

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

The Hungarian revolution should be a warning to the workers here in the United States. When I was employed for a short time in a textile factory here in N.Y. many of the workers wanted to convince me that life in Hungary was better. They appeared to be Communists. Such workers should realize that life under Communism is intolerable, and an entire nation of nine million people revolted against Communist oppression. Hungary's example should be enough to convince them that Communism is not good.

When the public address system announced that the Ministry of the Interior had banned the demonstration scheduled to be held this afternoon, that was the first time we heard of the demonstration to be held by the university students. We did not know of the demonstration until we heard it on the radio. We were surprised to hear that the Ministry of the Interior had banned the demonstration.

When in the afternoon the public address system announced that the Ministry of the Interior had lifted its previous ban on the demonstration, we were surprised to hear this, but we still did not know of the demonstration in the demonstration.

In the heat of my knowledge, most of the workers of our factory were so excited that they had been going to hold a demonstration. They were so excited that they had been going to hold a demonstration. They were so excited that they had been going to hold a demonstration. They were so excited that they had been going to hold a demonstration. They were so excited that they had been going to hold a demonstration.

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I was satisfied to hear this news, but I still did not think that a revolution would arise from the demonstrations.

After 8p.m. I stopped work and went home. I had to go through Széll Kálmán Square. There I met two truckloads of young ~~people~~ people, probably industrial workers, who were going in the direction of Pest. They were shouting "Bread to the Hungarian people, and a rope for Rakosi."

I was a bit amused by this slogan, but I was also apprehensive. I feared that there would be retaliation.

Instead of going straight home, I went to a small pub in our neighborhood where I met my friends. We discussed the demonstrations, but we did not know full details as yet. Some of my friends suggested that all of us go over and see what is happening in Pest. But, I was against it. I told them I was too tired and we would find out the next day.

I was still in that pub at about 10p.m. when we heard shots from the direction of Pecs, and later heard the sounds of tanks passing our street. We went out into the streets to see what was going on. A column of Hungarian tanks was proceeding in the direction of Pecs. The pedestrians shouted to the soldiers, "Don't shoot at Hungarians." The soldiers laughingly promised that they would not use arms against Hungarians.

When I heard the sound of artillery fire and shooting from Pecs I was very much concerned. I feared that the demonstrations would be crushed. However, there was some hope in the promises made by the Hungarian soldiers. I did not think for one minute that Hungary would be able to overthrow the Communists and to chase the Russians out of the country. However, I thought that the demonstrations in themselves would be a sign to the West that Hungary is opposed to Communism and they would probably help.

I do not know anything about the way the demonstrations were organized.

B. I went home about 10:30p.m. on October 23, went to bed, read for a time, and then went to sleep.

Next morning on October 24 I got up as usual. I wanted to dress and go to work. I turned on the radio as I always do because the radio regularly announces the time. In our factory tardiness was regarded very seriously, and I did not want to be late. This morning however I noticed that the radio was ~~not~~ not playing its usual program of gramophone music. The time signals were not broadcasted.

When I dressed and wanted to leave home I was stopped in the gateway of our building by a top Communist who lived in the same house. He told me that I should not go out because a curfew had been imposed. I did not believe him because I saw other people in the streets. However, I decided to go back to my room and listen some more to the radio. I did so, and after a time the radio announced that the curfew had been imposed.

I stayed at home for about an hour or two, but then I ~~did~~ decided nevertheless to go to the factory. It was only ten minutes away from my home.

When I arrived at the factory at about 10p.m. only about 20 persons were present. But, in an hour or so about 75 per cent of the workers showed up. We decided to start work.

Around noontime one of the Communists came to me and said that there is a general strike on, and whoever disregarded the strike would be punished.

I was surprised that this very Communist was urging me to stop work. I turned off the switch which stopped that machine I worked on. The entire production line stopped. The Communist director of the factory immediately came in and wanted to know what happened. The workers did not tell ~~him~~ him who turned off the switch. I heard in a round-about way that the director immediately telephoned the police and requested police aid to suppress the strike. I don't know what the police told him, but about a quarter of an hour later the director came in and told us that after ~~his~~ lunch all of us could go home if we wished to.

In the afternoon of October 24 I stayed home and talked with neighbors. We still did not have full details on what was going on in and what happened in Budapest. We were very enthusiastic about the revolution, but we were also apprehensive. We feared that the revolt would be crushed.

On the following days I went everyday to the factory, but there was no production.

C. I thought that it was a very grave mistake on the part of the Russians to have interfered in the revolution. When the Russian withdrawal from Budapest was announced I first suspected that it was only tactics on their part. But when later when the political parties began to organize I thought that perhaps after all Moscow had seen the light and was willing to let the Hungarians be free, when it was so evident that they did not want to be Communists. I hoped then that the great powers would let Hungary form her own future in the same way as Austria had done.

During the withdrawal I participated in the Worker's Councils elections in the factory. Several decent Communists were also elected to the Worker's Council.

We also decided to set up a worker guard in the factory. I was a member of this guard. We received arms from the Blue police in our neighborhood. Our task was to guard the factory property and premises, to avoid looting. We received four rifles and one sub-machine gun, but they were soon taken away from us by the police because they had received instructions that a workers' militia would be set up centrally in Budapest.

Rumors persisted that the Russians had halted their withdrawal and had entrenched themselves on the outskirts of the city. But I saw Russians only on November 4. I was awakened early, about 4 a.m., by the sound of artillery fire. I was very dejected and was convinced that the entire revolution was lost. My first reaction was to conceal everything of value because I feared that the Russians would be coming from house to house, and would be looting.

While the fighting was going on after November 4, I stayed at home, in the dispensary of the German Red Cross near by, and was also very frequently in the factory. There was no air-raid shelter in our house. My mother and sister went to the neighboring building where there was an air-raid shelter. My father decided to stay in the apartment, refusing to leave it.

There was considerable fighting in our neighborhood. Some three to four hundred young students and industrial workers, boys and girls alike entrenched themselves in the hills nearby. Several soldiers were also with them. Several soldiers were also with them. This resistance group fought for over a week. They even had artillery. I do not know how they were organized. The fighting consisted of Russian tank attacks which were repelled by the insurgents.

After the fighting was over I continued to perform guard duty in the factory. I also had to line up for food. The strike was on in the factory, but I went to work for a few days for the private hat maker for whom I had worked on a parttime basis.

