

RESPONDENT'S CHARACTER DESCRIPTION.

Respondent belongs to the peasantry but as a result of his education, he is more an intellectual. He was persecuted by the Communist regime and spent many years in prison and in mines. This also seems to have affected his world of thoughts.

His tendency was to be very literary and lyrical, which created some difficulties during the interview. Respondent would talk at length about a given question, but would often answer besides the point. However, this talkative young man remained modest and calm, and was a most interesting person to listen to. It was obvious that never in his life ~~government~~ did communism succeed to influence him. He is idealistic, unselfish and it is perhaps not without reasons that his freedom fighter companions nick-named him "Petofi"...

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

II. MAJOR SALIENCE QUESTION.

In October, 1956, I lived with my parents at Galgahévíz, a village. The Americans should now that from the extreme policies of the past 12 years in Hungary, a new spirit was born which wanted freedom and democracy. This new spirit created a new type of man who yearned for absolute justice. The West should also know that the Hungarian revolution established a new historical basis not only for Hungary but for the whole world. That was the evening, and emphasized the fact that the whole Hungarian youth was united and in march.

Early in the morning of October 24 we learned from the radio that there were armed fights in Budapest and that "armed fascist bandits" had attacked the radio building. Some 100-200 young people from Galgahévíz used to go to work to Budapest every day. Many took part in the demonstrations and in the later events, and the village was informed hour after hour of the events in the capital.

The Communist Party members, who had hunting guns, were asked by the Party to stand guard and to maintain order in the village. But the youth removed the red star from the CP quarters and from the culture house. Many young men who worked or studied in Budapest went to the capital and took part in the fighting. But after October 25, communications were interrupted. However people kept going by car and by foot. Everybody listened to the radio but order was not troubled in the village.

On October 25, I went by motorcycle with a friend to Ászód where a large Hungarian army unit was stationed. The armored units had been sent to Budapest on the first day of the revolution. The unit allegedly sided with the people a few hours later and its commander had been killed. At Ászód remained a small infantry group of about 40 to 50 men. On October 26, Russian tanks forced the Hungarian soldiers out of their barracks and they had to take refuge in the police quarters. On the same day, the Russians arrested many students from Miskolc who were going to Budapest and locked them in the army barracks. During our trip, my friend and I saw a truck-load of young men from Budapest coming out to "agitate" the country-side. They would stop in a village, make a speech and call upon the people to establish a revolutionary council.

When we came back to Galgahévíz, several hundred people had already gathered in front of the school house. The students had been active participants in the revolution. There was one single policeman in the village who did not want to leave. The people were remained on duty. A district AVH commander, who was a native of the village, did not leave the town. He stayed, and when told of their departure

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

In October, 1956, I lived with my parents at Galgahéviz, a village of 3,000 inhabitants located some 30 miles from Budapest. That was the place where I was born and spent most of my life.

A friend of mine, who studied at the university in Budapest, took part in the street demonstrations in the afternoon of October 23, then returned to the village. He told me about the events in the evening, and emphasized the fact that the whole Hungarian youth was united and in march.

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When we came back to Galgahéviz, several hundred people had already gathered in front of the council house. The students read the 16 points over a microphone and made a speech to the villagers. My brother spoke, too. Somebody waived the flag of Kossuth and raised it above the crowd. From that moment on, the inhabitants became active participants in the revolution. There was one single policeman in the village who did nothing against the people and remained on duty. A district AVH commander, who was a native of the village, did not dare to come home. At Aszod, the youth took all their weapons from the police.

In the afternoon, a meeting was convened to establish a national committee. Its ten members were all honest and decent people who didn't compromise themselves with the Communist Party, but had actively opposed the regime. This committee assumed the authority in the village. Its main and immediate task was to gather as much food as possible and to transport it to Budapest on armored trucks, especially to the various hospitals.

There were four Soviet armored divisions on the territory of the district and all the revolutionary councils did their best to avoid any armed conflict. During a single day, one counted 2,100 Soviet tanks on the main highway leading to Budapest.

In 1952, a collective farm was imposed upon the village. It had the good land, got machinery and its members were better off materially than the other peasants who had heavier deliveries and no advantages. Thus, there were two groups of peasants opposing each other. The chairman of the collective farm was given weapons during the revolution. I went to see him and asked him to surrender his weapons, but he told me he had none. That night, someone shot at one of our guards. The next day, we found the weapon, a brand new army rifle. Meanwhile, the Communist Party Secretary had run out of his house, phoned to the District Council and asked them for repressive measures against the people. Then he disappeared from the village.

On October 30th, at the initiative of Aszod, the national District Committee was established. It decided to collect all the weapons in the possession of the people and to keep them until the national guard was established. Then the weapons were distributed to all the reliable men. Our village sent two delegates to the District Council meeting and I was one of them. We decided to supply food in common to the city of Budapest.

On November 1st, we learned that all the revolutionary committees were to meet in Budapest and that I was being sent as a delegate for the district. This meeting actually never took place because of the Soviet intervention. Nevertheless, we went to Budapest by truck on November 1st. On November 3rd, I was again at Aszod. The next day, we learned of the Russian attack through the radio. The whole district was full of Russian troops and all the Communists appeared again. Our district council met at Aszod and decided to maintain its authority over the district vis a vis the Russians. Most of all, we tried to avoid bloodshed. Our revolutionary council worked until Nov. 16th when the Russians took over all administration.

The Communists tried to convince the Russians to arrest us. These Party functionaries were ready to serve the Kadar regime. During the general strike, we sold our produce very cheaply to the workers. On Nov. 16th, I went to Aszod to our office and worked alone in the building. In the afternoon, I learned that a Party delegate had asked the Soviets to arrest us. A meeting of the new Workers and Peasants Socialist Party was also announced. Some 3,000-4,000- people went there and a Party functionary recommended all the former Communists that the people didn't like and who were shouted down. Finally, the Soviet military commander asked the assembly to separate into two groups; those for Kadar and those against him. The people naturally refused to move and the meeting ended in a complete fiasco without any Party organization being established. The next day, one of our council members was arrested by the Soviet police. We tried to obtain his freedom, but I learned at that time, that I was the next person who was to be arrested and on Nov. 20th, together with my brother and a friend, we left our home and reached the Austrian border on Nov. 21st.

A. 1. I always had doubts and thought it improbable that the regime would be overthrown from the inside. I was so moved that I couldn't measure immediately the meaning of the events. We followed the events preceding the revolution through the activities of the Writers' Asso. I knew personally Peter Veress and saw him several times. A new evolution had begun with more freedom ~~ger-thw~~ for the intellectuals. Some articles and poems were published for which one would have been jailed earlier. In September, 1956, I spoke to Veress and blamed him for having served the regime. He said that he had still maintained the Hungarian character in his novels. And told me that he was not a politician, but only the president of the Writers' Asso. I was spiritually and emotionally moved during the revolution and felt very strongly the resurrection of the Hungarians. I wanted Hungary to belong to the Hungarians. I was in complete agreement with the students 16 points asking, most of all, for the Russian withdrawal, independence for our country, and free elections.

B. Twelve years of oppression changed the people considerably. And during the revolution, the atmosphere which prevailed was very close to the principle of democracy.

We called each other Freedom Fighters, not revolutionaries. There were only Hungarians fighting against Russians.

On Oct. 28th, when the Russians withdrew, there was a widespread feeling of liberation which filled us with great hopes. But in the backs of our minds, we thought that it was not yet over. However, we hoped that the international significance of the issue would prevent the Russians from committing the treachery. We knew that no compromise is possible with the Communists who are ruled by only one principle: to suppress all those who are in their way. The youth could not see such a black prospect, only the older people who had more wisdom. During the whole revolution, youth didn't think of its consequences and it was much better that way.

Russian Re-invasion

I thought the Russians were withdrawing for good as a result of their defeat in Budapest, but I also could see that their tanks and troops remained in the district. However, I knew of the talks about withdrawal they conducted with the Hungarian government and I didn't see their treachery until it was too late.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

A. I hoped for some help from the West. I listened to RFE's broadcasts and knew that no concrete help was promised. But the broadcasts made the people believe that if they hold out, the West will do something for Hungary. I realized that if the West doesn't take strong steps we would be overwhelmed by the Russians.

