

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTIONS

Respondent thinks that the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the Fall of 1956 was what it cost the Hungarians and ~~xx~~ how much was at stake.

Second, the responsibility of the West should be pointed out since, for the past twelve years, it was heard that if the Hungarians would try to break away from Communism, Western help would be forthcoming. Finally, the historical importance of the Hungarian revolution and its bearing on international world politics should also be pointed out to the American public.

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

A. On October 22, 1956 in the evening respondent read in the newspaper about the Petofi Circle sessions and its revolutions. She was surprised to see that people dared to put such things in the papers, and dared to be so open in their criticism of the regime. On October 23 she was in Health Service Training School and heard about the demonstrations that were planned by the students of the University of Technical Sciences. While still at school on the 23rd, she heard that the demonstrators marched in the streets. Everyone was elated by the news. They rushed to the windows to see for themselves. By that time they also got hold of leaflets asking people to come to the streets and to take part in the demonstrations. At 6 o'clock in the evening, after school, she went to the street and saw the demonstrators in great numbers marching. She and a couple of friends joined them and they went to the Stalin statue. She stayed here until she saw the statue pulled down and broken up in ~~many~~ pieces. Then she got a ride on a truck and went back to the middle of the town where, at the National Theatre, she heard that shooting had started at the Radio Building. She went up to the Rokcs Hospital where she saw that wounded were already being carried into the hospital. Then ~~she~~ she went as near as possible to the Radio Building. A big crowd blocked the streets leading to it. She stayed in the streets until 2:30 A.M., but did not get near the Radio Building. They saw ~~many~~ many Hungarian soldiers coming with the new Hungarian flag, and the crowd cheered them. Around the Astoria Hotel they saw truckloads of soldiers with arms. These Hungarian soldiers turned over their arms and joined the civilians. Going home at dawn, she passed the Editorial offices of "Szabad Nep" which was fiercely burning. She also saw a couple of overturned Russian automobiles.

On October 24 fighting went on throughout the whole city. She saw many demolished tanks in the streets, and Russian lying around. The Stalin statue by that time had been pulled down to the National Theatre. She then went to her school to see if there were to be classes that day, but, of course, nothing was going on there. So, she went out again to carry leaflets and news to the boarders in the school who were not allowed to go out in the streets. The whole day long shooting went on at every street corner. Later she joined the crowd that went to the Astoria Hotel which was occupied by the Russians at the time. The Russians did not shoot. Some Hungarians went up to the tanks and talked to the Russians, and then hoisted the Hungarian flags on the tanks. Then the crowd marched on to the Parliament. Russian tanks went along with them. Enthusiasm was high in the crowd. Opposite the Parliament Square, on the top

of the Ministry of Defense, the AVO had their ~~men~~ men stationed. They started shooting into the crowd. The Russians immediately turned the guns of their tanks around and shot back. Respondent wishes to point out that, of course, she couldn't say if the Russians knew at whom they were shooting. Maybe they just shot because they were attacked. There were several dead and wounded on the Square after the AVH attack. AVH forces surrounded the big Square around the Parliament. She saw a couple of people without arms going over the bridge get shot at, and some of them arrested. She saw Red Cross ambulances and some cars with the Red Cross just painted on them picked up the wounded and carry away the dead. Some of her friends, who were shuttling between the Parliament and the radio, told her the crowd even searched the ambulances because they had found out that a few of them carried ammunition to the AVH at the Radio Building. Later on, in the newspapers, the drivers denied having had anything to do with it.

When she joined the demonstrations she was terribly happy that at last she could express her opinion freely. This never happened in the past twelve years. Although she never took an active part in politics, she was happy that the time had arrived when everyone could express ~~his~~ his opinion. There was no one who tried to talk her out of joining the crowd. In fact, everyone encouraged it. She had no ~~fre~~ fear, and never thought of what the consequences might be, because in the beginning they were so sure that ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~thing~~ the revolutionists would win. She was elated that the time had come when the terrific oppression of the people would be lifted and they would be free. Everyone backed up the demands of the University students. They wanted economic and political reforms, and, first of all, independence from the Soviet Union. They also wanted Hungarian management of the uranium mines around Paks. These mines lay in a semi-circle in the Trans-Danubian part of Hungary and reach as far up as the Lake of . They are supposed to be very rich in uranium, but the public never knew about them until the revolution. It was run completely by the Russians. They had Russian engineers and technical personnel there. The miners were Hungarian, however, and she had a friend who worked in these mines who told her much about them. Furthermore, the people wanted a change in the government, they wanted Imre Nagy back and the dismissal of ~~Lasz~~ Lasz, but ~~not~~ not least, they wanted the Russians withdrawal from Hungary. At that time no one wanted to accept any concessions. Knowing the Russians, they knew they ~~not~~ could not keep a compromise anyway, and the Hungarian people wanted a radical change. Respondent did not think of the probably outcome of this thing when the fighting started.

The ~~young~~ demonstrators were ~~many~~ young people, mostly ~~university~~ students, but were joined by everyone. She saw a great number of older people, too. Children, men, and women, they all took part in the demonstrations. They came from all three social classes; there was no difference in their enthusiasm. The demonstrations, as well as the revolution, was completely spontaneous. The students of the University of Technical Sciences and _____ were, in a way, instrumental in starting it. Being so spontaneous, there was no overall leadership at all. Now and then somebody with a stronger personality assumed leadership of small groups.

B. The peaceful demonstrations turned into fighting when, at the Radio Building, the AVH started to shoot. The university students wanted to have their demands read over the radio, and published. They were not allowed in the building, and the U.V.H. started to use tear-gas bombs, and later, shooting. Nevertheless, respondent believes that fighting could not have been avoided.

The revolutionary slogans came up on October 23 in the evening. This was when she first heard the term "Freedom Fighters". As to the ages, sex, and class of the people--they ranged from 13 to 30 years, girls and boys alike. They were mostly students, workers, but also people from the intellectual class. The fighters got their arms from the military barracks, respondent was told. The Freedom Fighters banded together in small groups of perhaps thirty or forty people, and they had a leaders. Respondent could not tell if they were elected or not. Probably, there were the so-called born leaders who assumed leadership. She did not fight, but helped attend the wounded.

Respondent believed that after the fighting started that the Western world ~~was~~ would come to their help, and find ways and means to force the Russians out of Hungary, especially when they heard over the radio about the ~~negotiations~~ ~~going on~~ sessions in the United Nations. According to general belief it was Gero who called in the Russians, and Piro who gave the orders. However, people also knew that the Hungarian Communist Authorities acted under duress, and also that the Russians would have returned anyway, on their own. Respondent is still of the same opinion.

C. Respondent spent her days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the reinvasion listening to the radio all the time. She was also in the streets often carrying pamphlets and leaflets and distributing them. At the very beginning everyone thought that the Russian army had really begun its retreat. However, when the Hungarian Freedom radio gave out the news that ~~Zanka~~ new Russian troops were pouring into Hungary, everyone knew what that meant.

She heard that the Soviet withdrawal had been halted on October 31 or November 1, she couldn't tell for sure. On November 3 she went to her home town, Keszthely, and then met the first returning Russians all around Szekesfehervar. From the time the Russians returned to the time she left Hungary, respondent stayed at Keszthely. On November 20 she returned to Budapest intending to flee as soon as possible. Respondent had started to plan her escape after since the second Russian attack.

Regarding whether or not Hungary has gained anything from the October revolution, respondent believes that only the West gained anything. Hungary lost everything, she feels.

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

A. Respondent expected the West to exercise moral and economic pressures on Russia. Also, that they would make the Soviet troops withdraw from Hungary.