I had been planning to leave Hungary a long time ago because my fiancée was in America. She was an American citizen who had returned to Hungary as a child. We were unable to get married because she would have lost her citizenship. She left Hungary in February, 1956 legally.

In the first half of the revolution I did not think it was necessary to leave the country illegally because I was confident that in a very short time it would be possible to acquire a passport and go legally.

It was a very hard decision to make. I am not young. My parents are old, and depend on me. I liked Hungary very much. I was an ardent tourist who liked to hike through the mountains surrounding Budapest.

When the AVH and the Russians began to crash down on the strikers, I decided to go despite the persisting rumors that the Russians were guarding the borders and that trains westward were being checked regularly.

I went by train as far as Gyor. From there on I was aided by the civilian population. They gave us food and showed us the way, and gave us shelter. An old peasant led us across to Austria. He refused to accept anything from us. He bade us not to forget in America that we are Hungarians.

It took me almost a week to get across into Austria.

D. Despite the heavy losses I still think that Hungary has profited by the revolution, in as much as she has gained enormous international prestige.

#### Summary of Activities

- October 22 - Respondent at home, does not expect anything to happen.
- October 23 - Respondent learns in the factory over the telecommunications system that demonstrations will be held by students in Budapest. He does not attach any significance to these demonstrations. He does not take part in them. He goes to work for a friend. Returning home in the evening he meets young workers going to Pest to take part in the demonstrations and fighting. He also see tanks, but decides to go home to bed.
- October 24 - Respondent goes to work as usual. When urged by other workers to start a strike, respondent disconnects the motors in the factory. From there on until November 4 respondent was constantly at home, in the factory, and among friends in his neighborhood. He did not take any active part in the fighting.
- November 4 - Respondent goes to the factory and stays there most of the time until the fighting is over. He is a member of the factory guard, guarding the premises.

November 12-December 3 - Respondent does not work  
in the factory, but works  
for a private hat-maker.  
Departs from Budapest around  
December 3,  
December 10- Arrives in Austria.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE  
REVOLUTION

A. When the fighting broke out in Hungary I expected the West to give only diplomatic and political aid.

B. My expectations were based on my belief that the United Nations was capable and had the authority to protect Hungary against the Soviet Union.

C. During the revolution I met some of the representatives of the West German Red Cross which had set up a first-aid station in our neighborhood. There I also met an East German citizen, a technician who had been employed by the Hungarian government on the construction of a television station in Budapest. I did not learn anything of interest from these foreign citizens.



## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Until the age of 38 my father had been an acrobat. From then on he became a crane operator in the ship factory in Budapest. He worked until 1956 when he was pensioned. He is now 87 years old.

My parents did not own any property.

The education of my father consists of only six grades. I do not know how much schooling my mother had, because she finished school in what is now Yugoslavia. She is also of German origin. But it is my impression that my mother had more schooling than my father because she seemed more intelligent.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the industrial workers, the peasantry, and ~~is~~ a sort of new intelligentsia. The new intelligentsia is a very complex class to which belong persons from the working class who attended brief training courses and were assigned to jobs for which they were not qualified. To this class belong also the worker ~~and~~ cadres who have completed their education under the present regime. Many workers earned much more than these members of the intelligentsia.

There is also the exceptional ~~group~~ class of intellectuals, artists, writers and scientists, etc. They form a class of their own.

I have had contact with all these classes in Hungary.

As individuals most of the members of these classes are nice people.

I am very sorry for the peasantry because it was oppressed by the Communist regime. If only half of what they say about the oppression of the peasants is true, their life was very terrible.

The industrial workers were very dissatisfied with their lives in Communist Hungary, and justly so. They were paid extremely low wages.

The members of the present intelligentsia are very haughty. They consider themselves much better than the industrial workers. They do not say this, but as it is evident from their behavior.

I ~~was~~ myself belong to the industrial worker class.

I think that the old middle class was hit the hardest by the Communist regime. For example, in a top forestry expert received only 900 forints a month pay because he had worked for the ~~former~~ former regime.

The industrial workers at one time were very angry with the ~~peasantry~~ peasantry because they (peasants) exploited the food shortage ~~of~~ of 1945-46, but later there were no differences between the workers and peasants.

The industrial workers sometimes were very resentful of the intelligentsia, saying that office work was not real work at all.

The peasants thought that the industrial workers lived better than they did. The peasants disliked the present intelligentsia. They detested all officials.

The present intelligentsia was very haughty and looked down on the other two classes.

C. From the point of getting ahead in Hungary, political views were the most important. Class origin was second in importance. The industrial workers were the ~~best~~ best class with the working peasants second. Talent was the least important of all. Only in exceptional cases was it important.

In such cases political views and class origin were not interesting at all. For example, we had trouble in our factory with the dying process of hats. To remedy the trouble a discharged worker who was very strongly anti-Communist had to be called back to the factory with a comparatively high pay.

As individuals the persons who accepted anything the Party ordered them to do, and who believed everything the Party teaches without reservation are the ones who were the most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary.

D. Top Communist officials, top AVH officers and army officers received much more from Communist society than they deserved. There were special luxury articles and night clubs for such people. An ordinary worker or a simple member of the intelligentsia could not buy such articles or attend such recreation spots.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. I was unable to lead a real family life under Communism. I was not able to get married the second time after World War II because I had to support my elderly parents. Otherwise we led a very close life under Communism.

In other families differences of political opinion upset family life completely. Most of them had to work, and this provided opportunities to get acquainted with others. Many divorces arose from this. In our factory, for example, every man or woman who was not too old for such things had a sweetheart in the factory and a wife or husband at home, or working elsewhere. But there was no love making in the factory itself. This was reserved for after work. One could always say at home that there was a party or trade union meeting at which the person concerned had to be present.

I think our family comes closest to the third type that is, the type of family that was the least affected by Communism.

I think that most families in Hungary also belong to this type. ~~Уважаемые члены комиссии, пожалуйста, обратите внимание на то, что в этом документе содержится информация, которая может быть использована в интересах национальной безопасности. Поэтому просим вас не распространять эту информацию и не допускать ее к третьим лицам.~~

I think that when we were young ~~the~~ our generation showed much more respect for their elders than the present generation. I heard with my own ears when my friend's seven year old daughter came home from school and said, "Teacher told us that we do not have to grateful to you because we were born as the result of your pleasure." Had I not heard this myself I would not have believed it.

