

17. Arrived in U.S. Jan. 1, 1957
18. After leaving Camp Kilmer respondent has resided constantly in N.Y.C.
19. He is employed by a N.Y. textile import-export firm.
20. With the exception of questionings by the Austrian police, the U.S. counselor officials, emigration officials, respondent has not been interviewed by any Western organizations since leaving Hungary.
21. Respondent speaks German well, English fairly well.

Respondent is a copulent, jovial, middle-aged business man. He is very intelligent and has a business college diploma. He is of lower middle-class background. His vast business experience enabled him to provide a substantial income for his family despite the nationalization of his business and other Communist restrictions. Of special interest is his economic information.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The most important thing that the American public should know about the Hungarian revolution is that the revolution broke out spontaneously. The people at home were unable to tolerate any longer the misery and oppression of the Communist regime. During World War II the Germans once said that it was impossible to leap off a ~~speed~~ speeding express train. The Hungarian people demonstrated that this was possible. The only trouble was that the West did not give effective, diplomatic aid to ensure the first victories of the revolution.

Another thing of great importance in connection with the Hungarian revolution is that the revolution had been started by those young people the Communist regime had educated as reliable cadres.

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

A. In October 22 I heard from a young Budapest Technical University student that the students are planning to hold a mass meeting at which they will demand the abolishment of Russian and Marxist classes. I did not consider this as important, and did not think that anything would happen.

On the morning of October 23 I went by car to Cseged on a business trip. I arrived there at about 9p.m. That night there was a large demonstration in Cseged. The demonstrators gathered around the ~~square~~ square near the local theatre. One of the ~~next~~ actors recited the patriotic poems of Petofi. He also warned the crowd to maintain order and not to heed violent slogans. The demonstrators did not carry flags, but they shouted the slogans of the university students. Virtually, the slogans were the demands listed by the Cseged University students.

The demonstrators were the usual crowd one would find on the streets. Many workers were among them. About one third of the crowd was women. The majority of the ~~demonstrators~~ demonstrators were over sixteen. The old Hungarian flag with the pre-war coat of arms was hoisted on the ~~in~~ Cseged Theatre. Everyone applauded.

When I was away on business trips I usually made a phone call home every night. I always called up my wife after 10 to insure the much cheaper night rates. When I called her up on October 23 from Cseged and told her what was happening here, she answered that demonstrations were also going on in Budapest. I did not want to believe her and she took the phone to the window and over the phone I could hear the shoutings of a large crowd. Our apartment was on Rakosi Street, not far from the Hungarian National Theatre in Budapest.

On October 24 I continued my business trip to the towns of Hodmezavasarhely, Szentes, and Mako. There was a radio in the car and we were very much disturbed by the news which was broadcast by ~~the~~ Radio Budapest.

On the way to Budapest we overtook Russian tanks heading in

the same direction. The Hungarian highways are very narrow and the tanks were being driven rather recklessly. Our chauffeur was very much afraid to pass them. The tank personnel however did not heed us at all.

We were able to go as far as the town of Monor, about 25 kilometers from Budapest. We reached this town about 5:30 p.m. Here we learned that stiff fighting was going on in the ~~suburbs~~ suburbs of Budapest and we would not be able to go further than the suburb of Kispest.

In Kispest we were stopped by armed civilians and we saw and heard that fighting was ~~not~~ going on not far from us. On the advice of the civilians we did not continue our journey, but decided to put up in the home of ~~six~~ friends of my driver. Their home was in a side street far from the main highway and there was no fighting in this neighborhood.

On October 24 I was able to telephone my wife from the local police station. She told me to remain in Kispest because stiff fighting was going on in Budapest near our home.

I remained in this home in Kispest until October 27. I did not see much of the revolution there. I learned from hearsay that the Russians were launching a heavy tank attack against the Killian barracks in Budapest, but were unable to capture the ~~building~~ building.

On October 27 I walked home. Both sides by then had reached some sort of a cease-fire agreement. Then the Russians had not as yet withdrawn from the city. I met Russian troops, but they let me pass unmolested. I also saw armed groups of civilians, mostly industrial workers, their average age about 20. I do not know anything about how these civilians were organized or from where they got their arms and ammunition.

I saw that much damage had been caused by the fighting. However, I was optimistic. I realized that the first round had been won by the insurgents. I was very glad to hear that the Russians were withdrawing from Budapest and did not think that they would return.

Previously in Cseged when I heard about the uprising in Budapest, I did not think that the Hungarian government would call



in the Soviet troops to help it. On the way home, when we saw the Russian tanks heading for Budapest, we were very much concerned and thought that the revolution would be suppressed in short order. At that time I did not yet know that the Hungarian army was siding with the insurgents.

B. I personally did not take any part in the fighting. During the first stage of the revolution I was in Kispest, far from any scene of fighting. During the second stage I was at home with my family. I do not know any details on who fought, how they were organized, or from where they received arms.

C. During that one week while the Russians were withdrawing from Budapest, I stayed at home or visited friends. We also had food problems and I tried to acquire as much food as possible for my family. We also listened constantly to Hungarian and foreign radio broadcasts. We did not know anything about the Russian withdrawal having been halted.

We first heard that the Russians were returning when we were awakened by artillery fire on November 4. Our radio had been out of order for the last two days. We expected a repetition of the 1944-45 siege of Budapest. The entire house went immediately down to the air-raid shelter in the building. We stayed there for two or three hours, then, when we realized the fighting was not as heavy as we expected, and that no aerial bombing was in progress, we moved up to the first floor to an apartment which was not facing the street. Still fighting was going on for days in our neighborhood. The large department store on Rakosi Street was the center of a resistance group for days.

We dared to go out into the streets only one week after the attack started. Around the middle of November I went to the office of the company for which I was a salesman. This was around November 13 or 14. Here I was confronted by the director of our enterprise who happened to be in Caeged on October 23, and who had seen me cheering the demonstrators. He told me outright, "Now, we know whose ~~side~~ side you're on, and don't worry, we'll take care of you."

This open threat and my capitalistic background made it very advisable for me to leave Hungary as soon as possible.

On November 26 I loaded my family into a car driven by a friend and, without any papers, he was able to drive us down almost to the border. We carefully avoided all checking points. We were stopped twice by Hungarian Freedom Fighters, but they let us go on. Beyond Gyor we were stopped by a patrol consisting of three Russians and one AVH officer. We told him that we are going to a farm nearby. He turned us back, telling us to get a special permit in Gyor. We turned back, but took the first side road and made a long detour.

We arrived in the evening to the farm house where one of the farmers was supposed to smuggle us across the border. He had been arrested a few hours before our arrival and none of the peasants living in the neighborhood dared to lead us across. Finally, we persuaded a young boy of fifteen to show us at least a part of the way. He explained to us how we should continue, and told us to go straight toward the light we saw from Austria. After a long, tiring walk we finally arrived in Austrian territory.

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IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. During the revolution we did not, and could not, expect effective military aid from the West. Such aid would have meant war, and the Western world is not yet prepared for war. But, we did expect United Nations intervention. We expected that United Nations resolutions would carry more weight. We thought that the United Nations would be able to press the Soviet Union through economical and political sanctions to withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary.

B. My opinion of and expectations of Western help were formed on the basis of foreign radio broadcasts. I had been a regular listener of such broadcasts for a long time.

C. During the revolution and until the time of my escape, I saw International Red Cross personnel in Hungary, but I did not have an opportunity to speak to them.

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father had been an umbrella maker. He died very young, at the age of 22. I was only 11 months old at that time. I was educated by my grandparents. My grandfather was also an umbrella maker. Ours was a very humble existence.

My father-in-law is an engineer in Buenos Aires. He is considerably wealthy, but we are not on good terms and he does not give any financial assistance to my wife.

My father was a gymnasium graduate. I am not certain about the education of my mother because I was only three years old when she died.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the industrial workers, the intelligentsia, the small craftsmen, and tradesmen, and the peasantry. The small craftsmen and tradesmen can be more or less placed in the same group, as the intelligentsia or middle class.

I have had contact with all these classes although my contact with the peasantry was limited.

By 1956 only a very small fraction of the industrial workers sympathized with communism. I have a very good opinion of the industrial workers. They are intelligent. One of the advantages of the communist regime is that both the industrial workers and the peasantry were encouraged to study and read. Now, in Hungary in a very small village pub one could often hear the Hungarian gypsies play, let's say, an aria from "Il Trovatore", and what was most remarkable, the Hungarian peasants knew that it was from "Il Trovatore."

The industrial workers were also very thrifty. They had to be thrifty in order to subsist on a monthly pay from 800 to 1000 forints. They were also very industrious.

The Hungarian peasantry, especially the individual farmers, were in a much more favorable position than the industrial workers. Despite the compulsory delivery of farm products and heavy taxation, the individual farmer had money to buy



goods and were able to live comparatively better than the industrial workers. With very few exceptions, they were all enemies of the regime.

The Hungarian intelligentsia proportionately had, by far, the largest number of class enemies. The intelligentsia's educational qualifications were high, even according to western European standards. Many members of the intelligentsia were forced to pretend that they accepted Communism, but only an insignificant fraction of the intelligentsia was communist by conviction.

~~Myself, however,~~ I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia.

It is very difficult to determine which class was the hardest hit by Communism. The Hungarian peasantry was not effected to a great degree, nor were the industrial workers. The class hardest hit was the intelligentsia, especially if we include the capitalists, industrialists, craftsmen and tradesmen in this group, also. The latter has been completely ruined by the nationalization of industries and enterprises.

