

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

This girl has a good family background. Her father was a career officer in the Hungarian Army. Her mother was of Spanish origin who cared well for the needs of the family. After the death of her husband, she worked for the upkeep of her children. The family was quite well-to-do and lived well until the death of the father in 1945.

However, subject is not very intelligent; has very little ideas of her own; gives rather stereotyped answers; was never much interested in politics. She is not well informed on world affairs and anything that has happened outside of Hungary. She is rather passive and an introvert; uncommunicative; taciturn. Respondent knows little of the revolution since she spent this period in a hospital, caring for the wounded.

I cannot see how she will succeed in her chosen profession, which is pediatrics. I believe that she must be very slow in the uptake. However, she professes a great interest in children and loves to care for them. This subject was the only one on which she would elaborate more volubly.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"I think that the most important thing that the Americans ought to know about the events in Hungary during the fall of 1956 is: how very little the US and the Western world knew about the situation in Hungary. Nobody seemed to have realized what sort of life we had under the Russian rule and why the revolution really broke out. I believe that the whole Western world was completely taken by surprise by the events in Hungary in October.

"I have realized this especially after I arrived here in the US and started telling the people about the events in Budapest. People were asking extremely idiotic questions and when I answered them, or told them something, they simply would not believe it. I believe it is because they do not realize it and cannot realize ~~it~~ what life was in Hungary. I think that this is also the reason why the Western world did not come to the aid of Hungary -- because people simply do not understand our cause."

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

"On October 22 I was working till 6 o'clock in the Goldberger Textile Factory in the plant nursery. We cared for the children of the working women. A friend of mine and I went into town. We met great crowds all over the city. There were hardly any streetcars that were running. We saw a great crowd of people marching on the boulevards and the streets. They were carrying Hungarian flags and shouting slogans. Some were carrying big placards with slogans written on them. We joined the crowd for a while. At about 10 o'clock I started walking home. It was well after 11 P.M. when I arrived there.

"On October 23 I woke up very early and listened to the Hungarian radio station. The station, at that time, was giving out the instructions of the Communist government. It ordered that martial law be observed throughout the city and threatened the population with reprisals if the orders were not obeyed. Of course, I did not go to my office. I tried to call the office but, no one answered. I was sure that no one went to work. At that time, a comparative silence reigned over Buda, the section of the city where I lived. By evening the bridges were closed by the Russians and nobody could cross over to Pest.

"At dawn, on October 24, the fighting started in our district also. On the Moscow Square, which is near where I lived, Russians were stationed. They started shelling the Hungarian soldiers who were in the mountains -- this place is called the Little Svbian Mountain. I also heard over the Hungarian radio station that voluntary nursed were requested to join up immediately at the various hospitals. I went to the St. John's Hospital, which was near where I lived, and offered my services. We were enrolled immediately and assigned

to different ambulances. We went out immediately. We were patrolling the entire Buda side and we went as far as the Gellert Square and the Moric Zsigmond Square, where fierce battles were raging. We carried about 200 wounded persons to the St. John's Hospital in a single day. In this hospital the least number of wounded were taken. The majority of the wounded throughout the Buda district were taken to the Kek Golyo Street Military Hospital and also to the Sports Hospital on Alkotás Street.

"The majority of the wounded, of course, were Hungarians. In fact, we only had two Russian soldiers who were wounded and who were taken to our hospital. One of them told us that he was shot by his own officer because he refused to obey and did not want to fight against the Hungarians. The ages of the Hungarian wounded were from 16 to 25. They were all young lads. The sniping and fighting raged all day long. The Red Cross emblem was not respected very much. The reason for this was that the AVH soldiers started to carry ammunition and arms in the Red Cross ambulances. The Freedom Fighters, of course, were obliged to halt them or to shoot at them. At the end, we went to pick up the wounded in the streets with open trucks because everybody could see that we were picking up wounded and not carrying ammunition or arms.

"I remember a young boy who was six years old. He sat at the curb. He did not even cry. When we asked him what he was doing there we discovered that he was severely shot in his leg. The doctor attended to him. When we took him to the hospital, he began shouting, 'Please, let me go back! Let me go back! I must fight!'"

From October 25 until October 29, respondent was working at the St. John's Hospital and at the Alkotás Hospital. I was trying to find out what the situation was in those two hospitals regarding

medicine, etc. Respondent said that the situation was much better at the St. John's Hospital. First of all, they did not take in so many wounded Freedom Fighters; they had an ample supply of medicine and bandages. All of the physicians from the district pulled their supplies. There were enough doctors but very few nurses because most of the nurses lived out of town and could not come into the town. On the other hand, the situation at the Alkotas Street Hospital was very bad. There were not enough beds. Even the basement was crowded with the wounded. The wounded had to be placed on army cots, side by side. There was a shortage of bandages and the doctors took off their own white shirts. The shortage of nurses was acute here. Food, on the other hand, was ample. Respondent said that the International Red Cross was supplying them with everything they wanted. At the end of the fighting, the nurses began returning, one by one, to their respective hospitals. At the Alkotas Street Hospital, respondent said they had about 1800 wounded.

On October 29, respondent went back to her home on Varosmajor Street where she lived with her aunt. At that time, the government of Imre Nagy was already in power. She went back to the factory to start working. However, there were no children at the nursery at that time and all they did was help distribute the different pamphlets and leaflets which they received from the Freedom Fighters.

A. When probed about her personal feelings and thoughts during the revolution, respondent said: "I really was not thinking about anything and I was not expecting anything. The policy of the Communist government in the last year had been a bit more lenient and, in the last month, we somehow realized that something must be wrong because unexpected things were occurring."

Regarding her feelings, she said that she was sharing everybody else's feeling during the revolution. It was an intense joy and happiness

and relief to be free again. She was never afraid. People did not think of this during the revolution.

"We also wanted the same thing -- all of us Hungarians -- mainly that the Russians leave the country and that the Soviet Union cease interfering in Hungary's affairs. We also wanted a new government, a secret ballot in the elections, freedom of speech, etc. On the whole, all that has been laid down by the students in the 14 demands. I am quite sure that nobody would have accepted any concessions from the government."

Respondent also stated that ~~including~~ she did not think ~~about~~ any shooting would result from the demonstration because they were hoping that Nagy would be able to fulfill what he promised.

As to the age, sex and class of the demonstrators, respondent said that men, women, children, parents, whole families with small children were partaking in the demonstration. She also said that they were mostly of the intellectual and working classes. She saw a great number of students everywhere. Of course, as she said, peasants did not take part in the demonstration in Budapest.

Respondent believed that, probably, quite a few of the old intellectual class did not take part in the demonstrations because they were too scared. Most of these people were at one time deported and they were on the black list of the regime. She said that, most probably, these were the only ones who did not take part in the demonstrations with the exception of the Communists, of course. As for the organization and leadership of the demonstrations, respondent said that she did not believe there were any leaders or that the demonstrations were organized at all. She had the feeling, and so did everybody else, that it was completely spontaneous. It happened sometimes, as she saw, that one man took the initiative and shouted, "Now let's go here and there," and so the crowd followed him. She does not believe that there was an overall leadership.

B. Respondent said that she had heard from a friend of theirs who shared their apartment about how the demonstration turned into fighting. He took part in the fighting on October 23, in front of the radio building. He told how the AVH started the shooting. She believed that this was the reason why the demonstration turned into fighting. She said, "I am sure that the demonstrators would have never started the shooting."

Respondent heard the first revolutionary slogans on October 22, in the evening, when she was in town. She heard the words, freedom fighter, for the first time on October 24.

"It was the intellectual class and mostly the students who started to fight first. They were joined very soon by the workers. The age of the fighters varied from 15 to 30. Of course, they were mostly boys." Respondent had heard that girls also took part in the fighting. As far as respondent knew, the fighters got their arms from the army barracks and the police barracks. Respondent was told that the Hungarian Army had joined the revolution very soon and at an early date. She also heard that many of the regular policemen had joined the Freedom Fighters.

Respondent did not know whether or not the Freedom Fighters were organized and how. She only heard that they had group leaders and said that she was ~~that~~ told that anybody who could get arms simply joined the crowd and started fighting. She heard the names of Pal Maleter and Gen. Kiraly mentioned by several of the wounded in the hospital. These wounded persons also told her that some former officers of the Hungarian Army had taken up the lead in different districts.

When asked about the overall outcome of the revolution, that is, what she thought of it, respondent said, "We were convinced in the beginning that we

will succeed because we had put such confidence into the government of Imre Nagy. Particularly after the first two days when the prime minister promised that he would give in to all the demands of the students.

"I do not think that anybody had to call in the Russians because Moscow knew perfectly well what they ~~was~~ were going to do. The whole thing was planned far in advance. We are sure of that. The Russians would have returned, anyway. We were also told by people living out of town, who saw how the Russians dug in around the city. On the other hand, we knew that for the so-called 'calling in of the Russian troops' Kadar could be held responsible."

