

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

I think that the most important thing that the Americans should know about the Hungarian revolution is that they should not be afraid of the Russians. They are far away and do not know them. They should realize that not the weapons but the men using them are important. Ninety-seven percent of the world, including the Russians themselves, are against Communism.

I am convinced that should war have broken out at the time of the Hungarian revolution, the Soviet Union would have collapsed immediately.

At home the entire Communist system collapsed in a matter of minutes, not hours.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

A.&B. At the time of the outbreak of the revolution I was working in Komlo as a garage foreman in charge of 130 busses and 70 trucks. However, I lived in Szaszvar some distance away.

On October 22 I had no premonition of anything unusual. I went to work and came home as usual.

On October 23 I was working on a night shift. At 8p.m. I was in Szaszvar waiting for the bus to take me to work. Gero had just begun his speech but I was not able to listen to it because the bus was starting. I arrived in Komlo at 9:15p.m.

Busses came from all directions bringing workers to work. Everyone was bitter. Some had heard ~~xxx~~ the Gero speech and told us that it was worse than if Rakosi had spoken. The atmosphere was very tense, but we had no radio and did not know anything that was going on in Budapest. Some workers brought rumors, but we did not believe them.

On October 24 I went home in the morning and heard what had happened in Budapest. I still did not imagine that a revolution had erupted.

I arrived at home at 8:30 a.m. and could not sleep. I went out to the square. Truck loads of young people came and in ten minutes they disarmed the village police and burned the Communist flags. They went on toward the Kossuth mine.

These young people were from Bonyhad, a town not far ~~fxn~~ away. They were from 14 to 20 years old. They were mostly students, apprentices and young workers. I did not see any peasants among

them, although there may have been one or two.

When I saw this scene I realized how weak the Communist regime was. Three young boys of 15 or 16 disarmed the entire police force, which consisted of 12 armed men.

(It must be noted that the first elections in Hungary brought the highest returns in this very district.)

My emotions were mixed. I was very happy to see the collapse of Communism, but I was very gravely concerned with the final outcome of the revolution. I knew very well that we could not lick the Russians by ourselves.

In Szaszvar everything was comparatively quiet. We waited to see what would happen.

On October 25 a demonstration took place in Szaszvar. There was no fighting at all until November 4. in our town, but of course there was no resistance at all from the Communists.

In those days no one went to work. We were always waiting for news of what was happening in Budapest and in our county.

Our region has a large population of miners who were very strongly in favor of the revolution, and stuck to it to the very last, even when the revolution was subdued.

The Communists were thrown out from public offices, from factories, etc. Some of us went to Pecs and took ~~part~~ part in the demonstrations there.

On October 26 or 27 three truckloads of young people, boys and girls, fully armed drove through our town in the direction of the Komlo ~~mine~~ mine ~~xxx~~ which was still held by the AVH. Someone warned the AVH of their coming and they were intercepted at a strategic spot along the way.

I did not participate in this mission.

That night the Communist regime was overthrown in Komlo, but how I do not know exactly because I was then in Szaszvar.

On October 27 busses came to collect the employees and we were told to go to our places of work, and hold workers' councils elections.

About 500 workers, approximately 90 per cent of the employees, appeared. We elected the council by secret ballot. The council consisted of 26 members, but there was not one Party member among them. The 26 members in turn ~~each~~ elected me ~~their~~ their chairman.

An executive committee was also elected from among the council members.

We took over the management of the enterprises, and for the rest of my stay in Hungary this occupied all my time. We delivered coal to power plants, transported workers to mines, performed maintainance work, etc. We were asked ~~to~~ by the Russians~~to~~ to give them coal, so they could depart. I wanted to give the coal, but the rest of the Workers' Council over-ruled me.

We also had a long debate on ~~providing~~ providing transportation facilities for maintainance work. I tried to explain to the council that maintainance work was necessary and the mines would be ruined if they were not maintained. However, they were stubborn and ~~it~~ insisted that as long as the Russians were in Hungary, the mines should go to ruin for they were unwilling to provide transportation.

Later, experts came from the mines and persuaded the members of the local workers' council to provide transportation for the miners required for maintainance work.

C. When the Russian withdrawal from Budapest occurred I was of the opinion that this was only a slight hesitation on the part of the Russian army leadership. I and my friends with whom I talked at the time were certain that Moscow would ~~crush~~ crush the revolution if there is no action or ~~to~~ ~~us~~ help from the West.

We older people all saw the situation in this light. Younger people were more enthusiastic and less experienced. They thought that we were too cautious and pessimistic.

I first heard of Russians returning on November 3 around midnight. I then heard a radio announcement by Imre Nagy. Previously I had listened to Moscow broadcast the claim that friendly relations must be maintained with satellite countries at all costs. We knew that the "friendly relations at all costs" meant that they would return.

My pessimism was based also on the reports of President Eisenhower's press conference where he made it clear that no active help from the United States ~~was~~ was forthcoming.

Then I had the feeling that every drop of blood being shed against the Russians was wasted.

Before November 4 we already noticed Russian tank movements in our district. We saw more tanks on November 4 and 5. There was fighting in the Mecsek Mountains, ~~two~~ two kilometers from Szaszvar, but none in the town itself.

When the Russian attack started on November 4 I knew that we were lost unless we got help. I was pessimistic of Western help, especially on the basis of radio reports. Our trouble was that we did not have ~~as~~ as much oil as the ~~the~~ Near East.

On November 4 I felt no fear. I felt that I must go and ~~to~~ fight with my sons. I did not have much hope, but I was embittered and did not think of

the possible outcome.

After November 4 the Communists began to stream back to the plants and enterprises. Various notices and demands appeared. We were ordered to provide transportation to bring the miners from work. We did not refuse such orders openly, but sabotaged them as much as we could.

On November 10 I was summoned to the Town council. The town council was guarded by Russian tanks and Russian soldiers with tommy-guns stood at the entrance of the Council chairman.

The Council chairman demanded to know why vehicles were not running to bring miners to work. I told him that we had no parts and materials to repair our vehicles which were run down. He ~~is~~ already had in his possession papers and reports of the numerous trips which we made to Budapest and other points during the revolution, taking food to the Freedom Fighters and carrying ammunition. The Council chairman told me, "If you could transport the counter-revolutionaries, you can also transport the workers now. On Monday you must either place your trucks and busses in operation or tell me who is sabotaging in your enterprises."