I do not know how the Hungarian peasantry regarded the industrial workers. Probably, they hated a few loud-mouthed industrial workers who were in favor of Communism. But, in general, they perhaps sympathized with the industrial workers. The peasantry always had respect for the intelligentsia, acknowledging its leadership and talent.

The Hungarian industrial workers probably envied the peasantry because they enjoyed more independence and lived better. The industrial workers got along well with the intelligentsia and had respect for them.

The Hungarian intelligentsia also valued the work of the industrial workers. Members of the intelligentsia sympathized with them because they were equally exploited economically by the Communist regime. At one time the intelligentsia felt that the Hungarian peasantry was taking advantage of economic conditions in Hungary, and was black-marketing its food surpluses.

C. From the point of view of getting ahead in Communist Hungary, knowledge and experience and talent were vital,

but only in the last few months before the revolution. But, even then class origin and pretense of being a loyal Communist counted very heavily on ones chances of getting ahead. Previously, especially in the first years of Communism, class origin and party membership were the exclusive factors.

As an individual, the person most likely to get ahead in Hungary is the careerist who is able to convince others that he is a good Communist. In Hungary I have met very few people who are, in my opinion, Communists by conviction.

D. In Hungary the workers' aristocracy received much more benefits from society than they deserved. Under this group I mean such people as, for example, the heroes of labor competition. Outstanding achievements in production in labor were all based on fraud. The heroes of labor competitions received comparatively large financial benefits.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Under Communism there was not much change in our family life. I was able to earn enough so that my wife could afford to stay home and keep the family together. In our family the children were brought up strictly by their mother.

Other families, however, were not so fortunate. Because of low wages and incomes, both parents were forced to seek employment. As a consequence, the family life of many couples was upset and their children got out of hand because the parents did not have enough time for them.

Our family probably is the closest to the Type II family you mentioned. We were able to speak freely before the children and were not afraid that they would betray us. But, in a certain sense, our family also resembles the Type III because family life has not changed much under Communist influence.

In general, I think that the first type is the most typical of Hungarian families. However, in my opinion, cases where husband and wife feared each other politically were very ~~rare~~ rare.

Many families attempted to bring up their children as the Communists wanted them to. They did this in order to secure their own positions, and to insure a better future for their children. In our family there was no change in respect to the education of the children. A good many families were able to bring up their children as before the war. The decisive factor was the income of the father. If he earned enough so that his wife was not compelled to go to work, then the education of the children was more or less <sup>and</sup> effected by Communism.

B. Courtships started much easier and with less formality than before the Communist regime. Young people had ample opportunity to get acquainted at parties staged by schools and employers. Courtships were less idealistic than before. Both parties were totally aware of the blunt purposes of their relationship. Sexual relations among the young people were more frequent due to the fact that they were less under the control of parents.

Also among married couples, the wife who had to work and supported herself felt more independent of her husband, and entitled to do what she pleased. Divorces were more frequent than before. Very often the cause of the divorce was the inconsiderate labor policy of the Communists by which husband and wife were often assigned to work hundreds of kilometres apart.

Young people got married easier and at an earlier age than before. The only financial requirements were that both have a job. Very often the couples would have great difficulty in getting a room from the housing ~~authorities~~ authorities in which to live.

The role and prestige of parents in such questions as courtship and marriage declined considerably. There was not much the parents could give their children and the young people were forced to support themselves.

Prostitution was officially banned in Hungary under Communism. However, secret prostitution was going on on a large scale. In offices and factories the male superiors sometimes took advantage of the female employees. Girls and women who earned very little were tempted to yield themselves for such gifts as stockings or clothes.

I think that the Communists had less inhibitions concerning sexual relations and morality than non-Communists. They did not attach too great importance to marriage. They considered themselves less ~~kind~~ bound by such ties as marriage and family. Ties of parental affection were also weaker than in non-Communists. Communist parent can consider himself only part owner of his child.

It is interesting to know that for a long time the Communist regime outlawed abortions and punished abortionists very ~~severely~~ severely. In the last twelve months before the revolution the Communists became convinced that Hungary was becoming over-populated, and an increasing birthrate was not desirable. They then permitted abortions to be performed officially on the basis of social indications.

C. Cases where one-time friends terminated a friendship because ~~the~~ one had joined the Communist party were frequent.



I, myself, experienced this on several occasions. A man I considered to be a very good friend before the war joined the Communist party and became an official. I noticed that he despised me and always wanted to avoid being seen in my company.

In such cases it is usually the Communist who breaks off the friendship. The non-Communist friend is afraid of him and tries to keep up the appearance of friendship.

I think that among intelligent people a friendship can continue despite differences of political opinion. An agreement to keep out politics can work out well in practice.

D. No statistics were available in Hungary on juvenile delinquency, but I think that the crime rate among young people under twenty increased considerably under Communism. By juvenile delinquency, I mean strictly felonies and misdemeanors, and all acts ~~which~~ which are punishable under the Hungarian criminal code.

I do not exactly know what you mean by 'hooliganism'. I never heard this word in Hungarian. I only heard about the Jampecs. These were young people who imitated Western fashion and liked jazz and Western dances. Their manners and conduct were deplorable, but they considered themselves smart. I don't think the parents liked their conduct either. The motives of their conduct probably sympathy for the West, secret resistance to Communism, resistance to restrictions, and a desire to attract attention. I don't think, however, that their conduct should be punishable.

The vast majority of the jampecs came from the industrial worker families.

## VII. RELIGION

A. I think that Communism has brought a good many people in Hungary closer to religion than they were before. To many the church offered consolation and hope in their difficult positions. Churches were crowded with the exception of the one or two years when it was not very advisable to ~~be~~ be seen going to church. This was from '49 to '52. In this way one could easily lose his job.

The churches were not persecuted in the strict sense of the word, but many priests were arrested and imprisoned. The religious education of the children was abolished.

The Catholic church was the hardest hit because it offered the most resistance to Communism. Such members of the ~~the~~ higher clergy as Mydzenty and \_\_\_\_\_ were imprisoned and tortured. The Catholic church was the ~~greatest~~ largest church in Hungary and, therefore, offered the most resistance to Communism.

The Protestant clergy was probably able to adjust themselves the best to Communism. But, even the Jewish religion was persecuted.

I am less religious than my grandparents were. (I cannot say anything about my parents because they died when I was very young.) Although I feel the necessity of religious consolation, which the church has to offer, I did not have much time to go to the synagogue. However, I observed the more important religious holidays, because, in the Jewish religion, this is linked with the commemoration of ones ancestors. This is more of a tradition than a religious necessity.

I think that the average person in Hungary is more religious than I am.

C. Relations between church and state are ideal when the state has no influence on church affairs at all. I approve of the role the Catholic church and the other churches played in the education of children before the Communists regime. I think

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### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the age group between fourteen and twenty-four.

B. The Hungarian youth organized and led the demonstrations which later turned into the revolution. But, they did not play an exclusive leading role in the fighting itself, this they had to share with the industrial workers and military leaders.

The Hungarian youth was embittered because of its hopeless outlook for the future. Even the youth did not want a revolution...only a demonstration. The demonstrations turned spontaneously into fighting.

During the revolution the older generations had a deep respect for the Hungarian youth. The Hungarian youth, in turn had a high opinion of the assistance rendered by the elders, and were glad to see that the older age groups ~~also~~ also joined their movement.

C. The curriculum of the Hungarian schools under Communism was very ~~rigid~~ rigorous. I saw, for example, that in grade-school my daughter studied and learned more mathematics than we had.

The school that my daughter attended was a comparatively good gymnasium. Its director and teachers were reliable politically. The educational level of many schools was better than in the past.

~~Some~~ In some schools the staff was very Communist. For example, the wife ~~of~~ of the Ministry for Defense, General ~~was~~ was the director of one ~~of~~ of the Budapest gymnasiums. This gymnasium was probably the most Communistic of all.

The educational qualifications of the teachers and instructors ~~was~~ were not as good as under the previous regime. This applies primarily to the new staff educated by the Communists. Many of the old staff are still teaching.



D. In my opinion, most of the children in Hungary were not effected at all by Communism. They did not like anything which the Communists introduced, ~~however~~ perhaps only their comparatively greater freedom and their ability to do more as they pleased than before. Discipline in the schools was not as strict under the past regime, and relations between teachers and students were much better.

The indoctrination of the Hungarian youth failed because the young people were able to see the miserable lives their parents led at home. They saw the contradictions between theory and practice.

Until 1948-1949 a fraction of the Hungarian youth may have sympathized with Communism because, until then, Communism had not shown its true face in Hungary. But, ~~since~~ events from 1949 to '53 showed them what Communism was really like. The bright peasant boys who had been sent by the Communists to the cities to attend schools may have at first been influenced by their new surroundings and greater comfort which the Communists provided for them. But, when these peasant boys heard that the agricultural policy of the Communist party was making the lives of their parents ~~more~~ miserable at home, they soon became disillusioned with Communism.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. My major dissatisfaction with life in Communist Hungary was that they nationalized my store. I did not like the feeling of uncertainty and I did not feel safe, even at home. A telephone call or the sound of the door-bell, especially at night, always created uneasiness. We were also restricted in our freedom of movement and were unable to travel abroad as before.

B. Most of the people complained about the extremely low standard of living at home. They were unable to support themselves and their families and the future seemed entirely hopeless to them.