B. I heard of a Hungarian legion in Germany, but the UN who were in a much better position to help us, had no power. The Hungarian ~~defence~~ revolution gave a unique opportunity in world history. A chain reaction could have started in Czechoslovakia and in Romania, where many Hungarians lived. And, even in Russia itself, were many Russian soldiers who did not fight in Hungary. The 20th Party Congress which inaugurated the destalinization era had tremendous effects and could brought about the end of Communism. Only a few Western soldiers would have been needed. Everywhere the dissatisfied nations would have revolted. There was no half-way, as Imre Nagy thought -- a dictatorship can't stand back. Otherwise, it would have been immediately shaken. In the fight for principles, there are no compromises. The West always follows the principles, but acts too slowly.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's family background

My father is a middle peasant who, today, owns 17 acres of land against seven before the war. We have animals and things were well-off until 1945. Then, we had many material difficulties. My mother helped my father. Our parents sent us to school, paid heavy taxes, and fulfilled the deliveries. Eight acres were just a burden as the land was unproductive. Both my father and mother completed six years of elementary schooling.

B. Social classes in Hungary

The workers, the peasants, and the intellectuals were divided by the Communists. Their aim was to make the workers more important and to place them above the five million Hungarian peasants. The new intelligentsia was composed of the sons of workers and peasants.

The social structure was a distorted one. The peasants were the basis of the Hungarian society. But, I have ~~xxx~~ respect for the workers. The regime exploited them and the workers rebelled and threw away the yolk of Communism, tho they were the privileged class of the regime.

I had contacts with the peasantry and, as a miner, with workers in various parts of the country -- at Tatabanya and Komlo. The workers were well-organized as a class. The peasants also wanted to defend their class interests and the workers knew it. The Communists tried to influence and organize them to suppress the Hungarian traditions and to modify them on the Soviet pattern.

How the various classes reacted to Communism

The workers. In 1945, the Communists had before them the class which was the poorest and the most hard-working of the country. The workers cannot be blamed if, because of their educational and their desire to lead a better life, they were influenced by the Communist principles.

But they did not see the Soviet colonialism and the fact that Communism is a destruction of the human mind. The Soviet influence caught the Hungarian workers very unprepared. That is why their name could be used to ornate the regime. The Communists wanted to make non-thinking robots of the workers to operate their economic machine. But the workers soon became disillusioned despite the privileges they received. Because of their good work they could claim more and the State tried to give them a minimum to live on. But workers' competitions and working norms made animals out of the workers. They became inhuman like machines and their lives depended entirely on how much money they earned.

The peasantry. For centuries the cotters wanted to have some land of their own and to produce for themselves. The land reform was wanted for a long time. Then, the peasants became disillusioned because collectivization followed the false promises made by the Communists. They saw that things were the same as in 1919, only more diplomacy was used this time.

The middle peasants, hit by deliveries and taxes, were treated like productive elements of the regime. Their opposition to collectivization brought the kulaks into open conflict with the regime. The regime also tried to oppose the peasants to each other in order to create lesions in the ranks of the strongest social class in Hungary. The Communists tried unsuccessfully to reduce the peasants to the ranks of workers and slaves for the State.

The intellectuals, according to the Communists, were the exploiting class of the former regime. And, they suppressed them as, for instance, they suppressed the middle class. Some of them were needed because of their knowledge and experience. The Communists tried to win them over with money or threats. Meanwhile, a new socialist intellegentsia was educated in the schools on the basis of the Marxist doctrines to become the mouthpiece of the new regime. The peasantry was the hardest hit because of its number. The workers were more favored by the regime.

C. The way social classes felt toward each other.

The Communists used the workers to agitate the peasants and to win them over to the regime. They did not want anybody to have enough material wealth to resist successfully to the State. The peasants could stay away for years from political meetings while the workers could not leave the factory until the political seminar was over. Through his pay, the worker was at the mercy of the State.

The intelligentsia was used for the same purpose toward the peasants and the workers. It was to show them the new type of man -- the socialist man -- through the movies, plays, and books authorized by the State. All those who supported the regime showed their spineless character. They were judged far more as persons rather than as members of a given social class. The peasants liked to see a good Hungarian play, but they disliked to hear praises for Stalin's birthday.

D. How an individual can go ahead under Communism

It was impossible to go ahead in the frame of the Communist Party. In many cases, talent was important, as famous scientists and research were irreplaceable. But the most important thing was to have a good cadre file. Family origin was important. The first generation of workers' and peasants' children were taken to universities. The Communists tried to train them into the service of the regime, but those young people, if not intelligent, still had the feeling of justice.

In 1950 the university admittance was restricted to those who were of proletarian origin. But the lack of good brains was soon felt. In 1953 there was a relaxation and some children of kulaks could graduate from universities and get good jobs. But, they had to be careful and not criticize openly the regime.

The people who could go ahead under Communism
were those who had no other aim but to fulfill orders. They were only performing mechanical work and had no

individuality. They followed the instructions of the Party even if they were contradictory, and obeyed them without saying a word. They were of the servant type. Those who had some individuality and personality clashed sooner or later with the regime, and with the years they made up the 17 per cent of the prison population in Hungary.

E. Those who got more privileges than they deserved were, first, the Moscovites and their relatives. The Party aristocracy led its own life far away from lives of the people.

Out of the people who were persecuted in 1944, or earlier, many became careerists and took advantage of the Communist regime. Never erring, as they helped each other well, these Jews were mostly secret police, army officers, Party secretaries, factory managers, etc. They refused to recognize the fact that there was a large group in Hungary which wanted a life of humanity and justice. They refused to know about their existence and branded them as the "enemies of the people" and did everything to suppress them. As a result, thousands of people died in prisons and camps.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism had a destructive effect on family life. Both parents had to work, often at different places or even in different towns. They would often have love affairs and, as divorce procedures were eased, the responsibility was encouraged. Parents had too much work and not enough time to devote to family life and to children. Their nerves were in a bad state. At home one had time to look at one's misery.

The hardest hit were the workers. The loose morals prevailed among those who had more free time, or, those who could abuse their position. Many men took advantage of the women who worked for them.

B. How children are brought up

Children were brought up in the spirit of collective education. The aim was to indoctrinate the child at an early age in nurseries under the control and influence of the State. This was later continued in the schools. If the parents did not look after the child, the child's spiritual life was neglected and the schools always had a bad effect on him.

The children either obeyed well or badly. Under the influence of collective education, they had different conceptions, other ideals, than the parents. The conception of the State was distorted in their minds and, also, the spiritual and moral values.

At home, religion was preserved. While at school had to adore Stalin. If parents did not care the child would not go to church. Often, the parents had no time to look after the children, who ran in the streets and became young delinquents in many cases.

C. Marriage, courtship, and sex patterns

An atmosphere of freedom existed, but not in the circles I belonged to. The ideal was to get married young and to raise a family. Only a minority lived

according to the spirit of the Communist regime. But, there were more divorces among young people. The peasants were the more conservative class, although many became workers. The young workers did not live with the parents and had more chances to make mistakes.

Prostitution was practiced illegally under Communism.

There was a man in jail with me because he became angry with the Communist slogan, "To bear a child is a glory for a girl." On the other hand, the Communist press always attacked the places of meeting.

D. Friendship under Communism

The people turned within themselves and were friendly only in everyday matters. Deeper thoughts were not shared as it was difficult to be frank with anybody. People had very few friends they could trust 100 per cent.

One could continue to trust a Communist friend but sometimes, one could not. It depended upon each individual case. One usually would draw a limit. I knew a Communist Party member with whom I could speak frankly.

In a free society it is possible to keep politics out of friendship, but, this was dangerous under Communism.

E. Crimes under Communism

In 1950, there was an explosion in a Hungarian mine which caused a hundred deaths. An old miner said it was the fault of the management. He was accused for the disaster. He said he was not responsible. He was beaten by the AVO and received a sentence of 2 1/2 years in prison -- the sentence was quite out of proportion for his alleged crime.

Many people stole the State's property because of their misery. They caused damages to the State, which exploited them. But, there were no organized robbers or gangster bands.

Most of the criminals were caught. In a police state, they could not run far away.

