

II. MAJOR SALIBICE AID WARM-UP QUESTIONS

"I believe that the most important things that the American public ought to know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 are that this revolution was the ~~xxxxxx~~ revolution of the entire Hungarian nation and its main purpose was to throw off the Russian yoke. It was a general up-rising and it was not the revolt of a certain social class. It was the revolt of the Hungarians as a nation."

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

A. IN THE evening of October 22 respondent stayed at home. Her husband attended the meeting of the students at the University of Technical Science. When he returned he told her about the scheduled demonstration on the 23rd, and also about the ~~points~~ twelve points the students had drafted. On October 23 respondent went to her office as usual. This was on the outskirts of Budapest in the Zuglo. One of her co-workers went to town during the day and returned telling about the demands of the students. In the afternoon she returned home and waited for her husband's return. All over the city she saw the hand-made posters of the students containing the 12 points on every wall and tree. When joined by her husband they went to the University of Technical Science. She left him there and went to her HOME in the Fo Utea. Later on she joined the crowd gathering around the Bem statue in Buda. Here she heard the crowd shouting the slogans such as "Russians go out.", "Death to the AVH.", "We want Nagy". She returned to her apartment and joined her husband. In the evening they heard Gero's speech around 8 to 8:20pm on the radio. They were very much infuriated because they didn't believe that Gero could so flatly turn down all the demands. After Gero's speech on the radio they went out again and joined the crowd and then tried to get as near as possible to the radio building because they were hoping to hear the twelve points read on the radio. At Rakosi Street they met the young people coming from the Municipal Park where they had demolished Stalin's statue. By that time the crowd was so dense that they couldn't reach the radio building and stopped in front of the Astoria Hotel. Here they heard the shooting which was going on around the radio station and she saw the first wounded being carried on stretchers. The sight of blood nauseated her too much and she got scared ~~xxxx~~ so that she wanted to return home by all means. Her husband tried to stay but she did not let him. So they walked on and took the short-cuts and finally at 11:30 they arrived at her in-laws home. Here they stayed overnight.

On October 24 she couldn't hold back her husband any longer and he and his father left for the town. The 25th and 26th of October were the worst days. There was very heavy gun-fire going on quite near. The revolutionaries installed gun around ~~NEST~~ NEAR the block and were ~~shooting~~ SHELLING the Officers Academy situated at the Ulloi Ut. The students of this academy resisted on the first day and shot back. Later on they surrendered and joined the revolutionaries. During the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ demonstrations she was immensely happy, and she cried for joy for couldn't believe that such a thing could happen after twelve years of oppression. On the other hand she was quite scared and on the evening of October 23, when the shooting started and

she saw all the wounded she just broke down and cried all the way home thinking what has happened to all the people who were killed.

Respondent thought that first of all everyone wanted the government to act on the withdrawal of the Russian troops. This was the first and main demand. They wanted Nagy Imre to form a government and that the hated AVH be dissolved immediately.

Regarding the possible outcome she never believed that fights ^{they} would start in order to achieve freedom. The past ten years were so oppressed that everyone was much too scared and she never thought that the people would have dared to start a revolution. At the beginning she sincerely hoped that the demonstrations would be successful, but after hearing Gero's speech she knew that the government would not give in. She would not have accepted any concessions from the government. Only the Twelve Points.

She said the demonstrators were mostly people from 14 to 26 years old and there were less girls than boys, but there was still quite a number of girls. These were the people she saw marching. The older people stood around in door-ways mostly but cheered wildly. In her group she saw mostly students. The leadership of the demonstrations was in the ~~hands~~ hands of the university students. These were the boys who drafted the Twelve Points. Otherwise the whole demonstration was spontaneous. She did not see anyone who had been appointed as an over-all leader or a local leader. The crowd just became larger and larger with every step.

B. Respondent believes that the revolution went out of hand and turned into fighting when the AVH started to use arms in front of the radio building. The only way that the fighting could have been avoided would have been for the government to have accepted the Twelve Points. On the other hand she doesn't believe they would have accepted them because by accepting it would have meant the end of Communist regime.

Respondent first heard the revolutionary slogans on October 23 in the afternoon when the students came from the Bem statue. The word "Freedom Fighter" she first heard on ~~the~~ October 25. At first only the young people from 14 to 28 took part in the actual fighting. Later on they were joined by the soldiers who deserted. These were Hungarian soldiers from 20 to 22, this being the military age. Gradually the older generation also joined in wholeheartedly. Girls also, but these were smaller in number. The fiercest fighters were the university students and ~~also~~ also the tough boys of the 8th and 9th districts. These were the sons of workers mostly. But in the end one could say that everybody joined in the fighting.

As to where and how the fighters got their arms she only heard that they picked them up at different arms ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ factories. As for the leaders of the fighters she heard only one name mentioned during the revolution who was supposed to be the leader. This was General Maléter.

Respondent was rather pessimistic about the out-come of the revolution because she never believed that the Russians would withdraw and she always had the feeling they would return and crush the revolution, unless, of course, Western help came.

Gero made a short radio speech on ~~the~~ October 24 which she heard and he stated that under the provisions of the Warsaw Pact the government had called the Russian troops stationed in Hungary for help. As to the return of the Russian army on November 4, Gero was in Russia already and she believes the Russians would have come in anyway even without the Hungarian government asking them to do so. She still believes that this was the case.

C. Respondent spent the days between the time ^{of} the Soviet withdrawal and the reinvasion mostly roaming around in the city when the situation quieted down a bit. She also went to her apartment in the Fo Utca. They withdrew all the money they had in the bank and hoarded foodstuffs. She did not go back to ~~xxxxx~~ her office except once on Nov. 3 to get her pay check.

On Nov. 2 there was a fierce fight going on between the AVH guards who were surrounded by the Freedom Fighters in the Fo Utca AVH building. The AVH men wanted to break out and the revolutionaries tried to prevent this.

Respondent never believed that the Red army had retreated in ~~xxxxxx~~ earnest. She first heard that their withdrawal had been halted on Nov. 4 at dawn. The same day she saw the Russians arrive and saw guns and tanks on the bridges over the Danube.

The time between Nov. 4 and 7 respondent spent most of her time with her family in the cellar of their apartment house. They were near the Ministry of Light Industry and much shooting was going on at that time. After that she went back to her father-in-law's place in the 8th district. As she walked along the big boulevard she saw the terrific damage the Russian tanks had caused. Not ~~xxxx~~ even after the ~~xxxx~~ siege in 1955 did this section of the city look so bad. Houses were blasted and she saw the Kilian Barracks burning. All along the ^{Street} Uj[?] she saw many dead.

