

Respondent has four brothers and five sisters. One brother aged 57 is a peasant, ~~xxxx~~ another 55 is a non-commissioned officer in the Hungarian army, a brother 52 works for the Hungarian railway, and one 47 is also a peasant.

His sisters are 50, 43, 41, 36, and 26, all married and in Hungary.

Respondent has one son ~~xxx~~ nine years old, and a daughter 13. They are in the U.S. with him.

Respondent left Hungary November 21, 1956

Arrived in U.S. December 5, 1956

Since his arrival he has been only in Camp Killmer, Norwalk, Conn, and now in N.Y.C.

Respondent has ~~xxx~~ purchased on credit a small tin-smith shop here in N.Y. He plans to continue in business for himself.

Respondent has not been interviewed by any Western organization since leaving Hungary.

Respondent speaks only Hungarian with some little English he has learned since his arrival here.

Active participation in the revolution.

#### Character description

Respondent is a very pleasant and likable person. He is of medium height, muscular, good-looking, neat in appearance and fairly intelligent. Extremely patriotic. A close personal description of respondent and his family can be found in Michener's "Bridge at Andau" pages 183 on.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

Americans should know Hungarian history better in order to understand what the revolution really was.

The foreign newspaper men who were riding through Hungary during the revolution saw only the casualties and damages, but they did not understand what was going on essentially. They did not know Hungarian history. They should have been told at least about 1848. Without this they cannot have a thorough knowledge of Hungarian conditions.

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

A.&B. Ever since Rajk's rehabilitation in the summer of 1956 I and my two best friends were under the impression that public sentiment was being freely expressed and something would happen.

On October 22 I was at home in Szekesfehervar. We were unaware of the demonstrations to be held the next day.

In the afternoon of October 23 I met my two friends in a cafe in Szekesfehervar. We heard over the radio of demonstrations in Budapest and later the lifting of this band.

When I heard this I was certain that the demonstrations would end in a revolt. I suspected this because of the embittered feeling of the people in Hungary.

In the evening of October 23 we listened to Gero's speech. I was then in an expresso. Everyone there was of the opinion that Gero was pouring oil on the ~~the~~ fire. We did not know what was going on in Budapest, but could conclude from the speech.

My two friends and I went out to the railroad station, with the intention of going to Budapest. At the railroad station from railroad men and travelers who had just arrived from Budapest, we could piece together what was happening. I wanted to go immediately to Budapest by train. The trains were still running, but regrettably I did not have enough funds to pay my fare. I had to go home and remain in Szekesfehervar.

Everyone was excited. That night we decided to stage a demonstration on the following day. ~~But~~ By then we hoped to have a complete picture of the events in Budapest.

This demonstration took place on ~~November~~ October 24.

before noon, The demonstration was organized primarily by the industrial workers, but practically the entire city of Szekesfehervar participated in it. Everyone who could walk was there.

On the way to the City Hall the demonstrators destroyed all Communist slogans and insignia. Red stars were cut out from the flags and destroyed. The army also took part in this demonstration. The main slogan was "Russians go home." The demonstrators also sang Kossuth songs.

I joined the demonstration with my two friends. When the demonstrators were going by our house my feelings were a mixture of enthusiasm and curiosity. I hoped that the demonstrations would lead to the liberation of Hungary and would bring about the end of Communism. I did not feel any fear at all. I decided to help organize the entire popular movement. Through my sport contacts I knew very many people in the city and felt that I was qualified to take part in organizing the resistance. By then we knew that fierce fighting was going on in Budapest.

The demonstration decided to free the prisoners in the Szekesfehervar prison and to disarm the AVH.

AVH headquarters was protected by Russian tanks. The tanks drove into the crowd and crushed several demonstrators. The AVH men used tear gas. Several people died, many were wounded. All this did not subdue the demonstrators, only made them more furious.

The second group of demonstrators who went to the county prison to free the political prisoners were more successful. The public prosecutors office under the pressure of threats by demonstrators, did not have time to screen the prisoners. Everyone was released: political and common criminals alike.

The prisoners were cheered by the demonstrators. Everyone gave them food and money. Some of the prisoners were moved to tears on being liberated.

A company of soldiers was sent out to disperse the demonstrators in front of the prison. Their commander, a fellow with whom I served in the army during the war, assured me that he would not turn against the people.

Another demonstration was held on the 25th in Szekesfehervar. The commander of Szekesfehervar, General Mikes, appeared with a strong guard of officers. He wanted to address the crowd, but the crowd did not let him speak. He tried to tell us that he too is on the side of the ~~people~~ people, but we did not believe him. We knew his Communist record. He promised to remove the local Party officials who had branded the previous day's demonstrators as "an unruly gang." He returned from Party headquarters and cynically told us that only the Communist headquarters in Budapest have the authority to remove the local top Communist ~~editors~~ officials from office.

That day the demonstrators occupied the local Party printing shop and entrusted a newspaper woman just released from prison to manage it. This newspaper did excellent work during the further course of the revolution.

The secondary school students and some university students began to organize and to acquire arms. They captured the radio studio. When later the army also joined them, they jointly disarmed the AVH.

On October 26 we formed a Revolutionary Council which took over the local ~~government~~ government entirely. In this council there were many former army men. Distrusting a commander, they demanded General Mikes' resignation and took control of the army. Some officers who were considered reliable helped the Revolutionary Council.

On the following two days the revolutionary council removed from office known Communists. There was no more fighting in Szekesfehervar before the Russian withdrawal from Budapest.

The members of the Revolutionary Council were elected by the factory and mine workers, and government and other officer employees.

When the fighting in Budapest started I was confident that the West would interfere and help us.

C. When the Russians withdrew from Budapest I first ~~xxx~~ thought that they were sincere. Everyone was overjoyed, but later I began to suspect that it was only a tactical retreat. We were not very well informed but rumors persisted that Russians were bringing fresh troops into the country. Later the radio confirmed these rumors.

The Russians remained in Szekesfehervar all along. They occupied all airfields ~~in~~ and barracks in and around the city. Only ~~one~~ one barracks was in Hungarian hands.

The Russian civilians and dependents were collected in the buildings next to the Russian headquarters in Szekesfehervar. After the first ~~xxxx~~ unsuccessful attempt to capture the AVH headquarters, the Russians did not interfere at all. They paraded through the city several times making everyone aware of their presence, but there was no fighting with the Russians before November 4.

Late on November 3 we went to bed feeling ~~xxxx~~ confident that Malet's negotiations with the Russians would be successful and that the Russians would withdraw from Hungary.

Between 2 and 2 3a.m. on November 4 we were awakened by the sound of Russian artillery shelling the headquarters of the Hungarian militia and the

building of the Revolutionary Council. Russian tanks were parading through the streets of the city shelling and machine-gunning all public buildings.

