

### Personal Impression

Respondent is a young boy whose main characteristic appears to be that ~~he~~ he is a plain Hungarian boy without anything special about him. He is willing to talk, but absolutely not eager to do so. He has to be asked many probing questions in order to get him to elaborate, but he never balks at answering any of them. It is apparent that he is greatly surprised by many questions, in part because he considers them much too obvious to ~~answer~~ answer. In other instances, he seems to be surprised at a question whose idea had never occurred to him before.

He may be characterized as ~~an~~ independent minded, almost a "rugged individualist". There are a great many things in life about which he doesn't "give a hoot". He is puzzled as to why other people question such things.

Obviously, he is neither the talkative nor the "joining" type. He seems to be unimpressed by general sentiments and his outlook appears to be uncolored by prejudices. All in all, he is a fellow who speaks his own mind, even if he has to invent approaches to problems right on the spot.

Since he is not the brooding type, ~~he does not~~ ~~nor~~ contemplative, he seems not to have registered events and views in any systematic manner in his mind. Consequently, his account may not be totally accurate, but beyond a shadow of a doubt, it is absolutely sincere and well-meant.

II. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ MAJOR SKELIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTIONS

A. Respondent thinks that the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 are these:

Communists like to blame the out-break of the revolution on fascists. Respondent thinks it is most important to understand that this revolution had no connection with the fascists, if there are any such still existing in Hungary.

The circumstances, political and economical, under which the Hungarian people were living were reason enough to make people revolt.

He thinks Hungary wanted to be neutral. Above all, he wants the Americans to know that the people wanted to have the Russians leave Hungary at once.

He also thinks it's important to know: "We Hungarians did not give any thought to an armed campaign or any military move whatsoever/ against neighboring countries to recover lost territories of Hungary."

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

A. On October 22 respondent was working in the plant (Wilhelm Pieck Railroad-car and Engine Factory) when he ~~was~~ and his friends saw the official Communist Youth ~~paper~~ daily paper. They read with great interest and excitement the sixteen points ~~items~~ of the demands of the students in Szeged and Budapest. Respondent says that some of the original list of ~~items~~ demands were left out as they learned later. For instance, the demand of the withdrawal of Russian occupation troops. They were happy that such demands were being published and they expected relaxations, but still did not expect any serious upheaval to follow. Respondent remarks that it had happened that criticisms of Rakosi appearing in ~~the~~ papers meant relaxations and now they wondered what would happen.

Gero was supposed to speak that same night over the radio to the people of Hungary. Respondent listened that night at his home with his room-mate. Gero spoke contemptuously of Hungarians attempting to endanger Socialist achievements and accused them of anti-Semitism. (At this point respondent says that Gero's accusations were completely without foundation. There just wasn't any anti-Semitism worth mentioning in Hungary.) Gero spoke for about ten minutes or so and it was apparent he did not finish his speech. After the last sentence they heard ~~the~~ the cracking of rifle fire over the radio. It struck them that the speech was unfinished and they couldn't ~~imagine~~ imagine what happened. One thing was certain: they had heard the sound of rifle fire. There was nothing but music on the radio from then on.

~~On the morning of Oct. 23 the music~~ On the morning of Oct. 23 the music was interrupted by newscasts on several occasions. The news was briefly this: "Small counter-revolutionary gangs attacked our public buildings. ~~Remain~~ Remain calm. These groups will be wiped out immediately." Respondent went to the plant where he worked. There he learned that some of his co-workers did not hear the news yet but those who had heard told others what was going on in Budapest, and work stopped immediately in their shop. A great excitement swept over all of them and they talked about events quite openly. They were anxious to listen to the radio from loud-speakers there were in the shop.

They learned over the radio that the central-party leadership was IN SESSION and later ~~that~~ that it named Imre Nagy to the post of Minister President. Immediately after that around 8 o'clock a state of ~~xxxx~~ siege was declared in the name of Imre Nagy. The radio announcers asked Budapest people to put their radio sets in their windows so everybody could hear Imre Nagy. At 12 noon he spoke. Meanwhile it was wondered whether the state of siege was really declared by Imre Nagy or whether he was forced by other Communists big-wigs. It was learned over the radio that amnesty was declared for those who laid down their arms and deadlines were set. These deadlines were extended again and again. Nobody in the

plant made any move to resume work. Gyor Communists brought leaflets. The essence of the leaflets was "Quiet down! Resume work!" Imre Nagy didn't say much in his speech but he suggested that people do one thing which turned out to be one of the OPPORTUNITY for people to show their sentiments. Imre Nagy said "Let's put our national flags on our houses." And people did just that.

They put the national flags on their houses instead of the Communist flags. At 2 o'clock respondent and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ associates in the shop got a national flag without the hated Communist emblem and an old worker painted the Kossuth emblem on it. They hoisted this flag above the entrance of their shop and sang the national anthem. As they looked around they saw every shop hoisting national flags. There were two Red flags flying over the shop and both were pulled down. There were several flags with holes in them for the Communist emblem had been cut out, but amazingly there were quite a number intact which had never had the Communist coat-of-arms. A woman in their shop got national color ribbons and they pinned them on their coats.

They went to the plant yard and crowds came from all buildings. An old railroad man was among them who took his cap which bore the Communist emblem and he ripped it from his cap, threw it on the ground and stamped on it. This simple move, respondent remarks, marked ~~xxx~~ the end of an era in which they didn't dare to do things they would have liked to do. A large part of the crowd now went to the main office building which bore the sign "Wilhelm Pieck Railroad car and Engine Factory". He and others climbed up and dismantled the neon tubes. Wilhelm Pieck and others came and painted the word "Magyar" -meaning Hungarian- in its place. On top of the entrance building there was a huge Red star, and several of the workers climbed up and they pushed it over to the ground. Right then the Party secretary came by and reproached the crowd and said "why did you take it off?" "Should I put it back?" one of the workers asked. "No, tomorrow they'll put it back." the Party secretary replied. When the star came down people sang the national anthem. The excited crowds left the plant at 3:30 and went home talking about events.

This is what it looked like and this was how it was intended. But then people came and said "Something is going on in front of the City Hall." People thought they should go there and a group with flags left for the City Hall. At the same time they saw others going in the same direction. In front of the City Hall a huge crowd was already there. A worker from ~~xxxx~~ their plant stood in one of the windows of the City Hall and he delivered a feverish anti-Communist speech. Among others he said down with the ~~Rxxx~~ Party Secretaries. He expressed peoples ~~xx~~ wish that the Russians would go home. He demanded that the uranium mines should be used by the Hungarians and not exploited by the Russians. While this worker

spoke and the crowd listened workers had climbed to the top of the City Hall where a large Red Star was symbolizing Soviet power. They started sawing it off its base and were in dangerous positions as they carried out this work, because the star was very hard to get to. When the star fell to the ground people ran to it and stomped on it. It was completely destroyed in a matter of a few minutes. Then people suggested they all go to the Russian War Memorial which was close to the City Hall. Respondent was surprised to see people with big sledge hammers hammering at it. He didn't think people would bring plant equipment with them. He was even more amazed to see people with huge ladders and ropes and climb on top of the memorial which also had a Russian Star and break it off, and destroyed it.

Presently the cry went up "Let's free the political prisoners!" The crowd followed the suggestion and went to the prison. In front of the prison they again sang the national anthem. The door was locked and they tried to break it. The respondent and others hoisted the national flag. The crowd yelled "Release the political prisoners!" After about 15 minutes some fifteen or twenty young boys and girls were released. People were overjoyed and carried the ex-prisoners on their shoulders. They were still in prison uniform and so people gave their own coats to them. Soon they all had coats. Their release seemed to satisfy the crowd. They were naive enough to think that these were the only political prisoners.

Now people said "Let's go to Party Headquarters". As respondent was still in front of the prison a truck load of AVO arrived. They fired over the heads of the crowd. People ducked and hid in doorways but none of them fled. Most of them, including respondent, just circled the block and came back again. When he circled and came back he saw one wounded. He learned that the AVO had been attacked by the crowd who threw stones. Then the AVO fired in to the crowd killing three and wounding one. Respondent was also told the following: as the AVO truck arrived in front of the prison gate and people stood around the truck one seventeen year old girl climbed on it and started passing out hand-grenades to the crowd. The AVO officers who were in the building saw her and shot her. People then threw the hand-grenades into the prison yard. Then the AVO began machine-gunning the people and they ran away.

About 6:30 respondent went home to see his roommate but was told that his roommate had left and so he returned to the crowd to find his roommate. He found him in the crowd. People were talking over things that had happened.

About 8 p.m. a big truck full of Russian soldiers and about 20 tanks with infantry men hanging on them came to the city and took positions on the main street. People threw stones and bricks at the tanks and spat at them. Respondent thought they would machine-gun the crowd but the Russian soldiers did not stir. More policemen came also to check the crowds. People shouted at them "Aren't you

ashamed of yourselves. "You are people from our own midst. Are you going to shoot your own fathers and brothers?" About 8 10 p.m. the crowds thinned out and respondent went home. He thought about what would happen now and what good life would ensue if the Russians left.