Most parents were not able to turn enough time to the upbringing of their children.

B. Under Communism young people married even though they did not meet the financial requirement necessary to begin married life. I once heard a 19 year old boy say, "I'll get married. I have to give my pay to my mother anyhow. This way I will at least have someone to sleep with."

In many cases after marriage both the wife and the husband had to live separately with their parents because of the housing conditions.

Pre-marital sexual relations were much looser and more frequent than before. Communists encouraged this.

Parents did not have any influence at all on engagements, courtships, and marriages.

A 56 year old ~~man~~ complained that his son whom he had sent through university did not even invite his father to his wedding.

There was no need for prostitution in Hungary because sexual ~~morality~~ morality was so loose. There was large-scale secret prostitution.

I think that convinced Communists led a much freer sexual life than non-Communists. They had no religious inhibitions. Our Party Secretary for example called every good-looking girl and woman in the factory to his office and tried to make out with ~~her~~ them.

C. None of my friends became Communist party members, but such cases happened frequently. If it had happened to me probably it would have meant the end of the friendship unless the person concerned was not a Communist by conviction. I do not think it would be possible to continue a friendship with a Communist under an agreement not to mix politics into it.

D. By juvenile delinquency I mean common crimes committed by juveniles.

I ~~don't~~ don't think there was more juvenile delinquency under Communism than there was before, at least not in our ~~own~~ neighborhood.

I have heard the word hooligan before. It means 'slave'. I heard this as a Russian prisoner of war in the Soviet Union.

The jampecs can be recognized by his dress and conduct. The fashion which they followed was called 'the American style.' But, I see no signs of it here in the United States.

The jampecs were pro-American. Their conduct was not criminal, but it was discouraged by the Communists because it was a form of resistance to Communism.

I think that in the numerous articles about jampecs there was much exaggeration.

The jampecs were young people between the ages of 16-22 from all classes of society.

## VII. RELIGION

A. The Communists wanted to exterminate religion. They said that the ~~peace~~ priests were primarily concerned with ~~religious~~ politics. They left the ~~churches~~ churches open but the so-called "peace priests" had to obey orders given them by the Communists.

I think that the Roman Catholic church was hit the hardest by the Communists persecution in Hungary. This was because the Roman Catholic church had large estates in Hungary, and also because it was the largest church in the ~~country~~ country with the greatest mass influence.

I think that religion is a bulwark against Communism.

B. I think that I am somewhat more religious than my parents were. They led a roaming life when they were young and did not have the opportunity to observe Sundays and holidays, etc.

Perhaps I am slightly more religious than the average person in Hungary.

I went to church every Sunday before World War II. After World War II I went to church now and then. Since my arrival in the United States I again attend church regularly.

C. In my opinion all church schools should be restored to the churches. They should continue to educate the young people in Hungary the same way as they ~~had~~ did before World War II.

I think that churches should be allowed to criticize movies, books and plays, but ~~their~~ their censorship should not be compulsory.

I think that priests should be allowed to run for public office in an independent Hungary, but the church as an institution should not take part in ~~political~~ political ~~and~~ affairs.

D. I do not know to what extent the Jewish religion was hurt by the Communist regime. I did not have many Jewish friends. But, I do not think that the Jewish religion was persecuted by the Communist regime in Hungary. All top jobs were filled by Jews in Hungary under the Communist regime.

In 1945 when the Communists came some Jews rejoiced. This is especially true of the poor Jews. But the rich Jews and the ones who were unable to make a career were just as anti-Communist as everyone else.

Many Jews became very disillusioned with Communism. I knew one Jew who hated them more intensely than anyone else I knew. Some Jews in our branch of business committed suicide when their shops and factories were nationalized in 1948.

I think fairly many Jews joined the Communist party. They did so not out of conviction, but in order to get ahead.

During the revolution the few Jews that I knew were very frightened fearing another fascist program.

I do not know if the Jews took an active participation in the revolution, but I do know that I saw one person in charge of the Freedom Fighter headquarters in Szena Square who appeared to be a Jew.

I do not think it is true that the Jews fear an independent Hungary. Many of the Jews whom I knew stated that they want a democratic country instead of Communism.



### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean the young people from 14 to 28.

B. The Hungarian youth played a ~~major~~ major role in the revolution. Had they not started the ~~gi2~~ fighting the industrial workers would not have done so.

The Hungarian youth heard and saw at home how difficult it was for their parents to ~~x~~ make ends meet. Many young people just out of gymnasium were forced to learn some trade because they did not earn enough in the offices. Also, they wanted to know about the rest of the world where they were cut off completely.

It was the Hungarian youth and not the older ~~generations~~ generations who led the revolution because youth is more enthusiastic and temperamental. I think that everyone in Hungary was proud of the Hungarian youth. On the other hand, the youth resented that comparatively few elder people took an active part in the fighting.

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

D. At one time part of the Hungarian youth was very enthusiastic about Communism. But a few years of Communist rule caused them to reject it completely. For example, a chief accountant ~~and~~ ~~maximum~~ of a factory and two sons were strongly anti-Communist. A third son was a Communist for about two or three years. There were numerous quarrels at home, but later the boy became anti-Communist, more vehement than the others ~~in~~ in his family.

Hungarian youth rejected Communist indoctrination because of parental influence at home, and because they saw the contradictions of Communist teachings and practice in everyday life.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. I was very dissatisfied with life under Communism because I had to work extremely hard and very much. Norms were so high that we had to do in one day what we formerly completed in one week. This is incredible, but true. This effected the quality of our product. Had we worked the same way as before we would have starved.

B. Others complained also about low wages, & much work and their inability to make ends meet.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. I had to live very frugally in Hungary during the last few years in order to make ends meet. I could afford a new suit only once every five or six years. I did not have money for recreation not only because it cost so much but also because I was too tired after work to go anywhere. To supplement my wages I -illegally - went to work on a parttime basis for a private hat maker.

I ate lunch in the factory. The food there was not the best and not the worst. I didn't eat much. What they gave me was enough for me, but not for most of the others.

At home I cooked breakfast and supper for myself. Sometimes when I had money and the opportunity I went to some cheap restaurant to eat.

~~My parents, sister and I lived in a one-room and kitchen apartment. There was a lavatory, but no bath. Rent was very cheap.~~

My parents, sister and I lived in a one-room and kitchen apartment. There was a lavatory, but no bath. Rent was very cheap.

