

INTERVIEWER'S IMPRESSIONS ON SUBJECT

Family Background

Respondent is of lower middle class origin. Her father is in the dry cleaning business. Respondent had more education than her parents and is a typical example of the new "intelligentsia" that has sprung up during the Communist regime. The family background and the influence of her parents seemed to have had a stronger hold on her than Communist indoctrination. In fact, of my five subjects so far, this young woman was the one who hated and objected to Communism most. She is a fierce little patriot (about 5'1). Burning with love for her homeland she wishes to serve her country as soon as she can here in America or elsewhere. She spoke very openly and sensibly of all problems. In fact, she had some constructive criticism. She always admitted when she did not know about some questions (mostly due to her young age). I had the feeling that she never talked "through her hat" and that she was sincere and honest about everything she said. I was quite impressed at times about her mature and sensible attitude toward some problems, especially political ones.

II. MAJOR SALIENTS IN WARM-UP QUESTION

Referring to the most important thing that the American public should know about the events in Hungary during the fall of 1956, respondent said: "I wish that the American public would realize that this revolution was the revolt of the whole country and not of certain classes only. Everybody was united in this fight against Communist oppression and, I would also like to stress, the determination with which everybody fought and the hate they felt towards their Russian masters. Secondly, I would like to emphasize how very much everybody expected the assistance from the West."

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

A. On October 22, in the evening, I was at home from work when my husband came from work (in fact, he rushed home like a madman) dishevelled and out of breath and filled with enthusiasm. In great detail he told me what had happened at the University of Technical Sciences -- about the meeting the students had there and about their 16 points they had drafted. He also told me that he had joined the association of the free students. I heard from him that the students had planned a peaceful demonstration for the next day at the Bem statue in Buda as a sympathy demonstration with the Polish people. On the following day, October 23, I went to work at 6 o'clock in the morning, as usual. This was pay day and I left work at 2 o'clock to go pick up my pay check at the head offices and to meet my husband. People at my working place were already talking that something was brewing and also, we were joined by people from the other factories. We knew that young students were going from plant to plant and informing the workers about their newly drafted demands. At our head offices at the Csanylutca (located near the Andrassyut, now called Stalin Avenue) I decided to give notice because the work I was doing in the plant was much too heavy for me -- I had to do heavy physical work. (Here she explained that when she got married and returned to her post she held in the cooperative before she got married, she was informed that she was not going to be taken back to that job. Because of this she had to work in the dry cleaning section where she had to lift heavy loads of linen and clothing all the time).

All along Andrassy street I saw the handmade posters of the students with their 16 demands. At about 3:30, I joined the crowd which was milling on the Nagykorut, marching toward the Bem statue. We were all shouting slogans, "Russians go home," "Independent and free Hungary for us!"; "Give us back the uranium mines," etc. Everybody was shouting and crying with joy. I, personally, was elated because the 12 years of oppression that was really like a physical pain on all of us, seemed to have been lifted all of the sudden. On the corner of the Visegradi street, where the headquarters of the lawyers' and barristers' association was, we saw the first flag from which the Russian emblem was cut off. The crowd cheered wildly.

I do not believe that anybody thought of any consequences. People were just delirious and nobody thought of anything except of freedom. The crowd wanted the government to ac-

cept the demands of the young university students. We wanted Nagy Imre to form his government. We wanted the uranium mines returned to Hungary. We wanted an independent economic system and also complete political independence from Russia. We also wanted to be allowed to follow our traditional national customs and get back our old flag...the Kossuth emblem and that the teaching of Russian be discontinued in the schools. In fact, nobody even thought of accepting any concessions from the government except the acceptance of our demands.

I was amazed to see how disciplined the crowd around the Bem statue was. This was in great contrast to the organized and forced Communist rallies that all had to participate on May 1 and other Russian national holidays. People were marching in orderly rows -- everybody was gay, talking to everyone--complete strangers and discussing the events of the day. Respondent stayed with the crowd near the Bem statue until about 7 o'clock in the evening. By that time they were joined by the workers who came from the different factories and plants. The crowd then went to Parliament Square and the radio, but she went home since she had her pay check with her. Also, that morning her mother asked her to return early so that they could do their weekly shopping. This they did and she remained at home waiting for her husband. Obuda at that time was still quiet, but everybody was very excited about the news. Respondent and her family were listening to the Radio Free Europe broadcasts. When asked what she thought the probable outcome would be of the demonstrations before the fighting started, respondent said: "We were all hoping that our demands would be granted since the general belief was that the West will exercise some pressure on Russia and the Hungarian government." With regards to the demonstrators -- what age, class, and sex they were -- respondent said: "I believe that everybody who could walk was taking part in the demonstration" and she also believed that this was the case for all social classes. There were mixed groups of boys and girls and even small children led by their mothers. About 90 per cent of the demonstrators were the young people, especially around the Bem statue. Later on, the older generation joined them, especially when the workers came after their working hours. They came in large groups with large signs..."We are from (this and that) factory." As to who did not take part in the demonstrations, respondent said: "Well, of course, the Communists." But, everyone else, as far as she knew did partake. When asked about the leadership of the de-

strations, respondent said: "I do not believe that there was an overall leadership. As a matter of fact, that was the trouble. The revolution broke out spontaneously and there was no time to organize it. Groups of 30 to 50 people had one man who assumed leadership and told them what to do and where to go."

On October 24, respondent and her family stayed home at Obuda, which is in the upper northern part of Budapest. In fact it is rather a suburb of the city. They listened to Radio Free Europe and stayed at home. Around 9 o'clock in the evening her husband returned from the parliament demonstration. He had arrived at home before the shooting started.

On October 25, respondent's husband left for the university to see what was happening there. She, too, left the house despite the fact that martial law had been imposed. But, apparently no one cared anything about the law because the streets were crowded and people were talking in small and big groups -- discussing the events. Her husband then came home in the afternoon.

B. Respondent believes that the demonstrations turned into fighting when the AVH members turned their weapons on the crowd. If the people had had arms they would not have taken this lying down. At Obuda, where respondent lived, there was also an AVH barracks. Here, the AVH men quickly changed into their civilian clothes and fled. They left everything behind. The crowd simply took over the building and got hold of the weapons that were left there. Respondent heard the revolutionary slogans come up first on ~~the~~ October 25 -- this was the day when she first heard the words "freedom fighter" for the first time. On October 25 her husband told about having joined the voluntary militia of the university students. They were divided into groups of forty people. They had arms and they did their service in rotation. The Communist Party also had a "Party house" in Obuda where respondent lived and these people had probably asked for reinforcements because on October 25th about a hundred police came to their assistance. People, when they saw the police marching forward, started to heckle them shouting slogans and especially mothers who dared them to shoot. The commanding officer of this police force saw the feelings of the people and he just commanded them to turn around and they marched back. When the crowd saw this, it cheered wildly.

Respondent believed that anybody who could get hold of some sort of weapon was fighting. Of course, the majority was the young people, as young as 13, 14, and 15 years old. But, she saw older people fight too. As far as she could see, all the social classes were taking part in the freedom fight. She could not really say who did not take part except for the Communists, of course. According to respondent's information, the fighters got their arms from the military barracks and also from the soldiers themselves, who very often handed over their arms. When the fighting started groups of 30-50 people chose a leader, usually a man who had seen some military service. The leader of the Obuda group near the place where she lived was an old sergeant major from World War I.

As to the over-all outcome of the revolution, respondent said: "First of all, nobody thought that the revolution could not possibly be successful. Also, we were all sincerely convinced that western aid would be forthcoming. At the time when Gero called the Russian troops to his assistance, the people in Hungary were even more convinced that now was the time when the UN would come to their assistance."

C. Respondent spent most of her time at home between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the re-invasion. The husband went to the University of Technical Sciences to join his comrades there every day. He had his weapons and came home late in the evening, but was very reluctant to tell his wife about the occurrences of the day. When the Russian Army began its "retreat", respondent said that they somehow felt that it was too good to be true. It was somehow suspicious that all of the sudden the Russians would be so obedient and such good boys. It was on November 4, early at dawn, when they first heard the Russian troops returning. During the day they saw how the troops surrounded the important buildings, the bridges and roads leading to the Parliament, and the airports. The Russians also tried to occupy the Var (this is the part of the city which lies on the top of a hill and where the castles of the Hungarian kings were situated). Here, however, they could not get ahead because the university students were fiercely defending this part of the town. Even after the Russians returned to Budapest, respondent and her family were going out day by day into the city and joining the smaller demonstrating crowds wherever possible. On November 6, there was a large crowd that marched toward the western railway station of the town. Here they were met by machine gun fire from the Russians, and the first rows of the crowds were mowed down. During these days, respondent saw many shops that had broken windows. The window displays were still intact and there was no looting going on despite all of the misery. Respondent wanted to point out that this also shows how disciplined people at time were, and they had only one thought -- to fight, and nothing else. When asked about her major lines of activity from the time of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ Red Army's return to the time of her escape, respondent said that she mostly stayed at home with her family listening to Radio Free Europe. The Hungarian radio, of course, was of no use and only through Radio Free Europe could they hear what was going on in the other parts of the country. The fighting and sniping, nevertheless, went on throughout the whole town, and respondent said that she really couldn't understand how daring these people were and how they didn't show any fear. Respondent and her husband were already planning their escape, when one day her husband came home from the university with the news that the list of university students who took part in the fighting and who volunteered for service had disappeared and they were fearing treason. One other reason to get

to get away as soon as possible. So, on November 21, the young couple left for Tatabanya, the town where respondent's husband's parent are living. They stayed there for a day. Her father came after them and asked them to go back, but they did not. During their flight, respondent pointed out that the Hungarian soldiers were extremely helpful and never tried to turn them back. They crossed the bridge at Andau into Austria.