This treachery infuriated everyone. I took the sub-machine gun which I had acquired from the army barracks previously, went up to the ~~xxx~~ attic of the building in which our apartment was. From an attic window I shot down the four Russians who were manning a mortar near our home.

After this incident I grew panicky and began to fear for my family. Our house was next to the Russian headquarters and I feared that they would be ~~suspicious~~ suspicious of the building. I hid my sub-machine gun, took my family from the building to my sister's several blocks away. I had to go by Russian guards. I was unable to repossess my sub-machine gun.

(Subject is unwilling to discuss his further participation in the revolution because of people involved who are still in Hungary.)

Resistance in Szekesfehervar continued for two more days. The Freedom Fighters --after the Russian withdrawal from Budapest -- were not organized, and after two days the resistance was crushed.

I returned to my house several times for our possessions and to see what was going on in the Soviet headquarters next door. When I saw that the released AVH men and Russian soldiers were taking prisoners to the Soviet headquarters cellar by truckloads and giving them over to a Russian colonel, I decided it was time to escape from Hungary. This was on November 6. I also heard that many people were simply shot down at home without any resistance on their part.

I was able to start for Austria only on November 20.

We went by train as far as 45 kilometers from the border. From there on we went by foot arriving in Austria on November 21. We were lucky to have ~~xxx~~ avoided the Russians on the border. Refugees captured by them, but who succeeded to ~~xxx~~ escape from them, warned us of their positions. In Austria I was interviewed by James Michener. He helped us to ~~a~~ obtain visas in the American legation in Vienna.

D. Hungary, despite the heavy losses and the repercussions, has still gained ~~a~~ considerable by the revolution. Hungary has rehabilitated herself of charges of fascism dating ~~xxx~~ from the last months of World War II, and has proved to the world that despite all appearance to contrary the Hungarian people are strongly against Communism.



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

A. In Austria my nine year old son told Michener the following: "We did not expect the United States to send forces, but we did expect the West to send us arms and ammunition."

I felt that the United States and the United Nations were morally obliged to support our struggle for freedom.

B. I based my views on previous pledges to liberate "enslaved nations." Such statements from responsible statesmen were frequently broadcasted over Western radios, especially Radio Free Europe. The very term "enslaved nations" coined by the West implies the need and promise to liberate us. I have the feeling that we were betrayed. The prestige of the West and of the United Nations and also that of Radio Free Europe and the Hungarian politicians in exile and political organizations has sharply declined. It should be ~~xxxxxxx~~ restored through effective measures.

C. I saw foreign press ~~xxxxxx~~ correspondents drive through Szekesfehervar in the days of the revolution, but I did not have an opportunity to speak to any of them.

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. There are no classes in Hungary today, in the strict sense of the word. There are only two classes: patriots and traitors. Fortunately the latter group is insignificant. Aside from this there are only occupations in Hungary: peasants, industrial workers and intelligentsia. But they are not classes.

My father was a peasant and had some land -- only four yokes before World War II. Because of his age my father was unable to work since 1945, and lived with my sister. We children all contributed to the support of our parents.

Both my father and mother each had six grades of elementary school.

I consider myself to be in industrial workers, but of peasant origin and I am proud of it.

I think that the intelligentsia was most effected by Communism in Hungary. The intelligentsia was the biggest threat to Communism, therefore it was necessary to liquidate and isolate its members from all other occupations.

The peasants feel ~~themselves~~ <sup>deceived</sup> to a considerable extent. They feel that the promises made by the Western leaders during World War II have been broken. They feel deceived also by the post-war land reform of 1945. No peasant was satisfied, not even in 1945, with the way the land w reform was carried out.

Despite the twelve years of Communist rule I think that the Hungarian peasantry remains the strong backbone of the nation, morally and materially. They are capable of progress and view their future with confidence. Their political maturity is unequalled

in comparison to that of the peasants in other European countries and even in America.

The Hungarian industrial workers are also politically mature. To a certain extent, some of them may have sympathized for a time with Communism, but became and rapidly and finally disillusioned with it. Now they are vehemently against Communism, and every other kind of extreme as well.

Before the war I was very resentful of a wide group of the intelligentsia. My opinion of them then was that they had no backbone.

Since the war I have often regarded with admiration the patriotism and the resistance of the intelligentsia.

The peasantry despised those elements among the industrial workers who flirted with Communism in the first post-war years. For a short time there was sharp antagonism between these two "occupations".

The peasantry regarded with confidence the intelligentsia even during the post-war years. Later the confidence of the peasantry toward the intelligentsia was shared also by the industrial workers.

A feeling of mutual inter-dependence arose among the three "occupations," and realization of the need to unite in the struggle against Communism.

C. Class origin was the most important factor in getting ahead in Communist Hungary. Political views were of secondary importance. Knowledge and talent barely came into consideration. Only talented artists, writers and top scientists were an exception to this rule.

There was no change in this respect, only when serious economic troubles arose was there some talk of revising the government's policy on talent, class origin, and political views. But,

this ~~xxxx~~ remained only talk with no changes resulting.

As individuals the persons who were most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary were people without character, both politically and morally. Such people were despised by everyone.

B. Careerists in Hungary received much more from society than they deserved. Careerists existed in all branches of government and in industry. They were loafers who hated work and wanted to live as best they could.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. My father, who is very patriotic, brought us up in the same way. He was very strict and severe. I tried to bring up my children in the same spirit. I did not know how long I would be able to bring them up myself. This conflict with Communism created a very tense atmosphere at home, and we were on the verge of nervous breakdowns.

My father provided me with strong moral support. He visited his ten ~~sons~~ children regularly, always admonishing us to remain firm in our convictions.

In Hungary I pondered much the effects of Communism on family life. Communism invaded most brutally the closeness of family life in Hungary. It endeavored to restrict parental influence on children, demoralized the moral contents of marriage.

My family belongs to the type where Communism had no influence at all on family life. That is, aside from the nervous strain I mentioned.

I think that the average Hungarian family also belongs to this same type.

Many families were able to educate their children as before. These were the families who were ~~hard~~ hard working, patriotic and religious.

In our family there was no change in the way our children were brought up as compared to the way they would have been brought up. The years of suffering probably even brought families closer to each other than before.

B. Regrettably the loose morals advocated by the Communists effected many young people. But the majority of the youth was influenced by the moral up-bringing they received at home. In the sport organizations where I was active, I got the

impression that after some initial hesitation the moral development of the Hungarian youth had about the right course.

The influence of parents on courtships, engagements, and marriages, especially among the peasantry, remained unchanged. The situation is a bit less favorable among the industrial workers. To some extent this is true also of the children of the ~~ext~~ intelligentsia.

