. I would like to see Hungary regain all the territories which she had before the end of World War I. I think that people at home, in general, would like to see Hungary regain at least the territories which she received in the first and second Vienna Arbitrage decisions. But I realized that it would be extremely difficult for Hungary to regain all of her territories. I do not know what means can be used to achieve this purpose.

I am not much concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minority in Austria, but I am concerned about the Hungarian minorities in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. Their problems can best be solved by reannexing the Hungarian occupied territories to Hungary.

I consider all these questions important, and I think that a great majority of the people at home also consider them vital.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I do not know anything about Krushchev's secret speech, nor about Senator McCarthy and the UnAmerican Activities Committee. I do not know who Peron is.

I do not know much about Rakosi's private life. I heard that he was living in a villa on Svabhegy, and that he was always closely guarded. I knew that his wife was a Mongolian. I saw him only once in my life, when he was attending a concert in Budapest. We had to study his official biography. I do not know anything else about him.

B. Before the war my father subscribed to the "Igazsag" and to the "Uj Nemzedek". Both were daily papers. The Uj Nemzedek" was a Catholic daily. We did not subscribe to any magazines or journals. My parents read ~~xxxx kkkkk~~ read practically nothing but newspapers. They read very few books, and these were mostly religious ones.

After the war my father subscribed to the "Szabad Nep" and the "Szabad Fold". He read these newspapers thoroughly. I read them only to the extent that it was required for the political seminars.

From 1948 on we did not have much confidence in ~~th~~ what the papers wrote. But it was useful to read these papers because we were able to compare their material with what we heard over the radio. We were especially cautious about accepting newspaper versions of the foreign political situation, and about the so called "class war". We sometimes believed reports on industrial production.

Neither I nor my friends read any publications from the Soviet Union, or other Satellite countries. Russian publications were obtainable, and probably also Bohemian ones. I did not see any Yugoslav publications and do not know about the publications of the other satellite countries.

I was able to read Western publications a few times. A class-mate brought some American magazines to school. We saw beautiful advertisements in them and thought that this was exaggerations, and thought that they probably contained propaganda. We also discovered a ~~gm~~ few copies of the National Geographic magazine, which we read in secret. These were probably legal publications, but it was not advisable to be seen reading them. We were very

much impressed by what we read. That is, we did not read them, because neither one of us knew English, we only looked at the pictures and advertisements. I do not know of any illegal publications from the West in Hungary.

We did read some Hungarian books which had been placed on the index by the Communists. When the list of subscribed books was published, people did not destroy their books. My uncle had many such books which were on index, and he loaned them to us, and to his reliable friends. There were some such books also in our school library which, by oversight, were not weeded out. These books were mostly novels and fiction. I liked them very much. They had a special appeal to us because they were banned.

C. I often got news by word of mouth from people living in our village, or from classmates. Such news was mostly of political nature. Sometimes they were exaggerated ~~and~~ or distorted, but they always contained a grain of truth. There were some people I considered more reliable in this respect than others. I formed more opinion on the basis of my contact with them. I, too, always passed on the political news which I heard. I gave such news by word of mouth to the members of my family and to reliable acquaintances. In school there were a few reliable classmates with whom we always exchanged information.

F. I went to the cinema fairly frequently, about once a week. I saw many plays when I had a part-time job in the Debrecen Theatre. When I was not employed there, I went to ~~cinemas~~ the ~~theatre~~ theatre, opera, or concerts ~~at~~ about once a month. I preferred to see films which had some musical value. I preferred operas and operettas to plays. Best of all I liked Mozart's "Abduction from the Seraglio" and Shakespear's "Romeo and Juliet". The two films ~~which~~ I liked best ~~xxx~~ were "Hamlet", an English film, and a French film, "the Life of Verdi."

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I think that the vast ~~majority~~ majority of the people in the Soviet Union do not like Communism. There is only a small selected class which lives extremely well, and is satisfied. But it is hard to imagine that ~~in~~ a revolution ~~will~~ will take place in the Soviet Union. It may be possible, but only if something of this kind breaks out in the other satellite countries, and spreads later to the Soviet Union. For example, if a revolution similar to the one in Hungary would break out in Eastern Germany it ~~may~~ may spread to the Soviet Union. I do not think that gradual liberation is possible, or probable, in the Soviet Union.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union I think that the Communist government would be overthrown. Some democratic party would come to power, but not the Social-Democrats because the left wing of the Social-Democratic party stands too close to the Communist Party.

