

KW. Short resume of the impression which the respondent made upon interviewer:

The back-ground of the respondent is of good middle-class. Her family seems to have had means prior to the war. A happ-go-lucky father squandered everything, but the girl had an average education. She seems to be an open-minded, level-headed young woman and to have sound judgement. She does not seem to be indoctrinated, in fact, she was very frank with regard to certain questions, such as when she admitted that she knew only the slanted Communist version of the cosmic picture and therefore, she cannot give any unbiased view.

She was able to preserve her own judgement despite strong Communist pressure which, in the teaching profession, was extremely strong. She's very honest about herself, i.e., she despises herself for having fled and not stayed to face consequences whichever they might have been.

She has a pleasant personality and she must have been a pretty good pedagogue despite the fact that teaching was not her chosen profession.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

A. I believe the most important things that the American public should know about the events in Hungary during the revolution are that the West failed to realize that this was the time when they could have dealt effectively and once and for all with the Soviet. They have "missed the boat". Goodness only knows when such an opportunity will arise again, if ever.

I also would like to stress that after having heard Western radio propaganda for the last twelve years, everybody expected Western help. ~~What's~~ ^{What's} ~~way~~ The people of Hungary could not understand why the West failed to act.

Last, but not least, I must tell the public that the Hungarians feel now that the Hungarian cause will be dropped and forgotten by the West and they were all terribly disappointed by the weak attitude of the United Nations.

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

A. Some days before the revolution, I heard that demonstrations would be organized in sympathy with the Polish government and Gomulka. On October 23, at noon, I heard over the radio that the government was not permitting these demonstrations. I was at school then in Rakospalota, outside of Budapest. The same day, in the evening, when I returned to town, the demonstrations were in full swing. There were terrific crowds to be seen everywhere all over the city. I joined the demonstrators.

I joined the crowd where I met several friends, students mostly. We jumped on a truck and went out to the Stalin statue. All along the way, I saw students tearing up the Russian books. At the now called Stalin Street, We stopped at every building in which Russians lived and shouted slogans, "Out with you Russians", "We want Imre Nagy" and such like.

I left the Stalin statue before it was pulled down because we received news that the ~~the~~ around the radio building, fighting had started.

We arrived there with the truck at the very moment when shooting started. The crowd got bigger and bigger. They were very angry and called for arms. We went then, with the truck, to the Killian barracks to fetch arms. Here, at the barracks, the soldiers were looking out of the windows. We wanted to enter and couldn't at first. We started shouting to the soldiers, "Come out! Help us!" Finally, the crowd broke down the door and entered the building. The officer in charge denied that he had any arms in the building. We were told that only so-called labor brigades were stationed there.

Finally, one of the soldiers gave the crowd a hand and told them that at least, the guards of the barracks must have some arms and ammunition. At last, we found some arms in the building, but no ammunition whatsoever. Then the same soldier told us that we should try the officers' academy at the end of ~~UL~~ Ulli Street. However, we went to the Soroksari Ut barracks where, on the way, we met trucks loaded with ammunition and arms so we joined them and returned to the city.

By that time, it was two o'clock AM. We all went back to the radio building. Here, as a result of serious fighting, we

found many wounded and dead. With some other girls, I helped the wounded and tended them and, in general, assisted the doctors who were there. By this time, it was six in the morning and the fighting was still going on. No one wanted to stop. They didn't even stop to eat.

In the morning, on the 24th of October, A truck load of friends and I left the radio building to attend to the sick and wounded at the First Aid stations. We roamed the streets and wherever we could pick up some one in need of aid, we did so.

We had already seen many Russian tanks stationed around on the cross-roads, such as Rakosi Street and the National Theatre Court.

I was very impressed by the number of young people who took part in the fighting. I saw a young boy of 14 holding a tommy-gun which he could hardly handle. His father stood behind him telling him how to use it.

~~II. EXPECTATIONS OF AID FROM THE WEST~~

B. ~~As~~ As I joined the crowd, I kept hoping that something wonderful would happen. I was not afraid although I knew perfectly well that the consequences could be very bad for all concerned. Nobody believed that the demonstrations would get out of hand, which they did. Nobody believed that this was the beginning of a revolution. It was all quite spontaneous.

The main things we wanted from the government were first, freedom of speech and press, second, the Russians must go home, third, an economy free and independent and otherwise complete independence from the Soviet Union. Also, we wanted to have back the Hungarian uranium mines. These were exploited and worked by the Russians. We also wanted the majority of politicians to be purged from the government.

As to the outcome of the revolution, we never believed in defeat because everyone was behind us, even those who did not fight. After twelve years of terror, everybody was much too bitter to even consider that the revolution might fail.

All age groups were represented in the ranks of the demonstrators, from the age of 13 to 40. All social classes were to be found present, workers and intellectuals, students and many women, very actively at that.

At the Killian barracks, I saw one of the women slap the face of an officer who had refused to give us any arms. I find it difficult to tell who did not take part.

We had no leaders in the street fighting. In the beginning, those who were good organizers tried to lead a small individual group. These were accepted by the people immediately.

B. At first, no one believed that the demonstrations would turn into full fledged fighting. Later on, however, it couldn't be avoided when we were shot at by the AVH. I believe that, had we been allowed to read the students' demands over the radio, perhaps the entire debacle could have been avoided.

The revolutionary slogans materialized on the second day, to the best of my own knowledge.

In the beginning, only the very young, from 15 to 25, fought. As time went on, they were joined by those of the next generation or age group. Boys and girls, all were fighting.

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Mostly, however, they were workers and students. The young workers were the fiercest fighters. They fought like lions. Their only idea was to fight for freedom. Nevertheless, they were well disciplined and there was no looting even though the shop windows were shattered.

In the main, fighters obtained arms from the army and from the police. In several districts, the 8th where respondent lived, for instance, the entire police force gave up their arms to the fighters.

Respondent did not fight herself although she took part in first aid work. Never did she consider that the fight might be lost. Surely not in the beginning did anyone think this. They were always hoping for help to come from the West.

Such were everyone's feelings during the first two days of the revolution. The least of the hopes was that the Russians would quit Hungary. However, when the Russians returned, all hope was lost, but they fought on, determined to fight to the very end.

It was common knowledge that the government had called in the Russians under duress. Respondent had no idea who had been responsible for this treason.

C. Fighting and sniping continued unabated during the interval between the withdrawal and the re-invasion by the Russians.

Respondent indicates that she spent much of her time in traveling, by truck, from one hospital to another to visit the wounded and to help where ever she could. She could not stay at home because she felt that, somehow, there must be something that she could do.

She also acted as a liaison between fighting groups. For three days, she was at Rakospalota, her school, but, naturally there was no teaching being conducted.

On November 3, late at night, she caught the last street-car home.

As to the Red army retreat, everyone was aware that this was just a trick because word from friends living on the outskirts of town, informed them that the Reds had simply dug themselves in, but the population there did not give them anything to eat. It was due to this that some Russians

exchanged their arms and even tanks for much-needed food.

At 3 A.M. on the 4th of November, heavy gun-fire was heard. Later the same day, swarms of Russian tanks appeared on the streets. Contrary to the behavior of the troops who were in Hungary at the outbreak of the revolution and who were very frightened, these new troops were quite defiant and very brazen in their confidence. Only at this time, did everyone begin to think that all was lost.

One day, about this period in the events, respondent and some friends formed two groups and went to demonstrate in front of the Ministry of the Interior where, they knew, the AVH held several students. Although the AVH denied this, in the end, 25 students were released. The same thing occurred at another political prison called at Isabella Street and Conti Street corner. Only a few were released from this prison and they related that there were many more still incarcerated.

Respondent planned her escape for two days before she actually got out.

As to any possible gain, it was only Europe that gained from the Hungarian revolution.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF AID FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. Everyone expected active aid from the West, at least United Nations forces as help in Hungary.

B. The basis for these expectations was the belief of all that the West was simply waiting for the best opportunity to bring the Russians to heel. It was a commonly shared feeling that this was, indeed, the occasion which would never return again.

Also, the Western radios were very encouraging.

C. Respondent had no contact with foreigners during the time questioned.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. As far as respondent can remember, her father had some private means which he invested in various business enterprises. However, he was very happy-go-lucky and soon, the family was broke.