Previously my son had already been forced to flee from the country because the secret police were looking for him at his place of work. During the revolution he had destroyed Russian phonograph records, the Russian flag, the Communist flag and statues and pictures, etc., and had held inflammatory speeches against the Communists.

Not wishing to be arrested and unwilling to act as an informer on others, I fled from home.

I drove one of our busses as far as Kapuvar and from there on I went by foot to the border. On the way I was checked at one point, but our

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vehicles were equiped with papers signed by the Russian military commander allowing us to operate in order to transport workers to the mines.

B. Although the revolution was lost, Hungary has won the admiration of the entire world. Hungary will be rewarded for her participation in the ~~xxxg~~ struggle against Communism once it is over-~~xxxxwn~~ thrown and order restored in the world.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. When the Hungarian revolution broke out I expected that the West would declare war on Russia. I thought that the West would recognize the proper psychological moment for declaring war. This would have led to the immediate collapse of Communism,

I also hoped for arms to be ~~parachuted~~ parachuted from Western planes.

I also hoped that the Hungarian army would participate in a greater degree in the fight against the Russians and Communists. They became demoralized and went home.

B. I based my hopes on the simple fact that fire and water do not mix. I all along thought that war was inevitable and was only a question of time. Well, I thought that the time had come at last.

I also based my hopes on radio broadcasts which were ~~xxxxxxx~~ promising all along. Regrettably, at that time I did not know that, unlike in Europe, the American broadcasts are not the official organs of the government.

C. During the revolution and until my depart from Hungary to Austria I met with no foreigners in Hungary.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father died in 1947. He was a blacksmith, with a shop of his own. He was fairly well-to-do.

The education of my parents did not exceed six grades.

B. Basically the social classes in Hungary were the same as before. Communism. Intelligentsia associated with intelligentsia, workers with workers, peasants with peasants. The Communists tried to create a classless society, but they did not succeed.

The social classes in Hungary were the intelligentsia, the workers, and the peasantry.

I had contact with all the classes.

In my opinion, all classes hate Communism intensely. In the country only about a quarter per cent is Communist. The peasantry is Communist even to a lesser degree. Among the workers there are about three per cent Communists.

This refers to the state of affairs in 1956 in our district. I have already mentioned that in this district the Communists won a comparatively large support in the 1945 elections.

I saw Communist workers come home from France in 1946 and who were given high posts and in a few years they became completely disillusioned with Communism.

The Communists can do nothing with the peasants. Although the peasants ~~did~~ did not take an active part in the fighting (they were plowing ~~was~~ when the fighting was going on) they are just as opposed to Communism as the industrial workers or the intelligentsia.

In my opinion, today in Hungary less than four percent of the population would vote for Communism.

Under the Communist regime I was considered a class enemy because I had some property of my own.

(There was considerable hesitation on respondent's part when I asked him to determine what class he belonged to.)

I think that I belong to the middle class as a craftsman.

I think that under Communism the former leaders of the intelligentsia, the former capitalists, and the former _____ officers were the hardest hit/

They were imprisoned or interned. Their property was confiscated and they were unable to get employment.

But everyone who opposed the Communists was treated in the same way regardless what class he belonged to.

I think that all classes got along well with each other. The only exception were the Communists. No matter what class they belonged to, they were disliked.

C. From the point of getting ahead in Communist Hungary, class origin was the most important. Second was political views, not necessarily sincere views but ones professed by the person concerned.

Talent and experience were not important at all.

An intelligent man, even if a Party member did not participate in propaganda because he knew that the whole party was a fraud. As a result, the Communist machine was comprised of narrow-minded, stupid people. This also helps to explain its rapid collapse during the revolution.

After Stalin's death there was some change with respect to the appreciation and the role of talent. The Party wanted to acquire people with talent and was willing to forgive political differences and sometimes to overlook class origin.

As an individual an unscrupulous person with no conscience, willing to lie and sell his own mother for his personal advantages was the type most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary.

D. Chief party officials, AVH members, top army officers were a separate class or group which received much more from society than they deserved.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism had no effect at all on ^{our} family life. We lived very closely together in accord.

I think this applies to most families in Hungary.

From the types of families you mention my family comes closest to the type which experienced no change during the Communist regime. I think that other families came closer together than before Communism.

I must say that parents were afraid of their children, but only when they were very young. They were afraid that the children would accidentally give them away.

There was no change in the education of the children within the family during Communism. Everything went on the same as before. This was true of most families. Even the counter-effects of school could not undermine parental influence at home.

B. It is very difficult to say what changes occurred in morals and courtships and marriages.

In the country there was comparatively little change. I do not know what the situation was in the cities.

The Communists were opposed to church marriages, but in our district the young people went to some distant priest and got married secretly. That was the second ceremony; the civil ceremony is compulsory and was compulsory even before Communism.

Communists permitted divorces, but divorces were very expensive. Many marriages went on the rocks, and sometimes the couples did not trouble to get

divorced officially because of the expenses. The influence of parents on courtships, marriages, etc. was the same as before. It always depended on the family. In most families the children consulted their parents on such questions.

Officially brothels were closed and prostitution was banned during Communism, but prostitution thrived in secret.

Communists did not tolerate lax sexual morality from their members. If warnings were of no avail, the members leading scandalous lives were expelled from the Party.

C. Cases of friendships breaking up because one friend joined the Party and the other did not were frequent. In such cases the friendship had to end. Fear of some slip of the tongue was the motive. The Communist was probably more afraid than the non-Communist friend to continue the friendship. If the non-Communist friend got into any trouble this would have had unfavorable consequences for the Communist party member.

In cases of this kind I think both friends would be equally eager to terminate the friendship. If a non-Communist friend should continue his friendship with a Communist member, his other friends would boycott him and suspect him of being an informer or Communist. The Communist also had to be careful of his associations with non-Party members.

I think it is impossible to continue a friendship under the agreement not to mix politics into it.

D. By juvenile delinquency I mean common crimes committed by juveniles. I don't think there was more of this under Communism than before. I think reports on juvenile delinquency are exaggerated. There was no one to rob or steal from and everyone

was under constant police observation.

I heard the term 'hooligan' before but I do not know what it is.