Respondent spent the days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion working at the Goldberger Factory. Respondent disclosed that nobody really believed that the Russian Army had begun its retreat, for reasons mentioned previously. Respondent first heard that the Soviets had returned to the city on November 4, at dawn, when the shooting started again in Buda. She heard the tanks rolling in. She was also informed that the airport at Feri Hegy was bombed and shelled. The Hungarian Army put up resistance here as they were told to do. On November 4, respondent did not leave the house because the fighting and sniping started anew. She saw the first Russian tank on November 5, at the corner of Varosmagor and Csaba Streets. When the Russian Army returned after ~~the~~ November 5, respondent again returned to the hospital at Alkotas Street and took up her duties with an ambulance. At that time there were less wounded persons there. However, there were many civilians who had been wounded at Moscow Square by the Russians, while doing their marketing. After the fighting had died down, and the Nagy government had been ousted, respondent returned to work again. On November 23, while returning from work, she took the streetcar with her personal manager. This woman,

who was a Party member, told her that now the day of reckoning had come and everybody would see how they would be punished for their attitude during the revolution. This was day that respondent decided to leave the country. She did not even tell her aunt that she had made up her mind and talked it over with her friends who shared the apartment.

On November 24, she threw a few things into a small bag and went with these friends. She crossed the Hungarian border into Austria at Eisenstadt.

When probed whether or not Hungary, on the whole, had gained as a result of the October revolution, respondent said, "Despite the fact that Hungary had a great loss of population, I believe that there was one thing we had gained and that was that the Russians finally must have realized that the Hungarian nation ~~was~~ was not going to take the Russian rule lying down. Also, that the Hungarians were no longer taken in by the Soviet slogans."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

"I did not expect anything from the West because I realized that there is only one way in which the West could intervene effectively and that is with arms. This, on the other hand, would have such consequences that nobody would like to be responsible for. However, people in Hungary did expect a great deal from the West. Some of them expected arms, others expected moral and material support. I also believe that this hope was what drove the people to fight. I believe that the expectations regarding Western aid came as a result of the Western radio broadcasts, to which everyone listened."

Between October 23 and the time of her escape, respondent once talked with a member of the American legation through an interpreter. She was queuing for food when the car of the American legation stopped there and two Americans, with a Hungarian interpreter, questioned people and asked about happenings in that district regarding the revolution. Respondent said that this questioning lasted about 20 minutes or so.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. Respondent's father was a career officer in the Hungarian Army and held the rank of a colonel. He also taught at the Hungarian Officers' Academy (Kosuth). He fought on the Russian front during World War II and was killed in action when the Hungarian Army was retreating in 1944 near Szentes, Hungary. Respondent could not remember her father's income before the war because she was a child at that time, but she believed that he must have made quite a good salary. They were quite well-to-do. They had a house at Balatonalmadi; they also had 100 acres of land in Gyon (Pest County). After her father's death, respondent's mother started working at the Hungarian National Bank as a typist-secretary in order to supplement the pension she got after her husband's death.

Respondent's father was a graduate of the Hungarian Military Academy for Officers in Budapest; her mother was a graduate of the commercial academy in Budapest.

B. Concerning social classes in Hungary, respondent said, "I can only give the classification regarding the social classes as we were taught under the Communist regime. We had the intellectuals, workers, peasants and 'others.' I considered members of the intellectual class to be all people who has a high school education or university graduates, the civil servants and clerical people.

"Under the Communist regime, the class distinctions have greatly changed because the intellectuals went to work in a factory and became workers. On the other hand, peasant boys came to the city and became the working class. Also, peasants and workers have graduated into the intellectual class under Communism."

Respondent could not say anything about her attitudes concerning these groups. She had no ideas on this. Respondent felt that she belonged to the in-

telleotual class. In her opinion, it was the intellectual class that was hardest hit by Communism. This was due to the fact that the Communist regime persecuted this class the most since these people were the ones who were the so-called reigning class before the Communists took over in Hungary. These people not only lost their jobs, but they lost their homes and properties. They were always looked upon as class aliens and, very ofter, they were not allowed to work. In most cases, they lost their pensions too.

Respondent thought that under the Communist regime the class differences, somehow, levelled out and since everyone was living extremely badly -- poor conditions and oppression -- everybody realized somehow that the other class had to work just as hard and had it just as bad as his neighbor. As a result, the controversies were not very great. Respondent believes that the different classes understood each other much better than ever before. Respondent also held the view that the revolution proved this to a great extent because of how all classes took part in it.

E. How and Individual Could Get Ahead in Hungary

Respondent said that this always depended on who the boss of the office, school, etc. was. If he was a decent man, then one could get ahead even if he were from the "wrong" class. However, if the section manager or some other top man was a die-hard Communist, then it was much more difficult to get ahead. Nevertheless, respondent was of the opinion that class origin came first when it came to getting ahead. This was followed by the political views. Talent came last. Until 1952 the class origin was very important. After 1952, under the New Course, this was no longer stressed so heavily.

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Respondent thought that there are two kinds of persons who could get ahead in Communist Hungary. Those who are Communists in belief and deed and those who are not Communists at heart but who can play the role very well.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Respondent believes that Communism did have an effect on family life in Hungary. Every family felt some effects. Most of the changes were due to the fact that the income of the husband was never enough for the family. As a result, the housewife had to go to work. When both parties came home in the evening, dead tired, the woman had the household chores to perform. Everyone in the family was nervous and irritable. Because both parents worked, children had to be put into day schools and nurseries. The children were uprooted not only physically but mentally. They would be awakened early in the morning and taken to nursery. They would be without their parents all day and, in the evening, they would be taken back to the home.

The changes in family life, according to respondent, were really deplorable under the Communist regime. These changes were, more or less, the same in all the social classes.

B. How Children Are Brought Up in Communist Hungary

Respondent said that she could not compare the two different ways of education since she was much too young before the Communists took over Hungary. She could, however, tell about how the children are brought up now. The methods of bringing up the children depended greatly on the person in charge of the school or nursery. In the nursery of the Goldberger Plant where respondent worked, they had to use modern educational methods. I asked her to name a few, but respondent could not give any names. All she could say was that Western methods were not used by any means.

Respondent stated that at the nursery school the education was not yet indoctrinated with politics even though the storybooks were translations from the Russian. Respondent maintained that, contrary to Western propaganda, the children in these nursery schools were very well cared for. They were well fed and given excellent care by the nurses. It so happened, that due to very bad living conditions in their homes, the children, for instance, caught colds or contracted illnesses -- but not in the nurseries. Boys and girls were brought up together and were dressed alike. In the grade schools

which had eight grades in all, there was a difference because the religious teaching had been completely abolished. According to respondent, this was the worst thing that could have happened in an educational system. Grade schools were co-educational also. History was the subject which was most falsified by the Communists. It was interesting to note how the young people did not believe the Communist propaganda as soon as their young minds began developing. They saw for themselves that the facts belie all doctrine.

In the high schools the children were taught constitution; Russian propaganda was instilled into every subject. For example, credit was given to the Russian scientists for all new inventions, etc. The Russian language was compulsory in all schools -- even in the universities. However, in the last two years, this ruling was abolished and it was no longer compulsory to study Russian.

Respondent believes that the atmosphere of the family at home determined the grade of disobedience of the children brought up under the Communist regime. If the family ties were strong, there was not much difference in the bringing up of the children. Concerning courting, this was somewhat different because the children had much more freedom than before. As to religious instruction, or religion itself -- if the parents were religious, the child would be brought up just as before. If not at school, religion would be taught privately at home. Parents had no word in their children's choice of a career. The child had to take the career which was prescribed for him by the Communist regime, even if he wanted to pursue something entirely different.

The intellectual class, respondent believes, was the least affected by the Communist method of bringing up children because the parents were more intelligent.

A worker or a peasant never bothered too much with the bringing up of his children. As a result, these classes would be more affected by the bringing up of their children by the Communist regime.

Respondent also thought that the conflict between schools and parents could not be very great, especially in the intellectual class or if a child were intelligent enough. As a rule, children simply did not believe what they were taught at school, but did believe what they were told by their parents. Only in the field of religion was there some difficulty and this was a very spot in the educational system in Hungary.

C. Respondent did not volunteer much information on the subject of marriage, courtship, sex patterns, etc. Due to this, I did not stress the point. Regarding sex behavior, respondent mentioned that from what she has seen, young people in the US behave much more freely and have less inhibition than the young people have in Hungary. She also said that the increased numbers of divorces in Hungary were due to the fact that people married at a much too early age, just as they do in this country. Two very young people could not possibly know what a permanent marriage means and what responsibilities are involved. Another reason for so many divorces, respondent thought, was the great shortage of apartments in Hungary. People had to live under cramped conditions.

Respondent held the belief that the change in courtship, marriage, etc. has taken place only under the Communist regime and not during the war.

D. Friendship

Respondent said, "Communism certainly had an effect on friendship. First of all, people were much more cautious than before in taking up a friendship with anybody. Also, I do not believe that I could be friends with anybody who is a Communist. Of course, probably many people had joined the Party only because they wanted to keep their jobs, etc. If I knew that this was the case, then my friendship would not change toward the person. However, I would certainly not be friends any more with anybody who is a Communist."