B. Her expectations were formed on the fact that for twelve long years the West's radio always told them to revolt against Russian oppression, and if they start on their own, they will be helped by the West. Hungry hoped that the West ~~might~~ would see what a tremendous effect the revolution would have on the other satellites, which would certainly follow Hungary's example had the revolution succeeded. Had all the satellites taken arms against Russia, she certainly could not have quelled an overall revolution.

C. Respondent had no contact with any foreigners between Oct. 23 and the time of her escape, nor any diplomatic personnel, etc.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. Before the war respondent's father owned two taxi-cabs and made a very good living. After the war, in 1945, these two cabs were taken by the Russians, and so he had to give up this business. He had then become a driver for in a state enterprise, the Trans-Danubian Power Station Co. He is still working for the same company. They owned two family houses in Keszthely, also a vineyard of 2 to 3 acres. Each of her parents has completed eight grades of school.

B. Respondent classifies the ~~main~~ social classes in Hungary as peasants, workers, and so-called intelligentsia. These intellectuals are civil servants, office workers, all people who have university education, and a degree, and, also, the students at the universities.

Respondent had contact with all social classes, the least with the peasantry. Respondent thinks that the Hungarian working class is a very hard working class and dependable. They were very dissatisfied with the Communist regime, and so were the peasants. The Hungarian peasant is extremely fond of its land and wants to improve it. They're willing to work if the land belongs to them. During the revolution they played a rather passive role, but it was not their fault, but lack of organization. They were wonderful, however, when it came to supplying the city-dwellers with food. They came in with truckloads and cars and distributed food free.

The intellectuals are, of course, the elite of the nation, even if, as in many cases, they were forced to comply with the regime. They hated it. Respondent believes that she belongs to the middle--class.

The class that was hardest hit by Communism, she feels, was the working class. They were tremendously exploited by the regime, and were very badly paid.

C. As to the attitudes of the different classes to each other during the revolution respondent felt, at that time, a common cause and common suffering somehow welded together all social classes. All differences disappeared at that time. Before the revolution the workers were not on very good terms with the peasants. They were rather envious because a peasant had a better living, and they could fool the regime much more. The workers did not feel there was very much difference between the intellectual class and themselves. There was not much love lost by the peasants for the workers either. The peasants also

envied the workers because they lived in cities. The intellectuals were held in great respect by the peasantry. The intellectuals held no animosity toward any other social class, but they always thought themselves above the others. There were changes in these attitudes, as mentioned before, during the revolution.

least

Communist

The ~~most~~ important factor in Hungary for an individual to get ahead was talent. The most important was class origin; then came political views. The situation was somewhat improved during the Imre Nagy regime in 1952 and 1953. In 1955 and 1956, however, the situation was just as bad as in the beginning of the Communist regime. The kind of individual that could get ahead in Communist Hungary was a person of peasant or worker origin and who pretends that he is satisfied with the regime and says so, and third, the type who can elbow his way to the top unscrupulously.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communism effected family life to a very great extent. Since the women in the families also had to work in order to make ends meet, family life was changed completely and not at all to the good. The reasons are evident. The woman cannot work and look after her family adequately at the same time. She cannot look after the children, influence nor educate them. Therefore family life deteriorated. According to the respondent's view point, these ~~major~~ changes were the greatest in the workers class.

B. Communism also changed the way in which children are brought up in Hungary. First of all, they have no religious teaching, and, secondly, they are politically indoctrinated as much as possible. Also, children are told they are free, and the authority of parents and teachers regarding discipline was limited. This change in education refers to younger and older children as well.

When the Communist regime took over in Hungary and schools were taken over by the state, co-educational system was introduced. Before the war this system was used only experimentally in Hungary, and its introduction has also effected the education of children.

Whether or not the child was more or less obedient under Communism, respondent could not tell. She believes it depends entirely on the authority of the parents or schoolteacher, and also which influence was greater, that of the school or the parents. The changes were the same for all social classes. There was certainly a conflict between school and parental values under the Communist regime. The outcome of this conflict depended entirely on which one of the two could exercise a greater power. She, for instance, just listened in school to what they told her in political indoctrination classes, and, as she put it, she put it out of her mind the very moment class ended. Generally, the parents could keep their children pretty much in hand. (As mentioned in the beginning, this girl was brought up in a small provincial town.)

C. Since people in Hungary, on the whole, were very poorly paid, there were fewer marriages than before the war. In view of co-education and Communist doctrine, sex behavior, of course, has also changed. But, respondent believes the regime cannot be fully blamed for this change, as young people are always more progressive than their parents. Respondent could not give any information regarding illegitimate children, ~~with~~

birth-control, etc. (On the whole, I felt some resistance, so I did not probe into it further.) She said prostitution was prohibited in Communist Hungary. Sexual matters, on the whole, were discussed by the government and given publicity by the press. Whether or not Communists are more or less sexually inhibited than other people, respondent thought this a silly question. She believes that Communism has nothing to do with sex.

D. Respondent does not think friendships were effected by Communism, at least, not in her experience. She knew that if her friends were to become Communists they probably had reasons, and, in their hearts, had not changed. Therefore, she believes one could continue a friendship and keep politics out of it.

E. Respondent could not tell about the increase in major crimes such as robbery, murder, rape, etc., as newspapers were keeping them ~~out~~ from the public.

Alcoholism has increased to such an extent that the Communist authorities raised the prices to more than double sometimes on all alcoholic beverages in order to ~~be~~ put a curb on alcoholism.

A juvenile delinquent or hooligan is a person, respondent said, who doesn't finish school, changes his job pretty often, and also, then, commits petty crimes. She believes that figures quoted on juvenile delinquency by the government are about accurate. The cause of this behavior is probably that the workers are so poorly paid and cannot make a good salary even if one works very hard. So, the young people want to lead an easier life and try to make an easier living, even if by illegal means. Hooligans are mostly from the working and intellectual classes. They are between the ages of 20 to 25. Respondent does not consider these acts really criminal in the strict sense of the word, but does not condone them. The parents usually feel very bad about it, and try to do their best to curb their children, but cannot achieve very much.

VII. RELIGION

A. Respondent feels that Communism in Hungary has certainly had a very strong effect on religious life. The religion hardest hit was the Roman Catholic, mainly because they are largest in number in Hungary, and, also, the Roman Catholic clergy or institutions owned large properties. Furthermore, Catholic priest indulged in politics too much.

In the lower grades of school, parents could enroll their children for religious instructions ~~//~~ if they wanted to do so. In the high-schools, however, all religious instructions ~~was~~ ~~was~~ omitted. The Communist regime mercilessly exposed the faults of the Roman Catholic church and the priests. The Protestant church, on the other hand, was on quite good terms with the regime. Also, the Protestant church was not as rich as the Roman Catholic, and respondent believes that the Protestant priests led a more puritanical life.

Regarding the effects of Communism on the Jewish religion, she could not say.

B. Respondent says religion plays a much smaller part in her life than in the lives of her parents, but, here again, she points out that this cannot be blamed entirely on Communism. Young people at all times are always less religious than the older generation. She believes that she is as religious as the averages person in Hungary. She does attend church quite regularly.

C. Regarding the relation between church and state, respondent most emphatically points out that no church, regardless which one, should indulge in politics at all. Priests should not be involved in politics. The church should be on friendly terms with the state, but thoroughly independent. The role of churches, on the other hand, in ~~xxxx~~ education is very important. Any kind of religion gives a moral standard to live by, and therefore, the role of churches should be active in education.

In such things as plays and movies, respondent believes that the church should not have ~~any~~ any responsibility for setting moral codes and standards.

