

78-M
HLR

I/2

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

WYOM HILLMAN AND TALK-UP QUESTION

Subject comes from a working class (craftsman) family. Father was a tailor and pursued his business as a *lászék* working at home with the assistance of his son (subject).

Since Autumn 1956 is that from the very first moment the revolution has started he has been. The boy (because he is very much a boy still) is the type that wants to break with the working class and become something more. He wants to have more schooling and altogether to be more "refined" or at least what he thinks to be so.

Now, I would like to point out that the West ought to realize. He is extremely neatly dressed, well groomed, in fact too well, and he is rather a dandy - too curly hair, much too sleek sideburns, rather like Elvis Presley but much more good looking. He has a good smile though very seldom. A bit too girlish, with long eyelashes and dreamy looking eyes. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Despite all this, he strongly disapproves of running after girls and confessed never having had a real friend because he was unwilling to lead an immoral life.

He rather went to the theater, opera or movies instead. Also read avidly (mostly trash as I found out and also one book per evening!)

I found him rather unintelligent and disinterested in everything, mostly politics, but he frankly admitted that theater and sporting events interested him much more. He was very casual about everything and I admit at the beginning I even had the feeling that he was fibbing. However, later on he gave a correct details about certain things which proved that he in fact did participate in the Hungarian revolt. He was rather at sea however regarding dates and could not remember them.

After the revolution he made his way to Sweden and worked on a Swedish cargo boat as an officers' mess assistant waiter. When they docked in Boston last week the boy got lost in the town and by the time he found his way back to the docks the boat had sailed without him. He has a 30 day pass and he intends to work during this time so as to be able to pay for his passage back to Sweden.

He's rather an introvert and I believe that he was more swept along by the uprising than participated by conviction. He confessed having been amazed by himself that he, who never could even see his mother kill a chicken, went about killing people, but he made the excuse: "After all these were our enemies."

78-4
HLR

11/13/56
11/14/56

78-M
HLR

11/13

III. Chronology of personal experiences, actions, attitudes and expectations during the revolution.

MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

Respondent gave the following account of his activities during the first three days of the revolution.

"I believe that the most important things Americans should know about the events in Hungary during Autumn 1956 is that from the very first moment the revolution has started we have been expecting help from the West because the Radio Free Europe told us so and we were very confident about it - and that is the reason why we held out for such a long time."

"Also, I would like to point out that the West ought to realize what a tremendous effort it was to fight with obsolete weapons and whatever we could get hold of against tanks and overwhelming majority of the Russian army." At the time of the demonstrations he was in his industrial training school.

Respondent then went on:

"When the bloodshed started around the radio building we immediately received arms from the soldiers that were ordered to maintain order. We stormed the radio building and a fierce fighting was going on from room to room. My group captured five AVH people. Four of them were fit and ran and one was an officer who with drawn pistol behind his back forced them to flight. I can tell you there was no clemency for these people."

"We received arms from the soldiers, also ammunition. Also, we had arms from the captured AVH people. But I was told that many arms and ammunition were brought from the Kilian Barracks."

The battle went all night long in and around the radio building. Prime Minister Kadar finally called for the assistance of the Russian troops. At least this is what I was told, that he was to blame for it. However, whenever we could talk with the Russians, at most of us could, and explained to them for what we are fighting, they refused to shoot at us.

I stayed in the radio building for three days. Three days later they were taken to the radio building. I was in the radio building. He joined the crowd and was an active participant. Together with the Russians who joined us. However, the AVH started to shoot into the demonstration crowd. At least 500 people were killed. This was

III. Chronology of personal experiences, actions, attitudes and expectations during the revolution.

Respondent gave the following account of his activities during the first three days of the revolution.

A. I did not hear anything beforehand about the demonstrations, especially not that they are going to be that serious. All I knew was that ~~nyomazik~~ a sympathy demonstration was going to be arranged by the university students and mostly as a repercussion of the Poznan events. On the evening of the 23rd, I ~~joined~~ joined the crowd that was searching around the radio ~~building~~ building when the AVHs started to fire."

I asked respondent whether or not he took part in the demonstrations and he said not because ~~at the time of the demonstrations~~ at the time of the demonstrations he was in his industrial training school.

Respondent then went on:

"When the bloodshed started around the radio building we immediately received arms from the soldiers that were ordered to maintain order. We stormed the radio building and a fierce fighting was going on from room to room. My group captured five AVH people. Four of them were file and rank and one was an officer who with drawn pistol behind his men forced them to fight. I can tell you there was no clemency for these people.

"We received arms from the soldiers, also ammunition. Also, we had arms from the captured AVH people. But I was told that many arms and ammunition were brought from the Kilian Barracks.

"The battle waged all night long in and around the radio building. Prime Minister Kadar finally called in for the assistance of the Russian troops. At least this is what I was told, that he was to blame for it. However, whenever we could talk with the Russians, as most of us could, and explained to them for what we are fighting, they refused to shoot at us.

"I cannot remember the day any more but I think two or three days later, there was a big demonstration in front of the Parliament Building. We joined the crowd riding Russian tanks and armored cars together with the Russians who joined us. However, the AVH started to shoot into the defenseless crowd. At least 500 people were killed. This was

the official number given later on. I have seen how the Russian tanks turned their guns against the AVH. The battle raged for about an hour here in Parliament Square."

B. "We never thought of any consequences. We didn't feel any fear. We didn't think of death at all. We only thought that we are fighting for Hungarian independence and in order to chase out from the country the Russians. We also were completely and utterly confident of Western help.

"However, later on we saw that against the overwhelming majority of Russian troops we are completely helpless. We also did not have up - to-date weapons.

"In my opinion it was Nadar who called in the Russians on Nov. 4th.

"I cannot remember when I have first heard the revolutionary slogans and the word "freedom fighters". Regarding the age of the people who fought with us, they were boys, and also girls, from the age of 14 on. They were mostly single people without families who were the most daring. The young people were students from the Universities but also the young workers - especially tough and good fighters were the boys from the slums - they were fighting fiercely.

"The arms we received mostly from the soldiers; also, from the barracks, and armories. The police also handed over a great many arms. We had, however, among our leaders, who ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ had seen military service during the war and had some knowledge. These were the people who taught us how to use the tommy guns, pistols, and rifles.