E. Crime and Alcoholism

Respondent was most uncommunicative on this subject. Apparently, she did not read the newspaper very often and was not informed on these matters. She did not believe that the crime rate among women had increased, but thought that it had among the young people since the government reformatories were filled to capacity.

Respondent thought that alcoholism had increased because so many drunkards had never been seen before as during the Communist regime.

Juvenile Delinquency, Hooliganism, etc.

Respondent, again, could not give any information on this subject. She frankly admitted that she did not know about this problem at all.

VI.

RELIGION

Respondent said that she thought the Communist oppression against religion in Hungary had misfired because even those people who had not attended church services before Communism, were now attending. If not because people suddenly became religious, then out of sheer defiance. When people were observed whether or not and how often they attended church, some people who did not have a deep faith, were easily influenced and were very cautious -- at least tried not to show that they are religious. Also, there was a time when church weddings were a very bad mark on your file. The Roman Catholic religion was hardest hit, in respondent's opinion. The reason for this was that the Church did not compromise with the State as did the Protestant leaders. Respondent thought that the Roman Catholic Church was somehow identified with Cardinal Mindszenty and his alleged conspiracy. Due to this, the Communists wanted to oppress this particular religion as much as possible. Respondent said that she did not have any information of the Jewish religion. But she did say that since the Jews were always privileged in every way under the Communist regime, she assumed that this was the case with their religion also.

B. What Role Did Religion Play in Respondent's Life

"Since I had been brought up in a convent, and attended parochial schools, religion played a big part in my life. But, on the other hand, I think religion is not as great a factor in my life as in the life of my parents. I believe that I am more religious than the average person in Hungary. I also attend church regularly and take part in the religious life."

C. "To my way of thinking, the relationship between Church and State in an independent country

should be based on co-operation between the two parties, yet the Church should be completely independent from the State. The role of the Church in education is extremely important because a child must be brought up in some sort of a religion, regardless of which. I have seen how we all missed the clerical schools during the Communist regime -- not only because they gave us the religious instructions, but, on the whole, it is generally known and also proven that the education in the clerical schools was far superior to those of the State or other schools.

"I believe that the churches should set a moral code and standard in things such as movies, plays, etc. However, I firmly believe that no church should take any active part in politics in an independent Hungary."

D. Respondent said that this was a topic that was never discussed by the regime. She believes that the Jews were left in peace and that was all.

A great many Jews had joined the Communist Party. Respondent thought this was due to the fact that after the German cruelties and deportations, the Jewish people were liberated by the Communists, so, they joined the Party out of gratitude. Also, she believed that the Jews always liked to look after their own interests and so they thought that it would be more profitable to join the ruling party. Many of the Jews had accepted leading roles in the Communist government and executive posts in the Communist Party. However, respondent was of the opinion that the majority of the Jews was not wholeheartedly behind the Communist regime. They did it mostly for material gains. According to respondent, this was typical of the Jews.

Respondent said that she had not seen any Jews taking part in the demonstrations or in the fighting. As a matter of fact, she believed that the majority of the Jews was in hiding during the revolution. They were much too cautious. Respondent emphatically denied that the Jews are afraid of an independent Hungary since, she said, they really had no reason for that and since the Hungarian Jewry is rather smart, she said that she is convinced that it does not matter what sort of a regime will ever be in Hungary, the Jews will always find a way to get the good jobs and positions.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "When I speak of Hungarian youth, I think of the young boys and girls from 14 to 26 years of age. These are mostly students and junior workers."

B. "Yes, this is very true. The Hungarian youth took the lead in the Hungarian revolution."

Before the revolution she only heard of the Peto-fir Kor which was not exclusively run by the young people. During the demonstrations and the fighting, it was mainly the young people who took part in it. The university students, at the beginning, were those who directed the fighting and took part in the greatest numbers. Later, they were joined by the young working class -- boys from the suburbs who really fought extremely well and with great courage. The reason for youth taking the lead in the revolution, rather than the old people was that even though they were very dissatisfied a young person is less fearful of consequences, has less to lose and is much braver.

"During the revolution the opinion of the older people varied. There were two kinds of opinions. Some said that it was a foolhardy thing to do and it will never succeed; the others were very encouraged by the young peoples' actions and they were wholeheartedly behind them. We young people, on the other hand, believed that the older generation did not understand or see what we, the young people, want. The oldsters wanted the old times to return. This is impossible. We wanted something new. We were more progressive; the old people in Hungary are more conservative and most of them still live in the past."

C. Respondent disclosed that education in Hungary, especially at the high school and university levels, was at a very high standard. They had to learn a great deal and much was expected of them. Respondent thought what she had seen here in the colleges showed that American college students learn far less and have less strictness applied than college and university students in Hungary.

Respondent tried, on several occasions, to enroll at the medical university in Budapest, but never

succeeded in getting into the university. This was her reason for turning to the next best profession -- that of caring for children ---because she had always wanted to become a pediatrician. She gain mentioned that if you were a class alien, it was most difficult to get into a univeristy. The vocational choice was extremely restricted and entirely in the hands of the authorities. It was made on the basis of where great needs laid in certain professions.

Almost all of the professors in the universities and high schools were non-Communists. Respondent knew, through experience, that they were extremely competent. However, she admitted that as everywhere else, there were a few teachers and professors who did belong to the Party. Respondent said that to her knowledge there are still three clerical schools in Hungary that are allowed to keep up their own schools. One is in Budapest, one in Pannonhalma and the third in Esztergom. She also mentioned that at the Pannonhalma school the Roman Catholic priests are still teaching to this day.

E. In respondent's opinion, the Communists did spend a great deal of time and effort in trying to indoctrinate the youth of Hungary. The failure of indoctrinating the youth was due to the fact that the Communists preached beautiful doctrine, but in practice it worked out quite differently. As soon as a child could think for himself he was able to see that what the Communists were preaching was contrary to facts.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The extremely bad financial situation in Hungary was the main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary. Nobody could earn enough to satisfy even the basic needs of their families. After all, you have to eat and you have to be dressed somehow. These two items were extremely difficult to obtain."

B. "The most annoying thing was the Communist ideology as disseminated by the radio and the press. We knew that what we heard and read were lies."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "Our family got along very badly financially during the last years in Communist Hungary. My mother, for instance, could not buy herself a pair of new shoes because she had to bring up my young brother. My education at the nurses' home was paid by the State. I received my room and board there, also. My mother gave me some pocket money every month. I also had a scholarship for my studies. The food supply was inadequate and too expensive; clothing was extremely expensive and of bad quality. For instance, I had to pay half a month's salary for one pull-over. Housing, on the other hand, was inexpensive but there was an extreme housing shortage.

"I looked upon central heating and running hot water in an apartment as the greatest luxuries. The food problem caused us the greatest difficulty.

"The standard of living of my family has gone down. In 1949, the Hungarian forint had a greater purchase value. At that time we paid six forints for two pounds of sugar; now it was eleven forints for the same amount. In 1949 we paid 16 forints for two pounds of meat; now it was 34 forints. My family's standard of living was at its highest peak in 1947 and it was at its lowest in 1955-56. The price of everything kept rising and our incomes did not follow.

"My aunt, for instance, lived under much better circumstances than anybody else. This was due to the fact that her husband was a technical engineer who, despite the fact that he did not become a Party member, held a key position. He was an expert in his field and was needed. He earned 2,800 forints per month, which was a good salary at that time.

"There is only one factor that accounts for the Hungarian standard of living going lower and lower constantly during the last eight years -- the Soviet exploitation of the country."

B. "My salary in 1956 was 850 forints plus my board per month. The deductions amounted to 60 forints per month. These consisted of income tax which was about three to four per cent, old age pension which was about five per cent, trade union fees were seven forints a month and the Peace Loan (which was compulsory but called voluntary on paper), 45 forints per month. In our field of activities, we did not get any premiums but I received a 100-forints bonus twice during the period I worked at the hospital. I did not have any secondary source of income and, since the death of my father, my mother was the head of the family and she also worked. I did not receive any wage increase during the period I was working at the Goldberger Plant."

C. "The prices were always the lowest in the State stores or State markets. But, for instance, the clothing was very unattractive and of bad quality. Custom-made clothing, of course, was very expensive. The foods in the State stores were the cheapest, but, of the worst quality. The farm markets had very good quality goods but the prices were doubled over that of the State stores. For example, in the State warehouse, a woman's skirt was 160-180 forints while custom made skirts ran 300 forints; a pair of shoes (custom made) ran about 140 forints more than those bought in a State store. On the State farm market two pounds of potatoes cost two to two-twenty forints while the State store charged one forint and twenty. The prices of all commodities spiralled upwards all the time. There was a seasonal change in the prices -- only in eggs, fresh fruit, vegetables, etc.

"In the commission stores one could buy used clothes and commodities only. Usually these stores carried very high quality goods and these goods mostly came from the packages received from the West. Most of the packages came from America. During 1947-48, when the purchase value of the forint was still good, the quality of the merchandise was also much better.

