

surgical assistant in the hospital of the Hungarian National Blood Bank in Budapest.

Respondent's parents have both died.

Respondent has a brother ~~34~~ 45, and sister 40. Both in United States in N.Y.C.

He has no children.

Left Hungary November 28, 1956.

Arrived December 29, 1956.

Since leaving Camp Killmer respondent has been only in N.Y.C.

Respondent is now employed in a small clothing factory earning about \$80-\$85 a week. He is satisfied with his job, but would like very much to be employed in his own profession.

Respondent has not been interviewed by anyone since leaving Hungary.

Respondent speaks some ^{Croatian} ~~Czechoslovakian~~ and has acquired a working knowledge of English since arriving in the ~~U.S.~~ U.S.

Respondent's participation in the revolution consisted of hospital work and the treatment of injured Freedom Fighters. (Note: The Kadar government has exercised considerable pressure on doctors and hospital personnel to disclose the names of patients treated during the revolution. Many have been interned and deported.)

Character description:

Respondent is 5'10", broad-shouldered, muscular, with a homely, but sympathetic face. Neat in appearance, but somewhat shy of manners. A chain smoker, but at

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the same time, extremely calm, weighing all his answers carefully. Fairly intelligent, has constructive views and opinions on the Hungarian political situation.

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II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The Americans should know that ever since 1946 about 80 to 90 per cent of the people at home were constantly opposed to Rakosi's policies. Had there been any opportunity to sever ties with Russia earlier, the Hungarians would have done so long ago. The 1956 revolution was made possible only because the government had made considerable concessions since the 20th Party Congress.

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

A. On the evening of October 22 I was at home in Budapest on Uzsoki Road drinking beer with a friend in a corner pub. The radio had already announced the news of the NEPESZ meeting in Szeged. We knew that something was in the air, but did not think that a demonstration would take place in Budapest the next day.

On October 23 I went to work as usual. I worked in the hospital of the National Blood Bank which was situated on Daroczi Road in Buda. That morning going to work I noticed that everyone on the bus was excited and talked politics. But, only later in the day did I hear over the radio of the planned demonstrations.

When I heard of this I was exuberant. I cannot exactly describe my feelings. Everyone knew that something was about to happen. The events in Poland were only a pretext. Something would have broken out even without the Poles.

I was unable to attend the demonstrations on October 23. I was on duty and had to remain in the hospital. But, many of my colleagues went to the ~~demo~~ demonstration and regularly sent up telephone reports on what was taking place. The reports sounded so incredible, but they filled us with joy.

We heard Gero's speech that evening over the radio, and my impression was that the speech would not have been different had Rakosi himself spoken. It was a cold shower on our hopes and ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm because almost ~~at~~ simultaneously we heard the sound of tanks, presumably Russian ones, rumbling toward the city.

This was around 10p.m.

At about 11p.m. a truck load of young people came to the hospital singing and waving Hungarian flags. They seemed as if they were drunk from joy. They told us what was happening in front of the Radio Studio. They also brought a patient who had received a slight wound there, and needed treatment.

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The rest of the night and the next day (Oct. 24th) ~~many~~ applications for blood were received. By the morning of the 24th all our blood was gone. We had to give unprocessed blood that could be used only in case of emergency.

When word went around that our blood supply had diminished, we received many blood donors. Volunteer doctors and nurses came to help us.

The first wounded, about 30 or 40 young people, were brought to our hospital in the afternoon of the 24th. Four or five of these first patients died. I shall never forget one boy, a young fellow of nineteen, who raved in his fever and kept fighting even in his ~~own~~ hospital bed, giving instructions and commands to his friends.

For five days and nights, until the Russians withdrew from Budapest, I stayed at the hospital assisting at operations and caring for the wounded. ~~My~~ Many volunteer doctors came to help us, some whom we had never seen before. We operated on over 70 persons, including 25 Russians.

Most of the Hungarian patients were young people, mostly students. There were a few industrial workers between ~~ages~~ 40 and 45. Some of our patients, however, were wounded by shell fire in their homes, and had not taken part actively in the fighting.

When the fighting broke out, my initially my first reaction was that of joy. I realized that Hungary alone would not be able to defeat the entire Soviet army, but I believed that this would be an ~~ideal~~ opportunity for the West to come to our aid and force the Russians out of Hungary.

My emotions did not change even when our casualties began to increase. Of course, I was sorry for the people who died ~~and~~ or were wounded. But, my feelings were that the fighting should continue.

As I stayed in the hospital practically during the entire revolution, I do not know how the fighters were organized.

C. I believed that the Russian withdrawal was on the level. Many people disagreed with me. A few days later everyone knew that the Russians had stopped on the outskirts of Budapest.

After the Russian withdrawal my colleague ~~was~~ was able to come to the hospital and ~~relieve~~ relieve me. I was able to go home and, on two occasions, I did so. In the hospital we received many ~~sh~~ shipments of blood plasma, medicine, and supplies. Not all of our beds were filled. Most of the fighting occurred in ~~Budapest~~ Pest, and it was impossible to bring the wounded across the Danube bridges. We received only those patients who were wounded in our vicinity.

On the evening of November 3 I was ~~again~~ again relieved and could go home. At home I listened to Mindzenty's radio broadcast. I was a bit uneasy because I heard that the Russians were returning. But, I believed that they would not dare attack Budapest.

On November 4 I ~~awoke~~ awoke at dawn to the sound of ~~the~~ tanks. I turned on the radio and heard Imre

Nagy's declaration. I was very downcast and dumbfounded. The neighbors came out to the corridor, but we were unable to say a word to each other for quite some time. We just kept staring at each other.

Unable to go back to my own hospital, I went to work in the Uzsoki Road hospital nearby. During the fighting this hospital was heavily damaged. Most of the patients were moved to the ~~in~~ cellar, but several died in the wards.

The fierce fighting in the neighborhood did not spare the building in which I lived. That building alone received 35 artillery shells. There was considerable resistance by Freedom Fighters in that neighborhood.

I heard the word 'Freedom Fighter' only in the second stage of the revolution, after the Russian withdrawal.

The fighting died down only a week later. My apartment was heavily damaged. I lost everything I had. But, we still hoped that the West would do something. My hopes began to wane when the United ~~States~~ Nations began to discuss the problem of the Hungarian refugees in Austria. I could not understand why the refugees should be transported from Austria if the West really intended to do something about us. Simultaneously, I also began to plan my escape from Hungary.