Respondent had already planned her escape around Nov. ~~31~~ 1. but she was too scared of the Russians. Her husband was not so keen on leaving. She listened to the Radio Free Europe messages from people who had already escaped and they told how comparatively

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easy it was. So she kept nagging her husband and finally he agreed. They talked it over with another young couple, said good-bye to their parents on Nov. 28 and left on Nov. 29.

Respondent feels that Hungary has gained nothing by the revolution. She says she has lost everything.

of help
IV. EXPECTATIONS FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "Regarding our expectations of help during the revolution I could say that we had two main hopes. One was that the United Nations would enforce the sanctions against Russia and second, that Western help would come in some form. Which form we could not say because we knew that an armed interference would mean war."

B. "Our basis for our hopes were the radio broadcasts to which we listened day and night during the revolution and which transmitted the United Nation sessions."

C. Respondent did not come into any contact with any foreigners between Oct. 23 and the time of her escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's father worked in the insurance field before the war. At that time respondent was very young and she does not know what ~~xxxxxx~~ his income was. She says they lived well above the average and even kept a servant. From 1942 to 1945 he served in the Hungarian army in the army supply corps. In 1945 he was an American prisoner of war in Austria and returned in 1946 to the same job. But after a year he was dismissed. Then he got jobs as a book-keeper, but the income was much lower and so her mother started to work. She was a dressmaker. They owned two family houses in what is now Roumania. Her father was a graduate of the Commercial Academy and her mother had eight years of grade-school and four years in special training for dress-making and allied small crafts.

B. Respondent believes there are four social classes ~~in~~ in Hungary. The workers, the peasants, and the intellectuals. Fourth she thought would be the top echelon of the Communist Party members, and those people who served the regime. She has only had contact with the workers; none with the peasantry. (Her attitude toward the peasantry was ~~a~~ typical of a city dweller.) She did not like them very much although she admits she doesn't know them very well. She believes that the working class in Hungary is a very reliable class, especially as seen during the revolution. The intellectuals ~~had~~ had it very bad during the Communist regime so this class was the one who was the most opposed to the regime. Respondent feels she belongs to the intellectual class. She believes the hardest hit by the Communist regime was what she calls "former intellegensia." ~~She~~ She wanted to differentiate between "new" intellectuals who grew up under Communist regime. ~~The~~ "former intellectuals" were persecuted because of their class origin.

Then, of course, the rich peasants lost a great deal under Communism.

Respondent feels the working class did not care very much for the peasantry. They were rather jealous because the ~~xxx~~ peasants lived better. The workers did not like the intellectuals very much either because they were of the opinion that this class was putting on airs and playing the lord. The peasantry however still respected the intellectuals, but having never lived in the country respondent did not know how the peasantry felt about the workers. The intellectuals preferred the working class to the peasantry. She does not think there has been any changes in these attitudes in the last ten years.

E. "The chances in Communist Hungary for an individual to get ~~xxx~~ ahead I believe depended ~~xxx~~ on what political views he pretended to follow. The second important factor was ones class origin. Talent came last. There was a slight change for the better ~~xx~~ under Prime Minister Nagy in 1953. But after his regime everything became even worse. An individual who at least professed to be a very good Communist even if he were not had a much better chance to get ahead."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Family life in Hungary has been greatly affected by the Communist regime. The Hungarian family before the Communists took over was a very closely knit unit and it was a very important factor in everyone's life. Due to the fact that both parents had to work in order to provide ~~xxxx~~ for the family family life broke up. It was always better if one parent could at least work at home as in our family. My sister and I were brought up by my mother who worked at home. The increased rate of divorces are I think also due to the fact that both husband and wife had to work and there in the offices met people of the opposite sex and had more opportunity to arrange dates. It was easier to make excuses for coming home late.

"The state took over the education from ~~the~~ tender ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ages. The babies were put in day-nurseries and later on in nursery schools. The teen-agers ~~xxxx~~ were kept in school until the time they could go home and join ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ their parents. All these things resulted in breaking up the family circle. I feel very bad about this, especially since I've seen that in our family things were much better. It was worst in the intellectual's families because in the working and peasant classes the parents worked before the Communist regime.

B. "The indoctrination of Hungarian children started at the nursery ~~xx~~ schools and it was intensified in the grade and high-schools. The main trouble was that the children heard something quite different at school ~~xxx~~ from what they heard at home, mainly concerning religion. I could observe the results of this indoctrination mainly on my younger sister. Children were torn between two loyalties.. one to school and one to their parents. When the children get a little older the parents can, if they care and if they are strong enough, counter-balance the Communist teaching. Often, though, the parents are too tired or do not care enough to be bothered by this problem. Fortunately, I preferred to be guided by my parents advice."

"Disobedience depended on the child and his family. The very young are much less religious than their parents but the main clashing point is about dating. At school they are told that they are independent and free personalities. This pleases them and they try to live up to this."

~~xx~~ "As I said, this hit the intellectual class the hardest for children of this class ~~x~~ ~~xx~~ formerly always better educated and better disciplined. A parent who worked at night and slept in the day had very little influence on his children. The least effected ~~xxx~~ was the peasantry. ~~xxxx~~ Their way of living didn't change at all.

Attention Decoder: This part of the interview had to be re-written because the disks were lost. Their interview schedule has since been revised and therefore the serial numbers of the paragraphs may not tally.

According to respondent, prostitution was prohibited under the Communist regime, but it flourished nevertheless.

Regarding the sexual morality of the Communists as compared to the average Hungarian, respondent said oddly enough on the one side they were extremely strict, on the other side they were breaching free love. Nevertheless, it was a well-known fact that a prominent Party functionary was compelled to lead an exemplary moral life.

Regarding what would happen to her friendship if a good friend of hers later joined the Communist Party, she said:

"It would certainly influence our friendship, even if I knew that she joined the Communist Party for some reason like keeping her job, etc. I can say from experience that I had a friend who was a Jewess and whose parents were killed by the Nazis. She joined the Communist Party in 1945 when the Communists came in. I broke with her. Later on, however, the very same person regretted that she became a Party member, and told me that she wanted to leave the Party but was not allowed to do so. She actually cried a lot when we were together, and then I took pity on her and resumed the friendship.

"But I do not think friendship can be continued, keeping politics out of it."