When asked whether or not Hungary, on the whole, has gained because of the October revolution, respondent answered: "In my belief, Hungary has gained...something quite great, too. Firstly, it had won the admiration of the whole world for ~~agx~~ fighting against such tremendous odds and with such determination and courage. Secondly, last but not least, the moral strength of the Hungarian people must have increased because only people who are very courageous and have very high moral standards can fight as the Hungarians did. This strength, perhaps, will give them courage to fight on until the end."

"I also wish to add that due to the Hungarian revolution, and its outcome, the West must have finally realized that unless ~~kmx~~ it starts a war against the Russians, it will never be able to put an end to Russian expansion. Also, that the decay in the Soviet Union has started and cannot be halted any more."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE RE-
VOLUTION

A. When asked about expectations concerning the West, respondent said, "I, myself and everyone else in Hungary was expecting Western assistance, or at least, we thought United Nations sanctions would be enforced. We were absolutely convinced that the Western powers could not stand idly by while Hungary revolted. We were hoping that our revolution which took place after twelve years of oppression, would show them that the will to live is still very strong in the Hungarian nation, that is, the will to live freely.

I don't suppose that anyone in the West can realize what it meant to Hungarians to be free for only three short days."

Respondent then said that she believed the refugees and immigrants would consider it the happiest day in their lives if they could, one day, return to a free and independent Hungary.

B. Her expectations were based upon "her belief that it would be a most natural action for the West since the West has always been known to fight Communism. Also, we thought the West would realize that a co-existence with Russia is impossible; furthermore that the time was then ripe for the West to break up the big Russian empire.

C. She had not contact with foreigners between October 23 and the time of her escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent termed her father's occupation as that of a small craftsman since, before the war, he had owned a dry-cleaning shop. She had no specific picture of her father's income at that time since she was then extremely young. She did know, however, that he made a very good income since the family had a very high standard of living. Every year, the family went to Lake Balaton for their vacation or to the mountains. The family owned a car and part of a house.

Her husband's father was a retired miner who, on his pension, managed to give his seven children a good education. All five boys went to the university.

Respondent's parents had only eight years of schooling, but the father also attended special classes in dry-cleaning and he was a qualified man in his job.

B. Respondent named the following as the three social classes now in Hungary: peasants, workers, and intellectuals. She felt that the intellectuals should be divided into two sub-classes. She pointed out that there was a so-called Communist intelligentsia, the members of which were mostly the members of the Communist Party, but which also included those persons who had gained high position thru the Communist Party. Those who belonged to the other section and whom she considered the real intelligentsia were persons from the upper-middle class and the upper class of before the war and before the revolution. She held great esteem for this class.

Respondent had contact with the working class and with the intelligentsia, but not with the peasantry, therefore, this is one class about which she can give no information or opinions.

She thought that the workers were exploited to the extreme under the Communist regime. They were strongly united during the revolution against Communism and the intellectuals were always against Communism and they had a very hard lot. She felt that she belonged to the intellectual class.

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As to which social class was hardest hit by Communism, respondent feels that in one way or another, all social classes were hit. Communism isn't very choosy, as she put it and is a foe of all social classes, more or less.

C. As to the attitudes of one class toward another, she felt that the intelligentsia admired the workers for being able to withstand the exploitation under which they had to work. Their wages were low and the norms were constantly being raised.

As to the attitude of the intelligentsia toward the peasantry, she couldn't say. She thinks that the workers were sometimes a little jealous of the intelligentsia because they believed that the latter did not have to work so hard. They were, however, very respectful to the intelligentsia. At least, such was the case at her place of business. She doesn't know anything about the workers' attitude toward the peasantry.

Her only concrete knowledge of the peasantry was that during the revolution, they behaved wonderfully to the residents of the city by bringing into the city trucks and trains loaded with food and distributing all of it free. They were helpful in every way they could be.

E. Respondent had two opinions about advancement for someone in Hungary: The most important thing was to be a Party member, then class origin, and lastly, talent. In 1954, and the latter half of 1956, this situation was somewhat better. Respondent felt it would be necessary to pay lip service to Communism in order to get ahead even if the person were not truly convinced of Communism. It would also be helpful to select friends from among Party members and have no compunctions about "tattling" on others and finally, he must be unscrupulous and willing to get ahead by clawing his way forward.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. As far as family life under Communism is concerned, respondent had this to say, "Family life in Hungary under the Communist regime has deteriorated." Respondent deplored this change which had affected all social classes. Perhaps, the least affected was the peasantry.

Since, ordinarily, both parents worked in order to provide for the family, there was little time for the kind of parental care or education for the young ones as there was before. Also, everyone in Hungary had to work physically very hard and at the end of a day, the parents returned home feeling exhausted and nervous. Misery and poverty played a large part also.

B. Respondent gave the following account about how children are reared in Hungary: Since the mother works, the little ones must be placed in nurseries. It is at this early stage that indoctrination begins. For instance, respondent tried to buy a book of fairy tales for her sister, but all she could find were put out by the Communists and were slanted, so she bought a second hand one, but these former books were used in the nursery schools.

Children only three years old have to learn about Stalin, the great benefactor of the Soviet Union. Usually the fairy tales are Russian books translated into Hungarian.

Similar things are true amongst the older children. They attend day schools (since the mother works) and here they must join the Pioneer Movement, which activities are by now well known in the West. Even the child's grades are influenced by the parents' attitudes and whether or not they are Party members, or what their occupations are.

"Of course, in our case, it was different because our mother stayed at home and so I saw how she could counter-balance Communist influence while raising us."

Not only was religious teaching banned from schools, but it was branded as bunkum. Children had a very hard time getting adjusted. It was entirely up to the family

to exercise a good influence ^{on} the children for good.

High school students were taught politics, economics, history, etc. These subjects were certainly highly slanted.

Disobedience towards parents has, of course, increased because, at school, children were taught that they were free and independent individuals. I have seen the difference between my younger sister and myself. I would never have dared to speak to my parents as she did. I was reared raised in a conservative manner. As I said before, it was up to the parents.

She feels these changes occurred due to lowered morals following the second World War coupled with the Communism education. Low standard of living, hard working conditions, misery and poverty also produced an effect.

"Despite these changes, respondent felt that the intellectuals manage to bring up their children better, even nowadays."

"The greatest conflict between parents and children was in the teen-agers between 13 and 15. Until these ages, children are very easily influenced by the Communist doctrine especially regarding religion. As children grow older however, and since the recent events, they can see for themselves what is what and I think they will adopt a sound critical attitude toward Communism."

C. Referring to marriage, courtship and sex patterns --
"I think that the foregoin explains why there was a great change in these matters also during the Communist regime. Here are reasons enough why morals have slackened so much.

Young people were more free and had more occasion to be together, and to court without parental supervision. Many young people were unable to marry because of finances and the difficulty in finding a place to dwell.

There were many divorces because people married in haste. This to the respondent's mind is not good since they do not know what they are going into.

There were also many illegitimate children, but due to a new law of the regime, these children never received the name of the mother. Also, unwed mothers were permitted to sell their children to the state. They were paid 5,000 forints for a boy and 3,000 forints for a girl. The mother had to waive all rights to the child, in fact, she never saw it again. The child was then educated by the state. As far as respondent knew, and she had heard information to this effect, these children were taken out of the country and sent to Russia.

Divorce cost 1,500 forints. However, there were still quite a few people who insisted upon being married in church as respondent and her husband were. In earlier years, this was a very bad mark on one's cadre sheet, but lately this had eased a bit. Officials or Party members, of course, never got married in a church. This was the worst in 1952 and '53.

The same conditions held true for the baptism of infants. The respondent remembers her mother taking her younger sister in great secrecy to be baptised.

Lately, the state permitted abortion if one had a special permit.

Prostitution was officially prohibited, but was going on never the less.

Respondent said she could not make out what the official attitude towards sexual matters was because, on one hand, they were terribly strict and on the other hand, not. A Party member was always expected by his superiors to behave very decently so that the Party could not be censured, but if anything was wrong with a Party member, the Party always tried to cover it up.

D. Friendships under Communism - People were more cautious in making friends and it was wise to ascertain the person's reliability. Should a friend of the respondent become a member of the Communist Party, she feels she would ask the person what the reasons were for joining. Could the respondent feel convinced of the person's sincerity in saying she had joined only under duress of some form, then respondent would continue their friendship keeping politics out.