On the morning of October 24 respondent went to the plant again. He saw that over night the Russian tanks had left. In the shop people were talking things over. The workers in the main plant filed out with flags and ~~his~~ his shop joined them. No one asked why or what they were going to do. ~~They~~ They marched to City Hall and saw there about eight a.m. a large crowd but they went passed them and the schools one after the other. They asked the principals to release the ~~the~~ students and every principal granted their request. The students happily joined them. Revolutionary slogans were shouted. Respondent quotes two: "They ask in Budapest where does the Hungarian uranium ore go." and "Stand up Hungarian. Your country is calling for you. Every Russian should go home." Both of these slogans were rhymed in Hungarian. By 10 a.m. the crowd, which had become immense, went to the City Hall. There they found an even larger crowd than they had seen earlier and many wagons from neighboring villages which had come to town. There were some people standing on the balcony of the City Hall. ~~Someone~~ Someone suggested that an Hungarian National Committee be formed. Several students recited great Hungarian poems and an old man recited his own poem written for the occasion. Both a Catholic and a Protestant clergy man talked to the crowd. Respondent recalls the essence of all speeches was this: ~~After twelve years of~~ "After twelve years of tyranny people want freedom and the Russians can only prevent them from gaining it by fighting. So the Russians should go home." A farmer got up and said that the farmers would give ~~freely~~ food freely to people while they ~~fight~~ fought for freedom. The crowd was enthusiastic through out all speeches. Someone now suggested the military join them in their fight. Some suggested they go to the barracks and ask the military to with them, and some said a committee should go to the barracks. This last move was carried and the Committee left. Not more than a half hour later a military band and about thirty soldiers came to the City Square. The band and ~~an~~ an officer went to the balcony. After the national anthem the officer said: "We are with you in our fight for national freedom and independence. We are sons of one nation and we want the same.

Now the crowd ~~an~~ wanted to go to the AVO Headquarters. The people on the balcony said that first there should be a national committee formed and it was done. Meanwhile respondent went home

and when he returned this is what he heard from people who had participated in the action: The crowd chanting "Down with the AVO." and similar slogans went to the headquarters. They had no arms but they braved the headquarters and challenged them. The AVO hoisted a white flag but left the doors locked. Later it was found out that the white flag was put up just so the officers had time to flee. The crowd broke the front door. By then ~~at~~ they found only a few AVO officers. They were all arrested and put in cells, except for one officer who was recognized as the one who ordered the shooting into the crowd the previous day. The people beat him to death and tore him to pieces. The others were not harmed, only arrested. The enlisted men were released.

Later respondent learned that an elaborate torture system was found in the basement of the AVO Headquarters building.

Between 3 and 4 p.m. respondent learned that a demonstration at Mosonmagyaróvár was shot at by the AVO and that fighting was now going on there. In a few minutes enough volunteers were recruited to fill two large trucks. They ~~then~~ received arms from the military and left for the neighboring town. A good friend of the respondent was among them. There were more volunteers turning up and a third truck was filled which left for Budapest to aid the Freedom Fighters.

In the evening the Free Radio Győr was operating and told the listeners that Kossuth Radio Budapest was lying and people should not believe it.

Next day, October 25, respondent went to work at the usual time. However, they didn't work. People just talked and talked because they had so much in their hearts. Inter-plant workers councils were formed, one in each larger shop. They elected officials by secret ballot. Respondent's shop elected a chief engineer who was in charge of their shop before. He was very popular. During the election when various names came up, people mentioned many personal grievances but were silenced by the others who said there should be action first and personal grievances last. The Workers Councils appointed a plant guard--armed workers to protect the plant from any eventualities. At the same time the Workers Council representing the whole factory decided the strike should continue until Budapest would be free. That day respondent saw Vienna newspapers with pictures of, among others, the Stalin statue toppled. He saw busses coming from Budapest for food and clothing which were loaded in Vienna and in other Western towns and returned to Budapest. Respondent remarks that they had planned

to flee before the revolution, but now they saw that the country was regaining its freedom and they decided to stay there for good and to help as much as they could.

After noon it was announced through-out the plant that young men from 17 to 20 should assemble and would be taught how to handle weapons. Respondent says young men turned out enthusiastically, and eagerly watched as an officer showed them how to handle a weapon.

The young girl heroine who had handed out hand-grenades from the AVO truck the previous day and the other victims of the AVO shooting were buried. The Burial ceremonies were transmitted over the radio.

October 26 started as usual. Respondent went to the plant and found out that the Workers Councils still wanted to continue the strike, but suggested that everyone go to the plant as usual in order to stand by for anything that might happen. Respondent says everyone did so willingly. Between 11 and 12 noon he and many others went to town. In front of the City Hall they again found a large crowd. They demanded weapons so they could go to ~~the~~ Budapest to help in the fighting. The president of the Gyor National Committee suggested that they should not go to Budapest and among other arguments he mentioned that the truck which had left on the 24th perished with all those in it. After much discussion pro and con the crowd gave up the idea of volunteers to go to Budapest.

At noon all the people left the plant because this was customary on Saturday. After lunch respondent again went to the city square and about 2p.m. he saw a man come to the balcony who said that a counter-government should be formed and he also suggested that he could bring Western armed help if necessary. During his speech the Gyor National Committee was in session inside the building. Respondent said the crowd yelled "We need no armed help from other countries. We'll fight our own battles."

At 4p.m. the Trans-Danubian National Committee convened to assist the situation and to outline policies. Loud-speakers transmitted the speeches made in the session. The main topic was whether a counter-government should be established or not. The move was rejected.

In the days between October 27 and November 3 the strike lasted. People went to the plant and talked. It was brought up that one main reason for the strike was that the raw materials should not be used up because they might be called on to manufacture arms and the materials should be available. The Communists in the factory



fled, particularly the higher-ups among the Communists. The Party Secretary of the plant took, of course, the car which belonged to the plant with him. The few Communist leaders who were found were locked up and the plant guard watched them. In the streets patrols consisting of one soldier and one armed civilian were watching over the city. Among other good news Radio Free Gyor told that Balatonszabadi Radio station, whose task was to relay programs to the West, had also surrendered to the national uprising. On October 28 the radio told listeners that the Russians were camping near Gyor and their commander was offered milk for their children by the National Committee. The commander was quoted as saying that he saw why Hungarians were fighting and he could see that freedom was loved above all. He said they would leave as soon as orders came in. The commander was also quoted as saying many nice things about Hungarian children and how strictly Russian soldiers were watched to see that they should be very nice to the children.

In these days between October 26 27 and November 3 perhaps the greatest event respondent says was ~~wham~~ that Imre Nagy announced that the neutrality of Hungary is proclaimed. People were overjoyed and thought a new period was dawning on Hungary. A Budapest student leader spoke over the loud-speaker system of the plant and informed them of major events in Budapest. On October 30 people were so confident that it was rumored that everything would become normal within a few days and work would be resumed. The bakers and workers in other food plants

On November 3 afternoon Russian tanks were posted on two ends of the two bridges. People were puzzled by this.

In the morning of November 4 they heard Imre Nagy speak over the radio and were shocked as never before in their lives. People went to the streets and saw Russian tanks everywhere. Apparently they had moved in to the city over night. Respondent says people were unhappy as he had never seen them. When trying to piece together what had happened he heard from an Hungarian officer ~~xxxx~~ who had been on guard duty at an ammunition depot and about 11p.m. Nov. 3 Russian tanks rolled close to them. They disarmed the guards and sent them home.

On November 5 respondent again went to the plant as usual and found the Workers Council functioning. They adopted a resolution to keep striking until the Russians leave Hungary. On the morning of November 6 respondent learned that the president and one member of the Workers Council of the plant and the president of the

National Committee of the city had been arrested by the Russian secret police. Now people decided to strike all the more as a protest against such Russian moves. On November 8 it was rumored that the Russians would force them to resume working. His roommate suggested to respondent that they flee to the West. On November 9 they were in the plant where people were still striking. His roommate insisted they leave at once because ~~they~~ he feared reprisals and he thought they had been seen when dismantling the Soviet Star and doing things like that. A third boy from the plant wanted leave also. They took only ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a few steps in preparation. One was to make a compass by magnetizing a small piece of wire and hanging it on a hair. They left for Csorna, and thinking the border zone was well guarded as it had been previously, they got off the train and started walking toward the border. It was a very long walk, more than fourteen miles.

Respondent thinks that he has covered details of his actions, thoughts and expectations before the demonstrations started well enough in his story. He joined the demonstrations with his associates from the shop. No one tried to talk him out of joining. His parents were not in Győr, but he feels certain that they would have encouraged him. He laughs when asked whether he was afraid. Why should he have been, he says. He did not fear any consequences.

He had felt elated because he saw that the hopeless situation had changed 100 percent. He wanted the government to declare neutrality, independence and hold free elections. Above all, he wanted to see the Russians leave because he knew the people would be able to take care of everything if the Russian troops left. As a consequence of all this he expected more pay and much more freedom. He thought that the probable outcome would be ~~xxxxxxx~~ nothing less than that the Russians would leave. He did not see much basis for making any difference between the demonstrators by age, sex and class. He saw the people in the demonstrations... The People. Nothing less. The leaders in the demonstrations in Győr were workers. Respondent says perhaps they would have been students if there had been any colleges, but there were none in Győr. The leaders of the high-school students were, of course, high school students.