The distribution of consumer goods was extremely inadequate under the Communist regime. This was mostly evident in the food section, although it prevailed in clothing and even furniture. The disorganization of production was responsible for this inadequacy.

Respondent could not remember if it was difficult to obtain spare parts and if there was much spoilage of food. Respondent mentioned that in the past year there was an extremely short supply of onions, eggs, and paprika. Regarding the black market, respondent said that since her mother did most of the marketing she could not give any information. As far as she knew, the black market had ceased to exist in the past two years.

D. Respondent worked from 6 A. M. to 1:30 P.M., from 5:30 to 1 o'clock, or from 10 A.M. to 5:45 P.M. as a nurse in the childrens' nursery at the Goldberger Textile Factory. Lunch time consisted of 30 minutes. Respondent ~~is~~ had to travel about half an hour by streetcar to get to work.

Respondent's relations with her co-workers were very good. They were all well-trained and competent people. The leader of the nursery school, who was a Party member, was a good-natured decent person. She treated the girls very well. Respondent was placed in this job because of this particular woman who had put in "a good word" for her. It very often happened that the Party secretary was dissatisfied with this woman but, because she was so efficient and so well trained, they could not dismiss her. This woman used to say, "My children are more important to me than Marxism."

Respondent was very satisfied with her job and liked it since she knew that she could not get what she wanted. Her superiors appreciated her work and she received praise often. As a matter of fact, she mentioned that another girlfriend of hers and she, who were both class aliens, were the best workers.

Their superior, the Party member, always put them up as examples before the others.

"The vacation program was good and well-planned. The trouble laid in the fact that too many people wanted to take advantage of it. Therefore, only those people who had some "pull" would be assigned to the health resorts."

The health program was a carefully planned project but the personnel was overloaded with work and, therefore, could not be very efficient. As a result many people went to see their private doctors instead of going to the so-called "social security doctors." All of the hospitals were crowded to such an extent that in the later years, the doctors were no longer allowed to advise their patients to be hospitalized. Respondent stressed that even though the hospitals were crowded, they were very well run in the last few years. They were clean and well-kept. The health insurance took care of hospitalization and surgical expenses. Only 10 per cent of the cost of the medicines had to be paid by the patient. The optometrists' and dentists' bills were paid by the health insurance. These health program benefits are nothing new. They had been in existence before the Communists took over in Hungary (for about 25 years).

The compensation program, on the other hand, was extremely curtailed under the Communist regime. The pensions were frightfully small. No one could live on any pension. Respondent knew this well because her mother had received a pension and later was deprived of it.

E. Respondent preferred living in the city while in Hungary. This was the reason she came to Budapest to study. She thought that life in the provinces was much too quiet and tedious. She believed that the agricultural workers, on the whole, had a much better diet than the city workers. However, the consumer goods were easier to obtain in Budapest. The housing shortage was about the same throughout the country.

On the whole, the standard of living was higher in Budapest than in the countryside. Also, politically, the life was easier in the city because you could get lost in the big crowd. In a small place everybody knows everybody else and peoples' activities do not go unnoticed as they do in a large city.

"We did not know nor could we imagine in the beginning how and what the effects would be of collectivization. We did not expect anything good to come of it since everybody knows that the Hungarian peasant loves to work on his own land. Also, the manner in which collectivization was practiced in Hungary was completely wrong." In respondent's opinion, it was the more well-to-do peasants who objected mostly to the collectivization.

Respondent heard over the radio, a couple of years ago, that some of the collectives had been dissolved. During the revolution she had heard that several collectives were dissolved voluntarily. Respondent said that in some instances where peasants worked together in close co-operation and friendship, some of these collectives were quite successful. Respondent said that she would choose to work on a collective farm if she were an agricultural worker. A private farm cannot afford to pay good wages, according to respondent. On the other hand, the land of a collective is so neglected that one has to work very hard and achieve nothing.

Respondent would welcome an agricultural system in an independent Hungary that would leave as much land in the hands of one family or one person which he is able to cultivate. Respondent also thought that the State-owned farms should remain in the hands of the State but should be run adequately. Respondent thought that the mechanization of farming is a very useful and profitable innovation. This, however, is nothing new, according to respondent, because even before 1945 the Hungarian farmers had already started to use machinery instead of manual labor.

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

Respondent cannot give any information about the political life in Hungary before the Communist rule because she was much too young.

B. "I think that I could distinguish between two types of Communist Party members. One is the man who was a convinced Communist and he became a Party member for this reason. At least I respect this type of man because he had the courage to admit that he is a Communist. The second type of Party member is the person who, for some reason or other, became a Communist member. These types I do not like at all and I must admit that the majority of the Communist Party members was made up of these people. On the whole, I despise all Party members because they are those who implement the Soviet policy voluntarily or involuntarily."

"All changes within the Communist Party during the last eight years came about under the Soviet pressure. I am thinking now about the sudden changes after Stalin's death. The reason for this sudden volte face was a Soviet maneuver because they had realized that now and then they had to pacify the population. The Hungarian Communist Party never acted on its own -- it always had to follow the Moscow line.

"I do not believe that the rank-and-file Party members were satisfied with the way things were going within the Party. In the factory where I worked, I heard several workmen criticizing the Party, but they could not do much about it anyway because the Party leadership stuck together jealously guarded their positions within the Party.

"In my opinion, the leaders of the Communist Party are all-and-out representatives of the Communist regime. Their only aim is to keep the people under heel and to maintain the Communist myth -- which is, 'You've never had it so good.' I think that even

among the leadership there must be people who, although once were fervent Communists, have found out that something is wrong in the way the whole Communist doctrine is implemented. I firmly believe that the Communists of 1919 and those who were idealists in the beginning must have changed their minds about the Communist doctrine. However, they do not dare to take the road back anymore. I also think that there must be quite a number of people in the Communist Party who are just plain stupid and believe everything they are told. The third category, I think, consists of gangsters.

"I do not believe that Rajk was 100 per cent decent. At that time maybe he thought that he could introduce a new way of Communism. But he lost out and that was the end of him. On the whole, it is quite typical of the Communists to exterminate each other quite frequently.

"I do not think that we would have to think much about the top Communists in Hungary when, and if, Hungary becomes independent because I am sure that by that time the hatred will have mounted to such an extent that these people ~~must~~ will be killed on the spot. I would really not blame anybody for doing so. It would not help them in any way to be locked up in prison. Besides, they all would all merit the most infamous death."

C. Respondent had not heard of any opposition toward the Communist government before the revolution.

Respondent had heard about six months before the revolution about the activities of the intellectuals. She heard about the Petofi Kor starting to issue daring articles criticizing the regime in their literary gazette. In respondent's opinion, the intellectuals had nothing new to say. They only formulated those ideas that everybody else held. Nevertheless, respondent thought that they were the spearhead of the revolution by doing so. In general, respondent thought that these intellectuals were not at all impractical

people. She considered them to be realistic and down-to-earth.

The respondent was of the opinion that this ferment came about little by little. It first was started by the writers. These writers were joined by the younger generation -- the students and the young working class. When enforced by these, it was much more easier to act unitedly. Having had members in all social classes, the Petofi Circle members were fully and well-informed about the grievances of all classes.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The members of the AVH were not only Communists but they are crooks and gangsters who would sell their souls for money. These kinds of people are certainly to be found in any society. Even those who had not tortured or killed people themselves, were indirectly instrumental in the persecution of innocent people."

Respondent had an uncle who was held in the AVH prison for four years. He still does not know why he was held. He was terribly beaten up by them -- he lost all of his teeth. He was also tortured. This man also told of atrocities committed by the AVH police to women in the same prison. He was later in a concentration camp at Kistarcsa.

Respondent never heard of any AVH man who wanted to leave the force or who suffered remorse.

"Yes, Communist Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear. You never knew when and why you were being taken away by the political police. Nobody dared to speak above a whisper on certain matters because one never knew who would spy on you. People were scared to listen to the foreign broadcasts because if one would be denounced, he would be arrested and taken to prison. The correspondence with the Western world was observed and duly noted. All ties with the people of the West were observed also. It was even noted with whom one was visiting."

"When and if Hungary is independent, I think that I would like to see all AVH men executed. Unfortunately, too few of them were captured during the revolution and, contrary to belief here, the number of AVH policemen killed during the revolution is not so high."

Respondent said that the regular police were not a political organization. Nevertheless, she said that no decent person joined the regular police force either. They had many leaders who were in the pay of the AVH. Otherwise, they were less cruel.

Respondent also thought that Communism had, indeed, affected the regular police because the whole standard had been lowered since 1945. They were inclined toward Communist. They arrested a great number of people. Respondent thought that the regular police would not have dared to accept bribes. Respondent did not hold their competence in high esteem. She explained that, usually, the regime would put the uneducated, stupid country boys into the regular police.

Respondent disclosed that during the revolution, the regular police force was rather passive. In a few instances they had joined the Freedom Fighters. However, on the whole, they never fired on the crowd. Under the short-lived Nagy regime, the regular police were over to the side of the revolutionaries. Respondent also heard of several instances where the members of the regular police changed into civilian clothes and fought with the Freedom Fighters. This was a generally discussed event.