There was prostitution in Hungary. Officially it was banned, but the Communists saw the effects of low wages on working women. They did not seem to care much about it.

A convinced Communist leads a sexually much looser life than an average person. Seemingly the Communist party tried to improve the morals of its members, but with little success.

C. If a close friend were to become a Communist party official that would mean the end of our friendship. Such a thing happened with me. A close friend of mine became the director of a party school. I am very sorry for him. It terminated our friendship.

If in such cases anything remains, it is not friendship, only the appearance of one which is kept up because of fear.

Even if a friend is not a party member, but in an argument takes the side of the Communists or expresses views which are somewhat pro-Communists, the friendship ceases.

The friendship is terminated by the non-Communists.

I do not think it is possible to continue the friendship under an agreement not to mention politics.

D. Communists considered juvenile delinquency mostly from the political point of view.

I think that true juvenile delinquency, that is common crimes committed by juveniles, were more frequent than under the Horthy regime. This is was due to the affects of Communism on family life.

I heard the word "hooligan" before, but I do not know what it means.

The jampecs are young people who imitated Western fashion in clothes, dancing and manners. I do not think such conduct is criminal.

The jampecs are usually from 18 to 24 years old. They come mostly from industrial worker families. I think that the entire jampecs problem was exaggerated by the Communists for political reasons. The Communists considered it a form of resistance against their regime.

## VII. RELIGION

A. For a short time Communist indoctrination was able to show some effect on religious life in Hungary. But in the long run religious life in Hungary became stronger under Communism than before.

The Roman Catholic church in Hungary was the hardest hit by Communism. It offered further resistance to the regime and had greater influence on the masses.

Religion is a bulwark against Communism. The two are incompatible -- fire and water don't mix.

B. I don't know if my parents were more religious than I am. I think ~~perhaps~~ perhaps we are equally religious. When I was younger my parents were undoubtedly more religious than I was. The changes however in my religious life were not due to Communism. The change would have ensued as a natural process regardless of Communism. I think I am about as religious as the average person in Hungary.

I go to church every Sunday if possible. I pray regularly and from conviction. I myself am a Protestant, but my family is Catholic.

C. I am most decidedly in favor of giving the church an opportunity to educate the young people. I would entrust the bulk of the education to the churches.

It would be essential to ~~xxx~~ permit the churches to exercise censorship over plays, books, and movies. This is necessary for the moral education of the future generations.



Whether the churches should be occupied with every-day political matters or not must be determined by the political advantages of the country. Now I would approve of more political influence for the churches in Communist Hungary. However, I think that in the ~~xxxx~~ ~~3x~~ Austro-Hungarian empire the churches had too much political power. I think that the churches are the firm basis of political life. But their influence on politics should be indirect.

D. I do not think that the Jewish religion was persecuted by the Communists in Hungary.

I think that the ~~xxxx~~ Jews from 1919 revolution ~~xxx~~ on always supported Communism to a certain extent.

Immediately after the war the Communist party based the Ministry of the Interior and the police system almost entirely on young Jews. Only later were non-Jews included in greater numbers.

The Jews were deemed reliable because of their persecution under the Nazi regime.

The Jews supported Communism ~~although~~ all along, but they did not want to do this from conviction. They were motivated by the desire for revenge and for material advantages.

I think that about 90 per cent of the Jews in Hungary were party members and half of them were Communists by conviction.

During the demonstrations and the revolution the Jews behave with surprising passivity.

It is true that many Jews are ~~xxx~~ afraid of an independent Hungary. They realize that during the Communist regime they have committed many acts against the Hungarian people, for which they expect reprisals in an independent Hungary.

## VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the young people from 16 and 18 to 25 and 26.

B. I think that the role of the Hungarian youth is a bit exaggerated, but I was not disillusioned by them. It is true that they started the revolution, but not exclusively. In its leadership they played a less significant role than the industrial workers and the intelligentsia.

The young people ~~xxx~~ started the revolution because their future looked very bleak and hopeless.

The older people were very proud of the Hungarian youth during the revolution. They gave the youth their full support. On their part, the Hungarian youth was satisfied with the conduct of the older generations. Solidarity was pledged on both sides.

C. My two children attended only gradeschool in Hungary. After the parents, the second greatest merit in preserving the youth's patriotism and moral character in the face of Communist indoctrination goes to the teachers. Only a very insignificant percentage of the teachers was Communist. The teachers sabotaged Communist indoctrination to the greatest possible extent.

Compared to the former regime, the level of ~~xxxx~~ education of grade schools under Communism was perhaps a bit higher. Now eight grades of grade school were compulsory, whereas formerly only six years of grade school were ~~a~~ required.

D. The Hungarian youth rejected Communist attempts ~~to~~ in indoctrination and was more inclined to accept the influence of parental education ~~at~~ at home.

The Hungarian youth never sympathized with Communism.

## IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. My major dissatisfaction with life under Communism in Hungary was caused by the presense of Russians in Hungary.

B. Others also complained mostly of the presense of Russians in Hungary, about the dictatorship of local Communists and about the hardships of everyday life.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. During the last twelve months of Communism in Hungary my family and I were able to get along financially only with great difficulty. This was caused by the excess taxes imposed ~~on~~ unlawfully on my wife's soda-water bottling plant which was nationalized a second time in 1954.

Our food was of poor quality and not enough. Most of my income went for food.

I had two suits of clothes. I was able to buy a suit once every two years.

We had only one room. A part of the corridor was walled off to serve as a kitchenette.

A new suit, an extra pair of shoes, better food were considered luxuries which I could not afford.

Our greatest difficulty was with ~~the~~ food.

Our postwar standard of living dropped at least 50 per cent in comparison to pre-war level.

Our standard of living was highest in 1954. Then I got back my wife's bottling plant, but only for a few months.

Our standard of living was the lowest from 1948 to 1949. Then the bottling plant was nationalized for the ~~first~~ first time. I was unable to find employment and was imprisoned for attempting to leave the country illegally.

Some friends who were deriving good incomes from black marketing and from procuring hard-to-get items lived comparatively better than the others. But this cannot be regarded as a standard of living.

It was a temporary prosperity which could have stopped at any minute.

The low standard of living in Hungary was due to the fact that the Communists wanted to achieve a classless society by p everyone.

B. During the last twelve months in Hungary my monthly average income was from eight to nine hundred forints a month. I paid 10 forints a month trade union fees, 70 forints a month were deducted for compulsory government loans.

I did not ~~xxxxxx~~ receive any premium or extra pay. I did not have a secondary ~~xxxxxx~~ source of income. No one else worked in our family. I did not get any wage increase ~~mf~~ over the last five years.

