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INTERVIEWER'S IMPRESSIONS OF RESPONDENT

Respondent has an interesting background with regard to the progressive evolution of the new intellectual class that has sprung up in Hungary during the past ten years. Father is a foreman in a machine tool plant, and her husband is a self-made man who was born to quite poor peasants and took up teaching as a profession (pedagogy and philosophy). He later became a successful politician, member of the Hungarian Parliament, and also a very active member of the Hungarian Smallholders Party.

This young woman is the best subject I have had so far. Besides being level headed, subject is an idealist and a very good patriot. Without being biased she also is deeply religious.

Respondent has well-formed, sound judgment. Due to her age (30 years) she also could give answers to many questions to which there was no response from the very young girls.

Subject and her husband have experienced AVH interrogations and prison for trumped up charges.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"I think that there are about 3 most important things that the Americans and American public opinion ought to know about the events in Hungary during the Fall of 1946. The main thing is that the Americans ought to realize that they have missed a unique opportunity which would have led to the solution of the whole Eastern European problem, had the UN and the United States supported the Hungarian revolution. Here I do not mean military support because nobody wants war and Hungary least of all, ~~xxxxxx~~ but I am thinking of the enforcements of the UN sanctions. Then the other satellite nations would also have joined the Hungarian revolution and it would have been possible to drive Russia out of Eastern Europe."

"Second, I think I have to point out that the Hungarian revolution has brought about the death of the Russian Communist expansion. Of course, this doesn't mean that an immediate effect could be seen, but I am quite convinced that the whole Communist Party in Russia has been shaken in its foundations."

"My third point is, and this refers to the U.S. again, is that if the United States and the UN would do something, even now, supporting the Hungarian cause, this would mean that the anti-American feelings in Europe, which are very strong at present, would completely swing over to the other side."

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

On the 22nd of October in the evening, respondent was at home when a friend of hers came and told them about the demands of the students at the Szeged University, and that the students at the University of Technical Sciences were planning a meeting for that evening. On October 23rd in her office one of her co-workers who attended the meeting of the University students brought in all the demands and told them at great length about the meeting of the students at the Technical University. There was a great rejoicing in the whole office, and immediately the girls sat down and typed out the Points in several copies and stuck them up on every floor in the office. The manager of the company, who was a former AVH colonel and a Stalinist, who had been attacked just a few days before in the newspaper for this, did not dare to do anything against the display of the students' demands. All of his workers planned to attend at 2 o'clock in the afternoon the demonstrations at the Bem statue. The Communist Party secretary, however, did not let them all go. However, he permitted ten chosen members of the office workers to attend. Unfortunately, respondent said she was not among the ten.

"By 4:30 we finished our work in the office and went all of us toward the Bem statue in Buda. However, by that time the demonstrations there were over, and we heard that the crowd went over to the Parliament. In the meantime I rang up my husband, informing him what I intended to do, and asked him to join me there. When he, as I found out later, was also at the Bem statue and at the Parliament Square. However we never met, there was such a huge crowd. At 8 o'clock in the evening finally I went home and met my husband. At night we again returned together, now at the Parliament.

"Here we stayed until we heard Imre Nagy. Later on we heard that the AVH had opened fire on the students at the Radio building. We for a moment thought that this just might be a trick to scare the crowd in front of the Parliament and to make it disperse.

"We then joined a large group of people who went to the printing offices of the Szikra Company demanding that the Demands of the students be printed. The management of the printing office strongly objected to this, and didn't let them in. However, the young people finally broke the doors down and started to print the pamphlets. By the time it was already night when finally at 3:30 A.M., we went over to the Radio building where serious fighting was going on."

"I must admit that only because I tried to be very reasonable

did I not take up arms. My husband being considered an enemy of the regime politically, I just did not dare to expose him to further dangers or interrogations by the regime. We then walked home to Obuda. We saw on our way back that Russian tanks were sniping the civilian population."/>

"My feelings during the demonstrations were those of intense joy and happiness to see what a force the Hungarian crowds in the streets of Budapest represented. I never thought that our demonstrations would not be successful, since I saw that it was not a group of people but the whole nation which ~~had~~ joined spontaneously and wanted something which had been deprived for so many long years. I never felt any fear because I had the feeling that I was a small member of a huge force and that gave me strength. We all felt very hopeful when we saw that we were able to make the government take down the Red Star from the Parliament building, and also that the Hungarian flag was being carried without the hated Russian insignia.

"The only time I thought about personal consequences that might result for me and my husband was on the 23rd in the office when I saw from the window that down in the streets the trucks were crowded with young people and covered with flowers and flags, and when we were rejoicing some of the office people told me not to show my happiness so openly because some harm might come of it. But after all, it was the spirit of 1848 that prevailed that day, in the office also. Not only was I elated, but everybody else, and it was quite interesting to see in the office that even those who hitherto had professed to be on the side of the regime had changed from one day to another, and they were quite openly and unashamedly happy.

"Our demands on the government were of course a radical change -- a new government with Imre Nagy at the helm. He was, after all, the man who in 1953 tried to enforce some of his ideas, and who gave us a little bit more liberty. Therefore everybody had confidence that if he were the Prime Minister everything would be all right. Also, after all, he promised to comply with the demands of the students.

"We also wanted the Hungarian government to change the policy toward Russia. We wanted to be on an equal basis with the Russian government, and we did not want to be completely exploited.

"I believe that had Gero not delivered his speech on the 23rd, and had the government been forced by Nagy, the crowd would have accepted a ~~some~~ compromise offered by Nagy. I am thinking of a kind of resolution like the Gomulka government in Poland or Tito in Yugoslavia. I am also pretty sure that if all this had happened, the fighting would not have started.

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"As much as I have seen, I would say that most demonstrators were between the ages of twenty and forty, and especially in the beginning, mostly of the intellectual class. However, the workers joined our crowd mostly at the Radio building fighting. The students had no arms in the beginning, and it was the workers who arrived with truckloads of arms and ammunition, and men. You must know, for instance, that the lamp factory in Budapest of course did not manufacture lamps. It was an arms factory. From here, for instance, ten thousand rifles were brought by the workers.

"I do not know really who did not take part in the demonstrations and the fighting, but I believe those people who held good jobs and did not want to jeopardize them. Furthermore, those of course who were seriously engaged in Communist Party activities did not take part.