E. Alcoholism has increased greatly in Hungary, but the newspapers never disclosed this fact. The increase, respondent feels, is due to the excessive misery in every day life.

Respondent had no knowledge of crime increase among women or juveniles. Here again, the newspapers never printed much on this, it was, rather, covered up.

News reports of major crimes, such as murder, robbery, etc. were made public if the culprit was of the "alien" class, such as a rich peasant boy or a member of the intellectual set.

The government tried to control the situation, but there were not enough institutions for placing these juvenile delinquents. Respondent believed that the regular police were quite effective in dealing with these non-political crimes.

Respondent feels that what we call "hooligans", she would call "loafers". They were usually in and out of work and changed jobs very frequently. Finally, they started committing petty crimes. The increase in juvenile delinquency can be laid at the door of Communism, because neither parents nor teachers have any authority worthy of the title. She felt that the hooligans came mostly from the working class and were about 15 to 17. She also considered these acts criminal.

Respondent feels that parents can be held responsible if their children are becoming delinquents. On the other hand, the regime is to be blamed for the inability of parents to have time and money to spend on their children to educate them properly.

VII. RELIGION

A. Communism had a great effect on religious life in Hungary. ~~As~~ Children were taught at school to resist any religious training. In 1950-52, it was observed, the number of times a person went to church. Also, agitators were canvassing apartments to see whether there were any signs of religious articles such as a cross or a holy picture.

Respondent feels that the hardest hit was the Roman Catholic Church, mainly because priests like Cardinal Mindscenty had interfered in politics too much. The Protestants, on the other hand, tried to compromise with the regime. Also, because the Catholic Church is the most conservative and takes the strongest stand against Communism. They were quite open in their criticism of the regime.

Respondent feels that the Protestants were not as affected because of their historical role. Protestantism was something new that tried to break up the Catholic religion. So, somehow, maybe the Communists believed that Protestantism was more progressive, and they did not have as much against them.

As to the extent to which the Jewish religion was affected, respondent could not tell, but the general belief was that it was not suppressed at all. This is one reason why the people in Hungary feel anti-Semitic.

Since the Jews are a business-minded people, they gave in and joined the Communist Party for business reasons. Therefore, they received all the good jobs,

B. As to religion in her own life, respondent said, "While in my teens, between 14 and 17, I was certainly influenced by the anti-religious education at school, but before and during the revolution, I returned to my religion and it gives me moral support. Nevertheless, my parents are more religious than I am. I believe that I am about as religious as the average person in Hungary. I attend church regularly and try to take along my husband also who had been educated in Budapest away from his parents at what is called a "workers' college". He has very little religious belief."

C. "In my opinion, there should be no relation at all between church and state. They should be kept separated and no church should mix into politics, especially priests. On the other hand, the role of the church in education is extremely important. The religious orders are always dedicated educators. Therefore, their role in education and the moral rearing of children is extremely important.

The church should NOT interfere in the setting up of moral codes for plays, movies, etc."

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D. Since the respondent had very little contact with Hungarian Jews, she could not tell whether or not, the Jewish faith has been hurt by Communism. All she could say was that during the twelve years of Communism, she had observed that Jews were always allowed to freely attend their services in synagogues.

Respondent thinks, due to their keen business instinct, that the Jews became a tool of the Communists. She thinks that about 30% of the Jewry became Party members and made a business out of the whole thing. The others, on the other hand, were quite convinced Communists. Since they were freed from the German concentration camps by the Red army, the Jews, in return, were quite loyal to the Communists, in respondent's estimation. However, respondent found it quite deplorable that they forgot that, first of all, they were Hungarians, and that they could sell themselves so easily to a completely alien regime. Anyway, the percentage of Jewish Party members was very high. However, she said that every race and every country has good people as well, and she knew quite a number of good, decent Jews.

As to the actions of Jews during the revolution, she could say the following, "During the revolution, many Jews joined us. For instance, I knew a Jewish man who took part in the revolution and the fighting also. He was the leader and commander of a large block consisting of five houses."

She believes that many Jews, especially students, were involved in the fighting.

Respondent felt that the only reason the Jews might fear a free and independent Hungary was the large number of Jews in the upper echelon of the Communist Party. This is somehow looked upon with great misgivings, but by the rest of the Hungarian nation.

VIII. HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Respondent thinks that youth is considered as the ages between 16 and 24.

B. Respondent agreed that the youth took the lead in the revolution, most emphatically.

She believed that the activities of the Petofi circle were the spark that ignited the fire, and inspired the gang-young people during the demonstrations, and the fighting also.

Respondent felt that the young rather than the old people took the lead because the young had much less to lose. Secondly, it was the youth who felt more dissatisfaction than the older generation. The older people, on the other hand, thought that the young people were simply hitting their heads against the wall and that they were too optimistic. However, the youth never lost their respect toward the older people during the revolution.

C. Respondent felt that the education during the last ten years in high schools was extremely good. That is, the quality of the education. This was due to the fact that the old teachers and professors were retained. These people could explain bad information in a manner as to do as little harm as possible. They were all very highly qualified as teachers.

A persons' vocational choice was always determined by the political plan prevailing at that time. At the time that respondent graduated from high school, the trend was that everyone should continue their educations and study as much as possible. After two years, it was decided that there were too many intellectuals on hand so bad marks were then given out so that it was impossible for people to continue their studies. After another year, it again became much easier to be enrolled at the university and the next year, again very bad. So it went on. However, the system always worked out according to numerous class clauses.

She does not believe that the high school teachers and professors were convinced Communists, and they were particularly reliable politically. She can only repeat what she said before, that they were extremely competent. With exception of the teacher who was giving the political or economic lectures. These, of course, were Party members.

However, she knows that her former ~~political~~ political economic teacher left the Party and became a militant member of the Petofi circle.

E. At her school, students had four hours of political and economic study and such like, all slanted. Her history teacher was a very competent man who was not a Communist and he managed to give his courses in such a way that the students knew how he felt and usually felt the same way. In her opinion, the Communists really did spend quite a lot of money and time and effort in trying to indoctrinate the youth.

When out of school and working, she had to attend political seminars held for members of her office. These were usually twice a week, but attendance, whether or not it was compulsory, depended entirely upon the present situation of the regime. For instance, at the time of the Korean War, they had to attend many such meetings.

The reason for the failure of the Communist indoctrination, respondent felt, is that the parents were able to counter-balance such teachings. Also, when the young people grew up, they could see for themselves that facts belied the Communist teachings. "How can anyone believe that every thing is fine when I can see for myself that it isn't."

At the beginning of the Communist regime, in 1948-49, great numbers of young people joined the DISz. This is a Communist youth organization, but at that time, everything looked much better than things actually turned out.

IX. DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. According to respondent, the main dissatisfaction was the extremely bad economic conditions and the complete disregard for personal freedoms. In short, all that was contained in the sixteen demands.

B. Particularly the young people complained about the difficulty in getting ahead and in getting good jobs ~~in-~~
~~what-they-liked,~~ and to study what they wanted to.

X. ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Respondent disclosed that, during the last years in Hungary, her family could not live a decent life at all. The standard of living was terribly low regarding food, clothing, and housing. Food was both expensive and scarce, mainly the essential consumer goods. One had to pay a whole month's wage for one pull-over. The cheap ones were of very inferior quality.

The housing shortage was extremely acute. They had to pay about 300 to 400 forints per month for a sub-let and this was only one room.

Respondent considered it a luxury to obtain a good, decent meal. However, it was housing that caused the most difficulty to the respondent. This was also the greatest problem to all young married people. They had to pay about 20,000 forints premium for an apartment.

The living standards in her family only went down further and further since 1949.

Respondent recalled an uncle who was an ophthalmologist and had his own shop. He made quite a bit of money. People in the medical profession who had private patients besides their work at the hospitals also made out very well.

Respondent believes that the reason that Hungarian standards of living have gone down so frightfully during the past eight years is the general world situation. The Soviet Union must be armed and they have a great need of food stuffs so as to feed their army well. Since the Soviets cannot take food stuffs from the Soviet without causing dissatisfaction at home, they take it from their satellites, respondent thinks. Much Hungarian food stuff also goes to Eastern Germany since the Soviets are trying to bolster up the standard of living there so as to avoid a break between East and West Germany. In fact, respondent said, the Russians are deathly afraid of the Germans and of the Americans.

B. When respondent first started to work, in 1955, in the dry cleaning cooperative, she received 740 forints per month. Deductions were as follows: Membership fee for the cooperative, 40 forints per month; old age pension, 5 forints per month; and health insurance, 6 forints per month.

Respondent did not receive any family allowance or any extra pay. She did not suffer any deductions for being childless since at the time she married, she was under the age of 22 and her husband was a student. These were exemptions. She did not have any secondary source of income. The only other member of the family who worked was her father, who worked in the same office. As previously mentioned, when respondent married, she didn't get her job back and she was placed in a section of the dry-cleaning plant where she had to do heavy physical work. There, she got as a starting salary, 800 forints per month and this was later raised to 1,300. For this money, however, she had to work a straight 14 hours a day.