The aims of the top leaders of the Soviet Union is to create a classless society which would have no need for money. They want to create a completely social state. It is very hard to imagine that all this can be ~~achieved~~ achieved.

I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party are the same type people as Stalin was, with the exception that probably they are now more polished. They are militarists, and their convictions are ~~probably~~ probably stronger than those of the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party.

B. On the basis of their political conduct, I think that the government of East Germany is the most popular, and second most popular is the government of Poland. But if it is a question of the popularity of the people themselves, then I think the people of Poland are more popular in Hungary than the people of Eastern Germany. The traditional friendship between Hungarians and Poles has always existed. The least popular in Hungary are probably the Rumanians and the Bohemians, because of their conduct toward the Hungarian minorities living in their countries. I did not have much contact with these countries or people. Once I had been for a very brief visit to Rumania. It lasted only ~~two~~ two days.

If free elections were to be held in the satellite countries, I think that East Germany would ~~be~~ ~~very~~ very likely overthrow its Communist government. It would become unified with

West Germany and the present Bonn government would extent its rule over East Germany as well. Czechoslovakia would probably remain Communist because its standard of living under Communism is very high. Rumania~~y~~ would also probably overthrow the Communist regime. I do not know about Bulgaria, I know very little about that country.

I think that the highest standard of living is in East Germany, the second highest in Czechoslovakia. The lowest standard of living is in Bulgaria, and the second lowest in Hungary.

C. I do not trust the G~~y~~omulka government at all. I have ~~any~~ confidence only in the Polish people. I think that Gomulka is a Moscow puppet. I do not know what the conditions in Poland were before Gomulka's rise to power. I am not in favor of his policy of gradualism. Whether He stays in power or not remains entirely up to Moscow. Events in Poland and also East Germany contributed to the ferment in Hungary. The Polish events had a direct effect on the Hungarian revolution. The demonstrations on October 23 were held in sympathy with the Polish students. The so-called silent demonstration marched past a building where the Polish workers delegation was quartered, and where Polish flags were flying from the building. The Poles received loud cheers from the demonstrators.

I do not think that any real freedom of expression had been granted in Poland at all. All these freedoms were only light concessions which appeared to be more than they really were. We heard about the Poznan riots from the Communist radio and press, and also foreign radio broadcasts. On one occasion, the people in our village found leaflets dropped from the air which gave an account of the Poznan trial. Regrettably, these leaflets were written in either Slovak or Czech and nobody understood them.

Tens and thousands people lost their lives in the Hungarian revolution, and they were unable to achieve what they wished to because they had no Western aid. On the other hand, Poland had gained nothing by its peaceful revolution.

D. Tito's Yugoslavia seems to represent something halfway between Eastern Communism and Western democracy. But it is a contradiction to call Tito's regime national Communism. Every form of Communism is Basically international. Tito cannot be called a national Communist. He does not want to let the Moscow Communists to be the high-priests ~~next~~ of International Communism, but claims this post for himself.

In my opinion, there is not much difference between international ~~Comm~~ Moscow Communism, and national Tito Communism.

I think that from the point of view of the Yugoslav people, Tito is a very clever statesman. He is trying to get all the advantages of friendship with the West, but at the same time he remains basically a Communist.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are seemingly somewhat strained, since the Hungarian revolution. But I think that underneath this appearance relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are cordial.

Tito's relations with the satellite countries of Europe are always influenced by his official relations with the Soviet Union. The satellites ~~are~~ always adjust themselves to the policy of Moscow.

Tito's relations with the Western countries, especially with the United States, are also influenced and governed by his relations with the Moscow government.

Relations between Hungary and Tito have undergone considerable changes several times. Up to the outbreak of the Rijk case, Hungary was on very good terms with Yugoslavia. He was compromised by Rijk. After Rakosi's downfall, Gero made every attempt to appease Tito, and seemingly, succeeded. During the Hungarian revolution, Tito was very cautious, and finally, termed it as a counter-revolutionary attempt to overthrow Communism. He ~~criticized~~ criticized the previous Communist regimes, but supports the Kadar government.