B. Respondent cannot say anything about the Hungarian courts in 1945-47.

D. When asked whether or not Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1848, respondent said, "Oh, no! This is not true at all! Nobody ever thought of this! The reason for the Russian Army's unpopularity is due to its behavior in 1945 -- the 'liberation' of Hungary in 1945 accounts for the overall hatred of the Russian occupation troops."

Respondent said that nobody in Hungary expected anything good from the Russians before they actually entered Hungary because the German newspapers and radio gave a very good picture of what to expect. Respondent had first-hand experiences with the Russian Army in 1945 because they were billeted in their summer home in Balaton Almadi. The first batch of officers stationed there were intelligent and well-educated

people who spoke German with them. These officers were shortly replaced by a horde of barbaric, uneducated soldiers. These men stole everything. They chased respondent and her family out of their home, they burned the furniture, etc. Respondent's attitude toward the Russian Army did not undergo any change. ~~and she could not give any reason for that.~~ As she said, they gave no reason for that.

Respondent could not give much information about the Russian troops stationed in Hungary just before the revolution because nobody ever had much contact with the Russian soldiers or officers. They lived side by side but, as she put it, the Hungarians went to the right and the Russians to the left.

The Russian soldiers, on the whole, never dared to express any opinion regarding their country and their own political system. Sometimes, they voiced the opinion that they were living far better in Hungary than back home. Respondent did not believe that there was any difference between the behavior of the officers and the enlisted men in the Russian Army on the whole.

Respondent had very little experience with the Russian soldiers during the revolution. She had heard that some of the ~~many~~ Russian soldiers had joined the Hungarian Freedom Fighters but, it was not sure for what reason they did this. Some of them were famished and just sold everything they had for some food. Respondent also believed that the Russian soldiers, on the whole, were very uneducated and stupid persons. Also, that they were kept very much in the dark by their leaders. For instance, the new troops brought into Hungary after November 4 had no idea whatsoever where they were.

Respondent heard that it was the enlisted men who joined with the Freedom Fighters. However, she believed that there was a great difference between the troops that had been stationed in Hungary for some time and those which were brought in later on.

The work discipline was strictly maintained as a rule, but the matron was rather lenient in the childrens' nursery. They did not have to punch time cards in the factory. It was, of course, compulsory and rules were strictly observed. The nurses, among themselves and even in the presence of the head matron, openly criticized the regime and talked everything over. They talked freely even with the parents of the children when they came to pick up their children. They had nothing to fear and they knew that the matron, even tho she was a Communist, would be entirely on their side.

F. Respondent believed that there was a great deal of bribery going on and that certainly were ways of getting around the regulations to some extent. She mentioned the housing administration office, for instance. On the other hand, she said that it was impossible to bribe anybody in the AVH. They were much too scared. In some cases it was easy to bribe members of the regular police. Respondent mentioned that this was mostly the case during the time of the deportations in Budapest. Officials who were caught red-handed were idis-missed and probably imprisoned, according to respondent.

G. Respondent thought that no intelligent person or anybody who had some decency could have joined the secret police. In the last years, the regime tried to improve the standard of the secret police and they made them attend schools in order that members have at least eight years of elementary schooling. As to the Hungarian Army leadership, respondent believed that quite a number of old army officers were still left in the army because they were needed. On the other hand, the newly-enrolled people in the officers' academy were thought of by respondent in the following sentence, "I wouldn't trust them an inch."

Respondent did not know anything about the Russian Army leadership and its efficiency. However, she did know for sure that quite a number of the old experts had been retained in the public administration department because the new officials were not trained for the job.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "I do not think that anything will change now in Hungary. Everything will remain as it is at present. I do not believe anything can be achieved short of a war. I also believe that this is the opinion of the people still in Hungary.

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"I do not see the possibility of any further resistance in Hungary. The passive resistance, however, will surely go on.

"The Kadar regime will not make any concessions because it does not dare to do so and I am rather inclined to think that the regime will tighten its grip on the Hungarian people.

"As to the actions of the West, I do not expect anything from the Western powers anymore because since they did not do anything at the time when it was possible and easy for them to do so, why would they come to our assistance now?when it is too late.

"Concerning my hopes -- there is only one thing everybody in Hungary, including myself, hopes for and that is the Russian withdrawal not only from Hungary but from Eastern Europe. This would be the only solution. Also, I would hope for a free election and a new government in Hungary. I believe that I am voicing the opinion of all Hungarians.

"As to what means these hopes may be realized, I really cannot say which means could be used. Everybody has seen in the past that UN sanctions are not a weapon that can be used against Russia and Russia does not obey UN sanctions. In my opinion, there remains one alternative and this is war. These opinions differ in Hungary. Some believe that war is undesirable and others again think that this is the only means by which some solution could be achieved. I do not believe that a war is likely to occur in the near future, but I am convinced on the other hand, that as time goes on, slowly but surely, it will lead to a war.

"As I said before, other means than war would not have any effect on the Russians. The only ~~solution~~, ^{other} and this is only wishful thinking, is an internal

change in the Soviet Union which certainly would lead to a settlement in Eastern Europe."

B. Regarding Hungary's future, respondent said, "As previously mentioned, I was rather a pessimist and I did not hope or expect anything from the West. The average person in Hungary, however, was hoping for assistance from the Western powers."

I could not make her elaborate further on this subject.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Respondent's ideas about an independent Hungary were: "An independent Hungary should and must revert to agriculture. The overdevelopment of heavy industry is an unhealthy state of affairs. Hungary does not have the raw materials needed for heavy industries. Hungary should continue to produce wheat, for instance, then corn; further the industrial plants such as hemp and flax; also, some flower seeds. The growing of rice and cotton, for instance should certainly be discontinued in Hungary. Regarding the industries, Hungary should revert to the light industries and the consumer commodities should be produced mostly -- for instance, clothing, etc."

"If the Communist regime were overthrown in Hungary, respondent thought that the larger national enterprises should be left in the hands of the State and the smaller ones should be returned to the private owners. The co-operatives and small farms should be dissolved.

In an independent Hungary, according to respondent, the heavy industry should remain in the hands of the State. The private industrial enterprises, on the other hand, must also be encouraged because this would create competition and finally, this would lead to a better quality and lower prices.

Respondent did not believe that the government of an independent Hungary should set a maximum limit to the amount of land one person could own.

The kind of government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary is that of a liberal democratic government, a coalition government made up of different parties. Respondent said she did not believe in the one-party system, of course. Respondent chose the kind of government that guarantees the all-personal freedoms but does not assure everyone the standard of living because she said that in a free country everybody could get ahead according to his own ability and choice. In respondent's view, liberty and freedom are the most important factors.

On outlawing the Communist Party, respondent said, emphatically, "Yes!" When probed why, she said that after the 12 years of Communist rule, nobody should be allowed to join a Party voluntarily or through stupidity, or for any other reason which advocates the overthrow of the world and Christian ideals. For the same reason, she would also be in favor of outlawing fellow-traveling organizations.

C. Respondent would like Hungary's position patterned after Austria's. She wants to have a complete neutrality for Hungary because this is the most suitable form of international position. She was most emphatic in stating this and also added that everybody else back in Hungary is thinking the same. As to the different relations with the various countries in the world, respondent did not want to see any military trade or cultural relations with Russia at all. She would welcome economic and cultural relations with all other eastern European states and with the US.

On the possibility of a Danubian Federation, respondent had already heard this in Hungary, but she voiced some doubts whether this good idea could work because in her mind, there were too many controversial ideologies reigning in the countries concerned. She thought that the Danubian Federation might work in theory quite well and it is very desirable, but it is doubtful whether it could be brought about. In a Danubian Federation with Hungary, she would like to see only Austria and Bulgaria -- no other country. According to respondent, the general feeling about this problem was very divided in Hungary. Some people advocated it and others were dead-set against it.

Respondent did not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. She would welcome a territorial adjustment which should be brought about by an international court. At present, she is not very concerned over the fate of the Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary because she believes that with the exception of Romania, the Hungarians in the other countries are not too badly off. However, the whole

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question is rather important to her because she believes that Hungarian nationality should live within Hungary. More so because these Hungarian minorities are living under the rule of another country due to arbitrary treaties.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. "People in Hungary learned about events outside of the Iron Curtain through foreign radio ~~stations~~ broadcasts."

Respondent did not remember hearing anything about the 20th Party Congress or about what Khrushchev said about this congress. Respondent also did not hear anything about Senator McCarthy or the un-American Activities Committee, or Peron. In fact, she did not even know who he was.

The respondent had not heard much about Rakosi's private life. She only heard that allegedly his wife was a spy who had been placed to watch him. It was generally known, however, that he lived in great luxury on the other side of Lake Balaton, where respondent's mother had a house at Balaton Aliga. He had a huge villa there. This place was guarded within a five-mile radius by the AVH and nobody could go near the place, not even across the water. It was also generally known that Rakosi was always under heavy guard at all times by the AVH.