## X. ECONOMIC LIFE

A. I was able to live exceptionally well under Communism because of my special job. It, however, meant the violation of Communist laws and, at the end, I was sentenced to 20 months imprisonment in 1955, November. The sentence was appealed and not final. I was accused of selling textiles goods to managers of state stores who sold the goods to customers, but pocketed the difference between the sales price and the wholesale price.

We lived very well, although not as well as before the war. We ate better food than the average Hungarian. We could afford meat four or five times a week.

Clothing was not a problem to us as I was familiar in the textile trade and was able to acquire clothing material, ~~xxx~~ much below the wholesale price.

Our quarters were also satisfactory. My mother-in-law lived with us and the five of us shared a three room apartment. (the three rooms do not include hall, kitchen, bathroom, and maid's room.) Our apartment was very well furnished. Whenever party propagandists came to visit us we never let them in the living room, but only to the maid's room. We did not want them to see what furniture and paintings we had. The excuse we gave them for leading them only into the maid's room was that my wife or my mother-in-law were dressing. It once happened that the same party propagandist came to us twice in succession. He commented wryly that my wife always seemed to be dressing.

I was able to afford a car, although the ~~xxxx~~ license was issued in the name of a Hungarian football player who was permitted to own a car. ~~xxxx~~ We could also afford season's tickets to the opera, and theatres. A vacation abroad was considered a luxury. This was possible only during the new era, and only to other satellite countries. ~~W<sup>d</sup>~~ preferred to stay at home.

Our food, clothing, and housing were satisfactory and these problems offered me no difficulty at all. At one time, when there was a food shortage in Budapest, I was able to supply

my family with foodstuffs from peasants & contacted on my numerous business trips.

Compared to our pre-war standard of living, our standard of living under Communism declined considerably. Nothing had been gained compared to our pre-war standard of living.

Our standard of living was the highest in 1953 under the first Imre Nagy government. After his downfall there was a considerable decline with some improvement in August and September, 1956 immediately before the revolution.

There were one or two families with whom we associated and who lived extremely well under Communism. One was the family of a corset and bra maker. His wife ran the household, but his son and daughter-in-law were also employed in the shop. When it was possible, they supplied the state stores. Otherwise they worked for individual customers, making corsets and bras to measure. They lived extremely well, had a very comfortable and beautifully furnished home, excellent food, and had a large wardrobe. They could afford to go to Lake                      for a few ~~weeks~~ weeks in the summer, and to go skiing at a ski resort in the winter. They entertained ~~friends~~ frequently, played bridge, went to cinemas and theatres. They could also afford a car, but the car was not in their own name.

The Hungarian standard of living during the past eight years can be attributed to the economic policies of the Communist party. In 1945 and 1946 there was an inflation ~~effect~~ under which the government officials and industrial workers lived under very trying circumstances. The merchants and the peasantry, however, lived better.

When the forint was introduced and the inflation ended, there was a very short lapse, but after that economic conditions improved considerably. Business in my store began to boom. This went on until 1948 when the first nationalizations began. In the second half of '48 and in '49 ~~conditions~~ conditions were still tolerable. Then only the enterprises and industries which had more than one hundred workers were nationalized.

From 1949 on, conditions became worse and worse. Practically



all enterprises, regardless of the number of employees, were nationalized. Then came the Three Year Plan, later the Five Year Economic Plan, under which practically everyone went broke. There was some improvement under the first Imre Nagy regime. Agricultural policy of the government changed and small trade was encouraged. Taxation policies of the government were not as rigid as before. There was a slow improvement up to the time of the revolution.

B. My average income in 1956 was from 4000 to 5000 forints a month. I did not have any fixed salary. I worked only on a commission basis. No deductions were made for trade union dues. I paid only fifty forints a month for compulsory government loans. I received a bonus of 77 forints a month for my two children. I did not have any secondary source of income, or any other part-time job. No one else worked in our family. I had not received any wage increase during the last five years.

C. Our family did most of its purchasing in government stores. Only very rarely did we buy in private stores, sometimes on the open market. Open market prices were higher than the state store prices but the difference was well worth it. For example, apples in the government stores were six forints a killogram, and, at the same time, they were eight forints on the free market, but received much nicer apples. Also, there were times when some items were unavailable in the government stores, but obtainable on the free market. For example, at one time it was very difficult to obtain eggs in the state stores. They were obtainable on the free market, but at a much higher price. There were also years when there were shortages of meat and fat. I do not remember what years this was, exactly.

All other goods, such as clothing and shoes, etc. we bought in the state stores. However, in Hungary it was a general custom to have clothes made to measure. The material would be bought in a government store, but the work would be done by a private tailor or by a tailors' cooperative. I do not know of any nationalized enterprises which offered such services to a customer.

There was also a great difference in the price and quality of shoes. For example, a ready-made shoe in a government store

would cost about 200-250 forints. At the same time, a custom made shoe of excellent material made by a small craftsman would cost from 800-1000 forints.

I do not know much about the retail distribution of food supplies, but I know something about the distribution about clothes, shoes, and other such articles. Government stores were supplied by central depots set up one in each county. There were many initial difficulties when the retail distribution was being organized, but later on they operated fairly well. However, distribution was not flexible enough. It was complicated by a mass of red tape. For example, it would happen that in one county black shoe strings were not obtainable because the county had already sold its quota of shoe strings. At the same time, there may have a surplus of shoe strings in another county. It often happened that white cotton socks were unobtainable in the summer when they were in season. In another store there would be a surplus of the same ~~pink~~ merchandise.

It was possible to get spare parts, but not all kinds and not always. How much of what was to be manufactured each year was decided by the central agencies in Budapest. The people who drafted these so-called merchandise lists were not experts, and did not have much experience. Even so, the state industrial enterprises were unwilling to manufacture the products which were on the list when they were unable to manufacture them at a profit at the price established by the government. In this way there were always "shortage articles" which I could always easily detect on my numerous ~~business~~ business trip into the country. For example, I ~~had~~ noticed that the government industrial enterprises were unwilling to manufacture thimbles. They could not very well make thimbles at a ~~small~~ cost which would enable them to retail these thimbles at 75 \_\_\_\_\_ a piece... the price established by the government. I would inform my small craftsmen and tradesman friends and have them manufacture these "shortage articles" at a cost which would enable us to sell them at a profit, even if we could not sell them for more than the price established by the government.

There were such articles which even the small tradesmen

and craftsmen were unable to manufacture and sell for the retail price established by the government. For example, there were the bicycle chains. Neither the national enterprise nor private enterprise could make them at a cost which would enable them to retail them at a profit for 15 forints a chain. The state industrial enterprises manufactured some bicycle chains, but not as many as the production plans called for. These chains were sold by the retailers in under-the-counter deals to good friends, perhaps at a higher price.

There was a shortage in such food supplies as meat, fats, poultry. There were also shortages of industrial products which were manufactured from foreign ~~markets~~ raw materials, such as rubber, ~~antim~~ tires, etc. Iron and steel parts, copper, and other metals were very hard to get. Basic textile materials and leather were hard to get because they had to be imported from abroad. What little Hungary had was taken away by the Soviet Union.

Black marketing was widespread, and especially in 1949 until 1952. This was the period when industrial production was not yet organized after the nationalizations. There was a widespread black-market, especially in foodstuffs and textiles. Under-counter sales to acquaintances were frequent. However, this black-market was not very well organized. It was conducted only among people who knew each other. Black-market prices were considerably higher. On the other hand, the quality of the goods was much better, or, at least, available. For example, for 1000 forints that a small shoemaker charged for a custom-made shoe was a black-market ~~price~~ price because he was able to obtain his raw materials only on the black-market. At the same time, the price of ready made shoes in a government store was only from 200 to 300 forints.

I don't think that storekeepers in the state stores dared to demand a higher price from anyone they did not know. This was a very dangerous thing to do. There were the so-called "social controllers". They would go to any store and ask for some hard to get item. If the storekeeper said that he was out of such merchandise they were entitled to search the premises. Any merchandise that was found that he had lied about resulted in criminal pro-



ceedings against the storekeeper. He was liable to get from five to eight years imprisonment. In 1951 there was an acute shortage of meat. Five Budapest butchers and a manager of a meat industry plant were hanged for black-market speculations.

Under the first Imre Nagy regime such economic crimes were punished much more leniently. A storekeeper would get only six months or even be acquitted if he had a good lawyer.

D. I was employed as a salesman by a so-called "council enterprise." It was called the Budapest District Chemical and Handicraft Enterprise.

The public administration units organized the small tradesmen and craftsmen living on their territory to form such council enterprises. Individual craftsmen and tradesmen were compelled to join such enterprises by discriminatory taxation or they simply did not receive raw materials with which to work.

Such enterprises had to hire salesmen to sell the merchandise manufactured by them. I was a so-called market research salesman for the enterprise mentioned. I took their samples and made my rounds in provincial Hungary getting orders. I did not get any fixed salary, nor expenses, but received  $1\frac{1}{2}$  percent of the total sales. I did not have any fixed office hours or working hours to observe. I usually ~~xxxx~~ started my country rounds on Monday morning. I left Budapest at 5 a.m. by car. The car was mine although it was registered under the name of a sportsman friend who was permitted to maintain a car. I always traveled early in the morning or late at night in order to get the most possible business done during the day. I returned to Budapest on Thursday evening. On Friday morning I went into the office, handed in my report and the sales which I had made. After that I was free to go to see my small tradesmen friends.