Regarding juvenile delinquency, respondent had the following to say:

"I believe that juvenile delinquency has increased during the Communist regime, but this fact was never made public. Therefore, the ~~xxxix~~ government probably had its reason.

"The regime was mostly concerned about the political crimes anyway."

According to respondent, the juvenile delinquents came from all social backgrounds, but most of ~~xxx~~ them were found in the cities.

VII. RELIGION

A. According to respondent, religion played a very important part in Hungarian life, and for this very reason the regime was all out against religion. In respondent's opinion, the Roman Catholic religion was hardest hit. All property of the church was taken away, the different religious orders dissolved, and people were always under observation whether or not they went to church, or for instance got married in church. This was a bad point on the Kadar files. The situation was at its worst in 1949, until the first regime of Imre Nagy.

B. In respondent's life religion played an important part, but as she grew up she became more slack. She thought that she is less religious than her parents were, and that she is about as religious as the average person in Hungary.

C. Respondent held the view that no church should be involved in politics, and that the churches and the state should be kept separate and independent from each other. However, she strongly advocated the role of churches in education, because she thought that this is extremely important, especially for the morals of the young people.

D. In respondent's opinion, the Jewish religion had been much less hurt by Communism than the other religions. The reason she gave for this, to her mind, was the fact that most of the AVH and top Party functionaries were Jews. She also added, "You must know there wasn't anti-Semitism in Hungary, but since these people, as mentioned before, held the top jobs and best paid positions, the hatred of the AVH and the Communists was understandably transferred to the Jews."

When asked about the attitude of the Jews during the Communist regime, respondent said "Of course the Jews did not like Communism but they could always accommodate themselves to every circumstance, and this is what they did during the Communist regime also.

"Many Jews joined the Communist Party, but even if not by conviction, this was to make more money and get better jobs."

Regarding the attitudes and actions of Jews during the revolution, respondent gave the following information:

"The Jewish students from the Universities participated in the revolution as the other students did. I do not know whether or not they took part in the fighting. As much as I knew and heard they did not, because they were too cautious.

"I believe there is something to the view that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary, but this is for the reason that politically and economically they would no longer have the important positions they had before."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. When we speak about Hungarian youth, we generally think of young people of both sexes and all social classes between 14 and 26.

B. I am convinced that the Hungarian youth played a very important part in the revolution.

In respondent's view, the young people were dissatisfied with their chances of getting ahead in Communist Hungary, and this dissatisfaction could have been one of the major causes of the outbreak of the revolution.

During the revolution, the older generation thought that we were too hot-headed and everything would be lost in the end.

However, young people acted as they did because they were full of enthusiasm, and they were convinced that Western help would be forthcoming.

C. In reference to schools and educational systems in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said the following:

"The quality of the education in Hungary during the last 12 years was extremely good, even though history, Hungarian language, etc., were very much slanted. But the standard was very high. There was strict discipline and you had to study hard, especially at the universities, where you had always to attend all the lectures, and it was very difficult to pass your exams. The vocational choice was restricted, of course; already in high schools you had to make out different questionnaires regarding your chosen profession. However, you were admitted to the universities and colleges according to your origin and "other" factors. This meant your . . . There was what we called numerous clauses for each profession. We then were directed according to the needs of the country, and not according to what we wanted to become.

"As to the professors, the old ones were those that were retained, were ~~xxx~~ extremely good. The young ones who lectured on Marxism and such like rubbishy matters were extremely bad and unqualified. Politically, of course, the old good professors did not belong to the Party, except of course usually the headmasters of the schools or the deans of the universities had to be Party members."

D. In my opinion youth simply did not accept Communist indoctrination, and I attribute this to the strength and values of the home and families. The family life always counterbalanced the Communist indoctrination.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The causes of the main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary as they showed up in everyday life were that we were very badly paid for our work, and there was always a lack of goods. Then, the lies in the newspapers were terribly annoying. Apart from the big political things, we always complained about the peace loans we had to sign "voluntarily."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Regarding the standard of living of herself and her family, respondent gave the following information:

"My husband and I lived quite well because my father-in-law, who was a tailor, made quite a lot of money, and he helped us a great deal materially. This was how it came about that we could pay 20,000 ~~forints~~ forints for an apartment as a premium. My parents also were working, both of them, father and mother.

"Regarding the food situation, the only time we had it very good was during the revolution when all food that was stored away for export to Russia was sold in the public food stores.

"The clothing situation wasn't too bad for us, since, as I mentioned, my father-in-law was a tailor. But good ~~material~~ material did ~~cost~~ cost a tremendous amount of money. The housing situation was the worst, because there was a shortage of apartments.

"We would have considered it a luxury to have an apartment of our own and to have it furnished as we liked. And furthermore, another luxury was to have a good vacation. Of the three above mentioned, food, clothing and housing, it was always housing that caused the greatest difficulties for the young married couples.

"The living standard has gone down steadily since 1945. It was maybe the worst in 1952, and in 1956 it was at its best.

"I knew a family that was better off than any other, because both man and wife were employed at the army mess as cooks. Of course they could embezzle a great deal of food there, which they sold on the Black Market, therefore they always had money.

"It is very easy to say why the Hungarian standard of living during the last 8 years has gone down so tremendously. The reason for it was that everything was exported to Russia. The Russians did not pay for the goods they received."

B. Regarding her income in 1956, respondent said:

"I was paid 850 forints ~~per~~ per month. Of this, 3% was deducted for pension fund, 1% for income tax, and 4% of our income went for the so-called voluntary peace loan. Then we paid 11 forints per month for Trade Union, and about ~~2~~ 2 forints for DISZ ~~stamps~~ stamps. We did not receive any family allowance. In fact, they deducted what they called a tax for being childless.

"As a part-time job, I did some piecework after office hours making toys. With this I made about 1200 or 1500 per month, but all this I did on the sly. I was helping out a so-called Maszek small craftsman, who did not want to engage a helper officially.

"All members of my family worked; even grandmother had a temporary job, and she also helped at home in the household chores. She was 75 years old.

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XXXXXXXXXXXX "During a year in the same job, I started at 700, then my salary was raised to 800, and finally to 850. "

C. Regarding prices and quality of goods in Hungary under the Communist regime, respondent said:

"The prices varied depending on where you bought your food. The free market or the farm markets were of course always more expensive, but here the quality of the food was much better. The state stores carried foodstuffs of pretty inferior quality, and sometimes they weren't quite fresh either.

"As to clothing, here again anything that you had privately made, so custom-made, was always far superior in quality, but always higher in price than the ready to wear dresses you could purchase at the state stores.