~~With the exception of a few Titoists,~~

With the exception of the few Titoist Communist leaders who have already been liquidated, the remaining Communist leaders of European satellite countries are in favor of Moscow brand Communism. I don't think there is any great future for Tito's National Communism in the satellite countries.

I know very little about the conditions in Yugoslavia, but my impression is that ~~Tito~~ Tito is very popular in Yugoslavia. My impression is based on the character of the Yugoslav people who are very patriotic. My must also have a high regard for ~~Tito~~ Tito's war record.

E. I do not know about the conditions which existed in China before the Communists took over. But, I think, that the Chinese Communists were able to come to power because the great majority of the Chinese live poverty.

This made them sympathize with Communism.

Perhaps the Chinese Communist government enjoys much more independence from Moscow than the other satellites. The reason is that China is very large, and has a ~~great~~ vast population.

I know practically nothing about the relations of India and England.

I am under the impression that the decision of the Egyptian government to take over the Suez Canal was conspired by the Soviet Union. I don't think that England, France, and Israel were right in attacking and invading Egypt. They caused by this act an acute international crisis which had a very bad effect on the developments in Hungary. On the other hand, they were unable to gain anything by their ~~xxx~~ invasion. Many people in Hungary attribute the ~~fact~~ failure of the Western countries to give military aid to Hungary during the revolution to the outbreak of the Egyptian crisis.

F. I believe that the standard of living in West Germany is the highest in Europe.

West Germany is very strongly in favor of unifying Germany. The unification of Germany may very easily be the cause of World War III.

I approve of West Germany rearmament because the Soviet Union is preparing for war. I think that the armed forces of Western Germany are superior to those of France, and also to Great Britain. But, on the sea Great Britain is stronger than the German navy. I do not know how these countries rate with regard to air power, but I think that Germany's air power is stronger than that of France, and not as strong as that of Great Britain. The length of compulsory military service in West Germany is probably two years.

less

The Russian occupation of Hungary was much ~~worse~~ favorable to me than the German occupation. Unquestionably, the German forces, both the officers and the men, were much better disciplined than the Soviet army. I think that practically everyone in Hungary is of the opinion that the Russian occupation was worse than the German occupation.

I do not know much about the British Labor Party, but I think that it is not in favor of Communism. It probably corresponds to the Social-Democratic parties on the Continent.

From the point of view of a higher standard of living, the countries mentioned rate as follows: Western Germany has the highest standard of living. Then Great Britain, Italy, Greece, the Soviet Union, and Egypt.

H. On my arrival in the United States what impressed me most was the atmosphere of freedom, and the comparatively high standard of living.

a

The United States government is conducting ~~the~~ defensive foreign policy. It wants to avoid war.

I don't think the United States should give economic aid to Yugoslavia. I am not certain about Poland. The present Polish-Soviet relations are not entirely clear to me. Economic aid to the present Polish government should be determined by its relations to the Soviet Union. If there is ~~any~~ danger of strengthening the Soviet Union by giving economic aid to Poland, then Poland should receive no such aid. I am not in favor of the United States government severing diplomatic relations with Hungary. U.S. diplomatic representatives in Hungary are necessary in order to be informed of events in Hungary. I think that the United States government should help the Hungarian people, but not the Kadar government.

I am certain that the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors. Conditions in the West are not entirely unknown to the people in Hungary, but they would like, probably, to hear more about conditions and life here. On the other hand, Western visitors would also be able to get a first hand account of the situation in Hungary. I think preference should be given to Western diplomats and to Western press reporters.

These Western visitors should be informed that if they want to see the true face of the Hungarian people, they should not be influenced by those ~~few~~ few who had been given back their old jobs, but should go to the workers and farmers who are toiling in the factories and farms.

I think that the people at home would like to get Western publications very much. But, I don't think that the present Communist government in Hungary would tolerate Western publications of any kind. They could only be sent to Hungary illegally. It would be possible to use the help of the university students in distributing such illegal publications. The publications should be directed, first of all, to the country and to the industrial workers.