Under the Communist regime, the father worked in a bakery, doing heavy, physical work.

Respondent's parents did not own anything, particularly real estate.

Respondent's parents were both high school graduates. Also her father had one year at a university, but he never finished. For a while, he was an actor, on the road,

B. Respondent classifies the social classes in Hungary as follows: workers, peasants and intellectuals. She points out that she feels the intellectuals can be sub-divided into three categories: the old intelligentsia, the new intelligentsia which was formed from the ranks of the peasants and workers by the regime, and the political intelligentsia who served the regime implicitly.

She had contact with all social classes and has no prejudice against any particular one. She feels she belongs to the intellectuals.

She feels that the working class is the back bone of the nation. She thinks them very sound and reliable.

On the other hand, the peasants, in her estimation, had declined in caste. The young peasant boys were good for nothing. They didn't like to work. It was only the older generation which was hard working and diligent.

The old intelligentsia, which was mentioned before, thought too often of the past and hoped for its return.

The new intelligentsia, mostly young workers, had some sound ideas but they are much too young and are not fully sure of what they want.

Among the ranks of the political intelligentsia, one finds, of course, many Communists who may not, however, be Communists at heart. Nevertheless, they serve the regime.

The various classes of intelligentsia do not mix.

The class hardest hit by Communism was that of the workers because they were exploited and they had to work very hard in order to earn a bare living.

The intellectuals were class aliens and had to work as laborers everywhere. They, too, had a terrible lot.

As to class distinctions among the classes, the peasants became very self-conscious under the Communist regime, but respected the working class. On the other hand, the working class did not have a very good opinion of the peasants. They, in turn, were self-conscious in relation to the intelligentsia, but otherwise, they felt no difference between themselves.

Working conditions and living standards had much to do with this feeling being engendered, evened out. However, the intelligentsia was envious of the peasants because of their comparatively easy lives. They were rather cautious toward the working class.

These attitudes did undergo a change. There were much greater differences among the classes a few years ago, but the hardships of the last years, mutually shared, brought them much closer to each other and fostered a better understanding.

E. Chances to get ahead in Hungary depended upon a person's political attitude. Even the greatest talent was of little consequence unless one also possessed political reliability or at least had good marks on the cadre report. Political views were very important and so was class origin.

However, there were some key positions which had to be filled by experts only. Such essential personnel could maintain their places regardless of their political views.

Class origin was recorded by the teachers of grade schools. Even as early as this. Also were statistics kept on the subjects followed. If too many peasant or workers' children received bad marks, the teachers were held responsible and thus a bad mark was entered in the teacher's cadre. This made necessary a good deal of juggling since the children of the intellectuals were always better students than those of the workers or peasants and this was frowned upon.

There was some improvement under the new course, but even then an intellectual had to be very cautious because he was dismissed or reprimanded for the slightest mistake.

Respondent feels that those most likely to get ahead in Communist Hungary are those who can be hypocrites and show a willingness to go along with the Party line.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism had a very deteriorating effect on family life in Hungary. The rate of divorce has increased tremendously. Both parents had to work in order to make both ends meet. The children were in nursery or day schools. When the parents returned home at the end of a day, they were jumpy, impatient, and couldn't be bothered with their children. The spiritual ties in the family have been slackened very much. Respondent feels this is a very unhappy situation since it is impossible to bring up a healthy generation under such circumstances.

Changes brought about by Communism on the family life were about the same on all social classes.

B. Communism has wrought immense changes in the rearing of children in Hungary. This refers to all age groups regardless of sex. The regime does its utmost to indoctrinate them, politically. This starts in the first grade. For instance, even mathematics are not free from politics. The teacher cannot give the usual and well-known example that one apple and one apple are two apples; she must say one tractor and one tractor are two tractors, and so on. Children are being brought up to be very conscious of their freedom and independence. They are much more disobedient than the children of the former generation. Also, the regime has given them a monstrous weapon: they are permitted to denounce a teacher and even their own parents if they disagree with their views.

The changes are, of course, the same for all social classes. The loyalty of a child is divided since he hears quite different things in school than he hears at home from his parents. The conflict between schools and parental values provides a bad influence. They confuse freedom and free license. Communists take great care to see that they are not enlightened about this error. It is to the Communists' interest that the young people are won over to them.

The behavior of children coming from intellectual parents is usually better than that of others since the parents try to instill moral and ethical ideas. Conflicts between children and parents can be found most frequently when the children are about 15 years of age.

C. Education, marriage and courtship have changed in the last ten years. There were so many divorces in the

beginning that the regime tried to do something about it. Since there is no social life except among the intellectuals, young people usually meet only at offices, schools, or in factories, or sometimes at night clubs, sports arenas, etc. They often live together without benefit of clergy for several reasons: lack of funds or lack of a proper apartment. There are many illegitimate children since birth-control and abortion are punishable. However, during the most recent years, one was allowed to apply for an official permission to obtain an abortion. As a result, the hospitals became so crowded that young unwed mothers could not be kept in hospital, not even for the necessary three days. Common-law marriages were very frequent during the Communist regime.

Prostitution, although prohibited, did exist. Veteran prostitutes were rehabilitated. They were placed in one of several jobs and were mighty proud of this change. Sexual matters were widely discussed by the public and the press alike. The government tried to put a curb on this.

Whether or not Communists were more or less inhibited about sexual matters, respondent couldn't tell, but she feels the Communism is a danger per se and since anything is allowed, in order to lure the young people, at least in the beginning, this is a danger. Later, they realized that these matters had gone too far.

D. Communism, of course, also affected friendships, respondent believes, that a real friendship cannot be kept up unless politics are kept out of the friendship. She can't imagine having a friend who is a hard-core Communist or one who makes believe before others that he gives in to the regime.

E. Regarding crime and alcoholism, respondent couldn't tell much since, she says, the newspapers kept this quiet. In her own opinion, however, alcoholism and crime were greatly on the increase. This was due to living conditions in Hungary. People were paid scarcely anything, moral standards were lowered, family life deteriorated. The crime rate amongst women also increased as well as amongst the juveniles. The city of Budapest, for instance, had 10,000 juvenile delinquents on record. There weren't enough homes for placing them. It certainly presented a great

problem to the government. The police were not very effective against these non-political crimes. Investigations were not always successful.

Alcoholism has also increased. The government has now established a curb on prices.

Juvenile delinquency and mainly thieving prevails mostly in the age group between 15 and 20. Loafing and hooliganism are widespread even tho the government did not admit it in the beginning. Now, they are trying to do something about it. On the other hand, what they ought to do is give authority to parents and teachers. This, however, is not being done. The cause of this behavior is bad family life and poor economic conditions.

Hooligans come from all classes, but mostly from the workers' class. Respondent considers such activities as criminal, but it is not only the crime of the young people, it is also the crime of the regime which has fostered these changes. Parents of such offenders usually feel very strongly about this situation, and they try to exert a good influence on the children and they try to cooperate with the police, when necessary.

VII. RELIGION

A. Communist rule in Hungary has greatly affected the religious life there, especially in the first year of Communism. But, even now in the new course, anybody who openly goes to church gets a bad mark. At school, religion was not only not taught, it was not even mentioned. Even when a child asked a question pertaining to religion, the answer had to be couched in Communist doctrine.

Respondent believes that the Catholic religion was the one hardest hit. This, because the leaders of the Catholic Church did not give in to the regime in the slightest, contrary to some Protestant Church leaders who tried to compromise. However, the Protestant Church also suffered under Communist rule.

Judaism suffered the least. Jews, at least, were permitted to go to their churches and also to keep their religious holidays. It was not held against them. For instance, respondent knows that Jewish children were permitted to absent themselves from school on their religious holidays.

B. Religion is a less important factor in respondent's life than in the lives of her parents. It doesn't have as much meaning to her. It was not any particular religious conviction which prompted her to stand up for her faith as it was a simple defiance to the Communist dictum. She believes herself to be as devout as the average citizen in Hungary today. She attends church regularly on both Sundays and religious holidays.

C. Respondent believes that state and church should be kept separated. In education, however, church should play an influential role. In fact, religion has the greatest pedagogic value, in her opinion.