Jampecs is the name applied to young people impersonating Western fashions and manners. The Communists were helpless against the jampecs. The more they opposed it the more it thrived. The jampecs were usually ~~between 14 and 15~~ began at about 14 or 15 and probably continued to his death. Once a Jampec, always a jampec, even if he was past 35. His conduct and fashion were the marks of a jampec all along.

I do not think that the conduct of a jampec was criminal. It was a form of opposition to Communism. This was the reason why the Communists tried to wipe it out.

I think that the reports published in Communist papers on the conduct of the jampecs were exaggerated.

VII. RELIGION

A. Communists wanted to curb religion in Hungary. The more they oppressed religion, the greater was the resistance of the population. In 1953-'54 people who never went to church before went just to spite Communism.

Communists soon realized their mistake and revised their policy on religion.

I think that the Roman Catholic church was prosecuted the most by the Communists in Hungary. This church gave the greatest resistance, beginning with Mindszenty down to the last parishioner.

I am certain the church and religion are bulwarks against Communism. Religion and Communism are incompatible.

B. I think that I am somewhat less religious than my mother is. My mother is sometimes over-religious. She goes to church everyday; I just go once a week. I have a feeling of insufficiency if I miss mass on Sunday.

I think that the average person in Hungary is just as religious as I am.

C. I think that the churches should play the same role in education as they did before the war.

I think the church should be given the responsibility of setting moral codes and standards in such things as movies, plays, books, etc.

I think that in Hungary the church should play an active role in politics, but not under the Communist regime.

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D. In my opinion, the Jewish religion was also hurt by Communism in Hungary. There were no Jews in our village, but in nearby villages the rabbis were molested by the AVH and the Jewish synagogues were also controlled by the state.

At the beginning the Jews naturally welcomed the Communists and the Russians. They had just escaped from Hitler and regarded the Communists as their saviors.

Most Jews were rich people and the Communist regime affected them materially. There are exceptions: Jews who joined the Communist party. But this could be said of non-Jews also.

I don't think the ratio of Jews in the Communist party was greater than that of the proportion of other denominations or races.

The two Jews who worked in our enterprise were very enthusiastic in the revolution and sided with the uprisers, with the Freedom Fighters. They did not take an active part in the fighting.

In the nearby towns and villages, where there were more Jews, many openly sided with the revolution. If a few were cowards--or perhaps wise-- and stayed at home.

I do not think it is true that the Jews fear an independent Hungary. Why should they be afraid?

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under Hungarian youth I mean young people from 13 or 14 to 24 or 25 years of age.

B. I think that the Hungarian youth was the initiators and driving force behind the revolution.

The youth became fed up with the spiritual slavery they had to live with under Communism.

The older generation had already taken part in at least one world war. Therefore, they knew that the ~~xxx~~ balance of power was so unfavorable that overthrowing the Communist regime without aid from the outside was entirely out of the question.

The Hungarian youth did not fully realize this and therefore was bolder.

During the revolution the opinion of the older generation about the youth was very favorable. The youth thought that the older generation was a bit cowardly and over-cautious. At least, this was my impression from my two boys. After the revolution they realized that it would have been better to have been less daring.

C. Of my three children, all three completed the eight grades of public school, but only my second son (now 25) was graduated from gymnasium.

Discounting politics, I think that children in Hungarian secondary schools are taught much more than before.

Students were given ample opportunity to attend school and received financial benefits from the government. Still, these very students were the first to turn against the regime.

There were restrictions in vocational choice. This was determined by the man-power needs of the ~~gwar~~ government. I do not know details about this--this is only my general impression, of course. Proletar children were given first preference. Their class origin was more important than their advancement in studies.

Teachers were bored and irked by Communist doctrines. I have relatives and friends who taught school in Hungary. They sabotaged Communist educational policies as much as they could.

Teachers probably knew more and were better trained than the village teachers of my childhood, who were interested only in wine, farming and hunting.

D. The Hungarian youth did not sympathize with Communism at all. Those handful of young students who sold themselves to Communism were openly despised by their classmates. Young people dared to show their scorn more openly than the older ones.

The Hungarian youth rejected Communist indoctrination because of a mental and spiritual slavery which it involved. Children were full aware of this.

I do not know of any children who sided with the Communists initially. Perhaps in the first years of Communism the youth hated it less than in 1956, but the youth never liked it.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. In Communist Hungary I was living in an atmosphere of constant uncertainty. I resented the spiritual and mental slavery in which we had to live. The terror was also constant. I was also dissatisfied with the ~~diff~~ difficulties of sending my sons to school.

B. Other people also complained because of the lack of freedom. There were the numerous complaints of low wages, low standard of ~~l~~ living, housing difficulties, etc.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. I was able to save a few things from my former fortune. Also, my wife farmed my mother's two yoke vineyard and my older son also worked. Thus we were able to get along comparatively well, much better than others in Hungary.

Our food was good, but I am an exceptional case. Very few people could live as we lived. My mother's farm supplied our household with almost everything.

We had enough decent clothes saved from before the Communist regime. We had a large supply on hand when the Communist regime began and were able to hide it. Also, we had funds set aside with which to buy clothes. What we earned had to be spent only on food.

We lived in my mother's house. It had five rooms. Seven of us, including my mother and ~~my father~~ an ~~uncle~~ aunt, lived there. It was very comfortable and well furnished from before 1945.

In the last years of Communism a motorcycle was an unobtainable luxury. It required about a year's income to buy.

Our greatest difficulty was food. All that we earned was not enough for food.

We lived at least 800 per cent better before 1945 than under Communism.

Our standard of living under Communism was the same all along. There were no changes.

~~Am~~ Among my acquaintances in Hungary there was no one who lived better than the rest of us.

Up to about 1954 Russia took practically everything that Hungary produced or manufactured. This accounts

for the low standard of living in Hungary under the Communist regime. Hungary's agriculture collapsed entirely under the collectivization system, and this did not improve living conditions in Hungary.

B. My average monthly income in the last year before the revolution was 1450 forints a month. Out of this I paid 10 forints a month trade union fees, and had to subscribe for compulsory government loans. This loan had to be paid in 10 monthly installments and it averaged one month's pay.

I did not have any additional sources of income or part-time job.

However, I did help to cultivate the vineyard which belonged to my mother. My wife also worked in the vineyard and in the household. My son was employed and he gave us his entire salary.