2. Alcoholism

Liquor prices were recently increased by 100 per cent. Because of the people's mood, the tendency was to dissolve one's thoughts and worries in drink. Many people drank because they saw that life was aimless.

3. The behavior of the gampecs was an imitation of Western fashion. Most of them looked awful, but, were not criminals. They teased the regime and sympathized with the West. They were mostly industrial apprentices, ages 16-17, and not many were students. The parents fought against this as much as they could. Often they would go to the tailor to have the suit, ordered by their son, changed.

Those who did not want to work were taking a bit risk as they were severely punished. These kinds of people exist in every society.

VII. RELIGION

A. The Effect of Communist Rule on Religious Life

The State paid financial premiums to the young couples if they did not get married in the Church. But, on the other hand, the people went (perhaps) never so often to church as under Communism. Even when we were soldiers we used to go to church. Those who feared for their jobs were courageous. But nobody could be prevented from practising his religion. Churches were always filled in town. In our village people always filled the church completely, and many had to stand outside.

Religious instruction ceased to be compulsory. I knew a priest who told me that a microphone was connected to the room in which he taught religion, and that the director could hear everything he said to the pupils.

The Roman Catholic Church was the hardest hit because of its larger membership and stronger resistance. The Protestant bishops made earlier agreements with the State. Otherwise, I do not know the effects of Communism on the Protestant and Jewish religions.

B. Religion is a very important factor in my life -- just as important as in the lives of my parents. I am as religious as the average person of the country side and those persons who are of my own class and age.

C. The Church has a big role to play in the people's spiritual life, but religious personalities should avoid any reasons to be criticized and should not intervene in politics. A priest's individual life must be irreproachable.

The Church has the possibility to influence and guide the soul and spiritual life of the people to the right path. I do not approve of its participation in poli-

tics. The Church should avoid taking sides in political issues. The estates of the Church gave the Communists the opportunity to turn many people against it.

D. The Jewish Minority

The facts are that Rakosi, Gero, Vas, Ronai, Hegedus, etc. were Jews. I condemn & both the Nazi persecution of 1944 and the way the Jews retaliated in 1945 and afterwards. They tried to take advantage of the situation of persecuted people. If they were really human they should not have gone too far.

Many became Communist Party members for financial interests. Tho nobody prevented them from doing physical work, they preferred to earn 7000 forints a month as Party secretaries. Their role in public affairs must be criticized. They held the key positions almost everywhere, with the excuse that they were no more responsible than the others. I also met them in jail for economic offenses. We realized that they received a preferential treatment at those places.. I look at this realistically and don't say that they were the only ones to belong to the Communist Party or to the AVO and other government organs. For the past 12 years the Hungarian nation learned to differentiate and can prove with countless irrefutable facts that that particular group got a preferential treatment under Communism.

The Hungarian people do not terrorize any minority, but no minority can expect to hold in its hands the leading position and to impose its interests on a whole nation.

No Jews were near me during the revolution and I do not want to express an opinion based on what other people told me, but I can say that the revolution had no anti-Semitic character as everyone was fighting against one single common enemy -- Communism.

An independent Hungary, the problem I mentioned before would be solved naturally. Each religious and racial group will play its role according to its size and the number of those who belong to it.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. By Hungarian youth I consider the young people from 15 to 25, secondary school and university students, young workers, peasants and intellectuals.

B. The role of the youth was to initiate the revolution. The new spirit was taken out to the streets by the youth. The university students took the practical steps in that respect. The demonstrations were initiated by the youth who was joined later by the workers and the older people. The youth also played an important role before the Budapest radio station and its role did not diminish during the fighting that followed.

The youth took the initiative because of its temperament. It had experienced the hard way the practical effects of Communism. As a reaction its creative forces and its efforts to build a future made it play a role of historic importance during the Hungarian revolution.

The older people were filled with recognition and admiration for the youth, and supported its struggle for the freedom and independence of Hungary.

During the fighting the Hungarian youth considered the older people as good friends. It followed the advice of those who had more experience. It did not look at them as some representatives of a former regime. All classes of age were welded and a national unity - unique in Hungary's military history - was thus created.

C. The schools and the educational system in Hungary

The whole school policy was aimed at forming a new type of man molded on the Communist ideology. The first eight years of elementary schooling were much like before the war, but the traditional national and literary highlights of Hungary were obliterated and treated superficially.

I am sure that my peasant origin helped to be admitted to the university. The secondary schools were not too affected by Communism until 1947, the year I completed my secondary schooling. We still had religious instruction at that time.

The regime fixed arbitrarily the number of young workers and peasants to be admitted to universities. Its policy was to favor children of proletarian origin. Today, all candidates must be recommended by the secondary schools.

As for vocational choice, some branches were more in demand than others and the Communists tried to correct arbitrarily this situation.

The education was influenced by Marxist-Leninist courses in the spirit of Communism. Most of our professors were older people. In my opinion, their knowledge and the quality of the instruction they gave us were good, with only one exception: all my professors opposed Communism and at least within themselves.

E. Communist Efforts to Indoctrinate the Youth

The Communists spent much time and effort to indoctrinate the younger generation psychologically with Marxist-Leninist beliefs. They had many debates on work materialism and all cultural activities were centered around that purpose.

They failed because they did not reach the moral value of the youth. Communist ideology was artificial and imposed by force and this could not find any ground in the youth. Communist ideology is not based on man's individual qualities and it has no deep philosophical basis. The youth learned the theory as so the practical reality was completely different. It, therefore, began to think and to try to understand the reasons behind the contradictions.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Since the time I was a high school student I noticed many things I did not agree with because the practical reality was not similar to what was proclaimed. I suffered morally because of that and this situation was aggravated as the years went by. Then, I spent several years in prison condemned to hard labor.

The initial source of dissatisfaction was our bad economic situation which could have been improved, but at the price of sacrificing one's spiritual values. Although my origin would have helped me to go ahead under Communism I did not want to pay such a price for my material well-being.

B. The people were continually embittered by the misery of their everyday life. The worker earned just enough money not to starve. The workers experienced, on their own skin, how the regime exploited them and finally they stood up against it.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

Respondent's family consisted of five persons, that is, my parents and two brothers. We worked very hard but the peasant's work was not rewarded. Our area was one of the most productive in the country and we had seven acres of land. However, we could not improve our material situation. Our total income ~~remained~~ covered the deliveries, taxes, and prime necessities. There was nothing left to ameliorate our material situation. We never could balance the budget before the end of the year, and in January, we were harassed again by the new taxes.

The clothing and the housing caused us great difficulty. We couldn't buy any new clothes or furniture and we could eat enough out of our products, tho, often we had to buy our bread in the stores. A motorcycle, a good suit, and hearing an opera were considered luxuries by me.

Our standard of living went down in comparison with 1938 and 1944. It was low in 1948-49; worse in 1951, when there was no bread and everything was rationed; it was high enough in 1953.

In 1947-48, a man sold some land with an old stone house for 60,000-70,000 forints. In addition he had 28 acres of land. He had enough money to hire people and could produce enough without exploiting anybody. This family had beautiful furniture, a stone wall and good clothes. This was the result of this man's work and he was both diligent and honest. In this way some peasants good live better than others. But they had to save a lot.

The regime had boasted to produce a lot and to spend a lot of money. The workers and the peasants had to pay for all the expenses of the State. The pillars of the regime received huge salaries for which thousands of people had to do strenuous physical work. In addition, the Hungarian workers had to also work for the Russians who took many products from the country. They exploited the uranium mines --- and I worked in those mines for practically nothing.

B. I was a miner for three-and-a-half years. As a prisoner and a soldier, I earned an average of 30 forints a day -- that is, 1,200 forints a month. Thirty per cent of this amount was taken by the Ministry of Justice; 450 for food and lodging; five forints a day for the guards. One had about 200 forints left at the end of the month.

We got a premium of 70 forints per month for cigarettes. Premiums were also paid to the groups who went above the 100 per cent working norm.

Many soldiers volunteered for mine work because of the material advantages. They got better wages and earned 80 per cent of the pay of a miner. Their average salary was 1,200-1,300 forints a month and some earned as much as 3,000 forints.

C. Retail Prices in Hungary

The prices of the market were not very different from the prices in the stores. The peasants did not have any interest in bringing products to the city when well-organized state cooperatives could transport them faster. The peasants could not compete with them and preferred to sell their products to the cooperatives.