"Of course, I do not know how the freedom fighters were organized. My little group consisted of about fifteen or sixteen boys and we had one leader of our group who had seen military service in the 2nd World War. We had our headquarters at the the Prater Street High School. Here about 800-1000 freedom fighters had their headquarters. We had a former officer of the Hungarian Army - he gave us the directions - the orders. I heard that a sort of all-over leadership was the headquarters was at the Kilian Barracks and led by Paul Maleter. Later on, Kiraly became the commander of the Hungarian militia. The deputy commander of Maleter was Colonel Csiba. Myself, together with some other boys

were the guards of honor in Kilian barracks, on the day when I remember many foreign journalists came to make interviews there. We stayed at the Kilian Barracks until Nov. the 4th. We were holding the barracks for a whole day after the Russians have come in. We then, at dawn, left Kilian Barracks and about twenty of us - four of us soldiers, and the rest of us freedom fighters, went to the Tompa Street School. Our group leader was killed by the Russians at the Kilian Barracks. I was wounded twice, but they were small, superficial wounds.

(The boy showed me his scars on his right wrist and left arm)
"A couple of days later we went to the student's home in Raday Street. Here we found, at last, quarters where we could sleep. By this time, we were dressed in all sorts of odds and ends - boots, coats, taken from the AVH - jackets, arms, etc. It was an odd assortment."

"I asked the boy whether it wasn't dangerous to wear any piece of AVH uniform, and he said:
"We all had our special passes issued by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters militia; also, we were issued papers which permitted us to carry fire-arms. These papers we received at the time when we were stationed at the Kilian Barracks."

"The days then went on - the gorilla warfare and the sniping. We did not believe in the beginning that the West would leave us in the ditch. Later on, however, we lost hope. Also as the days dragged by and no help was forthcoming, the population got also scared little by little and wherever we tried to take cover or shelter with some families in the city, they begged us to stop fighting and to give up because it was useless; also, they were scared to keep us sheltered."

"On December the 4th, I finally went home to see my grandmother. She lived at the Joseph Attila Street. During the fighting and the revolution, I went up to see her several times, and many people had seen me in the house and knew that I was a member of the Freedom Fighters Militia and I was taking active part in the revolution. Everybody cautioned me that reprisals would be forthcoming, so I thought I better leave the country. I told my parents that I was going to do this. I also begged them to come with me. However, they did not care to take the risk with my younger sister. So, together with two of my friends, via Győr, we left. It took us several days, because twice we were captured. For the third time, finally, we were successful."

78-M
HLR

III/7

When I asked respondent whether or not he thought that Hungary had gained because of the revolution, he said:

"It was only the peasantry who gained in the end, because they did not take part in the uprising, and now the government is trying to reward them. The working class has lost everything, and the revolution was, in the end, defeated.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "We did expect military assistance from the West also. We listened to the radio and heard that volunteers were offering their services all over Europe. Also, we hoped that the United Nations would send, if not forces, at least observation troops. Also, we hoped that the United Nations would also have the power to make the Russians leave Hungary.

B. "The basis of our expectations, as I said, were the foreign radio broadcasts. We didn't hear anything else but 'hold-out- help will come', however, very soon we were bitterly disillusioned. The only help we received was from the Red Cross and even the packages and medicine, etc., which were sent to, or brought to, the country by the Red Cross were taken by the Russians and very little found its way to people who needed it. There were also many instances when the AVH were shooting at the Red Cross transports and trucks, because they had used ambulances and Red Cross cars for smuggling arms, and so they thought that the freedom fighters are doing the same.

C. Respondent did not ~~remember~~ come into contact with any foreigners between Oct 23 and the time of his escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. Regarding his family background, respondent gave the following information:

"My father was a tailor. He worked in his own little workshop at the Aranykez Street. Mother ran a delicatessen store. So we had everything we needed before and during the war. I couldn't remember, of course, the exact amount my father was earning - I was too young at that time. We lived at the Akacfa, where we had a two room apartment. We also had a small family house outside Budapest."

Respondent could not give any information on the education of his parents. He said this was never discussed. He said, however, that he believes both parents had eight grades and also that his father had industrial training because he was what they called a master tailor.

B. Regarding ~~szukfik~~ social classes, respondent gave the following classification:

"I believe that there are the intellectuals, which consist of people who had some learning, then the peasantry, then the workers, and finally there is a special class of themselves, the Communist big shots."

"Having attended school, I met the members of different social classes and the least contact I had, of course, was with the peasantry."

Respondent did not give his attitudes toward these groups, rather, he gave a short description of the attitudes of the groups themselves. He apparently did not understand the question. He was of the opinion that the peasants lived far better than the rest of the population and they were always complaining but they lived ~~at~~ quite well. In his opinion, the working class never had that much more money to spend than the peasants. He also was of the opinion that the controversies between workers and peasants still existed, despite all efforts the regime made to reconcile these two classes to each other.

The workers, according to respondent's opinion, had too much work and very little pay.

Regarding the intellectuals, he said that this class had the least opportunity to be employed according to their qualifications.

When asked to what class he felt he belonged, he said:

"I am a member of the working class, but had I had opportunity to finish my schools and to study I would have belonged to the intellectual class."

In respondent's view, it was the intellectual class that was hardest hit by Communism, but he also thought that more or less each class has in its way been hit by Communism also.

C. As to how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, respondent was of the opinion that the most important factor is the political view. Then comes origin and finally only talent. He also added:

"Nevertheless, you have to know something and show them that you are efficient, because then the Communist regime will take care of your further education and will always be at your assistance."

Changes in social mobility were given by respondent as follows:

"As far as I can remember, it was only by 1956 that the regime has finally realized that this kind of classification can not go on any more and also, the talent and knowledge of the people has to be considered."

Speaking about somebody as a person that can get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent was of the view that it was the person who always says "I am a good Communist," and who has, as he put it, a big mouth. He also must have a good Cader file.

D. Regarding groups that get more out of society than they deserve, respondent was of the opinion that these were the people who worked for the AVH and for the Communist party and also who had an excellent Cader background.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

A. Regarding his own family, respondent said that his own family life has deteriorated during the Communist regime. The reason for this he found in the very bad possibilities of making a living. He also thought that from what he saw in other families the ~~same~~ situation was the same everywhere. Respondent also disclosed that he was consistently fighting with his father because, even though they both hated Communists and the Communist regime, the father was very much pro-German, which he could never understand because he was a fierce Hungarian.

He could not tell to which type of family his really belonged, nor which of these came closest to description of a typical Hungarian family.

Regarding how children there grew up during the last ten years, respondent said:

"There were many families who were affected more than others ~~ix~~ regarding the education of children, and some of them, on the other hand, could go on as before. These were mostly those who earned good wages. In our family, however, and this I resented very much, my parents wanted to bring me up as they were brought up ages ago and after all I had always to work much and had very little time for amusements or for myself."