D. Respondent does not know whether or not the Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism. However, she believes, since the Jewish leaders kept their silence, and did not practice their religion so openly, they were subject to less ~~per~~ persecution. Furthermore, as far as she knows, no Jewish rabbis took part in political life at all. She is sure that the Jews did not like Communism, either, and there was no change

in attitude under the Communist regime. It was more or less for material gains that the Jews joined the Communist Party in such large numbers. The Jews did take part in the demonstrations and also in the fighting during the revolution. Respondent does not know to what an extent the Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary. She believes that they might be afraid of anti-Semitism which could arise because of the Jews lived far better due to their keen business spirit, and for holding the most lucrative jobs. Also, because there were so many Communist Party members and AVO officers among the Jews.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Respondent believes that when people say the Hungarian youth, they mean those between the ages of 15 to 25, both sexes.

B. Respondent agrees wholeheartedly that the youth of Hungary took the lead in the revolution. The writers and authors before the revolution by forming the Petofi ~~group~~ were openly disclosing their displeasure with the regime and voicing their criticism. Participation of the youth of Hungary became general during the demonstrations and during the fighting. As in every revolution, it is always the young people who have more elan and who are more progressive. They do not know fear and have less to lose. ALSO THE Students in Hungary were not allowed to learn what they wanted, and were not allowed to chose their own profession. Even if graduated or received a diploma, he was not sure he was going to get a job. Also they were completely seal-off from the rest of culture. The older generation who is much wiser knows how much they could lose if something goes wrong. So they are more cautious before taking part in any uprising. Nevertheless, the older people held the young people and those who took part in the revolution in a very high esteem; they loved them, and the relationship between the two age groups became much better and they got much closer to each other than ever before.

C. Regarding the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years respondent gave the following information: "Tuition and education in Hungary, particularly at the high school and university level was still excellent. This is mostly due to the fact that they had to retain the old teachers. These were very well qualified for the job, many of them former priests who were excellent pedagogues. The majority of them thoroughly disagreed with the system. They didn't dare to say so, but the students always felt somehow that they had nothing in common with the Communist regime. Regarding history and political sciences of course they had to teach what they were told to. Some of course were Party members or alleged that they were, advocating Communism. But everybody knew that even those were not Communists at heart." *YKS*

"As previously said it is very important what class background you have. Vocational choice was restricted. In short, the quality of the education was extremely good. Politically the teachers were distinctly anti-Communists and they were very competent in their own subjects."

E. Referring to Communist indoctrination of youth, respondent stated as follows:

The Communists, indeed spent much time and effort in indoctrinating the younger generation in Hungary, without much result, however, as the revolution ~~showed~~ proved it. We had two to three hours per week political indoctrination courses. These courses came after school. They were so to say extra curricula^l, but had to be attended. *by everybody* Later on in every office, plant

or factory, they had the so-called 'political seminars'.

This intense indoctrination over-shot the mark. We became very political minded and in consequence, anyone who had a little brains could see for herself that Communist doctrine as preached is completely different from the way it was implemented in Hungary. Quick-thinking and bright young people soon found out all COMMUNIST lies; and we knew that this was only an ideology, and that even in Russia, Communist doctrine and Communist practise is quite different.

IX. Major DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. Our main dissatisfaction under the Communist rule in Hungary was the low living standards due to inadequate wages, the oppression of personal freedom, and freedom of speech; and under all the complete oppression and terror everybody had to live under in Hungary.

B. *Goviz's*

Apart from big political things, the people complained most about exploitation of the country by the Russians. And on the other hand we always had to hear of what and how much we got from them,

X ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The standard of living in Hungary under the Communist rule was just vegetating from one day to another for nearly everybody.

Myself and my family got along very badly financially during the last years in Hungary, and our standard of living has dropped considerably. There was never enough food and of pretty bad quality. For instance, there were periods when we could get food only once weekly. Clothing was very expensive. Regarding housing: this was not such a problem in the provinces where I lived. The greatest luxury ~~that~~/I considered when I was in Hungary was to own an automobile. In the provinces, clothing caused the most difficulty to all of us, because the goods were mostly directed to the cities where workers were living in great numbers. Our standard of living in the last ten years has changed due to the fact that my father was earning very little as compared to what he had earned before the war when he had his own business. Since we had very little money we missed more or less everything. There was a period in 1953 when my father earned a little bit more, and at that time our standard of living improved a little.

The so called professionals such as doctors, who also besides their jobs could have a private practise, and others specially qualified people always made a better living than anybody else.

accounts

"The policy of the regime accounted for the Hungarian standard of living in the last eight years. The whole country was exploited by the Soviet Union economically. The Hungarian people were left to live on the pittance."

B. As a chemist laboratory technician, respondent earned 730 forints per month. After reductions she received 700. She had no extra income, and received no premiums or other benefits. Her father and herself worked, her mother did not.

C. Retail prices in the State stores farm markets were different of course. The prices in the State stores were always lower; but on the other hand, you received much better quality food on the farm markets or open markets. Regarding clothes, the quality of the ready to wear dresses in State stores was pretty low. ON the other hand in the commission stores you got better goods. Also the prices were a little bit less, here. They always were regular seasonal changes in prices as to vegetables, fruits, etc. I cannot tell whether this change was greater in some years than in others.

Regarding the distribution of retail goods in Hungary; I can say that this was pretty bad sometimes.

N.

The factory and mining districts were always better supplied with any kind of goods: food or clothing, than the districts in the provinces; or else where the regime always wanted to passify these classes.

As for standard spare parts, it was sometimes very difficult to get them. Spoilage of good happened pretty often when the State stores stored fruits and vegetables too long; and then they just rotted away and were thrown out.

Primary goods such as fuel, coal and wood and clothing was always in short supply.

OR

"Sometimes they were unavailable and very often they were much too expensive. In the years of 1953 and 1954, under Prime Minister Nagy, the situation was slightly better."

Referring to the blackmarket, respondent said that in the provinces the blackmarket was not so general as in the cities. It was certainly not organized. The prices were much higher of course, but so was the quality, too. Legal outlets wouldn't have dared to refuse to sell goods unless paid a higher price than authorized. Blackmarket purchasing was dangerous, so people were very cautious about it. The penalties ranged from several years of jail for both parties/ taking part in the deed.

D. Respondent worked as a chemist's laboratory technician 48 hours a week, eight hours per day including the lunch break. Her work consisted mainly in assisting the chemist in preparing the prescriptions, also helping with the sale in the shop ~~outside~~ at the counter. She held that particular job as she was not accepted at the University. She wanted to train for teaching physical culture as mentioned before. Her boss being a friend of the family, her relations with him and with her co-workers was very cordial. She was satisfied in her job and believed her boss and her colleagues to be competent and well qualified.

In reference to the Hungarian health and compensation program, respondent stated that these were well organized. Workers received their vacations at reduced rates, transportation fees paid, and they were well cared for on very nice spas or health resorts. Everybody was entitled to two weeks paid vacation. The sick insurance plan provided them with free medical care, hospitalization, medicine. Sometimes they had to pay 15 percent of the price of the medicine only, but mostly they were free. The pensions on the other hand were a mere pittance, and kept to the minimum. You certainly couldn't have lived on it.

E. Respondent preferred to live in Budapest where she believed on the whole ~~the~~ the city workers were better cared for by the regime. On the other hand the general standard of living was higher in the agri-

cultural districts; where they always had more money.

Politically of course it was easier to live in a big city and to get lost in the crowd.

Regarding collectivization, the respondent said as follows:

In theory collectivization should have worked in Hungary, but in fact it did not. The peasantry of course objected most strongly to collectivization than the intellectuals and the workers. IN Hungary collectivization was just good for one single purpose; and that is exploitation. Agricultural products could be collected easier for transportation to Russia. The population only suffered under this system. The peasants were especially unhappy about it because the Hungarian peasant sticks to his own land and likes to work on his own land.

Yes, I have heard during the revolution that some of the collectives have been dissolved. The reasons for dissolution were as mentioned above, that the peasants preferred to work there own land.