Churches should also have the responsibility for setting moral codes and standards for movies, plays, etc. for juveniles.

On the other hand, in independent Hungary, she feels no church should take an active political role.

D. Respondent has no definite idea as to any damage done to the Jewish faith by Communism. However, as pointed out before, she has seen that they were privileged to some extent. She feels there may be some basis for this leniency

in the thesis that the Commies wanted to make the Jews feel that the Communists were "liberating" them after the Nazi treatment under which they had previously suffered. This may also ~~account for the fact that so many top Communists were Jews~~ be accounted for by the fact that so many top Communists were Jews.

When the Communists first took over Hungary, the Jews were jubilant because they felt that then, they were liberated. But, little by little, in the course of the years, they have come to change their opinions of the Communists.

As far as respondent knew, there were many Jews among the Communist Party members. She believes that they acted from motives pecuniary and not from sincere convictions toward embracing Communism.

As to the actions of the Jews during the revolution, she can only say that she saw few taking part in the revolution, or in the fighting except the student Jewry. Nevertheless, they all sympathized with the revolutionary demands.

The only reason respondent could give for fear amongst the Jews in regard to an independent Hungary is that the Jews may fear anti-Semitism. It is interesting to note that anti-Semitism never flared up during the actual revolution, but there is a decidedly anti-Semitic feeling in Hungary. This may be traced to the fact that Jews, on the whole, had better jobs and lived better in general than the rest of the populace.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. The Hungarian youth is made up of those young people between the ages of 15 and 27.

B. Hungarian youth played a decisive role in the revolution. It was they who took the lead and started to fight. With their bare fists, and with courage and determination, they fought.

Anti-Communist feeling ran high six months before the revolution, especially when the press, under the new regime, openly wrote of things which no one could have ever imagined they would have published. People dared to talk and felt more free. Demonstrations were started and staged entirely by the young people. It was again the young people who started the fighting. Later on, they were joined by more mature people. This was probably due to the fact that the youth is more flexible, has more elan and not as much to lose. They have more enthusiasm. During the revolution, the older people admired the youth and the youth surely did not despise the older generation because they failed to take part in the fighting.

C. As to education, she can speak only about the lower grade schools where she was teaching and about her own education at the teachers' college. On the whole, education followed a Russian pattern, but lagging behind the Soviet Union by five to six years. A system which the Russians had found to be useless and had discarded was still in use in Hungary. At teachers' college, for instance, Western educational methods were not even mentioned, only the Russian ways. Textbooks were translated from Russian. Vocational choice was certainly restricted and directed. They took great pleasure in assigning the children of intellectuals to physical work. There was a time when they tried to rope in as many young people as possible to the universities, but eventually, they produced mass unemployment when they could no longer place these people.

The quality of education in grade schools is pretty bad but in the high schools, quite good. There are only a few teachers who are convinced Communists, but, on the other hand, these are afraid of losing their jobs and they try to conform to the regime.

High school teachers and university professors were highly qualified.

E. The Russians did devote much time and effort to indoctrinating the youth. This, not only in schools, but also in factories and offices. After hours, employees had to attend seminars. In the beginning, all had to attend, but later only a few chosen. The reason for failure in the Russian attempt at indoctrination is that results and everyday facts belied their propaganda. Youth soon saw for itself that all their tales were bunk. The only period successfully influenced was that of adolescence, but even this changed as the young people grew more mature and realized for themselves what was what.

XIX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Respondent's own major dissatisfaction was her inability to exercise her own selection of vocation. Also, she was unable to change her job of her own volition. Besides these things, her movements within the country were controlled. Naturally, a dissatisfaction shared by most of the populace was the miserably low standard of living and, obviously, the low wages.

B. People complained perpetually about the high prices which produced difficulty in making both ends meet. Also, everyone nursed feelings of resentment against the AVH and the tortures practiced in political prisons.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Living standards were pretty normal until 1946 or for as long as the market value of money was maintained. In the last years, however, wages earned could cover only the barest of existences. If one wished to partake of a few luxuries such as cinema, theatre, or opera, one had literally to go hungry. The living standard had dropped considerably.

Food was expensive tho it could be obtained. Clothing was expensive and very inferior in quality.

The housing shortage in Budapest was extremely acute. People even lived in shops. There were too many Party houses and offices which occupied large blocks of apartments.

Respondent considered it a luxury to be able to go to a cinema or theatre or opera now and then.

Obtaining enough food gave the respondent the most difficulty. Her family's standard of life cannot be compared to that of 1945. It had reached rock bottom in 1956..

The respondent missed, mostly, an adequate apartment and secondly, cultural pursuits. Nothing had been improved since 1945 except for a few chosen individuals.

The highest living standard was reached by her family and her friends in 1948/49 -1949 and the lowest in 1955-56.

Respondent knew of families which were better off than others. These were such as engineers, doctors, who had a high reputation and who were so highly skilled that the regime could not do without them. Also, actors and singers were pampered by the regime.

The drop in living standards was due to economic reasons. Also, to over-administration and to mis-administration.

In 1956, she earned 786 forints a month. After deductions, she actually received only 730 forints. She never received any premiums nor had a part-time job. She and her father were the only ones working in her family. She did not get a wage increase at all.

C. The prices charged by the state stores were the lowest and those by the farm markets, the highest. However, the quality of the food stuffs on the farm market was much higher. The commission stores sold only second hand merchandise, but the goods were of better quality than in a state store. Food stuff prices underwent regular seasonal changes. To the best of respondent's ability to remember, prices were highest in 1952-53. They have not gone down since. The quality of goods in retail stores was getting worse every year except for imported goods. These were good.

There was no retail distribution, so to speak, in Hungary since most of the shops were state-owned. The lack of merchandise was probably due to insufficient production. However, whenever a congress or a sports event was to take place in Budapest, the regime saw to it that all shops suddenly blossomed forth with a large variety of everything and a good quantity of things all of which was put on display in shop windows.

Domestic make, standard spare parts were fairly easy to get. This was not the case with foreign spare parts.

There was much spoilage of food due to such practices as this: if apples were put up for sale in a store at a given price and people did not buy, the apples were allowed to simply spoil; there was no reduction in the asking price.

There was a short supply of food stuffs such as rice and flour. Also, fuel - wood and coal. Rubber products were short. Some times these things were not available and sometimes, they were available but out of reach because they cost too much. The situation was the worst in 1952-53.

Black marketeering was widespread and practiced by everyone. The prices became doubled and the quality remained the same altho sometimes it was even better than that available on regular markets. The legal outlets could never refuse to sell goods. Black market purchasing was dangerous, especially in 1952-53. While it was punished, respondent did not know to what extent since newspapers carried only the penalty, but not the extent of the offense. Usually ~~imprisonment~~ imprisonment was the penalty along with a fine.

D. Respondent described her working day as a grade school teacher to illustrate her working conditions. Her day

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started at 8 A.M., but she had to be at the school at 7:30 A.M. Lessons went on until 1 P.M. sometimes until 1:30 P.M. even on Saturdays. The afternoon was free for the children however, the teachers had to attend staff meetings regularly once or twice a week. Then, they usually had another extra--curricular meeting at least twice, sometimes more a week. They also had regular training courses to attend. Besides this, there was correction of homework to be done. Her travel to and from school took one hour each way.

Respondent did not have opportunity to choose her profession, she was directed to teaching.

Her relations with co-workers was satisfactory, especially with the head-master who was an extremely nice and kind person. He also was highly competent. She was never afraid of him. He was efficient in his job so she felt quite satisfied in her job as a teacher. She certainly felt that her fellow workers were good at their jobs. They were good pedagogues, but they were scared to say a word against the regime. This is why workers were never praised and why she never received any official raise either.

The Hungarian vacation and compensation programs were quite well organized, but there were many ifs. One had to achieve a high production quota in order to be eligible for a free vacation or at least to have one at a reduced price at one of the state health resorts.

The health insurance program was very good, but there was a shortage of personnel and the hospitals were always very crowded. Pensions were kept to the minimum and they depended entirely upon a worker's tenure in his job after 1945. It also depended upon his last salary.