B. ~~Respondent~~ Regarding how the marriage, courtship and sex patterns have changed during the Communist regime, respondent could not give any information. In a way because, he said, "I was much too young and I ~~know~~ know only what I have seen in my time. My family was an old-fashioned type of one as I have said before. I have seen that there were families where the boys had to go and visit the girls in the home of their parents, but these were rather few. Mostly young people went out alone together."

"It was also quite a difficult thing to get married, because the girl's people first had to save money for furniture for apartment, etc. I disapproved of those boys who, without thinking first, married much too young."

"The girls were, on the whole, very immoral. I found that you could get them without marrying them. But I believe that this is not only due to the Communist education. I think that every generation is more liberal than the old one and that we are always more modern than our parents. The greatest change I see is ~~that~~ the fact that social standing is no more a factor in marrying."

The rule of parents depended entirely how the children were brought up. Some boys or girls informed and consulted the parents about engagements or marriage, but some did not."

~~xxx~~ Regarding marriages in church, respondent said that people who were afraid of losing their jobs usually do not go to church to get married there or went in secret.

According to respondent, prostitution was prohibited in Hungary.

Regarding the sexual morality of convinced Communists, respondent said:

"I do not believe that it was much different from that of the average Hungarian because the Communist party was quite strict with the party members regarding this problem."

C. Regarding what he would have done if a good friend of his had joined the Communist party later on, respondent said:

"This did not happen to me because I really never had a very good friend. I mostly disapproved of what my pals did and I rather withdrew from them. However, in principle, I'm sure that I would ask him why he joined the Communist party member. But, on the whole, I do not like a turncoat."

D. Regarding juvenile delinquency, respondent thought that he did not believe that ~~the~~ juvenile delinquency was ~~an~~ the increase, or, at least as people think here, it ~~was~~ was on the ~~jampec~~ jampec. He was of the opinion that ~~these~~ really these were harmless teenagers who were imitating the American, or what they thought to be American, style of dressing, dancing and behavior.

VII. RELIGION.

A. When asked what part religion played in Hungarian life, respondent said:

"I believe that religion played a greater part in our Hungarian life in the country than in the cities, and also among the older generation more than among the younger people, and this due to the reason the older generation was given religious instruction and we were not."

"According to my belief, it was the Roman Catholic religion that was hardest hit because this was the strongest religion and besides this church had always a great fortune and great estates."

B. When asked what kind of part religion plays in his life, respondent said:

"You know this is a thing I have been thinking quite a great deal about and honestly I am at a loss, I do not know. I am not religious at all and much less religious of course than my parents. At home I went to church but here I never go or, rather, very seldom."

C. Respondent was completely at loss regarding the question what the relation between church and state should be. He didn't understand the question at all and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ probably this has never occurred to him. However, later on, when I explained it to him, he was of the opinion that church and state should be quite independent from each other. On the other hand, he very strongly advocated the role of churches in education because he said:

"The religious instruction should be maintained in every country because they teach much better things in those classes than at the pioneer and the DISZ movements."

He also was of the opinion that churches should play an active part in an independent Hungary ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in politics, because he thought that the people became very immoral during the Communist regime, and it would be a good thing to be led back on the right way. However, he did not want to see the Church to set a moral code and standard in such things as plays, books, etc.

D. Regarding the Jewish minority, the respondent was of the opinion that the Jews and the Jewish religion were much less hurt by Communism, and due to the fact that only because the top Communists in Hungary were Jews. Also it was the Jews who got the best jobs. However, he said, that:

"This probably was due to the fact that the Jewish kids always were given a much better education by the parents. Also because the industries and the trade was always in Jewish hands in Hungary."

Regarding the attitude of the Jews toward ~~Communism~~ Communism, respondent could not give any information or opinion. He said:

"You know many Jews had left Hungary also, and went abroad so probably they weren't so enchanted by Communism either."

Respondent said that there were many Jews who became party members because they were liberated by the Russians and probably this was the reason. When asked what he knew about the attitudes and actions of the Jews during the revolution, he said:

"Personally, I cannot remember that I have seen any Jewish boy fighting with us. Besides, I am unable to find out who is a Jew and who is not."

Regarding whether or not Jews wanted an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"There was always a fight between the Jews and the non-Jews in Hungary in a way because the Jews were monopolizing the trade and commerce. But whether or not the Jews would have to fear persecution in an independent Hungary, I am unable to tell."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

A. "I considered young people between the ages of 14 up to 25 to belong to the so-called Hungarian youth."

B. "The major part, and the most important part, of the revolution was played by the younger people. The revolution was initiated, however, by the students of the university. The reason why the young people of Hungary acted as they did was mostly due to the fact that we were all unhappy about the possibilities that were given to us in our careers. Furthermore, we have seen that the Russians are exploiting us and the whole country."

....

"The young people took the lead in the revolution because they were more dissatisfied, less fearful of consequences, and on the whole young people always have more élan. The older generation was resigned to their lot, they were fearing for their families and they did not dare to run risks."

"during the revolution, the older people held us in a terrific respect. We, on the other hand, knew that the older people had their valid reasons for not taking an active part in the revolution."

C. About the schools and educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent gave the following information:

"The education at schools went according to the Communist ideology. Young people were tried to be won over for the Pioneer movements, etc. Also, to be indoctrinated as much as possible."

"On the other hand, we had to study extremely hard also. The compulsory education age was lifted: during the Communist regime you had to finish eight grades. Before the war, four or six were enough."

"There was much Communist propaganda introduced in every subject, even in physics, for instance, it was always Soviet scientists who invented everything."

"There was no religious instructions at school any more, only for those who wanted to have it privately."

"There was no religious instructions at school any more, only for those who wanted to have it privately."

Regarding the restriction of vocational choice, respondent told that in the eighth grade they had to fill out forms regarding their wishes in reference to their careers. But, of course, as he said, the intellectual occupations were already so much crowded that you could not hope to be admitted to the universities. At least this was so at his time. So it was much better to chose a trade.

The quality of the education, in respondent's view, was extremely good and regarding the teachers, he thought that, of course, they had to belong to the party in order to be allowed to teach, but they were not Communists fundamentally. They were extremely competent. The headmaster of the school, of course, usually was an all and out Communist.

D. Regarding youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination, respondent said:

"Just like in my case, I'm sure that all parents in Hungary have enlightened their children what Communism and the Communist doctrine is. And, therefore, we did not believe what we were taught at school."