As an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, I would certainly prefer private farm. First of all, I would be less exploited and also I would earn more than on a collective farm. Furthermore the rights of the agricultural workers are secured by the State anyway, so I couldn't be exploited.

Ideally I would like to see an independent private farming system in Hungary. The best innovations since 1955 were the mechanization of agricultural work in Hungary, and I certainly would keep that.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Regarding this paragraph the respondent can not give any information. She wa too young in 1948.

B. I have the impression that the Hungarian Communists who professed to be Communists before 1945 probably were so-called idealists. These were later on imprisoned by there fellow-party members. The Communist Party members later on, however, were people who joined the Party and said to believe in Communism, were mostly those who wanted to achieve a career or they were quite a few who were compelled to join the Party.

I certainly knew a few Party members, but these were mostly members who joined the Party so as not to lose their jobs. I certainly believe that most Communist Party members knew perfectly well that everything baloney, but they did it for material or personal gains.

The Communist Party line changed in 1953, when Prime Minister Nagy came into power. He tried to carry through a couple of reforms, but he soon was dismissed. Then Rakosi put on the damper again and everything was as befo~~re~~. With Gero it became even worse. The changing of the Party line always came from Moscow, a nd in fact under Moscow's orders. No Hungarian Communist had a view of his own. They all are puppets of Moscow. I certainly think that there must be a factional fight going on within the Hungarian Communist Party, also. I cannot say very much about the Communist Party befor '48, but as I said, in the years of '52 and '53 under the New Course, temporalálly the regns were slakened and so was Party disipline.

It is certainly very difficult to judge the top leaders of the Communist Party regarding their convictions. The Hungarian Communists on the whole play a very subordinate role, and I don' believe they have any sincere conviction. As human beings they are evil and diabolic people. I don't believe that they are in error. They are mostly out for personal and material gains. Maybe there are a few idealists among them, but I doubt it very much. There were a few among them who tried to put through there own ideas, such as for instance Rajk; but of course this was not tolerated by Moscow, and as ev~~er~~ybody knows he was executed. Later on very characteristically he was made a hero. To my mind he is a Communist new~~er~~ the less. He is not better or worse than Gero and company. Nagy also is also a Communist who experimented with a couple of reforms in 1952 and 1953, but he is not the man Hungary would need as a leader. He completely lost his head and his nerve during the revolution. Besides he too grew up on the Moscow bottle.

I believe that the motives of the rank and file members and those of the leadership are more or less the same. They both are striving for material and personal gains.

- I am sorry to say but I wish that all Communist would be hanged if and ever Hungary achieves independence.

C. Opposition to the Communist government before the revolution was already fermenting. Mainly among the intellectuals, the authors and writers. Some Several of their works such as _____ by Illyes _____ were handed down from person to person, though they were not published. At that time nobody would have published them. Later on the activities of the Petofi circle became more and more known. Myself, I first heard about the activities of the Petofi around the middle of October 1956.

Whether or not opposition behavior occurred of any kind occurred more often during some periods than others, I'm afraid I could not tell.

As to the activities of the intellectuals; these intellectuals had nothing new to say. IN a way they expressed in their manifestations more or less what everyone wished and wanted. I certainly regard them as a spearhead of the revolution. These people were not at all dreamers or impractical people. On the contrary, they were people who at last have put on paper what was fermenting for twelve long years during which period they were more or less compelled to silence. Freedom of thought is essential to every author or writer, after all. And this I think justifies their motives, both personally and collectively.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Referring to the Hungarian Secret Police that is to the AVH, respondent gave the following answers:

I would divide the AVH into distinctive classes: first, the officers and second the rank and file. The officers volunteered for their jobs or came from the rank and file, and of those who especially excelled in the wild acts as practised by the AVH. The men in the AVH on the whole were mostly those who were assigned by the Hungarian Army to serve in the AVH, so really they weren't responsible that they served with this unit. However, as to obtain the smallest of francs they had to do something for the regime, and that is why I said that a few of the men who obtained rank in the AVH were just as bad as the officers. Really, I cannot find words to tell about the cruelty and the tortures everybody knew of since everybody had a friend or relative who had a personal experience with the AVH. No normal human being could have endured to inflict the tortures and treatments as they did on their prisoners, executions and so on. I really cannot imagine why they did it. Mostly probably for personal gain. They were paid about ten times as much as anybody else in Hungary. Also there must have been a lot of perverted people among them. In fact in the first days when the Russians came in, the AVH was far worse than the returning Russian troops.

Yes, I did know somebody, a friend of mine who was in prison for so-called underground activities, and tortured several times in one of the AVH prisons. And he was released by the Freedom Fighters from jail. I have never heard of any AVH man who wanted to leave the AVH or suffered remorse.

As I have already mentioned it before, it is very true that Communist Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear, and it is certainly not an exaggeration.

It may sound awful from the mouth of a young girl, but where Hungary independent, I think the members of the AVH who took part in those wild deeds during the revolution and before the revolution during those long twelve years, certainly merit that they receive the same treatment that they gave to their victims.

Respondent could not say much about the regular police, but she thought that compared with the AVH they were somewhat better. Anyway they didn't deal with any political crimes, only with non-political matters-traffic control and the rest. They did their best, but respondent couldn't tell how competent and how honest they were. During the revolution she saw them fighting with the revolutionaries. Some of the regular police force went home and were rather passive. But those who fought she is sure they were fighting the AVH just as everybody else did.

B. Regarding the courts, respondent believes that the Hungarian courts, when administering justice in non-political cases were pretty unbiased. Regarding how the courts worked before 1955, the respondent cannot give any details as she was very young at that time. The same refers to the activities of the People's Courts in 1945-1947.

D. I do not think that the Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1948. Nobody in Hungary would think back as far as that. Besides, the Russian army attacking Hungary at that time was the so-called Czarist's army which had nothing in common with the new Russian regime and the Red Army. It was the behavior of the Russian troops in 1945 which caused a general hatred. As far as I remember my parents saying that they expected to be occupied by the Russians in 1944 and '45; after all Hungary had lost the war; but nobody believed that this military occupation would end in an all out colonization of all Hungary. According to the experiences of my family and my parents in with the Russian army in 1945, the Russian army was an uncivilized barbaric lot. To my mind primitive nations without culture can be easily indoctrinated and led by their leaders.

Referring to the Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution, respondent disclosed that the first troops and those who were stationed for a longer time in Hungary tried to be inconspicuous and lived quietly on the land. They had much money and this resulted in very high prices sometimes on the local markets. The relations were that of a peaceful co-existence. The Russian children which were very few out in the provinces, went to the same schools with the Hungarian children. Respondent didn't hear anything about Russian soldiers courting Hungarian girls or of marriages. Also she couldn't tell regarding contacts with officers and enlisted men - whether they differed or not. Nor did people care very much about social contacts with the Russians. Respondent believes that the officers and those who were more intelligent and had more education must have realized the difference between Hungary and Soviet Russia, especially in the standard of living and civilization. But the rest of the men who at the most had six grades of school just kept on repeating their well-known Communist slogans. Of course, none of them men or officers would have dared to criticize the situation, political or economic in Russia in front of a Hungarian. On the whole the Russian soldiers liked to be in Hungary as the living standard was very much higher, and they did not want to return to Russia. In their own way they quite liked the Hungarians. The above mentioned fact she either heard from her parents or from friends.

Both men and officers were billeted in their house in 1945. During the revolution she saw many trigger-happy Russians, but she never saw that they were deliberately aiming on people. On the whole they were rather friendly

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with the Hungarians; especially if someone could talk to them and explain to them what was happening they usually stopped fighting against the Hungarians all together. She didn't see any difference in behavior between officers and men. Regarding the age group, she couldn't tell how old or how young these soldiers were. Of course, as everybody knows, after after the first days, these troops were called back from Hungary and replaced by new ones. These new troops didn't even know where they were. They were told that they came to liberate Hungary from a Fascist rule. They did not know the Hungarians, and therefore, they carried out orders.

