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18. Arrived in U.S. December 13, 1956
19. Travels in U.S.: Camp Kilmer, Bard College, Stamford, ~~Switzerland~~ Conn., Essex, Conn., New Haven, Conn., Franklin, N.J., N.Y.C., and Purchase, Manhattanville College, N.Y.
20. Immediate Plans: at present attending pre-med school, Manhattanville College, N.Y. Plans to specialize in ~~optometry~~ ^{ophthalmology}
21. Respondent had routine interview by the NCIC in Austria, also at Bard College by a reporter of the Radio Geneva, Switzerland.
22. Foreign languages: French, German, some English. She also learned and understands Russian.

Subject's background is of a well-to-do, upper bourgeoisie. Before 1952 father ran a successful meat processing wholesale business. The girl is very young and cannot recall all events up to 1950. Her family had means enough to tide them over during the most critical years when her father was not working and hiding in a province.

The girl had a good, ^{THE} solid, religious education and was brought up in a close knit, congenial family atmosphere. Subject is rather passive, not very talkative, had a hard time in getting more detailed information from her. She is well educated and quite intelligent, and, as I experienced with other Hungarian students, she holds a very mature, and sound views.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

↑ To my mind, I think the West ought to realize that, at the time of the revolution, they failed to make use of the unique opportunity the Hungarians gave them to, once and for all, put an end to the Russian expansion, and to crush Russian domination in Eastern Europe. ↑

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

A. Respondent lived in the industrial suburbs of Budapest and at the time of the revolution was attending a language course in the city. On October 23, when she was through with her course, she started to go home and took a tram to Kobanya. On the street -- car going home she heard from several people that demonstrations took place in the city, and at that time people were surging toward the Parliament Building.

On October 24 at 4 a.m., a neighbor came and told them that a revolution had broken out in Budapest. Respondent then quickly dressed and told her parents she was go to see what was happening. She started out with one of her former classmates. First her parents tried to stop them and talk sense into them, but it was no use. At that time there was no means of communication anymore. While walking they met several people coming from town who told them about the revolution. They were joined by other people and they all went to town together. This was the first time she had heard the slogans. Passing a railway depot they saw one of the local trains arriving from the provinces crowded with soldiers who were distributing weapons to the civilians. The soldiers tore from their uniforms the red star insignias and joined the ~~people~~ demonstrators. The streets were crowded with trucks carrying boys and girls and people toward the city. Some of the young people were singing national songs and reciting famous poems of Petofi. She also saw a great number of pamphlets and leaflets distributed. They also pulled down several red flags and burned them. Respondent also recalls an episode where she saw ~~an~~ a Russian truck stopped and the Russian soldiers killed.

It was late in the afternoon when she finally reached Ulloi Ut. Despite marshall law everyone was in the streets and a great deal of sniping and shooting was going on.

Respondent then went to see her uncle who lived in the 29th district. Here she heard from a student who called that it

was the university students who were directing the revolution.

After resting at her uncle's she again went out into the streets. In the neighborhood there was a military building and she saw young boys arriving in trucks who attacked the building, hoisted the flag without the Russian insignia. Respondent then saw policemen and soldiers come out of the building and hand over their arms.

Respondent recalls that she saw several tanks, sometimes manned by Russians, sometimes by Hungarians, going up and down and there was a great deal of confusion in that district. At that time there was many wounded who had to be cared for, so one of the welfare centers was used for a temporary hospital. She went there and volunteered her services.

When asked about her feeling when she joined the demonstrators, respondent said, "I really can't describe my feelings. It was something quite unusual and very, very strong. It was mainly the feeling of intense relief that we are at last free and are able to express ourselves. Also, we were immensely proud that our little nation which was so completely oppressed dared to wage war with the Russian giant. I was very confident and I believed that the revolution would succeed because my feelings were that if we feel we are doing right, it could not be that we should lose our cause. I was willing to make any sacrifice for this cause."

"It was also interesting to see how everyone, all of a sudden, felt as one nation, as brothers. For the past ten years we had never felt so proud as we did during the revolution. We felt we were Hungarians, united in our hatred against oppression."

"As to being afraid, I can only say that nobody gave a thought to this. I expect everyone felt as I did, that, since everyone took part in the revolution, there was no need to be afraid individually."

Respondent said that she felt there was only one main demand. Everyone wanted the government to comply with the demand that the Russian troops should leave Hungary. This was the key problem and the withdrawal would have brought about a complete change. On the whole, respondent said, the points of the students expressed

pretty well the demands of the whole nation. Respondent was pretty sure that at that time nobody would have accepted any concessions from the government.

As to the ages, sex, and class of the demonstrators, respondent said that she saw mostly young people, but also saw the workers who had finished their factory work joined the demonstrators in the streets. Subject also emphasized that she could hardly believe her eyes when she saw how young and old, men and women, children, everyone joined in the demonstrations. She said the only exceptions were the people in the government and the Communists.

As to the demonstrations turning into fighting respondent feels that there was no thought of fighting at first and it was the result of the behavior of the AVH and the government that the fighting started. Respondent feels that if the government had given in to their demands and permitted them to read their points over the radio the fighting might have been avoided.

Concerning the overall outcome of the revolution, Respondent said, "We all were optimistic because at last the time had come when we could voice our terms. Also, we felt that now the West would come to our assistance."

"The recalling of the Russian troops was, of course, Gero's doing. Then we hoped even more that the West would act."

C. The days between the withdrawal ^{of} and ~~the~~ reinvasion of Russian troops respondent spent in the 20th district at the temporary first-aid station where there was a great number of wounded. *were*

"These days between the 25th and November 2 were the most beautiful days of the revolution. At that time everyone believed that the negotiations with the Russian government would have some results. Everyone was very confident that The Workers Council would set up and so on."

On the 3rd of November respondent went back to her parents in Kobanya. Here, no one believed that the Russians had really withdrawn their troops because they knew only too well the Russian policy, but they were hoping against hope.

It was early November 4, around dawn, when they first heard the Russian tanks rumbling along the streets on the Jassberenyi, ST. The whole district seemed to swarm with the Russian army.

Respondent's time between November 5 and 24, the day of her escape, was spent mostly at home. "People by that time were losing all hope. We all were sitting around radios listening to foreign broadcasts. We did not go out much because the Russians were posted all over the place; tanks, soldiers, we even had Russians directing the traffic. There were huge yellow signs stuck up on every telephone pole with Russian directions to the Russian troops. My brothers had brought home a great deal of arms and ammunition and my parents were afraid that the Russians would ~~find~~ discover this. One ~~day~~ day the boys disappeared from home, leaving a note that they are going to get rid of the arms and ammunition. Then they never worried, so, of course my parents and I were very distressed.

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"In order to be helpful, I again went to the temporary hospital which had been set up in Vigyazo, ^{STREET} nearby. I was on duty usually at night.

"The only optimist in our family was my father, who kept on listening to the radio all the time. It was also during that week that the workers of a nearby oil refinery blew up big oil tanks which burned for days. They also went out on strike.

"We started planning our escape around ~~the~~ November 24 because we saw that the situation was quite hopeless. A friend of my father's said he would bring us to Austria in a truck because he had some Russian papers for his truck. Father did not want to leave before he had heard from my brothers, so he told us to

go ahead. He was going to stay behind. One day my father had just gone out on a truck to get supplies for the hospital. While he was gone his friend came and told us that this was the last moment we had to decide to go with him. So, my mother and I packed a few things and left a note for my father.

The only thing which Hungary has gained, to my mind, is the respect and admiration of the West."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

"What we really and realistically expected from the West was strong diplomatic help. We, of course, thought of ~~any~~ armed ~~resistance~~ ^{ASSISTANCE} but we thought this would not work at all because of the risk of a world war. As to the basis of our expectations, well, these were mainly supported by the West's radio broadcasts, which in the last couple of years had given us great hope and confidence. Anyway, this enchantment switched over to unhappy and bitter feelings. We were all terribly distressed that the Western world did not stand up for the ideals we expected they would. After all, the Hungarian problem was something which had to do with ideals. It was the life or death of a nation."