C. We purchased all our food in ~~kozert~~ stores. We did not do any purchasing on the free market.

We bought clothes and household articles exclusively in state department stores.

Shortages due to inefficiency in retail distribution were frequent.

There were nationwide shortages of foodstuffs such as wheat, lard, bacon. There were times when there was no bread, milk, and sugar. There was always a shortage of something or other. I am unable to recall ~~when~~ or what.

There was considerable black marketing during the post-war inflation. Later there was some black marketing in foodstuffs and ~~xxx~~ consumer's goods.

Black marketing was conducted among reliable friends

acquaintances. Sometimes the government itself launched black market operations when it wanted to get rid of unsalable surpluses. I do not know in detail how the black markets were organized.

Sometimes it happened that local merchants were reluctant to part with hard to get commodities at the regular price.

Black marketing was very dangerous. It could mean years of imprisonment if one was ~~caught~~ caught.

D. I worked from 40 to 48 hours a week, sometimes less depending on the amount of work my employer had. He was a private tinsmith, an elderly man beside whom I learned my trade when I was an apprentice. I got along extremely well with him. I was his ~~only~~ sole employee. He knew his trade ~~extremely~~ extremely well.

I lived only a stone's throw away from the shop where I worked. I slept an average of eight hours every night.

I was satisfied with my work. It was the trade I chose when I was a young apprentice.

The socialized medical service in Hungary operated fairly well.

The trade union vacation program served mostly propaganda ~~purp~~ purposes.

Pensions were extremely low. I do not know any details.

E. In Hungary I would prefer to live only in Szekesfehervar. It is a provincial city near ~~Budapest~~ Budapest. It contains the advantages of both city and country. I have spent most of my life there.

Rural workers undeniably ate better food than city workers.

Standard of living was higher in the city than in the country.

I think politically it was easier to live in the cities because a person was less conspicuous in the city than in the country. On the other hand, the people in the country showed more solidarity.

When collectivization of agriculture was first introduced in Hungary I did not believe for a moment that it could be carried out successfully in practice. I did not expect the government to execute this program with so much force.

My present opinion of the Hungarian farm collectivization system is that it is stupid, senseless, especially in Hungary. It only serves to embitter the rural population.

I think that the middle peasants opposed farm collectivization the most. Large peasants had no opportunity to protest against it.

I have heard of farm cooperatives being dissolved only in the first Imre Nagy government.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Since World War II I have always been keenly interested in politics.

In the 1940's before the World War I sympathized with the National Peasant party. I resigned from the party in 1947, and since then I have never been a member of any party or organization.

The national leadership of the Hungarian Peasant party was very promising. It consisted of such writers as, for example, Gyula Illies, and Peter Veres. I had high hopes about the future of this party. I left the party when I saw that it was going ~~xxxxxxx~~ too far to the left. I became disillusioned with its leadership because of their cooperation with the Communists.

My generation remembers the 1918-1919 Communist regime and its terror. Therefore I strongly rejected Communism, blaming them for our territorial losses in 1919, and also for the years of poverty after World War I.

I had no knowledge at all of the Communist party's existence during World War II.

My attitude toward the Communist party has not changed since 1948.

B. A considerable number of the rank and file Communists were careerists and persons without backbone or conviction.

The second group consists of ~~xxxxx~~ criminals against the nation and the people. But, by this I mean persons, for example, who were fascist formerly and joined the party to gain immunity.

Then there is the legion of simple party members who joined against their conviction to preserve their jobs, etc.



During the last eight years before the revolution there was basically no change in Party policy in Hungary. There were some seeming changes for tactical reasons, but basically everything remained the same all along.

The last group mentioned above was never satisfied with Party policy. The first two groups accepted the party program only to the extent that it served their personal aims and interests.

The top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party are completely loyal to the Soviet Union. They crave power. They have ambition to excel coupled with a desire to live well. They are not choosy about their methods and their attitudes toward others is determined always by their exigencies at any given moment.

The majority of the top Communists do not believe in what they are doing, they do not have convictions.

When Hungary becomes independent the top Communists should be turned over to the people for lynching, but this is necessary to dissuade anyone from following in the footsteps of the Communist leaders.

- C. There was constant opposition to Communism in Hungary. This was evident in acts of sabotage in production, both industrial and agricultural. Also in the beating and murdering of local Communists, in jokes against the regime, etc. This resistance was constantly increasing until Imre Nagy's government. During his first term of office it subsided somewhat, again gathered momentum after Imre Nagy's downfall and finally culminated in the revolution.

This resistance wherever it was possible was conducted by the entire population of Hungary with the exception of a handful of convinced Communists.

The public was aware of this resistance. Opposition to the regime was very useful. It kept up the spirit of the people at home. It also gave the people a certain sense of satisfaction.

I heard about the resistance of the intellectuals. It proceeded the Petofi Circle.

(Petofi Circle was mentioned spontaneously.)

Later the resistance of the Petofi Circle was the sequence of the opposition of such writers as Gyula Illyes and Peter Veres.

I heard about the existence of the Petofi Circle during the first Imre Nagy government. In 1954 I received my first copy of the "Literary Gazette" and read it regularly until 1956, when it was extremely difficult to obtain.

I think that the intellectuals only express what everyone else felt.

The intellectuals prepared the way for the revolution. After the Catholic church the Hungarian writers, especially the Petofi Circle, offered the most resistance to Communism in Hungary.

I think that the vast majority of the ~~intellectuals~~ intellectuals are practical people.

Despite the material advantages granted them by the Communist regime, the Hungarian writers turned against the regime because they felt a vocation to write the truth and to lead the people.

## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. When the AVH was first formed it consisted of mostly Jews. Later the AVH officers consisted also of volunteers to whom it was not quite clear what the role of the AVH would be. Later they were unable to leave the service. Many persons joined the AVH because their parents or relatives had played an important role in the 1919 Communist revolution.

I was arrested by the AVH on three occasions. Once in 1945 for political reasons and in 1949 and '52 for attempting to cross the border illegally.

An AVH first lieutenant and his lieutenant wife lived in the house of my sister.

The chief of the AVH of Fejer Megye was an old school friend of mine, but I severed all relations with him. When I was arrested he was very cynical toward me and did not address me in the German equivalent of "DU", but addressed me formerly as "Sie."

I knew of an AVH second lieutenant who wanted to leave the service. His wife was a kulok girl. The AVH wanted to send him to Yugoslavia to conduct espionage. Unwilling to do so, he committed suicide. This happened in 1949.

I have every reason to believe that all Communists including the AVH will have to be liquidated. But there was a considerable number of honest people within the party who felt that they could help more from within. Such exceptions are practically unthinkable in connection with the AVH, but so much innocent blood has already been shed in Hungary that special precautions must be taken to insure that only the guilty ones are punished.