E. Respondent preferred to live in the city. Even though the agricultural workers had it better in the country side. There was more food and the general standard of living was better. On the other hand, everyone had an easier time politically in the city. You could always make yourself inconspicuous in the cities.

As for collectivizations, everyone knew in advance that it would not work, because they had seen a fair example on the state farms. On the whole, respondent has a bad opinion of collectivization because it simply doesn't work. It did not work in Hungary where it was enforced

too quickly. Respondent thinks that the well-to-do peasant as well as the ~~poorer~~ poorer peasant were equally ~~against~~ against collectivization. Respondent heard that ~~in~~ in 1953 or '54 several of the collectives were dissolved after Imre Nagy's speech. In respondent's view collectivization can only be done if it's completely voluntary. As an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, she would rather work on a private farm, because she could then produce whatever she wants, and she is independent. ~~Besides~~ Besides, production is always better on a private farm, than any state or collective farm. Ideally speaking, respondent would like to keep the small, privately owned farms system in an independent Hungary. However, the large state farms should remain in the ownership of the state an adequate ~~management~~ management. Respondent believes that mechanization of the small farms has its good points.

XI. POLITICAL LIFE

A. Respondent was too young in 1948 to give any details on this section.

B. Respondent thinks that since the ~~ix~~ ideology of the Russian Communist Party completely contradicts that what they achieve, the Hungarian Communist Party can only be upheld by the Russians only thru pressure and force. She believes that if the Russians would leave Hungary, the Hungarian Communist Party would be dissolved immediately. She thinks there are different types of Communist Party members. First, there are those who still believe in ~~a~~ a Communist ~~xxx~~ future and world Communism, but these are very, very few. Then, there are those who entered the Communist Party because they were afraid that if they were not Party members they might not get any jobs, and once they have joined they cannot quit. Respondent never met any Party members except on official basis. Regarding Party members' attitudes toward the Communist Party, she believes that none of them dare to criticize the Party. Regarding the change in Party policy in the last eight years, respondent believes that in the beginning Party discipline was very strict. They were afraid of infiltration. The strictest disciplinary action was enforced against a Party member who dared to revolt against the Moscow Party line. Respondent here refers to the Rajk case. In the last two years the were a little bit slackened. As to differences within ~~g~~ the Party, respondent doesn't know of any.

Regarding the top leaders of the Communist Party, respondent does not believe that they can be so ~~xxx~~ stupid not to see

She thinks that they are not in error, nor are they intentional. She thinks they are after material gains only. The top Communists are mostly people with lots of brains, so she's sure that they are fully aware of the evils that they are doing. She believes however, that among the rank and file members there are quite a few ~~xxxxxxx~~ idealists who believe that Communist doctrines are to benefit the human race. When Hungary is independent, she thinks the top Communists should be put and be treated as prisoners just as they did with all their victims.

C. Respondent does not know of any slow-down of opposition or demonstrations against the Communist government before the Autumn revolution. If so, it must have been very .

She heard of a ~~xxxxxx~~ few slow-downs by the workers in factories and also peasants refusing to surrender their produce. These acts of opposition were in no sense effective. During the new course, however, in 1956 differences of opinion were more openly voiced. It was at this time that she first heard about Petofi Circle. This Petofi Circle might have been instrumental in giving ~~attract~~

directions to the people. The intellectuals did not have anything new to say, they only formulated the ideas everyone had

Respondent has a good opinion of the intellectuals in general, and does not believe that they are impractical and dreamers.

XII. APPARATUS OF ~~THE~~ POWER

A. Members of the AVH were recruited on a volutary basis. There were very few who, for some reason or other, were forced to join this force, or who were transferred to this unit. These people knew perfectly well what they were doing and how. They were willing to do any corrupt act for the sake of the high pay they were receiving. Respondent had a cousin who was in the AVH prison, ~~and another~~ who was tortured several times. She also had relatives who were deported. She ~~met~~ met a peasant woman who joined the AVH force and eventually had a nervous breakdown. She wanted to quit, but she was not allowed. She was put in prison and here she lost her mind. Another man she knew divorced his wife because he did not want his child to bear the stigma of having a father in the AVH.

It was perfectly true that Communist Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear. This statement is not an exaggeration. You never knew who would denounce you in your job or in the street or in company if someone overheard you ~~and~~ make a remark ~~criticizing~~ criticizing the regime. In an independent Hungary she would put the AVH men before a tribunal to answer for their crimes. She is not for a wholesale vengeance campaign against them. The regular police force had to be reliable also, because the Kadar regime knew that they might be needed. They are not very competent, as far as respondent could tell.

During the revolution, there were many policemen who handed over their arms to the demonstrators. In the ~~the~~ 8th district where respondent lived, the police headquarters handed over all the arms they had. She saw them fighting on the side of the revolution. Some went home and changed in to civilian clothes, and some even remained in their uniforms and fought. She also saw them, sometimes, fighting against the AVH.

B. Respondent was too young in 1945 and '47, so she cannot give any information regarding Hungarian courts or the activities of the Peoples' Courts in 1945 or '47.

D. Respondent does not believe that the Hungarian feelings on the Russian army are due to the events of 1848. To her mind it must be entirely due to events in 1945, despite the fact that she was a child, she heard it from her parents. She heard from them about the atrocities committed by the Russian troops when they occupied Hungary at that time. Her attitude toward the Russian army has not changed.

Russina troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution were

scared to return to Russia. They preferred to stay in Hungary where they led very comfortable and easy lives. Of course, in a way, they became unreliable, and that's why they were called back. It was common knowledge that ~~any~~ anyone who served in Europe, when he returned to Russia, was sent to Siberia. Respondent had a brother who knew some Russian and talked to these soldiers. There was very little fraternization going on between the occupation army and the Hungarian people. The Russian children had their own schools. Respondent did not know of any marriages between Russian soldiers and Hungarian girls. It was only the AVH and the political police officers who met the Russian officers socially. The Russian soldiers or officers talked very little, and they were very cautious in giving any opinion. They even liked the Hungarians in a way, as they were more or less unaware of how they were hated. Respondent cannot tell if there were any difference in the attitudes of the officers and the enlisted men.

Respondent, her family, and friends had no contact with Russian soldiers or officers during the revolution. The attitude of the Russian soldiers, at that time, was quite amazing. They were very much afraid, especially of the young kids. She also heard of several who went over to the Hungarians. On the whole, the Russian troops were mostly young men. She heard that the new troops had many Mongolians among them who were called in about November 4. She did not hear about Russian ~~at~~ soldiers helping Hungarians. She only heard that Russian soldiers refused to obey their superiors in as much as they went over to the Hungarians. She also heard desertions. She also heard that the Russian soldiers ~~turned~~ turned their guns against the AVH in Parliament Square on October 23 or 24 when the shooting started there, but she wasn't present at that time. She arrived when the fight was over. She didn't hear of any Soviet soldiers fighting each other. She did not hear of any brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution.

There was ~~xxx~~ much ~~a~~ red tape under Communist regime. Being a teacher she, of course, had to belong to the trade union of qualified teachers. This, in turn, depended on the Education Council. Her immediate superior was a headmaster of the school who in turn depended on the so-called Management Council. A great deal depended on how the ~~xxxxxx~~ immediate superior felt about you, and how he felt about the regime. Members of the Management Council were, of course, Party members, especially in the beginning. Later on, however, they were several who were well qualified for that job. The headmaster in respondent's school was a well qualified, decent man. Nevertheless, strict discipline was enforced even toward the teachers. Everyone had to be very

prompt. Tardiness was punished by a deduction from your pay. If it happened too often, people were reprimanded at the meetings of the Management Council. Penalties varied from transfer to dismissal. She had trouble only with the Party Secretary, because she dared to complain that the school was unheated and it was only 32 degrees one day when they had too little coal or wood. The Party Secretary was rebuffed for his administration and, in turn, turned his scorn against her.

Respondent had a ~~cop~~-worker who was always very decent with her and others despite the fact that he always said he was an out and out Communist. Very soon, this man was dismissed.

F. Getting around regulations was commonly practiced. It was mostly done on a ~~firm~~ friendship basis. One couldn't always do it with money. However, there was certain places where it was possible. Bribery was pretty dangerous. You had to know who and how to bribe. Officials caught doing this were immediately dismissed.