B. As to respondent's general reading habits, she did not read newspapers regularly. She only read the ladies' journal and then she read some of the Hungarian and Western classics in the Hungarian translations. The contemporary Hungarian literature, in her opinion, was trash. At first, there was the liberation period, then came the literature on the Socialist man, and finally, the literature on the reactionaries undermining the Socialist word. A great number of Russian classics and contemporary literature was also printed in translation in Hungary. Even the children's fairy tale books were translated from the Russian. In 1955, according to respondent, there was a reprint of the "Grimms' Fairy Tales" and this was so popular that within a couple of weeks one could not get any copies.

Respondent's family subscribed to the Magyar Nemzet newspaper because this was the only daily which was not filled with Communist propaganda and ideology. Respondent never read the newspapers very carefully because she knew that they were unreliable. The only items that were trusted to some extent were the sports news and on-the-spot reports. Respondent and her family never read any publications from the USSR or other satellites, nor did they read any Western literature. Respondent also never heard of illegal publications.

C. Respondent and her family did get news by word of mouth. This news was mostly the news of the foreign radio broadcasts. Friends and acquaintances passed the news on and so did she. Regarding the reliability of this news, respondent said that it depended entirely on the person who gave it. Some people were more reliable, others not. She always passed on the information by word of mouth to reliable friends acquaintances.

F. Respondent generally went to the cinema once or twice a week and to the theatre or opera twice a month. She mostly saw Italian and French movies, which, in her opinion, were extremely good. She saw Hungarian films only in the last couple of years when they started to be ~~more~~ more free from politics. She preferred comedies and went to see the Hungarian ones. Respondent also stated that she very seldom saw Russian pictures because she thoroughly disliked them. However, she also said that some of the colored films, especially musicals, were extremely good. She mentioned one Russian colored film, "Romeo and Juliet". She said that in the last two years, since 1953, there were less and less Russian movies shown in Budapest and more French, Italian, German and English films.

The two movies she liked best during the last two years were an Italian ~~musical~~ musical in color, "La Traviata", and an Italian-French movie, "The Monastery at Parma."

The plays she enjoyed the most were G. B. Shaw's "St. Joan" and Eugene Heltai's "The Silent Cavalier".

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE OF HUNGARY

A. "I do not think that there are any great chances of an internal change in Russia since the change from within can be brought about only by a revolution. A gradual liberation will certainly not work in Russia because the government would never willingly give in. Therefore, I believe that only a radical change could achieve anything. If Russia had a free election, I think the people would, on the whole, reject Communism. Nevertheless, the number of votes for Communism would be far greater than, for instance, in Hungary.

"In my opinion, the top leaders of Russia are out to impose tyranny not only over Russia but also over the satellite nations. I do not believe that, individually, they have special aims and motives. They differ from the Hungarian Communists in the way that the Russian Communists are Communists by conviction and I do not think the Hungarian Communists are all-out Communists at heart and do not believe implicitly in the doctrine. The Hungarian Communist leaders, I believe, are crooks because they are serving the Soviet Union and not the Hungarian nation."

B. Respondent put the relative popularity ~~rankings~~ of the other nations in Hungary as follows: Poland, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Respondent said that this classification is according to the preferences and dislikes of the people of these countries since the governments are the puppets of the Communist rule just like in Hungary. Respondent thought Poland to be most popular in Hungary because Poland has very much in common with the Hungarian nation. They fought side by side in the course of history; they were also oppressed many times as were the Hungarians. The popularity of the Germans, even though they are now under the Russian rule, is due to the fact that the Germans, after all, are also a cultured people. Romania, on the other hand, was always disliked by the Hungarians -- not only because the people and the government

were disliked but also because Hungarians looked down on the low cultural standards in Romania.

Respondent believed that if free elections were held, East Germany would certainly reject the Communist regime and so would Romania and Bulgaria. The only country she was doubtful about was Czechoslovakia. She thought that there was a great number of Communists in this country.

Regarding the standards of living, respondent placed Eastern Germany on the top, followed by Czechoslovakia. She believed that Hungary and Poland had about the same standard of living and Bulgaria was followed by Romania, in her opinion.

C. In reference to Poland, respondent thought that Gomulka's government did not bring about a complete change. Even though Gomulka's policy is a step in the right direction, the policy of gradualism will not succeed and cannot bring about a radical change in Poland. Gomulka, in her opinion, will stay in power but he will not adhere strictly to the Stalinist policies because his popularity would be threatened. He will always obey the orders from Moscow.

In respondent's opinion, the events in Poland had no direct effects on the revolution in Hungary. The Polish example did instigate the dissatisfaction of the Hungarians but, it did not have an effect on the revolution itself.

Respondent did hear about the Polish thaw in the last year and also that there were strikes and demonstrations in several Polish towns. This was even mentioned by the radio (Hungarian), but the public got hold of the news mainly through the foreign radio broadcasts. Respondent also heard about the revolt in Poznan.

Respondent was most emphatically against the Polish-type of solution of the Hungarian revolution since she believed that only a radical change can bring about results.

D. Respondent held the opinion that Tito and Yugoslavia have not been influential in Eastern Europe because Yugoslavia has broken with the Soviet Union and the other satellites have not. Respondent did not think Tito was the originator of national communism. Respondent also thought that Tito is a Communist just as all the others, but he is a very smart man who can use the two world powers -- Russia and the western hemisphere -- against each other. She heard very derogatory views about Tito's behavior and thought him to be a gangster for changing his attitude in two or three years. Therefore, Tito's relations with other Eastern European nations, Russia, and the West are always based on how the wind blows. ~~from~~ because nobody can clearly see what Tito's real policy is. Respondent was also very annoyed with Tito's behavior during the Hungarian revolution. She heard his speech over the radio in which he disapproved of the Hungarian revolution. Regarding the Rajk case in Hungary, respondent believed that the whole blow-up occurred because at that time Russia was anti-Tito and so everybody else had to go along this line.

Regarding Tito's popularity, in Yugoslavia, respondent was informed by some friends who came on a visit, that he is not very popular but he is a very strong dictator. The living standard in Yugoslavia, according to respondent's friends, is higher than that of Hungary and Respondent was told that the labor conditions are quite good in Yugoslavia -- anyway, much better than in Hungary. Also personal freedom is more respected. People are allowed to travel but, on the other hand, the press is well under control.

E. In respondent's opinion, the Communists gained control of China because, first of all, it is very distant from the European hemisphere and also, therefore, the Chinese people really do not know what Communism is. Further, the living standard in China

is extremely low and the people are very uneducated. Therefore, it is easier to lie to them and to promise them a great deal.

Respondent thought that Communist China is independent of Moscow at present because later on it will be dependent of the USSR just as well as other satellite nations are. Perhaps the Russians are now trying, with more subtle means, to conquer China. Also, was never occupied like the nations of Eastern Europe so the entire situation is slightly different. However, in the long run, respondent believed that China will also come under the Communist rule just as the satellite countries did. Respondent did not know anything about relations between England and India.

On the Suez situation, respondent said the following: "I do not believe that the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was rightful. It was the violation of the independence of a country and I hold the same views about the Israeli invasion.

"On the other hand, I do agree with Egypt's right to nationalize the Canal because, after all, it passes through Egypt's territory.

"The events in Egypt had an effect on the developments in Hungary because they diverted the attention from the events in our country."

F. The standard of living in Western Germany is extremely high and the working conditions are also very good. In some extent, the whole situation is similar to that of the US, but, of course, on a smaller scale. Western Germany is producing, with American assistance, a very great amount of goods presently for the international market.

Whether or not the Germans are dangerous and would start another war, respondent thought that this would be possible only if the Germans were united -- that is, Eastern and Western Germany. When respondent was

in Germany, she very frequently heard Germans voicing the idea of a German hegemony in Europe. However, respondent said that she believed that the Germans would not start another war at present, except for the purpose of uniting the split country.

"I disapprove of West German re-armament and I do not quite see why the US is helping the Germans so much. I have no idea about the strength of the West German Army, or about the term of service in the West German Army."

Comparing the West German occupation army with the Russian occupation forces in Hungary, respondent said that the Russian occupation force was a more distasteful one not only to respondent personally, but to the entire nation. The German occupation troops were an army of cultured people and this, of course, was felt during the occupations. The Germans did not steal, they did not commit any rapings, and they were never brutal. Respondent based this opinion on the fact that they also had German officers and men billeted in their house and never was even a pin missing. Both the enlisted men and officers were extremely well disciplined. The Russian occupation army, on the other hand, was looting, raping, and altogether was a barbaric lot -- uncultured and primitive.

G. Respondent did not know anything about the British Labor Party.

As to the living standard of various countries, respondent ~~was~~ believed that the highest standard of living was found, at present, in Western Germany, followed by England and the Soviet Union. She believed that Italy and Greece are on about the same level and ~~Egypt~~ she did not know about Egypt.

H. The fact that surprised respondent particularly about America during her first few months' stay here was the abundance of food and the unbelievable quantity that you could see everywhere. She was greatly im-

pressed by the number of automobiles to be seen on the streets.