C. As to prices before the revolution, respondent said that the prices in the state stores were always lower than those of the foreign-markets, farm markets. On the other hand, the quality was always better in the farm markets or in the privately owned small shops.

The state stores also had food stuffs of much lower quality. The commission stores carried only used clothing or furniture or commodities. The prices here were not too high and the quality was much better.

There was always some seasonal change in the price of food. Consumer goods always underwent a price change depending upon the prevailing political situation. When there was a pay increase, so did the prices of goods go up, and vice versa, when pay was cut, so were prices.

As to quality of goods, that always went down and down. This, because the tempo of production was increased and the norms were tightened. Naturally, the goods' quality suffered under this method.

According to respondent, one can not speak about retail distribution in the literal sense because all the stores were state owned. These stores always carried all goods, more or less. The Communists spent a great deal of time and money on market research so as to avoid a shortage of goods. Whether or not this had any effect is something quite different, of course.

It was next to impossible to get standard spare parts. Especially short in supply were the consumer goods, for instance, shoes and underwear. It always happened that certain goods were simply unavailable. On the other hand, all goods were always too expensive for regular purchasing. A wrist watch was, for instance, 1,700 forints. Coffee, chocolate, cocoa were simply unavailable, except for what could be gotten through the black market and this came mostly from packages received from abroad. As an example, respondent quoted that ten decagrams, about 3½ ounces, of cocoa was more than one day's wages. Two pounds of oranges were two days wages. Only Party members could have them- an automobile. The doctors did not own their own cars, they had them on a loan and use basis from the state.

On the whole, at the beginning of the Communist regime in 1948 and at the beginning of the Three Year Plan at that time, commodities were pretty much available, but the situation deteriorated ever since.

To respondent's knowledge, there was quite a bit of black marketeering going on, beginning with gold and food stuffs and proceeding wool and knitting materials. The black market was not organized. Everybody was selling something under the counter or behind closed doors. The prices were pretty steep. Of course, such quality was much better than any obtainable on the open market. Black market commodities usually came from foreign sources smuggled into Hungary or from packages received from abroad.

One pair of nylon stockings took five days' pay. Respondent made the comparison that here it would cost about one hour's pay.

Respondent never heard of legal outlets refusing to sell goods, unless the purchaser paid a higher price than authorized. The more so because they were all state controlled so there was a fixed price and nothing doing.

Black marketeering was illegal and very dangerous. Usually the penalties imposed were ranging from several years in prison.

B. When respondent started working, she worked eight hours a day including the lunch break. She took about an hour traveling to her job. Later, as mentioned, she had to work

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14 hours a day. Since her father also worked at the same coop, her relations with her superiors and co-workers were quite good. On the other hand, there was always trouble with the Party secretary who told her to work overtime on her wedding day. This she refused to do and so she was fired.

Respondent said that she was never afraid of her superiors nor of the Party secretary whom she hated. This man was not competent at all. He was a political figure head and that was all. The men under him were the ones who knew the job.

She was quite pleased with her work in the office, but became very dissatisfied with the physical labor which she later had to perform. She pointed out that while the workers were all high school graduates, the secretary and the boss had only completed six grades.

As mentioned, health deductions were taken from the workers; pay and everyone was therefore entitled to 12 days vacation. As a special compensation, some workers received a vacation at some health resort which was run by the state. Here, the costs were quite low and there was good food, usually. The choice places in the mountains and along Lake Balaton were reserved strictly for Party members.

Under the health program, every worker in Hungary was covered for hospitalization and doctors' fees and one had to pay only 10 - 15% for medicines. However, the medical examination was very superficial. Pensions, of course, were frightfully low. One could not live on a pension at all.

E. Respondent said she would prefer to live in Hungary in a small provincial town where she could have to opportunity to attend good libraries, the theatre and such like and where there are decent shops, but on the other hand, a place that was more quiet and peaceful than city life.

Respondent believed that the city workers in Hungary had a better diet. As an example, she said that a peasant very often had to buy his bread and could not even make it at home, due to a bad distribution or a bad harvest. She also believed that the standard of living was much higher in the cities. Also, the people had an easier time in the city politically because a village or a small town is too small and everybody knows each other. In a big city, one is not so conspicuous.

Her attitude toward collectivization when first introduced into Hungary was that it would not work. The Hungarian peasant is very fond of his own land and likes to work it for himself. It is against the character of a Hungarian peasant to work on a collective farm. Collectivization was carried out very badly because it was run by people who didn't know a thing about it. Those peasants who objected most were those who had had middle sized farms. A kulak who was not allowed to join a collective farm always had something left and on this land, he could work for himself. The middle sized land owners were put entirely into collectives and were not permitted to work any land for themselves. However, the very poor peasant was quite happy about collective farming since they never owned anything.

Respondent heard that during the revolution, some collectives were dissolved. In her opinion, the reason for this was that the peasants were glad to become independent once more. Had she been an agricultural worker in Hungary, she would have chosen to work on a state farm. Here, they pay less, but they could get around the work and were not forced to work so much and anyway, she dares, under the Communist regime, it is not worth while to work. It was easier to loaf on a state farm. Gradually, she would like to see a small land owners system in an independent Hungary.

XI. POLITICAL LIFE

A. Since respondent was very young in 1948, she could not express any views regarding politics at that time.

B. When asked about attitudes of the Communists and why they had joined the Party, respondent said that there were different kinds of Party members. First of all, there were those who had to join the Party under duress, more or less, because they were afraid of losing their jobs. Then there were the others who joined the Party voluntarily and more or less out of business, so to speak. These were mostly the Jews. "I'm sorry I have to say this, but this is the truth." There were also a few who were convinced and all-out Communists.

Her god-father attended all Party schools and was a rabid Communist. She still couldn't figure out why. Her god-mother was very much against this attitude and it made for a very unhappy marriage. Her god-father's action could be explained by his having had a very unhappy childhood and also in his younger years, he was unlucky in business, so maybe, respondent feels, he tried to compensate to himself by joining the Party which promised him so much. Anyway, he achieved his aims, because he became the president of the oil industries trust.

As to changes in the Communist Party during the past eight years, respondent felt she could say very little about this due to her age. In the past two years, however, they had experienced a "Softy" policy from the Communists, but this was due entirely to Moscow's orders. Respondent does not believe that this new trend came about because of the INTERNAL fights within the Hungarian Communist Party. It was after the death of Stalin that the Party line from Moscow deviated from Stalinism. Then the changes in the Hungarian Communist policies occurred.

Respondent could not give any information regarding Communist Party morale because she had practically no connection with these people.

Respondent believes that the motives and aims of the top Communists in Hungary are exclusively to obey the orders from Moscow. She does not believe that they have

individual motives, only that they are puppets of Moscow and want to maintain their positions as long as possible. Thus, they are servile to the Moscow regime. The Soviet Union has placed at the top in Hungary only those who are 100% behind the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party. A few who deviated from this, like Rajk, are very soon eliminated. But even the bigwigs in the Hungarian Communist Party are kept under strict observation by the AVH, even Rakosi, himself. This information was received during the revolution in the free Hungarian newspapers.

Respondent felt that the Communist members could be divided into three categories. There are puppets, there are a couple who sincerely believe in the Communist heaven and then there are, lastly, those who do this only for material gains.

Respondent felt that the motives of the rank and file members are the same as those of the upper echelon.

Respondent was very unhappy about the kind of punishment she would dole out to the top Communists when and if Hungary is free. She said that they do not deserve even a trial. They should be shot straight-away.

C. Respondent has heard of opposition to the Communist government before the revolution in the form of slow-downs and sabotage. These actions occurred mainly among the workers, but unfortunately, these acts were in no sense effective. This opposition behavior occurred during the entire last ten years or so. You couldn't hear of it very often, but it did exist.

Respondent had heard of the activities of the intellectuals before the revolution. She heard about the association of the authors and the Petofi circle also. She first heard of it around August, 1956. She heard that great and serious debates were taking place in the Petofi Circle, that the members are openly criticising the regime. This intellectual ferment gave some confidence to the other people because, so far, nothing had happened during the ten years.

All social classes joined in the activities of the Petofi circles. Everybody took part in the debates which were of literary, economic, and political character.

Some of the Petofi debates and meetings were even shown on the newsreels at the movies. In the opinion of the respondent, the Petofi circle formulated the ideas which everyone held and, as was said before, they were the spearhead of the revolution and the people who ignited the spark. Respondent feels that the Petofi circle was so strong that, had the revolution not interferred, she thinks it would have accomplished some appeasement and concessions from the government.

Respondent has a high regard for these intellectuals and she believes them to be very practical and down-to-earth people. During the revolution, several of their works were published such as Petofi poems, for instance.

She felt that the reason that they stood up against the Communists is that, as writers and authors, they must have freedom of speech and freedom of thought. In order to get ahead in the regime, even the writers, authors, composers, had to join the Party and they were restricted in their activities. They could not write or compose what they wanted, but rather what they were told by the Party.

XII. APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Technically, there were two kinds of AVH personnel. One was the blue AVH and the other was the green AVH. The green AVH were the political force and the blue were the members rank-and-file of this organization. The blue only served their compulsory military years and only were assigned to the AVH force. These blue AVH should not be mistaken for the so-called blue police who were the regular police who handled traffic and dealt with crimes such as murder.