As I said before, I have seen a couple of times that Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians. Whether or not they refused to obey their superiors, I couldn't tell; there was such a confusion during the fighting. I also do not know for sure about Soviet soldiers deserting, but it was common talk. On one occasion in front of the Parliament I witnessed when the Soviet soldiers turned the gun of their tank against the AVH who was shooting into the crowd; but as I said at that time, I am not sure whether this was in self-defense, or whether they knew they were shooting the AVH. I never heard of any individual cases of Soviet-brutality-toward-Hungarians--during individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward the Hungarians during the revolution.

E. Respondent had very little to tell about the wheels of the bureaucracy since she lived in the provinces and had a small job with a friend. She only knew that the Party secretary was sometimes very much hated by the people with whom he was in contact. But sometimes they were quite liked by the people, according to their behavior. For instance, at Keszthely the Party secretary was loved by everyone. As far as she knew, in administrative offices, the old employees were more or less kept because they were needed there, and they did not have enough young people trained for their jobs. Of course there was in every office a man who had a good KADER, meaning that the regime had nothing against him; and these people were planted in an office. These were pretty of ten unefficient men.

On the whole the respondent could tell very little about the Communist regime bureaucracy. She never really came in contact with it.

F. Regarding getting around the regulations of the Communist regime, respondent said:

Oh yes, there was always a way of getting around the regulations, but mostly the best was to pull the ropes and through personal contacts. It was too dangerous to use bribery. In the provinces, bribery and pulling the ropes was not phenomena; but of course, for instance, if anybody wanted to enroll at a university, it was always useful if you

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had a couple of ropes to pull.

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Bribery punished and pretty severely at that; but also here it depended on how much pull the person who was convicted or was to be convicted had. You could get around pretty nearly everything in Hungary.

G. Regarding the competence the competence and the efficiency of the people who hold power in Communist Hungary, respondent said the following:

The real big-wigs like Rakosi and Gero must have had an old political background. They are better veteran Communists. They are extremely smart and intelligent men who, however use their brains for the wrong purpose. An AVH man does not need to have brains. They must be only cruel. IN fact, only a barbarian could endure it for a longer time. The Army leadership was in the hands of former officers. Little by little they were replaced by the new younger ones trained in the Communist doctrine. Some of the new generals who worked their way up in the Hungarian Army were of worker or peasant origin. They didn't have very much background. It has to be seen yet how they will make out.

Regarding the Russian Army leadership, I think this question is rather silly because I don't think that there is anyone in Hungary who could say anything about that.

The reason why the regime kept so many of the old civil servants and public administration officers is probably because during the ten years they could not bring up a new generation for this type of work. Therefore, their services were badly needed. In order to keep a check on them they had of course their own people planted in every office.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. I am completely at loss to guess what will probably happen in Hungary in the future or in the next few years. I do not see any solution for Hungary unless a general over-all solution can be found. I mean a global solution which includes not only Hungary, but all the other satellite nations. In my opinion Hungary's case can not be solved individually. The political and economic situation in Hungary at present will only be worse and worse, and terror will increase. What will in the near future is even more difficult to say. I am afraid that everyone will forget about what happened in Hungary if things go on as they do now. The Hungarians will certainly continue with the passive resistance, but where would they get their arms? Or do you believe that they would dare again? I am pretty sure that Kadar will not give in at all. If possible he will move more toward further Stalinist tightening. I have no hopes whatever regarding actions of the West at present. And in the mean time, Russia is trying to strengthen her position in Europe, by enforcing her military positions in the satellite nations everywhere.

Anything that would lift out the Hungarian nation from the present bleak situation- anything would be better. But I am afraid that the Polish solution is not the right one either. It simply cannot be a permanent solution and will never lead to a complete independence of Poland; and this would be the same with Hungary.

Knowing Russia, the only means which would bring about a radical settlement in Eastern Europe would be war; but this nobody wants. So there remains only one physical measure the West could employ against Russia, and this is a complete economic blockade for the Soviet Union and the satellite nations.

I do not believe that the USSR and the United States would go to war unless far greater things than Hungarian independence would be involved; because of the threat of atomic warfare I am pretty sure that the United States would not start a war. I am pretty sure that the What Russia would do of course, nobody knows.

I do not believe that any United Nations sanctions would affect Russia's attitude. Soviet Russia does no care about sanctions and arbitrations. As I said previously, I believe the only effective means would be the economic blockade.

Internal changes in the Soviet Union leading to a settlement in Eastern Europe - well, I believe that this would be the ideal solution for all Eastern European countries, because if this would happen, Russia would have her hands full within her own borders and

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couldn't be bothered by the others. But, I don't think anybody can say for sure whether these changes inside Russia could or would occur.

B. Regarding what people hoped for before the revolution, and thought about the prospects for Hungary; respondent said that nobody believed or even thought of a revolution. People were more or less resigned to their hopeless future, and were waiting for the promised assistance from the West. They also hoped that economic pressure would be exercised on Russia, and that the West would try to curb increasing Russian imperialism. All these hopes, however, were fading day by day, as nothing happened and the policy of the West didn't show any stiffening against Russia.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGIES

A. If Hungary were independent, I would like the country to be a republic. Regarding the political system, I would like to see several political parties and the party which has the largest number of votes should be the one which really governs the country. Regarding the economic system, I would return to the Capitalist system. Regarding relations with other nations, I would like to see the country in a mutual economic relationship with all countries, ^{Peaceful neutralism} and complete free economical and political life.

B. Since Hungary has always been an agricultural country, it is evident that the emphasis in an independent Hungary should be put on agriculture. The heavy industry should not be continued. We don't have enough ore and raw materials for this. On the other hand, the light industry should be developed. In consequence, the manufacture of machinery for instance, should be discontinued; and on the other hand, production of consumer goods should be stepped up. The growing of wheat should also be more encouraged in Hungary.

If the Communist regime were overthrown in Hungary, I believe that the State should control those heavy industries which will remain. Then all transportation enterprises such as railways, buses and power stations for instance. Factories which manufacture consumer goods, on the other hand, should go back to their private owners, just as well as the light industries.

Reg Regarding the State farms I would carry out land reform in the reverse, so to say; and I would like to see the Kolkhoses also dissolved. I do not believe that the State should put any curb as to how much land any one person or a family should own.

When asked what kind of government she would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent chose the one which guarantees personal freedom to the individual, the rights to criticize, to worship freely, and to be completely free in all ways. She said:

I believe that in a country where you are granted complete freedom, you surely are bound to succeed if you are willing to work. The granting of human rights would immediately lift the presently prevailing terrible atmosphere in Hungary.

Since in an independent Hungary everyone should be granted freedom of speech and all human rights, I certainly would not outlaw the Communist Party either for the very simple reason that I do not believe that the Communist Party has any future or rather would have any future in an independent Hungary. The Hungarians had enough of Communism.

C. I would like to see a completely independent and neutral Hungary. The same kind of position that Austria has at present. I would like to see the country keep up all diplomatic relations with every country, but not tolerate any political interference. The economic relations should be based on a correct and fair barter basis. I would not like to see any military relations with any of the countries.

Regarding the cultural relations, I certainly would certainly would keep them up with the surrounding nations as well as with the West. The above expressed ideas of mine refer to all Eastern European States, Western Europe, the United States and also to the USSR.

Since the Danubian Federation would mean a complete break from the Soviet Union I certainly welcome this idea; but I see some difficulties as to how it could be worked out. I would like to see the federation include Austria, first of all; then Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria; but by no means would I like to have Rumania in the federation. I believe that this is the general feeling about this question in Hungary.