G. Respondent believes that the top Communists have to be efficient, talented, and intelligent people, otherwise, they couldn't keep their jobs. On the other hand, they are not honest since they know they are only serving their own interests and not the interests of the people. On the other hand, they knew perfectly well that they have to go along with the Party line, otherwise, they would be dismissed by Moscow.

The AVH ~~men~~ are cruel without any inhibitions, and some of them are perverted. Respondent doesn't know anything about the army leadership, nor about the Russian army leadership.

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XIII. ASSESSMENTS FOR FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent believes that the situation in Hungary will not improve in the future and no changes will happen unless the Western world does something. The least they could do is to put pressure on the Soviet so they withdraw their troops from Hungary, because only after the Russians leave Hungary can free elections be held. Such an election will solve the whole problem in Hungary. Otherwise, everything will stay as it is now. There are still people in Hungary who will go on with their resistance, at least, passively, because they have no arms. The Kadar regime will probably move toward a Stalin-type tightening, because the moment they let the reins go everything will collapse. She does not expect any move on the part of the West, because, in her opinion, they seem to make the same mistake. That is, they are too afraid of Germany, more afraid than of the Russians.

Respondent would not accept anything as a compromise short of independence. The Poland-type solution cannot be a permanent solution. Gomulka is also a Communist. He is what people call him--the little Tito. Without some help from the Western world, respondent cannot see how Hungary could achieve anything at all. However, if the West would be willing to enforce a complete economic blockade on the Soviet Union, as it was hoped by everyone during the revolution, this might prove to be the solution.

Regarding war, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ wants war. Respondent believes that the U.S. would never start a war, but the Soviet Union, whenever ready, has no scruples in starting the war. The Soviet Union doesn't care a damn about the UN. sanctions or any arbitrations, as it has proved. Therefore, the only way to bring them to heel is a complete international economic blockade. No one can predict whether internal changes in the Soviet Union would occur, and if so, when and how.

B. Respondent says she believes, and believes that other people in Hungary, too, had the idea that a conflict between the Soviet Union and Germany would solve the problem of Europe; but no one believed that poor little, small, Hungary would be the nation who started to pull out the foundation from under the big Soviet Union. More or less, everyone believed that the Western powers will help, not only Hungary in particular, but all satellite countries, so as break Russia's power and to stop - - to put an end to Russian Imperialism. Hopes and estimates, of course, changed during the devolution, but everybody was hoping until the very last that at least an economic blockade against Russia would be enforced.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. If Hungary were independent, respondent would like to have a Democratic Republic. She points out that she means this in the real sense of the word. Not like the Communists have misused this word for democracy.

B. An independent Hungary should mainly concentrate on agriculture, since the country has, primarily, always been, an agricultural country. Over industrialization by the Communist regime has ruined the country's economy. There are not enough of the raw materials needed for certain branches of the heavy industries and must be imported. Light industry should be doubled up and continued. In connection with the country's agricultural production, the food industries should be doubled-up in Hungary. Everything in connection with the aluminum production since the Bauxite ore in Hungary is in abundance. In agriculture, the production of wheat and fruit should be emphasized.

If the Communist regime is overthrown, it would be foolish to switch back suddenly to the kind of the economy which existed before the war. Everything should be, gradually, de-nationalized. Certain branches of industry, should, however, remain in ~~the~~ the hands of the State. For instance, the wheat farms ought to remain as they are; since, ~~it~~ much better grains, etc. can be produced if production continues under the same methods. Besides, the State will need an income since the TSC co-operative members should be given back their lands, at least enough so that they can produce for themselves and their families.

Respondent believes that the heavy industries - transportation and power works, etc. should remain in the hands of the State. She also believes that the government should set a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person, or family, may own. She believes that 500 acres would be the ideal limit. No curbs should be put, however, on the number of houses or other real estate properties people should own.

Regarding the kind of government, respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, her answer was immediately: "By all means the first sort of government!" (individual freedom, mentioned here) "If a person is guaranteed the personal freedom and free competition then anyone can get ahead as well as he or she can. There is no need to guarantee jobs." She values personal freedoms, the right to criticize and to worship freely - the most important things.

Respondent thinks that neither the communist party, nor no other party should be outlawed in an independent Hungary. This is contrary to freedom of speech and freedom of action. After all, the last twelve years have told the Hungarian people what Communism is, and she is convinced that there would be very few followers of the Communist doctrine in an independent Hungary.

C. Regarding the international position, respondent would think that ideally an independent Hungary should follow the government of Austria - that is, complete neutrality; therefore, respondent doesn't see any necessity to have military relations with any of the surrounding countries, nor the West - the USSR, the East European States, the rest of Europe and the USA. She wouldn't like to see trade relations with the Soviet Union, however, since this country has only exploited Hungary. With the rest of the world, she would welcome any sort of trade relations.

As to cultural relations, if the Soviet Union is completely free of politics, she has no objections to fostering cultural relations, and of course with the Eastern countries as well as the US.

Regarding the Danubian federation, respondent has heard about this problem. She believes that this federation should be unpolitical, and only in the economic field, if such a federation is desirable. Whether such a federation is possible, she doesn't know, but she would welcome such a federation with all the States except with Roumania and Yugoslavia, if only Yugoslavia is not a communist state.

Her feeling about Roumania, is that in the past, as she puts it, Roumania has never proved to be a reliable ally nor a friendly nation toward Hungarians. As far as respondent knows, the general feeling about the Danubian federation is, in Hungary, people don't believe that it could be set up within the near future. At present everybody is scared of any sort of alliance due to past experiences.

Respondent does not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. She would welcome any territorial adjustment similar to before the war; minority-Hungarian minorities are in Czechoslovakia in great numbers, and as well parts of Transylvania where the situation is the same, should be returned to Hungary. She is concerned about the Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary, since, despite all

promises, by Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, the Hungarian minorities there were not granted their rights. For instance, they can't use their native language. The whole question is rather important to her, as it is to all Hungarians. It is a very deep-rooted conviction, of every Hungarian, that it was completely unjustifiable to take away the above mentioned parts of Hungary, which after all belonged to Hungary for over a 1000 years.

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. It was nearly impossible in Hungary, under the Communist regime, to know for sure what happened both inside and outside of Hungary. The newspapers were slanted to such an extent that only news that was censored, and approved by the government, was printed. News from the free West was distorted and only that only kind of news was printed which was derogatory. The public was fed news from the Soviet Union and from the Satellites, showing that everything is going "just fine" in the Soviet orbit

Regarding the 20th Party Congress, of course everyone heard about it, but only what was printed in the press. Respondent heard about Khrushchev's secret speech, but of course, doesn't know what the contents were.

As to the Un-American Activities Committee, and Senator McCarthy of course the Hungarian press told the public that this committee under Senator McCarthy was persecuting decent, honest people who were fighting for the freedom of their country and for their human rights. Respondent did not hear anything at all about Peron. In fact, she didn't even know who he is.

Rakosi's private life was not discussed in Hungary. Only, during the Revolution did she hear about the sort of life he must have led since the Freedom Fighters found underground passages in the villa where he lived. This villa was equipped in the utmost luxury. Newspapers, during the revolution, disclosed all details.

B. Due to her age, respondent can only give answers regarding her general reading habit, as of the past years; not during the time before the Communist regime. She read newspapers regularly, but did not believe them. She mostly read magazines referring to art, and also her own profession, teaching. As to books, she mostly read the classics - Hungarian and foreign. She never could read the modern translations, except if it was some sort of slanted literature-- Regarding Soviet literature, some of it was compulsory.

There were many libraries in Budapest and she could get the books which were allowed, of course, always.

Up to 1954, the ban on foreign literature was pretty strict. Later on, it eased up somewhat.

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Respondent read the dailies SZABAD IF J USAG, SZABAD NEP and also literary magazines. The newspaper information, however, was distrusted by her; so were the statistics and other reports. The reason for this distrust was that everyone in Hungary could more or less control the domestic news, and they found out that it was usually untrue; in consequence, they didn't believe ~~any~~ the foreign news either. Meaning, the foreign news as printed by the Communist press. It happened, however, sometimes when certain facts became common knowledge, the government had to print these facts. This always happened after everyone knew of it.