The green AVH can be again divided into two categories. First, there were those in administration who held the top jobs, who sold themselves for high pay. The other part was those who implemented the AVH. These were the vilest gangsters.

Respondent had a brother-in-law who was locked up by the AVH for three years. He was tortured and beaten, but he never talked about it when he was released. As far as she knew, he was arrested on trumped up charges.

Respondent said that it was no exaggeration that life in Communist Hungary was one of constant anxiety and fear. For instance, whenever they listened to RFE or other Western stations, they pulled down the blinds and locked the doors. A few months before the revolution, however, the situation changed. People didn't seem to care and RFE could be heard going full blast all day.

When Hungary is free again, respondent would like to see done to the AVH the same things that they had done to their victims. In connection with this, the respondent told quite a gruesome story. I wonder if it is of any interest, but maybe I had better tell it.

She said that one of the freedom fighters, a friend of her and her husband, has seen this personally. During the revolution, at the big municipal theatre, they found a secret passage leading down to some cells. As a matter of fact, they were following a fleeing AVH man who suddenly disappeared behind a door. They forced the door by blowing it up and behind it they find a kind of machine which this man compared to a huge meat grinder. This machine was used, allegedly, for chopping up the AVH victims. The bodies went through the sewer and straight down to the Danube so as that there

were then no traces of the victims' bodies.

Also, in the same vicinity, they heard knockings and noises during the revolution, coming from the sewers which might have been some kind of ventilation for the prisons. They never found anything.

Respondent thinks that the regular police, as compared with the AVH, were, as she said "nicer". They were not that type of cruel gangsters. Nevertheless, they were under Russian trained people. She feels that their activities were quite efficient and they were competent when dealing with regular crimes. As to their role during the revolution, she can only tell of an incident which she saw for herself. As mentioned before, the police returned when ordered out to fight the crowd and did not use their weapons. A couple of times during the revolution, her husband saw the regular police surrender their arms to the fighters and they also fought on the freedom fighters' side.

B. Her opinion of the courts was that they were pretty fair in civil suits or ordinary crimes. However, she could say nothing about the courts before 1945 or about the People's Courts in 1947.

D. "Certainly not, the actions of the Russians in 1848 did not create the feelings of the Hungarians toward the Russians. It was entirely due to their actions in the 1944-45 'liberation'." Thus was her answer to what caused the feelings of the Hungarians at this time.

Even tho at the time, I was a small girl, my parents said that they didn't expect anything good of the Russians' occupation. They had read too much in the newspapers and heard too much over the radio about their behavior so they knew what to expect. Respondent's family and everyone they knew hated and despised the Russians for their behavior. They were stealing and murdering, looting and raping and in her opinion, they have not changed since.

Until quite recently, there were Russian soldiers billeted in a barracks quite near her home. The soldiers were extremely well fed and well cared for. They were often seen accosting people in the streets and trying to sell them stolen goods, such as watches and so on.

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In these barracks in Obuda, specially built railroad tracks led to the main railroad junction and here, they had seen for themselves how the Russians loaded Hungarian commodities and goods, food, etc. and shipped them out to Russia.

People despised the Russian soldiers billeted there and nobody was friendly with them. Women never dared to come home alone in the evening along the street where the barracks was situated. However, this may have gotten a little bit better, but nobody talked to the Russian occupation army as a rule.

Since no one ever had any contact with the Russian soldiers, she could not give an opinion on the Russians' attitudes toward Russia, Hungary, or the Hungarian people.

During the revolution, the soldiers were scared to death, especially by the kids. They were also famished because their supplies ran out and they were not supplied with any more food.

Respondent only could offer hearsay about the actions of the Russian soldiers during the revolution so she couldn't give any specific data. The only positive incident she could relate was about a girl she met in a camp in Austria after having left Hungary. The girl said she had been helped to cross the border by some Russ Russian soldiers. These soldiers defected themselves.

The only cruelty she heard of was that some Russian soldiers were shooting at the refugees along the border.

E. Respondent had very little contact with the Communist regime under Rakosi's bureaucracy. The place where she worked was a cooperative and they had only a delegate of the trade union. This man was not an expert and did not know the trade, but was a Party member. The $\frac{1}{2}$ other members of the coop were not Party members.

F. As to getting around Party regulations, respondent said the best way was to pull strings through some friend or relative and this was done by everyone, as much as possible.

Bribery was not such an easy thing. You had to know where to do it and how. As a rule, however, the top Communists could be bribed, through money or through women. Officers caught accepting bribes were severely punished, but if the person were a high Commie, the Party tried to hush it all up and nothing was published, even though the defendant may have been put to trial. Usually, the man was transferred and usually to a better job.

G. As to groups and people who hold power in Communist Hungary, respondent said: "The police thought themselves so but were certainly not efficient except in carrying out cruelty. In the Hungarian army there were still a couple of the old officers and leaders, but these were replaced, little by little, by the newer generation. These had neither the efficiency nor the experience of the old military personnel.

Field service employees, in general, were efficient, but not the leaders. They were just Communist figure heads."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent sincerely believes that the Hungarian revolution has ~~not~~ not been in vain. She thinks that for a couple of years, it will be very hard for the Hungarians under Communist rule, but again, she hopes that should any other country show any sign of wanting to break away from Soviet rulers, she hopes that Hungary would join them and would be willing to fight to the end.

Respondent does not believe at all that a Communist regime in the long run would be well established or that the people would accept it. During the Hungarian revolution, the Soviet Union and the Communist Party had shown their real selves and so nobody will ever have any confidence in them. Nevertheless, respondent believes that the Kadar regime will move further toward Stalinist types. They are, at present, scared of a new blow-up.

As to what will happen outside Hungary, respondent said "Russia, no doubt, will continue with her policy, that is, imperialistic aims. The Russians are extremely good politicians and the West is underestimating them. On the other hand, they are not good soldiers and they are not well equipped and the West here is afraid of them." She believes that the attitudes and actions will determine whether or not the Russians will go to an extreme. However, if the Western powers do not check the Russians in good time, little by little, Russia will achieve her aims without firing even one shot. All I can say is, during the revolution, our boys who fought against the Russians were amazed to see that they were using old, obsolete weapons. They never saw them use new, modern arms. She stressed that she felt the Russians were deadly enemies only in the political field and the U.S should realize this by now.

After all that has happened in Hungary, the great loss of life and loss of hope, respondent said that the Polish solution would have been better. It is still better than nothing. On the other hand, this is not a final solution at all. Respondent believes that a Polish type solution could be achieved only if Imre Nagy formed a government in Hungary. She spoke very warmly about Imre Nagy and her reasons for this were that under his regime The Hungarian people had a much better life and began to feel a little more free.

As to war between the U.S. and the USSR, respondent said that during the revolution, people were hoping that this would happen. She firmly believes that, short of war, no one will ever stop Russia. The events of the last few months have clearly proved that the UN sanctions or international pressure, arbitration, etc. have no effect whatsoever, on Soviet Russia.

Internal changes in the Soviet Union could lead to unsettlement in Eastern Europe.

B. According to respondent, before the revolution, nobody expected anything because they saw that things were going from bad to worse.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "If Hungary were independent, I would like to see a kind of political system like the one in Switzerland. This system seems to work perfectly well in uniting the different nationalities so I am sure it could be worked out the same way in Hungary. It should be governed by democratic principles. I mean democratic in the true sense of the word and not as interpreted by the Soviets.

B. According to respondent, an independent Hungary should concentrate on the large scale exploitation and development of her uranium mines, since this would put Hungary on a very sound basis. Second, an independent Hungary should return to an intensified agriculture. The light industry should be developed and mainly consumer goods produced. In the agricultural field, Hungary should keep on producing wheat.

In case the Communist regime is overthrown in Hungary, the national enterprises, that is, the heavy industry, should remain in the hands of the state. The factories should be returned to private owners if they do not employ more than 100 people. Then, they could remain in the hands of the state.

Regarding mining, respondent had the view that this industry prospered much better under private ownership. Also, the miners fared much better before the mines were nationalized in Hungary.

About the half of the state farms, respondent would like to see them remain in the hands of the state. The rest of the land should be given back to the private owners. She would, by all means, dissolve all the kolkhozes.

In her view, the government should set a maximum limit of 1,000 acres as the amount any one person may own. Regarding other real estate assets, she feels no limit should be put.

Respondent said that there is no other choice for her than the kind of a government which guarantees complete personal freedom for the individual. "After all, we have lived without freedom for twelve years and we had enough of that." Besides, if one is guaranteed personal freedom, one can work and succeed according to one's own talents and not according to one's class background, or political views.

Respondent believes that outlawing the Communist Party in Hungary would be unnecessary since Communism has completely lost its appeal in Hungary and she is convinced that the Party would have very few members.

C. Referring to the international position respondent would like to see for an independent Hungary, she said that any complete neutrality, as she said before, like that of Switzerland, in itself excludes all military alliances with anybody. On the other hand, she would like to see decent and honest trade relations with all countries as well as cultural relations, but she excepted the Soviet Union.