I couldn't afford to go with a girlfriend to a pastry shop. This would cost me about 100 forints. I could do this very rarely.

Compared to my pre-war standard of living after the war I lived much worse than before. My standard of living was highest in 1948. After that it constantly declined. It was the worst in 1951-'52

Of all my acquaintances a family of three lived the best. They had a small apartment, wore good clothes, and both the father and the son were able to drink as much as they wanted. They were lathe operators in a steel factory. The mother worked in a textile factory.

The low standard of living under the Communist regime in Hungary was due to planned ~~economic~~ economy.

B. In the last year my average monthly wages in the factory was between ~~12~~ 1200-1300 forints. 100 forints was deducted for compulsory government loans, 50 for trade union fees and 3 per cent of income for bachelor's tax. In all about 200 forints were deducted.

I did not received any premium or extra pay.

I had a secondary source of income in as much as I worked on a part-time basis for a private hat maker. This netted me about 500 forints a month extra.

My sister worked as a supervisor in a children's home in Budapest. She earned about 600 forints plus her room and board. My father received a pension of ~~about~~ 480 forints a month.

I received wage increases whenever there was a tightening of norms, but this meant a decline of income.

I was a stakhanovite worker in 1952, '53 and '54. I ~~was~~ achieved ~~maximum~~ this by working hard and by ~~making~~ leaving out some of the required operation in the process in manufacturing hats. The quality of the products was much poorer than before. I received one or two bonuses of 100 to 200 bonuses each. Otherwise we were given only badges and diplomas.

The first stakhanovites in Hungary were richly rewarded, but later on these rewards ceased.

C. We ~~was~~ purchased foodstuffs only in the koxert stores. I did not buy anything on the free market and therefore I am unable to compare the~~x~~ prices.

I bought suit material in the government department stores and had it made into a suit by a small tailor. Such a suit cost about 40 per cent more than a ready-made one, but the quality and cut of the suit ~~was~~ cannot be compared with the one ready-made.

All other clothes we bought in government department stores. None could be bought on the free market.

There were difficulties in retail supply distribution. This was caused by "planned ~~exam~~ economy" which involved too much red tape.

I do not know whether it was possible to get spare parts or not.

At one time or another there were shortages in textiles, foodstuffs, especially meat lard and bacon, ~~and~~ The last two or three years the supply of food and commodity was somewhat better, but in the early ~~fifty~~ fifties women went on Friday night to line up for meat distribution on ~~Saturday~~ Saturday morning.

Black marketing was conducted on a large scale in 1945 and '46. After that it ceased almost entirely. I do not know how it was organized.

I don't think that storekeepers ever dared to ask a higher price for commodities of which there was a shortage.

Black marketing was conducted with impunity immediately after World War II. Later on it was punished very severely. A person caught operating on a black market was either interned or imprisoned.

D. I usually got up at 5:30 every morning. The factory was nearby; it took me only ten minutes to get there on foot.

I worked from 6:30 to 12:30 and then I had a 30 minute lunch period. We continued work from 1 to 5 p.m. We worked 48 hours a week in a five day week. This was exceptional - - in most factories there was a five and one half or six day week.

I never slept more than five or six hours a night. I read two or three hours every night in bed.

I was usually employed in the group working on hat brims in our factory. But I was often assigned as a trouble shooter anywhere in the factory where there was a ~~was~~ bottleneck situation.

I was not satisfied with my job. Everything was done by machines. Craftsmanship was gradually going to oblivion. The pace of work was very rapid and one was unable to do a good job.

I got along well with my superiors. They understood their jobs very well.

The director had prestige and was feared. The others knew their jobs well but did not push their rank and position on others.

For a time in our factory I conducted affairs with connection with the trade union vacation programs. But I was doing this work only in name. All decisions were made by the director, the party secretary and the trade union secretary. Annually on 10 percent of our workers could go to trade union vacation resorts each year.

The Hungarian trade union medical service was not the best. There was too much bureaucracy involved.

Pensions were very unjust. The age limit where

pensions were paid were ~~high~~ high--60 years of age. Workers were not able to earn much by the time they reached ~~sixty~~ 60 and pensions were paid on the last year's average income.

E. In Hungary I would prefer to live in the city. All my life I have lived there.

I do not know who had a better diet in Communist Hungary. It is hard to generalize.

The standard of living was higher probably in the cities.

I think politically it was easier to live in the country than in the city. There were not so many informers as in the cities.

When collectivization was first ~~introduced~~ introduced in Hungary my opinion was that Hungarian peasants have become accustomed to being independent. I thought they would not like collectivization. There would be less food, production would decline.

My fears materialized. There was never a food shortage in Hungary except under the Communist regime.

The large peasants were not in a position to express their opinions in connection with the nationalization of farms and farm collectivization. Probably the middle peasantry objected most strongly against collectivization.

I heard some rumors of collective farms being ~~six~~ dissolved before the revolution in 1956.

XI.

A. Before World War II I was not interested in politics at all. I ~~never~~ have never been ~~any~~ a member of any political party.

I cannot say that I ever sympathized with any political party. I have never been permitted to vote in Hungary.

I have heard only the ~~most~~ worst about the Hungarian Communist party after World War I. I think that Bela Kun was a sadist and was not normal.

During World War II I had no knowledge at all of the existence of an underground Communist party.

My opinion of the pre-1945 Communist party has not changed at all since 1948.

B. The members of the Communist party can be classified as fanatics, and the so-called "red card knights" (by this I mean careerists), there are also the former Social Democratic party members who became Communist party members automatically when the parties merged; Then the vast majority of members who are members out of sheer necessity who wanted to preserve their jobs, or to find ~~employment~~ employment.

I have had contact with all these groups.

There seemed to be some changes in Party policy under Imre Nagy's first government. There were some concessions made at that time. For example, craftsmen were able to reopen shops. But this was only tactics, and ~~their~~ their purpose was to induce hidden capital to come out from hiding in order to make it possible to nationalize it later on.

Changes in Party policy was caused probably by Western political pressure which tended the Communists to



create the ~~same~~ appearance of some ~~kind~~ democracy in Hungary.

I do not know much about Party life and Party affairs. Probably there were differences of opinion among the Party leadership. Party members themselves often criticized the party.