After one unsuccessful try in which I was detained by ~~VH officers~~ dressed in police uniforms, I tried again on November 28. I left Budapest by train for Szombathely. We were not checked on the way, but detained at the railroad station in Szombathely. Someone, however, turned off the power supply and, in the

dark, everyone was able to ~~xxx~~ escape from the railroad station, where we had been surrounded by Russian and Hungarian troops.

I arrived on Austrian territory on December 1. I had no further difficulties getting across because my parents at one time had lived in a border zone.

D. Hungary has gained a great moral victory and, in the long run, the revolution may reap its harvest.

Summary of events during revolution:

October 23-28 respondent was in the hospital of the Hungarian National Blood Bank in Buda on Daroczi Road. Assisted at operations performed on wounded Freedom Fighters.

October 29-November 4 continued to work in the hospital and was relieved several times, could go home.

November 4-15 was caught in events of November 4 at home and was unable to return to his own place of work. Went to work as a volunteer in the hospital on Uzsoki Road nearby.

Mid-November, 1956 made one unsuccessful attempt to leave the country illegally.

November 28 left Budapest for Szombathely by train. Crossed border on December 1.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING
THE REVOLUTION

A. I expected only diplomatic and political support from the West when the revolution broke out. I did not think that a world war would erupt because of us.

B. My expectations were pure logical deductions based on a knowledge of world affairs derived from foreign radio reports.

C. Before my departure from Hungary I met some representatives from the Danish Red Cross who brought supplies and medicine to our hospital. One of the Danes said that we are unable to realize the great service we rendered to humanity. The Danes promised to send us hospital equipment, and to furnish a hospital in a nearby Party building.

I also saw some West German relief workers in Hungary after November 4, but I was unable to speak with them.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My parents were peasants. My father died in 1929, and my mother in 1934. They owned four yokes and a small cottage. They were unable to support themselves on this much land, and had to work for others as farm laborers.

Both my parents completed only six years of grade school.

B. Social classes ceased entirely under Communism. There were peasants, industrial workers, and the intelligentsia. But, practically no basic class difference existed between them. These were only occupations and not social classes. The child of a former intelligentsia became a worker. The worker became a member of the intelligentsia, etc.

I am unable to say what class I belong to. I never felt that I belonged to any specific class.

I think that Communism affected the workers probably the most in Hungary.

(In the last question the term 'profession' had to be used instead of 'class'.) Probes on questions concerning subject's views on social classes and on relations between the classes met with complete resistance, and had to be abandoned.)

C. From the point of view of getting ahead in Communist Hungary political views were the most important. Class origin was also important, but to a lesser degree. In exceptional cases talent was taken into consideration, even with if the person concerned was not a Communist, nor of a peasant or worker origin.

In the last two or three years less emphasis was placed on ~~political~~ political views or class origin alone, and talented people were able to get ahead better than before.

The person most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary is the person who can easily adjust himself to any political system, has no backbone, and is willing to do practically anything in the interests of his career.

D. The groups who in Hungary ~~derived~~ derived much more from society than they deserved were the AVH and the so-called political cadres. They were paid well, got top jobs, benefits, etc.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. As I am a bachelor and my parents died long before the Communist regime began, I think that Communism had little effect on my family life. But, in general, Communism did not have a good influence on family life at all. This can be led back to material problems. Women were compelled to work. At their ~~work~~ places of work they formed acquaintanceships with other men, etc. As a consequence, the number of divorces in Hungary increased considerably.

I think that the average family in Hungary under Communism became closer, with the members feeling safe only at home.

Parents who wanted to educate their children ~~was~~ religiously did so, but the schools had a counter-influence on the children. However, the parental influence was stronger. This became evident in the revolution.

In schools teachers often knew that the children realized that the teachers themselves did not believe what they were teaching.

Where there was harmony between ~~parents~~ parents and children, children were brought up as before. Such families were not rare exceptions. I think this explains why the Communists were unable to indoctrinate the youth.

B. Sexual life in general became much freer under Communism than before. Government policy on abortions went from one extreme to the other. In the last years before the revolution legal abortions were being performed on a large scale. Only those girls and women had babies who wanted to have them. This, too, contributed to a great

laxity of sexual conduct.

It was easier to get acquainted with members of the opposite sex than before. Young people and older ones alike became acquainted at their places of work at recreation events, vacation resorts, etc. Very few people became acquainted thru introductions.

There was less ~~much~~ fuss about courtships, especially on the part of the ~~women~~ males. They immediately went after what they wanted.

Parental influence in connection with courtships, engagements, marriages, did not cease entirely. It all depended on the education of the children.

Marriages were less lasting, with more divorces than before. This can be attributed mostly to financial reasons, and to the fact that women also had to go to work. The weakened influence of the churches was also a factor.

There was large scale secret prostitution in Hungary. This form of prostitution was larger than when it was licensed during the previous regime.

I do not think there are any differences in the sexual morality of a convinced Communist and a non-Communist.

C. I have known Party secretaries who were not convinced Communists, and were good fellows. I do not ~~not~~ condemn anyone for merely being a Party member, but if a friend of mine were to become a Communist by conviction, this would affect our friendship. Probably, I would be the one to terminate it.

Perhaps it ~~is~~ is possible to continue ^{such a} ~~the~~ ~~friend~~ friendship under the condition that politics will

not be mixed up in it. I do not know however if this is possible.

D. Under Communism there was probably more juvenile delinquency than under the worthy regime. This can be attributed to the increasing poverty in Hungary, to the lack of family and religious upbringing.

I have heard the word 'hooligan', but do not know what it means.

A jampecs can be recognized by his dress, conduct, impertinence, and sophisticated manners. By age he is between 16 and 20. They come mostly from industrial worker families.

The conduct of the Jampecs in itself is not criminal, but was considered an opposition to the regime. Therefore, it was persecuted.

I think that the Communist system exaggerated the entire Jampecs problem.

VII. RELIGION

A. Communists do not believe in God, and have scientific explanations for such questions as the origin of life and the creation of the world. Communists say that they do not persecute religion, but grant religious freedom. However, the Communist regime in Hungary had exercised great pressure upon the church, not only the ~~past~~ priests, but also the churchgoers. Communists also knew that it would be impossible to exterminate religious feeling from the majority of the people, so they tried to acquire so-called 'peace priests' who sympathized with the Communists, at least seemingly.

The ~~Roman~~ Roman Catholic church was hit the hardest by Communism in Hungary. Mindzenty offered the most open resistance to Communism. Mindzenty was supported not only by Catholics, but by Protestants also. He was a symbol of the resistance to the regime.

Protestant churches were less affected by the Communist regime in Hungary. They were more willing to cooperate with it.

I am certain that religion is a bulwark against Communism. The two are incompatible, so great are the differences of principles and ideals.