"In the beginning, we hoped that the demonstrations would result in our achieving the aims we had set, and we certainly did not think of an armed uprising. The whole demonstration started because a Polish committee was at the time in Budapest, and the Association of Hungarian Authors and Writers wanted to hold a small sympathy demonstration at the Bem statue, and put down a wreath. The students of the University of Technical Sciences wanted only to join this peaceful demonstration so as to emphasize their feelings for the Hungarian-Polish friendship. The leader of these students was Colonel Marian, who had been assigned by the Communist Party after all to teach the military sciences at the University, and surely did not want to take part in an unlawful demonstration. He was wholeheartedly with the students so as to demonstrate peacefully and in good order. He also assigned the students to organize the demonstrations so that everything should be lawful and peaceful. When the shooting started at the Radio he also stood up and tried to calm the crowd. He was then killed by AVH snipers.

"Otherwise, the demonstrations were completely spontaneous, and I believe that the new course after the Twentieth Party Congress somehow contributed to the outbreak of the ~~the~~ demonstrations."

B. "I also firmly believe that all the bloodshed could have been avoided had Gero not spoken the way he did. And as I mentioned before, that Prime Minister Nagy would have taken over the government. During the fighting, at first the students took a very active part. Later on, however, it was the young ~~students~~ workers who took over. I think that the young students did not have as much nerve to carry on the fight as the hardened young ~~fighters~~ workers. I also saw that on the 24th at dawn workers of the older generation took the lead and they took an active part in building the barricades in

the streets. I also saw children, boys and girls of eleven and twelve, taking part. Nobody seemed to show any fear. As I said before, the arms were provided mostly by the workers from the lamp factory and also the workers from Csepel brought a great deal of arms. However, there was a great shortage of ammunition. This was due to the fact that the government as of October 1st had already put a ban on the issue of all ammunition except under assigned permit by the Ministry of the Interior. Probably they were already suspicious of something brewing.

"Also, I saw members of the Hungarian army hand over their weapons and ammunition, as well as some of the regular police force. But even these complained that they were issued very little ammunition. I also saw a great number of the young apprentices fighting at the Radio; they wore the regular ~~apprentice~~ apprentice uniforms. That's how I knew.

"There was no over-all or formal leadership. We had several local leaders, however. For instance, in the defense of the Margret Bridge, a former Roman Catholic priest who worked in a factory (he also was imprisoned for quite a long time) just stood up and organized the young people for the defense of the bridge. This is how it happened everywhere. One or another assumed spontaneous leadership and, as it happened, none of these local leaders knew of the activities of the others in the city. Later, however, I heard of Paul Malster, who assumed the leadership of the rebel Hungarian army. He being an officer by profession, and probably due to his talent and experience, he became the leader there and was accepted by the crowd.

"As to the outcome of the revolution, we of course were very optimistic. We firmly believed that the Russians could not take up arms against the Hungarian population because this would bare their aims and show the West what sort of purposes they have in Europe. We hoped that the Russian troops would withdraw and the situation would be settled.

"As to the reaction of the government's calling in the Russian troops, we all were convinced that it was Gero who did this. I have read here in the newspapers with great amazement that now Marosan has assumed responsibility for this. On the other hand, I am convinced that the Russians were in fact not called in, because they would have come anyway. Moscow knew perfectly well what it was planning and how it was planning. Hungary, after all, was a ~~Russian~~ Russian colony, and to say that one of the Hungarian Ministers called in the Russian troops was just only to give a name to the child.

"In the evening of the 24th I went around in the Buda district and we pasted our leaflets all over the walls and

trees. On the 25th of October I went back to work, but nobody was working in the office and we very soon were sent home. My husband took an active part in the Committee of the Revolutionary Students. That night we had to walk back home again, and on our way home we had a chance to see the great number of unburied dead at the Parliament Square. I also witnessed how an AVH wounded a young Hungarian man. When he asked him for directions he just shot him in his legs. I helped to carry him to a First Aid post. Then we went to join the crowd that demonstrated in front of the American Legation in Budapest. Several people spoke here and demanded that the Minister should talk to them and promise them help. Somebody came out and spoke a few words to them, asking them to disperse because the United Nations had to remain completely neutral. Everybody was terribly disappointed and the crowd then dispersed."

C. Respondent spent most of her time between the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the reinvasion helping her husband as his secretary. He at that time was the manager of the Peasants' Union, and respondent worked with him at the Parliament building. She had the opportunity to talk to former Hungarian president Tildy who, on this occasion, told respondent very optimistically that Mikojan promised him that by midnight that day there would not be one Russian on Hungarian soil, but of course respondent said that she was not as optimistic as Mr. Tildy was. "After all," she said ~~that~~ "in the course of ten years ~~I~~ hadn't experienced anything but treason on the part of the Russians, so we knew that this was too good to be true." These days everybody, and also respondent and her x family, were always listening to the Western broadcasts or the UN sessions. "We all believed that the UN, being such an important and active organization, would with its might achieve something on our behalf."

"On November 2nd a friend of ours came from Szeged, informing us that south of Budapest the Russians were digging in. Also, on November 3rd, a friend of ours came from Lake Balaton and informed us that in every airport around Lake Balaton Russian ~~airplanes~~ airplanes carrying twenty-one armed Russian soldiers each were landing in five minute intervals. Up until this time we all were full of hopes still, because we knew that tanks could not be used in street fighting, and there was no infantry in or around Budapest, but by that time we knew that something was brewing. And the same day at dawn, that is on the 4th already, we heard that the Russians were returning, and at 7:30 that morning a friend of ours from the outskirts of Budapest phoned that the Russian tanks were approaching. Other friends from different districts also phoned through the same news. I saw the first Russians on the 5th of November. The tank was stationed at the bridgehead of the Margret Bridge.

"From the time of the Red army's return to the time of my escape, I went back to my office to work. Our office had been shelled out and burned to the ground, so it was moved to the Buda district. The chief engineer of that office was completely on the side of the revolution, and he ordered new sabotage work. All three thousand workers of the company went out on strike. This lasted till the 18th.

"The AVH was after my husband again, and he left Hungary on the 9th of November, I followed him on the 19th with my two children.