"In the beginning, however, many young people were taken in by the beautiful promises of the Communists. I have even known of boys, 25-26 years old, who then, due to their all and all acceptance of the doctrine were later on trained in party schools. These people denied the existence of God and ~~that~~ they're advocating the evolution theory of Darwin. However, sooner or later, everybody got dissillusioned because, after all, the Communism they were preaching was completely different from what was implemented."

"I believe that only in cases where parents, too, were all and out Communists, did the young people completely the Communist doctrine."

78-M
HLR

IX/17

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE.

A. "Our main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary were, first of all, that we always had very little money. Then, that we had to work under the norm system."

big
"Apart from political things, we were mostly annoyed by being compelled to sign for peace loans and also to call everybody Comrade. This was just silly."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. "Regarding the standard of living of my family, I can say that this was very much worse during the Communist regime than during the war. Food was mostly expensive as well as all regular consumer goods."

"Regarding clothing, this was no problem for us, My father being a tailor, but material we had to buy was very expensive. Clothes you bought ready made at the state stores was of very bad quality and extremely inferior workmanship."

C. "There was a shortage of housing all over the country. We, however, lived in our apartment, the same one as before the war, because we were quite lucky that it wasn't bombed out."

"The standard of living of our family has steadily gone down since 1945."

"I really cannot say what in particular we have missed because I have grown up in that poverty."

"I believe that our living standard was much better between '48 and '50 than at in the recent years."

"Family that lived better and was better off than any other was usually the one who was favored by the party, manager of the plant and then the black marketeers."

"Regarding the reasons for the Hungarian standard of living being at the lowest level during the last eight years there is only one answer to this. Everything went out to the Soviet Union, or, the country was called "trading" some commodities with the Soviet Union, which, of course, meant that we got the worst deal. Also, the compulsory surrendering of the crops ~~was~~ caused also shortage of food."

B. Regarding respondent's income during the past 10 years, respondent disclosed that he was working for his father who gave him pocket money, but he had not a regular income.

C. Respondent could not give information on prices and quality of ~~goods~~ goods you could buy in Hungary because, as he said, it was

always his mother who did the marketing and being a boy he had no word to say in the household at all at home.

Regarding the retail distribution, he could say, however, that this was very bad and there was a shortage of consumer goods very often, which was not only seasonal shortage. Also, certain commodities were in very short supply. He mentioned, for instance, the electric bulbs. Then, also, it was very difficult to get any spare parts for the sewing machine of his father, for instance.

Commodities that were especially in short supply, ~~namely~~ according to correspondent, were building bricks, tires, also construction materials.

Regarding the black market, respondent said that he knew that there was one, but couldn't give much information. He only heard that people who were caught in black marketeering were strictly punished.

D. Regarding working conditions, respondent again could not give much information because, as he mentioned before, he was working for his father.

E. When asked where he would have preferred to live in Hungary, he said, "Only in Budapest. Because, after all, this is the heart of the nation. I was born there and lived my whole life there."

Regarding collectivization, when first introduced into Hungary, respondent had the opinion that everybody was of the opinion that the Hungarian peasants were opposed to it as much as possible, and that it will not work at all. He also thought that the well-to-do peasant and the less well off peasant both have objected to ~~collectivization~~ collectivization. He heard of collectives being dissolved at the end of '55 and '56 because the peasants were dissatisfied with their income. He also mentioned that the so-called Kurlak Law was abolished in 1956 by the government.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

A. Respondent was much too young before '48 and therefore unable to give information on the situation at that time. Also about the Communist party before 1948.

B. Regarding respondent's views on the Communist party from '48 on, respondent was of the opinion that the people who joined the party did so for the simple reason that they wanted to make more money.

In his opinion, the party policies have changed. In the last year it has become much less strong because, after all, they realized that the patience of people cannot be abused too long.

Respondent also believed that there were differences within the party, and many fights going on between the different factions. Respondent thought that the Communist big whigs were scared of each other.

Regarding party morale, respondent said that he doesn't know a thing about it and besides, he never cared very much for politics. Also, he was very much too young to be concerned about such things.

Regarding the aims and motives of the top leaders of the Communist part in Hungary, respondent was of the opinion that these people probably have no individual aims or motives at all. They have to obey the Soviet Union implicitly. He reasoned it this way:

"Whenever something ~~importantly~~ happened in the Soviet Union, we were sure to get the same treatment in a very short time, one in each satellite country one after the other."

"However, what the Communist top leaders preach is that they want to achieve 'socialism', but of course this is all bunkum. What they are out for is an over-all Communism. Individually, I do not believe that they have any special aims."

78-M
HLR

XI/21

"I have not heard about Rajk before because I was too young at the time he was on top. I only knew of his rehabilitation last year, which was ridiculous."

When asked what should be done with the top Hungarian Communists when Hungary is independent, respondent said:

"It would take me a very short time to finish with them. We have learned our lesson during the revolution. We have been far too lenient with them and now they are carrying out reprisals back home."

C. Respondent could not tell whether there was any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution.

Regarding respondent's knowledge of activities of the intellectuals, he told me that the Monday paper which carried the articles of the intellectuals was always snatched up and sold at black market prices. People were that eager to read the daring articles printed in this paper. Respondent also said that he has heard about the activities of the Petofi circle before the revolution.

However, respondent was unable to say whether these intellectuals /
had anything new to say and whether or not he considered them ~~xxx~~ /
spearhead of the revolution. leaders or a

In his opinion, these intellectuals stood up against the regime because it was absolutely hopeless for a Hungarian intellectual to live under such conditions where even literature and art was slanted.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

A. In respondent's opinion, the AVH, people who joined the AVH force were people who sold themselves for money and thought that they could easily make a very good living. These people, according to respondent, had no conscience whatsoever and they lived or died with the regime.

However, respondent pointed out that there were among the AVH force young people who had to serve their regular compulsory military service and who were assigned to the AVH, and this was just bad luck for them because they couldn't help being drafted to this hated force. Respondent had very little experience with the AVH men personally. He mentioned that there ~~was a man~~ was a man who had the same name as his father did. This man was a member of the Arrow-cross party, and escaped from prison. The police were investigating his case and he and his whole family were under observation for quite some time.

During the revolution, respondent together with ten of his fellow freedom fighters was arrested and captured by the AVH, and locked up at the Szonyi Street School. However, the population in the streets who were notified of this, displayed such a hostile attitude that the AVH finally let them out. Here, while they were in prison for about half a day, respondent said they were beaten up cruelly. He said the most horrible and sadistic person among the AVH people was a woman.

If, and when, Hungary is independent, respondent would apply the same treatment to the AVH people as to the Communist people, as mentioned before.