I did not receive any wage increase during the last five years.

C. What little food we purchased we bought only in government stores, Nothing on the free market.

We bought very little clothing. What few clothes we bought were ready-made and purchased in government department stores.

There were difficulties in retail distribution. However, industrial and especially mining regions were given first preference in supplies.

It sometimes happened that some commodity was unobtainable in a near store, although it was obtainable elsewhere. This was caused by the lack of organization in distribution.

In connection with spare parts, either they were the kind which were available and in abundance or of the kind which ~~was~~ were not obtainable at all.

Under the Communist regime there was constant shortages in rice, chocolates, cocoa, fish, citric fruits, etc. ~~ix~~ If it was available it was very

expensive.

In Communist Hungary there was black marketing, mostly in grain. I do not know how the black market was organized. It was conducted mostly among friends and acquaintances.

I heard of cases of storekeepers who were reluctant to sell scarce commodities at the regular price, but I did not experience anything of this kind myself.

Black marketing was dangerous. It could involve a punishment from six months to five years depending on the social class and ~~occupation~~ occupation of the person apprehended.

D. In the last two years before the revolution I was employed as a garage ~~foreman~~ foreman. I worked eight hours a day, six days a week. I slept an average of eight hours a night, ..that is, a day, because sometimes I worked on a night shift. It took me two hours to commute to and from work a day.

Under the circumstances, I ~~was~~ was satisfied with my job.

I grew up around cars and knew how to operate and service them. Therefore, I went to work for a motor vehicle enterprise when my property was taken away from me after 1945.

I got along well with my superiors. I had little to do with them. The superiors, especially the Communists, did not have much authority or respect. Some of them understood their work well, others did not.

I think that my fellow-workers understood their work well. I got along well with them.

The socialized medical service was good in Hungary, but if a worker was ill for a long period of time he was classed as an invalid and pensioned. Pensions

were extremely low.

Otherwise, doctors of the socialized medical service were over-burdened with paper work. Medicine was sometimes unobtainable.

The trade union vacation program was not bad, but I participated in it only once during the entire ten to 12 years of Communism.

E. In Communist Hungary I would like to live only in the country. I think that the industrial workers of the cities lived better than the agricultural workers of the country. I think that the standard of living was higher in the country than in the city because in the country most workers had a part-time job in farming.

Politically it was easier in the cities. The class war was less fierce there.

In our district farm collectivization began only in 1952. My impression and experiences with the farm collectivization programs were very bad. I feared that it would affect us because it would eventually mean the loss of my mother's vineyard.

In our district both the small and large peasants opposed farm collectivization to the same degree.

In my opinion private farming is 1000 times better than collective farming.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. I have always been interested in politics, not only Hungarian local politics but world politics as well. I was a member of the Social Democratic party in 1945. I joined the party at the time the Labor party came to power in Britain. I thought if the Social Democratic party is good for the British, it is good for me as well. I quit the party before its merger with the Communists in 1948.

In general I hate Communism and every other kind of 'ism' that exists.

My opinion of the pre-1948 Communist party is the worst possible. The Communists wanted to hang my father in 1918-1919. I remember the house searching and they arrested my father.

During World War II my opinion of Communism was the worst possible. I was fighting on the front against Communism.

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

B. I think that the majority of the Communist party's members are persons who joined in order to keep their jobs or to obtain employment.

A smaller part of the party joined without conviction in order to gain personal advantages.

In my opinion there are not more than 100 convinced Communists in all of Hungary.

I had contact with all kinds of Party members.

A basic change in the Communist Party's policy occurred only after Stalin's death. Khrushchev

I think is very dangerous. If he is allowed to remain in power for ten years, Communism will become more formidable than it is now. He is a very clever and crafty person.

Changes in the Communist party policy in Hungary were mere reflections of changes in Moscow.

We were aware of frictions within the Communist party. Personnel changes in Moscow caused personnel changes also in the satellite ~~countries~~ countries, including Hungary.

Party morale is the extent of support and conviction of the Party's membership.

From 1945 to '48 about 50 per cent of the Party's membership really believed in the Party's program. By 1956 this percentage diminished to about two per cent. The rest would have liked to leave the Party, but could not. These figures are arbitrary. They are estimates of Party membership in our own industrial district.

~~Maxim~~ The top leaders of the Hungarian Communist party are Moscow's loyal servants with no personal opinions or views of their own. If they had any individual ideas they had to keep them strictly to themselves.

Collectively I think that the leaders of the Hungarian Communist party could have no other aim than complete obedience and subservience to Moscow.

Individually the top Communists may have had ideas of adapting socialism to Hungarian conditions, but it was not possible to achieve this. If they tried to do anything of this kind, they were ousted.

I do not know any Hungarian Communist leaders personally. Therefore I cannot say if they have convictions or not. My opinion is that many of them became disillusioned with Communism.

The only Communist leader I saw personally from nearby was the former Minister of Defense ~~Rax~~ Farkas. His sister took part in the nationalization of the motion picture houses in our county. They hired one of our cars and I was their chauffeur. This was in 1948 at the time of Tito's break with the Cominform. When the news of Tito's 'treachery' reached us, Farkas' sister became panicky and ~~xxxx~~ insisted that I drive her immediately to Budapest. On our arrival in Budapest I had to go up to her apartment and get my money. While I was there Mihaly Farkas arrived. He saw a dedicated picture of Tito on a table and he went to it and broke it, cursing Tito as a traitor. My impression was that they were ready to flee from Hungary at a moment's notice.

I think that every person has a personality and this applies also to the top Communists. However, their personalities must be subordinated to Party interests completely.

Once Hungary becomes independent I think that the people will lynch the top Communists if they get their hands on them. However, the revolution proved that the people have a keen sense of justice. Communists who were sadists and malicious were not molested during the revolution.

C. There has been constant opposition to Communism in Hungary during the entire regime. Many unfortunate people were arrested because they were grumbling when intoxicated, or even threatened a party secretary, or hanged effigies of Rakosi and others.

Industrial workers sabotaged in every possible way.

Moral resistance was great. Seminars and speeches were boycotted or ridiculed.

The peasantry completely disregarded all kinds of Communist movements.

I think that the acts of opposition were effective. It showed that no one wanted Communism at all. It served to strengthen individual opposition.

When Communist pressure was the greatest resistance to Communism also increased. When it relaxed the resistance also relaxed.