I cannot give any examples of prices. The State made huge profits on products it bought from the peasants for a few cents. It bought a quart of wine for 1.20 forint and sold it for 30 forints.

The products on the market were always of a better and fresher quality and this determined their prices. The people preferred them for that reason. The quality depended on the season, on the year, on the region, etc.

There was a state-buying cooperative that bought everything. There was always trouble with some products. When there was a shortage the regime tried to give less to the people so that everybody would get something. Everything could be bought for money. But the people did not have enough money, even when the stores were well-stocked. Retail distribution was well organized.

It was in the interest of the State which had to take in the products stipulated in the contract signed with the producers.

Spare parts were generally hard to find for products manufactured in Hungary and were unavailable for products manufactured abroad.

The spoilage of food was only a Communist accusation against the kulaks.

Commodities and short supply were meat and rice -- one had to queue for them. This changed with the locality. In another village the delivery system would be different and there was meat enough.

All industrial products were too expensive compared to the wages. A pair of boots which cost 1,200 forints were too expensive for a peasant who could sell a quintal of wheat for 200-300 forints on the free market after fulfilling his deliveries. In order to buy a motorcycle the peasants had, in addition, to deliver some corn or meat.

The Black Market

The people tried to do some private business because they needed the money. Peasants would sell products under the regular price before having fulfilled their deliveries. Many people took the risk in order to make a little profit. It was strictly forbidden to compete with the State. The industrial products were not of very good quality and got broken quickly.

The punishment was out of proportion with the risk. Somebody would kill a calf and spend 2 1/2 years in jail. The same sentence would be given to somebody for selling onions without authorization. The aim of this was to frighten the other people.

D. Working Conditions

In the mines we worked eight hours a day and did maintenance work. We were subjected to continual harassment and were guarded by people from the AVH. We had to pro-

duce without limit. The safety measures were very primitive and inefficient. Money and time were needed for this. But the regime thought that it would be a waste. Many mortal accidents occurred as there was no respect for the safety regulations.

At Uroszlany I worked in a mine with 600 other prisoners from 20 to 40 years of age. Because it was an elite enterprise we were given some concessions. We could receive parcels from our relatives and they could visit us. But, if we did not fulfil our norms we received only 60 or 70 per cent of our food rations.

The prisoners made friends with those who shared the same fate. Our superiors harassed us for the money they got they threatened us and spied on us. Some were frank enough to tell us they needed the money. Some miners helped us, others hated us. The skill was sufficient but Party membership was even more important than skill.

E. Opinions on Country and Agriculture in Hungary

I preferred to live in the country but near the capital because of the cultural opportunities it offers. The producers could eat more if they had time to prepare their products. In the city there was more choice and variety in the products.

It is difficult to answer who had a higher standard of living. As a miner I ate meat twice a week which was quite something.

Politically, one was less observed in the country. In the city the Communists could control everybody through one's place of work while they had less control over the countryside.

Opinions on Collectivization

I thought it was impossible to collectivize the Hungarian peasants who are very individualistic. I did not like the idea of collective farming based on coercion. Everybody like to associate with people with his own choice.

Collectivization did not work as an agricultural system. Everybody likes his own property and the peasants had no interest in working on collective farms. Those who had interest in this had nothing to do with the peasantry. The principal is more to be criticized than the practice.

Collectivization was opposed by those peasants who had something to lose...not by those who had something to win. It meant material deterioration and very little advantages. The State supported the collective farms which would have been profitable but many were deficient. The farmer's skill was also important. Those who knew how to produce did not want to work under the orders of unskilled and uncultured people.

In 1953, under Imre Nagy, all those who wanted could do individual farming. In that respect the situation was similar to that of October 1956. Collectivization collapsed in 1953. Even the Type I of collective farms in which the peasants cultivated in common but paid taxes individually, could not be maintained in 1953. Rakosi counterattacked and said that the kulaks remained the kulaks. In October 1956 the problem was more delicate because of the question of the land reform. I know that many collective farms were dissolved in our district and many animals remained without care. The main reasons for this were the absence of any economic profit and the dissatisfaction of the members. This problem of the land would have become a serious one later on.

I would have worked on a private farm where a small family can cultivate its land.

Agricultural enterprises should be created in order to give employment to the cotters who have no land and who, in this way, could go ahead. I would create small and private enterprises and also voluntary co-operatives. The peasant cooperatives should sell directly to the consumers and not necessarily through commercial intermediaries. They could make contracts with the trade organizations. This would double the peasants' and Hungary's national income as agricultural exports constitute the bulk of our falling trade.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. The Situation Before 1948

Respondent's interest in politics.

I was a member of the youth organization of the Smallholder's Party. I approved many parts of their program made for my social class. My father was a member of the Smallholder's Party.

Respondent's feelings about the Communist Party.

Before 1948 I already felt animosity toward the Communist Party because of its methods of fraud during the elections of 1947 and of its methods of coercion. It was the repetition of the events of 1919 about which I learned at school and heard from my father. The Communists probably knew that they could not possibly take over the land in one day.

B. Views of the Communist Party since 1948

The Party members - first, there were the old Communists of 1919 who played an active role at that time and who were later persecuted by the Horthy regime. They became only more convinced in jail.

Some people joined in the 40s when they saw the increasing German influence. More joined the Communist Party at the beginning of 1945 because of their social origin. They received financial advantages. The later members were either careerists or opportunists.

In my opinion, few Party members were really convinced. The slogans, initially, convinced the rank-and-file members, but as time went by, their disillusionment grew.

Changes in Party Policies

There were no changes of principles. A few initiatives would be started when there was a critical situation. In 1953 and 1956 changes occurred in Hungary following similar changes in the Soviet Union. A reign of terror was followed by so-called "democratization" inside the Party which permitted criticism of the Party and of its leaders. Everything that happened in the People's Democracies had its origin in Moscow. Soviet advisors were present in the ministries, the army, the main factories, etc. In 12 years the Hungarian Communist Party never tried to take into consideration the local factors but was completely subjected to the orders of the Russian leaders. Inside the Party there was a struggle of personalities because Nagy was a Communist and a man -- two things which exclude each other.

The Party Morale

I never went to a Party meeting. I don't know how much personal initiative could assert itself, but I read the papers and listened to the radio. An assembly of 5000 people was nothing but a cheering machine. The meetings were prepared in advance and were a 20th century version of the circus. The members could not debate or discuss anything. The Communist functionaries, for their 2000-3000 forints salary, received instructions, executed orders, learned the new directives and new Party line. The Communists wanted to create the external appearance of unity.

After the 20th Party Congress some criticism was made by the top leaders and the rank-and-file members ~~numbers~~ began to express their views more freely and to criticize the leaders.

The Top Leaders of the Communist Party

The leaders cannot believe in the Party's aims as they can see clearly the fallacies of its aims and the misery they bring to the people. Rakosi spent 15 years in jail and knew what it meant. They want to rule and are eager to hold the power. Once they embarked on such a career

they could not stop, otherwise, they would have been liquidated either by the Party or by the people. They had no more souls and were mere instruments.

C. Opposition to the Communist Government Before the Revolution

Those who hated the regime always tried to oppose Communism. The many arrests and trials reflected the state of spirit of the people who always had opposed Communism. Many people just did not care for the Party -- that is, they used passive resistance. I heard of a miner's strike at Tatabanya and of several miners having been arrested afterwards.

The peasants opposed the deliveries and tried to avoid the taxes. This class continually opposed the regime and its efforts toward collectivization. Its attitude was one of positive resistance.

In the factories the fear of serious consequences made workers think twice before attempting to sabotage a machine or breaking a tool. As their salaries were vital to them the risk was great.

This behavior was held by the State which, maybe, exaggerated the facts so that it could arrest more people. But this behavior made it clear to the regime that it had to use force and threats to impose its will upon the people.

In 1950-51 there was a period of terror during which many persons were arrested and executed in order to frighten the people. In 1953, then in 1956 more concessions were made but they were always withdrawn later.

The Activities of the Intellectuals

I knew of the debates of the Petofi Circle in 1956. In my circle of friends there was always somebody who was present at the meetings. I also heard about the debates on the radio and through the press.