B. Respondent says there were no reasons for real fighting in Győr. The few clashes that took place were already told by him. The AVO was so frightened by the immense and ~~other~~ DETERMINED crowd that they surrendered or fled without offering a fight. Revolutionary slogans like "Russians go home", "Down with the AVO" came up on October 23. He heard the term "Freedom Fighters" first when trucks left for Magyaróvár. People said then that the trucks full of people were going to offer aid to the Freedom Fighters in Magyaróvár.

To summarize who fought in Gyor respondent says the crowd which stoned the AVO truck, the girl who handed out hand-grenades, the people who threw them at the AVO in the prison yard, those who broke in the AVO building and beat that one AVO officer to death, and the two truck-loads of people who left for Magyarovar and the third truck which left for Budapest....most of these were young workers. As far as he knows there was only one girl among them, except for the girls who took part in stoning the AVO truck. As an after thought, respondent says perhaps the people who threw stones and bricks at the Russian tanks can also be classified as workers. The only organized fighters who left by truck for Mosonmagyarovar got their arms from soldiers. The trucks left from in front of the barracks where they got their arms. When the trucks left there were no leaders among them yet and respondent doesn't know if the leaders were ~~selected~~ later on. Everyone worked and fought so voluntarily that not much formal leadership was needed, he thinks. He also wanted to leave with the trucks he says, but the trucks were full.

His own feelings when he hoisted the flag on the prison and when he helped dismantle the Soviet star, and ~~when~~ the sign Wilhelm Pieck were elation. He felt so elated because he was free. When things were hot he felt the Imre Nagy government would be only a temporary salution until elections were held and that the Russians would withdraw. His reaction as well as that of others to the government calling for Russian troops were that this was the dirtiest deal they could imagine. They called these scoundrals in the government unprintable names, who they thought had forced Imre Nagy to call in the troops. Above all they cursed Gero.

C. The reinvasion, respondent feels, he covered well enough in his story. His expectations with respect to the Red army after it had begun its retreat were: After neutrality was declared by Hungarian government the Russians must recognise it. If they did not recognise it the United Nations would and that would force the Russians to do so. Asked when he first heard that the Soviet withdrawel had been halted respondent explains that his roommate as an employee of the Gyor transmitting station of an electric power line and that this friend of his had received a long distance call from the transmitting station in Szolnok that Russian troops were not only halting but that new Russian troops were pouring in. This long distance call came on November 2. He first saw Soviet troops returning on November 3. He saw them with great dismay. His major lines of activity from the time of the Red army's return to the time of his escape consisted of his going to the plant every day, discussing things there, and waiting for a turn for the better. He began planning his escape on November 7. ~~xxxxxx~~

This is how respondent expresses his feelings about the question whether the whole of Hungary has gained from the revolution:  
"The revolution won morally because people feel that they may count on each other, and that is possible to do something about

the system if all of them help each other. In the preceding twelve years apathy was strong and the hope of the people was dashed again and again. The revolution won because, while freedom was again oppressed in a terrible way, they will not dare to hold the wages of workers as low as before. At the same time the revolution helped the entire world because it ~~unveiled~~ unveiled the face of the Soviet Union and of Communism."

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

A. Asked what he expected from the West respondent suggests: "I expected no military help; felt that ~~it~~ the West would risk war. My only hope was the United Nations. I hoped particularly after the Warsaw Pact was announced and neutrality was declared. I hoped that the ~~Nations~~ United Nations would send a police force to watch over elections after they had expelled the Russian forces by putting so much pressure on the Soviet Union that it would withdraw its forces. I hoped that a neutrality similar to that of ~~the~~ Austria would protect Hungary from its deadly enemy, the Soviet Union."

This is how he reasons on what basis he formed his expectations: "What I heard over the radio about the United Nations' sessions, particularly through the Radio Free Europe, made me think as I just expressed. My own logic told me that Austria had gained independence through United Nations pressure so we should be able to gain the same."

Respondent did not come into contact with any foreigners between October 23 and the time of his escape, but he saw press photographers from the West and other apparently foreign correspondents with tape recorders. He also ~~heard~~ was very glad to hear about a FOREIGN reporter filming the AVC prison at Győr.

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

Respondent's father was a simple mason in a small town with a population of 5000 to 6000. The father's income before the war amounted to about 400 pounds of wheat per week, the equivalent of 400 pounds of wheat per week. After the war it was much less. His father owned a house which he had built himself before the war. He lives in it with his family. His father has completed six years of grade school and his mother seven grades.

B. Respondent finds the workers, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the ruling classes in Hungary. He does not include clerical workers nor technicians in the intelligentsia because he considers them to belong to the working class. He had much actual contact with peasants in Szecseny. In school later in Győr he was with mostly with workers. His attitudes toward these groups is expressed briefly in the following: "The ruling class is not worthy of the name Hungarian. It consists of scoundrels. The middle class consists of good people who wanted the same as we workers. The workers are regular guys and I think very highly of the peasants who came to help with food very generously given during the revolution." Respondent feels he belongs to the working class.

Respondent thinks the peasantry and the workers were hit by Communism equally hard.

C. Asked about the attitudes of classes toward each other respondent summarizes his experiences as follows: "Up to the revolution workers, generally speaking, thought of peasants as asking too much for food. Most workers did not see much difference between themselves and the intelligentsia. Respondent has not formed any particular opinion about the intelligentsia, except that they were all right in the revolution. He hastens to add that workers thought a great deal of the peasants during the revolution. He feels the workers feel as he does about the ruling class: they were scoundrels. He does not think he can answer how the peasant felt about workers and the intelligentsia, but again, he feels they felt as he and the rest of the workers did about the ruling class. He feels at a loss to say how the middle class felt about the other two classes. As to the ruling class he thinks they hated all three classes.

His views about the chances in Hungary for an individual to get ahead under Communism are: "If one was a Communist and performed good 'Party work' he could get ahead. But that was the only really good chance. Reliability was first. Class origin played the major part in judging reliability. Talent and devotion were secondary. There were no changes in the Communist attitude. They paid only lip service to changes. Perhaps there were a few exceptions but I have not experienced one." Respondent feels the one to really get ahead has to be a turn-coat; one who assimilates to any situation.

VII VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

A. Respondent says "The lack of religious instructions in schools made many young people too easy going. Also, there were more divorces in Hungary percentage wise than even in the United States." He thinks people show their weak sides more since there is no religious atmosphere in the schools, and there are no youth organizations active any more such as the Boy Scouts.

B. Respondent says the schools are bent on turning out a different type of Human being. They teach them hatred toward capitalism and the old regime. Text books are full of this. At the same time most of the faculty do not believe in what they have to teach; neither do the pupils. History, for example, both the teacher and the pupil knew was bunkum, and still they had to teach or to learn it. They did so with disgust.

Asked whether there has been any changes as to whether children obey or disobey their parents under Communism respondent says: "Parents still teach their children right from wrong. Consequently, youth developed a two-faced personality. One was the one shown in school; the other, the genuine one, to the family. Not only the grown-ups but the children too were fed up with the persistency of the Communists in lying about everything. I haven't met any children who did not take the words of their parents seriously in political matters. I saw such children only in Russian films. Perhaps religious life was not so strong as before and because of this children did not obey as well as they should have.

"As far as courting is concerned everything became much more informal than it had been. I must admit parents were dissatisfied with this." All changes respondent feels, occurred because there was no religious training in schools. The changes were the same for all social classes.

Considering the conflict between school and parental values, and comparing the role of grade and high-schools respondent has this opinion: "In grade school the child is more under parental influence. But isn't that the same everywhere?"

C. Respondent explains that courtship was more informal and marriages were formed in a more easy going manner than before. There were more divorces and he thinks that many of them were the result of inconsiderate manner in which people were married, and found out they had chosen the wrong partner. Another cause was financial difficulties; also, housing

problems caused them to live with their ~~wixk~~ in-laws. Young people got to know each other above all in their jobs, and secondly, at dances.

There were no brothels, but there <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ more secret prostitution, he was told by other people, than ~~was~~ before. These women were now in taverns, and in poorer restaurants instead of in the red-light districts which they had before.

Respondent has no way to judge the extra-marital sexual relations of today and the past. The same is true about illegitimate children. He says, though, that abortions became ~~was~~ legal about a year or so ago.

As to the official attitude ~~was~~ toward sexual matters respondent says this: "No minister president made statements on these questions, so I don't know their stand. My teachers were against loose morals. Usually, after formal classes were ~~was~~ over most of them aired their views on questions of ethics and of our over-all behavior. I know of no case in our school where the students would have informed on these teachers to superiors, on these private admonitions. Elsewhere I heard about such things happening."

Whether Communists were more or less inhibited on sexual matters than others respondent says he has only known one genuine Communist so he does not know.

D. If respondent had a friend before 1948 who had afterwards joined the Communist Party ~~the~~ answers that it would depend on why the person joined the Party whether or not the ~~fix~~ friendship would continue. Respondent did not experience such a situation, but he says that such friendships usually lasted. During the revolution there was no difference whether someone was a Party member or not. People knew what kind of a guy one was, Party member or not, he says.