The Blue ~~Fix~~ Police consisted of many careerists, but

the majority of the Blue Police sided with the people. They detested the AVH intensely. Very often the AVH protected & common criminals who acted as their stool-pigeons.

I do not think that under the Communist regime the Blue Police force was as efficient as the police force of the Horthy regime.

The Blue Police could not be as efficient as before because of constant personnel changes and the insecure political situation.

I think there was a large-scale corruption within the police force.

During the revolution the vast majority of the police force members sided with the ~~new~~ people. About half of the helped the revolution by remaining passive. The other half helped actively.

B. Accusations of class justice in connection with the courts of the Horthy regime are not true. If there was any such "class justice" it was entirely insignificant.

The People's Courts ~~was~~ were one of the ~~most~~ important institutions of the Communist regime. They were used to liquidate political enemies. From the very beginning they were Communist controlled.

The war criminals who had really committed war crimes were guilty. But the vast majority of the people sentenced on such charges ~~in~~ in People's Courts were martyrs.

C. With the exception of a very small minority the Hungarian army sided with the revolution. In many places they took the initiative.

I base my opinion on the ~~new~~ conduct of the Hungarian army during the revolution on my personal experiences in Szekesfehervar.

(Respondent refuses to discuss details of his contact with the army during the revolution.)

In the conduct of the ~~xx~~ army during the revolution I did not notice any differences which can be attributed to geographical location or class origin, nor was there any significant difference in the conduct of the enlisted men in comparison to the non-commissioned officers and officers. Only those few officers who had to fear an independent Hungary because of their previous conduct during the Communist regime did not side with ~~xx~~ the revolution.

The fact that in some places the ~~xxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx~~ army as a whole took part in the revolution whereas in others it remained passive can be attributed to the person of the commander. Sometimes the commander was able to mislead ~~xx~~ his men and keep them under control. In such places the soldiers deserted and joined Freedom Fighter groups individually.

I was not surprised with the army's ~~x~~conduct during the revolution. I knew that Communist morale was very low within the army. Working as a waiter for several years, I was able to observe the conduct of the enlisted men and the officers. Many officers were just as bitter ~~xxxx xx~~ against the Russians and hated them to the same extent as the civilians. *And overheard their remarks*

(The rest of this sub-section is omitted because respondent did not serve in the Communist army.)

D. I do not think that the unpopularity of the Russian troops in Hungary can be attributed to the fact that the Russian army crushed the Kossuth revolution in 1849. Regrettably people have forgotten about it. Simple people at home do not know Hungarian history too well. I think that the unpopularity of the Russian army in Hungary is due entirely to their conduct in 1944 and '45.

The older generations gave to us a veritable picture of the 1919 revolution. We knew what to expect

§ when the Red army was approaching Hungary in 1944 and '45. We also knew from World War I prisoners of war, who had spent years in Russia, that basically the people were good natured and religious.

I was in the Kapathian Mountains in 1944 when the Russians broke through. Eighty to 90 percent of officers and men were of the opinion that we should hold out until the Western powers occupied our country. It was very embittering to hear that the West broke off Hungarian armistice negotiations with instructions to negotiate directly with the Soviet.

I was not at home when the Russians occupied our city. We were looted completely, sexually the Russians behave like animals.

My opinion of the Russian army has not changed ~~in~~ since 1944 and '45. It has grown only worse.

In Szekesfehervar we lived practically next door to the Russian headquarters. There were many Russian families ~~ix~~ living in the neighborhood, but I had no contact whatsoever with them. Only on one occasion my ~~son~~ nine year old son almost cut off the ear of the Russian boy with whom he was fighting. My son had found an old rusty sword and used this ~~n~~ in the fight. The Russian boy's mother reported this to the police and I had to go with my son to the police station.

The Russian and Hungarian children were ~~always~~ always fighting. Otherwise the Russians kept strictly to themselves and had rigorous orders not to fraternize with Hungarians.

The enlisted men were not allowed to leave the barracks. They stole out by night committing acts of robbery and rape. For example, the daughter of a physician whom I knew well, and who told me about it in detail, was raped one night coming from the railroad station. Her way led

through a park where she was attacked by Russians who raped her and bit off the tip of her breasts. Several people who talked about this were arrested by the AVH for spreading false rumors about the Russians.

During the revolution I had no contact with the Russians other than fighting.

E. As an act of resistance against Communism some local government officials were willing to disregard laws in order to help people.

F. It was possible to get around regulations and rules through contact and very rarely through bribery. Because of the widespread network of informers one had to find proper contact. ~~Officials~~ Officials, if the risk involved was not too great, were willing to help circumvent regulations.

I don't think that bribery was too widespread.

It was impossible to use influence and ~~contact~~ contact in connection with the AVH or Communist party.

This of course refers of course only to non-Communist influence and ~~contact~~ contacts.

G. Maybe I am very prejudiced, but I consider the AVH top officers ~~stupid~~ stupid and unintelligent. The same applies to top army leadership, the Russian army ~~leadership~~ leadership and the Communist bureaucracy.

### XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. The ~~xxx~~ future outlook for Hungary depends entirely on the attitude of the free world.

If the free world deserts Hungary the people at home are willing to die rather than to tolerate the occupation of the Russians and the inactivity of the West.

I foresee another revolution at home which may mean the extinction of the Hungarian nation.

Kadar will ~~remain~~ remain in power as long as the Russians want him to. His policy may even surpass the rigor of the Rakosi regime.

Outside Hungary a war will very likely break out. The sooner this happens the better for the free world.

Both I and the people at home are in favor of not war but only the liquidation of Communism. If this, as I am convinced, cannot be achieved with means other than an atomic war then let it come.

This war in my opinion will break out not later than in two or three years.

I do not think that any international pressure or other means than war will be adequate to solve the international situation.

B. From 1948 on we were disillusioned both in our domestic policy and our international situation.

Until 1949-'50 I was ~~was~~ very bitter and saw the future as hopeless. From then on there were



increasing signs of national unity which gave the hope that the nation will, by itself, overthrow the Communist yoke at home.

From 1950 on I was more and more convinced that a revolution would come in Hungary. This hope kept not only me but many others going until 1956.

#### IV. SOCIAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ~~AND~~ IDEOLOGY

A. I consider Hungary politically mature for a truly democratic political system. I would like a democracy in which there would be religious freedom, which would insure the up-bringing of morally and physically sound generations on whom Hungary's future can be based.

B. Hungarian economy should be based primarily on ~~agricultural~~ agriculture but industry should not be neglected entirely. Hungary is an agricultural country. It has an acute labor ~~resources~~ resources for industry even if it does not have much raw materials. Emphasis should be placed on light industry. The production of consumer's goods would be the most important. War industries should be abandoned.