I don't know anything about Party moral. The only Communists I knew were members by compulsion. They were very strongly opposed to the Party's policies.

I think that the top Hungarian Communists want only to insure for themselves a comfortable life. I do not know any of them personally, but I think some may have conditions. There are very few. Most of them are diabolic persons who are capable of the utmost cruelty toward others.

I wouldn't execute any of the top leaders when Hungary becomes independent. They should be brought before a court to answer for their deeds, then they should be imprisoned and allowed to see how rapidly Hungary can develop without them.

C. There was passive resistance to Communism all along. One could hear complaints and grumblings everywhere. People attended church ceremonies ~~in~~ despite the Communists.

There was no sabotage or slowdown~~s~~ in our factory. I haven't heard of any elsewhere. Such resistance was extremely difficult. Wherever there was any lag in the completion of a production plan rigorous investigations were conducted to determine its cause.

Resistance and dissatisfaction were always greater when norms were tightened.

Everyone knew about the passive resistance. It had no evident immediate results.

I once read about the ~~passive~~ resistance of the Hungarian intellectuals in the Literary Gazette. This was in

Изданная в сентябре, 1956. I did not read the Gazette at any other time.

I heard about the Petofi Circle (not mentioned spontaneously immediately before the revolution. I heard about its existence from friends. But what actually the Petofi Circle was and what its aims were I did not know.

I am unable to say whether the Hungarian intellectuals expressed what everyone else was saying or whether they had anything new to say.

I don't know why the intellectuals turned against the regime. Probably their patriotism persuaded them to side with the people.

## XII. APPARATUS OF POWER

A. I had no personal contact with the AVH, but the son of one of my colleagues who graduated from a gymnasium before 1944 became an AVH officer. I do not know his rank. The father boasted he had an excellent income. During the revolution the father cried like a child. He asked the workers' committee to allow him to stay in the factory since his son was an AVH officer.

The daughter of another friend broke off her engagement with a young man because he joined the AVH. He did not like to work.

In general, AVH officers and non-commissioned officers were industrial workers and poor peasants who did not like to work.

I have not been arrested, only questioned on two occasions by the AVH. I was not tortured.

I heard rumors about AVH officers who <sup>felt remorse and</sup> wanted to quit the service. I did not know any personally.

When Hungary becomes independent a vigorous screening of all AVH officers should take place to determine why they ~~just~~ joined and what they did during their term of service.

I cannot say anything bad against the Blue Police. During the revolution they sided with the people. I personally saw that the 3rd District Police Headquarters deserted the regime. I knew many policemen. They were dissatisfied.

I think that the police force under the Horthy regime was much better and more efficient.

I do not know if there was any corruption in the Blue Police force.

I think that about one third of the police force was Communist.

E. I heard charges made by the Communists that the Horthy regime's courts ~~exam~~ exercised class justice, but I have had nothing to do with the courts and don't know on the basis of personal experience.

The People's Courts after 1945 was set up to try war criminals. I do not know much about these courts, but I heard that many injustices were committed by the People's courts which was completely Communist controlled.

I don't know whether war criminals are guilty or not. Hungarian statesmen were acting entirely under compulsion. They were constantly threatened by Hitler. Also there were the territorial demands and the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. But the People's Courts sentences were not just, at least that's what the popular belief was.

C. During the revolution the Hungarian army played <sup>mostly</sup> a passive role. A considerable part of the army also played an active role. Only about one third of the army fought with the Freedom Fighters. I estimate this on the basis of my own experience in Budapest and during my flight from Hungary.

I do not know if rank, geographic location, class origin influenced the conduct of the army at all. I was not much among them and did not have an opportunity to establish this.

That some groups fought as a whole while others did not depended on whether there was someone to lead them or not.

I was not surprised at the conduct of the army during the revolution. Practically all the soldiers I knew were opposed to Communism.

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

D. It is a fact that in 1848 the Russian army

crushed the Kossuth revolution. However, the unpopularity of the Russians is due to ~~their~~ their conduct in 1944-45. I personally ~~and~~ spoke with girls and women who were raped by the Russians. I also heard that those who resisted them were shot.

I do not know any first-hand details concerning the conduct of the Russians in Hungary because at that time I was prisoner of war in the Soviet Union. But I expected the Russians to behave just as they did.

There has been no change in my attitude toward the Russian army since 1945.

I had no contact with the Russian occupation troops in Hungary and their dependents, nor the Russians during the revolution.

E. I never experienced that local government officials were willing to overlook or disregard government regulations in order to ~~help~~ help the people. But in our factory the officials knew that ~~there~~ there was cheating in connection with production norms. They tacitly tolerated this.

F. I do not know anything about bribery but I heard others say, "If I had money I could arrange everything."

Backstairs influence was evident everywhere. It could be seen mostly in connection with jobs' pay. Even storekeepers gave scarce items to regular customers or friends only.

G. I am unable to form an opinion of the intelligence and efficiency of top Hungarian secret police.

In connection with the army I knew the chauffeur of a general. The chauffeur always referred to his master as "the old fool." The general was formerly an industrial worker who attended short military training courses for army officers after 1948.

I think that the Russians are not too good in

military sciences and strategy. What victories they have achieved they did so with their abundance of man material. During World War II Germans were sometimes outnumbered by a ratio of one to 60.

As far as I can see, top public administration officials were ~~competent~~ competent. Many of them were retained from the time of the Horthy administration.

### XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. In connection with Hungary's foreseeable future I have the feeling of facing an impenetrable dark wall.

I think that Kadar will remain in power for the time-being, as long as Moscow wants him to. His policy will probably be somewhat less severe than that of the Rakosi regime. Communists in Hungary may blame the revolution on fascists, but they know very well that people are dissatisfied, and against the regime.

Another revolution in Hungary in the near future is entirely out of the question. Later on perhaps it would be possible.

Hungary's future can be insured only if the Western world awakens to the danger of Communism and unites. Soviet policy will not renounce its plans to Bolshivize the entire world.

I personally would not like war between the United States and the Soviet Union. I prefer the conference ~~xxxx~~ table solution. But history shows that such conferences were never able to achieve permanent results. The people at home probably are in favor of war even if it may mean an atomic war. Their opinion is that the U.S. would ~~xxx xxx~~ never use an ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ atomic war in Hungary.

I consider a war ~~xxx~~ inevitable, but this war will not break out in the near future. By this I mean not at least for the next five years.