On the Federation of Danubian States, respondent said that she has heard about this problem and people are discussing it widely. Besides, as she recalls, Kossut already thought of this idea which is a sound one. It depends upon which countries participate. She personally would not like to see any other country than Austria taking part with Hungary in such a Danubian Federation.

The present boundaries of Hungary are unacceptable for the respondent. She would like to see a territorial adjustment referring to Transylvania and the northern part of Hungary, carried out by an international court, or arbitration. She is highly concerned over the problem of the Hungarian minorities and believes that only these territorial adjustments would help. The whole problem is quite important to her as it is to all Hungarians because the Hungarians are highly nationalistic and resent being under foreign rule.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

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A. At the time of the 20th Party Congress, respondent was quite young and was not very interested in it. She only knows about the events of this congress as they are taught at school. Respondent did not hear about Senator McCarthy and his un-American activities Committee. Nor did she hear anything about Peron and the course of his downfall.

Rakosi's private life was never discussed in the Hungarian press and therefore, no one knew very much about it, only since the revolution did it happen that the newspapers printed what it had found in his luxuriously equipped villa with all its secret passages, its bomb-proof shelters and so forth. He had a direct telephone line to Moscow, to all the AVH headquarters and to all the Party chiefs. As a matter of fact, respondent believes that Rakosi was the man who directed the activities of the AVH. His library was crammed with books whose pages were not even cut. It also is rumored that six big car loads of valuables were taken out to Russia during the revolution.

B. Regarding respondent's general reading habits, she disclosed that she did not read the newspapers regularly and the only magazine she read was a literary magazine. Books, however, she read in great number.

She read the translations of Western literature as much as possible, classics and modern, whatever was available and allowed. Some of them were handed down from friend to friend. She also read all Hungarian classics. Russian, she read only in school where they had compulsory lectures. She knew slanted Hungarian literature which she despised thoroughly and never any by the new modern authors.

She and her parents did not read newspapers because they were full of lies and one could not trust them. The only part of the newspapers which could be trusted were the weather forecasts and the theatre programs. Nevertheless, the family had to subscribe to the Szabad Nep. The family also read sometimes the Nep Szabad and Esti Budapest. Respondent didn't know of any publications from the USSR or other satellites. Also they never read any publications from the West since they couldn't get any.

Except when friends received magazines from the U.S. which had been included in packages. Officially, no Western publications were allowed into the country. However, respondent read Hungarian patriotic poems inciting against the Soviet Union. These were passed, in secret, from friend to friend. This was the only so-called illegal publication she could think of.

C. Respondent always heard news by word of mouth from different friends and relatives. Everybody was telling the things they heard from the Western radio broadcasts. They were very careful however about whom they told this news to. Respondent always thought that people always added a bit whenever they passed on news. She did not consider such news 100% reliable. Actually, there was a lot of wishful thinking in this news. Respondent always passed on information by word of mouth, but only to very good friends.

F. Respondent went to the cinema several times a week. She was very enthusiastic about French and Italian pictures which she thought to be the best. A couple of the Hungarian movies were quite good, but especially at the beginning of the Communist regime, there was too much Communist propaganda in them. She has seen very few Russian pictures because the stories were extremely dull and silly. However, the photography was quite good.

As to theatre and opera, she often went to the Hungarian National Theatre and to the Hungarian opera. In the theatre, she saw mostly classics and at the opera, a group of Italian operas. The two movies she liked best and could remember were "Before the Floods Came" and "My Life as a French Princess". The two plays she liked best were "Cyrano" and "Bankban". Regarding "Cyrano", she said the production was terrific and the actors were wonderful.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Respondent thought there was a possibility that changes inside Russia could occur, but only through a revolution.

Many Russian soldiers have spent a long time in Eastern Europe and could tell the people back home that things are different over there than they are told back in Russia.

Respondent doesn't believe that a gradual liberation would work out because it takes too much time. Also, they-are since there are constant rifts in the Party factions in Russia, a gradual liberation would, in the end, only mean a see-saw policy and it would not achieve a relative change. If Russia had free elections, she believes that the Communist Party would get a minority vote. She thought that the government could be republican.

Respondent was very quick in answering what are the aims of the top leaders in Russia. She said there is no doubt about it, ~~a~~ Russian Communists as a group are after world domination. As respondent sees it, it is megalomania.

The difference between the Hungarian and the Soviet Communists is "The Russian Communists dictate and the Hungarian Communists obey."

B. According to respondent, the popularity in Hungary of the other nations is first, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. This is based on the preferences of the people because one cannot differentiate between Communist puppet governments; they are all the same. Also, she said that she had seen some statistics before the revolution which showed how many people visited these Eastern countries and the majority of people went to East Germany and then accordingly, as she cited.

Respondent had no contact with anyone of the Eastern European countries. She's convinced that if free elections were held, all the countries would oust the Communist regimes.

The best standards of living at present are in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania.

C. Respondent believes that the Polish situation has changed for the better and Gomulka's government has achieved some improvement. However, she was not so sure that in the long run, this would work out well. At present, it does seem to work because otherwise the Poles would have joined the Hungarian revolution. Gomulka, at present, is pretty popular and the people of Poland are hoping for further improvement. Therefore, respondent believes that Gomulka will stay in power, at least for a while. On the other hand, the future of Poland depends entirely in the world's political situation.

Respondent did not hear much about events in Poland before the revolution. In fact, she first heard from her husband on October 22nd when he came home and told her there was going to be a sympathy demonstration at the Bem statue. During the Hungarian revolution, the effects of the Polish events, such as the Polish thaw were dwarfed by the events in Hungary and everybody was busy thinking only of the Hungarian cause. They more or less forgot about Poland.

She did not hear any of the freedom of expression in Poland a year before Gomulka's rise to power. She just heard the-mess of the Poznan riots, but she couldn't tell any more about them. At the time of the revolution, respondent would not have preferred a more Polish solution because they were hoping for so much more.

D. Respondent had a pretty low opinion of Tito. When asked why, she said that she despised him for his opportunist policy. He's a turn-coat and a fancy seeker, she said. She thought that Tito was the originator of national Communism, but national Communism is just as bad as the other international Communism. As to Tito's relations with other Eastern European nations, with Russia and with the West, she said that he is the same toward everybody, he is not a sincere and honest man. Nobody knows what he is going to do next. But anyway, he always does what is most profitable. During the revolution, Tito's behavior was much criticised by the Hungarians. In fact, the speech he made was typical of him. He condemned the Hungarian revolution and then praised them. Nevertheless, his attitude encouraged many Hungarians to flee to Yugoslavia after the revolution.

Regarding the actions of Rajk and other titoist Communists, respondent said she was much too young at the time of the Rajk trials. However, she thought that the rehabilitation of Rajk was very ridiculous. Nevertheless, this attitude is very typical of the Communist regime. Respondent also said that the widow of Rajk got 100,000 forints from the Hungarian Communist government, as a compensation. But the woman handed over this money to some LIBRARY for cultural purposes. Respondent had met Mrs. Rajk socially.

Respondent believes that Tito must be popular or else he couldn't be at the helm of the country for such a long time. As far as she has heard, the working class in Yugoslavia has a better standard of living than before. But the others are pretty badly off. Personal freedom is on a much better level than in Hungary. This information she got from friends who visited from Yugoslavia.

Respondent feels that the Communists gained control of China due to the extremely low standard of living, that had prevailed there. Also, the sharp contrast between the social castes had much to do with this. Communists promised neutrality and a land reform.

Respondent doesn't know very much about relations between England and India. She only thought that their relations had become more friendly due to Nehru's influence.

Respondent's views on the Suez situation were very impulsive and rather unorthodox. She thought that the British and the French shouldn't have invaded Egypt, but that they could have found some enemies to eliminate Nasser. The timing of the Suez situation was one cause of the Hungarian events taking such a bad turn.

Respondent did not have any particular views regarding the Israeli invasion and wasn't very much interested in that side of the question.

Regarding the nationalization of the Suez Canal, she said the action was quite right in point of view of the

people, if Nasser wanted his people to benefit from this. On the other hand, she believes the whole nationalization came about under Soviet pressure and instigation. According to her, the events in Egypt had great influence on the development of events in Hungary. Russia's attitude was then that if other nations are allowed to attack, why shouldn't she? Also, respondent believed it was a tragedy that, at the time of the revolution, not only the Suez events and the UN died down, but there were presidential elections going on also, in the U.S. and so America was busy with other things and was not fully concerned with the Hungarian revolution.

F. Respondent thinks that the living standard is extremely high in West Germany and is expected to improve furthermore. She saw this for herself when she stopped for three days in Munich before coming to the U.S.. She feels that the division of this country into two parts cannot be maintained for very much longer. This is a very delicate situation and will remain a possible powder keg for some time to come. The Germans will do their utmost to unite their country. This may be a cause for war.

Respondent believes that German re-armament is going on with the full assistance and approval of the Western powers. And she believes that this is quite right because Germany must be armed against Communism. She also believes that the West German army is stronger than the British because it receives arms from the U.S. and these arms are very modern and up-to-date. However, she also believes that the German army is stronger than the French, but she does not know the term of service in the West German army.