"I firmly believe that Hungary has gained because of the October revolution, because it has proved to the Western world that it is not a satellite nation, that it has kept its national feelings and traditions, and it still has courage to fight for freedom. And furthermore, I also think that the October revolution has convinced and converted many people who in Hungary, in one way or another, maybe sympathized with Communism. These people, too, ust have realized what Communism really is, and what its ultimate aims are."

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IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "Our group of people and our friends did not expect any armed intervention on the part of the Western powers. What we were hoping for was an enforcement of the UN sanctions, and that the case of Hungary would be treated similarly to that of neutral Austria. We also hoped that the UN would break off the diplomatic relationships with the Hungarian government, and would not accept or acknowledge the Kadar government. We further hoped that Miss Kethly would be officially accepted as the UN representative of the Hungarian government."

B. "Our expectations were formed on the basis of the Western radio broadcasts. In the past years, the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe fully justified our hopes. We also knew that at every international conference and negotiation the problem of the Southeastern European states was on the agenda. The liberation of the satellite nations was very often mentioned."

C. "The only time we came into contact with any foreigner between October 3rd and the time of our escape was on November 2, when a West German newspaper man interviewed my husband on political questions -- that is, the aims and expectations of the revolution regarding the future of Hungary, and about his opinions on Francis Nagy."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's father was and is at present a foreman in a machine tool factory that repairs machine tools for the mill industry. As far as respondent could remember, in the years between 1943 and 1944 his income ranged between 700 and 800 pengo per month. This income was adequate to bring up his four children and have a four room apartment. All the children attended the university. Nowadays his income is hardly enough to keep him and his wife. Respondent and family had some forest land and a house in Transylvania before the war. As far as she knew, her father was the child of quite well to do people, but he broke with his family when he was 17 years old. He had to come away from Transylvania; at that time it was occupied by Romania and he would have been drafted into the Roumanian army.

Respondent's father had attended grade school for 4 years and then he graduated from a ~~xxxxx~~ technological college. The mother had six years of secondary schools.

B. According to respondent, there are 3 social classes in Hungary at present -- the workers, the peasants, and the intellectuals. She considers the members of the intellectuals to be those who have had higher schooling, who are graduates of some high school or university, and not those who were put by the regime into some leading or white collar job, and who have been workers or peasants and had no schooling. Under the Communist regime, as respondent says, there was also the so-called "x" class, which was mostly a part of the intellectual class, and could not be classified to any special occupation.

Respondent had contact with all other classes besides her own, because she comes from the working class and her husband is the child of poor peasants. Both her husband and herself consider themselves to belong to the intellectual class due to having had a proper schooling. While her husband was in prison respondent stayed very often with his parents in the country. Regarding respondent's attitudes toward the different groups, they were the following: ~~xxxx~~
 "One part of the working class in 1945 felt quite drawn to Communism, and this was the class on which Rakosi was building. This class, however, gradually turned against Communism and as we have seen during the revolution, has completely become an enemy of the Communist ideology. I believe that the attitude of the Hungarian working class now is about the same as the Western Social Democracy.

"As ~~xxx~~ to the peasantry, this class from the very beginning has shown its feelings towards Communism by the

passivity and passive resistance. In 1948 the very few poor agricultural workers who received some ~~state~~ land from the regime were in the beginning quite happy, but later on, when they were forced into the cooperatives, they became an enemy of the regime as well.

"There were very in the ~~intellectual~~ intellectual class who in the very beginning felt some sympathy ~~for~~ for Communism. Maybe there were a few writers who thought that they were bringing something "new" in ideology. For instance, I am thinking of Domokos Varga, and a couple of the writers who now after the revolution have been put into prison. The intellectual class on the whole is always against Communism, and even those young people and young writers who in the beginning belonged to the Communist Party were wholeheartedly on the side of the revolution in the Fall of 1956. They realized finally that the idea which they thought to be something ideal was completely ~~in~~ misinterpreted by Moscow and directed by Moscow only. ~~One~~ One of those was Laszlo Kardos."

In respondent's view, all social classes were hard hit by Communism in Hungary to a different degree, to a different extent and in a different way, but ~~nevertheless~~ nevertheless, all three of them. The workers had to work very hard and were exploited for a pittance. They were forced to raise the regime while they starved. The peasants on the other hand were exploited by the rigorous compulsory surrender of their products, and the intellectual class lived in a mental depression, in poverty and without the privilege of the basic human freedoms.

C. As to the attitude of the classes to each other, respondent gave the following information: "Some of the intellectual class blamed the working class for the Communism, especially in the beginning, and the Communist regime took good care to incite these two classes against ~~each~~ each other. During the revolution, however, it was proven that there is no distinction of classes in Hungary, and they are only Hungarians. This refers also to the peasantry, as, under the Communist regime, the former hatred of the upper classes has completely disappeared, and they have come very near to each other -- the peasantry, the intellectuals, and the workers. The reason for this change I sincerely believe was due to the hardships all the three classes had to put up with, and also because the Communist regime tried ~~so~~ so hard to incite the classes against each other."

D. "Class origin was the most important factor in getting ahead for an individual in Hungary, especially in the younger age groups. Among the ~~more~~ older ones, it was the political views and then the origin. Talent, of course, was always last. Only in the field of ~~science~~ science and arts was ~~class~~ class origin unimportant."

"Quite until the regime of Imre Nagy in 1953, these restrictions were strongly enforced. From then on, little by little and very slowly the situation became somewhat better.

"In Communist Hungary an individual who could completely disown his class and his convictions could get ahead well."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Communism had a devastating effect on family life in Hungary, due to the fact that not only the husband but also the wife had to work. The family ties were deteriorating. Also, it was the government's policy that everybody should spend much time away from the family and away from the family circle. Due to the extremely bad economic conditions, everybody was of course harrassed and nervous in the evening when returning home. All this brought about a terrific increase in the divorce rate. I would like to mention that our case is quite exceptional. First of all, our marriage was really and truly a love match, and I was separated from my husband after two weeks of marriage only when he was imprisoned. Furthermore, both of our families are deeply religious. But I can't tell you that it was extremely difficult to keep up our spirits and to keep the family together. At times I was obliged to work also and I had to put my children in day schools. I think that the changes refer to all social classes in Hungary."