I am completely in favor of free enterprise. National enterprises should be restored to their former owners.

I am a craftsman, not a farmer. I would ~~not~~ let the peasants decide what should be done with the state farms and cooperatives. I am certain that they will abolish them. Both I and the people at home are in favor of the nationalization of transportation facilities. I do not know about the iron and steel works and mines. I am most positively against the nationalization of light industries.

An independent Hungary should conduct a sound agricultural policy in which there are no compulsory crop ~~deliveries~~ deliveries and agriculture is entirely free. I think that the government should set the limit of agricultural property at 500 yokes. The only exception to this would be large estates conducting research.

If I were to choose between a bread and butter dictatorship and a democracy with no insured standard of living, I would choose democracy without hesitation.

There is no need to outlaw the Communist party in

an independent Hungary. It would have no support whatever.

The ideal international situation for Hungary would be a neutrality like that of Austria. This neutrality excludes the possibility of military relations with any country. Hungary should conduct no cultural nor economic relations with the Soviet Union nor with the Eastern European countries as long as they are under Communist control.

Hungary should conduct the closest possible cultural and economic relations with Western European countries, and with the United States.

I read about plans for a federation of Danubian ~~States~~ States in connection with the ~~18~~ 1848 revolution. The idea originates with Kossuth. The realization of such a plan encounters numerous difficulties, but I approve of it and I think it will be possible later on.

I would want Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania in this federation. Also ~~fix~~ Poland, despite the fact that Poland is not a Danubian country.

I would not want Germany to be a member of the Danubian federation. This would upset the balance of power.

I think that many people feel about the federation the same as I do.

The problem of Hungary's borders is a very vital one. This should be solved before the federation is undertaken. It should be drawn on ethnical basis on peaceful means.

I am very dissatisfied with the treatment of the Hungarian ~~minorities~~ minorities in the neighboring countries. I think that only re-annexation can solve their problems completely.

The problems of Hungarian minorities <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ Hungarian boundaries are very vital ones not only to me but to everyone in Hungary.

## V. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. While I was in Hungary I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress. I heard this over Western radio broadcasts. People at home knew about this. Officially nothing was said about Khrushchev's secret speech.

At home from Western radio broadcasts we knew about Senator McCarthy and the UnAmerican Activities Committee. The Communist press also attacked McCarthy and his committee very fiercely. I have no definite opinion about Senator McCarthy. I did not know enough about him to form an opinion.

(Respondent was unable to identify Peron.)

At home I knew a former classmate of Rakosi who told me that ~~xxxxx~~ as a schoolboy Rakosi was idiotic and disliked by the others.

Before the revolution we knew that Rakosi was married to a top Russian Communist. We did not ~~know~~ know anything about his private life.

B. At home my most important source of information was Western radio broadcasts. Second most important was ~~xxx~~ talks with ~~xxxxxx~~ reliable friends and acquaintances.

C. The news which I received by word of mouth was anything against Communism.

News received by word of mouth was less reliable than, for example, Western radio broadcasts. The reliability depended on the degree of intelligence of the person from whom I received the news.

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

## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Had the Hungarian revolution lasted three weeks longer I am almost certain that it would have spread to the Soviet Union. I am certain that the Russian people are very much against Communism. Their life is very nearly hopeless and completely bleak.

I think that only revolution can bring a change in the Soviet Union.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union I am almost certain that the Communist government would be overthrown. But the effects of 40 years of Communism would not disappear completely. It is very difficult to say what kind of political parties would come to power.

The top leadership of the Soviet Union lusts for power and realizes that they do not have the support of the people. They are motivated primarily by desire for power. Material advantages are of less importance to them.

I think that they have only aspirations to dominate the world, but have no convictions at all.

The only difference between the Hungarian and the Soviet top Communists is that the Hungarians get their orders from the Soviet.

B. Of the countries mentioned my sympathy applies not to the governments but to the people themselves. This is especially true of Poland and Bulgaria, the two countries I consider the most likable. Hungarian-Polish friendship is based on historical traditions. I am unable to explain why I like Bulgaria and the Bulgarians better than the others.

the  
Romania is/least sympathetic, with Yugoslavia the second. My dislike for them is based on the territorial differences between Hungary and these countries and also on their treatment of Hungarian minorities. They are probably more Communistic than the other countries.

If free elections were to be held in these countries, I think Communism would immediately be overthrown.

I think that Czechoslovakia and East Germany have the highest and second highest standard of living while Romania and Hungary have the lowest and second lowest respectively.

The people in Poland were satisfied with concessions acquired by Gomulka. This stopped the further development of their revolution. But such half-solutions are to no avail.

Gomulka will not remain in power. The people will oust him. But even the Russians may do this if they become dissatisfied with him. Gomulka is being ground between two millstones.

(Respondent mentioned the Poznan revolts spontaneously.)

The Poznan revolt had a great effect on events in Hungary. I heard about events in Poland from Foreign radio broadcasts. The local press and radio also brought distorted versions of what happened in Poznan.

There were some concessions in Poland before the riots. There was more freedom of speech and press than before.

The Hungarian revolution could not have followed the Polish pattern. Conditions were different and the composition of the nation also.

It would not have been better for Hungary had the Hungarian revolution followed the Polish pattern. It would have been good only for the Communists.

D. Tito is the originator of national Communism, but I regard him as the military hero of Yugoslavia. I am certain that if the Yugoslav people were given a chance to decide their form of life Tito would be ~~not~~ rejected in spite of his military record. I am not entirely certain that Tito is a Communist by conviction.

Tito seems to be striving to help the satellites in their relations with Moscow.

Under the existing ~~same~~ circumstances, Tito's relations with the West are not the best, only satisfactory.

I am not very familiar with ~~same~~ conditions in Yugoslavia. My impression is that they are ~~worse~~ worse than in Hungary.

E. I do not think that Egypt had the right to nationalize the ~~the~~ Suez Canal.

I ~~do~~ approve of the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt, but it would have been more opportune at another time.

Events in Egypt in the fall of 1956 diverted attention from Hungary and are partly to blame for the West's failure to help us.

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

It is true that the Germans may be dangerous in as much as they may start another war.

I do not approve of Germany's rearmament only to the extent that it is necessary ~~text~~ against Russia.

I think that the West German armed forces are not as strong as Britain today, but they are stronger than the armed forces of France.

I think that the length of military service in the West German army is probably 18 months. I heard this over the radio.

As occupation forces in Hungary the German and Russian armies are equally unpopular. But it must be admitted that the Germans were more disciplined than the Russians.

G. I heard about NATO and I approve of it. But the hopes I fostered in connection with the NATO are rapidly diminishing.

The difference between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is that NATO is defensive in character, the Warsaw Pact is also defensive but only on paper. Its real purpose is aggression.