Respondent did not come into contact with any foreigners between ~~Sept~~ October 23 and her escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's father was wholesale meat processor and owned his own business. During the war he was an officer in the reserve. After the war, in 1948, he continued his business, although on a restricted basis. Between the years of 1948 and '52 her father was not working. His business was nationalized, and they lived on their reserves. The father seemed to be a very ~~st~~ stubborn man and he simply refused to go and work for the regime. As respondent disclosed, he was a well-known personality in the district and the party tried to rope him in. When they saw that they would not succeed, one day their house was searched and the father was arrested for hiding gold. Later, when he was released he worked as a cab driver for awhile. Then he went in hiding in the provinces with his wife, because a friend had warned him that he was to be rearrested. Shortly before the revolution the father came to Budapest again.

Respondent was very young before and during the war, so ~~sh~~ she cannot recall her father's income. The only thing she could say was that they led a very comfortable life and had everything they wanted. They owned the house they lived in and her mother had ~~a~~ great many jewels. They also had two cars. As she said, during and after the war her father had no job and they lived on their savings.

Respondent's father and mother were high-school graduates. Her mother also had two years at a teachers college.

B. The social classes as specified by respondent ^{ARE} is as follows: the intellectuals, the workers, the peasantry and "others". This, as she said, is a definition by the Communist regime. The "others" are those who cannot be classified in any of the first three classes. They consist ~~mainly~~ mainly of the free lance tradesmen, small craftsmen, etc. As members of the intelligentsia, respondent included those who have university education, or was studying at a university, and the civil servants, office workers. Respondent had contact with all classes because with her father she spent quite a lot of her time in the countryside and had classmates of the working class, and knew their families.

Respondent felt that the ~~intelligentsia~~ intelligentsia withdrew very much from any political life during the Communist regime. But, at the time of the revolution they took over the leadership, at least in Budapest. Respondent also wanted to point out that there are two kinds of intellectuals; one ~~was~~ which she called the old intellectual class, and the new. The so-called new intellectuals were not a good class, because these were the ones who had been promoted by the Communist regime and served them hand and foot.

As to the working class, the revolution has shown that there was a very small percentage of the workers who were ~~cut~~ and out ✓ ALL Communists. On the whole, respondent believed that the working class in Hungary was a very good class in itself, but, of course, as in every class, you will find there were those who served ~~the~~ the regime.

The Hungarian peasantry, on the other hand, was always and wholeheartedly against the Communist regime and with the revolution.

Respondent felt that she belongs to the intelligentsia. To respondent's mind the class hardest hit by Communism is the intelligentsia, then the peasantry, and last the working class. The reason why, as she believes, is that the intelligentsia always were the ones who wanted to be free, also spiritually, and this was impossible under the Communist regime. They were also expelled from the life of the nation and suffered from discrimination in every way. Further, they were shut off from the Western world physically and culturally. This was mainly the reason why the Communists wanted to promote the workers and peasants into the intelligentsia class, to the respondent's belief, because they saw and knew that the old intellectual class would never accept Communism.

C. "I believe that the intellectuals and the peasantry somehow became much closer to one another than before. The peasantry's attitude during the revolution, I believe, proved this. On the other hand, the intelligentsia somehow did not feel too close to the workers. This may be due to the fact that the Communists always tried to drive a wedge between these two classes and this might be the reason that there was not much love lost between the workers and the intelligentsia.

The workers looked down a little bit on the peasantry, but

there was no friction between them, the more so since the Communist regime in Hungary. Many of the young peasants came to work in the cities and thus became workers themselves.

E. As to individual advancement in Communist Hungary, respondent believes that the importance of class origin and political views was about the same. Talent came last. The situation remained the same between 1945 and 1946, ~~inasmuch~~ as she could judge it. In the last years, 1955 and 1956 the situation was a little bit better. Respondent believes that it was a great mistake of the regime, for instance, that they allowed young people of peasant or workers origin only to attend the universities, because as a rule these young boys and girls, with a small exception, were not too good students, and could never keep up with their studies, and were not very qualified even after getting their diplomas.

When asked what kind of an individual would get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent said, "By all means, it ~~must~~ must be a person of a very weak character, a person who can be bought with money, and who is on a very spiritual level. He also must be a turncoat, and a person without principles, and who puts career and money before anything else. These ~~pe~~ people are, of course, the worst any society can produce. I am thinking of an old Hungarian proverb, 'A half educated man is ten times worse than an uneducated man.'"

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Certainly Communism had a deteriorating effect on family life in Hungary, although I cannot say this of my own family. In our family everything was pretty much as it was before. But, I am speaking now in general, as I have seen it with other families. Since wages were so low in Hungary both parents had to work, so there was no one to educate the children and keep the family together. As a result the children, after school hours, were kept in day nurseries or day schools where the regime did its best to estrange children from the family atmosphere. Of course, to what an extent this could be achieved depended entirely on the family and the prevailing atmosphere there. The school and the parents clashed, and the parents had a very hard time to counterbalance the influence of a Communist education.

"On the whole, at least I can say this was the case in our school, — the ~~all~~ students did not take the Communist indoctrination too seriously. We never attended our compulsory youth movement meetings. We tried to sabotage the membership as much as we could. We talked it over amongst ourselves and ~~decided~~ decided not to give in. But, of course, even in school we had to be very careful because there were sometimes informers among us.

"Of course, if there was a family where the parents were not so strongly opposed to Communism, or did not have time to care, then the influence of the school got the upper hand. But, I think I'm right if I say that this was the exception rather than the rule. Generally, the morale was high in the high-schools.

"I am unable to judge whether the changes have effected different social classes more than others since I can speak only of my own class."

B. The Communists preached that the school and the family must cooperate in the education of the children. This of course did not work for the above mentioned reasons. So, the Communist regime tried to influence the children as much as they could, and this

referred to children in all age groups. First of all, the main change was that religious instruction was abolished. Second, every subject, even if it had no connection whatsoever, like physics or math, was taught in a very flat way and according to Russian patterns. I'm thinking now especially of History, which was distorted in such a way that it was almost unbelievable. As I said before, the main thing was to drive a wedge between the young and the old generations, as the emphasis was always on the young generation."

WITH
POLITICS

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"The people were forced to live under the Communist regime did influence the morals of the younger people in Hungary. This was mostly felt in personal freedom. The children at school were taught that they are free, independent, and have the same rights as a grown-up person. This, in itself, I do not consider to be wrong because everyone must learn to be independent, but on the other hand, this freedom must not be confused as the Communists made it. The young people interpreted it with free and loose morals. Also, the respect shown to parents, elders, and teachers has greatly suffered under the Communist regime. But, the greatest loser under Communism was the church, because a great number of young people were actually diverted from any sort of religious life.

AND

WITH
LOOSE
MORALS

I believe that the intelligensia was the least effected, and also the peasantry, because the peasants are very conservative in bringing up their children. Also, they are very strict with them. So are the intellectuals. I believe that the class most effected were the workers. The conflict between school and parents, I believe, is mostly felt in the high-schools between the ages of 15 to 16.

C. I can't say very little about how Communist ^{doctrines} ~~industrialization~~ has effected marriage, courtship and sex ^{relations} but on the whole, from what I have heard, the number of divorces has increased, I think because it was easier to get married and to get divorced. The deterioration of morals was far greater during Communism than during World War II, I believe.

D. I firmly believe that friendship can be continued if one person in the relationship is a Communist. But, of course, it might happen

that the person might have had to join the party under duress. This, of course, is another question. But, on the whole, I believe that friends should hold the same opinion.

E. Regarding major crimes, robbery, murder, rape, etc., the Communist press did not inform us very much, and they tried to hush up matters. On the other hand, I ~~do~~ believe that the crime rate has increased, because there was also the attitude of the people that it was no crime to steal from a Communist state since the living conditions are so bad and the people are being so exploited. Also, I think, due to the terrible low living ~~level~~ standard, people were more tempted to improve this by illegal means. I'm pretty sure the crime rate has also increased considerably and, also the number of juvenile delinquents. This, of course, is closely correlated to the educational problems. The government, of course, tries to control the situation, and there are sometimes show trials staged, but these are not very effective.

Alcoholism, too, has increased under Communism and in ~~add~~ order to cure alcoholism, the government has increased the prices on all alcoholic drinks."