"The prices of the foodstuffs also varied according to season, and this also happened with the industrial products, but rather in a funny way. Also, sometimes for no reason whatsoever, some staple commodity disappeared from the market for months.

"All I can say about retail distribution in Hungary is that it was just plain lousy. You could never get what you wanted, or get it at the right time. You could buy winter clothes in the summer, and vice versa. Or if you set your heart on buying a blue dress, for instance, you could be sure you wouldn't get one. There were only red ones, and so on. Also, the less expensive items were always more difficult to purchase. Nobody could figure out the distribution system of the regime stock-wise.

"As to spare parts, this was most difficult. It was sometimes nearly impossible.

"The Black Market of course flourished, even if it was punished severely. In 1947 there was what we called link purchase or under the counter sale. The commodities you could buy on the Black Market were of course always much more expensive, but then the quality was so much better too.

"I cannot tell what penalties were imposed, I know that usually people were locked up, but for how long I couldn't tell."

D. In reference to her working conditions, respondent gave the following information: "I worked from 6:30 A.M. till 3:00 o'clock P.M., including half an hour for lunch. We had to work 48 hours a week, and we had a six-day week at that. It took me one hour to get to my working place by streetcar and story bus. I worked in an office and this was my own choice. I was more free there than anywhere else. We didn't have to punch out cards and could be late sometimes or leave earlier. I worked at the heating fuel distribution enterprise called Dused. There were only two other girls in the office, and we were on very good terms. Our boss was never here at the depot. This was a kind of storage place for coal and heating wood, and the three of us managed the whole place, more or less.

"It so happened that every 2 months, maybe, the bigshot from the head office would come to control, but we were always warned when he was coming. The manager of the whole enterprise was a former iron worker, but the manager of the Transportation section was a well-qualified man and knew his work.

"If we did our work well we were praised. Once I got even 200 Forints premium."

"Regarding the Hungarian vacation, health and compensation programs, the sick insurance, for instance, was extremely well organized, and we got quite a lot out of it. We had to pay only 15% of the price of the medicines, and hospitalization and medical care, surgery etc. were quite free. If you served more than 2 years with a company and you became sick, you received 65% of your salary for a whole year, and if you couldn't continue your work after that, you received disability payments, always according to the time you had served with the same company. Sometimes it amounted even to 600 forints per month.

"The pensions on the other hand were extremely low, and you had to serve ten years with the same company in order to get 500 forints per month.

"However, the pensionees of the old régime have been deprived of their pensions, and very few are receiving some pittance.

E. When asked where she would have preferred to live in Hungary, in the country or in the city, respondent said:

"I would have preferred to live in the city always, because I was used to city life and I didn't like the life in a provincial town or in the villages, even though the housing situation was

far better there. After all, I was born in the city, and there is so much more to do there.

"In my belief, the agricultural workers had a better diet than the city workers. The general standard of living also must have been higher in the provinces because the peasants had more money, and they had fewer demands in other fields of life; in ~~the~~ culture, for ~~instance~~ instance.

"Politically, people had it much easier in the villages and in the provinces because the Communist Party didn't pursue its activities so intensively there.

"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, we knew that it wouldn't work out at all, because the Hungarian peasant likes to work in his own field. And for instance, even when the collectives worked well, this happened only when the members were decent peasants, and liked to work together.

"Collectivization in Hungary was introduced forcibly, and therefore it just couldn't ~~be~~ achieve any results. The richer peasants, of course, objected most to collectivization.

"I have heard that during the revolution the collectives were dissolved."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. This paragraph, regarding the political situation before 1948, could not be applied due to youth of respondent.

B. Regarding the Communist Party from 1948 on, respondent had the following to say:

"The workers joined the Communist Party involuntarily so to speak, because the majority of the Hungarian workers belonged to the Social Democratic Party, and this Party was simply merged with the Communist Party, and thus nolens volens the workers became Communist Party members. Now, since the Party has ~~reorganized~~ been reorganized lately, (they call themselves the Party's shock troops) not everybody can belong to the Party. They are rather selective in accepting anybody.

"I am quite sure that there were quite a lot of Communists who became Communist Party members in Hungary because they believed in the principles of Communism. However, they didn't believe in the way Communism was interpreted and carried out in Hungary.

"Party policies did change during the last eight years. For instance, there was the first Prime Ministership of Imre Nagy. At that time, all political reins were slackened. The reason for this was evidently that there were new instructions from Moscow, because whatever happened in Russia, happened in the satellite ~~countries~~ countries a couple of months or weeks later. As to the Party morale, I cannot give any information because I never attended any Party meetings and was not a Party member either.

"In my opinion the top leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party have no will of their own. They have to obey the Soviet orders implicitly. I am convinced that the top Communist leaders in Hungary are evil and diabolical people.

"Even Rajk was a good Communist in a way, because after all he set up the AVH, but as far as I knew, when he became a follower of Tito, this didn't fit into the Moscow plans somehow, so they eliminated him. I can't make out Imre Nagy either. Maybe he was a puppet. On the other hand, he wanted a neutrality for Hungary, and then again, on the other hand, he went and took shelter at the Yugoslav Embassy. Why didn't he go to the U.S. or the British Legation, for instance, if he wasn't a Communist?

"As to the motives of the rank and file members and those of the leadership, the top Communists became Party members because they wanted to remain in power and make good money. On the other hand the rank and file people sometimes became Party members against their own will. I am referring now, for instance, to the Hungarian workers who were Social Democrats before the Communists took over.

"When Hungary is independent I believe that the top Communists should be hanged -- all of them."

C. "I have not heard of any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, or any slowdown or sabotage, etc."

In reference to the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said:

"I have not heard very much about the activities of the intellectuals before the revolution except for the Petofi Circle, a literary magazine which was very widely read all over the country. There was even a Black Market price for that magazine. In the spring of 1956 this magazine began to carry very audacious and very frank, open articles. This was what, I suspect, could be called the intellectual ferment.

"In my opinion the intellectuals did not have anything new to say. They were just summing up what everybody else was thinking. Shortly before the revolution, the meetings of the Petofi Circle were transmitted by the radio. It was really amazing how freely and openly these people dared to speak up. Their meetings were extremely well attended; in fact, they were crowded, and the audience was composed of members of all social classes."