I do not know much about the opposition of the intellectuals. I only know what I read in the A Szabad Nep. I did not know any intellectuals personally.

But I think the same is true of the intellectuals as what I experienced with other Communists. Once you come to know them closer you are surprised to see that they are not really Communistic as you first thought they were.

(Note: Respondent did not bring up the Petofi Circle.)

I heard about the Petofi Circle over the radio and in the press. I was astonished that such things were possible under Communism.

I did not have any knowledge of intellectual ferment before the Petofi meetings. I don't think the intellectuals had anything new to say. Their importance is that they dared to speak and express their opinions of others. Another importance of their resistance is that about 80 per cent of them ~~ex~~ were Communists.

I think that the intellectuals prepared the way for the revolution.

I have high regard for intellectuals and consider them practical and valuable. They turned against the regime because they became disillusioned with the lies and deceit of Communism.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The members of the AVH had to be 100 per cent proletarians and there could be no class enemies even among their distant relatives. They were the kind of people who did not like to work. They were not industrious or positive persons.

When I was working as a taxi chauffeur in 1951 my car was assigned for duty to the AVH for three days. This was before some Communist holiday, probably May 1st. I had to transport an AVH 1st lieutenant to four or five villages which were assigned to him. I also had to park long hours in front of the AVH building. Then I was surprised to see that boys, ~~girls~~ girls and old women had passes permitting them to enter and leave the AVH.

I also experienced that every statement made in public went back to the AVH. The AVH officer I mentioned contacted his informers in the villages. I was never allowed to see any of them, but on one occasion I saw through the rear mirror of the car that he met a peasant who was waiting for him on a dark corner.

My impression of this AVH officer was that he was intelligent, educated and clever. He wore civilian clothes and one would never have suspected that he was an AVH officer.

When my assignment with the AVH was over I was warned to keep my mouth shut.

I myself was not arrested by the AVH, only interrogated on two or three occasions, but ~~was~~ not molested. My brother-in-law was arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment. The charges against him were black marketing, but this was not true. He was in the way of the local Party secretary and these charges were trumped up at once.

I have never heard of any AVH officers feeling remorse or wanting to leave the service.

Once Hungary is liberated I think that the AVH officers will get no mercy. I think that the industrial workers will get to them. It is interesting to know that the Communists are having the most trouble with the very class they want to rely on the most. Proletars have nothing to lose and therefore nothing to fear.

The bourgeoisie is timid. It fears for its family and possessions. This is a great disadvantage in the struggle against Communism.

I think that the Blue ~~pliz~~ police force cannot be compared with the AVH at all. Initially the police force consisted of members of all three parties, that is, Communist, Social Democrat, and Small Holders'. Some of the Small Holders' and former Social Democrats are still in office.

I think that even the Communists in the police force have become disillusioned with it.

There may have been some corruption within the police force, but not on a large scale.

During the revolution the Blue police behaved passively. They let themselves be disarmed by a handful of ~~young~~ teen-agers. They were not too enthusiastic about the revolution because they feared its outcome. However, whenever they were allowed to join they did so gladly.

B. I do not think that the courts of the Horthy regime were courts of class justice. These are only Communist accusations.

The People's Courts were initially introduced by Jews. Later they were controlled entirely by the ~~Communist~~ Communist party. This really was class justice.

A difference should be made between the fascists and the members of the armed forces fighting in the Russian front. The fascists were guilty of war crimes; the soldiers on the front were not. There were a few exceptions, but atrocities can occur in the armies of any country.

It is impossible to determine whether all fascists got just sentences or not.

C. During the revolution the army was entirely pro-revolutionary. Within in an hour all unreliable officers were dismissed and taken into custody.

Regrettably there was no unity of command in the army.

I know only how the soldiers behave in our region. I also saw them on the highway streaming home after November 4.

I don't think there was any difference in the conduct of the army which can be attributed to geographical location, class origin, or rank.

That some units went over and joined the Freedom Fighters as a whole while others did not can be attributed entirely to the person of the commander. If the old Communist commander was able to keep control of his unit by some trick or other, the unit did not join the revolution and did not disintegrate.

I was not ^{surprised} ~~surprised~~ at all by the conduct of the army during the revolution. I knew that the soldiers were also Hungarians. My son served in the army. I met his friends. I was surprised that the Communist did not see the poor morale of the army.

My son and his friends laughingly said that in case of war everyone wants to be in the front lines to be first to surrender.

(Respondent did not serve in the Hungarian Communist army. Therefore the rest of this sub-section is not applicable.)

D. I don't think that the unpopularity of the Russians in Hungary is due to their participation in the 1948 revolution. Communism is the major issue. Communists, either Hungarian or Russian, are equally detested. And which country likes to be under military occupation?

In 1945 they raped and robbed. No one can forget it. Later the Russians were given strict orders to obey and behave. They were banned from fraternizing with Hungarians. The wrong they did could not be undone.

It is interesting that during the revolution the Russians were kept well in hand. They did not commit atrocities. My impression is that even the Russians who re-invaded Hungary after November 4 were more on our side than we realized.

For example, after November 4 word leaked out that the Russians will comb the Mecsek Mountains for Freedom Fighters. The Freedom Fighters disappeared and returned only after the raid was over. Such leaks would not have been possible if there were no sympathizers among the Russians.

I had no contact with Russians in Hungary other than fighting.

E. There are numerous cases in which Communists disregarded government regulations in order to help people. For example, sometimes the local Communist Council chairman would warn a kulok that the AVH was coming to search his house that night. Party secretaries helped kuloks to hide their grain and livestock.

Such aid was rendered entirely unselfishly. It was motivated by a willingness to help. The Communists saw that Communism was wrong. Before a crowd the Communists had to talk differently, but they yielded their true sentiments in private.

F. Persons without proper class backgrounds were unable to resort to influential friends and persuasion. Otherwise such things, including bribes, were scarce.

G. I think that the top officers of the AVF were intelligent, efficient, well organized but must have been very expensive.

I consider the entire Hungarian army obsolete and superfluous. Only the officers retained from the pre-Communist army knew anything about their profession.

I have not a good opinion about the Soviet army leadership. I think that the Soviet army exists today only because America helped it during World War II.