B. "As to the changes in the way children are brought up, I would say that already at quite a young age in the nurseries they started the indoctrination of the children, and they had the picture of Uncle Rakosi on the wall and they were told what a nice and good uncle he was. The children were taught to sing Russian songs with Hungarian text. Furthermore, political songs. They were read Russian folklore, in translation, of course. Also, they had to attend all kinds of demonstrations on the so-called national holidays. They were even taught how to draw the hated Red Star. At school the older children were taught from the Russian textbooks, that is, in Hungarian translation. They furthermore tried to cram a terrific amount of material into the heads of those children. My children, for instance, had to spend sometimes four hours a day with homework. Of course, religious instruction was abolished. The headmaster of the school, for instance, told us that he is obliged to report to the parents' office if the parent desires that the children should attend religious instruction. The person the regime allowed to teach religion, on the other hand, was already someone who had some Communist sympathy, so we found out that this was no good either, and therefore we taught our children at home and made them attend Sunday school. The usual practice was for people to enroll their children for Sunday school and religious teaching in a different district from the one in which they lived, so as to elude control. The children were extremely game. They knew perfectly well that this was a subject they shouldn't talk about.

"The adolescents who had to belong to the so-called Pioneer Movement were taught very loose morals. Free love was praised and encouraged. For instance, I heard from

friends that at the summer camp of the Pioneer Movement, for instance, 14 year old boys and girls slept together and were living together sexually under the supervision of the headmaster there. Also I heard of several cases in the colleges of Budapest where several girls were strongly criticized for their old-fashioned behavior, and had to undress, for instance, in front of the males students, so as to get used to the modern spirit.

"I believe that at a tender age it might happen that children are disobedient in political problems, or religion. But I do not believe that later on when a child's mind develops that great disobedience is possible. In general, the family and the family background always won. As all our acquaintances are what I would call still old-fashioned, I really cannot tell anything about changes or reasons why they would have occurred. Nevertheless, I believe that the changes have affected all social classes. Whether or not the conflict with parental values occurs, in my opinion, depends entirely on the family and the parents. Mostly it affected, I believe, the child because he somehow developed a solit personality. On the other hand, the head of the family had his or her problems also, because after all, people like ourselves had to teach our children to lie when at school."

C. "By breaching free love the Communist regime discredited everything that had hitherto been held holy, and therefore it did affect the moral life in Hungary to a certain extent. However, as previously said, everything depends on the moral standard of the family. If the family ties were strong enough and the family influence also, then it was not impossible to keep up the same moral standards. The number of children born out of wedlock certainly increased terrifically, but they were taken care of by the government. Birth control was strictly prohibited, especially in the beginning, up to the fifties, so that I heard of cases in which women over fifty had to give birth to children. Later on, however, abortion was permitted and they went over to the other extreme. This may be due to the fact that there were not enough schools and nurseries. Moral standards, of course, always change during a war, and they did also during the war in Hungary. Nevertheless, it was under Communism that the moral standards were degraded and young people were taught loose morals, carefully schemed by the Communist regime.

"Prostitution was prohibited under the Communist regime. Nevertheless, it was flourishing. The attitude of the government regarding sexual matters has undergone a change. As I said, in the beginning the old-fashioned ethics were discarded, but later on in 1953 and 1954 they tried to enforce a very strict moral standard on Party members."

D. "Friendship has certainly been affected by Communism. This I can say from my own experience, because I never could trust anymore anybody who became a Party member, whether it was a relative or a friend. Everybody was very careful about striking up friendships. It was usually the Communist who broke up a friendship. On the other hand, I must say that we were very careful about our friends, and so we had no disappointment in that regard."

E. "I do not think that the number of major crimes increased under the Communist regime. However, the petty crimes certainly did. For instance, ~~skimming~~ thieving greatly increased, and this was due to the extremely low living standard. However, the newspapers and the official press never referred to this fact because they wanted to create the impression that Communism is improving morals. The emphasis was put on the political crimes mainly, so the police did not concern themselves much with major crimes or petty crimes. I do not know whether or not the crime rate for women has gone up, and I do not think it has gone up very much for the young people, because the Communist regime put a great stress on sports, and to my mind this kept the young people pretty busy. I do not think that the regular police were very effective in dealing with the non-political crimes, because the old police experts were fired and those who showed any talent were immediately taken over by the political police. I also do not know about the rate of alcoholism, which is supposed to have increased in Hungary during the last ten years. The prices of alcoholic beverages were extremely high, so I don't know that people could afford them very much. On the other hand, I have heard in letters from home that alcoholism has tremendously increased since January '57 in Hungary.

"I did not hear very much about juvenile delinquency back in Hungary, but not to the extent that it exists here in the U.S. I know they had some ~~reformatory~~ reformatory schools, but on the whole I know very little on that matter. On the other hand, I have heard of the terrific increase of mentally retarded children, and all the homes caring for these children were jacked to full capacity. Hooliganism in Hungary was usually called "the American sickness" and I think it was quite harmless, as these young people just dressed exaggeratedly, and wore flashy coats or trousers. I also cannot tell whether this hooliganism was practiced by all social classes or by a special one only. I also believe that due to the very low living standard and the extremely bad working conditions, parents as a rule forced their children to start work early so as to supplement the family income."

VII. RELIGION

"Communist rule in Hungary had a selective effect on religion, because those who were only sort of lukewarm toward religion completely dropped out. On the other hand, those who were deeply religious became even more strongly so. Unfortunately, however, the majority of the young people did not participate anymore in religious life to the same extent as before the Communist regime. On the other hand, there were quite a number of those who out of sheer opposition participated in public demonstrations of the church, such as procession, etc. on great church holidays. But I don't think these people can be considered really religious people.

"I think that all religions have been hit equally by Communism, that the Catholic religion has only received more publicity than the Protestant ones, and because Rome after all is a very strong force behind the Catholic church. Due to the fact that the Protestant church was less strong it was more easily affected. The number of priests of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant church ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ who were persecuted for their religion was the same. I have also heard of a great number of Zionists who put into prison."