E. Respondent thinks he ~~has~~ has no way to judge if there was a increase in crime under Communism. Before the war crimes were written about in the papers. Under Communism the papers did not carry anything about crimes until 1953. After that some stories of crime appeared, but certainly not all. Respondent read that the juvenile delinquency rate was rising. He did not know what the government is doing to correct the situation. Respondent has no way to compare drinking now as compared with drinking in the past.

Asked about juvenile delinquency and hooliganism, we cleared first of all that there is no comparable word to "hooligan"



used in Hungarian. There was, however, the word "Jampec", but this meant neither a juvenile delinquent nor a gold-brick as was suggested in the Hungarian text. Respondent explains that "jampec" liked to dress in the fashion they thought was American. Respondent says now he knows it was not American style but French and Italian. Jampees were also fond of boogie-woogie type dances. Shoes had very thick soles, usually rubber, and the hats had either no brim or a very thin one and resembled somewhat the Austrian hats. Slacks were narrow and ~~waxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ hair was usually extra long. Respondent says he was considered a Jampec. He liked one button coats. The Communists hated Jampees he said ~~axxxxxxxx~~

Respondent says, when asked what social class the Jampees were from, they were young workers in cities. "We rather not eat well, but have aggod suit." There were also a number of students who were considered Jampees. Most Jampees were of the ages 18 to 25. Sa, Jampees were young people who liked fashionable dress and who were not sold on Communism with its drab uniformity. Respondent does not condemn Jampees, although he did not care for those who were haughty. Parents did not like their boys being Jampees because ~~xxxxxx~~ Communists scoffed at them.

## VII. RELIGION

Communist rule had this much effect on religious life, respondent thinks: " There were many young people who did not go to church, because it was a disadvantage and because so many of them had no chance to receive religious instruction. It was not to ones advantage to go to church because Party Secretaries were the ones to decide whom to give the better jobs to, and it was very important to be a Party member, or not.

Respondent feels Catholicism was hardest hit, because Rome was considered an integral part of the West, and because the bishops did not cooperate with the state, whereas Protestant bishops did cooperate more.

Among the effects of Communism respondent lists the following: Many priest were imprisoned. No processions were permitted. Respondent thinks that Communists were particularly after the Catholics because they constitute the majority of Hungary and their behavior is decisive.

Devote religious families raised their children, still, in the religious tradition. Many of the persecuted became even more religious. However, there were families below that of the average where the children went without any religious instructions, and became farther away from the church.

Communism, he thinks, was not so much after Protestantism, but he doesn't know anything about Judaism. He has not heard anything about Jewish religious life.

B. Respondent says, in spite of his many shortcomings, he feels fairly mature because he had religious training, and what he has achieved in values is mostly due to having had religious instructions. He thinks religion is the same ~~factor~~ factor in his life as in the lives of his parents. At the same time, however, he asserts that he thinks he is less religious than the average person in Hungary. Whenever respondent was at home with his family in his home town, for instance during school vacations, he went to church regularly. This was not true of his stay in Budapest or Gyor. Negligence and laziness kept him from going to church regularly.

C. Asked what the relationship should be between church and state, respondent answers: "The same as in America.

He feels that the churches should provide religious instruction, teach the students, the children particularly, ethics. He thinks that such an education is vitally important in forming personality. In regard to the church setting moral codes and standards, he answers: "Why not? As an educational device, such a role for churches is welcome as long as they only explain what's wrong and why, then they are fulfilling their tasks. They shouldn't make any prohibitions, that is censoring. They shouldn't force anyone even in an intellectual sense. They should win the voluntary consent of people." (This is in regard to the control of movies, plays, books, etc.)

On the other hand, he thinks the church should not take an active political role in any event in Hungary.

D. Jewish minority - In trying to answer whether Judaism was hurt by Communism, he recalled that he cannot recall having heard or read about the situation with the Jewish religion in Hungary, so he decided that he doesn't know.

About the attitude of Jews toward Communism in Hungary, he said that he didn't know the opinions of Jews. He certainly saw a great many of the leading Communists were Jews. Whether they were persuaded Communists or not, he wouldn't like to guess. He concedes that he and his friends thought of some Jews, particularly Jewish Communist leaders who were working on the county level, as persuaded Communists, such as the county Party secretary. But now he says that he doesn't actually know how they felt. He declines to answer the question of whether that attitude underwent changes in the last ten years.

As to whether many Jews were Communists, he iterates the above answer and mentions the leaderw in Gyor county, the county Party secretary and several Jews on his staff. He doesn't know, however, their motives. Perhaps material gain.

He saw several Jews in the demonstrations in Gyor. During the revolution, he heard not so much as a single comment made against Jews. He concludes that Jews, in general, were behaving all right during the revolution. The proportions of Jews in Communism was disproportionate if compared to other groups in Party membership.

Asked whether Jews were afraid of an independent Hungary, he replied without hesitation, he presumes that this is so only among the Communist leaders who are Jews.

When the word "pogrom", which is also an Hungarian word, was mentioned, he said

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When the word "pogrom", which is also an Hungarian word, was mentioned, he said, "Pogrom? What is it?"

### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "Youth of intelligentsia, workers, and peasants" was respondent's answer to the question of who is the youth. The ages are between 14 and 25.

B. He has no doubt that college students played a decisive part in the revolution. Not in Gyor, however, but Gyor was under the influence of Budapest. And Gyor had no college students to begin with. He thinks that in the six months prior to the revolution, the Petofi circle and the Bela Kun organizations of youth among themselves, played a preparatory role in the revolution. In the demonstrations, generally speaking, youth had a leading role.

In the actual fighting, in Gyor among the volunteers, he saw only young people.

Probing as to why it was the youth rather than the old people, he answered, "Youth was well-knit together. In schools, large groups were together in classes and they spoke quite freely. There were, practically speaking, no informants among them. In plants, however and factories, there were many informants planted among the workers. Students met frequently."

He doesn't think that youth was more dissatisfied than other groups of the population. He thinks that dissatisfaction was equally shared.

Asked about fear of consequences, he said, "Neither age group had much to lose. All of them had a world to win. Youth had a better chance to form the conviction that they could count upon each other."

During the revolution, the older people thought highly of the youth and so did the youth think of the older people.

C. Schools - The fundamental remark of the respondent is that their main object was to teach Communist ideology, to make the students good DISz members because DISz membership was the preparation for membership in the Communist Party and for Communist attitudes, in general. In spite of all this, you still could find

good teaching in the schools because most of the teachers were all right. Most of the teachers were concerned about ethical values and they taught their students the right way of thinking. This was the case throughout respondent's experience.

As to vocational choice, respondent said that it was emphasized that students may go where they want regardless of their origins. At the same time, it was a common practice to refuse admittance to institutions of higher learning to children whose families were classified as upper or upper-middle class. He didn't think there was a pattern to the restrictions of vocational choice as far as one certain field of high education as opposed to any other.

As to the quality of education, he cites his experience in high school, where the teachers were anxious to give their best. He is persuaded that there are very few Communists among the teachers and he mentions that in the high school he attended in Győr, teachers and students had a non-Communist understanding and confidence.

About competency, he remarks that they were not so well equipped, particularly the teachers in industrial schools, that is in apprentice schools.

E. Communist indoctrination - Respondent is quick to answer the question as to whether the Communists devoted much time and effort to indoctrinating the younger generation. It is very true, they spend an awful lot of time on indoctrination. They devote more time and effort than anyone in the Western world could imagine. "Communist indoctrination was woven into every subject." At the same time, he hastens to remark that all of this met with little success for mainly two reasons: many teachers told, confidentially, the opposite after regular class was over and young people heard the opposite at home. They could discover some of the lies for themselves.

Respondent's general view on the failure of indoctrination is: "It consisted of lies, ridiculous lies. We didn't believe as much as two statements because the Communists lied day in and day out."

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To say the very least, all their statements were exaggerated greatly, particularly any statement concerning the former regime.

He didn't observe any considerable changes over a period of time. Youth always longed for democracy. It always rejected Communism.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. The main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary as they showed up in every day life were low wages, fear of the AVO, and the housing shortage, in this given sequence of importance.

B. People were complaining most about the things already mentioned and also about bureaucracy, about their political files, the so-called "cadre", because in these political files, their past, even that of their grand-parents, followed people throughout their lives.



## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. RESPONDENT AND HIS FAMILY were living on a mere subsistence level for the last ten years. They had a bare minimum. "A chicken or a pound of meat once a week was our ration."

Only movies were proportionally cheap. One could go to a show for only one hour's wage. He ponders why this was so and comes to the conclusion that Russian films were promoted in this way, particularly some about kolkhozes, he says and he laughs.

The standard of living is described in the following way: he could buy a good suit for one month's wage. Three of them lived in a bachelor's room and each of the three had to pay ~~four~~ four days' wages for a month's share of the rent. He considered it a luxury to go to the legitimate theatre once a month or ~~to~~ to go vacationing on his own or to buy a motorcycle or to have four or five suits. He cannot decide which of these cause him the most difficulty. He thinks that food and clothing were about equally placed because you had to do without one in order to get the other.

Both his and his family's standard of living changed for the worse during the last ten years. Before the war, his father could afford to buy materials to build a house for himself. Now, he could not even think of this.

More and better food is particularly missed. By better, he means a better diet, primarily more meat. He didn't observe any change in the standard of living during the years of 1948 to 1956.