In the course of my work I was always able to note if there was any shortage of merchandise in Hungary. I have already mentioned that the state industrial enterprises disregarded entirely the production quotas of plans if they were unable to make a profit on some merchandise, the price of which had been set low by the ~~xxxx~~ government.



They could never exceed the government price, nor could they undersell the price. Very often my private craftsmen and tradesmen friends were able to manufacture the merchandise in demand at such a cost which left us a profit despite the fact that the price set was very low. If sufficient quantities of such merchandise were available, then on my rounds I also acquired orders from my friends. I also received a share of their profits. This was not exactly a legal thing to do under the Communist regime. The state wholesale and retail outlets were strictly forbidden to buy merchandise from any other source if the merchandise was available from government outlets. Merchandise manufactured by the council enterprises had second preference and unnationalized private craftsmen and tradesmen only third preference. There were times when the government's policy was more lenient if the shortage was acute. Sometimes it was my business to persuade the manager of the government retail or whole sale store that my merchandise was not identical with the merchandise he was able to get from government outlets. The ~~state~~ managers of state stores were very poorly paid. Although they handled stock worth over 2-3 million forints, their monthly pay was not more than 800-900 forints. Their inventory was not an itemized inventory, only a value inventory, listing the total value of the merchandise they had on stock. In this way it was possible to sell them merchandise which was identical with that he acquired from government outlets at a discount and he was able to pocket the difference in price. It was strictly illegal for unnationalized, private tradesmen and craftsmen to sell their goods through a salesman. My activities in this respect were illegal and in November, 1955 I had been sentenced to twenty months imprisonment. The sentence, however, was under appeal and did not come up for trial before the higher courts prior to the revolution.

I was satisfied with my job because this provided me with a ~~amount~~ comparatively high income under the Communist regime. I think my fellow workers were competent and also some of my superiors. However, the manager of the council enterprise was a stupid shoemaker who had been given this lucrative job because of

his Communist party loyalty. I did not have much contact with my superiors. Under the existing circumstances I was satisfied with my job.

I was a member of the National Trade Union Council's Medical Service which operated fairly well. It provided not only medical service but also medicine, artificial limbs, teeth, paid for hospital bills, etc. The dispensaries of the \_\_\_\_\_ were open practically day and night so everyone was able to get medical attention without having to wait too long.

I did not take part in the Trade Union Council's vacation program, but what I heard about it, it operated fairly well. Many people who previously could never have afforded a vacation at a resort or on Lake Balaton, were able to go for a few weeks vacation each year.

The Hungarian pension plan operated very poorly. For example, my mother-in-law's pension was only 100 forints a month. The old people, in general, complained that the pensions were very inadequate.

E. In Communist Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. The city is the only place where I could work in my profession. It is my opinion that city population eats better food, and a larger variety than the rural people. The general standard of living was higher in the cities. Politically, I think there was no difference in living in the city or country.

When collectivization of farms was first introduced in Hungary I immediately disapproved of it. I did not think that it would have any immediate effects on me. I disapprove of everything which is contrary to private enterprise and individual initiative.

I do not like the collectivization of farms as it has been carried out in practice in Hungary. The farm cooperative members are not interested in their work and are not as diligent as they would be on their own farms.

I think that the kulaks and rich peasants objected more strongly to collectivization of farms than did the other peasants.

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I heard of farm cooperative being dissolved during the first Imre Nagy government. The peasants left the farm cooperatives because they preferred to farm on their own farms.

In an independent Hungary agricultural systems should be entirely free and unrestricted. Such innovations as the tractor stations which were introduced by the Hungarian Communist government should continue to operate ~~permanently~~ temporarily until the peasants acquire the necessary farm machinery or draft animals.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before World War II I was not very much interested in politics. During the war I was interested because, as a Jew, the outcome of the war effected me greatly. After 1945 it was impossible not to be interested in politics, as the political situation effected your everyday life in every respect.

I have not been a member of any political party, but I sympathize with the Small Holders party because its economic policies were favorable and liberal. Many ~~was~~ members of this party behave extremely well during the German occupation.

No prominent member of my family had been a member of any party.

My overall political views may be described as liberal and democratic.

I was a child at the time of the 1918-'19 Communist revolution in Hungary. I heard about its horrors and atrocities committed by Bela Kun. Later, I was to recall with envy the 1918-'19 period, because that time would have been comparatively easy to overthrow the Communist regime in a very short time.

I did not ~~know~~ know much about the underground Communist party in Hungary during World War II. I suspected that it existed and I sympathized with it then because it wanted to overthrow the fascist regime.

From 1945 to 1948 the Hungarian Communist party was very high-handed in its tactics of liquidating other political parties. I was afraid that they would stage some sort of a coup and come to power by force.

My views about the pre-1948 Communist party has not changed.

B. After 1948 I came to hate the Communist party even more



than before.

After 1948 there were still many people who did not realize what the Communist party was really like and what it wanted. They had absorbed something from the Communist teachings and had been given some mediocre jobs. I suppose such people sympathized with Communism until about 1951. But, in this era of darkness, terror and oppression, I think that many of these people had become disillusioned with Communism.

I think that only a small percentage of the Communist party membership is Communist by conviction, the obsessed Communists. Most of these are old party members who had taken part in the activities in the underground Communist party. They were joined by a few idealists who were mostly young people.

Most of the people joined the Hungarian Communist party because they had to live. They either had to get a job or were afraid of losing the one they had.

Some people joined the Communist party in order to be able to get ahead. These are the careerists. They made a convincing show of being good Communists, but in reality they did not care much about Communist doctrines as long as the Communist party membership served their purposes.

The policies of the Hungarian Communist party changed constantly. For example, in 1947 I still had my store. At that time there was a meeting of textile merchants in Budapest to which Rakosi was invited to speak. He assured us that the Communist regime needs the private merchants and that the Communist regime does not wish to interfere in our business. He urged us to expand our business and to acquire new stock. He categorically denied that the Communist regime would ever want to nationalize our business. Many textile merchants believed Rakosi and did as he recommended. A few months later all textile retail stores were nationalized.

Their dialectical materialism is something very slippery and illusive.

The changes in the policy of the Hungarian Communist party reflect the changes in the Soviet Union. Stalin's death and

the struggle for power, the balance of power within the ~~the~~ politbureau always determined the ~~expansive~~ policies of the Communist party in the satellite countries.

Most of the people in Hungary were aware of the differences within the party. For example, the differences between Imre Nagy and Rakosi.

I do not know much about the morale of the Hungarian Communist party. There was no freedom of opinion or criticism within the party. The party members had no other choice than to agree with everything the party did.

I think that the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party are idealists. However, the determined way in which Gero clung to power seems to indicate that his motives were selfish. Their primary motives are power and the material gains which go with it. They are determined to serve their Communist overlords in Moscow, to the latter's satisfaction so they can remain in power.

They do not have any personalities, although sometimes they show personal characteristic traits. But, these traits of their personalities do not count at all because they must carry out in detail the instructions they receive from Moscow.

I think they are wicked and cruel people. They are talented, but sometimes commit great blunders. For example, Gero, who is a civil engineer, approved the plans for the new subway in Budapest which was built entirely to serve strategic purposes, and which turned out a complete failure, technically, at the end.

A comparison can not very well be made between the party leaders and the simple party members. The party members joined for the reasons we have already discussed. They can express no opinion in connection with party policy. All they can do is applaud what the party says.

If Hungary becomes independent, then the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party should be brought before a court.

C. During the past eight or ten years there was opposition to Communism in Hungary. The women, while lining up for commodities would grumble and criticize the regime openly. Many acts of sabotage were reported. Numerous arrests occurred for this reason. Fires would break out in factories and storehouses. These were usually attributed to the subversive activities of imperialistic agents sent home from Austria and Germany. In reality, it was done by the workers, themselves.

Opposition to Communism was most common among the industrial workers. The opposition by the peasants was less widespread. The intelligentsia did not dare to show much opposition.

The opposition behavior of the various classes and groups was generally known to everyone. Such opposition behavior did not have much significance, nor important consequences. It was not in proportion with the risks involved and the consequences.

I did not notice any difference in the intensity of opposition during the various years of the Communist regime. However, I did not have much contact with the groups which were giving opposition to the regime.

I did not know much about the activities of the Hungarian intellectuals. I heard about the Petofi Circle only in the summer of 1956, at the time when the Petofi Circle was conducting debates on the rehabilitation Rajk.

The Hungarian intellectuals were dissatisfied with the Communist party regime because they became tired of the strict Communist control and censorship over their literary and intellectual activities. I consider the Hungarian intellectuals as the forerunners of the Hungarian revolution. In general, I have respect for the intellectuals. I do not consider them impractical nor as dreamers.

X

## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. A sharp distinction must be made between two kinds of AVH personnel. One chose the AVH service as a profession. But, a large groups of AVH men, especially those of lower rank, were recruited for this service in course of compulsory military draft. They had no choice but to join the AVH. I don't think that this second group were very much effected by Communism ~~nor~~ nor by the spirit of the AVH.

Those who chose the AVH as a profession wanted to live well and get ahead. They may have been Communists by conviction, but most of them were simply careerists.

I did not have much contact with the AVH. In the apartment building where we lived there was a woman whose husband was an AVH officer, I think a 1st lieutenant. Before November 4 she was very worried about her husband and tried to attract as little attention as possible in the house. She was evidently relieved when, on November 4, the Russians returned to Budapest and a few days later her husband returned.

Neither I nor my friends have been arrested by the AVH.

I do not know of any AVH men who felt remorse, pangs of conscience, or wanted to leave the AVH, but could not.