B. I think I am less religious than my parents were, but I am as religious as the ~~an~~ average person in Hungary. I attended church regularly up to about 1950. After that I did not go to Communion or confession. Here in the United States I am again going to church every Sunday, and do not eat meat on Fridays.

C. I approve of teaching religion in grade schools. The moral value of a religious

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person is greater. The churches should be given an important role in the education of children.

I think that the churches should be allowed to exercise censorship over plays, films, and books. But, their censorship should not be compulsory.

I do not think that the churches should play an active political role in an independent Hungary. Temporal and ecclesiastical problems do not mix.

The Jewish religion was also persecuted in Hungary. All religions which believe in God and teach the existence of the soul are opposed by Communism. The Jewish religion is no exception. I think that the Jewish religion in Hungary was persecuted to about the same extent as the Protestant religions were.

Since the Jews credited the Soviet army for their liberation from German persecution, it was only natural that after 1945 they sympathized with the Red army and the Communists. But, gradually they became disillusioned with Communism when they saw what it was in practice.

I think that comparatively more Jews were Communists than members of other denominations. This can be attributed to the fact that all top Communists were Jews and Jews always had the ability to foresee what is to their benefit. I do not think that the Jews were ~~convincing~~ convinced Communists.

During the revolution and demonstrations, I think that the Jews behaved passively. I am unable to say how they actually behaved, because I was in the hospital practically the entire revolution. But, my impression is that during the revolution no distinction was made between Jews and non-Jews.

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I do not think it is true that the Jews are
afraid of an independent Hungary.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. By Hungarian youth we mean the young people between 16 to 25.

B. In my opinion the Hungarian youth led the demonstrations and the revolution. The youth is always more enthusiastic and idealistic. The same was the situation in 1848. The youth saw the mistakes which existed and realized that such mistakes affect them most of all.

Older people have more responsibilities, and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ are more inclined to contemplate before starting to do anything.

The opinion of the older people changed considerably concerning the youth during the revolution. Up to then there was an inclination to look down upon the youth and to regard them as J-mpecs. The older people thought that the Soviet indoctrination of the Hungarian youth had been successful.

During the revolution the youth also came closer to the older generation. There were no differences of opinion between them.

C. (This sub-section is not applicable.)

D. Communist indoctrination did not have any affect at all on the Hungarian youth. Only a handful of young people played an active role in such organizations as, for example, the DISZ.

The Hungarian youth rejected Communist indoctrination because it was compulsory, and dictated from Moscow. Frequent references to Russian examples and conditions in the Soviet Union were irritating.

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The vast majority of the Hungarian youth never accepted Communist indoctrination. A very small minority which sympathized with them did so for personal and material reasons. Even most of these turned against the Communists after '48 or after '53.

IX. MAJOR DISSETISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-
DAY LIFE

A. In my everyday life in Communist Hungary, I was mostly dissatisfied with force and compulsion evidently directed by Moscow.

B. Other people complained of the extreme difficulty in making ends meet. About 80 per cent of the wages had to be spent for food. It is a wonder to me even today how people with only 600 -700 forints a month were able to exist.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. In my last year in Communist Hungary I was able to get along somewhat better than in '49 to '53.

I ate lunch in the hospital. When I was on night duty, which was every third day, I also received ~~an~~ supper in the hospital. This food was not enough, nor was it good. I bought and made my own breakfast and supper. I spent more than half of my salary on food.

I was able to buy a suit every 12 or 18 months. I had three suits in all. I did not wear out many clothes, because in the hospital I wore hospital clothes.

With six other families I lived in what once was a seven room apartment. Every family had a room of its own, and we had to share the bathroom and kitchen. I paid 16 forints rent per month for the one room. I was glad to have a room like this, although no one here would want it.

To take a girl dancing cost me about 100 ~~forint~~ forints. This I could afford only once or twice a year.

My greatest problem was food.

My pre-war standard of living should not be taken as a basis of comparison because since then I have completed my training and got a better job. But, comparing my 1956 standard of living with that of a man holding my kind of job before 1945, the decrease is considerable.

My standard of living was the highest in 1955-1956.

It was the lowest in 1949. to 1952.

I do not know of anyone who lived noticeably better than the average person in Communist Hungary.

The decline in the standard of living was caused by Soviet reparations, and disadvantageous trade agreements. The ~~industrial~~ resistance of the industrial and agricultural workers also contributed to the decline of the standard of living. There was considerable confusion in planning.

B. My average income during ~~the~~ ^{my last} 12 months ~~in~~ Communist Hungary was 1300 forints per month. This was 1100 forints basic salary, plus 200 forints per month for night duty every third day. ~~in~~ Ten forints were deducted for trade union dues, and I had to pay 50 forints a month for compulsory government loan installments.

I did not receive any extra pay or premium.

I did not have any secondary source of income, or any part time job.

As I am a bachelor, no one else in my family worked.

I received a wage increase of 50 forints in 1956.

C. I did very little purchasing, and only in the Kozert stores. I am unable to compare prices with those on the free market.

I purchased clothing and other commodities only in ~~government~~ government department stores.

There were often bottle-neck situations in distribution. This resulted in the fact that

you could get a certain commodity in one store, but not in another.

It was difficult to get standard spare parts, for example, bicycle chains, tires, or other parts.

At times there were shortages of shoe leather, foodstuffs, especially fat, meat or butter.

There may have been a black-market in Hungary, but I do not know of its existence. There was an open black-market in 1945 and '46 during the inflation. Later on there was a black-market only in smuggled watches which could be obtained on the black-market at about half the store price.

I do not know of any cases of legal outlets refusing to sell certain goods unless the buyer paid a higher price.

I think black-market operations were very dangerous, but I do not know what the punishments were.

D. I was a surgical assistant in charge of the operating rooms of our hospital. I kept the operating rooms in order, sterilized the instruments, and gave them to the surgeon when they were needed during the operation.

I went to work at 8 a.m.. It took me ~~xx~~ 45 minutes by bus to go to work from home. I worked from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Every third day I had to stay in the hospital until morning. I only had Sundays off.

I liked my work very much, and it was interesting. I chose this profession voluntarily, and regret very much that I am unable to continue it, as yet, here in the United States.

I got along very well with my co-workers; also with my superiors. I had ~~maximum~~ respect for them, and they had authority, but I did not fear them. They were extremely well qualified, also my fellow workers.

I think that the Hungarian trade union socialized ~~medical~~ medical service did not operate as efficiently as the former OTI had. This refers both to the ambulatory patients and to hospitals alike. Some hospitals were extremely neglected.

I was assigned to trade union vacation resorts only on two occasions. These vacation resorts were fairly good.