As to what the US should do now for the people of Eastern Europe, respondent said, "After what had happened in the fall of 1956, I do not see what and how the UN and the US could do anything for Eastern Europe at present. The actual policy of the US regarding the Russian problem is completely wrong. Not only now, but sometime back, when the US started to be on very friendly terms with the Soviet Union, I think that this was the time when the mistake was made."

"Concerning aid to the present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, etc., I do not believe, despite the fact that Yugoslavia has broken with the USSR, that she would merit aid. Poland, on the other hand, because of the Russians stationed there, would have everything taken away by the Russians. This is the same situation with Hungary. So, it would not pay the US to give anything to these countries. My opinion has not changed on this question since my arrival in this country.

"I think the best thing ~~xxxx~~ for the US would be to completely break off with the present government of Hungary.

"I believe that Hungary would welcome Western visitors very much. These could be tourists, newspapermen, etc. I would inform these ~~xxxxxxx~~ people before they left for Hungary that they should open their eyes and see for themselves and not believe only what they are shown by the government officially.

"Also, people at home would love to receive Western books and periodicals, but I do not quite see how this could be arranged because the present government would certainly not let them in. The best idea would be to sell them openly in all the bookstores and newspaper stands. I also am sure that if the Hungarians back home would hear that Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities, it would make a very favorable impression on them."

Regarding the Marshall Plan in 1948, as launched by the US, respondent said: "I cannot give an unbiased view on the Marshall Plan because we were given only a very slanted view and, according to the Soviet propaganda the US dumped unusable surplus goods on the countries that accepted the Marshall aid.

"I also do not know why in 1950 America became involved in the Korean War."

J. On the question whether the UN, in the last months of 1956, could have affected the situation in Hungary, respondent said, "The UN could have done something for my country and I am thinking particularly about the economic sanctions the UN could have enforced on Russia. Furthermore, I also think that a diplomatic break of relationships would have helped also. But I firmly believe that the economic sanctions, had they been enforced strictly and completely, would have brought Russia to heel.

"I really cannot say that I am satisfied with the activities of the UN, nor its effectiveness. It seems that something is wrong with the whole set-up because in very serious problems, they are completely powerless and cannot enforce their own rules. For these reasons, I do not think that the UN will undertake any effective action on behalf of Hungary in the foreseeable future."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Respondent could not name any person she thought could be the greatest living Hungarian.

B. Respondent's reactions to other persons of importance in world affairs were: "Imre Nagy - he was not the ideal man to lead our country but, during the revolution there was nobody else. At that time he would have done the job quite well. He is not a bad man despite the fact that he is a Communist and for this very reason, I am sure he would not have stayed long as a head of the government.

"Cardinal Mindszenty ... is a man of great common sense and he saw very clearly the Hungarian situation as he detailed it in his speech during the revolution. I am also convinced that all charges against him were just fictitious and were made up by the regime only for the purpose of giving them cause to act up against the Roman Catholic Church' more effectively.

"I have already told you what I thought about Laszlo Rajk.

"Erno Gero is one of the most cruel men next to Rakosi. Nobody expected him to act differently. He is a Moscovite, he is a Russian citizen and a ruthless man. I really do not know how on earth Janos Kadar accepted the post as the head of this last Hungarian government. He must be a man without any character whatsoever and completely in the hands of the Russians. I really cannot make him out, especially not since he, himself, has suffered torture in Communist prison.

"President Eisenhower must be a very popular man here in the US and he has very sound and right ideas. However, I have the feeling that he is not strong enough to be able to enforce them.

"I believe that the Secretary General of the UN Hammarskjold is the right man in the right place. We listened in to the broadcasts of the UN sessions during the entire revolution and so we heard what had happened there and, therefore, we believed that Hammarskjold, despite his being an able man, is not strong enough to enforce the UN sanctions."

Respondent did not know anything about Dulles, Eden, or Truman. She did not know about Mikoyan, Nehru, and Chiang-kai Shek.

France Nagy: during the revolution, I heard that he was mentioned as a possible prime minister who would come back to Hungary. But, ~~initially~~ I believed that this would be a mistake because he was extremely unpopular in Hungary due to his behavior in 1940 (?) when he left the country. (Respondent could not name the year of his departure.) On the whole, I did not believe he was the right man to lead a country at all."

Respondent did not know anything about former President Roosevelt or Adenauer. About Stalin, she said, "Whether we wanted to or not, we had to know a great deal about Stalin. We were stuffed with propaganda about his life and his deeds. By all means, he was an extremely smart man since he was able to enforce his will on the greatest part of the world. He was a true dictator in the real sense of the word. He was very similar to Hitler. He was the most ruthless character in the course of history and he used the Communist Party for his own purposes because he wanted to be its dictator."

Malenkov: respondent believed that he is implicitly serving the Stalinist ideas.

Respondent did not know anything about Franco or Bevan.

Khrushchev: "He was the one who invented anti-Stalinism only for the sole purpose of assuming Stalin's place. Khrushchev is, nevertheless, trying to achieve this aim by different means -- that is the only difference."

Tito: respondent referred to her previous statement.

Respondent did not know anything about Peron, Molotov, Ollenhauer, and Churchill.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARDS EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. In reference to people who escaped from Hungary, respondent gave the following information: "People who left Hungary were, first of all, those who took part in the freedom fight and who had to fear the Communist reprisals.

Also, those who left were the former political prisoners who knew well that if they were caught in Hungary, they would be put back into prison. Then, many families left Hungary who had no hope under the Communist regime of getting ahead in their lives. Of course, there was a number of young people who were seeking something new and, also, as always, there was the scum of the nation who tried to come out -- former prisoners who committed crimes (I am not thinking of the former political prisoners now). When such an exodus occurs, this cannot be avoided. Regarding the age of the escapees, they were mostly the younger people and, regarding the class, they were students, intellectuals and workers. The peasantry, as a rule, did not leave the land. The peasants do not have a profession they could take up easily in an alien country.

"Most people came from the border territory around Sopron, Szombathely and Szentgotthard. A great number, of course, came from Budapest and its vicinity as well as from the Transdanubian district.

"People who stayed at home were mostly members of the older generation. These people did not dare, or did not want to leave their home and their country. Furthermore, people who had good jobs and good employments also did not come out and lastly, the Communists also stayed behind.

"I, personally, am very sorry for them. I think about them quite often especially when I compare my situation here in the US. But, on the other hand, maybe these people are willing to make sacrifices for staying home in their homeland. By all means, they have chosen the more difficult lot.

"In my opinion, the people who stayed in Hungary, especially those who have several members of their families now, here in the US or elsewhere in the free world, are happy that they have escaped and at least these people will have it better. Many are sorry that they have not come out also. But, of course, as there always will be, many people will be resentful. They argue that it will be very easy to return to Hungary when this situation has changed and it is more difficult to stay behind now. Of course, these voices were also to heard in 1945 and will always continue.

"Assuming that Hungarians had a chance to come to the West, I am sure that another two million will come out from Hungary. However, the rest will stay behind."

B. Respondent has heard of Hungarian exile organizations and individuals that have active in the West during the last ten years. However, she could not name any organizations or individuals. She did not have any contact with such organizations or individuals since leaving Hungary. When checking the list of organizations and individuals, it was the MHBK that she could volunteer some opinion about. She heard about this organization from her uncle who is a member of that organization and she knew that the MHBK is the organization of Hungarian veterans.

Concerning the list of individuals, she heard of Charles Peyer in connection with his political activities while in Hungary before immigrating to the US. She also heard about Archduke Otto of Hapsburg in connection with the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, when the Communists charged Mindszenty with trying to bring back Otto from Hapsburg to the Hungarian throne.

Admiral Horthy: respondent said that under his governorship Hungary enjoyed good and orderly conditions, even though, economically, there were a few things to be desired. Horthy, according to respondent, knew perfectly well what the outcome of the war would be and he acted accordingly only under German duress.

Whether or not people, who left Hungary before 1956, did accomplish or try to accomplish anything for Hungary, they really tried to, according to respondent's beliefs. The goodwill was there but it was impossible for them to do so since their hands were, more or less, tied. During the revolution, nobody ever thought of the exiles, she believes, because people were busy with something quite different.

C. Respondent did not know of any Hungarian who escaped to the West after 1945 and returned to Hungary. On the redefection campaign of the Communists, respondent believed that this was purely a propaganda move on the part of the regime. However, in several cases, there were quite successful. Those men who returned to Hungary, however, were arrested and put to trial. This she heard from several of her acquaintances who wrote to her about this. She even named General Rudiger who returned for the sake of his family and was immediately arrested and tried. He never even met his family again.

D. In respondent's opinion, all people who left Hungary should now unite and not try to work in different parties and different organizations because the power lies only in unity, materially and spiritually. Also, if there is a united organization that works for the Hungarian cause, it can act much better in case of a change in Hungary. People in Hungary would like to know about the exiles -- how they are faring here, what sort of jobs they have, and whether or not there is any truth in the propaganda the Communist regime is putting out regarding life in the US. People back in Hungary, according to respondent, should know what sort of people left Hungary and who came out. It seems to her that people in Hungary are not fully aware of how many really valuable elements of the country had left. In respondent's opinion, the exiles now should show an example to our host nation, America, that they are deserving the confidence into them and also, all the emigres should try to lead an exemplary life so that Americans would not be sorry for going out to such an extent to help the Hungarians.