In trying to put his finger on a family among those he knew who was better off than any other, he decided that his room-mate's father fitted this. This man was a trained lock-smith and, as such, he was a tractor driver on a tractor station and received 1,500 forints a month. As a tractor driver, he worked long hours; he plowed and performed other kinds of work appropriate to using a tractor, even at night.

Before the war, he had been a farmer. He had rented a farm and farmed very well. Now, he had a large garden and had good food, could raise chickens and pigs.

His opinion as to the cause of the Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years, he quotes two circumstances which stand out particularly: One is armament, the other is the fact that Soviet Russia received everything awfully cheaply from Hungary.

B. Respondent's income - He earned 850 forints a month in 1956. He was not a union member and so had no membership fee to pay. Since the plant fulfilled its plant plan, the workers received a premium of 250 forints every month. He adds that, regarding the plant fulfillment, they, as electro-technicians were very lucky because they could report great endeavor whereas they actually did only a little.

He had no secondary source of income. His parents were not able to live on what his father earned so he supplemented the income.

C. Retail prices - Respondent easily dismisses the question about commission store prices by reporting that they are second hand stores, pawn shops and as a matter of course, their prices stand no comparison with those of state stores. Farm markets and state stores' produce usually have no consequential difference in price, but the difference is in quality. If there is any difference in price, it is conditioned by quality.

He made no observation as to changes in quality of retail goods over the years. He certainly saw no improvement. He found the retail outlets frequently unable to supply the consumer with goods known to exist in abundance, simply due to late deliveries.

Sometimes, he found it difficult to get standard spare parts and sometimes he didn't.

His impression was that there was not much spoilage of food. Meat, poultry, and fish were in especially short supply. He and his acquaintances found these goods too expensive for purchase.

He heard of the black-market, but he had no concrete knowledge of it. He did not know whether legal outlets ever refused to sell goods unless buyers paid a higher price than that authorized. He heard of people who were caught at black-market---eering and given sentences of one to two years in prison.

D. Working conditions - Respondent worked in a plant electric workshop. Their job was to repair the electrical equipment of the factory. Also, they manufactured custom-made electric equipment such as switchboards. He was assistant chief technician of their shop. He worked from 6 A.M. until 3:30 P.M. five days a week and on Saturday, he worked from 6 A.M. until 12 noon. He usually slept seven to eight hours a night. His room which he shared with a room mate was about 15 minutes walk from the plant. He held this job because, upon graduating from high school, there was a placement orientation lecture given and the students were offered several choices. This was his choice.

His relations with co-workers was very friendly. He said he was in "grating relations" with his superiors. He feels he had good superiors such who were with him in the revolution. He thinks they were competent and good experts. He was not afraid of them. He was satisfied with his job.

He said he could not charge his fellow workers with over-exertion. However, they were conscientious people in every job which was of some importance and they produced good quality merchandise. Superiors, however, did not praise workers for good work.'

Respodnet saw only a few union people, the lucky ones, getting in on the vacation program. Their

health insurance provided 60% pay for three weeks of illness which was very little. However, all doctor bills were paid and all hospital expenses were met. He thinks this was very good. At the same, the doctors were not too accurate, generally speeding.

E. Country life and agriculture - Subject would not have preferred to live in the country while he was in Hungary. Not because he would have missed the movies, but because he would have missed the theatre and the library. He thinks that agricultural workers have a better diet in Communist Hungary than city workers. He thinks that rural areas had a higher general standard of living. He thinks they even had an easier time politically. He thinks that in quite a few places, Party secretaries of villages were not persuaded Communists, but actually good people. They did nothing against their own people and religion. He quotes such an example of the village where his family are living.

Respondent doesn't know when collectivization was first introduced into Hungary. His current opinion of collectivization is that it isn't any good. "People would like to work on their own". He thinks the well-off and the less well-off peasants ~~all~~ objected equally to collectivization. He heard of collectives being dissolved in 1956 prior to the revolution. He heard of this from friends. He could not make up his mind as to where he would prefer to work as an agricultural worker, whether a state farm, a private farm, etc.

He would like to see an agricultural system of small farms in an independent Hungary. The only innovation he would like to retain is mechanization, but he notes that mechanization was not especially Communist. Apparently, it came from the West anyway.

## XI. POLITICAL LIFE

A. Respondent declines to talk about the situation before 1948 because he was too young and he could not assess the situation. As a matter of course, he had no feelings about the Communist Party before 1948.

His father, however, was a Communist before 1948. He was one because he believed the democratic slogans of the Communist Party. A

All he knows about Bela Kun is that he was "some big shot in 1919, so I learned from Life magazine here in America."

Asked about changes in attitudes since 1948, he refers again to his father who was very betterly disappointed in the Communist Party.

B. Communist Party - Speaking of the members of the Communist Party, and the reasons for joining, he has this to offer: there were several types of people who joined the Communist Party in 1945. There were those who believed the Communist theory and promises. There were others who were power hungry. And still others who joined for no other reason than the securing of their daily bread, particularly for their families.

He had actual contact with Party members right in his own shop in the plant, in his own crew. Why they joined was explained in the foregoing statement. He thinks they were forced by circumstances to join the Party. Their attitudes underwent no particular change, they remained nice, good people. They didn't harm anybody.

As to changes in Party policies, he said that in 1956, relaxations took place. These included some permissions to travel to "friendly" neighboring countries. There were some films admitted from the West and later, more and more discussion were tolerated. He thinks that these changes came about after the 20th Party Congress. He thinks of no other reason because he maintains that these people always acted only upon orders, from Moscow.

He says Party morale in the last eight or ten years, "Interesting thing, this Party business. Except for the ~~high~~ highest leaders, those on county level, I don't think there were any dedicated members. Most members

He says Party morale in the last eight or ten years, "Interesting thing, this Party business. Except for the top leaders of county level, I don't think there were any dedicated members. Most members were anxious to avoid meetings. I think the entire Party business was a comedy, a circus. No one believed in it, only the highest leaders. By 'high', I mean county level or higher."

Respondent doesn't know anything about Party morale changing except that in 1945, it was good and then slackened. He judged his opinions of Party morale on what he himself saw in his own workshop. Also, upon his experience with his father and his father's friends,

Respondent emphasized that the high leaders in the Hungarian Communist are under the direct dictatorship of Moscow. They enjoy no independence whatsoever. Whether they serve from conviction or not, he cannot say because he has no friends among them. He says he would like to know much more about their motives and their personalities, but he has no firsthand experience. He thinks they are evil diabolic people, but quite clever and effective.

As to the difference between the motives of the rank-and-file members and that of the upper echelon, he refers to a former statement in which he said that when Hungary is independent, he thinks that the top Hungarian Communists should be tried in court and they should receive severe punishment if the court finds them guilty.

C. Opposition - Respondent mentions only one form of opposition - that is, constant complaining. There was a lot of talk against the regime. And perhaps, another form could be mentioned - a great many Party members just refused to attend meetings.

He thinks slow-downs are absurd to even consider because every penny of a working person was badly needed so that people could not afford to indulge in slow-downs. They would not consider that this

would hurt the regime anyway. They would only have hurt themselves, he thinks.

Talking against the regime was participated in equally by workers and peasants. Neither he nor anyone else was aware of much oppositional behavior, otherwise. He thinks that people thought that these two forms of opposition were ineffective. They never thought of serious resistance because it would have brought severe punishment. People would have been locked up.

When asked whether such opposition was more evident at some times and not others, he said that in 1956, people dared to talk only within their families or with reliable friends.

He heard of the activities of the writers' organizations in 1956. 1956, he remarks, was the most stirring year. In Irodalmi Uszag, he read good poems and very stirring articles. Irodalmi Uszag was the leading paper of the writers' opposition.

He learned of the Petofi Circle in June, 1956, from an article in Szabad Nep. This article charged that Petofi circle with being "against the Party". His room-mate met an engineer who said that Petofi circle people spoke courageously against kolkhozes, low wages, and AVO and this engineer attended one of the meetings in Budapest.

As to intellectual ferment prior to the existence of the Petofi circle, he says that in April, writers were often written of in papers and they were promised a much fairer treatment than meted out thus far.

The merit of the intellectuals was in showing the people that public opposition was possible. People saw that something could be done. He considers them a spearhead of the revolution and he holds them in high esteem.

As to why these intellectuals stood up against the regime, he said, "Authors in Hungary had no financial problems. They had no financial grievances of their own. They revolted against the intellectual

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oppression. An author wants to be free to say what he thinks and these were kept enslaved. They revolted against that!"



## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Respondent doesn't know much about the type of persons who were secret police. He knows that there were informers planted in every shop of their plant and the employees hated the idea. He heard much more about the AVO during the revolution than he had before. He learned that there were three floors underground below the AVO building in Gyor. Beside prison cells, they had a number of torture cells here. Among these were some which could be filled with hot or cold water to use on prisoners as a "treatment".

There were other cells with white walls in which victims were kept for 24 hours in complete darkness followed by 24 hours in blinding light.

Respondent was never arrested or imprisoned or deported. He doesn't know of any AVH men who wanted to leave the organization (AVH) because he just didn't know any secret policemen.

When Hungary is independent, he thinks that the members of the AVH should be tried according to their own procedure legal procedure in court.