I think it would be a very good idea to have Hungarian refugees or immigrants associated with these activities. The people at home recognize the necessity for most of the refugees to leave the country, and now they ~~may~~ could see that the refugees here have not forgotten about the people at home, and are active.

I have heard about the Marshall Plan in school at home. The Communist version of the Marshall Plan is that its purpose was primarily to arm these countries and to turn them against the Communists. Essentially, ~~the~~ I think that the purpose of the Plan was to give economic aid to the countries of Europe because their economies had been disrupted by World War II. Such economic aid would insure a certain degree of political influence for the United States government and it would also ~~sure~~ serve to curb the expansion of Communism.

According to the Communists the United States government started the Korean

War because it wanted to continue its policy of colonization in Asia. I think that the United States got involved in the Korean War because the United States government wanted to curb the expansion of Communism in Asia.

G/ Since it has been formed the United Nations has achieved some results. But it was completely powerless and unable to do anything in the Hungarian question. It was not even able to send diplomats as observers to Hungary. The United Nations should have acted more forcefully, as, for example, ~~the~~ in the Suez situation. The same way as it sent an international police force to the Suez zone, it could have also ~~have~~ sent one to Hungary.

I do not have much confidence or hope in any United Nations actions in favor of Hungary. The people at home, in their desperate situation, probably hope that the UN/ can do something to help them.

XVII/ KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES/

A. I think that the two greatest Hungarians living today are Cardinal Midzenti and the composer Zoltan Kodaly.

B. I have no confidence in Imre Nagy. Even though he set his course a bit to the right during the revolution, he still remains a Communist.

Cardinal Midzenty is a true Hungarian, a man of strong character, a great church leader who remained firm in his convictions despite of brutal persecution and much suffering.

I think that Laslo Rijk is a Communist, who, for some reason, won the disfavor of the Communist Party at that time.

Ernő Gero is a vile Communist who does not have any Hungarian or humane traits at all.

Kadar is a fanatical Communist who also craves power.

I expected much more of President Eisenhower. It could be seen that he wanted to help us, but his hands were tied by Congress. As a person, President Eisenhower gives the impression of being a very good hearted man, but not ~~firm~~ firm enough. He is the prototype of the American politician.

Secretary General Hammarskjöld
~~State Secretary Dulles~~ did not attribute their true significance to the events in Hungary last Fall.

State Secretary Dulles has shown much understanding of the problems of the refugees. He is a very cautious, good-~~hearted~~ hearted, and not firm enough. He is the type of man who would rather give material assistance ten times instead of taking a firm ~~and~~ stand point once.

I think that Prime Minister Eden is an excellent statesman. World events forced his resignation. Anyone else in his place would have experienced the same fate.

I do not have much of an opinion of President ~~Truman~~ Truman as a statesman. Had he taken a firmer attitude toward the Russians in 1945 at the Potsdam Conference, probably the situation would not have developed so far and so favorably in Europe for the Soviet Union.

Mikoyan is a member of the Soviet Politbureau, but I do not know much about him.

Nehru is an outstanding personality with strong character. I do not quite

see in which way his foreign policy is heading.

I do not know exactly what the situation/^{was}~~ix~~ in China at the time Chinese Communists took over. I have not been able to form an exact opinion of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Chek, because I know only what the Communist~~s~~ press wrote about him.

My opinion of Ferenc Nagy is not entirely favorable. He has contributed, to a great extent, to bringing the Communists to power.

What I said about President Truman also applies to President Roosevelt, only to a much greater extent.

Chancellor Adenauer is a great statesman in a very difficult position.

Stalin was a fanatic with an unlimited crave for power. He was an excellent politician from ~~and~~ the Russian point of view. He could send millions of people to their deaths without any pangs of conscience.

Malenko has somewhat fallen back in the race for power in the Kremlin.

I have a favorable opinion for Generalissimo Franco, but he is unable to put his country on its feet.

Devan is one of the leaders of the left wing of the British Labor Party. I do not know much about him.

Kruschev is a craftly, skillfull statesman, a typical top Russian politician.

Molotov is an excellent diplomat.

I do not know who Ollenauer is.