The pension program was not good. The pensions were extremely low. Pensioned workers complained that they were unable to exist on them.

E. In Hungary I would like to live only in Budapest. I spent three months in a small provincial town and was bored to death. I was extremely happy to get back to Budapest, although my new job was not as advantageous as the one I had left in the provinces.

I think that workers in Budapest ~~eat~~ eat the best food in Hungary. There were times when the country peasants themselves did not have bread, and had to go to the nearest city or ~~town~~ town to purchase it.

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

Politically it was easier to live in the country because people are more independent of Communists there. There are no seminars, training courses, demonstrations, etc.

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The farm collectivization program in Hungary was conducted by force from the very start. It could not be good. I realized that immediately. They wanted to abolish the independence of the individual peasants. Peasants were not enthusiastic about collectivization and farmed very unwillingly, and carelessly. This, it was evident, would cause a decline in agricultural production.

My opinion of farm collectivization has not changed since then.

I think that the middle peasantry opposed collectivization the strongest. Kulaks did not ~~ka~~ dare to voice their disapproval.

I had not heard of farm cooperatives being dissolved, only during the revolution.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Party politics never interested me, but during the war I was interested in the War's final outcome. I was also interested in politics during the last two years, trying to read in between the lines of the domestic papers.

Before 1948 I sympathized with all political parties with the exception of the Communists and the Social Democrats.

I have never been a member of any political party.

My feelings about the pre-1948 Communist Party have always been the same as they are today. Bela Kun was the leader of the 1818-'19 Communist terror in Hungary. I do not know much about him personally.

During the war I was not aware of the existence of the under-ground Communist party.

B. The majority of the Communist Party's membership consisted of unwilling members who joined under compulsion. There were very few Communists by conviction. Also, there were the old Communists imported from Russia. I have known Communist Party members of all three types.

Essentially, there was no change in the policy of the Communist party during the various years, after 1948. There was only a change in tactics. The aims and aspirations remained the same.

The tactical changes in Party policy were caused by exigencies of the world political situation.

I was aware of the differences in the Party between the Imre Nagy and Rk Rakosi groups.

I was aware of this only since 1953/

Party morale existed only among the small minority of convinced Communists. They may or may not have been satisfied with the Party policy, but could not have expressed their dissatisfactions.

The aims of the Hungarian Communist leadership are to Communize the entire world and to blindly follow Moscow's instructions. Personally, the top Hungarian Communists desire to achieve the greatest possible career. They are Communists by conviction. They do not have any personality. All types, from the diabolic to the well-intentioned, are represented among the Hungarian Communist leaders.

They are motivated by both material and personal gain.

When Hungary becomes independent, all top Communists should be brought to justice and made to answer for their deeds in front of a court.

C. From passive resistance to grumbling and sabotage, there was always ~~some~~ resistance in Hungary against Communism.

Resistance was especially flagrant in 1948, at the time of the Mindszenty demonstrations. The numerous jokes ~~against~~ against the government was also a form of resistance.

The hostility ~~with~~ with which the people regarded an AVH officer on the street was also a sign of resistance.

I do not know much about sabotage in agriculture and industry. There was no possibility for sabotage in our hospital.

Such acts of sabotage were generally known and effective. They helped to keep up the spirit of resistance.

Resistance was more noticeable before 1948. Later, with increasing terror, open resistance subsided somewhat.

The Hungarian writers and intellectuals also conducted active resistance against the regime. The film 'Deryne', which was released in 1955, contained a hardly concealed attack against the entire Communist system.

(Note: subject did not mention the Petofi Circle spontaneously.)

I first heard about the Petofi Circle in the 'Irodalmi Újság' in 1955 in the hospital. Some doctors were discussing it openly in the dining room.

I did not have any knowledge of any intellectual ferment before the Petofi meetings.

I think that the Hungarian intellectuals did not express anything new, they only dared to express what everyone felt all along.

I think that the Hungarian intellectuals prepared the way for the Hungarian revolution. They enable everyone to speak more openly.

I think that the intellectuals are basically practical people, and are not day-dreamers.

The Hungarian intellectuals opposed the regime because they felt a certain vocation to write and express the truth.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The members of the AVH were the same kind of people who were terror boys of the Arrow Cross Party in Hungary. They are completely unintelligent, and willing to do anything for their own advantage.

I had no contact whatever with any AVH personnel.

I have never been arrested, nor have any ~~any~~ members of my immediate family. Friends and distant relative, however, had been arrested by the AVH.

I have not heard of any AVH men wanting to leave the service, or suffering from remorse, or pangs of conscience.

When Hungary becomes independent, officers of the AVH should be brought to justice and made to answer for anything that they did. Non-commissioned officers and enlisted men serving in the AVH should be treated less severely.

There was a great difference between the AVH and the Blue Police in Hungary. During the revolution the Blue Police sided with the people ~~and~~ and gave arms, and offered no resistance.

I don't think there was any change in the efficiency of the Hungarian police force during the Communist regime. I did not know of any corruption in the Blue Police force.

B. Communist accusations of class justice during the Horthy regime are entirely unfounded. The courts then were independent,

with no political or bureaucratic pressure on the judges.

(Subject confused Peoples Courts with the jury system introduced in 1949.)

I think that SZALASI and his Party leaders are war criminals and deserve their punishment. However, IMREDY and BARBOSSY do not deserve the death sentence. Hungary became involved in World War II because of her territorial claims and geographical location. And also because we knew what Communism was like from 1918-1919.

IMREDY was responsible because of the anti-Semitic legislation during World War II, but he did not deserve a death sentence. Anti-Semitic legislation at that time was very moderate compared to the German.

C. Top officers of the Hungarian army were considered politically reliable from the Communist point of view. Still the army as a whole sided with the revolution. The first sign of this was the declaration of the Hungarian ~~sax~~ air force.

In the second stage of the revolution, the army could not participate because of the surprise Russian attack on all Hungarian barracks. Since the Communists were unable to use the army against the Freedom Fighters, the army was dissolved.

In the first stage of the revolution the army sided with the Freedom Fighters in Budapest. They were cheered and praised everywhere by the civilians.

I do not have any first-hand information about the army's conduct in the provinces.

I do not think there was any difference in the conduct of the various army groups which could be attributed to geographical differences, rank, or class origin.

However, enlisted men were distrustful of the officers. They were considered politically reliable from the Communist point of view. (That is the officers.) Communist officers were relieved of the duties, but time was too short to screen out the Communists from the army. Perhaps this explains why the Hungarian army was unable to oppose the Russians effectively on November 4.