B. Every since 1948 until ~~xxxx~~ almost to the revolution I was very pessimistic at home and thought that the Communist regime would last. There was the example of Russia where Communism has been in power for the last 30-40 years. I was very pessimistic.

My hopes began to brighten in 1955 when Austria regained her independence. We knew that Russia's pretext

for occupying Hungary was to insure the lines of supply for their troops in Austria. Now that the Austrian people had regained their independence and Austria had been evacuated there was no more need to occupy Hungary. Also there was a notable change in the Hungarian press which filled us with hope.



XIV. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

A. I want an independent Hungary to be a true democratic country with full representation in parliament, socialized medical service, old-age pensions, and unemployment insurance.

B. Hungary is an agricultural country. Therefore, emphasis in Hungarian economy should be placed on agriculture. We are poor in hydroelectric power, coal, iron ore and other metals, but this does not mean that industry should be neglected altogether.

Emphasis should be placed on the light industry. We have no resources for the heavy industry, but we have trained labor and material for the light industries.

I am unable to say what should happen to the national enterprises once Hungary is free. I'd like to leave the question up to the economists for decision.

(When pressed:) I think that the joint enterprises, for example the iron and steel works of Csepel, the railroads, the large machine factories should remain under state management. Otherwise, there should be free enterprise in Hungary.

It would be extremely difficult who should get the small enterprises. ~~All~~ All the original owners have long since died. The Hungarian parliament should decide what should be done with them.

Cooperatives should remain if the peasants so desire. If the state farms existed before the Communist regime, they should continue to operate as such. Other state farms nationalized by the Communists should be ~~returned~~ returned to their former owners, or their heirs.

The agricultural system of an <sup>INDEPENDENT</sup> ~~newly formed~~ Hungary

should not be based on compulsory crop deliveries; they should be abolished. Peasants should not be compelled to grow what they do not want. Agricultural system should be the same as before World War II.

I don't think that the Hungarian government in an independent Hungary should set a maximum to land which can be owned by anyone one person or family. On the other hand, the government should determine the minimum agricultural wages that should be enforced by law.

If I were to choose between a wealthy dictatorship and a complete democracy, I would choose democracy. With work everyone can achieve easily what a dictatorship would ensure at the cost of personal freedom.

There would be no need to outlaw the Communist party in an independent Hungary unless they want to overthrow the government by force.

Hungary has had enough of the Communists. The Communist party would have no followers in an independent Hungary.

C. Most ideal for an independent Hungary would be an international position such as that of Austria. Hungary would conduct only economic relations with the Soviet Union and with the other Eastern European countries provided that they are still Communist. But with the Western countries, especially the United States, Hungary should conduct the closest possible cultural, economic relations, but no military relations.

I heard people arguing about setting up a federation of Danubian states. Economic cooperation between such countries would be possible and practical, but political unity would be impossible because there is too much nationalism and differences between the countries concerned. I don't think that such a

federation can be achieved in the foreseeable future. Perhaps in ~~xxx~~ many years from now.

I do not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. I would like very much for Hungary to have the pre-1919 Hungarian boundaries. This should be ~~xxxx~~ achieved by military means if necessary, but preferable through peaceful negotiations.

I am not concerned about the present fate of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. I have spoken to people from Czechoslovakia and Romania. The fate of the Hungarian minorities there ~~xxxx~~ is fairly tolerable.

All these questions are very important not only from the national view but also economically.

They are important not only to me but to everyone else in Hungary.

#### XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. While I was in Hungary I did not hear about Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress.

I read about Senator McCarthy and his UN-American Activities committee in the Communist press. I think that the existence of such a committee is justified in the U.S. interest.

I heard something about Peron's downfall but I was not very interested in this.

Before the revolution we knew only Rakosi's biography. We had to learn it in seminars.

While I was in Hungary my most important source of information was foreign radio broadcasts. If I did not hear them personally I heard about them from others.

The second most important source of information while I was in Hungary were the German editions of the Neuzeit. They contained much news about Hungary which was not printed in the local press and which revealed the lies in the Hungarian newspapers.

C. By word of mouth I heard mostly news from Western radio sources. I was not always able to listen to the broadcasts myself because my set was a very small one.

News received by word of mouth was sometimes distorted, depending on the individual. They sometimes invented good news which was often a question of wishful thinking.

D. (This optional section is left out because of the time element.)

## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I think that a revolution in the Soviet Union is quite out of the question. I was a prisoner of war in Russia. I saw many concentration camps for Russians. Hungary is a police state ruled with terror and supported with a perfect system of informers. This is ~~xxx~~ true of Russia to a greater extent.

Voluntary changes introduced by Russian leaders are possible but not very likely.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union I think that the Communist party would be defeated. There is no other party in the Soviet Union, therefore it is impossible to foresee who would come to power.

The collective aim of the top Soviet leaders is to Bolshevize the world. This they admit openly.

Their individual aims are to preserve power and to live a life of luxury.

I think that some of the top Russian leaders may have convictions. Only Lenin and Stalin had personality. The others are all irrelevant.

I do not know what differences there are between the Hungarian top Communists and their Soviet counterparts.

B. In every instance the popularity and unpopularity of the countries mentioned refer only to the people and not to their governments.

The most popular ~~xxx~~ <sup>are</sup> Poland and East Germany... Poland because of traditional Hungarian-Polish friendship, and East Germany because of the firm resistance to Communism.

The least popular are the Czechs and the second

least popular are the Romanians because of territorial disputes and the treatment of Hungarian minorities.

If free elections were to be held in these countries Communism would be defeated everywhere. Some national party would take over in each country.

Of the countries mentioned the standard of living is the highest in Czechoslovakia with Hungary the second highest. It is the lowest in Romania and second lowest in Poland.

C. I think that Gomulka is a puppet like all other satellite leaders, but he has more national colors on his coat of arms.

Gomulka will stay in power as long as Moscow wants him to, or needs him.

Events in Poland, especially the Poznan riots (mentioned spontaneously) had a great influence on events in Hungary. We heard about the Poznan riots from the press and radio, but at first reports were distorted. Later even the Hungarian press and radio admitted that the Poznan riots were caused by the justified dissatisfaction of the people.

I do not know of any changes in Poland before the Poznan riots. It would have been much better had the Hungarian revolution followed the same course as the revolution in Poland. From the press it is evident that there were serious reprisals in Hungary to the Freedom Fighters despite Kadar's promises to the contrary.