B. "Religion plays a very important part in my life. In fact, my whole life pivots around it, and it is more important for me than it has been for my parents. I grew up in a very religious atmosphere. I also consider myself much more religious than the average person in Hungary. I could not lead as active a religious life in Hungary as I wanted to, because I had to be very careful on account of my husband. But here in the U.S. I want to take a very active part in religious life, and in fact I have already begun to do so."

C. "The function of the church or churches is to take care of the souls of people, and should be completely independent of any influence of the state. On the other hand, I think that the churches should play a very important role in education. I am thinking now of the clerical schools, such as the Piarist Fathers, the Dominican fathers, as well as schools run by nuns. I also think that churches should set a moral code regarding standards of movies plays and books. This censorship, so to speak, however should not be exercised by terroristic methods, and I believe the church should mainly restrict the activities in this field to teaching the young people the difference between right and wrong.

"On the other hand, I most emphatically disapprove of any church taking an active role in politics in an independent Hungary."

D. "I do not know anything about to what an extent the Jewish religion has been hurt by Communism. I can only say that my husband was imprisoned together with several Jews also. I also think that the great number of Jews that were members of the Communist Party were Jews by origin but not by religion, because they were not religious at all. On the other hand, I know that the really religious Jews hated Communism just as much as anybody else. And besides, Communism was also directed against the rich Jews. The attitude of the Jews did undergo changes toward Communism during the last ten years, because in 1945 a great majority of the Jews came back from the German concentration ~~and~~ camps filled with vengeance, and I'm sure that they would have willingly served any regime, Communist or otherwise, which was liberating them. As to why they have joined the Party, I also believe that the Jews are after all very good businessmen, and they thought that joining the Party would result in material gain for them."

"As far as I know, the Jews participated in the demonstrations and in the fighting like everybody else, and especially the Jewish young people too.

"I really cannot say whether or not there is any reason for the Jews to be ~~afraid~~ afraid of an independent Hungary, because though under the Communist regime you could feel some anti-Semitic undercurrents, for instance, in my office. The leaders of the Jewish church, the rabbis, wholeheartedly disapproved of Jews participating in the Communist Party activities. And also during the revolution I must stress that there was no trace of anti-Semitism whatsoever. Therefore I believe that the Jewish people have nothing to fear in an independent Hungary, because I believe that my nation is much more mature than that. The excesses committed against the AVH men under the revolution were not due to the fact that they were Jews, but due to the fact that they were AVH people."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. When we say the Hungarian youth we mean young people from twelve years of age up until thirty.

B. "I certainly agree with the view that the Hungarian youth has played the leading role in the Hungarian revolution. The six months before the revolution they took part in the Petofi Kor activities, and then, later on, in the demonstrations and the fighting. As to the reasons why it was the youth and not the old people who took the lead, I believe it is because the young people always have more energy and more élan, and they are always more dissatisfied and less fearful of consequences.

"In my family I have seen that the older people supported the revolution, and they were with the young people more than ever. As to ourselves, we young people couldn't think but with respect of the older people. Also, because we felt that they were with us. I have seen many old workers who helped to construct the barricades, together with the young people."

C. X On the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years respondent said the following: "Education in Hungary has greatly suffered under the Communist regime, and this I believe is due to the fact that the good schools and mainly the clerical schools have been taken over by the state or dissolved. The quality of the teaching was extremely good as always, but the students were graded not according to their abilities or to their efforts, but entirely on the grounds of class origin. No matter how well a child studied, and was really eligible for the top grades, if he was a class alien he was always oppressed and graded down. This, of course, affected the child's ambitions greatly. The situation was at its worst between 1949 and 1953. After 1953, under the new course, it got much better. Nevertheless, as children who received good grades due to their class origin, and were not talented and did not learn well, could attend and were allowed to attend the university, this had of course a disastrous effect on the educational standard in the universities. Also, I have talked with some of the professors, who said that they had to deliver their lectures on a high school level or even lower, instead of the university level, because the standard was so low. The vocational choice was restricted to a very great extent; it was nearly impossible for a class alien to become a doctor for instance, and on the other hand Russian language, for instance, which nobody wanted to study, was the only subject to which the so-called class aliens had access. Due to their qualifications the old professors were usually retained. Nevertheless, most of them were fearful of losing their jobs, so they tried to comply with the wishes of the regime. Most subjects, of course, were taught in a very slanted manner. The Communist regime even tried to

slant the physics and mathematics, for instance. I recall Professor Santha, who dared to criticize the norm theory, and dared to say that the enforcement of the norms was ruining the human body. He was immediately transferred to a provincial university. The political positions of a university were ~~xxx~~ always filled with Party members of course. For instance, I know that the Party Secretary of the University at Debrecen was the former cleaning woman of the University. Politically the situation was at its worst here at the University of Debrecen. I do not believe that many of the teachers in the high schools or the universities were really convinced Communists. They continued to teach because they had to live and they wanted to hold their jobs. At the universities however, due to the fact that they were irreplaceable in their own fields, some of the professors were more courageous. They could afford to be so. The younger generation of teachers and professors, ~~of xxxxxx~~, which were educated by the Communist regime and among whom you could find quite a few who sincerely believed in Communism, was extremely low. The lecturers on Communist ideology, for instance, were really terrible."

E. "The Communists indeed did devote a great deal of time, effort and money to the indoctrination of the younger generation by giving them scholarships and trying to encourage children of the worker and peasant class to study. They had their colleges where they got free board and education, and they could also pocket money. Also, the material the young people had to study was very great. For instance, they had to read 600 to 800 pages a week on the Communist ideology, and they had to report on what they read. Sometimes it so happened that you had to spend more time on learning the Communist ideology and doctrines than on your chosen subject.

"I believe that the failure to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth can be attributed to the part family life played in the youths' life. The family life, even as it was under the Communist regime, counterbalanced the Communist indoctrination of the young people. Furthermore, the young people could see for themselves the difference between the doctrines and the facts.

"In the very beginning, there were certainly sporadic changes when the children did accept Communist views. After all, it was something new and promised them more liberty, and young people are always eager to accept something that is unusual. But later on the number of these who accepted Communism decreased steadily."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary, as shown up in the everyday life, were first of all the awful housing shortage, and second the terribly low living standard in every field."