Regarding juvenile delinquency, loafing, and hooliganism respondent believed that these too were crimes of the regime, because working conditions were so extremely bad that lots of people, were not loafers, for instance, ~~but~~ of their own free will, but because they just couldn't get any jobs, either because there weren't any or because they were class aliens, for instance. Thus, circumstances created the crime. Respondent was of the opinion that the hooligans came mainly from the working class and were around 20 years old. She did not believe that this set were criminals, unless, of course, they committed criminal acts.

Respondent believed, as previously said, that it was entirely up to the parents how to counterbalance the education of their children. If they brought up their children according to strict moral standards, respondent believed that then they could avoid having their children become hooligans.

VII. RELIGION

A. On the effects of Communist rule on the religious life in Hungary, respondent was of the opinion that it had a very strong effect on religion on the whole. First of all, the free religious instructions were discontinued. It could be seen in the behaviour of the young people that they had been brought up without any religious training. Religion, itself, has a terrific moral strength and this was lacking in the young people in Hungary.

Respondent believed that it was the Roman Catholic religion that was the hardest hit by Communism, mainly because the Roman Catholic doctrines are completely contrary to Communism. As to the effects of Communism on different religions, respondent said that with the Catholic religion it succeeded in dividing the clergy into two camps; those who were willing to cooperate with the regime, and others who were not. As to how the other religions, Protestant and Jewish, were affected, respondent said that she could not say because she had no contacts or friends of other religions.

B. When asked about the role of religion in her own life, respondent said that religion is about an equal factor in her life as it is in her parents lives, and she believes herself to be more religious than the average person in Hungary. She attends church regularly.

C. On the function of the church ^{IN} to society, respondent expressed her opinion that the church's function should be unhampered and completely free, in a free country, of course. And she thinks the role of the church in education is tremendously important because of its moral value. On ~~the~~ setting standards and controls on books, movies, and plays, she think this control is quite good, and should be continued. On the other hand, she firmly believes that no church should take an active part in politics in an independent Hungary.

D. As to whether or not the Jewish religion has been hurt by Communism, respondent said she could not give any information, nor could she tell if the Communist regime affected the Jews in Hungary, or what their attitude toward Communism was. The only answer she could give was regarding the question of whether many Jews were

Communists. She said yes, there were a great number of Jews who joined the Communist party, probably for business reasons or for position. They wanted material gain out of Communism, also, and wanted to live as well as possible. So, they gave up their principles.

Regarding ~~what~~ whether the Jews took part in the revolution or demonstrations, respondent could not give any information. She said, however, she does not believe that the Jews would be afraid of an independent Hungary. She does not see any reason why they should.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

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A. ~~The~~ Hungarian youth I mean those who are between the ages of thirteen to twenty-four. I also am convinced that is true that it was the Hungarian youth who took the lead in the revolution?

B. ~~Independent's~~ view the reason ~~the~~ youth took the lead rather than the older people was that young people were tied down every way in the Communist regime, and they just rebelled. This was the reason why the young people formed the core of the demonstrations, as well as the fighting. ~~Why~~ the young people took the lead rather than the older ones is explained in the fact that young ^{BY} people have much less to lose and, also, they are more violent and explosive, more daring, don't care a damn about consequences. A more older person who has a family is more conservative in his thoughts and also more cautious. The young people were also more dissatisfied.

The revolution ~~has~~ brought about the very interesting situation that it was the older people who greatly respected the youth and looked up to them.

C. As to the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years respondent gave the following information: "All subjects we had in high-school were taught in a very slanted way. The level of the teaching, however, was extremely good regarding the ~~major~~ purely scientific subjects, even if they were slanted. We had to study very hard in order to get good marks. Attendance was very strictly controlled, even at the universities. As I said, the quality of the teaching was very good at the universities and at the high-schools, too. Because they did not have the personnel needed, the Communists had to retain the old and very well qualified teachers and professors. These people were very passive toward the Communists, of course, and even when giving lectures they tried to steer away from politics. I can only say that maybe one out of every twenty teachers, on the whole, ~~are~~ ^{15%} Communists now in Hungary, who teach in schools or universities.

Regarding vocational choice on paper and in principle, of course,

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you were free to pick your ~~own~~ own profession. But, it never happened that you would be admitted to the university where you applied. It was a decidedly restricted vocational choice. And even if you had the luck to be admitted to a university, you were told which subjects to take, and you were not allowed to learn what you wanted or were interested in."

e. On Communist indoctrination of youth, respondent said, "Yes, indeed, the Communist did devote a great deal of money and time to indoctrinate the younger generation. We always had subjects on Leninism, Marxism, constitution, etc. besides our regular hours, and also, as I said before, every other subject was taught in a very slanted way, especially history. After school hours we had Diss meetings, and also, when allowed to indulge in sports, this was done with a political purpose. We also were given movies on partisan fights, etc. We were always shown the Russian example. However, as to the results of this indoctrination, I think that the revolution has shown the poor results, in fact, the young people were taught by the regime how to fight against the so-called fascists, and ~~they~~ this they used against the Russian oppressor."

"As far as I can remember in my school days, the young people never accepted the Communist views at any time."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. On the standard of living, respondent said that it was, of course, pretty low as compared to their standard of living before the war. Nevertheless, they were somehow better off as they had savings which lasted to tide them over the bad years. Food was not always easily obtainable and it was expensive. Clothing, too was of bad quality and expensive. "Regarding housing, we had no problem as we were living in the same place as we had before the war. The thing I considered the greatest luxury was to take a cab. Our main problem was during the last years in Hungary ^{the} ~~was~~ ^{was} food problem. Our standard of living was the best in 1958, and ⁴⁵ ever since it just went down and down. Particularly, we missed the fact that we could never afford any vacation.

"I cannot give very accurate details regarding our standard of living because at the end of the World War II I was very young, and my parents did all they could to give us children everything we needed, so we really didn't miss much.

"I knew a family that was better off than any other. This was the family of a classmate of mine where the father was a manager of a movie factory. Then, of course, the AVH big-shots had a very good life. This I did not know personally. Then, certainly, all plant managers who were put there with very high pay by the Communist regime. Furthermore, physicians had a very good income, and last, but not least, everyone who excelled in sports such as members of the olympic team or any famous teams, etc. ~~we~~ were pampered by the regime, and they ~~received~~ received very high salaries.

The reason for the awful standard of living during the last eight years in Hungary was ~~mainly~~ solely ~~due to~~ the economic exploitation of the country by the Soviet Union.

B. While working as a nurse's aid at the pediatrics ward of the hospital ~~FOR ACCIDENTS~~ I received 700 forints per month. After deductions of taxes and old age insurance, I received 670 ~~for~~ forints. I did not receive any extra pay and I did not have any other source of income.

My mother worked in order to supplement the family income. During the summer vacation my two brothers also worked at temporary jobs.

C. The prices differed in Hungary depending where you bought. The state stores, of course, were always less expensive, but then the quality was inferior to the commodities at the Naszek or farm markets. For instance, we paid 1 forint 60 for a quart of milk at the state stores, and 2 forints at an open farm market. The same was true for clothing...it was nearly impossible to buy any good materials so as to have dresses made. Usually anything that was good in quality went out from Hungary. In the so-called commissioned stores you could only get second-hand articles. These were not too expensive, but the quality was pretty good.

I cannot give any information regarding retail distribution ~~or shortage~~ or shortage of goods since my mother did the marketing.

However, I heard from her that consumer goods were always in short supply and ~~that~~ that you never could buy what you wanted. I also do not know anything about the blackmarket situation."

D. "I worked in the hospital due to the recommendation of a friend of my father's so I had rather a privileged position there, and I did not have to work very hard. Nevertheless I had to work 8 hours with a very short lunch break. It took me about one hour to go to the hospital by bus and streetcar. I held this job, being my own choice, as I said before, and due to the connections of my father's friend. And due to this fact my connections with my superiors and co-workers were satisfactory. The Chief Medical Officer was very easy-going and friendly. I also was very satisfied with my work."

"My fellow-workers as well as my superiors were extremely well qualified."

"Regarding the Hungarian vacation, health and pension programs I think that the health insurance plan was pretty good and well organized, but as put into practice, it did not work well. You were entitled to two weeks paid vacation but you received an

assignment to a health resort only if you had some "pull" somewhere. Regarding the pensions, I know that very few people received a pension, and if they received one, it was very little."