"Why these intellectuals stood up against the regime I am really at a loss to say, because these people were mostly quite pampered by the regime and lived well. They received all kinds of awards and besides they served the regime quite well. I honestly do not trust them very much. I am thinking now of Julius ~~+~~ Haj, of Zolgan Zelk and especially of Thomas Aczel. This one received the Stalin Prize for instance for several of his works, and he too was a Party member."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The much hated AVH force in Hungary was composed of two different sorts of people. First of all there were the rank and file; these were youngsters who did their compulsory military service and were assigned to this unit. The top AVH officers, however, were voluntarily signed up officers and most of them were Jews. These people were the scum of the nation. They didn't want to work and they went about and did their disgusting job only for money. They were extremely well paid.

"I knew the husband of a very good friend of mine who was in the mines for three years after having been tortured by the AVH. But it is extremely interesting to see how whoever has escaped AVH prison doesn't talk about it, because they do not dare. I expect they were thoroughly scared.

"When Hungary is independent, I think it would be only fair to do the same thing to the AVH people that they did to their victims. I don't think that they even deserve a trial.

"In comparing the regular police with the AVH, I can say that the regular police were mostly recruited from among the peasants. They were not well paid and therefore pretty slack in execution of their duties. The regular police never had anything to do with political crimes. Due to their low salaries they were open to bribes. However, they were not Communist Party members, and during the revolution my husband saw how the police force went over to the Freedom Fighters. The major part of them handed over their weapons, and even those who did not fight just went home and remained in hiding."

B. "As to the Hungarian courts, I do not know anything about how these courts worked before 1945; you see I was much too young, and I do not know anything about the people's courts either for the same reason."

D. "I think this is a very stupid question, that the Hungarian feelings toward the Russian army are due to the events of 1848. Of course not. They are only due to the events in '44 and '45. Before the Russians came in we already knew what to expect from them. My parents told me they were looting and raving all over the country; this is what I was told."

"The attitude and actions of the Russian soldiers during the revolution I can judge only by how they behaved and by what I saw. They were mostly terribly scared, especially the younger soldiers. Then the others who came in after November 4th were mostly Mongolians and they didn't even know where they were. They asked for directions to the Suez Canal. Others said "How pretty the Chinese girls are here," etc. The old occupation troops were sent home with their families. They went very reluctantly because they liked living in Hungary.

"I have heard from the different youngsters who fought in

the street that the Russian soldiers did help Hungarians and refused to obey their superiors. And also some students saw Russians hand over their tanks. These same students told me that there were many Korean students who studied at the Hungarian universities, boys and girls, who were on scholarship in Hungary. They fought like lions against the Russian soldiers and the AVH."

E & F. Respondent could not give any information on these two paragraphs. Neither referring to paragraph G.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent was of the opinion that in the near future nothing can possibly happen in Hungary, because the Russians will not give up the country. Some people have other ideas, but they are optimists, and respondent thought that a great deal of wishful thinking was involved.

"I do not believe that Kadar is going to make any further concessions. He will revert, rather, to the Stalin line.

"The West will not come to the aid of Hungary. Why should it? It didn't come when it had the opportunity, why should they help now? And the Russian policy will not change either. Maybe they will continue with the usual seesaw policy, that's all."

"The solution ~~km~~ similar to Poland's isn't good, but maybe it is the lesser evil. People with whom I talked said it would have been wiser to follow the same line as Poland did.

"A war between the East and West is something which nobody desires, but on the other hand, I believe that the whole problem of Eastern Europe can only be solved radically by war. The U.S. will not attack, but when Russia will do so is anybody's guess.

"Means other than war unfortunately will have no effect because the events have proved that the Soviet Union doesn't care a damn about pressures of the UN or sanctions, or arbitration, etc. ~~The~~ Internal change in the Soviet Union would be the ideal solution."

B. "In the last 10 years we were pretty pessimistic. However, by the spring of 1956, when the thaw came about all over Eastern Europe, we hoped that little by little Russia would loosen the reins. But nobody believed in a radical change at all.

"Now, however, short of war, only internal changes in Russia could bring about change in Eastern Europe also."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. When asked what she would want an independent Hungary to be like, respondent said: "I would like to see in an independent Hungary a government similar to the one the U.S. has. I think Hungary should be a republic."

B. As to the desired economic system and emphasis, respondent says:

"By all means Hungary should revert again to agriculture, and this should be emphasized because the land in Hungary is extremely well suited for this purpose. To my mind, the exaggerated industrialization of the country is wrong. There is no need for heavy industries anymore in Hungary. It is costing the country too much. On the other hand, the light industry with a stepped-up output of consumer goods would be a very good solution. I think that the main items to be manufactured by light industry should be consumer goods and also agricultural machinery. I think that the foundries and the iron industries at the Stalin City should be completely discontinued. Regarding agricultural products, I think wheat, fruit, poultry and the raising of cattle would be the best idea.

"If the Communist regime in Hungary were overthrown, then I believe the best solution would be that the communications, the public utilities and transportation should remain under state control. However, the textile industry for instance, and small crafts to the trade, etc. should by all means be returned to private hands.

"Regarding Kolchozes and State Farms, here too I think that the large State Farms should remain under state control and produce for export, and should remain experimental agricultural stations. The cooperatives must be dissolved by all means.

"I believe that it would be quite good if the government should set a maximum of 100 acres regarding the amount of land any one person or family may own."

When asked what kind of government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, she said:

"I would like the first kind of government you mention, the one that guarantees all the personal freedoms of the individual. The very fact that you are free will bring about a good standard of living for you, and all the opportunities you need in order to get a good job.

"I do not believe that it is necessary to outlaw the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, because after what people have seen in Hungary during the last 12 years, I am sure that the Communist Party would not have any followers at all."

C. "As to the international position I desire for an independent Hungary, this should be similar to that of Austria -- a complete neutrality.

"Since this neutrality excludes any military alliances, I do not want to see, of course, any military treaties, alliances or relations with any country. However, economic relations I would not like to see with the U.S.S.R., and also I wouldn't want any ~~xxx~~ cultural relationship with the Soviet Union. With the other Eastern European states I would like to see economic relations only if these countries, too, are free from Russian domination. Culturally, I would like to see relations only with Eastern Germany. With the rest of Europe and the U.S. of course I would welcome economic and military relations, excluding military alliances."

When asked what she thought of the possibility of a Federation of Danubian States, respondent said:

"I have heard about this idea, and we discussed it at home, but I do not believe it would be a good idea, and the general opinion was the same. You know, we all at home were fed up with all kinds of federations and unions.