I do not find ~~find~~ Hungarian acceptable, and no Hungarian ever does. A territorial adjustment would be certainly the least we could accept. And this is the way all Hungarians feel about this matter. Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary in large cannot be resettled. This is not the solution. Territories where these minorities are living should be returned to Hungary.

This whole question is very important-~~important~~ to me; and I believe it the more so because the recent events in-Hungary have shown that the minority problem is a very great one in Central Europe. I believe that the Czechs and the Rumanians have not joined the Hungarian Revolution for the very reason that they thought, should the Hungarian revolution win, with their assistance, the minority problem would then come up; and in this case Czechoslovakia and Rumania would have to return the territories to Hungary.

XV. FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Regarding the Twentieth Party Congress and Khrushchev's secret speech, respondent said that the Twentieth Party Congress was carried in detail by all Hungarian people; and so was Khrushchev's speech. She couldn't tell of course if this was what we call the 'secret speech.' She enumerated the resolutions of the Congress such as the change in policy to strengthen the ties with the West, peaceful coexistence, better cultural relationships, etc.

and the un-American Activities Committee, she has heard as much as the Hungarian peoples printed. She heard that ~~the~~ Bricker, Senator McCarthy and the Committee was persecuting innocent people, and had to discontinue these activities. Respondent didn't know anything about the fall of Peron. There was very little she could tell about Rakosi's private life. His activities were kept pretty well in secret. Now and then they saw a picture of his Mongolian wife. During the revolution the Freedom Fighters found his luxurious apartment, and at that time the Hungarian Press carried in full detail what they found there.

B. Regarding respondent's general reading habits, she said that she was a regular newspaper reader. She read the SZABAD MEP, SZABAD IFJUSAG. She mostly read two magazines, one called Life and Science, and the other about theatre and art. She seemed to be quite widely read as she read all Hungarian classics and some of the Moderns. She read German, English, and Russian in Hungarian translations, classic and modern alike. When asked what was the general opinion of the Hungarian newspapers under the Communist regime, respondent said that:

Nobody believed ever what the papers put out. on the other hand it was good to read them because we could compare their news with the news of the foreign radios. And it was easy to find out where and how they lied. In 1952 and 1953, however, the newspapers were a little more reliable. Especially distrustful were the foreign political news and economic news. There were very few statistics that you could ever believe.

Yes, we read the Russian newspapers regularly at school, sort of translating; and we found that they were exactly on the same pattern as the Hungarian ones. I never read any publications from other satellite nations. It was quite easy to get newspapers from any other satellite country of from the Russian ones. The exception was Yugoslavia because of the governments constant bickering with Tito.

Regarding publications from the West, respondent did not read any. She did not ~~she~~ know whether there were any legal publications or whose sale was officialy

permitted. As to illegal publications, respondent saw a few pamphlets. She didn't know of any books that were illegally published.

C. Respondent did get news by word of mouth from friends or relatives. There was mostly news from Radio Free Europe. Whether or not they were reliable depended on the person who gave it to her. Some people liked to exaggerate, others, not. Respondent as a rule did not pass on information herself.

F. Regarding respondent's general theatre and cinema habits, she said that since she lived in the province there was no other form of entertainment than the movies. This she attended about once weekly sometimes more. She did not go and see any Russian pictures. She saw mostly the Western films, coming from the West, mostly French and Italian. These were allowed in Hungary. Then she saw a couple of Hungarian pictures. She could not name any special two plays or pictures she saw in recent years, but pointed out that the new modern trend in the Italian movie industry pleased her very much, and their films were extremely good. Contrary to these, she found that the few Russian pictures she saw were very bad. They were corny and exaggerated. While in Budapest she liked Shakespeare's Othello, and Ibsen's Nora very much in the theatre.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. As to the possibility of a change in Russia, respondent said:

It might be possible that there will be a change within Russia. This, however, I do not believe will be achieved by a revolution; rather by a gradual change. Communism in Russia has lasted for several decades already, so I do not think that the people feel their oppression so intensely, as for instance in Hungary.

I do think that anybody knows the feelings of the people in Russia about the Communist regime; at least not people inside Hungary; and I do not think consider this question very good.

I believe though, if Russia had a free election the government that would come out as a result would be a democratic government.

As to the overall aims of the Russian leaders, respondent believes that the Russians strive to achieve world domination. This is their main aim. In the meanwhile, they want to build up their economic bases all over Europe, in the satellite nations as well as the Far and Near East, as it has been proved by recent events.

Respondent believes that the personal motives are to remain in power personally, and also they strong nationalists, although they don't admit it; and this is where the main difference lies between the Hungarian Communist and the Russian Communist. The Hungarian Communists are kept on the rope so to say, and they are Muscovite puppets, and not nationalists at all.

B. Regarding the relative popularity in Hungary of other nations/ of Eastern Europe, respondent gave them in the following order: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Eastern Germany and Rumania. She said that she classified them according to the preferences of the peoples. But she said she believes that it would be about the same regarding their governments. The reason for the above classification lies in the fact that Poland had much in common with Hungary during History. There were even times when they had the same King. They were sharing political tradition. Both countries were oppressed several times in the past, and also they fought for their freedom together. Regarding the others, she said that Hungary got on much better with the Czechs than the Rumanians; and regarding Bulgaria, Hungary never had any troubles with them. Respondent believes that these feelings were shared by all Hungarians. Respondent thought that if free elections were held in the above countries,

none of them would keep a Communist regime. As to the standards of living, the respondent put Czechoslovakia on the top of the list, then Eastern Germany, then Hungary, followed by Poland and Bulgaria; while she put Rumania last.

C. Regarding Poland, respondent was of the following opinion;:

Polish development since the autumn of 1956 certainly meant a great change. At last the changes have started. But in my mind it depends entirely on the world political situation- how they can go

Golmulka's policy represents a step in the right direction; but I do not believe that if no other changes are forth coming in world politics, that she can go much further. I do not believe that Golmulka can or will be able to ask a complete independence from Russia by his methods, and following the way he is on now. He certainly will receive some economic concessions, but I do not think that he will take up arms to achieve complete independence. MY opinion has not changed during the last five or six months.

In my opinion events in Poland have effected events in Hungary in a way that after the Polish thaw, the Hungarians hoped that the situation in Hungary would be improved, and the other satelite nations. During and after the October revolution, the events in Poland have not effected the Hungarian situation.

Respondent did not hear about the freedom of expression in Poland prior to Golmulka's rise to power. She did hear about the Posnan riots and the Posnan trial as it was carried by the Hungarian Communist Press.

Respondent Whether or not the respondent would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take the path along the Polish lines, she said:

Regarding the number of people killed in Hungary during the revolution and the economic damages she suffered, it certainly would have been wiser to take a path along the Polish lines. This would have happened if the people had known if the West would not help them. On the other hand they wanted to achieve more than Poland did, and that is why they thought that the revolution was the only way to do it.

D. On Yugoslavia and Tito, the respondent said the following:

Yes, I do believe tht Tito in a way was the originator of National Communism. Also, I think that Tito's policy is of great influence regarding the Eastern European nations. Nevertheless I do not believe that he is better than any Soviet Communist.

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The only difference is that he is a nationalist first of all, and a Communist only after.

Regarding Tito's relationships with Eastern European nations, I think that there is only one point of view that he considers important and that is the economic advantages. He even tried to approach Gero regarding the Hungarian uranium. As to Russia, Tito wants to be completely independent from the Soviet Union. He also is smart enough politician, and keeps up good relations with all the Western states. During the Hungarian revolution, he behaved as it was expected of him. He is and will be a fence sitter. Radek was a fervent follower of Tito and imagined that he could change the Hungarian Communist regime and divert from Moscow. Nevertheless he was a Communist as all the others. National Communism would not be the solution for Hungary. I maintain that the healthiest political system is to have several political parties, and every body be allowed to express his or her political opinion freely.