When Hungary becomes independent the activities of the AVH must be thoroughly investigated and those who have committed crimes must be called to answer for them before the courts.

I had some contact with the Hungarian Blue Police twice, during the past eight years. On one occasion they searched my apartment because someone informed them that I was black-marketing. The basis of this information was that on several occasions I brought from my business trips sacks and crates of potatoes and other vegetable which were hard to get. But, I purchased these in not too great quantities, and only for our own household. When they searched my apartment they found a gold \_\_\_\_\_ watch. I was asked to provide a bill of



sale to prove that the watch was not a smuggled one. I could not do so, but they accepted the explanation which I gave concerning the source of the watch.

My second contact with the Blue Police was in course of a criminal investigation against several salesmen of our company, in the course of which we were charged with black-market operations for selling to government store managers merchandise which they bought and sold on their own account. I was questioned several times in the course of the investigation. I have no cause to complain because they treated us very politely. This happened in 1955. A few years before the economic crimes squad was very notorious because of its treatment of the prisoners. Before 1953 it ~~was~~ would have been quite impossible for us to remain unarrested during the investigation and the trial.

But, however, I do not think the Blue Police were as efficient as the Blue Police force under the Horthy regime. I think that there was corruption within the Blue Police force, especially as far as economic crimes were concerned. For example, the investigations which I mentioned were conducted against sixty people. Of these, only eighteen were prosecuted. The forty-two against whom the charges had been dropped were as guilty as the rest. I am almost certain that the charges were dropped against them because they bribed someone.

My experience during the revolution was that the Blue Police sided with the Freedom Fighters. For example, on October 24 when I was attempting to return to Budapest, the commander of the police precinct in Kispest was on the side of the Freedom Fighters and also all of his squad.

B. I do not think that the courts during the Horthy regime were unjust or biased. <sup>From</sup> what I read about the trials of Zoltan Vas and Rakosi during the Horthy regime, I am convinced that it would have been quite impossible for anyone to defend ~~himself~~ himself in the same manner before a court during the Communist regime. I think that the Communist accusations against the courts of the Horthy regime are utterly unfounded.

The People's Courts were set up in 1945 and '47 to try war criminals and crimes committed against Communism and Jews. The great majority of the court senate which tried such cases consisted of laymen, many of whom had lost relatives in the German concentration camps. Therefore, it is not to be wondered that some of the sentences ~~is~~ passed by these courts were unjust or exaggerated. However, I think that the war criminals were guilty without question and the sentences imposed on them were just.

C. My impression of the Hungarian army is that it immediately sided with the revolution and fought very bravely against the AVH.

I base my opinion on what I heard and saw in Kistest and in Budapest during the first stage of the revolution and after November 4.

I do not know much about the conduct of the army or about the sentiments of the individual members. I don't think that rank, class origins, or geographical location made a great difference during the revolution in the conduct of the army.

The fact that some units went over to the side of the Freedom Fighters as a whole while others did not can be explained only by the ability of some Communist officers to maintain discipline and to keep their units under control.

I was not much surprised by the conduct of the Hungarian army. This is something one could have expected. Neither they nor their relatives were satisfied with the Communist regime.

I have never served in the Hungarian army, neither during the Horthy regime nor the present regime. Therefore, I am unable to tell you anything about life in the army.

D. I wouldn't say that the unpopularity of the Russian troops in Hungary can be attributed to their conduct in 1948. What they did in 1945 was enough to make them unpopular.

At the end of World War II when the Russians were approaching, I was in hiding in Budapest. As a Jew I was in danger of being arrested and being deported to some concentration camp. Therefore I was awaiting the arrival of the Russians because I knew it would mean the end of the war for us and safety for me.

My first contact with the Russian troops was not a pleasant one. I tried to talk to them in English and German. I immediately became ~~suspicious~~<sup>suspected</sup> of being a bourgeois because I spoke languages. They took me away and forced me to haul ammunition for them during the fighting.

Later on I did not have much trouble with them with the exception of one time when I was robbed by Russians in a train.

However, I know of cases of atrocities committed by Russians against women. The wife of a close friend of mine was killed by the Russians because she ~~was~~ protested against them taking off her wedding ring. In general, the conduct of the Russians was a source of great disillusionment to the Hungarian Jews and other anti-fascists who awaited their arrival.

My opinion of the Russian troops did not change with time.

I had very little contact with the Russian occupation troops in Hungary after the war. In 1946 and '47 some of the Russian enlisted men and officers and their families came to my store and bought things there. Many of them were returning from Germany. They were much impressed with what they saw of life outside Russia and were dissatisfied with conditions at home.

On one occasion I reached an agreement with a Russian officer to smuggle my family and me out of Hungary. This was in 1947. At that time such things were frequent. However, in the end we did not dare go with the Russian because we feared that he may rob us on the road.

After '47 there were not many Russian troops in Budapest proper. I did not have any contact with the Russians who were stationed in various parts of Hungary. I do not know of their attitudes toward the Hungarian civilians, about their social intercourse, nor about the feelings of the Russian enlisted men and officers.

I did not have any contact with the Russians during the revolution.



That Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, refused to obey their superiors, deserted, fought on the side of the Hungarians, fought against the AVH and against each other I know only from hearsay. Neither do I have any information of cases concerning individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarian civilians or Freedom Fighters.

E. Now and then one would encounter government officials who, unselfishly and only with a desire to assist others, would help one, especially in problems concerning housing, taxation, and the compulsory delivery of crops.

F. It was possible to circumvent regulations with the aid of persuasion, influence, or, best of all, through bribery. The underpaid officials in the tax collectors office were sometimes willing to reduce exorbitant taxes for a share of the reduction. In general, with the aid of money one could get almost anything done ~~and~~ in practically any office in Hungary. Probably the only exceptions were the AVH and the military authorities.

If anyone was caught accepting or giving a bribe, it usually resulted in criminal ~~prosecution~~ prosecution.

G. Most of the top officers in the Hungarian secret police force were one time workers or so-called working peasants. They did not have the proper educational background and for this reason the average level of intelligence within the secret police was very low. I think the same could be said of the Hungarian army leadership. I do not know what the Russian army leadership is like.

The situation was somewhat more favorable within the Hungarian public administration system. Many of the officials who served under the previous regime were not dismissed. The majority of the new officials ~~by~~ appointed by the Communist regime in the first years of the Communist rule were not intelligent. Later on they were gradually replaced by well educated young Communists.



XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. As long as Soviet influence continues in Hungary no change can be expected. There will be resistance, ~~perhaps~~ perhaps even greater than before. But, this will not be open resistance.

The Kadar government does not form its own policies. It receives detailed instructions in every respect from Moscow. I think that the Stalinistic rule in Hungary will continue, but it will not be entirely what it was under the Rakosi regime. I don't think that Rakosi will return to Hungary.

The Kadar government will make concessions but only economic ones. For example, it will permit the teaching of religion and catechism in school.

There is not much hope for a drastic change outside Hungary that may influence the political situation within Hungary. Perhaps after the unification of Germany there will be less excuse to maintain Russian troops within Hungary.

During the past eight years we at home hoped that the unification of Germany would be carried out and a compromise would be formed between East and West, according to which conditions at home would improve considerably, although the final liberation of Hungary will have to be postponed for later. We hoped that the compromise would enable the Communists to give much more political concessions than before the Hungarian revolution.

I think that the Hungarian issue and all international political problems can be settled only thru peaceful negotiations. The more optimistic people at home share my view.

I do not think that the people at home desire a war between the United States and The Soviet Union. Only a very small percentage of the population, who are entirely embittered, want war regardless of its consequences. It is a great responsibility to start such a war which may destroy the entire world.

I do not think that a third world war is likely to break out.

I think by peaceful means, by diplomatic and economic pressure on the Soviet Union, significant results can be achieved, altho Communism cannot be abolished. I think that the Western world will succeed in isolating The Soviet Union entirely from the rest of the world.

Internal changes may occur within the Soviet Union, but this will only mean that one faction of the Soviet politbureau has ousted the other, or vice versa. Which clique comes to power will not effect Soviet policy in the long run. During the past ten years we at home regared international events with keen interest and there was always something to hope for, or rather to base our hopes on. When Churchill came to power in England we thought that the Churchill government would solve the international situation. We attached much hope to President Eisenhower's election. I shall never forget his 1953 speech held on April 17, concerning the ~~peaceful~~ peaceful settlement of the world problems. After this came a long wait, then the Geneva Summit Conference. At that time our hopes were the highest. ~~Many~~ ~~times~~ When it became evident that the Geneva conference brought no results, our hopes were gradually ~~waning~~ declining. Then, the revolution broke out, and again we hoped in the first stage of the fighting that we had got rid of Soviet rule. Now, we hoped that there may be some chance for a peaceful settlement of world problems in the course of which Hungary's problems would also be solved.

#### XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

A. I would like to have independent Hungary be a democratic republic with a multi-party system.

B. I think that in Hungary the main emphasis should be placed on agriculture, and ~~next~~ after that, on light industry. Hungarian resources justify the development of agriculture and the light industries. The Hungarian heavy industry should be abandoned. We do not have the raw materials for the heavy industries, nor can we compete with foreign prices.

Hungarian agriculture should be modernized. The Hungarian light industries have already achieved considerable ~~results~~ results during and after World War II.