I do not know who directed public administration but these persons knew their business well.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Hungary's future depends entirely on when the United States decides to fight the Soviet Union. The outcome of this conflict cannot be doubted. It will lead to Hungary's liberation.

Kadar will not remain in power long. At the first chance Hungary will liquidate her own ~~Communist~~ Communism, including Kadar.

Kadar would be willing to conduct a ~~much~~ softer line of policy, but he is forced to resort to the wildest possible terror in order to maintain control. I don't think he would follow Imre Nagy's example and side with the West at the first possible chance.

If the United States takes a firm stand, The Russians will make concessions. Khrushchev will try to gain the ~~sympathy~~ sympathy and support of the people behind the Iron Curtain. He knows that the Communists are unpopular. He is trying to improve conditions even at the cost of war. The fact that a revolution was possible in Hungary is due to Moscow's new policy.

I would like to see a war between the United States and the Soviet Union very much. This has been our only hope for years.

I think that the people at home would also favor a war, even if this would be an ~~eventual~~ eventual atomic war.

Such a war I believe is inevitable unless America is willing to tolerate Communism even in the U.S.

I don't think that present world problems can be solved by means other than war.

B. There is not much difference in how I foresaw the ~~future~~ future and what I hoped for while I was in Hungary. We saw clearly that Communism cannot

be overthrown by money alone. Military action is necessary.

We saw our only help and hope in the United States. We knew that the United States is against world Communism.

One thing is certain: once the Soviet Union attains superiority, the Communists will destroy the free world. America must realize this.

There was no change in our hopes for the future during the entire Communist regime. Hopes were especially high however when the United States elected a soldier for their president. We were very sorry when General McArthur was relieved in Korea. His line of approach to world Communism was well liked in Hungary.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. In an independent Hungary I would like to see the same political and economic system as exists today in the United States. That is, I want Hungary to be a democratic free country with free enterprise, free press, freedom of speech, etc.

B. I think that in an independent Hungary both industry and agriculture are necessary and should be developed hand in hand.

Hungary cannot separate heavy industry from light industry. Both are essential. The only trouble is we do not have iron ore for the heavy industry.

I think that the production for products for which we have raw materials should be increased. This applies especially to aluminum products. Iron and steel production should be reduced.

What to do with the national enterprises and the collective farms once Communism is overthrown is a difficult question. Experts will not be able to solve it easily. Half-solutions will not be acceptable. In some way the property must be restored to former owners.

In agriculture the problem is easier. The land remains the same and can be easily restored. But in industries it is often difficult to determine the original enterprise because nationalized enterprises have been merged and re-merged time and again.

I don't think any kolkhozes or state farms should be left.

Transportation was government owned even before the Communists in Hungary. But I think that bus lines, taxis, trucks, etc. should not be nationalized.

I do not favor government ownership of industry neither in the heavy nor light industries.

I don't think there should be any limit at all on agricultural property. The Ministry of Agriculture should give only advice and directives, but not orders.

If I were to choose between a bread and butter dictatorship and a true democracy guaranteeing nothing, I would still choose freedom.

In an independent Hungary the Communist party should be outlawed, but even if it were licensed it would have no followers.

I think that if the Communist party is outlawed, fellow-travelers' organizations should also be outlawed. But these two would not be necessary in Hungary.

I think that an independent Hungary should have the same relation to the West as West Germany.

An independent Hungary should have no military, economic or cultural relations with the Soviet Union. Such relations should exist with the other ~~East~~ Eastern European countries only if they side with the West.

Hungary should cooperate to the fullest possible extent with the United States and other Western countries.

I have often heard of plans for a federation of Danubian states, but I think that a United States of Europe would be much better.

I do not think that a federation of Danubian countries would be possible nor desirable. There are too great differences among the nations concerned.

I think that the people at home feel the same as I do. They too would favor a United States of

Europe to a federation of Danubian countries.

I am not satisfied with Hungary's present borders. I think that they are very unjust. But I think that an adjustment of territories can be ~~xxx~~ achieved only by peaceful means, by arbitration of the leading Western countries. I think that Hungary should get back approximately the same territories as she during World War II.

I am concerned about the Hungarian minorities in the other satellite countries. They should be liberated from Communism together with Hungary. Then the question of boundaries will solve their future.

The question of boundaries and minorities is important not only to me but to every ~~xxxx~~ Hungarian as well. However, now the defeat of Communism is the major problem.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I heard about Khrushchev's secret speech over the radio.

At home we were informed about Senator McCarthy and his UnAmerican Activities Committee. We approved of it.

I heard about the downfall of Peron in Argentina, but I was not concerned about it.

We did not know much about Rakosi's private life prior to the revolution.

B. During the last ten years my major source of information in Hungary was the radio. I listened regularly to foreign radio broadcasts. I also listened to ~~some~~ domestic broadcasts and read the Communist newspapers as well.

C. I ~~was~~ received also news by word of mouth. A doctor friend who was in Switzerland for a long time told me about scientific and political ~~news~~ developments in the West.

I received news by word of mouth from all sorts of people whom I deemed reliable.

Some people prove to be more reliable than others, but this depended entirely on the character of the person.

D. I read very much in Hungary. Before the war I read all available newspapers and publications. I also read many books, classics and even Communist writers.

After World War II I read an average of about two hours a day. I was bedridden for four years. I spent most of this time reading. Reading and chess playing were my only two pastimes.

Before and during World War II I was satisfied with

the books and publications which I could read, although I would have preferred more publications from the West. After World War II the available reading material was too one sided.

Of the dailies in Hungary published before the revolution I liked the Magyar Nemzet the best. It was probably the least Communist.

I ~~xxxx~~ also read the Catholic paper Sziv Ujsag, but it was later discontinued.

I was always able to discern between propaganda and truth. One developed a sense for this. Approximately 15 per cent of what was printed was true.

Only production news was more or less true. Everything else was politics. However, production statistics were also falsified now and again.

What I read helped me to read in between the lines.

I also read books from the Soviet Union, including the history of the Communist party. But I did not read any Soviet ~~xxxxxx~~ magazines or newspapers.

I, my family, and friends ~~xxx~~ read only books from the West, usually Hungarian translations ~~xxxx~~ of Western authors. Newspapers and periodicals were legally unobtainable.

I read many books which were placed on the index by the Communists. I had such books in my possession, and did not turn them in. Such books were loaned to close friends and we talked about them. But the books always had to be concealed keeping the possibility of a search in mind.