Regarding respondent's feelings about the regular police compared with the AVH, he was of the opinion that ~~the~~ only the big shots of the regular police were all and all out Communists. The regular rank and file was on the side of the freedom fighters. He disclosed that many times they received ammunition and arms from the policemen, but even ~~the~~ those who did not take part in the fighting, or did not surrender their arms displayed a very passive attitude. Respondent also saw former policemen fighting side by side with them.

He also disclosed that the AVH police was scared and put on regular police uniforms, but they were soon found out, as the uniforms were

brand new. Whenever the freedom fighters could lay hands on such AVH men masquerading in the regular police force uniform, they usually killed them, took the money out of their pockets and stuffed it in his mouth. Nobody ever looted or stole the money. Respondent wanted to point out that even though the Hungarian Communist Radio maintained that the freedom fighters were looting the city, this was not true. There was not a single case of looting or stealing during the revolution, despite that the shop windows were broken. In fact, respondent pointed out, we found many looted and stolen articles in the Russian tanks that we captured. Some of them were stuffed with all kinds of expensive commodities such as nylons, etc.

Regarding the confidence and training of the regular police, respondent said:

"This compared to what had been under the Horthy regime had deteriorated to a great extent. The training was very bad and also they were unable to track down the criminals."

B. Respondent could give no idea as to how the courts were before 1945. He pointed out, however, that during the Communist regime the courts were not at all impartial. It was very important what social background you came from, and who was the plaintiff and who was the defendant. Respondent did not have any information regarding the People's Courts of 1945-47. He, however, learned about them at school, and knew that they were dealing with the so-called war criminals.

C. According to respondent, the Hungarian Army participated in the revolution. He saw many soldiers fighting on their side; also, they received arms from them and they were helped by them whenever and wherever possible. Respondent disclosed that the barracks in the suburbs and provinces were surrounded and taken by the Russian AVH, due to treason. Respondent has seen with his own eyes the behaviour of the Hungarian Army. Even though it happened in some instances that in the beginning the soldiers surrendered their arms, later on in great units they went over to the freedom fighters, for instance - at the Killian barracks.

Respondent was of the opinion that enlisted men and officers equally came over to their side; only the very big shots and at the top, did not, said respondent. Respondent thought that the behaviour of soldiers during the revolution related to class origin were not conspicuous; however, he thought that the people of peasant origin are much more cautious than a soldier of worker's origin would be.

When asked whether or not respondent was surprised by the Army's actions during the revolution, he said:

"Why should I have been? These were good Hungarian boys after all."

"I have seen often the Hungarian soldiers refuse to surrender their arms because they came over to fight with their arms on our side. After all, the Hungarian soldiers are also Hungarian workers and Hungarian peasants and they don't like Communism and Russian oppression and they wanted a free and independent Hungary."

D. When asked whether or not Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to events of 1848, respondent said:

"This I do not believe. It was rather that their behaviour in '45 that made them unpopular. Also people who were in Russia as prisoners of war, had plenty to tell."

Respondent could not remember any actual experiences with the Russian Army in '45 as at that time he was quite young. However, he was told by his family how brutally the Russian Army behaved at that time - they were stealing, raping, looting everywhere.

Respondent held a very bad opinion about the Russian Army. He thought they were an illiterate, primitive, beastly lot.

Regarding the Russian soldiers who stayed in Hungary before the revolution, respondent said that these people liked to stay in Hungary and hated to leave it. Many of them stayed in Hungary with their families and they liked the life in Hungary. He, however, had no contacts with any of the Russian occupation troops, because as he said, in Budapest city proper *князьства* there were no Russian occupation troops.

However, respondent pointed out that the Russian soldiers who were brought into Hungary after Nov. 4th during the revolution, were completely unaware of where they had been sent; the ones close enough to talk to them were told that they were sent to save the Hungarians from German fascists who had come to and were holding Hungary. Others were told they were going to fight at the Suez Canal.

Respondent said that the first batch of Russians who fought in Budapest before Nov. 4th, were a friendly lot, and the moment you could talk to them they handed over their tanks, their ammunition, but on the whole they were scared. The others who were sent into Hungary after Nov. 4th were Mongolians and a brutal Army and completely unaware of the situation.

Regarding cases when Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, respondent said that he himself had experienced such help by the Russian soldiers when they let them ride the tanks and used their weapons. As to Soviet soldiers refusing to obey their superiors, respondent disclosed that he had seen that in the Kossuth Street, a Russian officer tried to command some Russian tanks; the soldiers, however, refused to obey.

He also knew of Soviet soldiers deserting. He says that he has seen this, too. He also has seen the Soviet soldiers fighting against the AVH in Parliament Square when the sniping occurred. Whether or not Soviet soldiers fought each other, respondent couldn't tell.

Respondent also had no knowledge of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E. Whether or not there is any truth in that once in a while you could find a local government officer who would be willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble, respondent was of the opinion that there were a few, but not many. They were rather scared to help, but these people have usually - out of sheer kindness - done.

How you could find a way of getting around some of the regulations, at least to a certain extent, respondent said:

"This was quite easy if you knew which ropes to pull, and you had good connections. I do not know about bribery, but I believe that personal connections, or Party connections, were extremely useful. However, if officials were caught accepting bribery, they were very strictly punished. I do not know the form of punishment that was imposed on them.

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

When asked what he thought would probably happen in Hungary in the future, respondent said:

"I really have no idea. This is a much too difficult question to answer. I just imagine that Communists cannot last forever. Maybe, even if Communism lasts for another twenty years, sooner or later, some change is bound to come.

"I do not believe that at present something will happen in Hungary because the oppression is far too strong. Kadar could not possibly go back to the Stalinist line because then he won't be able to maintain his position. He must give in to some extent, at least.

"I do not approve a Poland-like solution, because this is not a finer solution, and Hungary wants, after all, to be completely independent.

"Regarding the ways and means by which Hungary's freedom could be established, I do not think that war is desirable. This would lead to a world war, and the use of the atomic weapons and nobody wants this.

"Unfortunately, I do not see any other means by which the USSR can be made to obey the UN sanctions."

B. Respondent's hope for Hungary's future before the revolution was pretty vague. They merely concluded in the hope that should Germany be united again, somehow the whole Southeastern European problem could be saved, because they didn't see a way out short of war which nobody wanted. They did not believe, nor hope, that stronger sanctions or international pressure would make Russia come to heel.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Regarding the system respondent would like to see in Hungary, he said he would like to see a completely independent Hungarian government, and he put a strong emphasis on the word Hungarian.