B. "As a housewife the most annoying thing under the Communist regime to me was the fact that, for instance, I never could plan ahead what I would cook for the whole week, because you never were sure what you were able to get at the markets. The second most ~~xx~~ annoying thing was the transportation. It was very difficult to get from one part of town to another one; the busses were awfully ~~xxxxxx~~ crowded, and so were all the street cars."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "Our family and all my friends could get along ~~xxx~~ only with great difficulty under the Communist regime. The food situation, for instance, was really appalling. My children could for months and months never eat a ~~kind~~ boiled egg or coldcuts for instance. If I was able to cook meat twice a week, that was something quite out of the ordinary, and usually it ruined my whole week's budget. It was a tragedy of one of the children ruined his shoes, for instance. Clothing was also a great problem, and you had either to spend your money on food or on clothing; you couldn't do both at the same time. The housing shortage was very acute, and, for instance, you had to pay 6000 forints so as ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ only to have allotted an apartment of one room and a kitchen. We tried this very hard in the Budapest suburb, and this would have been an apartment without gas and electricity, but even so the housing authorities did not allot it to our family because they found us politically unreliable and also my husband was a former prisoner, so he had a criminal record. Nevertheless, anybody who had some connections with the Party or had a good record with the Party could get an apartment allotted quite easily. Just to illustrate the situation, I would like to mention that ~~an~~ eleven of us lived in three small rooms. Five of them were children. We had to use the kitchen, all of us, as well as share the bathroom. The greatest luxury we considered while in Hungary was to be able to travel, and the greatest difficulty was caused by the food problem.

"My family's standard of living was normal and good in the years of 1945 and '46. From '47 to '49 at the time my husband was imprisoned, it was in the greatest and direst need. In 1950, at the time my husband worked as a navy, he earned quite a good salary, and this was the case also in 1951, but by 1951 and 1952 the norms were tightened to such an extent that what he earned was not enough for us, and so I was obliged to work myself. ~~It~~ So in the last years, for instance, we had meat only once a week."

Respondent remembered that, for instance, the physicians, the general practitioners in the provinces ~~had~~ earned the most money comparatively, and they could live at a higher living standard, and were better off altogether than many others. They were allowed to have a private practice besides working for the Social Welfare and State Medical hospitals. Furthermore, she recalled that several technical engineers who were expert in certain fields and who were willing to serve the regime also had very good incomes. And finally, artists such as singers and musicians and the people who were prominent in different fields of sports also earned good salaries.

Respondent was of the view that the low Hungarian standard

of living during the last eight years was entirely due to the exploitation of Hungary by the Soviet, and also that, for instance, the relation between forint and ruble was arbitrarily fixed by the Russians to the effect that the Hungarians had to pay through the nose for everything they got from Russia. X

B. Respondent's income in 1956 was 950 forints per month, and she received on hand 900 forints. At the beginning ten percent of the income had to be subscribed for the so-called peace loans. Later on this was decreased to ~~ten~~ five percent. Her husband, when working under the norms, earned 1200 to 1800 forints, but this usually meant overtime also. In general, the average was 1100 to 1700. And even the pooled incomes of both were not enough to insure them a normal standard of living. Respondent did not receive any premium or other extra pay. She disclosed that this ~~extra premium~~ ~~only~~ was reserved only for those who had a good record with the Party, and since the distribution of those premiums depended entirely on the Party Secretary and the president of the trade union and the manager of the plant or office who were all three Party members, it was evident that a person like her, who had a so-called bad past, never got anything. They were even quite frank about it and told her that she ~~was~~ could never expect to receive anything. Since her husband worked under the fixed norm system, he didn't receive any premiums either.

C. Regarding the high prices in Hungary before the revolution, respondent discloses that, concerning food for instance, the prices in the state stores were slightly lower, but the quality was always better at the ? market. Concerning clothing, the state stores sold them at lower prices because the private enterprises, if they were allowed to work at all, had to pay very high taxes and also double the price for material they bought. The quality at the state stores was, of course, very low, and because everything that was manufactured of good quality was exported from Hungary. The so-called commission stores sold only used clothes and other commodities, and the prices were very varied. There were of course changes in the prices that came about as seasonal changes, regarding food, for instance.

However, ~~in~~ after the Twentieth Party Congress, the situation improved according to respondent, and when Stalinism was regarded as a thing of the past in the Soviet Union, this also had an effect on the economic policy. And of course, like everything, this affected the economy of Hungary also.

"The retail distribution in Hungary was at its worst because even if there were adequate supplies of everything, the shops sometimes did not get them in time. The organization was just awful and production badly planned. Also, they even used the distribution of goods for political purposes. For instance, before May 1, or August 20, or other Russian national

holidays, ~~the~~ the shops were supplied with goods which we hadn't seen for months. For instance, you could buy rice, and there was a better supply of eggs, etc."

"It was quite a hopeless thing to get fairly standard spare parts, and due to the disorganized distribution and bad management, there was a great deal of food spoilage. There was also a great spoilage of canned goods, for instance. Nevertheless, these were then distributed to the prisons and given to the political prisoners. Also, the inadequate storage caused a great deal of damage in the export fruit and vegetable shipments.

"Especially short in supply were eggs, meat, lard and fats. The years ~~between~~ between 1949 and 1952 were worst in this regard. Nevertheless, if you had the money then more or less you could always purchase everything. For instance, my children have never seen chocolate, oranges, or any other fruit from tropical climates.

"Regarding the Black Market, I certainly know that this flourished, especially in the years 1949 and 1950. But I cannot tell very much about the whole situation. Later on, the prices of Black Market goods, as I was told, compared with other merchandise, was about doubled. The undercounter sale was generally practiced, especially in the state stores. For instance, black pepper and rice, ~~and~~ and lemons, which were very scarce, were usually sold to friends or acquaintances of the sales personnel. I have read several articles in the newspapers referring to the Black Market situation, and I knew that there was a penalty for it, but I do not know the kind of penalties that were given for Black Marketeering."