I do not think that the British ~~is~~ Labor Party is pro-Communist. It probably is anti-Communist, and its equivalent in Hungary ~~would~~ be the Small Holders' Party.

The standard of living is highest in Great Britain with West Germany second, Greece third, Italy fourth, ~~and~~ Egypt fifth and the Soviet ~~is~~ last.

H. On my arrival to the United ~~States~~ States I was most impressed by the hand bills which were distributed to us immediately and which warned us against the dangers of labor exploitation. We were informed of the minimum wages and were advised to accept ~~any~~ employment ~~only~~ only through the relief agencies which were sponsoring our transportation to the United States.

The United States' foreign policy is well intentioned but not very forceful. It can even be called feeble.

I think that the United States should grant loans to Poland and Yugoslavia only to the extent that it does not serve Communist purposes and does not perpetuate Communism. This applies also to United



States aid to Hungary.

I don't think that the United States should recognize the Kadar government, nor conduct trade negotiations with it.

I am certain that the people at home would like to see more Western ~~wisdom~~ visitors to enable them to acquire a better understanding of the Hungarian problem. The more Western visitors that come the better. It doesn't matter who they are by occupation.

These visitors should be warned to establish direct contact with the Hungarian people and not to accept the material volunteered to them by the Hungarian government. They should also be warned to be extremely careful of their contact with Hungarians in order not to get them into trouble.

I think that the planners of the Marshall Plan realized that poverty is the hot-bed of Communism. They were also led by humanitarian motives, by the desire to help the disrupted economies of war-torn Europe.

The United States became ~~is~~ involved in the Korean War in order to curb the spreading of Communism in Asia.

J. At the time of its formation I attached much hope to the United Nations. Since then its ~~its~~ prestige has dropped to the minimum.

In October 1956 the United Nations should have made full use of all the political advantages offered by the Hungarian revolution. It should have used its entire prestige to help Hungary. This is a great historical omission which can perhaps never be remedied.

I do not expect any effective United Nations action to help Hungary in the near future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ~~XIX~~ SELECTED  
PERSONALITIES

A. I think that the greatest Hungarian living today is Cardinal Mindszenty. This I say despite the fact that I am not Catholic. Cardinal Mindszenty ~~was~~ remained loyal to the country and to the nation. His religious and moral principles were not abandoned despite Communist torture.

B. I think Imre Nagy is emotionally attached very strongly to the Hungarian people. This is the explanation for his conduct.

Lazlo Rajk is a careerist.

Erno Gero is a Russian agent.

Janos Kadar is a person whom I cannot understand entirely. I spoke with a Minister of Justice employee who told me that just before the revolution Kadar lectured to them about the need for restoring "legality." Kadar showed his audience marks of AVH torture left on his body. On the other hand I consider Kadar absolutely at fault for his conduct during and since the revolution.

I have confidence and faith in General Bela Kiraly. He had a good reputation in the army before his arrest.

Anna Kethly has her merits and convictions. She strongly opposed Communism, but she is not clever enough.

President Eisenhower is well intentioned, but not a good politician.

Secretary General Hammarskjold did not exercise his full authority in the behalf of Hungary.

State Secretary Dulles is an excellent statesman.

Eden is also a great statesman, but made a few mistakes.

President Truman performed excellent services in the struggle against Communism.

In connection with Mikoyan, I consider the entire Russian gang as one. They are gangsters. There is no ~~diff~~ difference between Mikoyan, Stalin, Malenko, Khrushchev or Molotov.

Nehru is a conceited statesman.

Generalissimo Chiang kei-Shek is a great patriot and loyal to his country.

Ferenc Nagy was <sup>a</sup>very narrow-minded and ~~xxxxw~~ short-sighted prime minister.

President Roosevelt did great service to humanity, but is responsible for admitting the Communists into Europe.

Chancellor Adenauer is an excellent statesman who has rebuilt Germany.

I sympathize with Generalissimo Franco because he saved Spain from Communism.

I don't know who Bevan is.

I don't know who Ollenauer is.

Churchill is a brilliant statesman with too much British haughtiness.

### XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. A small fraction of the refugees lost their hope of life in Hungary and used the opportunity of the revolution to leave the country.

Another group left because of previous persécution.

A large number of refugees left because they feared retaliation for their participation in the revolution and demonstrations.

Geographical location and class origin were not significant factors in the decision to leave the country. The absence of family ties provided a greater mobility to refugees. Sex neither was a factor.

The majority of the refugees are young people under 40.

There would have been more refugees had not the helplessness of the United Nations and the inactivity of the West in general evoked a bitterness in the people in Hungary. Many people could have come but in their bitterness, remained at home.

The people at home are sorry to be separated from friends and relatives. They bear no resentment against the refugees and we in turn are sorry for them.

Assuming that everyone had the chance to come West, I think that 30 per cent of the people still at home would remain because of their age, or attachment to their homes and possessions and memories.

B. At home I was aware that exile politicians and exile political organizations were active here in

the West, especially in the United States. Over Radio Free Europe and other foreign radio broadcasts, I heard about the existence of the National Council of the American-Hungarian Federation. I knew that Bela Varga, Istvan Barankovics, Zoltan Pfeiffer, Imre Kovacs and others were politically active here.

These exile politicians and political organizations undertook to work for Hungary under very trying economic and political circumstances. There was not much they could have done.

I heard about the Hungarian National Council over the radio. Radio Free Europe broadcasted in detail its activities and information concerning its members. I heard about the Christian Democratic Union also over Radio Free Europe.

I have a very favorable opinion about Bela Varga. He is and always was very consistently anti-Communist.

I first heard about Tibor Eckhardt at the age 14. He is a very talented statesman. He was extremely well liked by the peasants at home.

Paul Auer was a very valuable Hungarian politician.

Imre Kovacs has his merits. He fought with Peter Veres over cooperation with the Small Holders. He also returned from Paris when Ferenc Nagy fled from Hungary. He also has his faults. I believe he had something to do with the Peasant Party's cooperation with the Communists.

Had Charles Peyer been able to remain the leader of the Hungarian Social Democratic party after World War II, things would have been quite different in Hungary.

Miklos Kallay is a very nice and honest person.

The same can be said of Zoltan Pfeiffer.

My impression of Istvan Barankovics is very favorable. I can say the same about Msgr. KOzi-Horvath.

Bela Fabian is a very active and likable Jew.

I am not in favor of Otto of Hapsburg return to the Hungarian throne.

I have very great respect and admiration for Governor ~~Máxay~~ Horthy. No one could have done better under the ~~am~~ circumstances.