"If such a federation could be brought about, then I believe only Austria and Hungary should get together. Nobody in Hungary would want any Slav countries, nor the Romanians to participate in a federation.

"Hungary's present boundaries are unacceptable to me and I would like very much to see a territorial adjustment which could be brought about by international negotiations. We are always, and have always been concerned about the Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary, and especially now about the fate of those who are in the northern part of Hungary now occupied by Russia."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent was informed about the Twentieth Party Congress and Krushchev's speech to the Congress. She was of the opinion that there was nothing secret about it, because the Hungarian radios and newspapers carried it at great length. The reason for this she believed to be that the Soviet Union wanted to show a gesture towards the satellite nations, and they had some reason why they wanted to play the good boy.

Respondent has heard about Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee, but only in the very slanted way she was taught it at school. Respondent had no idea who Peron was.

As to Rakosi's private life, respondent said that everybody knew that he lived in a very sumptuous villa out in the suburbs of the city, and had a motorcade of 25 to 30 AVH picked men. He also rode in a bullet-proof car and it was rumored that his wife was not actually his wife but a planted spy from Moscow.

B. Respondent has not read any newspapers regularly during the last ten years. During the Olympic games she read the sports papers; that was all. Regarding books, she only read what was compulsory at the school. This was mostly Soviet literature, and she hated it. She found it tedious, boring and bad. She also read the old Hungarian classics and other Hungarian books, sometimes translations from foreign authors. These books were handed around from friend to friend.

Respondent didn't read any contemporary Hungarian books because she thought them extremely bad -- very slanted and very much under the Russian purging. According to respondent, there were always many books in the bookstores, but nobody bought them. As mentioned before, she did not read the newspapers because she found them extremely tedious and also slanted, and she didn't believe them. She said the reliability of these papers was zero during the Communist regime.

Respondent also disclosed that the foreign newspapers to be obtained under the Communist regime were mostly the Pravda and other papers from the satellite nations, but nobody bought them. She said they had the Daily Worker, the British newspaper, from the West. Then she also sometimes saw French sports papers that were allowed for a while to be brought into Hungary. According to respondent, magazines sent in packages from abroad were also handed around from friend to friend. Respondent did not know of any illegal publications while in Hungary.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Respondent was of the opinion that only by means of a revolution can any changes be brought about in Russia. She was of the opinion that people inside Russia surely don't like Communism either, especially those who lived outside Russia, for instance, in Eastern Germany or Hungary.

Respondent was of the opinion that if Russia had free elections, and if these elections were really and truly free, then the members of the Soviet Union, the member states would surely break off from the Soviet Union and would reject Communism. The ideal solution for these member states, according to respondent, would be to make a federation of the sixteen Soviet nations, similar to the federation of states here in the U.S.

According to respondent, the top Communist leaders of Soviet Russia aim to achieve world Communism. This is quite evident, because there are signs of this all over the world.

Personally, respondent was of the opinion that these top Communists are megalomaniacs.

Respondent saw the difference between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian Communist leaders only on one point, that Hungary depends on Moscow and has to accept Moscow's orders.

B. According to respondent, the relative popularity ~~rankings~~ in Hungary of other nations in Eastern Europe was as follows: most popular was Eastern Germany followed by Poland, then Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. Respondent was of the opinion that these preferences or dislikes always depended not on the government but on the people, since the government is the same everywhere.

Respondent also thought that if free elections were held in these countries, they would all reject Communism.

According to respondent, the living standard of the Eastern European nations is as follows: the highest is in Eastern Germany, followed by Czechoslovakia, then Poland followed by Hungary, and only at the end come Romania and Bulgaria.

C. Respondent thought that the Polish situation is a change but not a radical one. According to respondent, Gomulka's fate depends entirely on what the Soviet Union will decide.

In respondent's opinion, the events in Poland have affected the events in Hungary, because people took it as an example.

Respondent had not heard of any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. The first time she heard anything about Poland and what was going on in connection with the Poznam riots, and the trials. The Hungarian Communist local papers reported at length on these trials, but

of course in a slanted way.

Respondent would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines because she thought that to date they have achieved more, and besides they haven't lost so many people in battle and in emigration as has Hungary.

D. Regarding Tito, respondent was of the opinion that National Communism, which by the way Tito did not invent, is just as bad as Communism. Respondent had a pretty bad opinion of Tito because of his fence straddling.

Respondent pointed out that Tito's attitude toward the Hungarian revolution was very typical of him.

Respondent thought that Tito is pretty popular in Yugoslavia, even though not 100 percent. Respondent said that she had several friends who were in Yugoslavia for a visit, and they told her that the living standard is higher there than in Hungary. Also, working conditions are better and personal freedom is greater.

Regarding the Middle East problem, respondent was of the view that the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was right, that the Israeli invasion was wrong, and that Nasser had no right to nationalize the Canal, which he did on Soviet orders. According to respondent, the UNO acted wrongly when they told the British and French to leave. They should have remained in Egypt.

Respondent felt that events in Egypt had affected the developments in Hungary during the Fall of 1956, because as a result of the British-French attack, the Soviet had a ready made reason to interfere in Hungary.

F. On Western Germany, respondent had the following to say:

"The living standard in Western Germany is extremely high and still on the increase." Respondent could not imagine that the Germans would be dangerous and would start another war, even though they are rearming with American assistance. Respondent was unaware of the military strength of the West German army; she thought it to be stronger than the French, but not larger than the British. She did not know the term of service in the West German army.

Respondent was very young when the Germans occupied Hungary and could not remember well, but she pointed out that they had no troubles whatsoever with the German soldiers. They were a decent, clean and cultured lot. Of course, the German occupation army, according to respondent, was not liked by the Jews, which is understandable.

The Russian occupation force was, of course, very unpopular in Hungary. The German occupation army was the better disciplined, regarding both officers and enlisted men.

G. Respondent didn't know anything about NATO. She said that what the regime told them about this organization she of course didn't believe, because she knew it was slanted. She did not know anything about the British Labor Party or other European Socialist parties.

According to respondent, the living standard in the Western countries ran as follows: Western Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, the Soviet Union and Egypt.

H. When asked what surprised her particularly about America during her first few months here, respondent said: "The terrifically high standard of living everywhere, all over the country."

As to what the U.S. should do now for the people and nations of Eastern Europe, respondent was of the opinion that, short of war, the West cannot do a thing, as the events in Hungary have proven that ~~talks~~ talks with the Soviet Union will lead nowhere.

According to respondent, the U.S. foreign policy is not a very successful one, since it is on too good terms with the Soviet Union.