I read about the writers' revolt in the newspapers when the Party accused some of them of bourgeois deviationism.

The writers saw ahead of the people, and, as a part of the Hungarian nation they felt the terror of the Communist regime. A few of them did not approve of this and withdrew into the background. Their books were not printed by the Communist-controlled publishing houses. As literature was supported by the Communist Party many intellectuals made a name for themselves by supporting the Party and helping it to spread its ideology.

In 1956 the writers were banner carriers because of their article in the literary journal and other newspapers. Their articles and criticisms of the Party became the topic of discussion in Hungary's everyday life. This was the reflection of the people's desire for a change in social life. But, the writers did not dare as yet to bring up the question of Hungary's independence. They simply touched the regime at its most sensible spot. They can be considered as the forerunners of the events of October and November, 1956. The aims of the Hungarian youth were contained in their writings. They criticized the many abuses in public life and the arbitrary behavior of those who held the top positions.

The intellectuals' collective attitude was reflected by the Writers' Congress. The writers who followed the Party were replaced by those writers who had shown and proven their talent with their work. The exploitation of the entire nation made them side with the people, made them want to be interested in Hungary's problems, and to criticize the fallacies and the ugly sides of Communism. They freed themselves and Hungary's mind from the Party's directives and instructions. They awakened Hungary's intellectual life and were the forerunners of the revolution of the Hungarian youth.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The Secret Police (or AVH)

After 1945 a special branch of the Ministry of the Interior was created to arrest people accused of so-called political bribes. It was probably as good as any average police force in Europe. Later, this branch became completely independent from the regular police. Its first members were the victims of the past regime. Among the officers were many Jews, who, after 1945, wanted to get hold of the people who mistreated them in 1944. Many of them were sadists and did not want to work.

Respondent's personal experience with the AVH

On October 3, 1950 I was arrested by the AVH in my village in connection with an alleged political conspiracy. I was condemned in February 1951 to five years' imprisonment for trying to overthrow the Peoples' Democracy and agitating against it. I was detained in several jails in Budapest, one half year at Miskolc, and one-and-a-half years in various mines. In 1953 I was given an amnesty, my sentence was reduced and I was freed after spending 37 months in jail. My brother spent the same time in jail with me.

It is true that Communist Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear. The people did not dare to open their mouths and remained passive. It was never possible to know when one would be taken away by the Secret Police.

The informers

The informers' system was the basis of the regime and was built in everywhere. The spies continually reported to the AVH about the thoughts and the activities of the people. In the factories the informers were Party members who received special premiums. The AVH tried also to force people who had to confidence of all the persons to work for them. Some did it for financial reasons.

If somebody worked more than the average and did not openly criticize or expose his inner thoughts he would be less noticed. Those who did not belong to any Communist organization were tolerated if their work was good.

I have no knowledge about secret policemen fighting on the side of the revolution. They were too well paid to do such a thing. Those who were drafted were subjected to the military rules. They changed their uniforms in order to disappear -- like rats from the sinking ship.

When Hungary is independent the secret policemen should be tried individually and should be made to answer for their crimes.

The regular police

The role of the regular police was restricted to public safety and non-political -- that is, common crimes. They were poorly paid but the State asked from them almost as much as from the AVH. Many policemen were dissatisfied and asked to be discharged. This was rarely granted because the police were essential to maintain the regime. I don't think they would have refused a bribe.

During the revolution they sided with the people and, in many cases, refused to use their weapons against them, thus avoiding useless bloodshed.

B. The Courts

Before 1945 the courts were much more independent than under Communism. Money could have played a role but I don't know of any concrete case. The finding of the truth was an essential condition and bribing a judge was almost impossible.

I think that the victims of the peoples' courts can tell the truth about them. The members of such courts later were arrested themselves, and when they met their victims in jail, they could not explain their role and called it human weakness. The peoples' courts were guided by the idea of revenge and justice was absent from them. Because of their anger against the

turned
past leaders they couldn't reach, these courts against
those people who were less responsible.

Prison life

In 1945-46 prisoners often died in their cells because of insufficient food. Later, there was an amelioration of the situation. Relatives could send parcels to the prisoners. As the influence of the secret police grew prison life became more strict. In 1950-51, food fell to the minimum. This was aggravated by the pitiless treatment inflicted on the prisoners by sadistic guards and prison commanders.

The political prisoners were kept in separate cells and jails. Until the 50s they were not allowed to work outside the jail. The common criminals were the mislead people and the political prisoners were the Fascists. One was severely punished for any violation of discipline.

There were many informers in jail who, for a better treatment, caused many sufferings to their companions. The AVH placed people among the prisoners who listened to their conversations. In this way, they knew their world of thoughts and controlled it. Some people, for better food, were able to do anything and their presence was worse for the prisoners than the jail itself.

In the jails of the AVH one couldn't write letters or see relatives for years. Sometimes, an honest man among the guards would give the prisoners some news from the outside world...Usually, with a slight delay. To smuggle newspapers to the prisoners was a ~~crime~~ crime, severely punishable. The aim was to keep the prisoners completely isolated and unable to communicate with the outside world.

Working conditions

In the large prisons there were small enterprises where prisoners worked for a few cents. After the establishment of labor camps, the prisoners worked the same way under guard as the civilians. Their wages were almost the same, but the Ministry of the Interior deducted the cost of their maintenance. Thus, the prisoners had to pay for their own maintenance. The work was always con-

trolled and the slightest mistakes were severely punished. To increase the enthusiasm of the workers, the dissatisfied ones were always taken to the so-called disciplinary cells, after which they were glad to go back to work and to eat normally.

C. The Hungarian Army

The role of the Army during the revolution

For many years the Army was told to like the people, but the Communists did not think that its first job would be to cope with the people. The Army consisted of the sons of the people. Their attitude, therefore, can be understood. They refused to shoot at their fathers and sisters. They also felt in themselves the hate of the whole nation against the Russians. When all Hungarian united against them the Army knew to whom it belonged. Even if the officers did not turn the soldiers as a united group against the Russians, the soldiers as such, took active part individually in the fighting. The top leaders and officers saw the events from their respective positions. First, they remained passive. Then, they saw the people's victory and followed it, but not by conviction. After November 4, the Kadar government reorganized the officers who were asked to swear allegiance to the new regime. Those officers who slowed down the revolution sided with the regime in order to keep their stars and their good wages.

Everyday life in the Army

I spent two years as a soldier doing hard work. I was drafted four months after my liberation in December 1953 until the end of December 1955. I was sent to various mines. I never touched a weapon or received any military training. There were several thousand soldiers like me who did hard work. I must mention here that the Kilian barracks was the barracks of the soldiers who did hard work and not the barracks of Maleter! We were under the command of reserve officers who were also miners and who directed our work. They were Party members who earned several thousand forints, mine premiums with their officer's pay. Their monthly salary amounted to 4000 forints when production was good.

The officers knew our political views and gave us no political instructions. They expected us to work and we did not feel like soldiers. But, if one refused to obey an order one was condemned according to military law.

A few officers felt with us and tried to alleviate our fate, but, the majority treated us like machines and made us work until we were completely exhausted. Only the work we performed was essential. There were no informers among us in the Army.

The Russian troops

The Russian intervention of 1848 was a historical memory. The Hungarian feelings are due to the events of 1944, 1945 and thereafter. Even after 12 years the memory of the dishonored mothers and sisters and the fate of the thousands of persons deported to Siberia is alive in the Hungarian people. Together with the memory of the brutalities and atrocities of the so-called "liberation".

The Russians arrived in our village in November 1944. I was fourteen at that time. I saw how they dishonored the women, including a girl who was pregnant. They killed her father and brother who had tried to defend her. They stole everything -- cattle, clothes, food, wine, etc.

In the later years no Russians were stationed in our region. But, my opinion did not change much. A jail-mate told me that he had beaten three Soviet officers who had annoyed his wife in 1952. For this, he spent two years in jail. At Kecskemet, a drunken Russian attacked two women and a peasant beat him up. At the trial the two women who were wives of Army officers did not tell the truth and the peasant was sentenced to six years in prison.

I had no personal contact with Russian soldiers and saw them rarely. The population noticed that the Russians behaved differently after a few years in Hungary. Some Russian women promised money to Hun-

garian men to get nominally married and to be able to remain in Hungary. In towns like Szekesfeherbar, the people were angry at the Tussians for taking all the good apartments.