Comparing regular police with the AVH, respondent said regular police had little political role, they handled traffic cases and criminal cases. "People considered jobs in the regular police as just ~~just~~ another place to work."

He didn't know whether ~~the~~ Communism has affected the regular police system. He knows about bribes in small traffic cases, otherwise, he has no insight.

About the role of regular police during the revolution, he says, "They gave weapons to freedom fighters in Gyor and they put themselves at the disposal of the national committee." He has first hand knowledge of this.

He-knows

B. Courts - Respondent has very little knowledge of courts, but what he heard was that they are strict and non-political.

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C. Army -- Respondent said, "They were actively involved morally insofar as they sided with the revolution." However, there was a point which has to be emphasized: soldiers were not armed in Gyor. "We talked among ourselves after the 4th as to why they had not been armed prior to the 4th and it was rumored that some top Communist ordered it so." Respondent both heard and saw personally such behavior on the part of the soldiers as has been noted above. He has no knowledge as to whether other army groups behaved differently. He received a lot of information after he fled.

He doesn't think that he was surprised by the army's actions during the revolution. "They were the same as we, after all, and there was such feverishness that we didn't have time to look into why they didn't have arms."

D. Russian soldiers - Challenged to air his views about Hungarian feelings toward the Russian army, he said, "The moral and cultural standard of the Russian soldiers as demonstrated in 1945 was the decisive issue in our stand. And after all, it was a foreign army stationed on Hungarian soil."

Respondent was too young to have formed an opinion in 1945 about what to expect from the Russians. The experiences of his friends and family were the worst in 1945. Russian soldiers stole and raped and behaved like inhumans. Now, however, respondent has an opinion and it is the worst possible.

A more detailed picture of the Russian troops brought out that, while he had no personal experiences, he knew that despite the housing shortage in Gyor, the Russians were living in a six-story apartment building.

I don't know anything about contact between Russian soldiers and Hungarian girls and children and so on.

Neither he nor his family nor friends had any opinion idea on any questions enumerated in the questionnaire.

He and no one he knew had any contact with Russian soldiers during the revolution.

On November 4th, mostly Mongolian-looking soldiers arrived. Actually, they appeared on November 3rd. Four tanks were stationed at the entrances to the two bridges in downtown Gyor. He overheard a couple of people speaking to those soldiers. The people asked, "When you go home?" The Russians laughed aloud and said, "Sometime."

Respondent said he had heard of cases where Russians soldiers helped Hungarians and when they refused to obey their superiors. He heard of these cases in Budapest. He also heard of Soviet soldiers fighting on the side of the Hungarians, also in Budapest.

It was a natural result of the Soviet soldiers fighting on the side of the Hungarians, that they had to fight against each other, but he volunteers more information, "I saw Hungarian boys in Budapest painting the Hungarian emblem on a Russian tank while the Russian soldiers were in it and they saw the boys put Hungarian flags on the tank. These boys were 10 to 14. After they did this, they jumped off the tank and hid. Later, when other Russian tanks came into the city and came upon the Hungarian decorated tank, they shot at it." Therefore, he thinks it was Hungarian trickery which caused Russian soldiers to fight against each other.

E. Bureaucracy - All kinds of people were to be found in bureaucracy, in public administration and so on. He saw various kinds of people there and he could generalize it all.

He was never in trouble with bureaucracy. Neither did he hear that a functionary ever made it a point to be especially hard on him.

When asked whether he knew of any functionaries who ever made a point of looking out for the people's

interests, he said, "Our chief-engineer protected, particularly in matters of wages and promotions and premiums. He interceded on behalf of two workers on more than one occasion and spoke quite openly when we were together in our group. One time at a workers council, an old man spoke in the same vein, that the chief-engineer had protected him when the employers wanted to cut his pension. As tribute to him, we elected him our representative in the workers council. Both this engineer and the leader of my group criticized openly the superiors and general policies. For instance, they said on more than one occasion, 'The Russians get railroad cars for peanuts!' Such remarks were common-place."

F. Eribes, etc. - Asked about corruption in bureaucracy, he answered that he heard about bribes, but that there was no way of getting around the payment of taxes or with-holding contributions. But there were ways to get around hourly wage manipulations and repair jobs in the factory.

He doesn't know details about corruption, but he does know that the ones who were caught and the ones who caught them were taken to court. The court was very strict.

G. Competence of officials - Respondent thinks that the competence of people in power varied and he couldn't make a blanket statement.

He thinks the secret police were very competent in violence. It was rumored that the Hungarian secret police (AVO) were even more ruthless than their Russian counterparts.

He knows nothing about either Hungarian or Russian army leadership. In bureaucracy, he thinks the picture was very varied.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years - His opinion of what will probably happen in Hungary in the next few years, he reacts, "Many people are racking their brains to determine just that. I am afraid that freedom in Hungary will be much more curtailed than in Poland. At the same time, I hope that economically a somewhat easier period will follow."

Respondent is afraid that the Kadar government will make more ~~Germ~~ Stalinist-type thinking. He doesn't know what to think of further resistance, whether it would be wrong or not. He's afraid that new no political concessions will be made, but he thinks that some financial ones will. He expects that the West will not achieve much by negotiations, probably nothing. He expects the Russians to try even harder than before to pretend that the Hungarian revolution was a fascist counter-revolution and will try to paint a good ~~situat~~ picture of the situation in the satellite countries. He's afraid that the free world will believe at least a part of these lies.

Poland, he feels, is only a temporary solution. He is afraid that nothing less than independence can bring an adequate solution. He thinks that only a dissolution from within will be a way out of the disaster and he thinks that Hungary's neutrality could not be comprised.

Asked about the prospects of war between the U.S. and the USSR, he says, "Something, perhaps only war, will bring the solution, but these people don't think it over well enough."

His view of means other than war are these, "If a new revolution breaks out somewhere behind the iron curtain, the free world must rush to the aid of the revolution!"

He thinks such a revolution is likely to come. He doesn't know when or where but his view of means other than war is this: pressure should be applied on every level. Internal action within the Soviet Union would be a perfect solution for the future.

B. Hopes, in retrospect - "Before the revolution, I didn't think there was much future. After the 20th Party Congress, I hoped for relaxation of controls."

XIV. Social, political and ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary - If Hungary were independent, respondent would like to see it a neutral republic with a democratic system of legislation. He would like to see small farms no larger than 150 acres in private hands. He would like to leave big industries, banks, and transportation in the hands of the state, but the state would be democratically governed and not dictatorially.

As to the economy, he would put the emphasis on agriculture. He thinks that Hungary is not an industrial country and cannot compete with other countries in this respect. He would try to increase Hungary's electric power, would not build any more big industries, and would develop light industries such as manufacturing commodities. He thinks products of the electric industry should be emphasized, such as electric locomotives.

In agriculture, he would prefer the growing of wheat and vegetables and he would give all possible help to small industry and to small trade.

B. If the Communist regime were overthrown, respondent thinks that the state should not have any more role in agriculture than that of any big buyer. In industry, he would not limit the extent of industrial power by law, but only by progressive taxation.

As to whether he would prefer a free enterprise system, or a welfare state, "Of course", he much prefers freedom as and "essential to human development" and suggests that jobs will be created when the people are free to do as they see best.

He would be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party. He does not consider it a party, but rather a vice syndicate.

When asked whether he would outlaw fellow-traveling organizations, he resolutely answered, (in the Hungarian equivalent) "There ain't no such animal, either you're a Communist or you're not!"

C. International position - Ideally, Hungary would have absolute neutrality. He thinks that any alliance would cut Hungary's independence. ~~He~~ In regard to any relation to the Soviet Union, he objects, that in the "ideal" case, there would be no Soviet Union, but a free Russia. Perhaps with other countries carved from the former Soviet Union, but he would like to have the same relations with those countries as with any others.

Asked about East European states, he stresses that he would like to see no blocs of nations since these lead to war. He would like to see independent countries in democratic amity all over the world. He declines to speak of military relations because he thinks that military force should serve no purpose other than maintaining domestic order in a country.

As far as trade relations are concerned, he would like to see amicable negotiations as in private business all over the world.

Cultural relations would work out very well as soon as there are no travel restrictions as he would like.

He heard about the Federation of Danubian states back in Hungary from friends. He thinks that such a federation would be superfluous. He believes in no grouping of nations. He would like to see every nation on earth having amicable relations with every other.

As to the general feeling in Hungary along these lines, he suggests that there is no general opinion in Hungary, but there are many views.

Respondent finds Hungary's present boundaries by no means acceptable, for Hungarians live in blocs. Such Hungarians would probably vote to belong to Hungary if a vote were held. For this reason, he would like to see a plebescite held. He is much concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary. He wants them to enjoy freedom. This whole question is very important to him.



XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World events - Respondent didn't hear anything about Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress.

He learned about the un-American Activities Committee and Senator McCarthy while he was in Hungary, from the Communist radio. He was told that innocent people were persecuted by this committee.

Asked about the fall of Peron, he answered with a question, "About what? Who is he?"

As to Rakosi's private life, he says that people were aware that Rakosi had a luxurious villa on the Rozsasdomb, and that he had a number of bodyguards. He also heard that the Communist big-shots had stores of their own where they could buy anything including oranges and bananas and other items which nobody else could ever get. It was only during the revolution that he learned that Rakosi traveled in an armored car which looked, however like an ordinary car, but which had two-inch thick glass in the wind-shield and the windows to protect him from attack.