The fact that certain army units fought in a revolution as a whole while other did not can be attributed to the local army leadership.

I was extremely surprised by the army's conduct during the revolution. I thought that discipline in the army and Communist control were greater.

The reason the Communists lost control of the army was that the officers were also against the regime. They saw what Communism in practice meant.

(The rest of this sub-section is not applicable as subject did not perform active military service in the Hungarian army during the Communist regime.)

D. I don't think that the lack of popularity of the Russians in Hungary can be attributed to the role of the Russians in suppressing the 1848 Kossuth revolution. Their conduct and behavior during World War II and in the ten years of occupation are the causes of Russian unpopularity in Hungary.

I had no first-hand experience with Russians in 1944 or 1945. I was evacuated to Austria before the siege of Budapest.

In our village a 15 year old girl was raped by the Russians and shot to death. I know the facts from her brother, ~~xxxx~~ an eye-witness, who is now here in the U.S.

Before the Russians entered Hungary I did not think

that they would act like barbarians. Many people awaited them with hope, because it would have meant the end of the war. We were very disillusioned.

My attitude toward the Russian army since 1945 has not changed.

(Subject was aware of the presence of the Russian troops in Hungary, but had no contact with them during the occupation nor during the revolution.)

E. There were probably government officials who were willing to disregard regulations, in order to help people in trouble. I do not know of any specific instances. Their motives were very likely unselfish. It was their resistance to the regime.

F. I think that bribery in Communist Hungary was very rare. It involved very severe punishment. But, I think that many government officials were well-intentioned people who were willing to help others in trouble.

Much could be achieved thru influence. This was true especially in connection with employment and advancement.

G. I do not know anything about the efficiency of the top Hungarian AVH officers.

The top army leadership consisted of some intelligent and well trained officers who had been retained from the previous regime. The new officers, however, were politically reliable, but unintelligent and not versed in military affairs.

I think that the Russian army was very well trained and well disciplined.

Top public administration officials with past experience were retained by the Communist regime, but were not

assigned to top posts. The top posts were filled by reliable Communist cadres who had to rely upon the experience of the old officials.

XIII. ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. If Kadar wants to stay in power he must use even stronger methods than the Rakosi regime employed. The people have found out that it is possible to stage revolts and uprisings. He must counter these with severe measures and is forced to rely on the Russian army. He cannot afford to make concessions.

Kadar will remain in power as long as Moscow wants him to. He wants the Russians to stay because he will not feel safe without them. But, even with the Russians there he may be brought to answer for some of the statements he made during and immediately after the revolution.

I do not think that there is much chance of a crisis arising between the East and the West, over the issue of Hungary. Moscow's moral defeat and loss of prestige caused by the Hungarian revolution will continue longer than the Communists care to admit.

We can hope that the chain reaction of revolts started in Berlin will continue. Perhaps a larger scale revolt will erupt with all satellites joining. Also, the Western states may realize that a firmer foreign policy against Communism is necessary.

We can also hope that a World War III may break out, which will, no doubt, end with a Western victory.

I personally am not in favor of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. The people at home probably are, but they too fear an atomic war. In the heated atmosphere of November 4 everyone at home would have preferred U.S. intervention even at the cost of an atomic war.

I think that a war between the United States and the Soviet Union in the long run is inevitable. It will break out perhaps within ten years.

I think that with diplomatic and economic sanctions, it is possible to force the Soviet Union to abandon Hungary.

B. Until 1949, the folks at home were somewhat hopeful. From then on, the future looked very dark, and we hoped only for a third World War. After ~~1952~~ 1953, there was a great ray of hope in the new policy and changes caused by Stalin's death.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, & ECONOMY IDEOLOGY

A. I want the future Hungary to be a completely independent and democratic country.

B. In an independent Hungary it would be essential to place emphasis on agriculture. Hungary is basically an agricultural country. It was one of the greatest mistakes of the Communist regime to begin overindustrialization, neglecting agriculture.

In my opinion, emphasis should be placed on light industry. We have no resources for heavy industry.

Consumer goods and commodities should be manufactured, first of all, to increase the standard of living. The production of war materials and arms should stop.

In an independent Hungary, I think, the larger national enterprises should be converted into stock companies, or companies jointly owned by the workers.

The smaller national enterprises should be given back to private management and ownership. The limit should be five or six times the wages of an average worker, that is, the owner's net profit should not exceed this.

I think that the government farms and cooperative farms should be dissolved and the land should be given back to the peasants. If the peasants want to form cooperatives on a voluntary basis, they should be allowed to do so.

Some state farms, for experimental purposes, should remain.

I approve of government ownership of transportation facilities. The heavy industries, mines, power plants, steel mills, etc. should be owned by the state. But I do not believe in nationalization or state ownership in the light industries.

agricultural

I think the government should set a limit to the amount of property which can be owned by any one person or family. This limit should be 100 acres.

If I were to choose between democracy and a dictatorship insuring a fair standard of living, I would choose democracy. Democracy and freedom are worth more than a guaranteed high standard of living. In the long run, pure democracy will be able to establish a higher standard of living than any dictatorship.

In an independent Hungary, I would be in favor of permitting a Communist party to operate. It would be better to tolerate it to see clearly who are the real Communists, but this also is essential for true democracy. There is very little chance for Communists gaining any support at all.

C. Ideally, I would prefer a neutrality like Austria, for Hungary. But later on, a union of central European or European states would be more to my liking.

We are too near to Russia to neglect her entirely. But ideally Hungary should have no military relations with the Soviet Union; only limited economic and cultural relations, and formal ~~or~~ diplomatic relations. On second thought, cultural relations with the Soviet Union would not be advisable because the Soviet uses cultural relations as a means of Communist propaganda.

^{to}
This applies also ~~to~~ the other Eastern European countries if they remain Communist.

With the West, and especially with the ^{and} United States Hungary should conduct intensive cultural ~~and~~ economic relations, diplomatic relations, but no military alliances or understandings, because of ~~Hungary's~~ Hungary's neutrality.

I have heard about the plans for a federation of Danubian states, when I studied about ~~Kossuth~~ Kossuth. ~~Some~~ I also read an article about the desirability of such a federation, during the Revolution in a Debrecen newspaper.

I approve entirely of such a federation. This could be the beginning of a United States of Europe. I think that all the Danubian states should be included without exception. I think that such a federation is possible.

I estimate that 90 to 95% of the people at home would approve of such a federation.

I am not satisfied with Hungary's present boundaries. The Trianon peace treaty, it seems to me, was unjust. But I realize that pre-World War I boundaries are regrettably out of question. This problem can be solved automatically by creating a Danubian federation. If this is not possible, then ethnical boundaries should be restored through peaceful negotiations. This would mean boundaries somewhat beyond the ones established during the two Vienna arbitrations.