During the revolution the youth was able to influence the Russians in many cases and to avoid shooting. The fresh troops were real barbarians who did not even know where they were. Their poor education made any human behavior impossible. Every Hungarian thought of 1945.

I only heard that Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians and had refused to obey their superiors.

I heard that the Russians had shot down Hungarians who had pulled the white flag and had surrendered.

E. The Bureaucracy

Everything was nationalized and the money had to be controlled. Before Communism, three men could run our village council, but today, ten to fifteen men sit in the council house. In smaller cities, their number would reach a hundred. For the peasants, the deliveries were a nightmare. The officials would come out every day to remind that they owed two eggs to the State. Also, the taxation office and its executive branches were continually after the peasants and could confiscate their property. Many functionaries could be bribed and a living of it. ~~There were Party members and old~~ ~~functionaries.~~ There were Party members and old functionaries. Most of them were completely dishonest. Only a few tried to help the people.

Self-criticism was a comedy under Communism. The regime used it when it committed some mistake. An honest man would not do such a thing. One cannot ask somebody to be sorry in public for his mistakes. There were only servants and masters and when things went wrong, the masters would make self-criticism.

F. It was always possible to get around the regulations. Some functionaries could be brought to settle an affair with a few bottles of wine or with money. It was a daily occurrence. If caught, one was punished. But the bribery was a chain-like institution and one discovery would have compromised many people.

Functionaries were worms and lackeys. They said they were oppressed but they were only afraid of hard work.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Hopes for the Future

Hungary's fate is closely connected with world politics. I cannot believe that Hungary will be able so much again for her independence, but, one must not give up fighting. The UN must do everything to have its resolutions implemented. The political events can't be decided in advance, but, I cannot imagine the problem being solved without a clash between the ideologies which would solve the Hungarian problem, pro or con. I am sure the Hungarian nation ~~will~~ will reach a better time when it will be free to choose its own government in complete freedom and democracy and when it will become a country similar to those in western Europe.

I see in a war the only solution. It is a struggle between water and fire and one excludes the other. One cannot wish a war, but, when the experience shows that there is no other solution the question remains unanswered. My hopes are that a better world will come afterwards even if it will have to be paid for with a heavy price. The Soviet Union will not make a human problem of this. Only thing stops it -- its chances of victory are not quite certain yet. Otherwise, the Soviets would quickly find some theoretical explanation for the alienation and the conquest of the rest of the world.

The attitude of the West is not realistic, but, the West does not realize it as do those who are already the victims of Communist attempts toward domination and who think it is better to die as heroes rather than to live as slaves. The UN cannot rule over the nations of the world and does not fulfil its purpose. Its resolutions are only documents followed by no practical steps.

B. Before the revolution I also connected Hungary's problem with world politics. That is why I was rather surprised to see something happening inside Hungary which had so much importance in world politics. Generally speaking, my hopes remained the same for the past ten years.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

B. Economic System of an Independent Hungary

Hungarian industry should be limited to the resources of the country. Heavy industry was irrational and unnatural. Hungary must keep with light industry [canned food, aluminum, bauxite, uranium]. Emphasis ~~must be on agriculture~~ must be on agriculture -- the main natural resource of the country.

The government will have to decide what factories can belong to the individuals. Those who lost the product of a life's work were unjustly treated, but, it is important to keep the mammoth enterprise in the hands of the State together with the large State farms. They should operate with State investments and their work will be only profitable to the individuals.

The Hungarian nation won't accept any large estate system in which the peasants work the land without owning it as before in 1945 and like under the state capitalism practiced under Communism. Only the collective farms created voluntarily can be maintained. Individual farmers should be able to buy machinery in common.

The large-size enterprises should remain nationalized. The profits must be invested in the economic sectors which raise the best the standard of living of the population. I accept the concept that the workers are shareholders of the factories and receive a part of the profit.

I would set a profitable and economical limit for the land some one can own, but, I do not have a specific number of acres in mind. This should be decided in a democratic way through a vote of the people.

The government of an independent Hungary

I would always choose individual freedom -- the existence of which is a reason to get work based on ~~what~~ one's capabilities. In the other case, the possibilities are not similar as far as the working conditions are concerned as there are no personal liberties.

Because of a bloody experience I would consider the Communist Party as belonging to the past in a free Hungary. But, if one wants to respect democracy one cannot ban it in a free state. However, I would supervise and control every activity of the Communist Party because of its past and its aims.

C. International Position of an Independent Hungary

The most ideal international situation would be one of neutrality in a united Europe in which all nations will be equal without one dominating the others. I want the closest economic and cultural ties with all other countries which would only be advantageous for Hungary.

I thought of a Danubian Federation and it could contribute to unite Europe. It is acceptable, tho, in the countries concerned there are too many nationalistic feelings against each other. I would consider such a federation viable only if Hungary is represented by people who like and think of all of the Hungarians who live in Central Europe.

I don't think that the borders fixed by the peace treaty of Trianon are acceptable, as the neighbor countries did not respect the national aspirations of the Hungarian minorities -- they tried to assimilate them. I would ask for a plebiscite in those territories which are populated by Hungarians.

But I know that the neighbor countries moved out part of the population from these regions and did little in favor of the Hungarian minorities. The population ratio has been changed. I am concerned about these minorities. If the conscience of those countries wakes up some day they should feel as a duty to reunite with their motherland these Hungarians who are treated like strangers in a foreign state.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I heard of Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress through the western radio after the full text of the speech got into the hands of the West.

I knew about Senator McCarthy through the western radio and the Communist press.

I heard a lot in jail about Rakosi's private life -- especially his life in prison. I don't know how reliable the information was, but, I heard that he took part in orgies.

B. What Respondent Read

I read with regularity all newspapers, especially Szabad Nep, the Patriotic Peoples' Front paper, the Peoples' Army paper, Peace and Freedom, Movie and Theatre, and The Literary Journal...and various sport magazines. My literary readings centered on Hungarian and world classical literature -- such as, Thomas Mann, Balzac, Maupassant, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, etc. As for the Hungarians -- Szabo Dezso, Moricz Zsigmond, Laszlo Nemeth.

I read more after finishing high school. People read a lot because they could buy good books for a few cents. The workers and the peasants read more than in the past. The intellectuals about the same.

I was only interested in the facts. I tried to form my own opinion through several sources of information. I never trusted the Communist press.

I very rarely saw western publications. While in jail, I once read old copies of Life magazines and a few French newspapers.

Many books were on the Index, among them were all the works of Szabo Dezso, the books on philosophy, religion, the politics of the past regime, etc. These books had to be destroyed but the people kept them at home. Not everybody lent them, but, people continued to read them and destroy them only if forced to do so. I had quite a library and loaned my books only to close friends.

A friend of mine sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, had a 1000 book library which he allowed us to use after we got out of prison.

C. In the circles I frequented, we had several frequent exchanges of thought and debates on problems of everyday life and politics. I had many friends who told me confidentially the freshest news. I passed it on when I thought the news was reliable.

D. Everybody talked about politics as political events were present in everybody's life. The State wanted the people to be interested in politics -- in Communist politics, of course. The people thought of the future and evaluated the past. They thought about Hungary and about the world. At home, people talked about politics with their friends. Regular meetings were forbidden, however. In their letters people would tell each other a few good anti-regime jokes.

F. I went to the movies two or three times a week. I went to the theatre less frequently because I did not go often to Budapest. Once a month there was a play in the village. When I was a soldier, I went to movies and theatres at Pecs and Miskolc.

I particularly liked the film, "Hamlet" by Shakespeare and all the Italian neo-realist films. I did not like the eastern films because their themes exaggerated the Communist aims and ideals.

As for the theatre, I particularly liked the Hungarian plays, "Bank Ban" and "The Tragedy of Man" by Madaj, and Goethe's "Faust".

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia

I cannot imagine a liberalization in the Soviet Union. It is excluded by the notion of dictatorship. A revolution in today's Russian social order can be only spontaneous as was in Hungary. Because of the Hungarian example I cannot imagine that such a thing would be tolerated by the Soviet government. The government is again using Stalin's methods and the terror excludes any opposition movements.