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B. Reading habits - Respondent never spent money on buying papers, but in the dormitory, scanned the two official papers which were the main reading material produced by the Communist Party. One was for youth, named Szabad Ifjusag, and the other the Communist Party's central daily paper, named Szabad Nep. He skimmed through these and learned the main world news and he also read the sports pages.

On the other hand, he not only read, but as he says, he actually studied the magazine for natural history called Elet es Tudomany. This magazine also contained a lot of technical articles and played no politics at all. He bought this publication and also Radiotechnika.

In the book line, he read Hungarian higher literature, old and modern alike and he read classics of other

cultures. He doesn't care to elaborate on the reading habits or on the reliability of the news because he maintains that it was a generally known fact that all Communist papers lied. He says that no news was reported factually as in the American papers, it was all commented upon. He cannot think of any news that was accurate except the sports news and possibly the obituaries. Respondent wasn't interested in the statistics at all.'

He said he couldn't get any idea of what went on even by reading between the lines, if he had not listened to foreign radio stations. He did not read any publications from the USSR or the other satellites.

About reading publications from the West, he says, "Once I found an issue of Life magazine. One of my class mates brought it to school to show us the pictures in it. We were all amazed at the quality and quantity which it represented. Another friend who worked for a paper read Life regularly, but was not permitted to take it out with him. Respondent never read illegal publications.

C. Word of mouth -- Respondent received news by word of mouth, particularly in the years between 1949 and 1953. His father and neighbors often went to the shop of one of the neighbors who was a tailor and a batchelor who had all the sat all day working in his shop. There they listened to the radio listening to RFE and BBC. They exchanged much news. Among other things, they heard many times that the American army was coming to free Hungary. (Between 1949 and 1953, this was heard.)

F. Stage and movies - Respondent thinks a great deal of legitimate theatre and he would have liked to go more often than he could, but he couldn't afford it. In 1952 and 1953, he was there three or four times all together and he enjoyed seeing good shows. He went almost every week to the movies, sometimes twice a week. He particularly liked the French and Italian films, and even a few Hungarian films were noteworthy. He saw pictures with both modern and historical topics. Among the plays which he saw and liked particularly,

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he mentioned "Hamlet" and among the movies, he liked "The Three Musketeers". It was a French film. Also, "The Desperate Chase" which he thinks was Italian.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia - Respondent thinks that although there is little change of a change from within, it is not ~~impossible~~ impossible in Russia. He thinks there is a general ferment prevailing in the Soviet Union and he says the same eruption should take place as did in Hungary.

One of his friends (This interviewer knows the person mentioned and considers him to be reliable) was in the Soviet Union to accompany one of the athletic teams which participated in a sports event. He was a photographer. When he returned, he said that he sensed a feeling of greater oppression in Russia than in Hungary. He mentions an example: in one town, they saw a very long queue in front of a store and they inquired, in Russian, what the people were waiting for. Not one person dared to answer. Respondent thinks that with full relaxation in Russia, people would dare to speak and the truth could be determined.

B. Eastern Europe - The order of popularity for East European countries is Poland and East Germany. The least popular is Rumania and the second least is Czechoslovakia. In the cases of popular nations, the people are popular. In cases of non-popular nations, the government is what is hated by the Hungarians. The Rumanian government of the last few decades was always switching sides without any inner persuasion and the Czech government seized Hungarian territory without asking the people who lived there and so did Rumania. Thus, respondent thinks, it is not wonder that these nations we are unpopular in Hungary. The Polish people are popular in Hungary because of the Poznan revolt. So are the East Germans since the East Berlin up-rising.

If free elections were held in these countries, respondent has no doubt that democratic governments would be chosen by the people. In his opinion, first Czechoslovakia and then East Germany have the best standards of living. He thinks Rumania has the worst.

He doesn't know which other country may be close to that standard.

C. Poland - His feelings on the Polish situation are that Gomulka is probably both a Communist and a Polish patriot, at the same time. Strange as this may seem. He thinks that Gomulka has no way of dissociating himself from Moscow. He thinks that Gomulka's policy brought Poland a step closer to the West, as did the developments of 1956 before Gomulka. He wouldn't dare make any guesses about the future of Poland. His views on these matters have not changed during the last five or six months. He thinks that the events in Poland had a great effect on the events in Hungary. The Poznan results and Gomulka's efforts were stimulating to the Hungarians, he thinks.

The October revolution was greatly influenced by enthusiasm over the successful Poznan experiences.

Respondent had no knowledge about great freedom of expression in Poland for a year before Gomulka's rise to power. He had no knowledge of such developments before the Poznan riots. Nor did his friends, he thinks, because he would have heard otherwise. He has no idea about such knowledge amongst the Hungarian people, in general.

Whether he would have liked the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines, he says, "Certainly not until November 4th. In hindsight, however, maybe it would have been better if we consider the prevailing situation in Hungary and the one in Poland."

D. Yugoslavia - He thinks that Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe because people saw that leaders may separate if they wish. Maybe Tito was the originator of national Communism. His attitude toward national Communism is negative. He thinks it is no solution at all.

He would not make a guess about Tito's relations with other East Europe nations. He thinks we have to wait and see. Tito's relations with Russia are constantly

changing, respondent thinks. Russia shapes her policies so as to win him over, at any price. He thinks Tito is a sly fox and his relations with the West are conditioned by his desire to gain as much as possible and to take as much unfair advantage of the West as possible.

Respondent thinks that Tito's position regarding the Hungarian revolution was very significant. One reason for the Hungarian ferment was that Tito wouldn't come to Hungary to negotiate with the Hungarian government as long as Rakosi was in power.

Respondent attitude toward Tito is that Titoism in the satellite nations is no solution whatsoever. He doesn't think Tito is popular in Yugoslavia. Rumor in Hungary has it that he is very unpopular, in fact.

The living standard has not risen in Yugoslavia and freedom is more than questionable.

E. Asia and the middle-East - Respondent hesitates to express any ~~typed~~ opinion because of lack of information on why the Communists gained control of China. He doesn't think Communist China is any more independent of Moscow than any other Communist country.

He has no information on which to base opinions about England and India.

He thinks that England and France took an unfair advantage of Hungary with the Suez crisis and the Israeli invasion of Egypt and they blasted Hungary's hopes. The General Assembly made decisions in a matter of hours concerning the Suez Canal, but it took days and days for a resolution concerning Hungary and even then, the resolution lacked teeth.

F. West Germany - Respondent's impression is that living standards in West Germany are high. When he is told that some people think that the Germans are leeches and might start another war, he smiles and says, "As long as Germany is not united, this is true."

He thinks that West Germany's re-armament is proper. This because the enemy is also arming. He thinks that West Germany is stronger than France or England.

Comparisons between the occupation armies of Germany and Russia indicated that, in his opinion, the German army was far more bearable and behaved much better. The Russian occupation force was much more disgusting to him. At the same time, he is eager to remark that no occupation force is liked. Everyone in Hungary found the German army to be much more disciplined than the Russian. The Russian force was most unpopular in Hungary.

He never heard about German brutalities, but anti-thetically, a great deal about Russian brutality.

G. Western Europe - Respondent has no information on the British Labor Party and can offer no opinion.

His impression of living standards in various countries show the highest to be in West Germany, next in Great Britain, then Italy, fourth Soviet Union, fifth Egypt and he cannot place Greece because of no information concerning it.

H. United States - The most surprising thing he found in America during his first few months here, he says, "The many cars, of course. There are cars everywhere, in every street. The low prices. It is amazing to see how much one can buy with just one day's wages. The United States appears to me as a fairyland, compared with Hungary or even with more prosperous Austria. Of course, Austria was forced to live in part under Soviet occupation. I was also amazed by the tremendous number of papers and magazines. I was especially surprised to see Hungarian newspapers in America and quite a number of them."

His stand as to what the U.S. should do now for the people and nations of East Europe, is, "This is a question that not even President Eisenhower could answer." He thinks that the actual present policy

of the U.S. should be to help democratic countries remain free and provide help for those countries which are not now free but which to be so. He thinks aid should be given to Yugoslavia, but with strings attached. The same is true about Poland. The "strings" should be free elections and aid should be given only after really free elections have been held in these countries. There has been no change in his attitude since he came to this country.

Respondent thinks that the American government should demand of the Hungarian government that free elections be held and should extend then very generous aid after this wish has been complied with.

He thinks that the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors of all categories so that they can see the situation in Hungary. Such visitors he suggests should be told to avoid guided tours, ~~te-the-~~ and before they leave for Hungary, they should talk with refugees who have recently come out. They can provide potential visitors with information.

He thinks that the Hungarian people at home would like to receive Western books and periodicals as a matter of course. But he says all efforts in this direction would be in vain because the Communist authorities would not let the people have such publications. The Communists were after the balloons which were released by Free Europe over Hungary. He thinks that it would make a difference to have exiles associated with the activities such as Western visitors and Western publications. He thinks that recent refugees should be particularly consulted with.