Respondent did not read any publications from the USSR or other satellite countries.

Respondent, her family and all of her friends read as many publications from the West as possible. Of course, they were not too easily obtainable. The Communist French papers and English papers as well were on sale. DAILY WORKER, C'EST SOI, for instance. Even these papers were read for the mere fact that they came from the West. Respondent did not hear of any illegal publications.

There were certain books which were banned by the government, and in the beginning this ban was strictly enforced, so the people either had to hide, or to burn, books they had on hand. Later on, it became easier to circulate those and everyone handed them down from friend to friend. In fact, in 1954, they issued a new list of the banned books,

Respondent, as well as everyone else in Hungary, always got news by word-of-mouth. This was mostly political news-domestic and foreign. Such news was passed on, of course, only to reliable friends and relatives. It wasn't easy to be sure whether such news was reliable, but anyone believed it anyway because they wanted to believe the news from the West. Respondent, of course, passed on information by word of mouth. It was mostly political.

F. Respondent attended the movies, theatre and opera as many times as she could possibly afford. In the movies she saw French and Italian pictures. Also some of eastern Germany which were mostly propaganda films. Everybody avoided the Russian pictures, if possible.

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The Hungarian pictures were rather inferior technically although artistically they were pretty good. In the last two years, they were freer from propoganda.

Regarding theatres, she usually went to see the so-called classics - Hungarian and also foreign, Shakespeare, Moliere, and so forth. Also, some of the modern plays if they were free from propoganda. She also saw a couple of Russian plays, classics- Checkov for example which they played extremely well. Respondent disliked the musicals and operettas because even they were slanted, and cheap. The Hungarian Opera, on the other hand, was really tops. They had an excellent reertoire and wonderful singers. Respondent remembered two French plays she liked best in the movies but couldn't remember their titles. In the theatre, she liked best: "Cyrano", and two short opera by BelaTarkos.

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY.

Regarding changes inside Russia, respondent does not believe that any revolution could be staged by the people of Russia. If the frightful power between different factions within the Soviet regime continues, and gets worse, it might so happen that a revolution might be started by one of the parties who wants to gain the upperhand, ~~xxxxxx~~

Regarding the feelings of the people inside Russia about the Communist regime, respondent says that it is very difficult for anyone to say as no one has any contact with them. She does not believe that a gradual liberation would come about since the Communist regime, seeing what has happened in Eastern Europe, will not, again, slacken their reins, so only unexpected and quick action could bring about a change.

Regarding free elections in Russia, respondent couldn't tell what would happen.

Regarding the top leaders of Russia, their aims and motives, respondent believes that these can only come from megalomania. These leaders are smart men and have brains and it is impossible that they could be convinced that they are convinced that they are doing something good for the people. They couldn't lie so much to themselves.

The Russian Communists in their own country are preaching the doctrine to their own people, while in Hungary, the Communists are Moscovites who accept implicitly the orders from Moscow.

B. As to relative popularity in Hungary of the other nations in Eastern Europe, respondent give them in the following order: Eastern Germany, Poland, Bulgari, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania.

Respondent's opinion on the governments of these people, and believes that this feeling is shared by most people in Hungary. Respondent had no contact with Czechs, Slovaks, East Germans, etc. If free elections, respondent does not believe that anyone would keep the Communist regime.

Respondent believes that the highest standard of living among the Eastern European nations is to be found in Czechoslovakia; Eastern Germany; Hungary, followed by Poland and then Roumania and Bulgaria.

C, As to events in Poland, respondent believes that Gomulka wanted more independence than he got, but that this wouldn't ~~lead~~ lead to a complete break with Soviets, he gave in as to keep himself and his government in power. He is not a puppet, but he has to compromise.

She believes that Gomulka's policy is a step toward national Communism- that is, Tito-ism. Respondent does not believe that the Gomulka government can give much political freedom to the people of Poland. It may only be restricted to the economic field. Respondent also believes that if Gomulka wants to stay in power, he will not achieve anything more because although the Soviet may have given in at present, it will not do so in the future. Her views have not changed during the past few months.

The Polish developments had an effect on Hungary before the October Revolution. The Polish "thaw" has even been carried by the Hungarian Press, and it was followed with great interest by the Hungarian public. During and after Oct. 1956, however, the Polish events were dwarfed by the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarians wanted to achieve more than the Poles did, and the people of Hungary did not want to accept compromises. The Poznan riots and the Poznan trials was carried by the Hungarian press, but very much later, so everybody was more or less informed about it.

Respondent does not believe that the Hungarian people would have accepted a solution along the Polish lines. After all, Gomulka did not achieve very much except in the economic field, but even economic and material help is not assured of reaching the Polish people as the Soviet's will take a big chunk of it.

D. On Yugoslavia:

Respondent does not believe that TITO is the originator of National Communism, because in her view, Russian Communism is just as nationalistic as the Yugoslav is, but of course, the Russians don't admit it. Tito is the first one who sought independence from the Soviet union. In this way, he is unique. Nevertheless, National Communism is just as bad as the Russian, or international Communism. These are dictatorships, and economically it follow the Communist line.

Tito's relations with other East European nations - Russia and the West, are difficult to judge as he is such a turncoat. One thing is certain. Russia is afraid that Tito may be instrumental in breaking up the satellite block by influencing, Hungary, Roumania, and Bulgaria to bring about national communism in these countries also. Tito is also smart enough to exploit the West and to accept economic help from them, for the above mentioned reason.

During the Hungarian Revolution, Tito would have accepted Nagy because he knew that he also was a National Communist. Respondent does not believe that Tito would have accepted anybody else, more to the right, so to say, because this would have weakened his own position in his country. Respondent believes that National Communism is just as bad as Russian Communism. Tito, Nagy, are all in the same category.

Respondent does not know how popular Tito is in Yugoslavia. (France) Regarding internal conditions in Yugoslavia, she heard from friends that the living standards, living conditions, freedom of expression and the rest is about the same as Hungary.

E. Respondent believes that the Communists gained control of China due to their tremendous efforts in the propaganda field. Also, the Communist party promised very much to the Chinese people. She does not believe that the Chinese Communists would be any more independent than any other Communist country, because Russia couldn't afford to give independence. China is a huge nation and would be a very dangerous rival.

Concerning the relations between England and China, respondent says, that this relationship was presented in such a slanted version by the Hungarian Communists' press that she cannot give an unbiased opinion; also, she knew too little about these countries so as to give a relationship about them.

Respondent does not approve of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, but however, it might have been necessary because Russian influence was increasing, and in the long run, indirectly Russia could have exercised her pressure - not only on the Eastern European countries - but on the rest as well.

Respondent couldn't tell why Israeli forces invaded Egypt. She believed the Israel couldn't have done this on her own, and must have had some prodding.

She doesn't think that Egypt was right to nationalize the canal. After all, there was a contract to be kept and which, still had several years to run. Events in Egypt, to a great extent, effected the developments in Hungary during the fall of 1956 - and, off the record - the Russians soon found out that that the Suez problem is much more important to the West than the Hungarian Revolution, and acted accordingly. Respondent believes that the West was wrong in acting on behalf of economic reasons, and ~~peop.~~ ones at that., and never thought of missing the opportunity, in fact, the unique opportunity, to exercise pressure on the Soviet Union which, in the long run, would have been to the advantage of the whole world.

F. Respondent believes that living standard in Western Germany is very high, and this underlies why respondent believes that Germany, at any moment, might start the war, but only so as to unite Eastern and Western Germany, and to fight Russia. Also, for economic reasons. The public in Hungary was always told that re-armament in West Germany was going on, with the assistance of the Western powers. Respondent believes that the West German Army is not yet stronger than that of Britain or France, but is much better than quality regarding equipment and the morale of the men.

She does not know how long the service is, in the West German Army.

When the German Army occupied Hungary after World War II, this respondent was very young, so she cannot say very much about the occupation troop, except what she said she heard from her parents.