If Russia had a free election it would be the end of Communism.

The leaders of Russia are men who have fought for 40 years to reach the top, among many others who failed and were executed. If they are still alive after such a long fight they have no more soul but only bloody hands. These men did not and could not stop because the current they have initiated took them along.

B. Eastern Europe

The Poles are popular in Hungary because of the common history compassed and aims of the two countries and because of the events of 1956 when the nations once again felt like two brothers.

The neighbor countries do not enjoy much popularity because they treated the Hungarian minorities badly. The governments, and not the people as such, are responsible for this situation.

If free elections were held in these countries I think that Communism would be overthrown. Also, some of these countries are Slavic. A better atmosphere will be created in all the Eastern European countries and these nations will find themselves closer to each other and will forget all the tragedy of their past history.

Czechoslovakia has the best standard of living in Eastern Europe; Albania and Romania the worst.

C. Poland

I approve of a break with the Russians, but, I do not think the Polish regime has created a really free atmosphere. The one Party system remained and no opposition is tolerated. The Communist authority remains based on force. Complete freedom would be impossible to imagine without a break with Moscow. Poland can win national advantages for the workers but it still remains in the hands of the Communists and the concessions can be withdrawn at any time by the Russians. If the nationalistic efforts of Poland continue, and if the West doesn't support them, Moscow will suppress them if necessary like all the concessions it made for the past 40 years.

The events in Poznan created the possibility for the Hungarian nation to share the Polish aims. When the students demonstrated before the statue of Bem they expressed their solidarity with the aims of the Polish people and maybe, this was also a positive element in the outbreak of the revolution.

I did not hear of greater freedom of expression in Poland until the Poznan events.

I prefer the Hungarian revolution because there is no compromise with ~~the~~ Communism. National Communism would not have solved the big problems of the country because the chains would have remained. National Communism looked like something directed by Moscow. The initiative for the creation of true democracy must come from the people.

D. Yugoslavia

Tito certainly influenced Eastern Europe, tho, he was not an ideal statesman in our eyes. But, he was not completely dependent on Moscow and the Yugoslav people seemed to be better off. Maybe they were better off with national Communism but in Hungary the people looked

at the West and at the ideals of real democracy. Tito, as a person, is a dictator and a national Communist and his country had to accept everything he did. In Hungary, Yugoslavia appeared to be ruled without any principles but with some advantages compared to the other Danubian states. Tito's two-faced policy proved to be durable tho, we thought, it would not work. But Titoism does not reflect the true aspirations of the Yugoslav nation. It is a one-party dictatorship which suppresses all criticism and opposition.

As Tito is a dictator, he would be swept away by a democratic movement. But, he has his comrades-of-war who support him.

E. Asia and the Middle East

The West did not attach too much importance in keeping China on its side. It had the monopoly of the A-bomb and could have barred the way to the Communist army of Mao Tse Tung, financed and equipped by the Russians. The result was that the nation of six million people fell under Russian domination which represents the great danger for the Western civilization. This problem is much more actual today.

Because of the size of China's territory Soviet control is less effective. But, China's existence still depends on the Soviet Union, and, its ties with Moscow are the same as the ties between Russia and its other satellites.

India with her present international position and her four hundred million people is important. The fact that it sympathizes with Communism is a proof of the weakness of the West. The disintegration of the British empire is the cause of this evolution in India's foreign policy. If the West takes India's problems at heart, and supports India financially, it could keep it on its side against the Soviet Union.

As for Suez, I approve all nationalistic efforts aimed at the amelioration of an unfavorable situation. But, ~~when~~ Nasser can hold firm against the West only by leaning upon the Soviet Union which is much worse.

I approve of the western intervention in Egypt because Russia's intervention in that country will bring more misery and suffering to the people. If the intervention was aimed against Egypt's independence, it should be condemned. The Soviets' aggression in Hungary should have been noticed, too. The English and the French attack against Egypt was used by the Soviets as a shield to cover the bloody crushing of the Hungarian revolution.

F. West Germany

West Germany, with its technical ability and intelligence, rules again as a nation after the war and proved that it can and wants to live. Besides this development, Germany still cannot realize its unity and the West does not know the eventual dangers of such a reunification. The rebirth of militarism must be opposed but not the German aims toward unification. The people are not responsible for the war crimes of a dictator like Hitler. The German youth of today is raised in a democratic spirit. Germany's standard of living is very high -- probably the best in Europe.

The political attitude of Ollenhauer's party constitutes an obstacle ~~for~~ to western unity. The political aims of Adenauer are, in my opinion, the healthiest in Europe. He is realistic, but the Socialists do not support him because of differences of nuances and this could mean a disaster for Europe.

West Germany is right to re-arm, as East Germany is doing the same. But no country can feel safe today when nuclear weapons can bring a catastrophe to the whole world. The UN should fulfil its purpose and solve the German nation's problem. And also prevent the big powers from using such nuclear weapons. Even the Germans could have such weapons, but the West should keep them in reserve for the defense of Europe. A war without nuclear weapons would require more time but it would inflict more sufferings on the people.

There is no doubt that the Soviet occupation of Hungary was more brutal. But the German occupation hurt ~~xxxxxxx~~ Hungary's national feelings just as much since the country was reluctant to take part in the war and ~~x~~ did everything to avoid it. The German

soldiers ~~xi~~ were disciplined and behaved well. The Russians were just the opposite.

G. Western Europe

During Bulganin's and Khrushchev's visit to England, the attitude of the British Labor Party increased its prestige in the eyes of the Hungarians. The Labor Party can always make the difference between national interest and internal politics.

West Germany and England have the highest standards of living and Egypt, the lowest.

H. The United States

What surprised me particularly about America was the wealth of the country.

The US should make a strong stand for the freedom of the Eastern European countries. I think the time for action instead of diplomacy has come. The hopes of these nations for their freedom depend on this stand taken by the US and this possibility should be used by the American government and the American people if they want to keep their historical prestige and good fame in our eyes.

I would oppose any loans to Yugoslavia and Poland as long as the question of the independence of these countries is not clarified. As long as this question remains pending the money would only strengthen the economy of the Soviets and I am opposed to this.

The US should not recognize diplomatically Kadar's government of terror.

The people in Hungary want to meet as many westerners as possible in order to learn about western life and techniques.

They want western books and periodicals too, for the same reasons -- in order to learn about western culture, literature, etc.

The Hungarian people can make differences. They could not be influenced by the emigrees' roar and they can see how well their activities reflect the aspirations of the Hungarian people.

Hungary should have accepted the Marshall Plan as the economic aid of the Soviet Union had its price in Communism. An influx of western capital to the East would be acceptable because it would assure many advantages for both sides.

I don't know with certainty why the US fought in Korea.

I. The American Domestic Scene

In the US an ordinary worker can live a human and decent life and acquire the many things he needs. The millionaires can spend more for luxuries, but the workers also have their own cars and apartments.

The American trade unions

I was glad to see that on Broadway there are strikers asking for higher wages with the support of their unions. This truly reflects the democratic ways of life in America...as long as the unions will represent the workers' interests.

If the union leaders would know the situation in the USSR they would protest against it. But, they work for the workers' interests and should know that strikers would not be welcomed in the Soviet Union where the right to strike is unknown.

I learned through the press about the increase of juvenile delinquency. Reforms should be introduced in the fields of education where problems should be deepened and youth should be helped to evaluate things objectively.

I must say intellectual formation has higher requirements in Hungary than in the US. The intellectual level

which goes with the university diploma was reached in Hungary at the age of 23. But, one does not have to hurry here.

As the Americans have money they can use it in countless ways. I have noticed that they need entertainment just as much as food and clothing.

J. The United Nations

In accordance with its charter, the UN could have solved Hungary's situation if it had immediately followed the principles some people pretend to follow. The organization made a poor showing when it was not even able to implement such important resolutions as those on Hungary and to impose them upon a member. As the Hungarians government had proclaimed Hungary's neutrality it was the obligation of the United Nations to send the UN troops in Hungary to control further democratization and to prevent any further bloodshed. All those affected by this show of irresponsibility will only think of the UN as a good means of living for a few hundred people who discuss politics.