Respondent thought that loans should be given to the Eastern ~~European~~ European nations only if ~~some~~ some guarantee could be figured out that they should really help the nations, and not the regime.

Respondent thought it would be best that the U.S. government have no relations whatsoever with the Hungarian government, because the present government does not represent the Hungarian nation. It represents the nation even to a lesser extent than did Rakosi.

Respondent held the opinion that the Hungarian people back home would very much like to see Western visitors, because they have been hermetically sealed off from the Western world for twelve years. Respondent also thought that visitors should be told before they go to Hungary that they shouldn't believe only what they see. They ought to go and see everything for themselves. She thought that the refugees were the most able persons to tell them the truth about the situation at home. She was also of the opinion ~~that~~ that people at home would like to receive Western books and periodicals, but whether or not they present government would allow this printed matter to come into the country is of course another problem.

Respondent thought that it would make a very good impression on people back home if the Hungarian exiles are associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications.

When asked about the Marshall Plan respondent had the following to say: "I knew about the Marshall Plan that it was meant to help the nations that had lost in the war to get on

their feet again, and to bolster industry and trade. Hungary was not allowed by the Soviet Union to accept the Marshall aid. The aim is very honorable and beautiful, the more so because the U.S. launched the Marshall Plan, to my mind, in order to make good what they had destroyed during the war. Somehow they felt it was their duty to help these countries.

When asked why America became involved in the Korean War in 1950, respondent said: "America had every reason to get involved in the Korean War, because otherwise the Soviet Union would have occupied it the way it did China." Respondent also added that while the Korean War lasted, everybody in Hungary had to buy Korean stamps; it was compulsory in the offices and was deducted from the pay. Of course, this meant a tremendous lot of money that went to the Soviet Union for this purpose. Also, Korean children were brought into Hungary in great numbers and placed in different health resorts. Respondent believed that these kids didn't leave their home voluntarily, and this might have been why the Korean university students fought so violently and with such courage against the Communist soldiers during the ~~xxx~~ revolution.

I. When asked about her opinion regarding the UN, respondent ~~said~~ said: "The UN isn't good for ~~xxx~~ anything. The Charter is wrong and should be amended; I am thinking now of the 'Veto Right.'"

In respondent's view, the UN should have acted in Hungary just as it did in Egypt to compel the Russians to obey, and to send UN troops to Hungary. This was what everybody expected from the UN. According to respondent, the chances of an effective UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future are nil because how could they help or do anything now, if they didn't when it was the time to act.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked to name the greatest living Hungarian in her opinion, respondent couldn't name anyone.

B. Her reactions to the persons of importance in world affairs were as follows:

Of Nagy she said "When he decided for the neutrality of Hungary during the revolution, he finally realized his duties. But besides, and independently of all this, he is still a Communist."

Regarding Cardinal Mindszenty, respondent said "I did not approve of the Cardinal's speech during the revolution, because to my mind, no clerical person, especially in a high position, should be mixed up in politics at all."

According to respondent, Rajk was a Communist; whether a National Communist or a regular Communist is just the same to her.

Of Gero she said that he was a scoundrel, and so is Kadar.

(At the time of this interview, General Kiraly and Miss Kethly were not yet included in the questionnaire.)

Respondent's reactions to other selected personalities were as follows:

Of President Eisenhower she held the view that his policy toward the Soviet Union is far too weak.

Of Secretary General Hammarskjold she held the opinion that he is a weak man and not the kind of man who ought to hold such an important post with the UN.

Respondent was of the opinion that Foreign Secretary Dulles is much more opposed to the Soviet Union than President Eisenhower is.

Regarding former Foreign Minister Eden, respondent said that events have proved that Eden was right when he sent the troops down to the Suez Canal.

In reference to former President Truman, respondent said she couldn't give her opinion. She said she was too young at the time he was President of the United States.

Of other personalities, respondent held the following views:

She didn't know who Mikoyan was. She knew that Nehru was an Indian leader, but didn't know much about him, except that he stood up for Hungary at the time of the revolution.

Of Chiang Kie-shek she knew that he is a leader of National China, but that is all she knew. Of Roosevelt she said: "Everybody was mad at him because of Yalta."

Chancellor Adenauer respondent believed to be a reasonably good politician, and she thought that Western Germany can be grateful to him for a great many things.

In reference to Stalin, respondent said "This man was extremely able and knew how to subjugate all people and keep them under yoke."

Malenkov, according to respondent, is the successor of Stalin, and maybe he was the one who advocated a softer policy but later on he had not much to say in Russian politics.

Respondent thought that Franco was a satellite of Hitler, at least that is what they were taught at school in Hungary.

Respondent didn't know who Bevan was.

Regarding Krushchev, she thought that in the events in Hungary he was quite successful.

Regarding Molotov, former Russian Foreign Minister, respondent said she doesn't know any more about him than that he is a very smart Foreign Secretary, and he never made any concessions yet. He is a real bulldog.

Of Ollenauer she heard that he is a Western German politician, and that is all.

In reference to Churchill, she said he was one of the best politicians ever.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. In reference to the escapees, respondent had the following to say: "People who escaped from Hungary were mostly from the younger generation. The social standing was quite mixed and, regarding the geographical distribution, they came mostly from the Western part of the country and from Budapest. The reason for their ~~fixing~~ leaving was mostly fear of retaliation. Also, the revolution and the subsequent opening of the borders was a good opportunity for many people to get away from the oppression and out of the isolation.

"Those who remained at home were mostly the older generation who feared the future and did not dare to face it. Also, some people didn't want to leave their homes."

Respondent was deeply sorry for those who stayed behind. In respondent's opinion, the relatives of those who left the country and who stayed behind are happy that their kin are out in the free world.

"Assuming that they had a chance to come to the West, and if the Russians were still in Hungary, then I am sure that with the exception of the Communists everybody would like to come out to the West."

B. ~~X~~Regarding the exile organizations and individuals, I could not really dictate this paragraph, because I haven't received the form respondent filled out at that time.

Respondent was of the opinion that all those people who left Hungary before 1956 and lived here in the West did try their best to do something but could not achieve much for Hungary.

Respondent's uncle was one of those who escaped to the West ~~and~~ after 1945 and returned, and he was deeply sorry for having done so. He was terribly homesick and his mother-in-law persuaded him to return.

As far as respondent knew, very few people were influenced by the Communist repatriation propaganda, and very few went home. The aim of this redefection campaign was very evident; it was sheer propaganda.