According to public opinion, the German occupation force was better liked than the Russian one, but on the other hand, the German Occupation was much short-lived, less than the Russian one, and nobody knew how the Germans would have behaved under a long occupation. The German Army was, of course, much better disciplined, both officers and enlisted men. The Russian Occupation force was most unpopular in Hungary.

G. Respondent does not know very much about the British Labor Party except for what people were told in Hungary, through the Hungarian Communist Press; but she believes that the British Labor Party is not favorable to communism; she thinks it is more of a Socialist line-run party. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Regarding the living standard of various countries, respondent gave the following rank :

Living standard highest in Western Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Soviet Union , Greece and Egypt.

H. The USA.

During her first few months in the USA, respondent was surprised, particularly, in the freedom of speech that could be exercised in the States.

Respondent believes that the actual ^{present} policy of the US is not strong enough to watch Russia. The US aid should give aid, in the form of influence, to a Communist country only that these would be used for the benefit of the Country, and Russia would be unable to put her hands on it. The same refers to Hungary in particular.

Since Hungarians have come to this country, respondent feels, that the only way to achieve permanent peace would be to feel that all ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Eastern countries would be independent from Russia. For the very same reason, respondent does not think that the US gov't should take up any trade, or diplomatic relations with the Kadar government in Hungary.

Western visitors would be most welcome in Hungary, and should be let in if possible. If this could be achieved, then it should be tourists only - no politicians, no newsmen, etc. and would be allowed to move around freely in Hungary. In this case, it wouldn't be necessary to be told anything before they go there for they could see perfectly well for themselves. Respondent believes that it is always better not to prejudice people this way or the other. In case they want some information about Hungary before they go, it should be a new refugee who ought to give this information to them and especially the refugees of the intellectual class who could give an intelligent and unbiased view.

Everybody in Hungary would like to receive Western books and periodicals. Respondent believes that if these publications are allowed to enter the country, and to be sold freely that would be the best solution so everyone could have access to them.

Respondent feels that it would have made a good impression if Hungarian exiles had associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications.

About the Marshall plan, respondent again points out is that all she knows is a very biased view as she got it through the Hungarian Communist newspapers which ascribed the motives of the US for instance, as purely mercenary.

The reason why America became involved in the Korean War, respondent believes might have been that the US wanted to have military basis in this hemisphere. This again is just her own opinion as she doesn't know much about the whole question.

The Hungarian Communists presented this problem also, in a very slanted way.

J. The United Nations certainly could have affected the whole situation in Hungary in 1956 had it wanted to do so. Respondent believes that the UN moves too slowly, and also thinks that it gains only momentarily and not with enough foresight. She also believes that the political views are much too contrary among the member-nations in the UN, and this may well be the reason why the UN cannot act speedily. It would have been more honest on the part of the UN to admit that they cannot do anything, or do not want to do - they perfectly well know that no one can negotiate with the Russians - as the Soviet Union never means to keep any agreement anyway. Respondent doesn't see any chance for an effective UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future, for the above mentioned reasons.

KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. Respondent could not name the greatest living Hungarian. She points out that had there been such a man available, he could have assumed the leadership during the Hungarian Revolution in October.

B. Iare Nagy, respondent says, is a Moscovite trained Communist who never would have rejected Communism altogether. At the time of the Revolution, he didn't know for himself what he really wanted. He was not the personality who could have assumed leadership.

Cardinal Mindszenty was the only man lived up to expectations. He had a strong character and never gave in to the Communists. He was the only one who during the Revolution warned the people that the newly activated political parties should unite and pool their forces.

Laslo Rajk was a firm and convinced Nationalist Communist who was the originator of the hated AVH.

Erno Gero is a Moscovite capable of any crime against the Hungarian nation, in order to serve his Russian masters.

Speaking of Janos Kadar, respondent doesn't understand how, after all he has gone through - Communist jail and torture, he still could remain faithful to the Communist party. The only explanation could be is that he is fearing for his own little, precious life.

2. General Eisenhower: Respondent again says that she only knows of his actions as interpreted by the Communist press. Through RFE, however, they know about the President's promise to help the captive nations. On the other hand, it is not he alone who can be blamed for not having done so. As the leader of the American Nation he must be immensely popular since the people have elected him for the second term.

Secretary-General Hammarskjold would be firmer regarding international problems of the UN

Respondent had nothing to say about Dulles or Eden.

Regarding Mr Truman, she was a child at the time when he was the President of the US.

3. Mikoyan. Respondent has no opinion.
- b. Nehru -- she thinks a smart politician and dictator.
- c. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is an enigma to her. She doesn't see clearly what he really wants.
- d. Ference Nagy she knows was President of the Small-holders Party in Hungary and lives now in the US. She is of the opinion that he is very much in error if he believes that his government in exile, or himself, could ever return to Hungary and be welcome there. He wasn't a good politician at the time he was Hungarian Prime Minister and neither was he much liked.
- e. Of former President Roosevelt, she cannot say anything.
- f. Chancellor Adenauer, she says, is a very strong politician, and very much needed by Western Germany.
- g. Of Stalin she believes that he was the greatest evil that ever lived on this earth. Only by sheer terror could he maintain his State for forty years - a State and a doctrine which has no right to live at all.
- h. Malenkov - not the foggiest notion. "What did he do?" was her question.
- i. Generalissimo Franco is the only so-called dictator who is still able to maintain his dictatorship.
- j. Bevan, never heard of him.
- k. Of Khrushchev she said: "There is only one word for him..dirty rat!"
- l. Of Tito she refers to her previous opinion.
- m. She never heard of Peron .
- n. She believes Bolotov to be the slickest politician of the past decade.
- o. Ollenhauer, she says: "Who is he?"
- p. Respondent was very young in Churchill's hey-days and never knew much of him; nevertheless she knows who he is and thinks greatly of him; also, she added: "Maybe in the end, he will be the one who will pull out Britain from the mess."

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. The majority of people who escaped from Hungary after the Hungarian revolution were mainly those who took part in the fighting. They were of all social classes, but mainly workers. Their reason were that since they had been fighting, they were scared that they would be deported to Russia. The intelligentsia which escaped came out from Hungary because they lived under constant, sheer fear and because for the past 12 years they had had no hope for the future; on the other hand, they hoped to achieve something by going to the West. They had nothing to lose anyway by leaving their homeland, except those who were attached to their land and didn't want to leave it. Many patriots stayed behind because being Hungarian down to the roots, couldn't imagine how they could possibly live in a strange land. They also wanted to serve their country by staying home. Also, there were some who were scared to start life anew in a foreign country. Finally, the Communists remained in Hungary also, those who think that there world has come again.

Respondents respects everyone who remained back home in Hungary, except, of course, the Communists. Respondent knew a young man who came over to Austria several times to pick up medicines and supplies; he went back because he felt that so much has been lost that every man who is capable of ~~fighting~~ fighting, should remain at home, if necessity arises for him to fight again.

Respondent feels that many people in Hungary are envious of those who had the chance and luck to flee. Many, on the other hand, are bothered and annoyed and despise them for not having the guts to stay. Respondent ~~thinks~~ feels that in a way, they are right. She feels very strongly about it, too. Assuming, however, that they had a chance to come to the West, she believes, that hardly anyone would have stayed behind.

B. While in Hungary, respondent only heard about Ferec Nagy and other politicians who came out at the time he did, and she has no particular feeling about them as at that time she was very young. Generally in Hungary, the people call them the ^{people} ~~scab~~-crosses, and the Communist press, of course, does much to discredit them.

Respondent had no contact with any organizations in exile, or persons in exile, since leaving Hungary.

In connection with the lists of organizations and individuals which had been given respondent, she added the following remarks. She didn't believe that the Hungarian National Council achieved very much. Of the American Hungarian Federation she heard a great deal from the refugees, all praising their activities; regarding the individuals, referring to former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, she referred to her previous opinion. About Otto von Hapsburg, she heard in Austria only, and read in the Austrian newspapers about him declaring that the Hungarian crown should be given back to a free Hungary. She cannot understand what he means or wants by this. Back in Hungary no one ever mentioned him. They were only told of the drawbacks of the Hapsburg reign in Hungary. About the late Horthy, she can't say anything that would be unbiased. So it wouldn't be honest to give any opinion.