Churchill is probably the greatest statesman in the history of England. His greatness is not the same in world history because he was willing to sacrifice other nations for the interests of the British Empire.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES/

A. Very many of the Hungarian refugees who ~~were~~ left Hungary during or after the revolution were ~~not~~ students or workers who took part in the fighting, and who had to fear retaliations. But a large number of the refugees had nothing to do with the revolution or with the demonstrations. They are people who came to try their luck. Some of them may have left Hungary because they were afraid that the revolution would bring them trouble because of their previous Party membership.

The people who came out were mostly tradesman and workers, very few peasants, and many members of the intelligentsia. By age, the majority of the refugees are under 35. More ~~women~~ men came out than women or girls. The majority of the refugees is from Budapest and the Trans-Danubian district, which is nearest to the Austrian border.

The distance to the border and the familiarity of the terrain were important factors to a person deciding to stay or escape from Hungary. The peasants with their strong sense for property were tied down and more reluctant to leave the country. Many people did not dare risk escaping from Hungary because of young children or family reasons. There were people who refused to leave the country because they were convinced that they were needed home to continue the revolution.

I have a very good opinion of the people who remained in Hungary. Many of them fought in the revolution and the majority of them took part in the passive resistance after the revolution. Their situation at home is very critical. Practically everyone in border zone had an opportunity to leave the country, but even there, there were probably people who were unable to leave because of family reasons, or because they were unwilling to leave all their possessions behind.

The people at home probably understand the situation of those who were compelled to leave the country. Very likely, they were not surprised that many people, who otherwise were not compelled to leave, for political reasons, also left because they were tired of living under the conditions which existed during the Communist regime.

If everyone were able to leave Hungary, very many people would. But everyone would remain at home if political and economical conditions similar to those of ~~Austria~~ Austria could be arranged.

B. At home I heard that Zoltan Pfeiffer and ~~and~~ other Hungarian ~~politicians~~ politicians were here in the United States. I thought that they were politically active, but I did not know what they did, or what organizations they formed. Many of the Hungarian

politicians in exile are good Hungarians, but there are a few among them who are not entitled to represent Hungary after the poor role they played before they left Hungary.

Since my arrival in the United States I have had contact only with the newly formed Hungarian organization, the Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters, headed by General Bela Kiraly. I have heard of the Hungarian National Council, about the M.H.E.K., and the American-Hungarian Federation only here in the United States. I do not know anything about them. I have also heard about Hungarian gymnasiums existing in Germany and Austria. I do not know any details.

I have already given you my opinion of Ferenc Nagy.

I have heard about Tibor Eckhardt at home. He was at one time the leader of the Small Holders Party who was unable to come back to Hungary after World War II.

Charles ~~Sp~~ Peyer was one of the leaders of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party in ~~Hx~~ 1945.

Zoltan Pfeiffer and Istvan Barankovics were opposition party leaders who were forced to leave Hungary.

I have heard about Otto of Hapsburg at home and here, also. I do not sympathize with him.

Admiral Horthy died recently. He was not as bad as some people want him to appear. I think that he was a very good Hungarian.

I did not know much about the activities of the exiles/ politicians when I was in Hungary. I knew that they existed and that they were active, but many of them had cooperated with the Russians and the Communists at the time when they were at home. Now they are not entitled to any role at all. On the other hand, there are many people here who should ~~taken~~ be taken into consideration although at the time they were in Hungary they were not able to play any role at all there. My present opinion of the exiled politicians and exile organizations is that there is no unity and coordination among them. They should unite and cooperate and bury all their personal differences for a later time. During the revolution I thought that the exiles in the West should be active in preparing military assistance for Hungary.

I have heard that some people who had left Hungary after 1945 later returned. Personally I do not know any such re-defectors. I have heard about the Communists re-defection campaign only when I was in Austria. I heard that in many refugee camps the representatives

OF THE Communist Hungarian government were driven out of camp

D. I think that the relatives of the people who have fled from Hungary would like to know how the refugees are making out in their new homes.

The people at home should know that the majority of the refugees intend to return home when the conditions change in Hungary.

I think that the Hungarian exiles should unite. They should consist of the people who fought in the revolution and left, and also of the old exiles who had never cooperated with the Communists.