B. Regarding the desired economic system and emphasis, respondent said that a highly mechanized agriculture under private ownership, as well as the light industry would be the most important things, Hungary ought to emphasize. In the field of light industry, machinery should be produced, and in the field of agriculture, Hungary ought to grow wheat and also grapes for wine production.

If the Communist regime were overthrown, respondent believed that the national enterprises should mostly be returned to private ownership; however, he would prefer to see the heavy industry that is left and the transportation, some of the mines, and the power-works in the hands of the state. Respondent was of the opinion that the trade, crafts etc of small industry should be returned to private ownership.

In respondent's opinion, the state farms and kolkhozes ought to be dissolved and the land also returned to private ownership. He would set the maximum amount of land anyone person, or family, should own, at 1000 acres.

Provided he would be allowed to chose between two different kinds of government, respondent chose the first one -- the one that guarantees all personal freedoms because "without freedom and liberty there is no life."

Respondent was also against outlawing the Communist Party in an independent Hungary for the evident reason that the Communist Party would not have any followers. The Hungarians, as respondent said, have known very well what Communism means.

C. Respondent believed that Hungary ought to have, ideally, a position similar to that one that Sweden or Austria has - a complete independent neutrality.

"Respondent would not have wanted not to have any relations with the USSR at all. With the East European states only cultural relations and with the rest of Europe and the USA, respondent would like to see economic and cultural relations. He did not want to have any military ties with any country.

Respondent's reactions to the possibility of the Federation of the Nubian states was as follows:

"This is not a new idea. I have heard about this- the Kossuth was the first one who advocated this idea."

Respondent was of the opinion that this was a very desirable and also possible solution for South Eastern Europe; however, he would like to see Romania excluded from such federation.

According to respondent he did not know the general feeling about this problem in Hungary. He said they had only discussed it at school.

The present boundaries of Hungary were unacceptable to respondent. He especially resented the situation of Transylvania; and the reason of why was it that this territory had the largest Hungarian population living outside of Hungary. Respondent would like to see territorial adjustments especially in the Northern part of Hungary, now called Slovakia - then Transylvania and other inhabited parts of Yugoslavia.

He believed the problem could be solved by plebiscite to be followed by territorial adjustments. He did not think that the exchange of population works out well.

Respondent was very much concerned about the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary, and especially of those in Transylvania; the whole minority problem was pretty important to him. He also mentioned that beside national problems, there is also an economic advantage in taking new territories - in Transylvania which is very rich in natural ores.

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent was very uninformative regarding this chapter. He had no idea about Khrushchev's secret speech; had only heard vaguely about the 20th Party Congress. He did not know anything about Senator McCarthy or the un-American activities committee, and neither about Peron or the cause of his fall.

Regarding the private life of Rakosi, he added: "We have learned his life history at school, but otherwise, I do not know anything about him, and I'm not believing whatever they taught us at school."

B. According to respondent, the sources on which he drew for information during the last ten years were mainly the foreign radio broadcasts. He very seldom read any newspapers.

C. Respondent did receive news by word of mouth from reliable friends and acquaintances. These were mostly political. However, he added that this news was usually less reliable than the radio, because people usually always added something to the news when they forwarded it to someone else.

D. Regarding his reading habits, respondent said that he very seldom read any newspapers because he was not interested in politics whatsoever. Magazines he read - cultural and scientific sometimes. Books according to him he read avidly everything, and of course in Hungarian translation. He usually read one book every evening. (When I probed him regarding the kind of literature he read, I found out that this was mostly very second class, and not very high-brow. He read indiscriminately - everything from thrillers and detective stories and once in a while something better and by more known authors) there

Respondent disclosed however that there were quite a lot of books that were on the blacklist, and these books they could purchase on the black market and they were handed down from friend to friend. Respondent specified these books: "Books that were printed during the Horthy regime".

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Respondent didn't see any possibility of a change within Russia. "People there live under deathly terror, and fear. The Communist leaders of the country do not enlighten people on purpose, and therefore they -the peoples of the Soviet Union - will never be able to revolt. If and ever, a change might occur then liberalisation would be the way. Only a revolution if the people would dare once arise. ~~xxxx~~

I do not think that Russia will ever have any free ~~in~~ election; therefore I do not even try to think what the results would be if such elections were held. You must remember the so-called "free" elections in Hungary! What sort of elections these were! It was ridiculous. And the same refers to Russia.

"In my opinion, the top leaders of Russia fear each other and are scared that one or the other would assume an overall leadership. On the whole, their overall - collective - motives is the word Communism. Individually, I believe that each of these people would like to be the only, and sole, ruler of the Soviet Union. That's why they keep on purging each other."

"In my opinion the differences between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian Communist leaders is only that the Communists are ordering the Hungarians about, and these obey."

B. Regarding the relative popularity of other countries of Eastern Europe, respondent put them as follows: he thought that Yugoslavia was most popular in Hungary, because Tito dared to break off from the Soviet Union; then came Eastern Germany because many Hungarians sympathised with the Germans; then Poland, followed by Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria.

~~xxxxxx~~

Regarding the free elections in Russia, he said it was an hypothetical question and impossible to realize, but he said that if, and ever, nevertheless these countries would be in a position to vote freely, he is sure that they would all break away from Communism.

In respondent's opinion the standard of living at present is highest in Eastern Germany, followed by Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania.

C. Regarding Poland, respondent was of the opinion that Gomulka's government was:

"I talked to Polish boys on the boat where I worked and they all told me that the situation in Poland has improved, so I think I favor the policy of gradualism. Anyway, it worked out better than in Hungary. I also believe that the outlook in Poland is good and there will be more favorable changes there.

"The Polish developments before October, '56, in my opinion have effected greatly the events in Hungary. We all were paying much attention to the events in Poland, and followed them eagerly. We were greatly excited. After all, the demonstrations were also planned in sympathy with the Poznan events, and I ~~think~~ believe that the Petofi and the writers started their activities also in view of what happened in Poland. After and during the revolution however, Polish events had no effect on Hungarian events.

"Regarding changes of freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power, I have heard about the Poznan events which were carried by the Hungarian Communist press and also by the Hungarian radio, even though in a slanted version, but we also heard the news about the events in Poznan and the riots, etc. on the Radio Free Europe.

"I would have preferred that the Hungarian revolution takes the path along the Polish lines because in the long run it seems that they were the luckier ones."

D. Respondent had no idea what national communism means, so he was at quite a loss to answer this question, but finally he blurted out "I do not believe that any Communism could be good; Communism will always remain Communism. He had no idea about Tito's relations with Eastern European nations, but he said that with Russia and the West he is always on good or bad terms, according to how it suits him.