D. "I was secretary to the Chief Engineer of the construction company where I worked. We started work at 8:00 but we had to be in the office ten minutes before 8:00, and ~~if~~ if we were late, even at the ten before 8:00 time, this was deducted from our pay, and if anybody was late three times, then he was dismissed. I was only kept because I was an extremely good worker. I took part in all national shorthand and typing contests in which I won several prizes for the company, so this was the reason that in spite of being called "politically unreliable" I never was dismissed. It took me about twenty to forty minutes, depending on transportation difficulties, to get to work. We were supposed to work til 4:30 only but anybody who left before 5:00 was reprimanded. We had to punch out cards like everybody else in Hungary, and we received our lunches at the Mess of the enterprise. However, it took us ten minutes to get there and another ten to come back, and our lunch break was only 30 minutes. So if we had to wait to be served, etc., we really had hardly a couple of minutes to gulp down our food.

"I held that job by my own choice. I heard of a vacancy at this office and I filled out an application, but I omitted the political past of my husband. I was accepted and only after six months did they find out that we were both politically unreliable, but by that time they saw that I was an extremely good worker so they kept me. But they informed me that I was a person who had to be avoided like the plague. My relations with my co-workers were extremely genial, and we liked each other very much. I never took part in any official meetings, etc., because I gave as a reason that I had two children and I had to look after them. I always tried not to make enemies anywhere. On the Party line, of course, as they knew who I was, they were pretty stiff with me. My immediate superior, the Deputy Chief Engineer, was a member of the Communist Party. In fact, he even held a job in the leadership. He was an extremely good engineer and the right man in the right place. He just wanted to keep his job and so he served the regime. But he was not a convinced Communist; he was just an opportunist. He was extremely nice to me always, and I can only be grateful to him that he always stood up for the people in his office. He even made a point of it that when he was informed of my political past he was even more decent and nice to me. The Chief Engineer was also an extremely good man who was an expert in his field, and despite the fact that he thoroughly despised the regime, they kept him on because they needed him. He even was suspended for some time for the above-mentioned reason. The Manager of the office was a former navy who didn't even talk to the Chief Engineer, and he was thoroughly hated by everybody in the office, but also feared. He was a rude, bestial and disgusting person. The Party Secretary was a former worker, an uncultured, stupid and idiotic man. In 1956 he chose another one among us, and he was rather passive and therefore quite liked by everybody. He was the one who let ten of our office workers go and participate in the demonstration, and during the revolution he behaved very decently.

"Since our Construction Company mainly dealt with the construction of below-surface edifices, such as mines, for instance, then bridges, air raid shelters, etc., the Chief Engineers and other personnel had to be experts in their jobs, and this refers to the so-called construction section of the office. The other people who did clerical work on the other hand were only people who had a good record with the Communist Party and thoroughly inexperienced and incompetent in their work.

"I was quite satisfied in my job and happy that I was allowed to work. I liked and was interested in my work also. My immediate superiors did praise my work, and they were satisfied with me."

Regarding the Hungarian Vacation, Health and Compensation Programs, respondent could tell that the Vacation Program in Hungary was a very well ~~arranged~~ planned and extremely good program; also well organized. If you were chosen by your office or plant then you were allowed to spend your vacation at a minimum price at a beautiful spa, and get very good board and food. But of course, this depended entirely on the trade union, and a lot of pulling of strings. In the beginning when I worked in that office, they knew I had two children who were sick during the whole winter, and so they were sorry for me. Since at that time they did not yet know about my husband I was given such a vacation holiday. Later on, after they found out about my husband, I never did it again. It was usually the workers who received these vacation bonuses, but even among the workers there was a great deal of string pulling going on. The sick insurance program also was well organized, ~~arranged~~ but on the other hand the doctors were scarce and had to work overtime, and of course they did not always allot a specialized doctor to a special field. It was very difficult to get a doctor to declare you unfit for work; they were told to keep the number of such cases at a minimum. The reason for this was that under the sick insurance program you received 75% of your pay as long as you were sick. The doctors therefore were kept under strict control. Nevertheless, it always depended on the good will of the doctor whether or not you were able to receive treatment in a hospital. The pensions, on the other hand, were extremely low and very few people received them. In our office for instance we had an old engineer. He was 75 years old. He kept on working because he knew the pension he would get would not be enough to keep him going."

E. "I certainly would have preferred always to live in the city while in Hungary, and the reason for this is that in a big town or city you have a higher standard of living, you have more opportunity to attend the theatre and movies, and on the whole cultural life is always at a higher level. In my opinion, the agricultural workers had a much better diet in Communist Hungary than the city workers, and also in a way the peasants had a better standard of living regarding food and clothing. Politically, also, they had a much easier time in the country.

"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, my husband and I were sure that it would not work. After all, my husband was an expert in this field. He was the manager of the Hungarian Peasants' Union, and also he came from a peasant background. The way the Communist regime implemented collectivization was completely ~~is~~ wrong, because a cooperative like the type in Denmark is a very good and well working organization, but the Communist method is very bad. Collectivization was objected to even by the poorest peasants. The rich peasant was not even admitted to a collective farm because ~~as~~ they just took away all his land and he could do whatever he

might. Some of the collectives were dissolved under the regime of Prime Minister Imre Nagy and at that time I heard of many collectives that were voluntarily dissolved because the peasants just didn't approve of them. Also, financially they were a failure. Of course there were quite a few of the collective farms that were used for propaganda purposes in order to show visiting foreigners how wonderfully they worked. These then got state loans to finance them when in trouble.

"As an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, if I had to choose I would prefer to work on a private farm, and this because even if the conditions were very bad there, at least you were free and could farm your land the way you chose.

"In an independent Hungary I would like to see an individual and free farming system. Maybe the cooperatives on the Danish example could be introduced, but even these should be completely free and not under the supervision of the state. ~~NE~~ The ones that would work in an independent Hungary are an extensive fruit and vegetable agriculture. This, however, ~~is~~ is not the invention of the Communist regime, because in the '40s already Hungary began to put an emphasis on these two branches of agricultural production."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "Ever since I got engaged to my husband in 1946, I was very much interested in politics. However, I was never the member of any political party and I took part in political life only through my husband. My sympathies were, of course, for the Smallholders Party, where my husband held an important position. This Party was the one that satisfied mostly my ideals -- that is, a civic democracy."

"My feelings about the Communist Party before 1948 were the same as now. I despise them and I thoroughly disapprove of the Communist Party, because they are trying to enforce a doctrine which is immoral and which is completely contrary to my principles."