E. "I would have preferred to live in Budapest while in Hungary, as I was used to big cities. To my mind, the city workers had a much better diet in Hungary than the agricultural workers. The communist regime ~~tried~~ tried to feed the working class well. Of course the quality of the food was much better in the provinces. The general standard of living to my mind was higher in the cities. Politically on the other hand, I think the agricultural workers had it better because they didn't have to take part in so many political activities ~~as~~ as ~~the~~ the workers in Budapest had to do.//

When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, I didn't expect anything good to come out of it. First of all it was very badly practiced in Hungary, and it was only the peasant who was taken for a "sucker." It was also a great mistake on the whole. The regime should have known the mentality of the peasant better. A Hungarian peasant sticks to his land and loves his land very much. I believe that it was the well-to-do peasants who objected strongly to collectivization. I heard of collectives being only during the revolution, DISSOLVED not before that date.

If I were an agricultural worker in communist Hungary, I would prefer to work on a private farm. Why, because we were all fed up with state farms or collective farming.

Ideally, an agricultural system of middle-sized farms would be the best for an independent Hungary. I think that the innovations of the communist regime were very few, at least in those I would like to take over, and the greatest improvement was the the high mechanization of the smaller farms.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

~~The~~ Respondent was very young, and therefore unable to talk about the political situation before 1948, and also about her feelings about the communist party before 1948.

B. On the members of the communist party, respondent had the following to say: "I believe there are different types of people who joined the communist party. First of all there must have been quite a few who in principle were completely indifferent to communist doctrine, however, in order to keep their jobs, they just joined the party. Then also I believe some people were maybe misled in the beginning by the communist doctrine and they were idealists in a way. Later however, they found out that ^{it is not} any person who has a bit of common sense can belong to the communist party.

Men were mistaken

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The Party policies on the other hand in the last years were changing completely. This I believe was due entirely to the orders received from Moscow. Regarding the party morale, of course I cannot say anything about that. I did not have any information on this subject. As ~~the~~ to the leaders of the communist party, their over-all motives were inspired by Moscow and this is world power and serving the Soviets according to their orders. Individually I believe that they just want to retain their power and positions. They are extremely dangerous and evil people with a twisted mind, and who are poisoning the whole world. As to the difference between the motives of the rank and file and the leadership, I believe that there must certainly be a great difference because the rank and file member is ^{NOT ONLY} ~~not just~~ out to maintain his leading position. He is just a member because he wants to keep his little job and wants to be left in ~~an~~ peace, but on the whole I still have a very bad opinion of everyone who has joined the party because every person and his membership fee serves the communist purpose.

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When Hungary ~~was~~ independent I would send all top Hungarian communists back to Russia for slave labor.

not

C. Whether or ~~was~~ there was any opposition to ~~the~~ the communist government before the revolution, respondent heard of an incident for instance that happened inota aluminum works where her father was working while in the internment camp. Here, the workers sabotaged the work and short-circuted the electrical plant ~~of~~ the whole installations there so that work had to be stopped for quite some time. Also ~~was~~ respondent disclosed that ~~through~~ the best of her knowledge, the Hungarian peasants tried to sabotage their surrendering^{of} the different products~~at~~ as much as they could. Respondent believed that these acts of opposition must have been in some sense effective.

or else the regime wouldn't have done its best to break down these acts of sabotage. Respondent could not tell if this opposition behavior of any kind occurred more often during some periods than others.

On the activities of the intellectuals, respondent already heard before the revolution from a friend of hers and she also heard that the student's greatly supported the Petofi ~~Group~~ Kor. It was around May of 1956 that respondent first heard of the activities of the Petofi Kor, and their main demands. On the whole she believed that everybody was greatly impressed that at last people dared to speak out freely. In fact she believed that the Petofi Kor was really a spearhead of the revolution. On the whole respondent believes ~~that~~ that ~~the~~ the intellectuals are a very determined and valuable class of the Hungarian nation. Their main purpose in standing up against the regime was because they wanted freedom of thought and freedom of press as well as to be free to choose their own themes, what to write about and how.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The AVH people are the scum of the Hungarian nation. They are the basest characters you can imagine, who can be bribed by money for anything that is vile and base. They are murderers, criminals, they are serving an ideology which is out for the extermination of their own race and their own nation!"

Respondent's uncle who was a building architect and was working with a company which had to build some AVH buildings and later on when checking on his cadre file, they found out that he was politically unreliable, he was taken away by the AVO, beaten up to such an extent that he ~~is~~ is still a cripple. He was injured and put through forced labor. He came home just shortly before the revolution. He was a very sick man. Another friend of respondent's family had a big meat processing plant. He was taken by the AVH for reasons unknown by the respondent. He was beaten up to such an extent that ~~his one kidney was damaged~~ three days after the torture ^{WHEN} he got in the prison hospital, Respondent did not know of any AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH or who suffered remorse, etc.

IT WAS FOUND THAT ONE OF HIS KIDNEYS BURST.

"Communist Hungary was indeed a country of constant anxiety and fear" said respondent. "This statement is not an exaggeration. ~~Every small instance~~ for example ~~was~~ whenever you listened to foreign radio broadcasts you had to close your doors tightly and pull down all the shades and tone the radio down to a whisper, so as not even your neighbor could hear what you were doing. As to what I think should be done with the former members ~~is~~ of the AVH in an independent Hungary, I really do not know what punishment would be enough for them. The least I could think of would be prison and hard labor"

Regarding the regular police, respondent said that the high ranking officers of ~~the~~ this regular police force were also subordinated to the AVH. The rank and file members of the regular police were on the whole very much less brutal than the AVH people. Respondent felt that communists ~~did~~ certainly did effect regular police ~~is~~ also because they were in a way also favored by the communist regime. They were not too honest, you could bribe them quite easily. Their competence was quite efficient regarding traffic control for instance, as they traffic regulations were very strictly enforced. As a matter of fact, respondent was greatly shocked so ~~to see~~ to see how people crossed the street in New York and nobody cares very much about the traffic regulations ~~is~~ compared to ~~those in~~ Hungary.

According to respondent's information, many members of the regular police went in hiding during the revolution

Many on the other hand took part in the revolution in uniform or in civilian clothes. Respondent saw one police colonel who ~~was~~ when faced by the crowd shot into them ~~and~~ This man had to flee in order to escape the wrath of the crowd.

B. On the activities of the Hungarian court, regarding non-political crimes, respondent was of the ~~same~~ opinion that even the court could not be fair. It always depended on who the defendant was. For instance, so called economic crimes, ~~they~~ were not punished as severely as if they had been crimes against the People's Democracy.

Regarding the activities of the courts before '48, as well as '47, respondent has no knowledge of these as she was very young at that time.

On the Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army, respondent said: "I do not believe that these feelings can be traced back to 1848. The ill-feelings of the Hungarian nation about the Russian army are entirely due to their behavior in 1945. At that time as I was told, they came in looting, raping and their behavior has not changed since; therefore my attitude hasn't either.

On the Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution, respondent could give the following information: "I really do not know very much about these ~~two~~ troops except what everybody knew. That they were living off the land and it was ~~the~~ nation which fed them and kept them ~~in~~ Hungary. They were uneducated, uncultured, barbaric lot on the whole. These troops however, who were stationed in Hungary for some time already were on the whole quite fond of our country. They loved to live there and hated the idea of having to be transferred. On the other hand during the revolution, they were scared to death, especially they feared the young children. They never knew what pranks they would be up to. What I did see, however, was that their military command didn't look after them very well. For during the revolution, most of the units were really famished and they were begging or buying food ~~when~~ they could. They were mostly very young boys, and with clean shaven heads, they looked like a lot of frightened kids to me. The new troops that were ~~at~~ called in after November 3rd on the other hand were a very fierce and wild lot. They didn't know where they were and they didn't know whom they were fighting. They were asking all the time: "Where are the Germans, where are the Nazis, where is Berlin and the sea."

As to the attitudes and actions of the Russian soldiers during the revolution, respondent did not have any first hand information. She only heard about Soviet

soldiers refusing to obey their superiors and that Soviet soldiers fought on the side of Hungarians mainly in the trans-Danubian district. Neither did she hear any data on cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E. On the communist bureaucracy, respondent couldn't say anything at all since she had no contacts with any public administration officials, party secretaries, etc, due to the privileged situation she had on the hospital where she was working.