Regarding Tito's position vis-a-vis Hungary and the Hungarian revolution, according to respondent, was rather neutral and more on the side of Russia, if possible.

Whether or not Tito is popular in Yugoslavia, respondent did not know. Regarding internal problems in Yugoslavia, he thought that the standard of living is better than in Hungary; also, he heard that in the factories, for instance, the worker's council are in fact the masters of the plan, and have a word to say in the management. This data he heard from sports people who came over for sports events from Yugoslavia to Hungary.

and the middle-East problem,
E. Regarding the Suez situation, I had the impression that he didn't know very much - he was rather tight lipped about it - about the whole problem and the whole situation. His excuse was that "I am not the person who can give an opinion on these problems."

F. Regarding West Germany, he has heard that the standard of living is very high there.

Respondent was of the opinion that if German is united there is a possibility that they would start a war against the Soviet Union, and the Communist countries.

Regarding West Germany armament, he had no idea about the extent - nor of the military strength of Western Germany, or the length of service in the West German army.

When asked to compare the German occupation troops - the Russian army after the 2nd World War, respondent said that the Russians were by far the most distasteful to him personally - that the German army was much better disciplined as to both officers and enlisted men, and also in his opinion the Russian Soviet occupational forces were the most unpopular in Hungary.

G. Respondent had no idea what NATO was for; he never heard of it, in fact

He did not know anything about the British Labor Party, either.

H's impressions regarding the living standards of various countries was as follows: he thought the highest was in Western Germany, followed by Great Britain, then Italy, Greece, Egypt and finally Soviet Russia.

78-M
HLR

XVI/ 33

H. Regarding respondent's impressions on the United States, these amounted to very little because he was only here for two days. He was greatly impressed, however, by the high living standard and the amount of cars seen in the streets.

Regarding what the United States would do for the peoples and nations of Eastern Europe, he was of the opinion that the United States ought to give loans and economic aid to present governments of the satellite nations and even included Hungary - because if these countries turn to the Soviet Union, a Soviet loan is always much harder on the country, because the conditions are much too hard. He thought that the present policy of the US is correct, and allright.

However, he thought that the American government should not accept the present government of Hungary as a leader government of the country, and in his opinion, the American government ought to settle their diplomatic relations with Hungary's present government.

Respondent was of the belief that people of Hungary would like to see Western visitors, and all kinds of them; however, he thought that visitors ought to be told that they should do their best to get in touch with the people and not talk to officials only and with those with whom they are allowed to speak. The recent immigrants would be the best kind of people to inform these people before they go to Hungary. Respondent was also of the opinion that people at home would love to receive Western books and periodicals; however, he did not understand question no. six, whether it would make any difference to the people that Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities. He did not see the point at all.

As to the Marshall Plan, respondent was of the opinion that this was launched in order to give material assistance as well as political strength to the different countries.

Regarding the situation in Korea in 1950, respondent said he was much too young at that time to give an opinion why America became involved in the Korean War.

78-M
HLR

XVI/34

I. Regarding the United Nations, respondent was of the opinion that this is a wonderful organization in theory. However, in practice it does not seem to have strength enough to keep the Soviet Union disciplined and to make them obey.

Regarding the U.N. action expected in fall and winter of '56, respondent said:

"At that time we were convinced that the United Nations will send either troops or at least observers, and also that the United Nations will make the Russians leave the country."

"However, I must admit this was my view at that time. Now I have seen that the United Nations had no power to act because the Russian government was always referring to the British example."

"I do not believe that the U.N. will have the chance or the will to interfere effectively on behalf of Hungary in the foreseeable future."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. When asked who in his opinion is the greatest living Hungarian and why, respondent tried to think hard for quite some time and finally he said he couldn't tell.

B. His reactions to a number of persons below were as follows.

Nagy - "He is a good Hungarian, but he had no power to do anything. He was a decent guy, but, in my opinion he should have ~~ax~~ declared Hungarian neutrality earlier than he did."

Cardinal Mindszenty - "I have no idea where he is at present and I don't know what happened to him." He did not give any opinion regarding the Cardinal.

Rajk - He didn't know anything .

Gero - He heard that he is a Russian puppet.

Kadar - He said that he does not even have any opinion about him, he is a man who has no conscience and a henchman of Hungary.

General Kiraly - He said he only knew that he was the commander of the freedom fighters' militia.

Miss Kethly - He said she is a good, decent Hungarian woman who would like to see an independent and neutral Hungary.

Regarding President Eisenhower, respondent had the following view:

"He must be a pretty ~~much~~ popular man and follow sound policy because otherwise he wouldn't have been elected twice.

b. Secretary General Hammarskjold - "In my opinion, he is a decent man."

Respondent couldn't say anything about Dulles, Eden and Truman, except that Truman was the former president of the United States.

78-M
HLR

XVII/36

In reference to the following list, as on page 3 of paragraph XVII,
I drew a blank regarding all personalities mentioned there.
Respondent just shrugged his shoulders or shook his head.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. In reference to people who have left Hungary and their reason for leaving, respondent said:

"Generally speaking, members of all social classes have left Hungary, but they were mostly of the younger generation. I have seen many intellectuals and workers, but few peasants, that's true. The reasons for leaving were mostly fears of reprisals and also young people wanted to ~~leave~~ live in freedom and wanted to live decently. As to where from they came, the majority came from Budapest and its vicinity, but I have heard that people came even as far as from the Rumanian border."

"Those who stayed behind were mostly people with families or the older generation, who were too scared or tired to face a new life. Or maybe," he added, "they loved their country more than we did."

"People in Hungary think favorably about those who left, in general. They say we were right in doing so. They don't resent it. After all, all of us have families at home, and these people are pleased that we, at least, are free."

"Assuming that people in Hungary had a chance to come to the West, and if the Russians are still in Hungary, I do not believe that more than 50% of the population would stay behind, and these would be mostly the peasants who always stick to their land."

B. Respondent has not heard about any exile organizations and individuals that have been active in the West during the last 10 years. When handed the list of organizations and individuals, I again drew a complete blank. There were only very few names of which he has heard at all but knew nothing about them.

He also had no idea whether or not people who left Hungary before '56 tried to accomplish, or did accomplish, anything for Hungary.

C. Respondent met a person who returned to Hungary after having escaped to the West in '45. He met this person in 1950 and this man came home for family reasons but was deeply disillusioned and very unhappy.

Respondent thought that unfortunately the Communist redefection campaign ~~has~~ met with some success because ~~if~~ there were quite a few who returned to Hungary. The reason why the Communists have launched the redefection campaign was, according to respondent, because the top of the intellectuals and the cream of the nation has left the country. Specialists and people who had the key positions in certain intellectual posts, specialists, engineers, etc.