IV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Before the Revolution I heard about Khrushchev's speech before the 20th Party Congress. I heard this on Western radio broadcasts.

Communist propaganda at home attacked Senator McCarthy very vehemently. I considered him a champion of the struggle against Communism.

I do not know who Peron is.

Before the Revolution, there were ~~many~~ rumors about the private life of Rakosi, which centered mostly around the great luxury in which he lived. We did not have any details about his private life.

B. Before the Revolution, our most important sources of information were the Western radio broadcasts. ~~Next~~ Second most important sources were talks with friends, and also reading in between the lines in the Hungarian newspapers.

C. During the last three years, I received ~~many~~ ~~considerable~~ considerable news by word of mouth concerning Imre Nagy, from reliable friends and acquaintances. Such news sources ~~were~~ varied in reliability) ~~depending~~ depending on the individual from whom they derived. The danger of distortion was too great, as regards news received by word of mouth.

D. (This sub-section has been omitted because of the time element.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. In Russia, the constant struggle for power since Stalin's death will either create another dictatorship, or will establish a "collective leadership" which in itself will result in a change from the Stalin era. But it is hard to imagine a complete change in the Soviet Union. Chances of revolution seem very little, and will depend on whether or not there will be an outstanding personality to lead such a revolution.

If the "thaw" after Stalin's death were to continue indefinitely, it could eventually lead to a revolt. But ~~Khrushchev~~ Khrushchev now ~~realizes~~ realizes that Communism can be sustained only by dictatorial methods.

The gregarious nature of the Russians and their ignorance of Western culture and ways of life make their present conditions at home acceptable to them.

As regards free elections that might be run in the Soviet Union, I do not know what the outcome would be, if such elections were possible. I am not familiar with conditions in the Soviet Union. I cannot judge on the basis of prevailing conditions. In Communism has much deeper roots in the Soviet Union than in Hungary, where it has existed only a comparatively short time.

The aim of the top Soviet leaders is to bolshevize the entire world, and to overthrow Capitalism.

Their individual motives are lust for power and material advantages. They are fanatics and convinced that their means justify their ~~ends~~ aims.

The only difference between the top Soviet leaders and their Hungarian counterparts is hierarchy.

East

B. The people of Poland and of Germany are the two most popular of the countries mentioned. The sympathy is not for their governments, but for the people themselves. (Countries mentioned, in addition to the above, are Czechoslovakia, ~~Romania~~ Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.) The Poles are popular in Hungary because of the traditions of Hungarian-Polish friendship. The Germans are more popular than the other countries mentioned, because of their higher culture.

Romania and Czechoslovakia are the two least popular because of the territorial demands against these countries and their treatment of Hungarian minorities in those lands.

If free elections were to be held in these countries, Communism would be defeated.

Of the countries mentioned, the standard of living is highest in East Germany, with Czechoslovakia, second. The standard of living is probably the lowest in Romania, with Bulgaria second.

G. Gomulka is not a puppet, at least not the kind of puppet that Moscow has placed in the other satellite countries.

The Poles saw that the West ~~xxx~~ did not help Hungary (in its Revolution) hence they ~~con-~~ sidered more prudent not to follow our ex-
ampla. ~~it~~ Otherwise, they too would have severed all ties with Moscow, or at least ~~g~~ would have tried to. ~~xxx~~

Gomulka will stay in power as long as he carries out his orders from Moscow, or until a revolution breaks out in Poland.

on the
Revolu-
tion.

The events in Poland had considerable effect ~~on them~~ in Hungary. Poland started the ~~aval-~~anche by demanding that the Russians withdraw from the country. Cultural ties, ~~xxxxxxx~~ especially between the Poles and Hungarians writers also ~~af~~ affected the Hungarian Revolution.

had

There ~~had~~/been some change in the freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. Gomulka's release from prison was a result of this new policy.

"Respondent did not mention the Posnan spontaneous riots".

end disk 3A

In Hungary I heard about the Posnan riots over the Western radio broadcasts, and also read about them in the Hungarian press. These riots, at least the Communist version of them, were generally known by almost everybody in Hungary.

During the Revolution, even after Nov. 4, the general feeling at home was to continue the fighting against Russian Communism. ~~But~~ If we had known in advance what the final outcome would be, it would have been better to stop halfway rather than lose so many lives.

B. Whether Tito invented National Communism or not, I do not know. However, he certainly achieved it in his country. He is the same kind of dictator as Stalin was.

Relations between Tito and the Soviet Union are always changing. Now they are reconciled again.

Since Tito's break with Moscow, Eastern European countries were directed by the Soviet Union in determining their relations with Tito.

Seemingly, Tito is on good terms with the West. But ~~xxx~~ this friendship is not unselfish. Tito is wooing the West for economic assistance.

Tito contributed to the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution by demanding Rajk's rehabilitation. He attributed the Revolution to Rakosi's imprudent policies. He supported Imre Nagy, but after that he also supported the Kadar government.

I don't think there is any Titoism in any other satellite countries.

I do not think that Tito is popular in ~~Yugoslavia~~ Yugoslavia.

Economic conditions in Yugoslavia were worse than in Hungary. A Hungarian doctor visited relatives in Yugoslavia a year or two before the Revolution. I heard about Yugoslav conditions from him.

E. In my opinion, Egypt had no right to nationalise the Suez Canal. I do not know exactly how the war in Egypt broke out, and therefore I am unable to give an opinion of reliability on the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion; but it is certain that it occurred at ~~every~~ every unopportune time for Hungary.

The Suez crisis affected the outcome of the Hungarian Revolution. It divided public opinion and distracted attention from events in Hungary. It was also a pretext for the Soviet Union to intervene in Hungary.

F. The standard of living in Western Germany is very high. Some say it is even higher than in the United States.

Germany can be dangerous only if such an extremist party comes to power as Hitler's National Socialist party. A democratic Germany can never be dangerous to peace.

I approve of West Germany's rearmament. We cannot remain entirely unarmed, when the other side is armed to the teeth. I think that the length of military service in West Germany is two years.

Germany began its rearmament only two years ago. I do not know what stage they have reached. The German army will eventually become stronger than the French army, but will not be as strong as the British armed forces.

Russian occupation of Hungary is more unpopular by far to every Hungarian than the German occupation was. Only a handful of fanatical Communists in Hungary are an exception to this.

It cannot be denied that the Germans, both officers and men, behaved in a more disciplined fashion in Hungary than did the Russian occupation troops.