In reference to the German occupation of Hungary in 1945, she compared them with the Russian army and said "At the time of the German occupation, I was only 8 years old, but I can well remember how these soldiers and officers were so I knew this from my mother. Those officers and enlisted men were extremely difficult. They were very tidy, clean, cultured and friendly people. They respected the women and there wasn't any

case of rape. There was no question about that it that the German army was disciplined unlike the Russian which was not. The Russian army was highly distasteful and disliked in Hungary.

G. Respondent doesn't know much about the British Labor Party, but she read that they are getting more and more votes. In her opinion, this Labor Party is rather a socialist party not favorable to Communism. She believes that in every European Socialist Party, there are probably factions that tend toward the left and others more to the right.

Respondent ranked the countries according to their standards of living as follows: West Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Soviet Union, ~~Egypt~~ Greece, and Egypt.

H. Her greatest surprise upon landing in the U.S. was the city of New York. Its huge dimensions, its sky-scrapers, the amount of traffic, the rich display of goods at comparatively low prices.

Respondent didn't think too highly of American foreign policy; she believed it to be too cautious so she doesn't see how the U.S. could do anything helpful for the people of the Eastern European nations. "I think that this is a very difficult question to answer. Since East Europe was sold out at Yalta, I don't quite see what can be done now. The only aid the U.S. could give now to Eastern Europe would be economic help, but then how to go about it so that this aid doesn't go to Russia and remains in the chosen country for the benefit of the people is a problem. On the whole, I must say that I was greatly disappointed in the foreign policy of the U.S. We expected them to be much stronger in spirit."

Aid should be given to the people of the countries behind the iron curtain, but it is doubtful whether the people will profit by it. Maybe some way could be found for the distribution of loans and aid. The international Red Cross or something, I really do not know. However, under no condition should the Kadar government in Hungary receive any assistance from the West.

"This is and has been my attitude ever since I came out".

"The only government the U.S could deal with in Hungary would be that of the former Communist Nagy."

People in Hungary certainly would like to see more Western visitors. These visits should be of a purely cultural nature and all politics avoided. This already determines the kind of persons who would be most welcome. Visitors should be advised before they arrive in Hungary that they should not believe everything they see, but they should try to find out things for themselves. The actual conditions in Hungary could be learned from those in the West who left Hungary only a short time ago.

She is convinced that the people at home would like to receive Western books and periodicals. These past twelve years have meant they were cut off from everything that meant something to them so that they are literally famished for anything that comes from the West.

Respondent mentioned that during the few short days of the revolution, all the books that were on the prohibited list somehow came out of hiding and were sold at the second hand book stores. She remembers that instead of buying two pounds of lard one day, she bought herself a book by A WESTERN AUTHOR. The best place for these books to be sent would be to publishers or distributors. They would have the facilities for distributing books and periodicals on a large scale.

"I have learned something about the Marshall Plan as launched by the U.S. in 1948 in our history lessons at school, but I am fully aware that these were slanted and we were not told of the real motives of the U.S. We were told that Italy and France were swamped with American surplus stocks which were dumped on the markets at very high prices. Also at the time of the Korean War, I was much too young and I do not remember public opinion at that time. However, I think that probably the U.S wanted to have military bases in this hemisphere. Also I remember that 5% of all salaries were deducted for Korean stamps and doctors and nurses and even students went over to Korea to fight. They received terrific salaries."

J. Respondent's general attitude toward the UN is bitter. She said, "Do you know what we called the UN? We called it the _____ of the big nations. I'm sorry to be so

bitter about it but what has happened in Hungary makes me feel I cannot be unbiased. To my mind, the charter must be completely wrong. The decent members of the UN cannot act according to their convictions on account of the veto which is always exercised by the Soviet Union and I believe that the past has shown that the UN charter doesn't work. Regarding the UN action we expected during the revolution, we were thoroughly convinced that the UN would send troops and observers just as they did with the case of Egypt. This was the least we were expecting and hoping for. In my belief, the chances for effective UN action in Hungary are nil in the foreseeable future."

"You can also note that these views are shared by the young people who came out from Hungary and all the people still back in Hungary. We sincerely wish that the top executives of the UN would see for themselves our reactions and our attitudes as we express them in these interviews."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Respondent immediately named Imre Nagy as the greatest living Hungarian. She said she had a great admiration for Mr. Nagy even though he is a Communist. He did not sell out the country to the Russians and he did the best he could. Furthermore, she believes that he is a very able man who has several degrees in social, political economy. He was a professor at the university and she firmly believes that he would have been the man to lead the country out of its terrible mess. "After all, he was the first one to declare Hungary neutral and to invoke the Warsaw Pact."

B. Respondent's reactions to a number of persons of world importance were as follows:

Imre Nagy, see above.

Cardinal Mindsenty "You know, I was confirmed by Cardinal Mindsenty and he is a wonderful priest. However, I do not approve of the clergy interferring in politics and I thoroughly disapprove of Cardinal Mindsenty's speech during the revolution."

Rajk - "I cannot say anything. I was a small girl at the ~~time~~ time of his trial."

Gero -- "I thoroughly despise and hate this man."

Kadar - "Somehow I pity him and despise him at the same time. He is not a lonely person anymore."

Eisenhower - "To be quite frank, we were expecting much more of him in connection with our cause, but on the other hand, we feel deep gratitude toward him for all his assistance and aid given to Hungarians who came to this country. I also think that Vice President Nixon's visit to Europe in December was a very fortunate idea. The vice president was extremely popular with the refugees. I myself was quite near him when he came to visit us at camp."

Hammerskjold - respondent was very critical. She is rather inclined to be on the "left" side. In connection with the Hungarian cause, he was decidedly too weak. "I believe that the reason for his leniency is that he is strongly socialist."

"Since Dulles represents the American foreign policy, I do not approve of his abilities just as I do not approve of the United States foreign policy, which is much too cautious and much too slow."

About former Prime Minister Eden and former President Truman, respondent doesn't know anything.

Respondent's view on other important people in world politics were as follows:

Mikoyan - she doesn't know anything.

Nehru - she thinks that by expressing his sympathy for the Hungarian revolution, he has somehow made himself unpopular with the Soviet Union. She knew that he is the man who tried to weed out misery and dependence from the British empire.

Generalissimo Chiang kai-Chek - She knew that he is the leader of nationalist China.

When I asked about Ferenc Nagy, her reaction, I quote: "Oh, well!! This one is a scoundrel! He took with him the money of the Smallholders' Party when he left the country."

She confessed to a dislike for former President Roosevelt because "he was on too good terms with Stalin and because he sold out Hungary at Yalta with the rest of Eastern Europe."

Chancellor Adenauer - She agreed that he is an extremely able politician.

She felt there was no need to express her opinion of "our father", Stalin. This would only be repetition of what everybody says."

Malenkov - She said that she isn't quite sure what his policy is.

Generalissimo Franco of Spain - He is an anti-Communist, a "little Hitler" and he is the leader of Spain.

Bevan - Never heard of him.

Khrushchev - He was the Party secretary of the Russian Communist Party and she resented his trip when he tried to court the Western powers together with Bulganin.

Tito - She can only repeat what she said before.

Peron - She didn't know anything.

Molotov - Is an extremely good politician and is full of ambition. He rather likes himself in this role.

Ollenhauer - Never heard of him.

Churchill -- She couldn't give any opinion due to her youth while he was in office, but she knew that he was one of the statesman who took part in the Yalta Conference with Roosevelt and Stalin.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. To respondent's belief, generally speaking, first of all, the young people who left Hungary may now fear retaliations. Also the young boys who left were afraid of being deported. These were mostly students between the ages of 16 and 20. Then, also, quite a number of peasants had left from the villages and from the border. A great number of skilled workers had also left. Furthermore, relatives of former immigrants who thought this a good time to leave and not be missed. They did not want to live any longer under Communist oppression. Respondent also believes that a great number of priests and nuns came over. The majority who stayed behind were mostly elderly people. Also the majority of workers and peasants who did not want to leave their land. As to why they stayed behind, respondent believe that maybe a great many of them had made up their minds ~~and-th~~ to leave and then it was too late to leave by then. The peasants said they didn't want to leave their land and the older generation was afraid of the future. Then, the Communists also stayed behind. There were quite a number of them who stayed behind but during the first days of the revolution, she believes there were also quite a few who escaped.

Respondent feels very sorry for all who stayed behind. She had a friend who also decided to come out and they went to take leave of their families, but then the children and older people broke down and they didn't have the strength to leave. Now, they are really sorry.

Those who stayed behind are keenly interested in following the path of those who left, their activities and how they fare. The general opinion is, and this she has from letters, that it was a wise thing to do, to flee.

Assuming that the young ones had the chance to flee to the West, she still thinks that a small per centage would nevertheless stay back. Mostly, these would be elderly people who couldn't start life anew, under completely alien circumstances. Also, she thinks that the Hungarian peasants would not leave the country.