D. Respondent was of the opinion that people who have left Hungary should now do everything possible to keep the Hungarian cause in the public eye, and they ought to tell everybody what 12 years of Soviet rule means in a country, and so people should try to make the UN realize that something has to be done.

She was of the opinion that people in Hungary want to know about the exiles how they live here and what kind of living standard they have achieved. She thought that people here ought to give detailed news about the U.S. living standard and the way of living here, how different ~~is~~ everything here is, and how

much better. And people ought to stress and show the difference between the two hemispheres."

Regarding what she personally could do, she said "I first of all want to learn English well, and then I would like to go and talk to those drawing room Communists here in the U.S. and tell them and show them what life really under Communism is."

Respondent would like to join an exile organization only if she knew that this has cultural aims only, and would strive to keep up the Hungarian cultural traditions, and also make good propaganda for Hungary.

She thought that this organization should comprise ~~all~~ old and new immigrants, because the new immigrants are inexperienced and the old ones knew much more about the living conditions and everything here.

Regarding the various Hungarian political parties and their activities, respondent said she was much too young to know about these that were active before 1948. As to the revived political parties in Hungary during the revolution, she had the ~~same~~ opinion that it was utterly wrong to have them revived so soon, and to revive so many, because the nation should have stayed unified first, and not broken up into different parties.

E. When asked about her own plans for the future, she said: "I am not going to go back to Hungary ever for good; only for visits. I want to ~~make~~ ~~my~~ have my parents come out and join me."

Nevertheless, she did want her children, if she ever has any, to learn Hungarian, as well as English, here in the U.S.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Respondent listened regularly to the foreign radio stations. She liked the U.S. Forces programs very much, between 8 and 10 in the evening, because of the music. Then she listened to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and the BBC. In respondent's opinion, all stations were pretty much jammed, sometimes more, sometimes less. She always listened to the Hungarian broadcasts and always regularly with her ~~xx~~ family and also with friends. Respondent always told and discussed the radio news with people in her office. They always used to compare notes, especially if something very interesting happened. Respondent had her own radio on which she listened to the foreign broadcasts. According to respondent, there was a risk involved in listening to these broadcasts, and therefore everybody usually did so with closed doors and windows. Or for instance, if some stranger came or rang the doorbell, they suddenly switched over to the Budapest radio station. Nevertheless, even the risk did not deter people. There was a penalty for listening to foreign radios, however, they didn't say that they doled out the ~~xxxxxx~~ penalties for this. It was usually marked on your [?] file that you were listening to the foreign radio, and then this was a good pretext if something else came up against you.

As to her reaction to these broadcasts, respondent thought that ~~x~~ the BBC broadcasts were the most factual and least exaggerated, and therefore she trusted them most. Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, according to respondent, talked too much. Also, she now and then compared the news they gave out with the local news at home or what she saw and experienced herself.

She also thought that the way of speaking and the way of giving out news was too much in the clouds, so to speak, with Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, and that's why she personally preferred the BBC.

Before the revolution, everybody listened to those broadcasts ~~xx~~ because at least they gave them some news from abroad. Also people were encouraged by listening to that news, and during the revolution, also, these radio stations greatly helped to incite the Hungarian people. Respondent said here that they did not promise expressis verbis to send troops. However, the way of talking, and the way they gave out news, made everybody believe that the UN would help.

Respondent also mentioned that the radio broadcasts of Radio Free Europe were sometimes broadcast in a real ham actor style to which she objected very much.

Respondent nevertheless was of the opinion that Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary, but should be very factual. The program should contain political and economic news because at home people are interested in that kind of news. The anti-Communist propaganda, according

to respondent, is not necessary. Also another program item could be the life of the new immigrants; then the light musical programs, dance music for instance, would probably also be welcome.

B. Respondent has not heard of ^{or} ^{propaganda} seen any leaflets dropped into Hungary.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Ideas of respondent on how children should be brought up were as follows:

"It is very important that children should be educated and brought up at home by the mother. Then I think it is important that children should attend parochial schools. This is important to my mind, regarding the morals and moral principles. Besides, the teachers and professors in those parochial schools were always much better.

"In my opinion, it is very important that a child should be disciplined physically, and spiritually too.

"A child must learn to be religious and to follow a very high moral standard.

"As I said, I believe in disciplining children, but this discipline need not necessarily be physical punishment. A child must be brought up with great wisdom and a great deal of love.

"It is quite natural that with the boys you must be more strict than with the girls. Here again, the parochial schools for boys were very good and the priests did know how to educate children. I thoroughly disapprove of the co-educational system as we had it during the last years of the Communist regime in Hungary.

When asked to give an instance of how she was punished when she was a child, she recalled that once she was disobedient and was punished by not being taken to a party. And also, respondent recalled that whenever her mother once said no, she did mean no. Even when she was a teenager, her mother used to punish her by depriving her of something she would have liked very much.

Among people respondent knew, children were usually punished even if they were over six years old, and they were punished sometimes by the mother, sometimes by the father; it varied always. Respondent also thought that the way children were brought up varied greatly for the different social classes. She thought that the intellectuals were very strict in bringing up their children. The peasants and the working class disciplined the kids by physical punishment, but they don't educate. But of course, according to respondent, one cannot always generalize, because there is always an exception to the rule.

Changes have occurred during the past ten years, especially since the parochial schools were nationalized, so discipline deteriorated everywhere. Even on the radios this subject was brought up, according to respondent, and the pedagogues tried to revert to the old educational methods, because they saw that by giving too much freedom to the kids they had gone too far. Especially, there was always trouble in the boys' schools. The

authority of the parents has become decidedly less important than before. Also, the parents were less at home and they didn't see their children as much as before the Communist regime.

"Also children became wage earners at a much earlier age, and when this happened parents had no authority over them any more."

According to respondent, however, parents did not ~~stop~~ stop disciplining their children physically or mentally. But in the schools physical punishment was abolished. The only method of discipline was to send out the report cards to the parents. Also, sometimes they transferred the children from one school to another if they behaved too badly.

When asked what characteristics she valued most in a friend, she said "Sincerity." According to respondent, people made friends maybe more hesitatingly than before, but on the other hand, if someone became a good friend of yours, and you found out that she or he was reliable, then friendships grew stronger and stronger.

THE END

(Remarks: I do hope that this interview is similar to the original one. It is extremely difficult to remember everything after such a long time. After all, the original interview was held in March, and my notes aren't so detailed that I could remember everything well. Thank you.)