When books were placed on the ~~in~~ index they were either destroyed or concealed, or kept in the house of a reliable 'proletar' who was less likely to be searched.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Without foreign assistance a change in the Soviet Union is not possible. If it were, it would have occurred after Stalin's death.

I think very few Russians are Communists. The vast majority is dissatisfied with Communism.

The only possible change within the Soviet Union would be a revolution like the one in Hungary. This however is not likely.

If free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union I think not more than five per cent of the vote would go to the Communists. I do not know what party would come to power.

The aim of the top Soviet Communist leaders is to conquer and communize the entire world by every possible means. When they feel strong enough they will accomplish this by means of war.

I think that they lust for power and do not have any ideals at all.

The main difference between the Hungarian and Russian Communists is only hierarchy.

B. Of the countries mentioned Poland is the most popular. This is because of traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship and because of Poland's opposition to Communism. All other countries are unpopular. They are enemies of old standing. Perhaps there is some respect for Czechoslovakia's industrial development.

Of the countries mentioned Romania and East Germany are the least popular. This unpopularity applies both to the government and to the people, in the

case of Romania, but only to the government in the case of East Germany.

This unpopularity is due to historical differences and to Communist support.

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

Of the countries mentioned the standard of living is probably the highest in Czechoslovakia and second highest in Hungary. The standard of living is probably the lowest in Romania and the second lowest in Bulgaria.

C. I think that Poland should not be given a single dollar. Gomulka is not a Stalinist, but he is still a Communist. He cannot and will not sever Poland's ties with Russia completely. He wants to create national Communism.

Gomulka doesn't want a change, he just wants to create order economically.

How long Gomulka will stay in power will depend entirely on the Russians.

My views on conditions in Poland have not changed.

Events in Poland encouraged Hungary and strengthened their conviction that Communism cannot last forever. The Poznan riots in 1956--or was it 1955--were widely discussed in Hungary. We heard about them immediately over the foreign radio broadcasts.

The people in Poland were always against Communism, but I do not know of any swing to the right before Gomulka's rise to power.

People knew about the Poznan riots, even those who did not have radios.

As a temporary solution Imre Nagy and a mild Communist government would have been better than the disillusionment caused by the absence of Western help. But still

perhaps everything is better the way it happened. We caused the Communists greater harm in this way.

D. I think that Tito is the originator of national Communism.

I think that national Communism is still Communism.

Tito realizes that it is not possible to communize Eastern Europe with the same methods and to the same extent as happened in the Soviet Union. Therefore, he would like to see his brand of Communism in these countries.

I think that Tito and the Soviet leaders mutually distrust each other.

From the Western point of view I don't think that Tito is reliable.

I think there is a tendency toward national Communism in the Communist parties of all satellite countries.

I think that Tito is more popular than the Communist leaders in the other satellite countries. But this is not real popularity. A dictator can never be popular.

I lived near the Yugoslav border and I have a fair idea of conditions in that country. Their Western help created better economic conditions than existed in Hungary.

I don't think that the Egyptian government had a right to nationalize the Suez Canal. But I also think that America was wrong in preventing Nasser's liquidation.

Although Britain's attack was inopportune for Hungary, still it was justified. However, it should have been postponed until after the Hungarian issue was finished.

Events in the Near East in the fall of 1956 certainly affected conditions in Hungary. They served

to divide world attention. But for this Hungary would probably have won the revolution.

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

I do not think that the Germans are dangerous and may cause another war.

I think that the rearmament of Germany is necessary. They alone can be trusted ~~to~~ 100 per cent to fight against the Russians.

I don't know how much arms the West German army has today, but Germans are excellent soldiers-- better than the British.

I think that the West German army is by far stronger than the French army. I think that the length of military service in the West German army is two years.

Everyone in Hungary agrees that the Russian occupation was much more unpopular than the German occupation. The Germans, both officers and men, behaved much more disciplined than the Russians.

G. I think that the NATO alliance should be strengthened. We were very impatient at home and in despair when we saw how slowly it was being formed.

NATO was formed voluntarily. The Warsaw Pact was compulsory.

In the mid-forties I had a very good opinion of the British Labor Party. I was convinced that the Social Democratic party is best suited to oppose Communism. Since then, however, a left-wing has been formed within the British Labor party and it cannot be trusted.

Of the countries mentioned, I think that the ~~standard~~ standard of living is highest in West Germany, with Great Britain second, Italy third, Greece fourth, Egypt fifth and the Soviet Union last.

H. On my arrival in the United States I was very much impressed with the high standard of living, the excellent food and the great waste which I saw. For a long time I did not have the heart to throw away an empty bottle because this was such a treasure in Europe.

I was also very much impressed with the cordiality of the Americans.

American foreign policy with respect to Eastern Europe is bad; it is very bad. Communism must be liquidated. Everything else--loans, etc.-- is mere see-sawing. East Europe's liberation requires sacrifices, but later even greater sacrifices will be required if they are not made now.

Had not America helped ~~Communism~~ Communism, it would have collapsed long ago.

I think that the American government should give no loans, no aid, no ~~recognition~~ recognition to the Kadar government in Hungary.

The people at home would like to see more Western visitors. It is all the same who comes as long as they are Americans.

Such prospective ~~f~~ visitors should be told not to drive through Hungary and view it ~~ex~~ from a car, but to examine conditions carefully and closely.

I think that the people at home would like to read more Western publications.

I think that the motives of the Marshall Plan was to help the needy countries of Europe. These motives were purely humanitarian, but indirectly it increased U.S. influence and popularity in these countries.

I did not hear of any political strings attached to Marshall aid.

The United States intervened in the Korean War because it wanted to curb Communism. We hoped that it

would lead to a liquidation, but regrettably it was not the U.S. objective.

G. The UN can not achieve its primary purpose because it is weak and has no authority.

In the fall of 1956 the United Nations should have carried out the resolution compelling the Russians to withdraw, if necessary, by force.

Without a strong United Nations army no Russian compliance to resolutions can be expected.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED
PERSONALITIES

A. The greatest living Hungarian today is without question Cardinal Mindszenty. I cannot find words to describe him.

B. Imre Nagy proved that he would have led us out of Communism had it been possible.

Laszlo Rajk caused the deaths of many innocent people.