I would like to join the Hungarian-American Student Organization which maintains contact with all Hungarian students everywhere in the world outside Hungary. I would also like to join the organization of the Freedom Fighters headed by General Kiraly. The purpose of this organization should be to pave the way for the liberization of Hungary. I have no objections against older Hungarian exiles participating in the work of organization. But, of the old exiles, only those who have not played a shady role under Communist regime should join. Before 1948 I sympathized most with the Barankovics Party and with the Hungarian Small-Holders Party. I do not know anything about the parties in exile. During the revolution we heard that political parties have started their work. I think that this was the natural consequence of our short liberty. It was a sign that the people were already ready to express their political opinions. But, the work of these parties would have been effective if they had reached an agreement ~~if they~~ not to oppose one another until the crisis had passed. It would have been advisable for some politicians in exile to have returned home and participated in the work of the parties.

For example, it would have been good if Mr. Barankovics had returned. But, I would not liked to have seen Ferenc Nagy there.

E. I would like to return to Hungary for good once the political situation changes there. If I have children here in the United States I will insist that they study Hungarian.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. While I was in Hungary I listened to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and to the ~~Madrid~~ Madrid, London and Paris radios. I think that the reception of the Voice of America programs was the best. All stations were jammed. The Hungarian programs of the Spanish radio were probably jammed the most. I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radios. Reception was best late in the evening, or around midnight. When I was at home I listened to the foreign radio broadcasts regularly. I listened more frequently to the programs of the Spanish and Paris radios, and to the Voice of America programs. In our village there was not much need to tell others what we had heard over the radio because there was a radio in practically every house, and everyone listened to the foreign radio broadcasts. I usually listened to these programs on my brother-in-law's radio. When I was in Budapest, I either did not have time, or the opportunity to listen to foreign broadcasts. Only during the revolution did we dare to listen to the foreign radio broadcasts in the Students' home. During the revolution everyone listened openly to foreign radio broadcasts.

I sometimes received a second-hand account of the radio programs. At home in the village, the people, when they met in the morning, usually discussed what they had heard on the radio the previous night. In the Students' Home I usually had a friend who told me what was new on the radio. Such conversations were held only between us, and we were always careful not to be overheard. ~~XXXXXX~~

It was not advisable to listen to Hungarian broadcasts of foreign radio stations or to speak about such programs. This was especially true in the years of greatest oppression in 1950, 1951, and 1952. Perhaps listening to the radio in itself was not punishable, but the Communists were inclined to draw their own conclusions about this. It was a black mark on one's cadre sheet, but I don't think that this deterred people from listening to the radio. Practically everyone who had a radio and was able to receive the foreign broadcasts ~~XXXXXX~~ listened regularly. The attitude of the Hungarian police and of the Communists toward people listening to Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign stations ~~XXXXXX~~ varied according to the political situation. After Imre Nagy's rise to power in 1953 it was not so dangerous to listen to these programs as before. Before and during the revolution practically everyone listened openly to the programs.

The majority of the people at home feel that the Western radio programs also exaggerate to a certain extent. They are inclined

to draw their own conclusions by comparing the news items published in the Communist newspapers with what the foreign radios have to say. I, myself, preferred the radio stations which were more impartial and did not keep promising us so much. I liked best of all the Voice of America programs, the Hungarian broadcasts of the Spanish and French radios. But in general, I did not notice any great difference in the accuracy of the news material which was broadcast by these Western radios. I judged their accuracy by comparing them with the Hungarian radio programs and with the Hungarian newspapers. What was identical ~~on both sides~~ according to both sources must have been 100% true. Where there was a discrepancy in the versions, the ~~Western~~ Western version was always nearer the truth.

The broadcasts of Radio Free Europe were important in as much as they were the source of hope for the majority of Hungarians at home. On the other hand, there always remained a sense of inadequacy and uncertainty. During the revolution the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe were important in as much as the various small revolutionary groups were unable to maintain contact with one another, and very often they would be informed of each others activities through R.F.E.

But, Radio Free Europe was also inclined to want to direct the revolution. For example, Radio Free Europe's sharp criticism ~~was~~ ~~too~~ of Imre Nagy was too early. Imre Nagy was immediately branded a Communist, and was not given time to prove whether he meant well or not.