D. I think that Tito is a doublecrosser. He is flirting with both East and West. His system is basically Communist and does not differ much from Russian Communism.

Relations between the Eastern European countries and Tito are always changing. They depend on Tito's current relations with the Soviet Union.

Tito supported the Hungarian revolution. He favored

Rajk and Rajk's rehabilitation occurred immediately before the revolution.

It is possible that there is Titoism or national Communism in the satellite countries. Even in Hungary many Communists said they wanted to be Communists, but Hungarian Communists.

I think that at one time Tito was fairly popular in Yugoslavia. Now I do not know. In Hungary I did not know much about conditions in Yugoslavia. There were ~~some~~ contradicting rumors about the standard of living in ~~Communist~~ Yugoslavia.

E. In my opinion Egypt did not have a right to nationalize the Suez Canal, but perhaps France, England and Israel had a right to attack Egypt. The canal was built by the French and English although on Egyptian territory.

Events in Egypt in the Fall of 1956 ~~attracted~~ divided Western attention and the Hungarian revolution was considered less important than Europe's oil supply.

F. At home I heard that the standard of living in West Germany was very high.

I do ~~not~~ think that the Germans are a threat to peace. I approve of West German rearmament to the extent of protecting themselves against Russia.

I ~~don't~~ think that the West German army is stronger than that of either France or England.

I think that the term of military service in the West German army is 18 months.

There is no doubt that the Russian occupation of Hungary was far more undesirable and unpopular than the German occupation had been to the people at home. During the revolution everyone was expecting the Germans to come in and help us.

The German officers and men acted far more disciplined in Hungary than the Russians.

G. I think that NATO is necessary. Russia is preparing for war. The Warsaw Pact is aimed against NATO.

The British Labor party may be and may not be ~~anti~~ for Communism. British, even if they are Communists, are unwilling to cede world power to the Russians.

I think that the ~~equivilant~~ of the British Labor party on the continent are the Social Democratic parties.

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

H. On my arrival to the United States I was impressed most by the sky-scrapers and the wonderful highways.

I think that the United States' foreign policy in connection with Eastern Europe is very weak.

The United States should give no war material or strategic materials to Yugoslavia, and Poland or other Eastern European countries. The government should however provide economic aid.

I think that the U.S. government ~~should~~ should not give economic aid to the Kadar government. It should not recognize the Kadar government and should not conduct diplomatic relations with it.

I am certain that the people at home would like to see ~~have~~ more Western visitors, preferably tourists and newspaper men. These people should be told before going to Hungary to keep their eyes open, to go everywhere, and to see everything.

The purpose of the Marshall Plan was primarily to aid the war-torn countries of Europe. I can attribute only ~~only~~ altruistic motives to the United States in sponsoring



the Plan. I do not know of any political conditions attached to the Marshall Aid grants.

The United States became involved in Korea because it wanted to stop Communist expansion in Asia. I do not know of other motives, although there are rumors to the extent that uranium deposits have been found in Korea.

J. In my opinion the United Nations cannot operate if the member nations do not serve its charter.

In the Fall of 1956 the United Nations should have sent a large committee to Hungary to establish the facts of the uprising and the United Nations should have also sponsored a plebiscite in the country.

I have no hopes of any effective United Nations action in behalf of Hungary in the near future.

XVIII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED  
PERSONALITIES

A. I think that the greatest Hungarian living today is Cardinal Mindszenty. He is the Prince Primate of Hungary. He is very popular for his frugal life, strong character, and firm convictions. He was tortured by the Russians, but remained firm. He is the very symbol of resistance.

Imre Nagy brought some alleviation during the past years. I think he was primarily Hungarian and not Communist.

Lazlo Rajk is a Communist. He is the founder of the AVH. He lost in the struggle for power.

Erno Gero was never popular at home.

Janos Kadar is an insignificant stooge. He did not keep his promises which he made during and after the revolution.

General Bela Kiraly fought in the revolution or directed it.

Anna Kethly is a very nice person and I sympathize with her.

~~President~~ President Eisenhower as a person is charming and likable, but he is too peace-loving.

I have no definite opinion about U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjold.

I ~~nk~~ have no opinion about State Secretary Dulles.

Eden is a very clever statesman but he made a great mistake in connection with the Suez problem.

I have no opinion about President Truman.

Mikoyan is the Russian minister for Foreign Affairs.  
I have no opinion on him.

Nehru always regards the best interest for his people.

I don't know much about Generalissimo Chian Kei-shek

Ferenc Nagy cooperated with the Russians and many  
innocent people were executed under his Prime  
Ministership.

I have no opinion on President Roosevelt.

Chancellor Adenauer is the German national hero who  
has re-built Germany.

Stalin was a ~~key~~ ~~in~~ tyrant.

Malenko was a softer dictator than Stalin.

Generalissimo Franco is anti-Communist but a ~~stix~~  
dictator.

Bevan is British, but I don't know exactly who he is.

Khrushchev craves power.

Molotov is very intelligent.

I have no definite opinion on Ollenhauer. He may be  
pro-Communist.

Churchill is the greatest statesman of Britain.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. I think that the refugees are participants in the fightings and demonstrations, people who expressed political beliefs during the revolution, and feared retaliation. Then there are those who wanted to get rich quick and who --mostly the young ~~young~~ people-- sought adventure. Some refugees came out because of family ties and a certain number of Communists and spies were instructed to come out among the refugees.

I think that most ~~many~~ refugees are young people, 70 per cent are males, 30 per cent female.

I think the majority of the refugees are industrial workers. Few members of the peasantry and intelligentsia left Hungary. That is, unless the students are also considered members of the intelligentsia.

At home ~~many~~ remained the people who feared the unknown and did not have enough confidence to start life anew in another country. Many older people stayed because of their age. They foresaw no future for themselves abroad. ~~Many~~ A surprisingly large number of people remained at home for patriotic reasons. The bad weather also kept many from coming.

In my opinion the people at home slightly envied the refugees, but have no resentment against us.

I pity those people who remained at home and sometimes admire their patriotism.

In my opinion if everyone were allowed to leave Hungary about half of the people now home would still remain.

B. At home I heard that some Hungarian organizations were active in exile, especially in the United States and Austria. I did not know much about them, nor the names of the exile leaders who formed these organizations.