What to do with the national enterprises once Communism is overthrown in Hungary is a very difficult and complex problem. The national enterprises should be liquidated. They should be sold to private business men or companies, and should continue to operate in private ownership. The proceeds of the sales of such national enterprises, factories, installations, etc., should be given to the ex-owners for compensation of their losses sustained during the nationalization of the industries.

If Communism is overthrown in Hungary, the farm cooperatives should be abolished or should continue to operate in accordance with the freely expressed will of the \_\_\_\_\_ members. The state ~~of~~ farms should not be dissolved, but agricultural experts should be assigned to direct them. They should pay decent wages to the peasants employed on such farms.

I oppose the nationalization of both the heavy and light industries. Nationalization and state ownership only serve to curb private initiative, and also abolishes the incentives which promote industrial development. The only exception to this are perhaps the public utilities, water power plants, and telephone companies.

In an independent Hungary, the government should assist the farmers, but not directly control them. Government should not

interfere directly in agriculture. The compulsory delivery of farm products should be abolished, and farmers should be allowed to sell their produce on a free market.

I don't think that the government should set a ~~min~~ limit to the private ownership of agricultural land. A person should be allowed to farm as much land as he owns or can acquire, providing that he pays his employees decent wages, pays his taxes, and is qualified to direct a large estate, or has hired skill to do this for him.

If I were to ~~misik~~ choose between a dictatorship which ensures a fair standard of living, and a democratic government which does not, then I would choose democracy. Under a democratic form of government I am certain that I would be able to lead the life I wanted to. I do not want to be rich, I only want to live well.

The Communist party has not brought much good since it exists. However, if the independent Hungary would be a free Hungary, then it would not be wise to outlaw the Communist party. Communism has no future in Hungary. An above-ground Communist party in Hungary would have very few supporters and could not do much harm.

C. Ideally, it would be best for Hungary to maintain such an international position as the neutrality of the present Austrian government. This neutrality would mean that the Hungarian government would conduct economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union, the eastern European satellite countries, and with the rest of Europe, and also with The United States. But, the strict neutrality would demand that Hungary has no military pacts or relations with any of these countries. Of course, economic and cultural relations with The United States and the Western world must be much more cordial than those with The Soviet Union and her satellites.

Kossuth, in 1848, was the first one to bring up plans for a federation for Danubian states. I again heard about it during the revolution when some friends discussed the desirability of forming a Danubian federation with Yugoslavia.

I am not in favor of such a federation. It would be better for



Hungary to remain independent. However, if such a federation were formed, I would prefer to be in it together with Austria, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, but not with Rumania and Bulgaria. It would be desirable to be together with the first three countries because their economies are well developed and their cultural level high. The last two countries are not very sympathetic to people in Hungary.

I do not think that Hungary's present boundaries are acceptable. Territorial adjustments should be made along the Rumania and Czechoslovak frontiers. Perhaps it would not be advisable to demand territorial changes along the Yugoslav frontiers. The fate of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia is much better than of the Hungarians at home. The only ways these territorial questions could be settled are peaceful negotiations, or international arbitration.

I am also concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities in these countries. This problem should be solved through a voluntary exchange of population, or by a readjustment of boundaries.

Frankly, these problems I am indifferent to. Most of the people at home attached much importance to these problems, but now they have other worries.

## XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Before the revolution I did not hear anything about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist party in the Soviet Union. I only knew that Stalin had been demoted officially from the high pedestal on which he was placed.

Senator McCarthy and his UnAmerican Activities Committee were very unpopular with the Communists at home. This made them more popular to us.

At home we heard about the downfall of Peron in Argentina. The Communist radio and press dealt in detail on him. But, we were not much interested in it because we did not think it effected us directly.

We did not hear much about Rakosi's private life before the revolution. After the revolution there was much talk about the splendor and luxury in which he lived.

B. During the last ten years we at home drew most of our information from Radio Free Europe, and the Voice of America broadcasts. Everyone listened to them. We also read the one-sided versions which the Hungarian Communist newspapers published.

C. There was not much news we received by ~~word~~ word of mouth. When people got together and began to talk about politics or rumors, the basis of these news and rumors were always radio broadcasts.

In connection with rumors it was interesting to note that the bad news always seemed to be true in the end. The good news was usually entirely unfounded. For example, before the deportations began in 1951, there were rumors to the effect that something would be done with the undesirable elements in Budapest and along the border. Unfortunately, it turned out to be true.

I associated mostly with people who, before 1949, had been business men or craftsmen or tradesmen. They had all lived

well, and had been greatly effected by the nationalization of industries and other Communist measures. Some of these people had good contact ~~and~~ in the ministries. Sometimes we learned in advance that the police and detectives would be raiding some of the shops of private tradesmen and craftsmen. For example, we knew one day in advance that the economic police would come to investigate the books and the stock of the private shoemakers. Most of them were compelled to acquire their raw material on the black-market.

D. Before and during the war I read practically all of the Hungarian daily newspapers. I subscribed to the "Est", the "Pesti Naplo" and the "Magyarország". I also subscribed to the "Színházi Magazin", the "Tolnai Világlapja", and the "Radio Újság".

I read comparatively a lot. I had a large library of Hungarian and foreign authors, alike. The foreign authors were translations.

In general, I was satisfied with the newspapers and magazines one was able to obtain before the war.

I did not have much time for reading during the World War, at least in its second stage. At that time, as a Jew, had to go into hiding.

After the war I subscribed to the Hungarian Communist newspaper "Szabad Nép." Before the revolution, I also regularly read the "Irodalmi Újság". This newspaper became interesting only in 1956, at the time of the Petofi Circle debates.

The domestic news contained in the "Szabad Nép" regrettably was true. News items concerning foreign events and foreign policies were distorted, but one ~~man~~ was able to get a general idea of what was going on in the world by listening to foreign radio broadcasts. There were some foreign events which were published in the Hungarian newspapers without ~~distortion~~ distortion. For example, the accounts of the Summit Meeting in Geneva were true.

In general my mistrust of Hungarian newspapers dates back to 1945.

I did not believe even statistical material published in the Hungarian newspapers. I had a friend in the Bureau of Statistics who told me that the statistical reports were false. For example, if reports stated that the industrial production plan had been completed 105%, then, in reality, the figure was probably only 80%. On another occasion, the Hungarian newspapers wrote that the Hungarian meat ~~and~~ industry was completing its production plan 98%, while, at the same time, there was an acute shortage of meat everywhere in Hungary.

However, one was able to gather ~~xxx~~ much information from the Hungarian publications, by reading in between the lines.

Neither I nor my friends read any publications from the Soviet Union or ~~xxxx~~ other satellite countries. All such publications were available with the ~~an~~ exception of the Yugoslav publications.

Some Western publications were available at Hungarian ~~and~~ newspaper stands. For example, I sometimes read ~~the~~ "Der Abend", which was a socialist Austrian newspaper. I read these newspapers in the last few months before the revolution. I am not certain whether they were available previously or not.

It is however my impression that British, French, Italian Communist and some Socialist newspapers were admitted to Hungary.

I do not know of any Western illegal publications.

I was surprised to learn that most of the books in my ~~my~~ library had been ~~xxxx~~ placed on index. However, I did not destroy them, nor hand them in to the authorities. I kept them on the bottom shelf of my bookcase. I loaned such books and also borrowed such books from friends. Only those people who could easily be suspected of possessing such books destroyed them or handed them in.



## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I don't think there are any chances of a ~~change~~ change inside Russia. One group may oust the other from the Soviet polit-bureau, but this will not, in the long run, effect Soviet foreign policy. The people who remained at home were very optimistic and said that Russia will be defeated, but not from the inside, but from the outside.

I do not very well know what conditions are like in the Soviet Union, and what the opinions are of the Soviet people on Communism. It must not be forgotten that generations have grown up under Communism. Many of them may believe in the aims of the Communists, but whether they, at the present, like Communism or not is hard to say. Those Soviet soldiers and citizens who had an opportunity to look around outside Russia have probably noted the great difference in the standard of living and economic conditions.

I do not think that changes will occur in the Soviet Union neither thru liberalisation, nor thru a revolution.

In my opinion, if free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, probably about fifty per cent of the vote only would go to the Communist party. The rest would probably go to a socialist party.

The top leaders of The Soviet Communist party are imperialists who want world domination. They are not reliable and are always inclined to hedge on their promises or given word. Whether Stalin is in power or Khrushchev, there is basically no difference in this ~~respect~~ respect.

As individuals, I think that the top leaders of the Soviet Communist party are hypocrites, gangsters and scoundrels. I do not know whether they believe in Communist doctrines or not, but, in practice, they have created a new aristocracy which is living much better and exploiting the Russian people and other Communist countries much more than the Russian aristocracy did under the Czars.

B. I think that of the countries mentioned East Germany and

Czechoslovakia are the most and second most popular countries with Hungary. East Germany is popular because it is a Western nation with a high cultural level. Czechoslovakia is popular because there even Communism is different from what it is elsewhere.

The least popular country would be Bulgaria because it is a very backward country. The second least popular would be Rumania because she is pro-Communist and has a very low standard of living.

If, apart from Poland, free elections were to be held in these countries, then the Communists would be defeated everywhere. In Yugoslavia the Tito regime would be replaced by a Socialistic government. In the other countries ~~xxx~~ liberal ~~xxx~~ Democratic governments would come to power.

Taking into consideration the economic conditions which existed in the countries mentioned about the time of the Hungarian revolution, East Germany has the highest standard of living, with Czechoslovakia second, Hungary third, Poland fourth, Rumania fifth, and Bulgaria last.