B. She has heard of Hungarian exile organizations from individuals while in Hungary, but she couldn't name any.

On the list of individuals which she had to fill in, she made the following remarks:

Monsignor Varga - she heard about him, that he was a non-politician in 1948.

Ferenc Nagy - she said "Well, I have given my opinion about him, didn't I?"

Charles Peyer - she knew he was a Social-democrat and that he was Prime Minister in Hungary.

Pfeiffer and Baron-kovics - she only knew that they played some part in Hungarian politics in 1948.

Otto- she recalled that he was the last Hapsburg and the pretender to the Hungarian throne.

Admiral Northy - she held him in high esteem who was the rvgent of Hungary and he thought he was from a wonderful family and extremely nice and good Hungarian people. She knew he had died recently.

On the activities of politicians who left Hungary before 1956, and other immigrants, she beleived that they did their very best to accomplish something for Hungary, but they didn't succeed. She believes that they should have exerted stronger pressure on the UN. She also thought of them during the revolution because she hoped that they could do something to influence UN actions.

C. Respondent never knew any Hungarian who escaped to the West after ;45 and who returned . She believes that the Hungarian Communist re-defection campaign met with some success as there were quite a few people who were very homesick and who returned. But on the whole, she did not consider this campsign very successful.

D. In respondent's view, people who had left Hungary should be united now in some kind of an organization so as to be strong and united in case there is an opportunity to act and represent a united front. She feels this was a trouble during the revolution, that

nation did not have a leader and that the nation was not completely united.

She believes that the people in Hungary would like to know about the exiles, first of all, how they are getting along in their new homes and what kind of jobs they are getting, what salaries they earn, and what are the living standards, etc.

What they should know, and this is what everyone should write home is about the extensive personal freedom permitted everyone here and that everyone may have his own views on rights to freedom.

When asked what she personally could do for her country, she said she wants to learn English as quickly as possible. Then she would like to get a job with an organization that is working in the interests of Hungary and the Hungarian cause. She mentioned specifically any organization that deals with immigration and later on, Radio Free Europe.

She would like to join an exile organization and she wondered if there is an organization that has cultural, social, political aims all at the same time, already. If not, she thought it would be a good idea to form such a one. One purpose of such an organization would be to keep the Hungarian cause before the public. Also, if given the opportunity, it should be able to present the Hungarian cause immediately and effectively. The organization should consist of new exiles and old, and pre-revolution exiles also since they would have more experience, in connection with public life in the U.S.

Concerning the various political parties before 1948, she has not any real knowledge since she was too young at that time. As to her attitude to parties that assumed re-activity during the revolution, she repeated that she thought this was wrong because it divided the nation. This re-organizing of the parties could very well have been postponed until after the revolution.

E. Respondent was quite decided about this question, and she said most emphatically that she does want to go back to Hungary when and if Hungary is again free. If

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this does not ever occur, then she would only go back for a visit or go only to the border to get her parents out.

She also said that she would wish to teach her children to speak Hungarian in the U.S. when and if she has any children.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. While in Hungary, she and her family listened to VOA, RFE and to the BBC broadcasts. The best was usually VOA, but this changed. All the free stations were more or less jammed. Since no one in her family spoke any foreign language, they always listened to the Hungarian broadcasts of these stations. Most frequently, they listened to RFE and especially, during the revolution, day and night. Everyone told everyone else what they had heard on the radio. They listened to the broadcasts on their own radio together with parents, relatives and good friends. They openly discussed these broadcasts in the office but only when the Party secretary was not present. Until 1953, there was a great risk involved in listening to foreign broadcasts, but this never deterred anyone from listening. The penalties were usually prison or at least a bad mark on the cadde. Under Nagy and shortly before the revolution, it was much better and no one cared too much about being overheard.

She preferred the BBC broadcasts for its good music. Otherwise, she usually listened to VOA if she wanted to get reliable news. She thought that RFE was exaggerating. She judged the accuracy of the VOA by comparing what the Hungarian radio said with what she heard from people by word of mouth and so on.

Respondent felt that these broadcasts had a good effect on the people especially before the revolution because everybody was listening and all were fervently hoping that at a given moment, Western aid would be forthcoming.

During the revolution, the main role of RFE was that it kept the Hungarian people informed about events outside Hungary and even about events in the western part of Hungary. At that time, the Hungarian radio did not broadcast anything but music. During the revolution, RFE was not jammed. People were glad to hear about the reactions of the western peoples at this time. Furthermore, RFE was in constant touch with the Freedom Fighters; radio transmitters such as Roka radio which was the

broadcasting station of the Freedom Fighters' headquarters. Her own reactions to these broadcasts were as follows:

"I had quite a good opinion of RFE broadcasts up until the revolution. At that time, I believed that RFE promised too much and encouraged people irresponsibly. I remember just before the presidential elections, I heard a broadcast saying that only three more days, please hold out and then help will be forthcoming. It was a great disillusionment to everybody that, in the end, it was only words and no action. "Since RFE was not authorized to encourage the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, why did it do so?"

Nevertheless, she thinks that RFE should continue to broadcast behind the iron curtain, more so because now these broadcasts are the only source of information from the West for the people in Hungary. She believes that the emphasis of these broadcasts should be on the cultural side, but also political and economic news is very useful. In this respect, the broadcasts of BBC were always much better than those of RFE. Programs about life in Western Europe and in the U.S. would be of much interest to the people of Hungary. As to anti-Communist propaganda, it should not be put on so heavily. Good musical programs should have more time on the new programs of the RFE.

B. Respondent did not hear about the NEM. She has heard about the 12 demands and that there is a resistance movement underground in Hungary.

Respondent has not seen any Free Europe leaflets. Also she doesn't know whether there was any risk involved in picking them up because these leaflets were dropped primarily in the provinces and she always lived in Budapest. Nevertheless, she believes that it would be quite useful to drop leaflets into Hungary. It never does any harm to encourage people.

As to what should be stressed in these leaflets, she thinks that politics should be left out. These leaflets should contain mostly economic data. The Hungarian people have become accustomed to the fact that they have no political rights. On the other hand, respondent is convinced that straight economic news would interest them. A worker, for instance, is not so much interested in politics as he is in knowing the buying power of a dollar. Respondent thinks that living standards, working conditions, etc. of the West would greatly interest such a person, however and would be

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good anti-Communist propaganda.

D. Respondent believes that all groups that have sent leaflets into Hungary have the same aim, that is to inform the people behind the iron curtain.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. Respondent expressed the view that a child should be reared in a religious, honest, decent atmosphere. A child should be told to read a great deal, but only books that are fit for a child. He should be made interested in the arts and in the theatre and also he should learn as many languages as possible,

In her opinion, a child must be disciplined, by either words and example or if this doesn't help, as long as the child is small, then by physical discipline since this never hurt anybody. She thinks that the belief that physical punishment harms a child's ego is completely wrong. The treatment for boys and girls must, of course, be different. One can always be softer with girls than with boys. Boys must be brought up to be brave, smart, quick and alert. The boys should be brought up by the father and the girls by the mother.

The treatment of children changes according to their ages. Up to 15, children should be kept very strictly and then gradually the discipline should change into a relationship that is more friendly (on a friendship basis). It is very important that the children should know that their parents are their very best friends. "This I can say from my own experience in my own family and this way has worked fine in our family."

She recalled an incident when she was 10 years old and she played hockey. When her mother found this out, she gave her a good spanking. Later on, she was taken back to school where the teacher took her around to all the classes and just presented her, "Now this is the girl who didn't want to attend school." She was terribly ashamed and it never happened again, of course.

Another time, when she was much younger, about 6 or 7, she didn't do her homework. This time, the same thing happened, she was presented at all the other classes as "the girl who didn't want to do her homework", and once again, she never failed to do her obligations.

Among the people she knew, children were usually punished even if they were 6 years old or more. A few slaps now and then always worked wonders. She does not think that this varied among different social classes. However, the role of the father in the last ten years has greatly diminished in this respect. This was due to the fact that the father was less and less often at home.

According to respondent, parents stopped punishing children at about 13 or 14 years. This is when they stop physical punishment. Of course, it's a little earlier with girls. Other punishment is not abandoned for as long as the children live at home, and are not independent wage earners.

She does not think that there is any difference in type or length of time that punishment is administered among the different social classes.

The Communist regime did bring about changes in this respect inasmuch as the physical punishment has been abandoned at school. The parents however, do employ it. Usually, the parents do not care too much about the dicta of the Communist regime.

There hasn't been any great change in the last ten years regarding the discipline of children in the Hungarian schools except for the fact that the techniques of discipline have changed, that is, physical punishment has been abandoned. The other methods of discipline were maintained. Usually, children were first warned and then the parents were notified of their behavior or poor grades. If children got bad marks in deportment, they were usually transferred from one class to another or expelled from school. This technical discipline was maintained during the Communist regime. Respondent could not give details about punishment for boys because she attended an all girls school.

In a friend, she must find sincerity. A good friend must stand by even through trouble and also she must tell her the truth even if it's not pleasant, but she must never tell confidences behind her back. It is also important to have identical fields of interest, more or less. Under Communism, people do not make friends as easily. Everyone is a little more cautious.

END