G. I heard about Nato at home through foreign radio broadcasts and also from the Hungarian press. I approve of it.

The Warsaw pact is the counterpart of the Nato agreement. Both claim to have no intentions of aggression.

The British Labor Party is not a Communist at all. Its equivalent on the Continent is the Social Democratic party.

Of the countries mentioned, Western Germany has the highest standard of living, with Great Britain second, Italy third, Egypt fourth, Greece fifth, and the Soviet Union last.

After my arrival in the United States, what impressed me most was the personal freedom which one could see everywhere.

In connection with Hungary and Central and South-eastern Europe, the United States foreign policy should be firmer and more consistent. The United States government should give economic aid to Poland and Yugoslavia only if this would serve to bring about a break with Moscow. Otherwise, American aid would only be strengthening Communism.

I think that the United States should grant no economic aid to the Kadar government, nor recognize it. It would be better to sever diplomatic relations ~~altogether~~.

I am certain that the people at home would like to see more Western visitors, especially newspaper who could inform the entire world of the conditions prevailing at home.

Future visitors to Hungary should be warned not to be misled by government tourist guides. They should be told to mingle with the people, and see everything for themselves.

The purpose of the Marshall plan was to grant economic aid to the countries of war-torn Europe. This would bring about a higher standard of living, and minimize the dangers of Communism.

The United States became involved in the Korean War in order to curb Communism in Asia. Perhaps South Korea was also important strategically.

J. I am very dissatisfied with the United Nations. It ~~hesitates~~ too much and is unable to execute its hesitates own decisions.

During the Hungarian Revolution, the United Nations should have sent a committee to Hungary, which should have acknowledged and enforced Imre Nagy's declaration of neutrality. If necessary, it should have sent United Nations troops to Hungary.

I do not have much hope of effective United Nations action on Hungary in the near future.

IVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDE TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. I think that the greatest living Hungarian is Cardinal Mindszenty. He consistently opposed Communism and remained firm in his position even when this meant his arrest, and torture.

I have a high opinion of Imre Nagy. I cannot believe that he ever was a Communist. Until he announced his program of neutrality, every one was mistrustful of him.

Laslo Rajk is not a saint nor a ^{party} Marxian/convicted Communist. His trial was a farce in which he willingly ~~played his role with promises of being executed only seemingly.~~ ^{CUILTY} IN RETURN FOR PROMISES OF NOT BEING EXECUTED

My opinion of Erno Gero is the worst possible.

The same applies for Janos Kadar.

I think that General Bela Kiraly is a decent fellow.

I have no opinion of Anna Kethly. I think all exile ~~men~~ politicians should cooperate with her, though she may be a bit leftist.

I did not approve of ~~xxxxx~~ President Eisenhower's statement that the United States would not interfere in Hungary. It would have been better to make no statement at all. The statement only encouraged the Soviet Union. He was very ~~sympathetic~~ sympathetic ~~ixx~~ with the refugees and with Hungary in general, but he did not do anything for Hungary.

Secretary-General Hammarskjold is very timid. He should have gone to Hungary without Russian permission.

I have no opinion of Secretary of State Dulles.

I do not know much about former Prime Minister Eden but his decision on Suez was very disastrous for Hungary.

Former President Truman's foreign policy was firmer than Eisenhower's. He received more abuse from the Communist press than did President ~~Exu~~ Eisenhower. Eisenhower's scapegoat seems to be Secretary Dulles.

Mikoyan is one of the many members of the Soviet Politbureau.

Prime Minister Nehru wants to be on good terms with both God and the devil.

I have no opinion on Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Ferenc & Nagy's journey to Austria and his plans to form a government there during the Revolution were very unwise. The Revolution was begun and fought, not by the immigrants. He should not have resigned in 1947 because of the consequences.

I have a very poor opinion of former President Roosevelt. He offers a typical example of the lack of foresight in American foreign policy. The Yalta conference opened the gates to Communism in Europe.

I have a very favorable opinion of Chancellor Adenauer.

Stalin is the meanest dictator in history.

Malenkov is one of the many.

Essentially, Generalissimo Franco is also a dictator ~~but~~ but not a Communist.

I do not know who Devan is.

Khrushchev is almost the same as Stalin.

This can be said also of Molotov.

Ollenhauer cannot be so left-wing as to sympathize with Communism.

I think that Churchill is a great statesman and I like his plan for a United States of Europe.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITY

A. The refugees who left Hungary during and after the Revolution were the participants in the demonstrations and fighting, those who left home seeking adventure and finally those who went to the West because of family ties. All had one thing in common -- they were afraid of the consequences of the Revolution and had enough of life under Communism. I think there are more males than females among the refugees.

The majority of the refugees comes from Budapest. The next largest group is from Western Hungary, especially from the border zone.

All classes are equally represented, perhaps there are less peasants than workers.

Many people, including several of my friends, felt that some one had to stay at home. Even among the refugees, there were pangs of conscience about leaving, and "deserting" the country. I feel sorry for those back home. They have chosen the harder role in the struggle for Hungary's liberation. This of course does not apply to the handful of Communists who stayed in Hungary.

I do not think that the people back in Hungary resent our leaving. They probably are glad that at least we are safe.

In my opinion, about 80-90% of the people in Hungary would stay, even if all were allowed to leave the country.

B. In foreign radio broadcasts, I heard about such politicians in exile as Ferenc Nagy and Bela Varga. I also heard about the Hungarian National Council.

My opinion of such organizations and politicians has changed considerably since I came to the United States. We at home believed that they were doing something in our behalf. We thought that the politicians in exile were more united, and had buried their differences, until the time that Hungary was liberated.

I participated in the demonstrations staged by these organizations, here in New York. I have also joined the Freedom Fighters Federation, but am not taking an active part in its affairs.

I heard about the Hungarian National Council, over the radio, back home. I knew that it exists and consists of politicians in exile like Bela Varga.

I have heard about the ~~M.H.B.F.~~ M.H.B.F. only while in the United States.

This applies also to the American Hungarian Federation.

Bela Varga - I have no opinion about ~~him~~ him. I do not wish to base my opinion on what I have heard of him here, in the United States.

Charles ~~Peyer~~ Peyer is a former Social Democratic leader, who was frequently attacked by the Communist press at home.

Niklos Kallay is a decent politician. I heard when in Hungary that he was here in the United States.

I have heard the name of Bela Fabian only here in the United States.

Governor Horthy deserved great merit in freeing Hungary from the 1919-1920 Communist rule. But I do not like him too much. It was strange ~~to~~ to have a king to put down a king.

end disk 3B

The exiles who had left Hungary before 1956 tried to influence public opinion in favor of Hungary. They achieved some success in their very existence. We in Hungary had the feeling that at least there were some people to represent us.