I do not think that the Gomulka government in Poland is a puppet government. Thru their bloodless revolution the Poles have achieved much more than the Hungarians did. The Moscow Communists will be forced to make further concessions to the Polish people.

I approve of the policy of gradualism as carried out in practice by Gomulka.

I think that Gomulka will remain in power. He is a very crafty politician. However, he will not be able to make much progress in becoming more independent of Moscow.

During the revolution I was dissatisfied with Poland when she did not take active part in the fighting against the Soviet Union. However, now I am forced to admit that what Poland did was much better than the Hungarian revolution.

Events in Poland had an unquestionably great effect on the

situation in Hungary. The events in ~~Rakusa~~ Poznan gave the Hungarian workers ideas that force could also be used against Communists.

~~B/~~ During the revolution the unrest in Poland served to soften the Soviet blows on Hungary. The Soviet Union could have repelled the Freedom Fighters much more ruthlessly by bombing the city or ordering the Soviet troops to be more ruthless. The Soviet Union did not dare to do this because it might have created more trouble of the same kind outside Hungary, especially in Poland.

I do not know of any political or economical concessions made by the Soviet Communists in Poland before the Poznan trial. After the Poznan ~~trial~~ trial we heard that political prisoners and priests were freed. We were able to get an idea of what was going on in Poland from the Communist press and foreign radio broadcasts.

Probably, it would have been better for Hungary had the Hungarian revolution taken the same path as the Polish revolt. Hungary, by her courageous stand against the Soviet army, did not gain much. On the other hand, there would have been no losses had we followed the Polish example.

D. I think that Tito and Yugoslavia did have a considerable effect on the other Eastern European satellite countries. ~~Tito~~ Tito showed them that it was possible to oppose Stalin, and to get along without the aid of The Soviet Union.

I think that Tito is the originator of national Communism. It is somewhat better than international Communism, but it is Communism just the same.

Tito and the Soviet Union have patched up their differences since Stalin's death, but now ~~he~~ he is again in disfavor in Moscow. The present strained relations were caused by Tito's criticism of Moscow methods in Hungary.

The relations of other eastern European ~~s~~ satellite countries

to Tito are always determined by Moscow's stand on this question. Tito, on his part, would like to have greater influence in the eastern European countries, and to have them adopt his brand of national Communism.

Tito's relations with the West are very good, but I cannot understand why he accepted Soviet attempts at reconciliation.

Some members of the Communist leadership in the other satellite countries have seemed to favor national Communism at one time or ~~and~~ another. At the present time national Communism does not seem to be an issue in the other satellite countries.

I think that Tito is popular in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav people are not living badly. The Yugoslavs have always been slightly inclined to the left. There is much more freedom in Yugoslavia than there ever had been in Hungary during the Communist regime.

I have formed a picture of conditions in Yugoslavia on the basis of letters sent us by my wife's relatives living there. We were able to correspond freely. One of my wife's relatives, a lawyer, went to Israel in 1949 and returned to Yugoslavia in 1951. He returned because he thought that conditions in Yugoslavia were better.

I  
E./W did not like the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt because it came at a very inopportune time for Hungary. It had direct influence on the course of events in connection with the Hungarian revolution. It served to divert the attention of the world from events in Hungary.

In my opinion the Egyptian government had no right in nationalizing the Suez Canal.

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

I share the opinion that the Germans may cause the outbreak of the next world war.

I approve of West German rearmament because the West German army is a potential ally against the ~~S/S~~ Soviet Union. I do



think that the length of compulsory military service in the West German army is less than two years. I believe that the West German army is much stronger than the armed forces of Great Britain or France.

It is very difficult to compare the German occupation of Hungary with ~~that of~~ the Russian occupation after World War II. I think I am strongly prejudiced against the Germans. I am a Jew, and the Germans were trying to liquidate us.

It cannot, however, be denied that the German soldiers, both officers and men, acted and behaved more disciplined than the Soviet troops.

I think that many people in Hungary consider the German occupation much more distasteful than the Soviet occupation. However, there are a good many people who think that the Soviet occupation after World War II was worse than the German occupation during World War II.

G. I heard about NATO at home and approved of it. I think that it is much stronger than the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact was the Soviet response to the NATO.

I do not know much about the British Labor party, but I do know that it is anti-Communist.

I think that from the countries mentioned West Germany has the highest standard of living, Great Britain next, Italy third, Greece fourth, Egypt fifth, and the Soviet Union last, although it is possible that the Soviet Union ~~precedes~~ precedes Egypt.

H. Before my arrival in The United States I expected to see a high standard of living. But, not as high as I experienced. This high standard of living is general. It was unusual to hear that minimum wages were established by law.

I think that in connection with eastern Europe American foreign policy should be more firm toward the Soviet Union. America should compel the Soviet to withdraw from the satellite

countries and to consent to the holding of free elections ~~shringpctka~~ under international control. Effective economic blockades or a large scale economic aid program to the Soviet Union could be useful to persuade the Soviet ~~gerna~~ government to accept such a plan for the liberation of satellite countries.

I think that it would be a good idea to give economic aid to Poland and to Yugoslavia. This will encourage the other satellite countries to separate themselves from Soviet influence.

I think that it would be advisable for the United States government to maintain diplomatic and commercial relations with Hungary because in this way the United States can help the people of Hungary.

I think that the people at home are very much interested in Western visitors. Newspaper men would be very welcome because they can help Hungary by depicting the conditions there. Tourists would be mostly people of Hungarian origin who go to visit their relatives. It would be advisable to send trade union representatives to Hungary, because in this way the people in Hungary would be able to learn how ~~Hungary~~ the trade unions function in the Western world. These visitors should be warned before going to Hungary not to rely upon the guidance of the official Hungarian ~~kawitka~~ tourist bureau. They should not let themselves be led around to see the sights reserved only for visitors.

I am certain that the people at home would like very much to get Western publications. However, I do not know of any way in which such publications could be able to reach them. I don't think that the present Hungarian government would permit such publications to be sent thru the Hungarians posts.

It would be a good idea to have recent Hungarian refugees associated with such activities as informing prospective Western visitors to Hungary, and sending Western publications home. For one thing, the recent refugees know the situation at home much better. On the other hand, the people at home will ~~feel~~ feel that at least the refugees have not forgotten them.

In 1948 we heard about the Marshall Plan at home. Its purpose was to assist the disrupted economies of Europe. I do not know of any secondary political purpose. It is too bad that the Hungarian Communist government rejected the Marshall Plan aid.

It is difficult to say why The United States entered the Korean War. The American intervention in Korea did not achieve ~~anything~~ anything.

J. The United Nations is an excellent organization. The only trouble is such members as the Soviet Union are not willing to execute the resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

We could not have expected much more from The United Nations than the resolutions which were adopted during the Hungarian revolution. The only thing I do not understand is why the Soviet Union did not comply with the resolutions.

I don't think there is any hope of effective United Nations action in behalf of Hungary in the near future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. It is a very difficult question to answer, but I think that probably Pal Maleter is the greatest Hungarian today.

B. Imre Nagy is a very clever ~~pl~~ politician and statesman who was very popular in Hungary. But, one must not forget that, after all, he too is only a Communist.

I do not know much about Mydzenty as a person. I know about his trial only and the sufferings he had to undergo after his arrest. I think he is a honest Hungarian.

Laszlo Rajk is a Communist, just like the others.

Erno Gero is a dirty scoundral.

Kadar is just a dirty as Gero. I don't think what he is doing now he is doing from conviction. He is a careerist. He is torturing and treating others in the same way he had been tortured.

General Bela Kiraly seems to be a nice person. I do not know much about him.

I find Anna Kathly also agreeable. I do not know much about her, either.

President Eisenhower is very popular and sympathetic. He is a good soldier, but as a statesman has not achieved the same kind of results.

Secretary-General Hammarakjold is not firm enough.

State Secretary Dulles is probably doing all he can. Very likely he could not have done more without risking war.

Ex-Prime Minister Eden is a great statesman, but his decision to



invade to Egypt was very untimely.

President Truman's foreign policy was a bit too slow. Soviet ~~Aspi~~ aspirations increased considerably during his term of office.

My opinions of the last five statesmen have not changed basically since my departure from Hungary.

I do not know which faction of the Soviet politbureau Mikoyan belongs to.

I do not like Indian Prime Minister Nehru. He is flirting too much with the Communists.

I do not know much about Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek.

~~Ernste~~ Ferenc Nagy was not a bad statesman. Had his plans ~~z~~ succeeded, life would have been much better in Hungary.

President Roosevelt was an outstanding statesman, and had he not died immediately at the end of the war, post-war events would have taken an entirely different course.

Chancellor Adenauer is a very sympathetic statesman.

Stalin was a dirty scoundrel, a blood thirsty tyrant.

Malenkov is an insignificant member of the politbureau.

I do not know much about Generalissimo Franco, but he cleared Spain of the Communists.

Bevin is one of the leaders of the British Labor party. I do not know much about him.

~~Khr~~ Khrushchev is the least likable figure in the politbureau members today. In reality, he is continuing Stalin's line of policy.

Molotov is a very shady character, but he is a talented diplomat.

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Ollenhauer is one of the leaders of the Social Democratic party in West Germany.

W Churchill is the greatest statesman of our times.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Refugees who left Hungary were either people who took part in the demonstrations and fighting, and therefore had to fear retaliations, or they were people who long ago wanted to go West. They used this opportunity to leave the country when the ~~border~~ border was open.