At home I thought that the Hungarian exile leaders have united all Hungarians/ living abroad. I have had no contact with them since my arrival in the United States. I know only about the Hungarian Roman Catholic church in N.Y.

Charles Feyer was very anti-Communist.

I know about Miklos Kallay, but I was not interested in politics at the time that he was prime minister.

I have a very high opinion of Otto von Hapsburg, but I am against restoration in Hungary.

I think that Governor Horthy was a national hero.

I supposed that the Hungarians in exile tried to do what they could in behalf of Hungary. I do not know what success they achieved or what was possible for them to do.

During the revolution I thought about the Hungarians in exile, and I ~~had~~ hoped that they would intercede with the United Nations in the behalf of Hungary.

C. I have heard of persons returning from the West who fled Hungary after 1945, but I did not know any such persons.

I think that the Communists conducted a redefection campaign for propoganda purposes and to acquire more labor resources.

The people at home doubted the sanity of those who returned and their sense of judgement.

D. The people at home would probably like to know if the refugees are homesick or not and how they are living.

The refugees should adjust themselves to life in their new country.

I would like very much to join an exile organization, preferably a cultural one. I do not know of any specific one existing which I would like to join.

The purpose of this organization should be to unite the Hungarians in America, and to aid the Hungarians at home. It would help the Hungarians to preserve their nationality and their culture.

I think that everyone who ~~professes~~ professes himself to be a Hungarian should be allowed to join such an organization if he so desires.

I do not know much about the political parties in exile. I only know that Kethly is a Social Democratic party leader and is active here and in Great Britain.

I was aware of the revival of the Hungarian political parties during the revolution. I approved of it. Political parties are necessary.

I don't think that the political leaders in exile had the time or the opportunity to return home to participate in the revival of the political parties. It would have been too dangerous for them, and they would have been charged as being Western agents.

E. I would like to return to a free and independent Hungary, but whether to return permanently or for a visit is not alone for me to decide. My wife, of Hungarian origin, is an American citizen and all of her ~~xxx~~ relatives are living here.

I most certainly would want my children to learn Hungarian here in the United States.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. When I was in Hungary I listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts, but not on my own radio-- only on the radio of my friend. My set was too small to ~~receive~~ receive foreign broadcasts.

I listened mostly to the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America programs. All of them were jammed, but which one was jammed most I do not know. I ~~lis-~~ listened only to the Hungarian programs. I was able to listen to radio programs at an average of once a week, sometimes everyday, especially when something interesting was happening.

I always told my immediate and reliable friends what I heard over the radio. We discussed everything of importance that was broadcasted.

When we listened to the radio we closed the window and did not tune it in too loud. My friend's family and other friends were present when we listened to the broadcasts.

I always heard about foreign radio broadcasts, even ~~sk~~ when I was unable to listen to them ~~myself~~ myself. All important news ~~items~~ items were a constant topic of discussion.

Listening to radio broadcasts was less dangerous than talking about them. This latter was a punishable act of ~~inciting~~ inciting against the people's democracy.

I don't think that the danger involved made any ~~ff~~ difference. Perhaps it made listening to ~~foreign~~ foreign broadcasts more interesting.

I do not know of any changes in the severity with which such acts were regarded and punished.

Foreign radio broadcasts helped to keep people informed. Hungarian newsservice was very one-sided.

I liked Radio Free Europe broadcasts the most because reception was the best, its programs were interesting and gave not only plain news.

The foreign radio broadcasts were not 100 per cent accurate, but ~~fairly~~ fairly accurate. Often Radio Free Europe gave prophecies of what was supposed to happen.

The accuracy of the R radio broadcasts was judged on the basis of subsequent events.

The radio programs were very useful because they kept our hopes alive. During the revolution people attached high hopes to Western aid. Foreign radios never had so many listeners in Hungary as during the revolution.

I considered Radio Free Europe broadcasts interesting and good. There is much grumbling that during the revolution R.F.E. promised us military aid to keep us fighting. I did not hear anything of this kind myself, although I listened regularly to these broadcasts during the revolution.

I think Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts. They are useful and help to keep the people at home informed.

I don't think changes are necessary in Radio Free Europe programs. I could not assemble a better program myself.

B. I have never heard of the initials N.E.M., nor of the Twelve Demands.

C. On one occasion on July, 1956 I saw a crumpled Free Europe Press leaflet. A young worker



brought it into the factory. I was unable to read it. I do not know what it contained. He received it from someone, but was unwilling to tell me from whom.

I heard that leaflets are being sent into Hungary by balloon, but I never heard details of their contents.

I think that picking up, keeping or talking about or passing on leaflets was extremely dangerous, more so than listening to the radio or talking about that. This involved a prison sentence. To a certain extent it deterred people from passing on these leaflets or talking about them.

I do not know of any changes in the severity with which such acts were punished or regarded in Communist Hungary.

Leaflets were useful because they spread information, but they played no special role during the revolution.

I think that Free Europe should continue sending in leaflets to Hungary by balloons. They should contain commentaries of news.

D. The purpose of Western organizations sending broadcasts and leaflets into Hungary is to keep the people informed and to keep alive the spirit of resistance.

I do not know 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 religion, honesty, character and diligence.

I think it is necessary to discipline children. Whether ~~in~~ or not it is necessary to use physical punishment depends on the child. Some children will respond better to kind words, other will become stubborn and do just the opposite of what they are told.

I do not know if sex makes ~~any~~ any difference in ~~g~~ the treatment of the child from the point of view of discipline. Perhaps boys should be dealt with more firmly.

As the children grow older less physical punishment should be used.

I was twelve years old when a boy with whom I was playing tore his coat and blamed it on me. My mother slapped me so hard so much that my mouth and nose began to bleed. She did not let me defend myself against the charges. She later found out the truth and was very sorry for having punished me. She took me to a cinema.

I was punished mostly by my father, but in some families the mother punishes the children.

I do not know of any changes in this ~~respect~~ respect according to the sex of the child, its age and the social class of the parents. I do not know of any changes in this respect under Communism.

I do not know when physical punishment or punishment in general is abandoned. Perhaps at the age of 18.  
(Note: There is considerable resistance to these questions on subject's part.)

Physical punishment in school was abandoned entirely

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by the Communists. I do not know what forms of punishment they used in place of it.

The characteristic traits which I value most in a friend are honesty, character and reliability.

T H E      E X H   E N D