I don't see how the UN can regain its prestige if it cannot implement the resolutions on Hungary. Its present failure may be the pretext to justify any further violation of the charter. If the West does not find itself it will be the only one deceived this time and not Hungary. This deception could shake the whole world.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES OF SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. In my opinion, the greatest living Hungarians are Bela Kovacs, Joseph Mindszenty and Balint Arany. I respect all three for their stand as men and for their courageous behavior and attitude. They are the true representatives of Hungary's faith and aims.

B. Imre Nagy -- a Communist, but, a Hungarian. When he tried to achieve his aims we thought that he wanted justice.

Cardinal Mindszenty -- a martyr.

C. Laszlo Rajk -- he belonged to the scoundrels and deserved the rope.

D. Erno Gero -- an evil Moscovite.

E. Kadar -- a most infamous man.

2. A. Eisenhower -- the apostle of peace. I respect him for his role in World War II. As a president his work is unknown to me. I hope he will try to solve humanity's problems in practice the same way he says it in theory.

B. Hammarskoldj -- in his position he must have more firmness and be less conciliatory, especially when he sees the injustices of history.

C. Dulles -- my first of him was good. I believed that he saw well all the tricks of Soviet policy and that he could oppose them successfully. Today, I realize that he did not do many concrete things in the past five years.

D. Eden -- he fell from power.

E. Truman -- he could have done, perhaps, something to make the world situation look different today.

3. A. Mikoyan -- one among many murderers.
- B. Nehru -- mislead by the Soviet smiles.
- C. Chiang-Kai Shek -- he should have acted instead of talking.
- D. Ference Nagy -- many of his activities can be condemned.
- E. Roosevelt -- he bears a great responsibility for the expansion of the Soviet Union and the present fate of Hungary.
- F. Adenauer -- a real politician.
- G. Stalin -- he was only a small dictator.
- H. Malenkov -- I hate him like the others.
- I. Franco -- by defeating Communism in Spain, he rendered ~~him~~ a service to humanity.
- J. Bevan -- I respect him.
- K. Khrushchev -- a murderer.
- L. Tito -- he has bloody hands, but he is not an unresourceful diplomat.
- M. Peron -- I don't know him well.
- N. Molotov -- an artful politician and Moscovite lackey.
- P. Churchill -- he stepped down in time from history's stage.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of Escapees

All those who fought actively during the revolution saw their fate sealed after the bloody days of the Soviet repression in November and they cannot be blamed for leaving the country. Many people used the opportunity to leave the country as it was their earlier desire to go abroad. I must also mention those who were afraid of the victory of the revolution and left the country at the very beginning of the uprising.

Those who were held back by love for their family and for their country remained at home and they must expect more hardships to come...together with all those who supported morally the revolution and could not be held individually responsible.

We think of those who stayed in Hungary with recognition. We feel with them and want to realize our promises to alleviate their fate and to achieve Hungary's freedom.

Those who are in Hungary and felt with the revolution said goodbye with tears in their eyes to those for whom death was waiting. They send them abroad as witnesses in order to tell the truth and try to do something for Hungary's cause. It would be shameful if we would not feel responsible for them and not try to change their fate.

The Hungarian peasantry who loves the land would probably remain and continue the struggle but, because of the general embitterment and terror, perhaps everybody would have come out to the West because sufferings have also a limit.

B. Hungarian Exile Organizations

I knew about the Hungarian National Council and of the names of Bela Varga and Ference Nagy through Radio Free Europe. We thought that they represented

officially the Hungarian cause in the West and waited for the effects of their influence on the western public opinion. We hoped that their work would be successful but we were disappointed. I met them here after I arrived in the US.

They tried to do something but the results are poor and we saw no positive manifestations during the revolution. They could not create a unified Hungarian emigration. During the revolution some Hungarians thought of them as supporters from the outside, but, they were not ready to give them any authority.

C. I did not meet any Hungarians who returned from the West after 1945.

D. Those who left Hungary should create the greatest unity possible in the Hungarian emigration. They should continue to live on the moral level reached during the revolution and to influence and form the public opinion in regard to the Hungarian cause. They must obtain political reserves because it is only with Western help that Hungary's problem can be solved.

The people in Hungary would like to know that the two hundred thousand refugees continue to represent ~~xxxx~~ the cause and will do everything to create a unified Hungarian emigration. For this, the former exiles should give them a friendly hand and accept the aims of the October revolution.

I am a member of the executive committee of the Freedom Fighters' Association and my activities are aimed at the realization of the above-mentioned cause.

The fact that the former political parties were active again did not influence the final issue of the revolution. The West simply did not help us. I was not against the parties being active again, altho, they seemed to diminish our unity. But, they were not responsible for the crushing of the revolt. The Hungarian

XIX. people were at the mercy of the Russian superiority of men and material and here lies our tragedy.

E. I want to go back to Hungary at any price.

I want my children to learn Hungarian as well as English in the US.

It was legally punishable to listen to foreign broadcasts or spread the news. In 1950-51, many people were arrested and accused of doing this. The sentences depended on the persons.

Many broadcasts were good. Those of the BBC were very objective. I was glad to hear about the Western world, about political, cultural and military matters. The broadcasts gave hope to everybody in Hungary. The news was fairly accurate.

I had reservations about RFE. The facts it told were good, but the tone was too enthusiastic. More realistic views would have been more effective.

After listening to the broadcasts nobody in Hungary thought that the West was so unprepared as the radios told many things which made the Hungarian people believe that the West stood for the country's freedom. The disappointment was big, not only in the radios but also in the West. It looked as if Hungary was again thrown to the Russians.

To continue the broadcasts is very necessary. But in another spirit with realistic facts. Because Hungary is sealed off again from the West, hope must be maintained in a suffering people.

Mostly news, programs on Western forms of life, Western press comments, cultural programs should be broadcast.

E. I heard of the initials, WEM, and of the 12 Orbits through the radio.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

I listened to foreign broadcasts at home every day with my family. In the army I did the same with some friends. I listened to RFE, BBC, Voice of America, Radio Madrid. The most jammed station was RFE.

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Mostly news, programs on Western forms of life, Western press comments, cultural programs should be broadcast.

B. I heard of the initials, NEM, and of the 12 Demands through the radio.

C. Leaflets

I read most of the leaflets. Some were given to me by friends. I picked up many leaflets near our village.

I heard of them through the Communist press and the radio.

People passed them to each other after reading them.

The leaflets were good for those who did not have a radio. They also made the Communists very nervous.

I approve of leaflets if they are followed by some effective assistance.

The aims of these organizations and to help reveal the other side of the ~~Iron Curtain~~ world to the people of the Iron Curtain.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A child's education will depend on what he will be taught until the age of six. I'm in favor of nurseries only if they are staffed with good educators. I would help the child to develop morally and physically and use good words and examples instead of physical punishment. I would teach the child obedience, respect, and honesty.

The child must be disciplined but not ~~wi~~ by physical punishment. I would explain to him what is wrong with his behavior. Physical punishment has mental effects and it is not by frightening the child that I would show him the right way to do things, but, with an explanation adapted to the child's age. I would make some differences between boys and girls and use more gentleness for girls, more firmness for boys.

At the age of six I smoked a cigarette and my father beat me. I had to kneel and ask for his pardon. It was my father who used to punish the children.

In most cases the father punished the children in Hungary, but often, the mother too.

In workers' and peasants' families physical punishment was more in use than among the intelligentsia. Under Communism, the nerves of the parents were more tense and physical punishment was more frequent. The childrens' freer behavior and less inhibited attitudes were another cause.

Physical punishment was abandoned ~~for~~ at the age of puberty (15 to 16) for the boys, and, for the girls, at the age of 12 to 13. Discipline stopped when the child became independent. At this age discipline was rather a parental warning. Peasants' and workers' children became independent at an earlier age.

The parents, because of the freer attitudes of the younger generation thought more before punishing

the child since the childrens' retaliation could harm the family life more than before Communism.

Before Communism, physical was allowed for the four years of elementary school. Today, it is forbidden. The teachers observe this rule because the parents could denounce them if they beat the child. Many punishments could not be performed because of the position of the child's father -- especially if he were a Communist Party member. Where convincing words were not effective, the childrens' tendency was to behave in an unsatisfactory manner.

The characteristics I value most in a friend are: objectivity, a frank character, honesty, faithfulness, and affection.