F. As to how ^{to} get ~~the~~ around the regulations, respondent had more information on this question. She mentioned that when she wanted to enroll at the medical university in Budapest, had her father ^{VHAD} 15,000 forints she would have been admitted. And also it was common knowledge that you could get around some people or authorities by bribery, pulling strings, or using some acquaintances for this purpose. This way of getting around or bribing was generally practiced especially if you wanted to get a job somewhere. Whether or not the officials were punished for taking bribes etc, it depended entirely-according to respondent-who the person was who accepted the bribes. If it was a big shot in the Communist party, usually nothing happened and they tried to hush up the whole affair. On the other hand, if it was somebody who was a class alien or a minor official, he certainly was punished. She did not know of the kind of punishments which were doled out for this offense.

G. In reference to the competence and efficiency of various groups and people who hold power in communist Hungary, respondent could give the following information: "It's very difficult to say how and to what extent the secret police people were competent or efficient, because first of all the only those people were accepted or taken on by the Secret Police who implicitly served the regime and ~~the~~ the government. They were certainly very efficient in cruelty and in torturing people.

Regarding the army leadership I believe that they must have kept quite a few of the old officers in the communist army. These people were surely very efficient. On the other hand these were never all-out communists as the revolution has proved, because we have seen that some of their top leaders went over to the freedom fighters. I am thinking now of General Kiraly, and then Paul Maleter.

As to the competency and efficiency of the public administration officials, all I can say is that the top jobs were held by communist party members who of course were extremely badly qualified. The key positions where they needed special experts were

held by the old civil servants who were of course paid extremely badly, but they did all the work and the section chiefs and the big shots got the money.

I can of course say nothing about the Russian army leadership. I really couldn't volunteer to give an opinion on how far they were efficient or competent."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "As to what will probably happen in Hungary in the future depends entirely-I believe-on how things will turn out in Russia itself. And also whether or not the Russian troops will remain in Hungary. If this were the case then this means a wholesale catastrophe to the Hungarian nation, because they will be exploited even more. All economic and human ~~values~~ values will be exploited to the utmost to the benefit of the Soviet Union, and the rebellious elements shall ~~surely~~ in ~~return~~ reported or used for slave labor in Hungarian camps. They are out now to crush even the smallest and tiniest freedom movement. On the other hand, even though I ~~believe that~~ there simply cannot be anymore armed resistance in Hungary, I also sincerely believe that the Hungarian nation will never give in and they exercise at least a passive resistance, even though all their hopes have been crushed to ~~pieces~~ pieces for the time being. Kadar of course will move to even further tightening of THE REING and I do not think that he will make any concessions and his tyranny will even be much stronger than it had been before.k

"As to the actions of the West, I have given up every hope that the Western world will do anything for Hungary. On the other hand the Russians will do everything so as to increase the power of the Soviet Union and to get a firm hold of the whole world."

"I really do not know what to hope for ~~in~~ Hungary because I do not believe that the Polish solution is good at all. Hungary cannot accept any compromise, and on the other hand the Russians will never concede ANYTHING to anyone. Maybe later, a couple of years hence, the West will realize finally what Russian tyranny means, and if it is not too late by then, ~~then~~ they will come to the assistance of, not only Hungary but all the other satellites. Whether this assistance will be strict enforcement of UN sanctions or war I do not know and cannot judge. Basically, nobody wants war, and the Hungarians really ~~want that~~ the Russian troops leave Hungary and that the country be independent. But on the other hand, I cannot believe that Russia will ever concede to a peaceful settlement because the Soviet Union is out for world domination and will never ~~give up~~ give up this aim; neither will ~~we~~ give up voluntarily any territories that they once held.

Short of war, I do not see after all what has happened now during the Hungarian revolution, how the West can enforce any ~~other~~ peaceful means to bring the Russians to heel. I think that it's only wishful dreaming I hope or wish that it would come true, that something would happed inside ~~Soviet~~ Russia. This would be the only possible and reasonable solution for the whole

problem, which would lead to a settlement ~~with~~ of Eastern Europe."

B. "Before the revolution there was a hope for the Hungarians, especially as regards the Western broadcasts. That the Western world would force Russia to leave Europe. They even had higher hopes when the Russians withdrew from Austria and we thought it would be only a matter of time when this also would happen in Hungary."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "An independent Hungary I would like to be a free and independent republic. Regarding what the economy should look like, I believe that Hungary should go back to putting the emphasis on agriculture since this country has always been an agricultural country. The heavy industries have no justification whatsoever, because the raw materials have to be imported so these industries don't pay. The light industries on the other hand, must be more and more developed. As to what should be produced in the agricultural field, I believe that Hungary ought to continue to produce wheat mainly, then fruit vegetables, forage FODDER and also breeding of livestock to a great extent. As for what the light industry ought to produce, I believe they should concentrate mainly on textiles, small crafts and consumer commodities."

"If the communist regime were overthrown, the different national enterprises should be divided into two ~~main~~ categories, those who remain in the hands of the state, and the others which should be given back to private enterprises. I believe that the State should handle the heavy industry, transportation, the power works and banks. I do not believe it would be good if the State would keep the mining industry. They were ~~also~~ prospering better under private management. As previously mentioned, the light industry should be given back wholly to the private enterprises. ~~This~~ always gives more ambition to the individuals and there is a free competition which in turn increases the ~~and~~ quality of the goods, and gives better service to the consumer. The large state farms I think ought to remain in the hands of the State, but the Kolkhozes on the other hand should be dissolved and the land given back to the peasantry. I do not believe in the idea that the government should set a maximum limit to the amount of land and person or family may own."

"As previously mentioned, I would like to see that Hungary be an independent republic, and ~~in a country~~ ideally I would prefer the kind of government that guarantees me the personal freedom of the individual and all other personal freedoms, because if we have all these rights, ~~then~~ we also have the possibility and the will and pleasure to work and to go ahead as we want to. And I'm sure that everybody can get ahead and make a good living in the country if he or she is free, because whether or not you can get a good job and get ahead, depends on your will and on your ~~conditions~~. AMOTIONS."

"I certainly would be in favor of outlawing the communist party in an independent Hungary, and for the only reason because the communists have vile and base methods that

they always will be able to rope in very honest and decent but too primitive or gullible persons, and thus they may be a danger to the public. We have had enough Communism for a lifetime if not forever."

C. "I would like to see Hungary completely neutral and to have a position like Austria has now ~~a~~ days, or for instance like Switzerland. I wish we had to worry about this problem."

Respondent did not want to see any military relations in an independent Hungary with any of the countries. On the other hand, she preferred to have economic and trade relations with East European states, with the rest of Europe, with the United States, but not with Russia, and the same stands for the cultural relations.

Respondent did hear about the idea of a XDanubian Federation, but she does not believe in such a union because, to her mind, Hungary should remain independent. Also she does not believe it is possible to unite nations which held such controversial ideas in a Danubian Federation. If and ever such a Federation could or would come about, the only countries she would like to cooperate with would be Austria and maybe Yugoslavia, but this depends on how Tito behaves later on.

Respondent does not find Hungary's present boundaries at all acceptable and she would like to see a territorial adjustment which should be brought about by no means with any armed intervention, only by settling the problem through an international court, and on the principle that ~~on~~ the territories where the Hungarian population is in the majority should be joined back to Hungary. Respondent felt that the problem of the Hungarian minorities is rather an important one to her and she is concerned with the fate of these peoples living outside Hungary.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

The Respondent revealed that about the Twentieth Party Congress, (she had already heard at school) in fact it was one of the graduation essays that they had to write on. The news about the Twentieth Party Congress and what had been decided at it had been broadcast by all radios and on the other hand from the Western radio broadcasts they heard that Khrushchev had made a speech at this Congress and what the contents were. She said that these referred mainly to the breaking off from the Stalinist line.

Respondent did not hear anything about Senator McCarthy or the un-American activities committee, neither did she know anything about Peron and about his fall.