Erno Gero is a dirty scoundral.

Janos Kadar likewise.

General Bela Kiraly --I do not approve of attacks against him. He proved during the revolution that he is against Communism.

Anna Kethly was more popular in Hungary during 1947 and '48 than during and after the revolution.

President Eisenhower was very popular in Hungary at the time of his election. Everyone at home was glad that finally a soldier was elected to become president of the United States. But we soon became very much disillusioned with Eisenhower.

I have no special opinion on Secretary-General Hammarskjold. What can he do? The whole United Nations is powerless.

Secretary of State Dulles' foreign policy is very unfortunate. America must realize that Communism cannot be defeated by dollars alone.

Truman, too, should have been more forceful against Communism.

Mikoyan is a crafty Communist.

Nehru has caused great disillusionment by his support of Communism.

Generalissimo Chiang Kie-shek is weak and powerless.

Ferenc Nagy could have opposed Communism more firmly with the great majority he received in the first Hungarian elections.

President Roosevelt was too much pro-Communist. He was deceived by Stalin.

Chancellor Adenauer is a great statesman, one of the most successful champions against Communism.

Stalin was crafty and ruthless.

Malenkov is a Communist the same as the others.

Generalissimo Franco opposed Communism.

Bevan is in favor of Communists.

Ⓢ Khrushchev is crafty and smart. He should not be allowed to remain in power long because he will become dangerous.

Tito is a Communist.

Peron was too far from Hungary and we had no opinion on him.

Molotov is a dirty Communist.

Ollenaer should not be allowed to come to power in West Germany. He would make a compromise with the Russians.

Ⓢ Churchill is a great statesman. Regrettably he is too old. If Roosevelt had listened to him no Communism would be in the world today.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. I don't know what kind of people came out of Budapest and the other parts of the country. I can speak only about our own district.

The major reason why the refugees escaped from Hungary was the desire to live outside the Iron Curtain regardless of participation in the fighting. There were no mines on the borders, no guards. It was comparatively easier to leave the country than before.

I don't quite understand the first 5000 refugees who came out when it still looked as if the revolution was going to win.

The second largest group of refugees consisted of people who participated in the revolution in some way or other.

The majority of the refugees are young people, mostly students and industrial workers.

Very few peasants came out/ During and after the revolution. But comparatively few peasants participated in it.

Many ~~ppp~~ people tried to leave the country but failed to ~~make~~ make it. They were either arrested or turned back. Others did not even attempt to escape because of personal circumstances, age, children, etc.

The people at home are against Communism. I am sorry they stayed, but not everyone could come out. I am certain they will yet liquidate Communism at home.

I do not know of any cases where ~~x~~ a person had an opportunity to come out but did not do so. But I know of many people who took an active part in the fighting and yet stayed for family reasons.

I think that the people at home are glad that at least we are safe.

If everyone were allowed to leave Hungary I think that still about 30 to 40 per cent of the people would stay. These would be mostly old people or invalids who cannot take the risk of starting life anew in a foreign country.

B. At home we were well aware of the exile organizations, because foreign radio broadcasts gave detailed information on their activities.

The Hungarian National Council headed by Father Bela Varga received full coverage over Radio Free Europe. But the feeling at home was that once Communism is overthrown the people who stayed at home should be the ones to decide their own future.

Bela Varga has popularity at home, but his popularity was greater before the ~~xxx~~ revolution than now. There was not much he could do, but people had high hopes about him.

Tibor Eckhardt is an old politician who had been here a long time, but I do not know much about him.

I have a very high opinion of Miklos Kallay.

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

I think that Archduke Otto is very intelligent, but I do not want him back on the Hungarian throne.

I have very great respect for Admiral Horthy.

I think that the people who left Hungary before 1956 tried to do something in our behalf, but there was not much they could achieve. Probably they could have exercised more propaganda against Communism.

During the revolution I thought about the Hungarians

in exile and expected them to ~~em~~ come home and fight in the revolution.

C. I have heard of one or two ^{people} ~~families~~ who came back from the West when the Hungarian government gave amnesty to everyone abroad. They returned mostly for family reasons.

The campaign conducted by the Hungarian Communist government to persuade all Hungarian immigrants to return home was considered to be mere propaganda by everyone in Hungary. Those who returned were considered as fools or Communists.

D. I think that the people at home would like to know everything about the exiles; they really do know everything from letters sent home.

I think it is the duty of ~~every~~ every Hungarian in exile to live honestly, work diligently, and preserve the good name of the Hungarians.

I am not a member of any political or non-political organization here in the United States. I would like to join perhaps an organization later on. There is no specific one I would like to join. I think that the purpose of this organization should be to support the interests of Hungary. I think that ~~but~~ both old and new exiles, if they are honest and true Hungarians, should join.

I do not know anything about the political parties here in exile.

At home I heard about the revival of the political parties during the revolution and disapproved of it. It divided the otherwise united nation.

I don't think that the groups in exile should have returned home to participate in the revived political parties.

E. It is a difficult question to answer what my future could be if Hungary is completely liberated.

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My family is still there. I am torn between the desire to return home once Hungary is liberated and of bringing them out.

If it would be necessary to fight for Hungary's liberation I would go gladly despite my age.

My youngest child, who is of school age, should also study Hungarian if he comes to the United States.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important things a child should be taught are patriotism, honesty, and diligence.

I raised three sons and was their best friend. But when it was necessary I spanked their rear ends. This, however, happened very rarely. I don't think that from a point of discipline a girl should be treated just as boys are. But I had no daughters, only sons.

If a child is reared right there is no need to punish him when he grows older. A friendly word of advice is enough.

I was fourteen when, working in my father's ~~xxxx~~ blacksmith shop, a detective story dropped out of my pocket. My father had forbidden me to read them. He was a very strong man and he gave me a terrific slap. He liked to drink and on such occasions he beat us children often. He was a very good man and I respected him very much. He slapped me even when I was 33.

It cannot be generalized which parent punishes the child. It always depends on the parents. In some families one parent, in other families the other. This does not depend on the sex, age, or social class of the child. ~~xxxxxxx~~

It is impossible to give a general rule at what age physical punishment and punishment in general are abolished for boys and girls.

In schools physical punishment was banned by the Communists. But what punishment was used instead I do not know.

The traits I value most in a friend are character, loyalty and unselfishness.

T H E E N D