D. According to respondent, people in Hungary would like to know how the exiles are faring here. According to respondent, it is very difficult to inform people back in Hungary what they ought to know, and people ought to be very careful what they are writing. However, he believes that people are running no risks if telling their kin at home how they are faring.

In respondent's opinion, the exiles ought to form ~~now~~ a strong association which would comprise all immigrants, old and new ones, this because respondent believes the old immigrants have more connections here than the ~~new~~ ones.

Respondent would like to take an active part personally in the organization of such an association.

He would not mind to join an exiles organization which is rather cultural and social, because he's not too much interested in politics. He believes that this organization ought to be made up of all kinds of exiles. Respondent mentioned that he has heard of an organization that is trying to rally the Hungarian immigrants all over the world, but he could not give the name of this organization. ~~he has heard of.~~
anything

Respondent has not heard about, or did ~~not~~ know ⁱⁿ about political parties before 1948 and other parties ~~in~~ exiles. He was of the opinion that it was a good idea to revive the political parties in Hungary during the revolution, but could not offer any further ideas regarding this topic.

E. Respondent expressed his desire to go back to Hungary by all means, but only provided if Hungary is free and not governed by a Communist regime. He also wanted his children, if he has ever any to learn Hungarian as well as any foreign language.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. Respondent listened to foreign language radio stations while in Hungary and these stations were Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and BBC. According to respondent, the reception was usually bad for all stations because they were much jammed. He listened to the Hungarian language broadcasts every evening regularly. The family had its own radio and they listened together or with reliable friends. Respondent pointed out that it was quite risky to hear the Western broadcasts openly, and so everybody was very careful. He also has heard about Western broadcasts secondhand from reliable friends. The risk involved in listening to Western broadcasts did not deter anybody. They were just more careful.

Regarding respondent's reactions to the Western broadcasts, he admitted that they believed Radio Free Europe and its promises.

The respondent thought that the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe had not that much effect because people after a while were fed up with the propaganda. However, during the revolution, people were confident that what they were told over the radio will come true. Respondent said:

"We always were told to hold out a couple of more days and this is what we did."

Respondent agreed that Radio Free Europe, in fact, helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help.

In respondent's view, Radio Free Europe should nevertheless continue to broadcast into Hungary because these broadcasts are the only link with the Western world now.

Respondent thought that straight news about political and economic events would be good, but no anti-Communist propaganda. People in Hungary know better what Communism is than people in the free world.

78-M
HLR

XIX/40

Programs about life in Western Europe and life in the United States, on the other hand, would be of great interest. Respondent also added that good musical programs, serious classical music would be also welcome.

B. Respondent said that he has seen a couple of leaflets outside of Budapest which were sent into Hungary by Western organizations. Also, one year, when he was near Kistarcsa, he found some himself. However, he could not give an account whether these were FEP leaflets or others. All he remembered was that ~~many~~ some of them had cartoons mocking the Soviets. Others had propaganda material. ~~There~~ There was a great risk involved in picking them up, keeping them or talking about them to anyone. People were told to surrender them immediately to the police, however, no one did it, according to respondent.

Respondent believes that there is not much sense in sending leaflets into Hungary any more.

D. According to respondent, all Western groups that broadcast and send leaflets into Hungary had the same motives and goals, that is, to encourage the people behind the Iron Curtain and to disseminate anti-Communist propaganda.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

In respondent's idea, ~~xxxxxxx~~ the most important things a child should be taught are to respect his parents, to be brought up in a religious belief and also, to ~~xx~~ receive a good education.

Respondent is of the belief that a child should be disciplined, but he was very strongly against physical punishment. In his mind, a parent should always try to discipline a child by good word and example, but not by beating him up. Otherwise, respondent had very vague ideas how children should be brought up and how the treatment should be different for boys and girls.

Regarding how he personally was disciplined, respondent all of a sudden became more talkative. He blurted out that he thought it was a mistake on his father's part, who always wanted to bring him up and to educate him the way he was brought up, and respondent thought this wrong. "Because, after all," he said, "young people want to have more freedom than the elders imagine they need." His father wanted him to work from morning until evening. He, after 8 o'clock in the evening, wanted to go out sometimes. Respondent also disclosed that it hurt him deeply that there was always a controversy raging between him and his father. Then, on the other hand, he mentioned that his mother always took his part against the father, which also was wrong in his mind.

Among people he knew, all the families did punish children who were six years old or even older. Respondent did not think that the matter of punishments differed in social classes, but he was of the opinion that the working class beats the children far more than an intellectual, because, according to respondent, the intellectuals are better pedagogues.

According to respondent, in the last ten years, the authority of the father has become very much less important. Physical punishment at school was abandoned and so the authority decreased also. Respondent mentioned that if a child has denounced the teacher or a parent that he was beaten up by them, the offender was punished.

Regarding when parents stopped punishing their children; among people respondent knew, he said:

"Physical punishment is usually abandoned for boys between the ages of 12 and 13 and for girls around the age of 12. But it always depends on the child and on the parents also. Punishment, in general, is abandoned, according to respondent, around 16 for boys and ~~around 15 and 16~~ between 15 and 16 for girls, but again he pointed out, it depends entirely on the family.

According to respondent, this varies by social class because the upper classes educate their children well. (He used this word "upper classes.")

Communism brought about changes in the frequency of parental punishment, the kind of punishment, and the age at which it is abandoned.

When asked to point out changes during the last 10 years in the way children are disciplined during their first eight years in school, respondent said:

"I attended school under the Communist regime only, so I do not know the differences between the situation that was before the Communist regime. We only had the report cards that were sent to our parents as disciplinary measures. We were not allowed to be beaten, although sometimes we were excluded from an excursion or not sent to summer camp, if we did not behave well at school."

When asked about characteristics he values most in a friend, respondent said that he would like to see a friend to understand him completely and to be always sympathetic to his ideas and helpful. Here respondent pointed out that he always has been rather shy and had no friends, real good friends, because the other boys ran after the girls and this he disapproved. He preferred to go to the theater or opera or movies.

Regarding changes ~~in~~ in friendship under Communism, respondent ~~was~~ was of the opinion that the changes in friendship under Communism depended on what kind of a friendship existed between the two people.

78-M
HLR

XI-43

If people knew each other very well, then, according to him, probably the confidence and friendship would be maintained, even despite one or the other of the friends would belong to the Communist party. Otherwise, according to respondent, people were rather more cautious before making friends with anybody.