About Rakosi's private life, she only heard that he lived in great luxury, contrary to all Communist principles. He was heavily guarded all the time and he rode in a bullet proof car. She heard that during the revolution they found his Party membership card on which several of the membership STAMPS FOR PAYMENT OF FEES were missing, so it seems Mr. Rakosi ~~it seems~~ didn't bother to pay ~~in~~ his membership fee, a fact which was greatly stressed by the regime (that all Party members should pay their fees punctually), so he didn't set a very good example himself in this respect.

B. Respondent did not read newspapers or magazines regularly. She only read Hungarian and foreign classics in Hungarian or German. She did not care anything about the new publications which were so slanted that it just enraged her to read them. They were of a very low standard also.

The newspapers she read mostly were the sports papers, and also only ^{part} of the other dailies where she could solve cross-word puzzles and such like. They never subscribed to the compulsory Communist press since they did not trust them an inch. As she put it: "they were lying all the way through. The only part of a newspaper you could believe was the sports sections."

W. ⁷⁻²² Respondent nor her family ever read any publications from the other satellites ~~and~~ ~~or~~ the USSR. Neither did they get any publications from the West. She mentioned that she knew that the ~~LB~~ Humanite, the communist French newspaper, was regularly on sale in Hungary. Respondent mentioned that her English teacher sometimes showed her and they read it together, the New York Times, which they must have gotten hold of illegally.

C. Respondent said that as everybody, ~~she~~ she too, always got news by word of mouth from friends or ~~relations~~ ~~These were the sources of the Communist media~~

relatives. These were the news of the foreign radio broadcasts, and she thought them pretty reliable. She also always passed on the information she heard. As she mentioned it was the first thing when two people met in the street: "Have you heard what the Western radio said."

F. Respondent regularly went ~~at~~ to the opera once a month, and about the same number of times to the theatre. They visited the movies more frequently and respondent thought highly of the Italian, French and some of the British films that were permitted. She and her family never went to see Russian films which was on principle. The two movies that respondent liked best in ~~the~~ the last few years were Hamlet, this was a British film, and then an Italian film about an opera by Verdi. She thought that these films ~~ex~~ were excellent. The two plays she liked best were Bernard Shaws' Joan of Arc, and Shakespeare's Midsummer's Night Dream.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Respondent held the view that a possibility of a change within Russia can quite easily be imagined since the Communist party leadership in Russia is always bickering. On the other hand respondent said that she does not believe in a slow change. A gradual liberation would certainly not come about in Russia. The only thing that could happen is a revolution, and the reason why she thinks this is that the people inside Russia cannot possibly be completely and wholly satisfied either, because the Soviet State system is not a form of State which grants freedom and a high living standard to everybody. If Russia had free elections, respondent believes that the Communist regime would tumble.

In respondent's opinion, the top leaders of the Soviet Union are out for one aim only, and this is world communism. Their personal motives are based on their megalomania. She thought that there is only one difference between the Hungarian and the Soviet top communist leaders, and that is a basic difference. The Hungarian communist are the puppets of the Soviet Communist regime.

B. Respondent believed that the relative popularity of other nations of Eastern Europe, as judged in Hungary is the following: Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. These preferences are based on the likes and dislikes of the different peoples, because, as respondent says, "governments in these countries are all puppet governments and they cannot be judged by their actions."

Respondent also believes that if free elections were held in these countries, she is pretty sure that the communist regimes would be defeated everywhere.

Regarding the living standard of the different satellite nations, respondent gave the list as follows: she believed that the highest living standard is in Eastern Germany, then comes Czechoslovakia, followed by Hungary, then Poland, Bulgaria, and the lowest living standard is probably to be found in Rumania according to respondent.

C. In reference to the Polish situation, respondent said: "I do think that Gomulka's government brought about a great change in Poland. The gradual change policy is to my mind no good because only a radical change would bring about some results. I also do not believe that Gomulka would be able to achieve much regarding Polish independence. The more so since the Soviet Union has seen what happened in Hungary and they certainly would not want this to happen in Poland."

Respondent believes that the events in Poland had not a very great effect on the events in Hungary, because the whole Polish movement, and the whole Polish idea was different from that of Hungary. The Hungarians did not want to accept any compromise and they wanted to go further.

Respondent did know anything about the freedom of expression in Poland prior to Gomulka's rise to power, and she only heard of the Poznan riots on the radio. What the Hungarian radio and the Hungarian press printed on this matter were of course very slanted and nobody believed ~~them~~ it. Whether or not respondent would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along the Polish lines; respondent said: "Certainly not because we wanted a radical change and wouldn't have accepted any compromise."

D. Regarding Yugoslavia, respondent said she really doesn't ~~really~~ see clearly about Tito, and what sort of a man he is. However, his policies have greatly influenced, for instance, the Hungarian communist government. She referred to the Rajk case, and the sudden dismissal of Rakosi at that time. On the whole she expressed her feelings that she would not like to be a Yugoslav citizen either. "You never know with Tito when he will turn his coat." Respondent was of the opinion that National communism on the whole is exactly the same as Russian communism. Therefore it is no good at all. The only thing that she thought was in favor of Tito's kind ~~of~~ of communism ~~was~~ that the people had more personal freedom in Yugoslavia than anywhere else. Also that Tito keeps in close touch with the Western world, but on the whole, National Communism is no solution either. Tito's relations with the other East European nations of course changes always according ~~to~~ to Moscow's will. Even though he tries to be on good terms with the Western hemisphere, he does not dare ~~to~~ or want to enrage the Russians bear either.

Of course Tito has clearly shown his character by his attitude toward the Hungarian revolution. At the beginning of his ~~a~~ famous speech, he stood up for the Russians, and at the end of his speech, he claimed that the Hungarians had done rightly. "I do not trust him anyway, and that is the end of it."

Respondent believed that Rajk and other so-called Titoists are communists just like the others, and she believes that is very characteristic of the communist doctrine that they are always putting up one or the other communist leader against the other.

Respondent believes that Tito must be quite popular in Yugoslavia, since he does his best to assure his

people independence from the Soviet Union and a better standard of living. As far as respondent knew, the standard of living in Yugoslavia was quite good. She didn't know anything about labor conditions, but she knew that personal freedom was much better than in Hungary for instance.

E. As to why the communist gained control of Shanghai, respondent thought that this was mainly due to the backwardness of the Chinese. Why communist China is more independent of Moscow than other communist countries, respondent ~~sees the reason~~ because the ^{CHINA} country is so huge, and the Soviet Union has to take good care, because if they were too strict with ~~China~~ China, China could become a very dangerous enemy, and therefore jeopardize Russian world domination.

Regarding the relations between England and India, respondent was of the opinion that probably it is the work of the Russians, that India and England are now so much against each other, and in the beginning, the Soviet policy had Nehru to a great extent, but the Hungarian revolution has shown him that the Soviets are not an ideal ally and Nehru's speech during the Hungarian revolution, was very sympathetic toward the Hungarian cause.

Regarding the Suez situation, respondent thought that the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was incorrect because the politicians of these two countries should have known better, that their actions would have great repercussions all over the world, and especially in Russia.

Respondent believes that the Israeli invasion was also done on some kind of provocation and she ~~id~~ did not approve of it. Respondent also deplored Egypt's action ~~to~~ nationalize the canal. She said that since the Suez Canal is a very important spot strategically it should have been kept, and continued to be kept under international control and not under the control of one nation.

Respondent thought that the events in Egypt had a great effect indeed on developments in Hungary during the fall of 1956. The reason she thought ^{was} that the Egyptian events have diverted the world attention from the Hungarian cause, and ~~in~~ in consequence, the Western world was much more concerned first of all with the oil which meant business ~~which~~ than with the freedom of a nation which would have meant only sacrifices on their part.

F. Respondent's impression was that the living standard in West Germany is very high and is on the increase.

Respondent ^{was of} had the opinion that the Germans will not start another war unless and only for the unification of their country and against Russia. Of the West German rearmament she thought that they are quite right in doing so because they Germans must be prepared and ready for a Russian attack. Respondent believed that the West German army is stronger than that of France, but not as strong as that of Britain. She thought that the term of service in the West German army is about two years.

When comparing the two occupation armies, the Russian one with the German army during WWII respondent said that this is very easy to decide which one was more distasteful. Certainly it was the Russian occupation army. The Germans at least were Europeans and cultured. The Russians were uncivilized Asiatic hordes. The German army was very well disciplined and this refers both to officers and enlisted men.