I feel that the Hungarians in exile should have been more active in 1947 and 1948 when the Communists were coming to power.

During the Revolution I thought about the Hungarian politicians in exile. I had hoped they were doing everything possible to persuade the West to help us.

redemption

C. I heard that the ~~redemption~~ campaign existed, but I did not know anyone who returned to Hungary after 1946.

The redefection campaign served only propaganda purposes. The Communists wanted to prove to the Western world that conditions in Hungary were so good that many people wanted to return.

We at home thought the ~~xxxx~~ redefectors were fools

D. The people at home would like to know what we are doing to liberate them. They should know that we are not idle, but there is not much that we can do.

The refugees here in the United States should use their American contacts here to influence public opinion. They ~~xxxxxx~~ must adjust themselves to life here, and live an exemplary life to preserve the good name of the Hungarian people.

I have already joined the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation. The purpose of this federation should be to nourish the roots of the Revolution. ~~xxxxxxx~~ I think that every one who accepts the federation's aims should be allowed to join regardless of when he left Hungary.

In Hungary, I did not know anything about the Hungarian political parties in exile.

During the Revolution I heard about the revival of the Hungarian political parties, and I considered this move a bit premature. But in principle I approved of the formation of new parties, because this represents true democracy.

It was not absolutely necessary for the Hungarian politicians in exile to return to Hungary to participate in the revival of the political parties. They could have returned if they wanted to.

E. I will return to Hungary when Hungary is liberated. I will return for good. But as long as there is Communism in Hungary, and as long as the Communists are in power, I will stay in the United States.

If I marry and have children here in the United States, I will want them to know Hungarian.

XIX.

AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. In Hungary I listened regularly to broadcasts from Radio Free Europe, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America. One time I also listened to the broadcasts of Radio Paris. The reception for all of these broadcasts was about the same. All of them were jammed, but it was possible to receive these ~~xx~~ programs.

I listened only to ~~xxxxxxxixxxxxxxxixxxxx~~ the programs in Hungarian. Until about 1952 I listened to about several broadcasts a day. After 1953 I listened only about twice a week.

I discussed the foreign radio broadcasts regularly with my friends, ~~xxxx~~ especially when there was something interesting in the news.

I listened to these broadcasts on my own radio, mostly alone, but often in the company of my friends and neighbors, who dropped in to listen to the news. I did not take any special precautions when listening to the radio broadcasts, but I did not tune the radio on too loud.

When I was unable to listen to foreign radio broadcasts myself, I always received word of mouth accounts from friends.

It was not ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ especially dangerous to listen to foreign broadcasts, but it was not advisable to be caught. One never spoke about broadcasts before a Communist. I think that the Hungarian broadcasts of the foreign radio organizations are necessary to inform people in Hungary and to enable them to form their own opinions of what is happening. They cannot very well do so on the basis of the one-sided domestic news version. I personally preferred the Hungarian broadcasts of B.B.C. The ~~long~~ of these broadcasts was more moderate, and not inciting. The B.B.C. was also more reliable than the other broadcasts.

The accuracy of the programs could be judged on the basis of domestic news reports, which one ~~x~~ was able to check at home.

In general, the foreign radio broadcasts were useful inasmuch as they served to keep up the hopes of the people.

During the Revolution, the foreign broadcasts were of special importance, inasmuch as they were practically the sole source of information.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts were not as moderate as for example, the B.B.C. broadcasts. Often Radio Free Europe was inaccurate in small, insignificant ~~xxxx~~ items, which served to undermine overall confidence in its news service. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxx~~ I disapproved of their "black lists". I had the feeling that innocent people often were being falsely accused of ~~xxxxxxx~~ collaboration with the Communists.

I personally did not hear Radio Free Europe make any promises of immediate help in the Revolution, but if this happened, the Radio people themselves may have been under the impression that the government would help Hungary. I think that foreign radio broadcasts into Hungary should continue, to keep people informed.

I think that Radio Free Europe should continue its programs in the same manner as they have been broadcast previously. But the tone of the broadcast should be more partial in such ~~xx~~ programs, as for example, "black lists", should be omitted.

I think that most emphasis should be placed on straight political and economic news service.

B. I have not heard of the initials N.E.M. or the Twelve Demands.

C. I have never seen Radio Free Europe leaflets, but have heard rumors of such leaflets, also heard about them over foreign radio broadcasts.

The Hungarian press also said that balloons bringing in the leaflets were jeopardizing civil aviation.

~~and~~
 In 1952 ~~xx~~/1954 I met a person living near the Austrian border, who had found Radio Free Europe press leaflets in his field. ~~xx~~ I do not remember what he said about the contents of the leaflets.

I think that the leaflets were more dangerous than foreign radio broadcasts. Any one caught picking up such leaflets, talking about them, passing them on, was imprisoned.

This did not deter anyone from picking up a leaflet and reading it if he had the opportunity.

I did not know of any changes in the severity with which such ~~xxxxx~~"crimes" were punished.

I think that it is unnecessary to send in leaflets by balloon into Hungary. The same ~~x~~ information ~~xx~~ can be provided more easily and with less risk over the radio.

G. I have not noticed any differences in the motives of the various broadcasting corporations sending in news into the satellite countries.

I think their primary aim is to keep the hopes of ~~the~~ the people alive. --that is, people behind the Iron Curtain---and to increase their resistance to Communism.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important thing in the education of a child is the formation of his character. The child should be taught honesty, patriotism, and faith. He should receive a religious education.

Discipline is necessary, but physical punishment is not absolutely necessary.

Boys should be dealt with more firmly than girls; For girls are more inclined to listen to reason.

As children grow older, they should gradually be given more independence and responsibility. Children should be taught, step by step, to be self-reliant.

I do not remember any instance where I was punished by my parents. I almost never received any physical punishment.

Among the families I know, the children over six were punished usually by the father. I do not know of any differences in this respect, on the basis of sex, age, or social class of the child. I am not aware of any differences which arose in Communism.

Physical punishment is usually abandoned for boys at the age of 16, and for girls at 14. Punishment is usually terminated at the age of 20 for both boys and girls.

I do not know of any differences in this respect as between the different social classes.

Under Communism, I think, there has been less physical punishment administered by the parents than before. Communists are opposed to physical punishment and parents are afraid that children will reveal they have been punished this way, and this may bring trouble.

In school, physical punishment was abolished. I do not know what means of punishment were used instead of it.

The traits I favor most in a friend are character and integrity. A friend must be reliable. He must have the same interests as I have.

THE END