It cannot be denied that Radio Free Europe played an important part in the Hungarian revolution, but I personally have never heard Radio Free Europe broadcasts promise military aid during the revolution.

I think Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts into Hungary. Since the revolution the confidence of the people in the Western radio programs, and in the West in general, has been shaken. But even mere news service would be of considerable importance to the people who are still in Hungary. This would enable them to see world events and political situations from a point of view other than Communistic. But, to be really successful the Radio Free Europe programs should be able to give some news of effective Western help to Hungary.

Great news about political and economic events should be coupled with programs about life in Western Europe and in the United States. The anti-Communist propaganda should be very ~~subtle~~ subtle.

B. I have never heard of the initials N.E.M. I have heard about the Twelve Demands published by the Budapest and Szeged university students.

C. I have never seen a Free Europe leaflet. At home I never heard of such leaflets. I do not know what risk was involved in picking up or passing on such leaflets. But I think one would have to be very careful. Consequence would be arrest by the AVO and imprisonment.

I have never seen nor heard about such leaflets so I cannot give you my opinion of them. But, I think that the radio is a better means of passing on information to the people behind the iron curtain. It is much more interesting and involves less risk.

D. I think that the primary motives of Western organizations sending radio programs and leaflets in to Hungary is to overthrow Communism and to curb its expansion. I have noticed no difference at all in the motives of the various Western organizations. Perhaps, there's a difference only in financing.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. A child should be given affection. He should be taught to love others, to be honest, to be religious, and to be diligent.

I think it is necessary to discipline children, and for this purpose it is sometimes necessary to resort to physical punishment. But, each child should be judged individually. The parents should decide how much disciplining and how much punishment is required for each child. Girls should be treated differently in this respect, because they have an entirely different emotional life than boys. As children grow older they should be taught to discipline themselves. They should be made to understand the need for self-discipline.

I was ten years old when I took 20 forints out of my father's purse at home. I bought some cookies for about 2 forints and put the rest of the money back in my father's purse. When he found out he gave me a very sound thrashing with his razor strap.

In the family the punishment of children six years old or older sometimes depends on the sex of the child. For example, mothers are usually fonder of their daughters than their sons. For this reason it sometimes may be necessary for the father to discipline the daughters instead of the mothers. But, both parents can discipline the boys. This also depends on the age of the child. For example, a girl who is about to be married will not be punished except by the mother. I don't think there is any difference in this respect in the various social classes. The only difference may be that the children of workers and peasants are inclined to be more frequently punished, and punishment will stop at a later age than children of the intelligentsia.

The importance of the parents, in general, may have declined somewhat under Communism, but not the importance or prestige of one significant parent.

Physical punishment for boys is usually abandoned at the age of fifteen. This age may be somewhat higher in the country. There, perhaps, it would be seventeen. Because of their earlier physical development, the physical punishment of girls is abolished at perhaps the ages of thirteen or fourteen.

In the country the punishment, in general, for both boys and girls is abolished usually only at the time of their marriage. This may be true to a certain extent also in the families of industrial workers. The education of children in the families of the

intelligentsia is basically different. Physical punishment is abandoned at a much earlier age and there are families who don't use physical punishment at all. Punishment, in general, is also abolished earlier in the families of the intelligentsia because their children are usually able to ~~xxx~~ marry at a much later age than the children of the industrial workers or peasants.

Under Communism there was a conflict of education between the school and family. This conflict probably increased the frequency of corporal punishment in the family. Parents were inclined to bring up their children with a much firmer hand than before. I don't think there was any difference in the kind of punishment or in the age at which it was abandoned.

Physical punishment was abolished in all schools under Communism. But the Communists themselves were not of the same opinion on how to educate the children. There were different views professed by ~~Makarenko~~ Makarenko, and later ~~by~~ Goncharov was deemed the supreme authority on such questions. I do not know anything in detail about their methods or ~~the~~ theories.

Friends should be judged by the qualities which they show when their friend is in trouble and not when they are having a good time with him. The views and the sphere of interests in friends should be identical. Friends should be religious and serious.

Very often, under Communism, friendships would be strengthened by the mutual resistance of two friends to Communism.

THE END.