I believe that Tito's popularity is on the wane right now because he would like to remain in power by using military force. As to internal conditions, in Yugoslavia, as far as I know, the personal freedom is more granted a little bit more than in Hungary. Freedom of speech, however, not. The living standard is not too good, and labor conditions cannot be good either. There are a great many unemployed in Yugoslavia.

E. In respondents opinion, the Communists ^{was unwise} gained control of China because this country is an oppression of several hundred years; and also because the people were divided in different castes. So when the Communists came along and promised them everything they would like to hear; it is evident that they could easily get the hand there. The respondent believes, indeed, that China is more independent of Moscow than any other Communist country, due to the fact that being an enormous country it cannot be so easily conquered as were the other small European nations. China has gained her political importance entirely through Communism, and now she plays a very important part in International Politics.

Regarding relations between England and India, I do not know much about this question. I only know that India wants to be independent from England.

In reference to the Suez situation, respondent said that the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was just as much illegal as had been that of the Russians in Hungary. She does not approve of the Israeli invasion either; but believes that Egypt was right in nationalizing the Suez Canal. As to events in Egypt influencing the events in Hungary, respondent

Certainly they did to a great extent; for if the Suez situation had not been brought up at the very moment when the Hungarian ~~situation~~ revolution started, Russia wouldn't have had a leg to stand on the United Nations.

F. Respondent believes that the living standard in West Germany is very high and is on the increase. Of the Germans being dangerous in starting another war, respondent said:

It might so happen that the Germans could or would start a new war, though events in the Fall of 1956 seem to contradict this, as they did not take advantage of the situation, and did not start a war in order to unite the two parts of the country. I believe that the only reason why the Germans would start the war would be the unification of Germany.

I don't think that I can give a straight answer whether the West German military strength is superior to that of Britain or France. To my mind you must make a difference between a moral strength and a numerical strength. Numerically I believe that the West German army is inferior to that of Britain or France, but I think that the Germans are better soldiers than the British and French especially. I have no idea how long the term of Military service is in the West German army.

When the Germans occupied Hungary the respondent was very young. What she knows of the German occupation troops at that time is mainly from hear say from her family. She understood that the German occupation army was extremely disciplined; they were very kind to the people. The only thing that the Hungarians didn't like about them was the Nazi pride and their belief that the German race was superior to any other. Later on when confronted with the Russians they were very brave and they fought to the very end. Also they were extremely disciplined.

I do not think that anyone could compare the Russian occupation army to the Germans. The Russian army was uncivilized, had no culture, and was completely barbaric.

As everybody knows now, when the Russians came in in 1944 they were looting and raping all over the country. They were an undisciplined horde of Mongolians. In consequence, the Russian occupation was more distasteful to everybody. The German army was better disciplined, both officers and enlisted men. I do not need to say now, after what I have said that the Russian occupation force was most unfortunate in Hungary.

G. In reference to the British Labor Party the respondent said:

I think that the British Labor Party is a bunch of drawing room Communists; but they don't approve of Communism as practised by the Russians. They are rather on the Socialist side, especially since the events in Hungary. I also believe that the Western Socialist Parties are out more for an economic reform than for political reforms.

I believe that the living standard is highest in Western Germany at present; followed by England, Italy, Egypt, the Soviet Union and Greece.

H. Regarding what surprised the respondent most about America during her first few months here, she answered:

While at Bard College we had a lecture on the American life in general, and I was amazed how freely and sincerely that gentleman dared to criticize the American way and express his opinion. This freedom of speech I never have experienced during my life in Hungary.

I thoroughly disapprove of the passive foreign policy of the United States at present. I believe that it should be more dynamic. As to what the US policy should be, I think that since nobody in the world wants a third world war, I again have to say that a complete break with Russia and the Satellite nations in economic fields would be the only solution. I think that it is no use to enforce an economic blockade against the Soviet Union only. Unfortunately for the people of the satellite nations it must include also them. But this is the only solution. Russia profits from every thing that is going to the satellite nations, so it would be unreasonable to continue economic relations with these countries. The only exception of course is Yugoslavia, but it refers to Hungary. I did not ~~change~~ change my attitude about this point since I came to the US.

Regarding the American government's relationship with the present government of Hungary, I think that diplomatic relations should be maintained. Trade relations as pointed out previously should be stopped.

Respondent believes that the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors. She believes that these visitors should be newspaper men, people of the trade unions, also politicians. She believes that they ought to be informed by the recent Hungarian immigrants, what to look for and how when in Hungary. And they ought to be warned to open their eyes wide. She believes that

people at home would like to receive Western books and periodicals. Where the distribution of these is permitted they should be distributed through the regular channels such as book stalls, book stores etc. She also believes that it would make a favorable impression at home were the exiles associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications; for then they would feel somehow that the emigres have not forgotten them and are trying to keep up relations with their former home land.

Respondent knew of the Marshall Plan. When asked for her general attitude she said:

I believe that the United States wanted bases in Europe, economic and military alike. The United States also wanted to have more allies in that particular sphere. I do not believe that it was entirely an act of good will. To receive and to accept American help certainly means some sort of obligation. Nevertheless, the Hungarians would gladly accepted the Marshall Plan relief/ had they been allowed that by their Communist puppets. Anything would have been better than Soviet domination.

Regarding the Korean War, respondent could not tell why America became involved in this war.

J. When asked about the United Nations and its attitude during the Hungarian revolution, the respondent was very emphatic in her answers:

The United Nations could certainly have effected the situation in Hungary during the last few months of 1956 had it acted swiftly. In a situation like this immediate actions are needed and not session after session. Either the United Nations did not have the power to act or did not have the will. They were taken in by the Russian bluff. They failed to send the United Nations Commission immediately to Hungary, and probably due to the situation as in Suez, they failed to send United Nations troops. Further more the only effective weapon/ against Russia, the economic blockade, has not been used. In short, I think that the United Nations as it is now, is unable to deal with a serious situation as was the case in the Fall of 1956 in Hungary. In consequence I do not believe at all that the United Nations could enforce any effective action in Hungary in the foreseeable future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. Unfortunately I am unable to think of anybody who I could name as the greatest living Hungarian.

B. Respondent answers to questions about a number of selected personalities were as follows:

Imre Nagy- I-am He is a Communist and it is very unprobable that if Hungary should become independent, he would remain in power. Nevertheless, during the past twelve years, under his regime life in Hungary has become a little bit better and more bearable.

Cardinal Mindszenty- I think that he should not have been involved so much in politics. A priest should never indulge in politics.

Laszlo Rajk- He was a fervent national Communist.

Erno Gero- This one is a Muscovite gangster.

Janos Kadar- He is a puppet only and completely on Moscow's strings. Why the hell he doesn't commit suicide, I really do not know.

Of General Eisenhower I believe that he is a peace-loving man; and if he has not acted in the case of Hungary as was expected, I can not blame him. For after all he has to consider America's interests first.

Secretary General Hammarskjöld - is just as weak as the United Nations. I-do-not-know-anything-about

I do not know anything about Mr. Dulles other than that he is the Secretary of State.

A former Prime Minister of England, I think that Mr. Eden has fouled up the situation completely. F in Suez completely, from a British point of view.

I know that Mr. Truman is a former President of the United States, but I couldn't say anything else about him.

I also do not know anything about Mikoyan and his activities.

Nehru certainly wants to achieve complete independence for India and peace. He also wants to play safe with Russia.

General Chiang Kai-chek is the leader of Nationalist China.