"I, myself, would do the same. Furthermore, I would always tell everybody about the Hungarian revolution and the Hungarian cause because I would not like to see that this should be forgotten by the public. The Western world must know and must see clearly how things stand back in Hungary right now."

When asked which exile organization she would like to join, respondent said that she has already joined the Hungarian-American Association for University Students which is co-operating with the World Association of Hungarian Students in Europe. Their aim is, mainly, to inform the world about the aims of the Hungarian youth and to keep a record of all the young people who emigrated from Hungary. She also disclosed that this association has only new emigres as members.

About her feeling on the various Hungarian political parties, respondent could not say anything about parties in exile before 1948. In reference to political parties revived in Hungary during the revolution, she said that she had heard that the Catholic Party and the Smallholders' Party had been revived. However, she believed that at that time more important things were at stake other than forming a party and she did not think that it was a wise thing to do starting with party activities so soon. First, they should have waited, according to respondent, until the situation became stabilized a little bit and, only then, should these parties taken up their activities.

E. Respondent said that she wants to continue her studies which she had started now and learn as much as possible. She also voiced her intention to go back to Hungary but only if the circumstances change completely and Hungary is free again. If she has any children in the US, she wants them to learn Hungarian as well as English.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Respondent always listened to the radionbroadcasts of BBC, VOA, RFE and to the Hungarian broadcast of the Viennese radio. All radio broadcasts were jammed. The least jammed was the Viennese broadcast because it was broadcast in German while the others were in Hungarian. She listened to the Western broadcasts every evening, regularly, after work. She always told others what she had heard and she also received news from other people in this way. They always listened together with the family to their own radio.

"There certainly a risk while listening to these broadcasts and people, when they listened, tuned down their radios, closed the doors and windows. Nevertheless, people continued to listen. They just became more cautious. The penalty for listening was usually an arrest, If some one denounced you. The situation, however, was a little better later on, especially in the last few years."

Regarding respondent's attitude to these broadcasts, she stated that the British broadcasting was always found to be the most reliable, matter-of-fact, and never exaggerated. Also, the news commentary was always the best. The Viennese broadcast was also very good because it was very well informed and the news material was reliable. VOA and RFE were not much liked by her family because they found that they were out for a great deal of sensationalism and also they exaggerated. The manner in which the news was read by these two statbns gave the impression that it was only words, words, words and that there was not very much behind it.

"I never allowed my mother to listen to the broadcasts of RFE. I usually told her, 'Come on, do not listen to that thrash.'

"I judged their accuracy by comparing them with the radio broadcasts of London and, also to facts.

"It very often happened that Radio Free Europe, for instance, broadcast news, which we could control ourselves, was completely untrue. RFE and VOA have always encouraged us with anti-Communist propaganda. They always threatened the Communists by saying that the day of reckoning will come. During the revolution, mainly, we could very well control whether or not they were sticking to the truth. For instance, it happened once that the RFE broadcast that a certain building was in flames and fighting was going on around the building. We saw for ourselves that this was not true."

As to the effects of these broadcasts in Hungary, respondent disclosed that many people did believe, indeed, those broadcasts and they lived for them. However, there were also quite a few who were of the opinion that for 12 long years they were simply talking, talking, talking and these people did not pay much attention to the broadcasts. Nevertheless, respondent said that the broadcasts of the UN sessions by RFE was very interesting and everybody listened to these. When probed about whether or not RFE particularly, incited the Hungarian people with promises of Western help, respondent said, "I have never heard this and I do not believe it is true. RFE never promised actual help. They only incited the feelings by always, as I have said before, saying that the hour of reckoning will come. As a result, people rightfully assumed that some help was forthcoming."

In respondent's opinion, RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary but, she suggested that the news material be screened more carefully and also, that the news be broadcast in a different way and method.

Regarding the programs in particular that RFE should broadcast, she believed that straight political news or economic events would be good and anti-Communist propaganda only in relation to important things and more accurate than programs about life in Western Europe and life in the US, would be very useful.

B. Respondent did not hear of the initials NEM. She also did not hear about the 12 Demands.

C. Respondent has not seen an RFE leaflet ever and has not heard about the leaflet campaign. She also heard that there was a great risk involved in picking up these leaflets, keeping them, or talking about them. The AVH was most anxious to find these leaflets and people were arrested and put in prison for one or two years. Nevertheless, people were not deterred by this fact and they collected them as much as they could and showed them to other people. Respondent could not give any opinion about these leaflets because she had never seen them. She does not believe that RFE should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary because she does not see much sense in this. The risk involved in this kind of operation is much too great as compared to the effects of such leaflets.

D. Respondent thought that all Western groups broadcasting and sending leaflets into Hungary had the same goal -- to diffuse anti-Communist propaganda and to counterbalance the Communist propaganda. Also, to keep alive the dislike of Communism all over the world. She thought that the aim was the same with EBC, VOA, RFE, etc.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

"I primarily believe that the forming of the child's character in early childhood is the most important thing. The character of the child should be formed like a tree -- into the right direction. One must exercise a certain discipline with the child, but not always. You have to punish a child and physical punishment, now and then, never will hurt anybody's ego. I also believe that a child must be brought to be able to act and think independently. The child must be brought up so as to stand alone in the world, if necessary. Parents should never be the slaves of the child.

"It is the duty of a parent to teach the child the differences between right and wrong, to explain things to it, and enforce parental authority strictly, if necessary -- especially in the early age. Furthermore, a child must learn what is morally right and wrong. Also, I think it to be important that all children must grow up within a religion, no matter which one. This religion should be taught at an early age.

"I do not think that differences can be made between the education of ~~children~~ boys and girls because the differences must be according to the individual character of each child. This is not related to sex. There is another thing that I consider very important and this is that the education and parental authority must always be exercised in a very consequent matter so that the child never has the feeling that he or she is not treated fairly. Another thing which is very important is the good example of the parents."

Regarding an episode in respondent's own life on how she was disciplined, respondent recalled that she was her father's pet and it was always the mother who was more strict with her. Once she ran to the father, complaining about the mother having been too strict with her. When her father heard this, he gave her a very good spanking and never again did she try to complain about her mother to the father. On the

whole, in respondent's family, they were disciplined by being deprived of something they would have liked or, for instance, they were not allowed to go where they wanted or when they wanted. Among people she knew, the families usually did punish children who were six years old, even older. However, from the age of 12 upward, the punishments were less and less frequent. In the matter of raising children, there were great differences between the different social classes. The intellectuals, of course, brought up their children in a different way, more intelligently, and more effectively. Among the lower classes -- workers and peasants -- the parents had neither the intelligence nor the time to educate their children in that way. Therefore, punishment mostly consisted of physical punishment. The children of the intellectuals are much better educated, as a result.

As to the changes during the last year in the way children are disciplined during their first eight years in school, respondent believed that these changes did exist at least on paper. In practice, however, she did not think that very great changes had occurred. By all means, she did not see any changes in her family regarding how these children are brought up. As to when punishment in general is abandoned, this also differs in the social classes because the intellectuals stop punishing their children at an earlier age than the workers and the peasants do.

Under the Communist regime physical punishment had been abolished. Nevertheless, the parents continued to use this form of punishment whenever necessary. Respondent believed that it was still done. ~~Видно, что физическое наказание не исчезло совсем. Оно существует в той или иной форме. Например, родители могут ударить ребенка по попе или по рукам. Это не считается преступлением. В школе тоже могут применять физическое наказание. Например, заставить ребенка стоять в углу или после уроков. Иногда могут дать пощечину или ударить по рукам. Это тоже считается нормальным. До коммунизма девочек наказывали в следующем порядке: заставить стоять в углу, задержать после школы, а иногда и дать пощечину или ударить по рукам. Мальчиков, конечно, тоже наказывали физически.~~ Before Communism, girls were punished by their teachers in the following manner: made to stand in a corner, being kept after school, and sometimes, being given a rap on the knuckles. Boys, of

course, were sometimes physically disciplined by their teachers. Another discipline technique before Communism was the sending of a note to the parents informing them that the child behaved badly or studied poorly, and did not attain the proper grades. Lastly, the expulsion from school. Of all these discipline techniques, only the note to the parents, or expulsion from school remained. As mentioned previously, physical punishment had been abolished. Therefore, it was extremely difficult for respondent to keep discipline, especially in the lower grades under the Communist regime.

Regarding characteristics respondent values mostly in a friend, she said that she wants a friend to be absolutely honest, straight forward, and of strong character. She also believes that mutual understanding and willingness to help if needed, is absolutely necessary. A friend must feel that he and she must count on the other party. Regarding changes during Communism, respondent believed that due to political differences, many friendships were severed. Also, one had to be more ~~cautious when making friends~~ cautious when choosing friends.