G. Respondent didn't know anything about the British Labor Party nor about other European Socialist Parties. She says: "These problems were not even touched by the Hungarian communist press!"

On the living standards of various Western European countries, respondent held the following opinion: She thought that the living standard was highest in Western Germany followed by England, then Italy. Respondent says she has no idea regarding the living standards in Greece and Egypt, but she believed that the worst living conditions are in the Soviet Union.

H. The first thing that impressed ~~the~~ ^{MOST} respondent greatest when she came to the US, was the terrifically high standard of living in this country.

As to what the US should do now for the people and nations of Eastern Europe, respondent said: "There is only one thing for the United States to do and this would solve the whole problem of the whole world, this is to make the Russians withdraw from Eastern Europe altogether. When asked what the United States foreign policy should be now, respondent said: "I would like to tell you a very good proverb which I think covers the answer: "it is not the Soviet Union which is strong, it is the West that is weak." She also believed that the foreign policy of the United States is too lukewarm and too soft.

Respondent said that she was rather shocked to see that the Western hemisphere is not willing to work and to make any sacrifices for ideals. After all, everybody in eastern Europe has looked upon the United States as a staunch defender of freedom and

independence, and it was a great disappointment that the United States and the United Nations didn't live up to these ideals. Also respondent thought that people over here do not realize that the crucial problem nowadays is not that of physical well-being, but that of freedom of the spirit, and after all, history has shown that every nation that has become soft, will be wiped out.

As to US ^{AID} to be given to the present governments of Poland the US and Yugoslavia, etc. respondent believed that it would be a good thing to do, but on the other hand, the Russians or the AVO would not let Hungary ~~for instance~~, accept Western aid. Respondent said that she is referring to the Kadar government which of course, ~~not to~~ accept the US ~~offer~~ offer. Respondent thought that the American government should not recognize the present government of Hungary.

Respondent was of the opinion that people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors, regardless of what sort of visitors they are. On the other hand, these leaders must be told that they shouldn't believe what they are shown by the regime and they ought to go out and see for themselves. These people should be informed before going to Hungary by the Hungarian students and intellectuals who have left Hungary recently.

"Western books and periodicals would be more than welcome in Hungary" said respondent, "however I do not know how this could be arranged since the present regime wouldn't let them in anyway. The best ways and means for the distribution of these books and periodicals, I believe, would be through the universities of the country. If Hungarian exiles were associated with such activity as Western visitors and publications, I sincerely believe that it would make a very good impression in Hungary."

In connection with the US Marshall Plan, respondent felt that she thought that the over-all aim of the US government was mainly to assist these states in need, and then also to make more allies.

As to why in 1950, America became involved in the Korean war, respondent held the view that America needed strategic points in this hemisphere. Whether or not America had other reasons for fighting the Korean war, respondent says that she doesn't know.

In connection with the United Nations, respondent said: "I really do not see why the whole United Nations was set up, when at a crucial moment they could not enforce their sanctions. For this very reason I am

dissatisfied with the activities of the United Nations, and do not see why the United Nations have not enforced their sanctions which were voted in the General Assembly against the Russians, and for all the above REASONS mentioned, I do not see any chances of effective UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future. "

XVII KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

- A. In respondent's opinion the greatest living Hungarian is Paul Maleter, and for the very reason because he assumed leadership of the unorganized and thoroughly spontaneous Hungarian revolution, and jeopardized his own life by doing so.
- B. Respondent's reactions to persons of importance in world affairs were :
- Of Mr. Nagy respondent believed that he was not a very able man but for a temporary solution he would have done quite well.

Respondent thought that Cardinal Mindszenty is also one of the greatest living Hungarians. He is highly respected by everyone in Hungary.

Of Rajk she thought that he was just a communist ~~as~~ as any other.

Gero respondent called a "gangster" and a traitor.

Of Kadar she also had a very low opinion. She thought him to be the traitor of the Hungarian nation, and a servile puppet of the Soviet Union. She also added: that nobody could imagine the hatred that flared up against him during the revolution.

Respondent thought President Eisenhower to be a "very good man".

Of Secretary General Hammarskjold on the other hand she held the opinion that he might be quite well intentioned but he is not strong enough and he could have had enforced the UN sanctions ~~xxx~~. She also added that people seem to forget that the League of Nations after First World War has perished because of its weakness and so will the United Nations if they continue with their weak policy.

Speaking of Foreign Secretary Dulles, respondent added that she believes that the Foreign policy of the United States toward the Russians is too weak. She voiced the opinion that one has the feeling that the United States is in secret agreement with the Russians and leave each other in peace. She added: "You know I think politics are the dirtiest thing in the world"

Respondent had no opinion about former British Prime Minister Eden, and neither about Mr. Truman. She said that she was a small ~~xxx~~ child at the time of his presidency.

Of MIKOYAN respondent didnt know anything.

On NEHRU she repeated what she said before that he was extremely decent regarding the Hungarian issue.

Respondent didnt know anything about Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Respondent very strongly criticized former President Roosevelt, for the policies pursued at the Yalta Conference.

Chancellor ADENAUER she thought to be an extremely good politician, and a great statesman.

STALIN she classified as a megalomaniac" a dictator of the worst type , a cruel and ~~inhuman~~ unhuman person.

Of MALENKOV ~~the~~ respondent ~~said~~ said that he is an all and out communist;

Respondent did not know anything about Generalissimo FRANCO and has not even heard the name of A. Bevan.

KRUSHCHOV she though to be a very dangerous man, who ~~she~~ knows perfectly well all the weak spots of Western politics and has always and will always use the slow actions and reactions of the West to the advantage of the Soviet Union.

On reference to MOLOTOV respondent said that he is always acting on the commands of the top communist council. She also added that she cannot understand how the Western powers still can continue to deal with Molotov .

Respondent did not even hear ever the name of OLLENAUER, but on former British Prime Minister CHURCHILL she spoke in words of high esteem.

XVIII ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. Regarding people who escaped from Hungary, ~~the~~ respondent held the view that the escapees came from all social classes but that they were mainly from the younger age-groups. They mostly came from the capital, Budapest, and also from the Western border of the country.

Their main reason for leaving was of course political. But also because they were dissatisfied with the living conditions in Hungary and last but not least, those who took part in the revolution they were fearing for their lives.

Respondent believed that people who stayed behind were mostly of the older generation who had to lose much more and who did not want to give up their homes and surroundings for an unknown future. "A younger person of course" as she said-" is much quicker in deciding something. Also we have much less to lose"

"Further, those people who remained in Hungary were of course the all and out communists and some of the very passive and 'lukewarm' people;

Respondent felt very sorry for all those who stayed behind in Hungary, with the exception of the communists of course.

Respondent mentioned a friend of her father's who had not the heart to leave Hungary, also he was much too much attached to his small home and therefore he chose to remain.

Respondent believe that it is not so easy to say what people in Hungary think about those who left. She believed that this depends on the individual. All those who have relatives who are now in the free world, are very happy and glad that these have managed to escape.

Assuming that there would be a chance to come to the West, the percentage of Hungarians that would stay in Hungary, ~~is~~ in respondent's opinion depends on whether or not the Russians are staying in Hungary at that time. If the Russians are still there than in respondent's opinion very few Hungarians would remain at home with the exception of the hard-core cases and the communists.

B. Respondent has heard of Hungarian exile organizations active in the West during the last ten years, but could not name any. On the other hand she could name MR. Tibor ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ECKHARDT as an individual of whom she has heard to be very active here in the United States. She knew about Mr. ECKHARDT that he was the President of the Smallholders Party in Hungary and that he came to the US quite some time ago and ever since he is very actively working g for the Hungarian issue.

On the list of organizations and individuals I have given

to check, there were only two names, besides Mr. Eckhardt, on which she could say something. These were Otto von HABSBURG, and Admiral HORTHY.

Of Otto von HABSBURG she thought that it is a pity that times are not such that he could become at least Regent or Governor of Hungary, because what she has heard about him, indicate that he must be an extremely well qualified and decent Hungarian.

Of Admiral HORTHY she said that she knew that he has died quite recently, and added that under his regime people lived very well in Hungary.