His knowledge of and familiarity with the Marshall Plan covers the fact that this was an aid program and his feelings are expressed, "America is a free country. Countries should not get loans from anyone who would use such moves as a means of capturing the recipient, such as Russia, in one way or another. It should be America's policy to help every free country."



Respondent is lacking information on the Korean War.

J. United Nations - Respondent definitely thinks that the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last months of 1956. The UN could still be effective, but is not because its rules are ridiculous: the country against which action is to be taken must first give its consent for this action. "If you wish to hang me, you will never get my consent!"

Respondent thinks that pressure should have been put on the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces in the fall of 1956. Then UN troops should have been sent to Hungary and free elections should have been held, thus officially recognizing Hungary's neutrality which had been declared by its independent government.

Respondent sees little or no chance for effective UN action concerning Hungary in the foreseeable future because he thinks that it is too late. Only a broad comprehensive action affecting all captive countries could be forthcoming.

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XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALTIES

A. THIS QUESTION WAS INADVERTENTLY  
LEFT OUT.

B. Persons of importance - Respondent thinks of Imre Nagy as first of all a Hungarian and perhaps an idealistic Communist.

He thinks Cardinal Mindsenty is a great patriot and in the last ten years he was certainly one of those who stood up against Communism in a bold manner and he will go down in History as one of Hungary's greatest sons.

No information on Laszlo Rajk.

Erho Gero is a low scoundrel. An inhuman human being. The same is true of Janos Kadar.

President Eisenhower - "So far, I have known him only as a great military leader and a statesman. Now, I also think that the American people trust him."

No information on Secretary-General Hammerskjold.

He thinks that Dulles is a good statesman and an honest diplomat.

No information on Eden and he was too young during Truman's administration to have a considered opinion.

Mikoyan is some Russian big shot. He lacks further information on him.

Nehru would like to take advantage of the U.S. as well as Soviet Russia.

Insufficient information on Generallissimo Chiang kai-Chek. He only knows who he is.

Ferenc Nagy - "I wouldn't vote for him because when he resigned, he wasn't fair." He heard this in America.

Insufficient information on Roosevelt.

He thinks that Chancellor Adenauer is a good statesman.

Stalin is another Hitler. Malenkov was also power drunk.

He doesn't know Generalissimo Franco and nothing of Bevan. Of Khrushchev, he says that he is one of the Soviet rats.

He thinks that it is good that Tito broke away from the Soviet Union, but he doesn't know about his further intentions.

Nothing of Peron.

He thinks that Molotov differs very little from the other Soviet big shots.

He has no idea who Ollenhauer is.

No opinion to offer on Churchill.

XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Escapees - Respondent thinks that the ones who left Hungary, generally speaking, are those who feared reprisals. They came from all classes. Mostly, they were young and mostly men. Most of them came from Budapest and West Hungary. Many of them were simply afraid of the system of terror and of prisons. And many of them were afraid of misery.

He thinks that, of those who stayed behind, "they are courageous people who dared to face the risk involved in staying. Others were those who were not so flexible, who could not leave the soil on which they had been born."

Speaking of persons who had an opportunity to escape, but chose to remain in Hungary, he says that between November 10th and the 20th, everybody could have left Hungary, but many of them didn't know of this chance and the others were not flexible enough. He declines to conjecture what people in Hungary think of those who left.

Assuming they had a chance to come to the West, he thinks that some 60--70% of Hungarians would rather remain in Hungary. So many cannot picture themselves living anywhere else in the world. They had always been taught that there is no place for a Hungarian to live other than Hungary itself.

D. Exile organizations & Individuals - While respondent was in Hungary, he knew of exile organizations, but only a very little and very little of individuals. He knew little more than the bare fact of their existence, this he learned from RFE.

He thinks that it is obvious that people who left Hungary before 1956 tried to accomplish something for Hungary, but he knows little about this concretely. He thinks that Free Europe Committee could be classified as an exile organization. He thinks Free Europe has accomplished a great deal in giving information to those behind the iron curtain, but generally speaking he thinks exiles have not had much success. They ought

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to have directed more attention to Hungary's cause. He hastens to add that he personally had not heard of any accomplishments and he apologizes if there were any and he simply had not heard of them.

His answer to whether he thought of the exiles during the revolution is, "We heard of an exile army, but I don't think it would have been advantageous for it to help us because it would have been one more reason for the Russians to interfere."

C. Redefectors - Respondent has never met any redefectors.

D. Exile tasks - Respondent thinks that people who left Hungary should do just what they are doing: trying to make people realize the cause of freedom in East Europe. He thinks people in Hungary would like to know about exiles, that they remain faithful to those ideals for which they had fought. He himself would like to have Americans know and like many more Hungarians,

Respondent would like to join only one exile organization: that is the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Association which is a cultural and social organization, but non-political. This organization should not let Hungary down, but should make the entire world realize the significance of the Hungarian fight for freedom. He thinks that mainly recent refugees should be in this organization and also those who have not yet joined any older established organizations.

Respondent was too young to know much about Hungarian political parties when these parties were formerly in power. He has insufficient information on parties in exile. There were several parties revived in Hungary during the revolution. He considered this proper because this is what democracy looks like.

The groups which had previously gone into exile should return to Hungary only after she has been liberated.

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E. Plans for the future - He wants to go back to Hungary only after it is liberated. But he would like to be helpful in liberating Hungary.

He definitely wants his children to learn to speak both Hungarian and English in the U.S.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio - Respondent listened to foreign radio stations while he was in Hungary. He listened to RFE, to London BBC, to VOA, to the Paris and Madrid stations. The reception was very good for RFE. London BBC was sometimes pretty good, too. Mostly these stations were very badly jammed, especially RFE and VOA. He listened only to Hungarian programs. He listened to RFE almost every night. The same was true of the BBC. He discussed with his friends in the Plant what he had heard. He listened in his room with his room-mate. He heard of Western broadcasts from other friends every week, at least once.

He thinks there was risk involved in listening to these broadcasts and in talking about them particularly in the years 1951-1953. Many people were jailed for this in those years. People were very cautious in listening although they were not completely deterred. However, they put their ears right against the set and played the radio very low. Besides, rumor had it that a person alone listening to RFE was all right, but a group listening together was an offense.

To him, no changes were noticeable in this during the last ten years.

His reactions to these broadcasts were that he listened to these broadcasts in order to learn the truth about world events. He preferred BBC above all because it was wholly objective and the most accurate by far. RFE often exaggerated. For instance, he says there was news over RFE that fierce fighting was going on in Győr and it just wasn't true. Of course, he says he is judging these things on the basis of his own experience.

These broadcasts had great effect in Hungary. "They kept us awake." We had lived --in apathy."

Between 1949 and 1952, RFE either said outright or implied that American troops were going to Hungary to liberate her because this was the talk of the town. In later years, this proved somewhat, but not completely eliminated.

Asked whether RFE helped to incite the Hungarian people by giving promises of Western help, he said this was not so before the revolution. "The revolution didn't break out because of any promises or because we expected the Americans to come to our help. Only in the fever of battle did we think of that, particularly on November 4th."

Respondent thinks that RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary. He suggests that straight news and only very reliable reports should be preferred. Comments on world news would also be welcome, but they should be very objective. ~~They should be very effective anti-~~ This should be very objective anti-Communist propaganda. Programs about life in Western Europe are all right and so are programs about life in the U.S.

B. FEP leaflets -- Respondent heard about the initials NEM over the radio. He has not heard of the twelve demands.

C. Free Europe leaflets - Respondent has never seen a Free Europe leaflet. He heard about them. Some acquaintances told him that some had been found.

He heard about the danger involved in picking up these leaflets and keeping them or talking about them. One person he knew was so fearful of these dangers that when he found a balloon, he reported it to the authorities and everyone said that he was crazy because the balloon was made of good material and he could have used it.

He has no concrete knowledge about people who were imprisoned but he has no doubt that this occurred. He feels that he cannot express any opinion about these leaflets since he has only second hand information about them, but he heard that the cartoons were very good and people enjoyed seeing Rakosi and others lampooned.



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He doesn't think that leaflets had any immediate effect. He thinks they had no role during the revolution. But he thinks that Free Europe should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary. They should contain pictures and cartoons and they should contain refugee progress reports.

D. Respondent thinks that Western broadcasts were made into Hungary because the senders would like to see Hungary free and they had no other way of reaching the Hungarian people. He thinks all such groups have the same ideals and the same goals.

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## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. Respondent thinks that the most important things a child should be taught are these: love of truth, good moral attitudes, religious persuasion,

He thinks that a child should be disciplined by nothing more than persuasion. He thinks that the application of force is no good. He thinks that essentially, boys and girls should be treated the same. Persuasion may become more intelligent, but should remain the same type as the children grow older.

Respondent was spanked only once in his life, but he remembers a very small detail and he thinks that it was a just punishment although it hurt him very badly. It was his father who spanked him, but otherwise his father scolded him. He gave him hell. He really chewed him out. He lit into him. He doesn't know who, among his friends families, doled out punishment for children of six or older. He has no experience with people who punished their children by hitting them in one way or another. He did, however, hear many people scold their children and do so quite severely, but that was all.

He had heard older people speak of using sticks to discipline children, but in his time, there was no spanking in schools.

The characteristics he values most in a friend are honesty, sincerity above all, helpfulness, and selflessness.

END