She is convinced that people who left Hungary before 1956, meaning the first exile politicians, have tried to do their best for Hungary but she really cannot tell whether they have been successful or not. Also, they didn't have enough means or publicity to do very much for their country.

During the Revolution, they heard over the radio, about the exiles, who staged big demonstrations in the USA, and believed that they honestly tried to do something, but they perfectly well knew that they were powerless, and no one blamed them.

C. She knew of a young man who redefected. He was in an emigre in 1945, and returned mainly for family reasons. He wanted to see his father again. They tried to force him to give a radio speech and he refused to do so and so he was imprisoned and put to trial for espionage. He got 15 -18 years of prison. She hopes that he escaped during the Revolution.

The defectors came back mainly for family reasons, or they were fooled by Communist propaganda. The Communists started the redefection campaign because they realized that too many of their especially qualified people, especially young men, had gone to the West; also, they wanted to prove their own propaganda that everything is just fine within the country and people who left for the West only fooled by

propaganda, or taken out by force.

Regarding the results of this redefection campaign, respondent couldn't really tell, but she was sure that there were quite a few people who went back, because many went out on the first impulse, and after having stayed in the Austrian camps, and having had to wait a long time before immigration, they just got fed up and returned.

D. It is the duty of every Hungarian who is in the USA, or who has left Hungary for other countries, to keep alive the Hungarian cause. People back in Hungary would always like to know how their relatives and friends are faring now in the United States. What are the living conditions; what they have achieved, and what is their future. However, they think that they should know that everywhere, as well as in the US, you have to work for your living, and have to work pretty hard. Life here is not as easy as is imagined by people back home. She personally would like to do what she mentioned first, that is - to do her utmost that the Hungarian cause should not be forgotten.

Respondent would like to join an exile organization, but only a cultural one. One that preserves Hungarian culture, literature, and arts. She believes that such an organization should be made up of new exiles as well as of the other older exiles.

Regarding various Hungarian political parties, active before 1948, she of course, cannot say anything. Neither can she about the parties in exile. There were too many political parties revived in Hungary during the Revolution. They might have had the same aims, but nevertheless, this was not good. There was no central leadership. It was necessary that the different parties should be formed, but it was unwise that they immediately started their activities. It was very unfortunate that there wasn't one single Hungarian politician who could have taken over leadership. She doesn't believe that groups that went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in revival of parties, since the 12 years they have spent in the Western hemisphere probably has brought them too much apart. Also they wouldn't have been welcome in Hungary especially not the chief politicians -the big-wigs.

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E. She does want to go back to Hungary if there is a change there. She believes it was a weakness on her part that she didn't have the guts to stay and remain while the country is dying for young people. She would go back to Hungary for good, if Hungary is again free. She doesn't believe that she will ever marry in the US but should she have any children she would want them to learn Hungarian.

AUDIENC: REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

While in Hungary, respondent listened to the VOA, FRE, and BBC. She says for all stations, it was about the same - all of them jammed, more or less, rather more. She listened in to the Hungarian broadcasts several times a day, rather regularly. She listened to RFE most frequently. She always told everybody she met about the RFE broadcasts. She listened to these broadcasts at home on the radio, either with friends or alone, depending on circumstances. She heard a great deal about Western broadcasts at second hand.

A couple of years ago it was very dangerous to listen to foreign broadcasts, therefore everyone was cautious and listened in with their radios tuned down and with closed windows, of course. After '54 everybody took things quite so seriously. People dared to listen freely. In an apartment house, for instance, the broadcasts of radio free Europe could be heard - a full blast going on all day long from the different apartments. Even during the times when it was dangerous, this fact did not deter people generally. The broadcasts of BBC were liked for their complete matter-of-factness. News received through the BBC proved to be more reliable. It was generally said that Radio Free Europe talks too much. Also their news material was not quite accurate, very often not. She judged the accuracy of the FRE news by domestic events which they had the opportunity to control, (correction: I mean, to check). After 1955, everyone listened to RFE without much criticism and accepted everything. During the Revolution she was rather annoyed by RFE because they only heard encouragements, but no help was forthcoming. Respondent saw many posters in Budapest, during the Revolution which blamed RFE for fostering hope in the Hungarian Freedom Fighters and then failing to realize their promises. She wouldn't say that RFE actually incited the Hungarian people, but the way RFE presented the West during those past 12 years, gave cause for people in Hungary, when now, they have taken up arms to fight freedom, with the Western World would indeed help them. They also believed that RFE had some authority in talking this way. Soviet propaganda, indeed, did allege that RFE did incite the Hungarians and the Hungarian Revolution. Nevertheless, if RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary, she said; "This question also serves the purpose that you would like to find but where the mistakes were made, and that you would like to amend them. Also, the Hungarian people, more than ever, need to be informed about the Western World and events. She believes that RFE should be absolutely honest about everything, and never promise anything that the Western World cannot fulfill. No anti-communist propaganda is needed ever in Hungary again. Any obvious propaganda is always unwelcome.

Programs about life in the Western World, or European countries and US cultural programs, musical programs, are most welcome.

B. Respondent heard about the end of the FEP leaflets. She also heard about the Twelve Demands but she couldn't tell of what these consisted of.

C. Respondent has seen Free Europe leaflets; as a matter of fact, she collected them herself out in the country as she taught. That was in 1954. She immediately handed it along to others. Children in her school also collected them. There certainly was much risk involved in picking up these leaflets, and talking about them to any one. However, it did not deter people from collecting them or keeping them. After '54, the situation was somewhat better, and not so strictly penalized.

Before the Revolution, it certainly pleased people in the countryside to see that the Western world had not forgotten them. She doesn't know of any RFE leaflets during the Revolution. Respondent believes that RFE should NOT drop anymore leaflets into Hungary. First of all, people do not believe anymore in RFE very much; second, it would only involve too much risk for people who happened to find them.

D. Respondent believes that all Western groups that broadcast and send leaflets into Hungary had the same goals. I, e., that is, to increase anti-Soviet propogand in the satellite countries. However, by dropping leaflets can be done to the Soviet Union anyway, and besides the satellite nations know very well what Soviet Rule means. They do not need any anti-Soviet propoganda.

CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent believes that mental and physical discipline is a very important factor in bringing up children. However, this discipline should never be enforced by force. It should be enforced by correctly chosen pedagogical matters - a good example on the part of the teacher and the parents, for instance: no physical punishment is needed to enforce discipline. A child can be deprived of something for a longer time, something for which he cares most or like to have. Regarding what a child should have, respondent says "The main thing is to awake the interest in it in a child for natural sciences are literature, etc." A child must know and appreciate the beautiful in the world.

Treatment cannot be the same for both boys and girls. It must be adjusted as a child grows older. It is always easier to discipline girls than boys in Hungary. She recalls her own experience when she was about five. She was a real tom-boy and always fighting other children until her parents punished her; she was not allowed to go out and play with them for a certain period. Or, if she was very rude with her playmates, she had to take out of her piggy-bank some money and buy some presents for them. So far as she can remember among the people she knew, the head of the family usually punished children even if they were over six years of age. Boys usually got a good smacking from their Father; punishment usually varied in the classes. It was usually the working class who used physical punishment; but during the last ten years changes did occur in so far that children in school were told that they were free individuals and free to do as they wish; in fact, the teachers and even the parents used physical punishment.

She couldn't tell when, the Hungarian parents stopped punishing their children. It all depended on the social class and also on the children. Punishment is not bounded, even though Communism has brought about many changes in this respect. In fact, the authority of the parents and the teachers was completely demoralized. The child grew up into alien worlds - that of the school and that of the family life. It entirely depended on whether the family atmosphere was calm and prevailed in the child.

Before ^{physical} ~~Physical~~ Communism, all punishment was widely used in schools, especially with boys. As formerly mentioned, this technique was abandoned during the Communist regime.

In her schools she tried to discipline the children by depriving them of something they really cared for, such as participating in sports on which they were very keen. It was entirely up to the teacher to invent something with which he, or she, could discipline children.

In a friend, respondent said that she valued most he, or she, must also share the same views about the same interests. Must confess the same ideology and be willing to help and cooperate.

Respondent does not believe that there have been any changes in a real friendship under Communism.

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