On the activities of people who have left Hungary before 1956, respondent thought that they did not achieve very much/ for Hungary. Why, she could not give any reason. She also said/ that after all it was the revolution of October has shown the world ~~the~~ kind of people the Hungarians really are. She thought that the former emigrés really should have used more propaganda ~~in~~ on behalf of the Hungarian cause, since ~~the~~ propaganda is a very usable and important weapon here in the United States. "During the revolution" she said- "nobody had time to think about the exiles here" in the US

C. Respondent mentioned the family of a former class-mate who went to Austria and stayed there until 1945 but then due to homesickness, they returned to Hungary. They were later extremely sorry for having done so.

~~Ex~~ Respondent was of the opinion that the communist redefection campaign was set up for the purpose of propaganda only, toward the Western world. "But it was not a very successful campaign" she said.

D. Regarding the duties of people who have left Hungary, respondent said: "There is one thing, I believe that is very important, what the Hungarian emigrés should do and that is to get together and be united in their efforts what they want to do for Hungary. One of their most important aims should be to make as many friends for the Hungarians and the Hungarian cause. Also to use propaganda to a very great extent against the Soviet Union and Soviet Expansion. The public opinion in the United States must realize what the aims of the Soviet are and that the imperialistic aims of the Soviet Union are aimed not only at Europe but against the West and East also. "

REGARDING WHAT PEOPLE IN Hungary would like to know about the exiles, respondent said: "Of course they all want to know how we are living here, how we are faring and what sort of jobs we hold. Furthermore they probably want to know whether or not we are working hard enough for the Hungarian freedom cause, and in the interest of those we left behind. "

"On the other hand I believe that people back home should be told that unfortunately the Hungarians here have not such a great influence and such great possibilities so as to be employed effectively against the foreign policy of the United States.

After all we should never forget said the respondent that we are guests of the United States and we are not the hosts in this country."

my "As to my duties and what I ought to do in the interests of the country, ~~xxxx~~ I think I have outlined this above ~~and~~ speaking of what people who have left Hungary should do now, I certainly will do the same. Also I will strive very earnestly to study and to ~~xxxx~~ learn as much as possible so that if ever I can return to my homeland, I can be very useful member of Hungary."

"I would like to join an exile organization which takes part in cultural, social and also political life. To my mind, this organization should aim to keep up the Hungarian culture, the Hungarian spirit and the Hungarian tradition in those Hungarians who are living in the United States and the organizations should also strive to familiarize the Americans with the ~~my sided~~ and good values of the Hungarian nation on the whole. I believe that this organization should be made up of both old exiles as well.

Regarding the various political parties which were active before 1948, parties in exile and such, respondent was too young at that time and cannot give any information. Regarding the political parties revived in Hungary during the revolution, respondent was of the view that it is quite to have several political parties because no political evolution can come about under a one party rule, but on the other hand she thought that a mistake to revive the different political during the revolution because at that time a complete unity was important and not the parties. Whether who went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revived parties, respondent said that there wasn't very much time for such an action anyway and she didn't see that any good would have resulted from this anyhow.

E. Regarding respondent's plans for the future, she felt that she simply wants to ~~go~~ go back to Hungary if and when Hungary is independent and free and Russians aren't on her soil anymore. She also said that if and ever she has children, ~~she~~ she would always teach them to speak Hungarian even if they stay on in the United States.

Hungarian people were dissatisfied and unhappy and oppressed enough under the communist regime to start a revolution on their own. Nobody needed to incite them. But with the moral help so to say of the foreign broadcasts, they somehow now believed that if they started a revolution, they would be helped. "

I certainly hope that Radio Free Europe will continue to broadcast into Hungary, but I do hope that in the future these broadcasts will be more reliable, they will stick to the facts and also politically they will be more reliable."

"I believe that straight political and economic news would be welcome if not exaggerated and if they are very matter of fact. On the other hand I do not see any need for an anti-communist propaganda. They could continue with it, but they shouldn't go to the extremes. Programs about life in Western Europe and life in the United States would be very welcome.

B. Respondent has not heard about MEM nor did she hear about the twelve points.

C. Free Europe leaflets on the other hand as seen in fact, she had picked them up off the countryside at the place where her father was in hiding near Jaszboldoghaza. She she can only remember that these leaflets contained anti-Communist propaganda. There certainly was risk involved in picking up those leaflets or keeping them or talking about them, so you had to be very careful and you were not supposed to be caught red-handed. On the other hand this fact ~~xxxx~~ never deterred people. At that time respondent believed that these leaflets ~~had~~ were quite useful, because every people thought and knew that the West was thinking of them and the anti-communist propaganda was kept alive at that time. On the other hand, respondent believed ~~that~~ that she does not see very much sense in dropping ~~the~~ leaflets now into Hungary because it would only cause extreme hazard for those people who might find it or on whose land it might be found. On the other hand the punishment for picking and finding leaflets ~~was~~ would not erase the propaganda effects of same.

B. According to respondent's ideas, the Western groups that have broadcast news and sent leaflets into Hungary had the same purpose, more or less. They wanted to inform the countries behind the Iron Curtain about life in the Free World, and also they wanted to exercise a great ~~and~~ deal of anti-communist propaganda.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Regarding the way in which children should be brought up in Hungary, respondent said: "First of all I believe a child should be brought up to have a very strong sense of duty then in respect towards his elders, parents and teachers and should be taught religion and should be taught to lead a cultured life and always willing to conform with its surroundings. It should be brought up physically sound, not only mentally and therefore I believe that sports is an important factor in education. What a child should learn at school or at home I believe is a general education with as many interests as possible. The love for the beautiful, music and so on."

In my opinion, there is a great need for discipline when bringing up children. This is very important. I would like to compare it to the way that we are pruning the trees and shrubs that we want to become nicely shaped, healthy and beautiful specimens. Regarding the ways and means of disciplines, my ideas would be the following: I don't believe that physical punishment if used sparingly and at a very young age could harm anybody. Of course this would never become a habit, but discipline must be exercised. It should be used by showing a good example to the child and by talking sense to him. Also if necessary the child should be punished for his wrong doings.

At a tender age, I don't think any difference should be made between the boys and girls, but later on the matters of discipline due change according to age and to sex. Respondent gave an example as to how she was disciplined by her mother when she was about six or seven years old. She was with her sisters playing ball in the garden and she didn't want to surrender the ball to her brothers. This resulted in a nice little fight with the children, so the mother took them in and made them kneel down around the wall for quite some time and of course the ball was confiscated by the mother. Among people the respondent knew, several families did punish the children if they were six years or even more. The punishment varies in Hungary for the different social classes. The peasant and the working classes do not bring up their children in a so called civilized way and they punished them physically rather than mentally and even to quite a mature age. Physical punishment is used more often among the peasantry and working classes. During the last ten years, due to Communist interference in education changes have been brought about. The authority of the parents and the teachers have decreased because they were not allowed to punish their children anymore, so there was a fight going on between the parental influence and the schools. And it was always much more difficult for a parent to enforce his authority.

Respondent couldn't give any information as to how soon punishment of boys and girls is abandoned for the children, as previously mentioned she said that communists did bring about changes in that respect but it more or less depended on the whole family atmosphere, how parents administered punishment every thing depended on the parent and on the child and on circumstances.

Thinking Techniques of discipline before communism consisted in the boy's schools by rapping ~~the~~ them over the knuckles to give them a couple of slaps, or capital punishment sometimes came in for putting them in the corner and also with the girls it was more lenient. We were put into a corner or given a couple of raps on the fingers. There was also was a general means of discipline before the communist regime, and that was when the headmaster sent a so called warning to the parents. That meant that the child behaved badly or didn't learn properly. If we didn't reform we received bad grades in behavior or a certain subject, and finally expulsion from school. The communist regime only issued these notices to the parents, bad marks and the expulsion from the school remained. Physical punishment could not be applied to the communist regime.

The most valued characteristics in a friend according to respondent are first of all a complete sincerity, decent and reliable behavior also that a friend should have the same interests in everything as the other party and also that the friends should stick to each other. Also the respondent believed ~~that~~ that it is important that a friend should have about the same religious convictions as herself.

Changes in friendship under the communist regime have changed were more cautious about with whom they struck up a friendship, and also she believed that anybody if anybody becomes a communist party member, this means an end to the friendship.