I think that the majority of the refugees are members of the intelligentsia. Most of them are young people from fifteen to thirty. They come mostly from Budapest and the Trans Danubian district.

The people ~~who~~ who remained at home either dared not risk capture on the way to ~~the~~ Austria, or remained for family reasons. Some did not want to leave their property.

I am very sorry for the people who remained at home because they did not have enough confidence to start life anew.

Very many people who had the opportunity to leave Hungary chose to stay nevertheless. Many of them could not decide what to do; leave everything behind and risk the uncertainty of getting to Austria and starting life anew, or to stay home with their possessions. Many could not come because they were too old or had young children or old parents.

I think that the people at home envy us, and are not angry at us because we departed.

If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary today, I think only about 20% of the people there would leave Hungary.

B. While I was in Hungary I knew very little about exile organizations, but I knew many of the individuals who were here in the West. Among the exiled politicians I knew that many were trying to influence Western public opinion favorably toward Hungary. On the other hand, I also knew that there were some among them who were only ~~trying~~ trying to take personal advantage of their

apt situation.

Since my arrival in the United States I have had no contact whatever with ~~y~~ exile organizations or exile politicians.

I have heard the Hungarian National Committee mentioned several times over Radio Free Europe at home. What I heard about the Committee made a very favorable impression on me. Father Bela Varga is its chairman.

I have heard about The Hungarian-American Federation only since my arrival in the U.S.

I heard about Bela Varga at home. He was one of the leaders of the Hungarian Small Holders party. I have a very good opinion of him.

We have already discussed Ferenc Nagy.

At home I knew the entire political career of Tibor Eckhardt. I have an excellent opinion of him. He ~~is~~ is a good patriot and a very clever statesman.

I heard about Paul Auer at home, but I do not know much about him.

Charles Peyer received much abuse from the Communists at home. He was called a traitor of the working class. I am unable to form an opinion of him.

Miklos Kallay was the prime minister of Hungary before the German ~~invasion~~ invasion. From the Jewish point of view, he wasn't bad.

Zoltan Pfeiffer was active in politics in 1946 and 1947. He had many followers in the 1948 elections.

Istvan Baronkovics was the leader of the Christian Democratic party and was even more popular than Pfeiffer.

Bela Fabian is an old Social Democrat and politician.



Otto von Hapsburg is a very unfortunate pretender to the Hungarian throne. I don't think he is very talented.

Horthy was very popular in Hungary until he came under the influence of Hitler.

I think the exile politicians and organisations attempted to inform the Western world of the true situation in Hungary. They achieved some results and there was not much more they could have done.

During the revolution I thought that the exile politicians and organisations in the West would influence public opinion in favor of Hungary and against the Soviet Union.

C. I have known several people who left Hungary after 1945 and later returned. They were mostly elderly people who were homesick and were unable to adjust themselves to life outside Hungary.

The purpose of the Communist redefection campaign was to spread propaganda abroad and home. They wanted to convince the people at home that life outside Hungary was not as rosy as it seemed to them and they wanted to convince the Western world that the life in Hungary was much better than was generally believed.

Some of the persons who returned home, as, for example, the actor Antal Páger, received very advantageous offers from the Communist government to return. But, the people at home were not misled and pitied those who were stupid enough to return.

D. The people at home would most certainly like to know how the refugees are faring in their new home-lands. I think that all the exiles should do their best to adjust themselves to life here in the shortest possible time.

I would like to join an exile organisation, but only a cultural one. I have no specific organisation in mind. The purpose of such an organisation should be to unite the refugees. I would

prefer to have Hungarians who had left Hungary much earlier also join the organization. Their experience would be very valuable to the new refugees.

I disliked the Hungarian Communist party before 1948, and considered the Social Democratic party much better. I sympathized most with the Hungarian Small Holders party, although the Peasant party was also good. The Bourgeois Democratic party did not have many followers.

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

During the revolution I knew about the revival of the Hungarian political parties. I approved of this because it seemed that the revolution had already won.

I think that the groups which went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revived parties.

E. I do not wish to return to Hungary.

My children know Hungarian. I don't think they will forget their language.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. While I was in Hungary I listened regularly to broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, the B.B.C., and Radio Paris. Sometimes I even listened to the Hungarian broadcasts of the Turkish radio.

The Voice of America programs reception was the best. Their relay stations were the most powerful.

All of these broadcasts were jammed. The extent to which these programs were jammed varied. Once this one would be jammed more, ~~the~~ then next the other.

I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts, but sometimes also to the German ones. Whenever I was in Budapest I listened to them daily. When I was away on business trips, I was unable to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, but after my return, I would be informed by my friends or my family of what the radios had broadcasted during my absence. We usually discussed and evaluated foreign radio broadcasts with friends.

I listened to foreign radio broadcasts over my own radio in the company of my family. We did not have to take any special precautions because we lived on the fifth floor facing the street which was noisy. However, if the doorbell rang, we always changed our program on the radio.

It was very ~~risky~~ risky to listen to foreign radio broadcasts, and even more dangerous to talk about them with others. None of my friends or relatives had been arrested because of listening to foreign radio broadcasts. But, I read in the newspapers accounts of many people being sentenced for relating what they had heard over the radio. I don't think this danger deterred many people from listening to foreign

broadcasts. It was most dangerous from 1949 to 1953. After 1953 people listened to foreign radio broadcasts more openly, and just before the revolution no one seemed to care whether others knew that he was listening to foreign broadcasts or not.

I considered these broadcasts very useful and necessary. They were indispensable ~~if~~ if one wanted to be well informed.

I preferred the Voice of America programs because the quarter-hour program consisted entirely of news. The half hour program consisted almost entirely of news with very valuable commentary. The British quarter hour and half hour programs were also very compact, consisting of news and commentaries.

The Radio Free Europe programs gave only ten minutes of news and after that the program consisted of jokes, jazz music, and anti-Communist propaganda. These, to us, were less interesting when one was listening intently for news, and had difficulty in catching the programs because of the jamming. Then, one did not want to hear jokes.

In general the foreign radio broadcasts were accurate. Their accuracy could be determined by subsequent events.

These programs were very useful in as much as they kept up the ~~the~~ spirit and hope of the people at home. During the revolution the foreign radio programs, especially Radio Free Europe, almost led the revolution. The radio would advise the Freedom Fighters to do this or that or demand this or that. And the Freedom Fighters usually followed the advice.

I personally have never heard Radio Free Europe promise military assistance to the Hungarian Freedom Fighters during the revolution.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts to Hungary. The people at home want to be informed about political events. But, the program should consist of almost exclusively of straight political and economic news. Commentaries are also valuable, but jokes, jazz music, and anti-Communist propaganda should be excluded.



B. I have never heard of the abbreviation N.E.M., nor about the twelve demands.

SAW

C. I ~~was~~ ~~did~~ ~~see~~ Radio Free Europe leaflets only once during the revolution. I received the leaflet from a friend, and I passed it on to others. It contained news and commentaries. Previously I heard that Radio Free Europe leaflets existed ~~but~~ but I was unable to acquire any. I heard about them from my friends.

I think it was more dangerous to pick up, keep, or pass on Free Europe leaflets than to listen to foreign radio broadcasts. However, I do not think that the danger involved deterred many people from picking up such leaflets, keeping them, or passing them on, or talking about them. I have not noticed any change in the punishment of such acts.

I think that the Free Europe leaflets are very useful and valuable. They serve to spread information and represent a more direct contact with the Western world than Radio broadcasts.

Both before and during the revolution leaflets dropped into Hungary had a very favorable effect.

I think Radio Free Europe ~~should~~ should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary. These leaflets are necessary to keep up the hope and spirit of the people at home.

These leaflets should contain, first of all, information concerning the developments at home in Hungary, and abroad as well. But, they should not inspire hopes which can never be fulfilled.

D. I think that the primary purpose of all Western organizations broadcasting or sending leaflets into Hungary is to spread information. I am not aware of any difference in their motives.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. I think that children should be taught to study diligently, and to feel responsibility. They should be brought up to be honest and respectful. Patriotism is also desirable, but frankly, I do not have a strong sense of patriotism.

I think it is important to discipline children, but I do not approve of physical punishment. Regarding discipline, ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ boys should be dealt with more firmly than girls. Girls are more sensitive. As the child grows older disciplining should be replaced by the development of the child's reason. At that age there are many other forms of punishment which are more painful to the child than corporal punishment or scolding.

It is hard for me to recall any one case in which I was punished. I was an exceptionally good child. I had lost my parents at a very early age and was reared by my grandparents. I behaved even in school. I do not remember ever having been punished.

In the families that I know, the children six years old or older are usually punished by the mother. Neither sex, nor age, nor social class of the family have any influence on which parent punishes the child at home.

I do not know of any changes in this respect during the past ten years.

Physical punishment for boys is usually abandoned at the age of fourteen. Punishment for girls is abandoned somewhat earlier, although I slapped my daughter when she was fifteen. Punishment in general is abolished for both boys and girls usually at the age of eighteen. I do not know of any differences in this respect according to social class.

Under Communism parents are probably more ~~xxx~~ irritable and nervous. For this reason physical punishment probably

is more frequent. I do not know of any change in the kind of punishment or at the age at which it is abandoned.

Under Communism physical punishment had been abolished in schools. Instead the children are probably punished by making them stay after classes.

The character~~istic~~ traits which I value most in a friend are loyalty and reliability. And also unselfishness.

I think that under Communism many friendships ceased or turned into merely acquaintanceships.

... THE END ...