I think that the people who left Hungary before ~~1946~~ 1956 did their best but could achieve ~~any~~ very little. They should have cooperated more closely with each other. Instead there is too much strife and rivalry among the various political groups and politicians in exile. The outcome of the revolution has destroyed the prestige of the Hungarian immigrant leaders at home. It would be essential to create unity among them to restore their lost prestige.

Yes, I thought about the Hungarian politicians in exile ~~during~~ during the revolution. I ~~would~~ was certain that they were doing their best to help us.

C. I do not know ~~of~~ of any redefectors, nor ~~have~~ have I heard of any. I was not aware of the Hungarian government's redefection ~~campaign~~ campaign.

D. The people at home would like most of all to know what we are doing to help them.

I think that what the exiles should do now is to united and work together unselfishly for Hungary's liberation.

I have not joined any exile organization, nor do I wish to join any in the near future. I am not in favor of the creation of new organizations. I don't want division among the Hungarians in exile.

During the revolution I was aware of the revival of the Hungarian political parties at home. I did not approve of it. I did not consider the time appropriate for such activities because they jeopardized national unity.

I don't think that the exile groups or leaders should have returned home to participate in the revival of the political parties.

E. I don't know as yet whether or not I will return to Hungary or stay here.

I most decidedly want my children to continue to study Hungarian here in the United States.

## XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. At home I listened regularly to the Hungarian programs of the B.B.C., Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Paris.

The B.B.C. broadcasts provided the best reception. R.F.E. programs were jammed the most.

I listened everyday to practically all programs. What I heard I always told others, even to persons who were not considered reliable. What I told them was a warning to them to behave.

I listened to these broadcasts on my own radio in the presence of my family. We did not listen to the radio in the presence of others. We were careful and closed the doors and windows when we listened and did not tune the radio too loud.

If by chance I was unable to listen to foreign radio broadcasts myself, I always always received a faithful account of what was said from others.

The results from being caught listening to foreign radio broadcasts depended largely on the person's class origin, Party membership and his job.

I don't think that the danger involved in listening to foreign radio broadcasts or speaking about them deterred many people from doing so.

I think that listening to radio broadcasts and talking about them was considered most severely in 1948 to 1950. After 1953 it was less dangerous to listen to foreign radio broadcasts.

I think that foreign radio broadcasts in Hungarian were very useful with slight exceptions. I liked the B.B.C. Hungarian broadcasts best of all because they were more reserved and more impartial.



All were accurate, but in general the B.B.C. programs were considered to be the most accurate. One was able to judge the accuracy of a certain program on the basis of subsequent events.

Before the revolution the Hungarian radio broadcasts sponsored by foreign radio ~~org~~ organizations raised hopes of freedom at home.

During the revolution only one thing was of interest to us: What the United Nations and the West were ~~doing~~ doing. In the first days the ~~imm~~foreign broadcasts also served to inform people on what was going on in Hungary. Contact had not yet been established then.

I do not agree with the critics against Radio Free Europe. We at home felt that Hungarians were editing the Radio Free Europe programs. Their patriotism sometimes led them to extremes, but this did not have unfavorable effects on the people at home.

My impression is that foreign radios, including R.F.E. were taken completely unaware by the revolution. This was reflected by their broadcasts. They did not promise effective military aid during the revolution. They urged us to keep fighting, but we would have done so even without being told.

I most certainly think that Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts into Hungary.

Radio Free Europe should help establish a united leadership of Hungarian immigrants, that is of immigrant politicians. It should help maintain constant contact between these exiles political leaders and the people at home.

B. I have not heard of the initials N.E.M., nor of the Twelve Demands.

C. In the spring of 1956 I, on two occasions, found leaflets sent in by balloons, ~~but~~ by Free Europe Press.

These leaflets were ~~xx~~ circulated among the reliable friends. They contained political news, pictures and news about the Peasant union. They were very cleverly packed and dropped by balloons into Hungary.

I heard about these leaflets on numerous occasions from reliable friends. I think that picking up leaflets, passing them on, or speaking about them was more dangerous than listening to the radio or talking about ~~fixing~~ foreign radio broadcasts. Consequences, again, depended on who the person involved was.

I don't think that the danger involved in picking up, passing on, or speaking about foreign leaflets deterred ~~x~~ people from doing so.

Some laxity in the punishment of such acts could be noted in the summer of 1956.

The leaflets dropped into Hungary did not have any special effects. The population knew about this material from radio broadcasts. Its psychological effects, however, were great. It was a sign to the people that the West is not so far off after all.

Yes, I think ~~xxxx~~ that Free Europe ~~Fix~~ Press should continue dropping leaflets into Hungary. They were useful. It would show that the West ~~xxxxxxx~~ has not ~~xx~~ abandoned the people at home entirely.

D. The foreign organizations who are sending radio broadcasts and ~~xxx~~ leaflets into Hungary have one aim in common. They want to spread information in Hungary which is cut off entirely from the free world.

I am not aware of any differences in the motives of the various organizations.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important things that a child should be taught are fear and love of God, patriotism and the love of freedom.

I think that it is necessary to discipline children and physical punishment is also necessary, but with moderation.

Girls are more delicate and sensitive. Therefore they should be treated less severely and strictly than boys.

Children should be trained to have a conscience. With increasing age their sense of responsibility and their sense of right and wrong should also increase. This means that there is later on less need for disciplining.

My ~~six~~ older brother was already smoking. I was 11 years old and very curious to know how it felt to smoke. My brother caught me smoking his cigarettes. He did not have a right to punish me, only my father or mother did. But he threatened to tell my father on me. I did not think he would do this and when my father confronted me I tried to deny that I smoked. My father slapped me four times for lying and for smoking. I was again slapped by my father at the age of 16 for staying out late. These ~~were~~ were the only times I remember being punished physically.

I think that in the families children between 6-10 are usually punished by the mother. After 10 it is usually the father who punishes them, and especially when the nature of their deeds is more severe, and when the mother is beginning to lose her authority.

I think that girls are usually punished by the mother.

I don't think that class origin has anything to do with ~~the~~ which parent administers punishment at home. I don't think there has been any change with respect to ~~parental~~ parental ~~punishment~~ punishment during the Communist era.

The age at which physical punishment and punishment in general are abandoned usually depend on the nature and character of the child.

I think that physical punishment for boys is abandoned at the age of 16 to 20 and for girls at the same age.

The abandoning of physical punishment also coincides with the abandoning of punishment in general.

I do not know of any variations of punishment by social class. I do not know of any effects of Communism on the frequency or kind of parental punishment, or at the age at which it is abandoned,

Physical punishment was abandoned in schools although parents disapproved of this. Instead of physical punishment the children were scolded.

The traits which I value most in a friend are sincerity, honesty, selflessness.

T H E   E N D .