Ferenc Nagy - everybody in Hungary including myself

had a bad opinion of him. He was not the
impeccable politician

Mr. Roosevelt the President of the United States
during the war has sold out Eastern Europe to
Russia at Yalta. That's all we can say.

Chancellor Adenauer strives to achieve German unity.

What do you expect me to say of Stalin? I do not think
that anybody in the course of history has ever
achieved his aims by such cruel means. As

As far as I know, Malenkov wanted to come into
power and is a great adversary of Khrushchev and
Bulganin.

Generalissimo Franco, the dictator in Spain, fought
against the Russians, that is against Communism,
long before the others did. He seems to be a very
staunch patriot who is acting for the benefit
of his people.

I have never heard of Aneurin Bevan. Who is he?

Khrushchev plays a double game. He wants while
he a staunch supporter of peaceful politics,
this he pursues only if it is in the interest
of Russia.

I have already given my opinion on Tito. I don't
think that I could add anything.

I don't know anything about Peron.

Molotov is a Stalinist down to the core.

Ollenuer- Who is he? I never heard his name.

Churchill was the British Prime Minister in World War II.
Hungary would have fared much better had his ideas
been accepted.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Regarding her views on people who escaped from Hungary, the respondent said:

The people who left Hungary after the revolution were mainly those who first of all took part in the fighting; the escaped political prisoners who were afraid of being rounded up again. Also many young people fled who in Hungary were not allowed to continue their studies as they wanted, and also ~~were~~ who were dissatisfied with the low standard of living. Those staying home were mainly people with families or the older people who didn't have the courage to leave their homes. Also they lacked the confidence to face an absolutely unknown and unsafe future.

I am convinced that we chose the easier way out; and I terribly sorry for those who stayed behind and must face a terrible life. I also believe that many of them were maybe better patriots than we are. On the other hand, I am pretty well convinced that our relatives and friends who stayed behind knew that we had our reasons for fleeing. Assuming that Hungarians had the chance to come out to the West, I believe that the about the same number would stay as have now.

B. Respondent heard of the Hungarian exile organizations and individuals, but couldn't name any of them off hand. She only had contact with the Szabadsag Harcos Szoetseg formed by General Kiraly and the Hungarian Student Associations. Both organizations have been quite recently formed in the United States. On the list of organizations, the MHBK was the only one she could elaborate on a little bit. She knew that this organization had its headquarters in Austria, and they were active for the past ten years and had a great number of members.

I really don't know what they did, for at the time of the revolution several of their members went up to their leaders; asking their advice what to do. Whether to go over ~~to~~ to Hungary to fight or not, and so on and so forth. And in the end they couldn't get any reasonable advice from them.

On the list of individuals of Ferenc Nagy she made the same comments as before.

In reference to Otto Hapsburg she said she very little about him, except that now he is pursuing political activities in the United States.

I believe in the end an Austro-Hungarian monarchy would be quite a good solution for the Austrians as well as the Hungarians. ~~I~~

Her opinion of Admiral Horthy was:

N.

THAT WENT INTO EXILE PREVIOUSLY should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revised parties.

E. Respondent has every intention of going back to a free and independent Hungary. Also she wants her children if she ever has any, to learn Hungarian, as well as English in the United States.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Respondent listened to Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. Both stations were more or less always jammed. It also depended on the radio apparatus that someone had. The bigger and larger ones had somewhat better reception. She only listened to the emission in Hungarian. She used her own radio and listened mostly alone, but got some use from other people who also listened regularly to the Western radio emissions. It certainly wasn't advisable to listen to the foreign broadcasts and talk about it; but people were never really deterred by this fact. It was forbidden under penalty. When asked what kind of penalty, she couldn't give specific answers. Respondent did not have any preference for one station or another; and since she did not listen very regularly she could not say if one station was more expert than another.

Regarding the effects of the foreign radio broadcasts, before the revolution she believed that they had a large audience and people more or less "took in" everything that came from these Western stations.

I personally did not listen regularly because from the very beginning I had the impression that the Radio Free Europe was talking too much, and in the end I was right.

During the revolution however, everyone including myself listened to the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. Since everybody believed that the help would be forthcoming.

I strongly resent, however that these foreign radio broadcasts encouraged the people and made them believe strongly that they spoke with some authority.

Radio Free Europe should continue in my opinion to broadcast into Hungary, however, not in the old way. They should stick to actual facts only. They should give straight political and economic news; also news about the refugee Hungarians in the United States. But for goodness sakes, stop with anti-Communist propaganda. This is no more needed in Hungary. Programs about life in Western Europe and the United States would certainly be very welcome in Hungary and of great interest. I also would welcome cultural programs: music, literature, etc.

B. Regarding the FEP leaflets, respondent did not hear of them. She had heard, however of the Twelve Demands. Respondent amended her previous statement. She remembered all of a sudden that she had seen leaflets at Kethely, her hometown. Some of her friends had shown them to her. They were leaflets with some cartoons. She gave them back after she had seen them. There risk involved in picking up any kind of leaflet of course; but this did not deter people. Respondent believes that leaflets certainly

have some influence regarding the general attitude in Hungary. They give information and statistical data. Also foreign political events which the Hungarian radio and the news papers do not publish.

On the other hand she also believes that no serious results can be achieved by throwing pamphlets; especially now after the experiences the Hungarian people had with Radio Free Europe during the revolution.

D. What their goals and motives were; my goodness, how can I answer this. Did they want to provoke the revolution? If so, why didn't they help? I really couldn't tell. Maybe their goal was to weaken Communism in Eastern Europe. I also believe that different organizations such as BBC and VOA, Radio Free Europe had the same objective.

N.

XX CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent presented her own views as follows on how children should be brought up:

To my mind it is very important that the parental authority should be enforced when the children are small.

The second most important thing is that the child should get religious training.

Children should be prepared for the hardships of life, mentally and physically. They must be educated in a way so that they become decent honest citizens. Sports as well as culture is very important. Children should be taught to appreciate what is beautiful. They should learn to love to read, of course only books which are written for their special age group. As previously said, children must be disciplined. This does not mean that you have to use physical punishment. A few slaps, however, now and then, especially with smaller children, never did any harm to anyone. Treatment cannot be the same for boys and girls; and also it differs greatly as they grow up. By the time a child has reached adolescence, there shouldn't be need anymore for the discipline. But by that time they should be able to judge for themselves what is wrong and what is right.

Respondent gave the following example about herself: She was rather a tom-boy when she was a small girl and always had fights with her playmates. If she was too aggressive, or beat them up too much, then the parents did not talk to her for a couple of days, depending upon her offense. Among the people she knew who had children six years or older, she remembers that they always punished children. It did not matter upon the sex of the child, but it depended upon the age of the child. Respondent also believes that this varies for the various social classes. The intellectual class educates its children much better. They are much stricter with them. The working class and the peasants on the other hand, beat them much more. In the last ten years there were many changes in this respect, in as much as the authority of the parents and the teachers has lessened.

As a rule physical punishment was abandoned in Hungary for boys around 14 or 15, and girls somewhat earlier. This refers also to the other sort of punishments in general. Communism, in her opinion did bring about changes as physical punishment was discontinued at school. What the parents did at home was of course a different matter. But on the whole, the frequency of parental punishment was less, and they tried other methods to enforce discipline. Also they had to abandon punishment at an early age. X/

In comparing the ways of enforcing discipline in the period before the Communist regime and after, respondent said that:

Techniques of discipline before Communism consisted of using the rod. Boys sometimes got a good beating up. Girls received taps on the tips of their fingers. Physical

N.

punishment regime as mentioned before has completely been abandoned, so the teachers had to resort to other methods. During the Communist regime they tried to enforce discipline by using strict words so to say, giving them a good dressing down.

Respondent values honest out-spokenness most in a friend. She does not believe that real and good friendships have changed under Communism.

THE END