B. "I certainly believe that there are different types of Communist Party members. In 1945, for instance, most of the Arrow Cross Party members were afraid that they would be held responsible for their political past, and entered the Communist Party out of sheer opportunism. Later on, another class also joined the Communist Party. These were experts in certain fields who held jobs ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ and who wanted to keep their jobs, so they joined the Party under duress. I myself never had any contact with Communist Party members. However, a few of the employees in our office joined the Party, but I cannot put them higher than at 5 percent.

"The Communist Party in Hungary always underwent different changes. It depended on what they were taught to preach. ~~One~~ One of the most blatant methods is (and I am referring to the disowning of Stalinism, etc.) that ~~we~~ they preach one thing today and swear to the contrary the very next day, always giving some roundabout and very stupid explanation. They always use the terror method, and want people to live in constant fear. They use one prominent Communist Party member against the other, and also I believe there are many factional fights within the Party. I am thinking now of Rajk in 1946.

"In the very beginning, I believe the Party morale was high, but after the Rajk case I think many people revised their view. Nevertheless, they could not leave the Party anymore. After the Twentieth Party Congress, and in the spirit of self-criticism and so on, they admitted that at the time of the Rajk process 587 people were executed. However, they only admitted to 18 executions at that time. Otherwise, I really cannot say anything about the Party morale, as I tried not to have any connections with the Party.

"In my opinion the top leaders of the Party aim only to work in Moscow's interest and regarding their own personal

aims, this is to my mind only megalomania. I do not believe that any of the Communist leaders is a Communist by conviction. There are of course a great many opportunists among them, but on the whole the top Communist leaders in Hungary are devilish, cruel and extremely ill-intentioned people. They have no moral standing whatsoever. I believe also that the motives of the rank and file members and those of the leadership differ greatly. First of all, there are many members of the rank and file who became Communist Party members only under duress, but now they are just scared to leave the Party.

"As I do not know the feeling of vengeance and hatred, the greatest punishment I would dole out to the top Hungarian Communists if and when Hungary is independent would be to put them in prison and let them think about their deeds in solitary confinement."

C. "I do not know of any resistance under the Communist government before the revolution except a passive resistance, mostly by the peasantry, because there was very little opportunity to do anything in the plants and factories, for instance. Nevertheless, people tried to slow down work whenever they could; I heard of this. These acts of opposition were effective in the sense that there was a great percentage of seconds to be found in all commodities. For the above-mentioned reason, I do not know whether or not the opposition behavior occurred more often during some periods than others.

"My husband and I both heard of the activities of the intellectuals before the October revolution. Already in March 1956 Peter Veres talked to my husband and told him that he was sure some changes would occur very soon. Also, we realized by then that the newspapers were writing more openly and freely criticizing the regime. We also were called as guests, especially my husband, at the beginning of 1956, to attend the meetings of the Petofi Circle. My husband, however, did not attend those meetings, because he knew that he was bound to meet people there who were Party members and this he wanted to avoid by all means. However, the intellectual ferment was widely known by everybody because we could read between the lines in the newspapers. After the Twentieth Party Congress the writers quickly saw that now was the opportunity to express themselves more freely after ten years of oppression. Until that time, the Hungarian writers wrote only for their desk drawers and did not publish what they were thinking. I am thinking now especially of Julius Illyes, who wrote the poem entitled "The Tyrant" in 1950, and it was published only during the revolution. The leaders of the intellectuals were to my mind certainly the spearhead of the revolution. The intellectuals in general are practical and a very valuable class per se. Of course, as everywhere else, you might find some dreamers among them, but I believe on the

whole that the intellectual class is a very valuable part of the Hungarian nation. The revolution proved that ~~if~~ the very moment there was an opportunity the intellectuals tried to throw off the yoke. These intellectuals, many of whom in the beginning were taken over by the Communist ideal, found out that Communism as it is interpreted by Moscow is not an ideal and not to be followed. They grew out of this sickness and wanted to be free in their own way."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

"The AVH in Hungary consists of people who have been dēvested of ~~ax~~ every human feeling, every human decency. They are sadists and they can be bought by money. We had quite some personal experience with the AVH. For ~~instance~~ instance, I was arrested and taken prisoner by them, and also my husband, who served several years in prison.

"The AVH used a letter a friend of ours wrote from Austria and added a postscript to it and on the strength of this forged letter I was arrested by the AVH. First they took me to Debrecen and then later on I was switched to Budapest in a Red Cross ambulance car. This was the usual method of the AVH, to transfer prisoners from one place to another. I was taken first to the military political prison at the Hadik barracks on the Bartok Bela Street. I was there for three days without being questioned. On the third day they told me to go out and have a shower, and I was assisted by the guards who stood around while I was taking the shower. They were always trying to invent very humiliating things in order to break our spirit. For instance, we also were not allowed to look up, and when we passed a newly brought in prisoner and I just tried to look up at him, I was beaten severely on my head. Also in the prison cell we had an AVH woman locked in with us who of course was planted there to find out what we were talking about. This woman was being taken up for interrogation several times a day. We were not allowed to sleep, for instance, and were always awakened for silly purposes several ~~times~~ during the night. Later on I was taken to the ill famed Andrassy St. 60 AVH quarters. I was here for three days. The first day I had to stand facing the wall for the whole day. Here we had very bad food -- an empty, watery soup and a small piece of bread the whole day. It was extremely cold in the unheated cells with open windows. Here again we were awakened at least 5 times a night and always taken for interrogation or to have a shower or for some other reasons. After the first day I was allowed to work but even so half the day I had to spend turned toward the wall. At the end of the third day finally, when in the course of interrogation I told them that they should kill me if they wanted to, but I would not talk because I didn't know anything about what I was charged with. I was released but they strongly advised me never to say a word about my experiences in prison, and also they assured me that this release was only temporary, because they would call me in again maybe for another interrogation. However, when I left prison my handbag with all the contents was returned to me, so I could go back to my home. ~~When I returned~~ When I returned there I found out that nobody knew at home where I had been and what had happened to me. My brother went up to Budapest and talked to a man & he knew from the times he was in prison, and maybe it was this very man who helped me to get

out sooner than I hoped.

"My husband was arrested in January '47, and at that time he was still a member of the Hungarian Parliament and therefore as such he could only be arrested with the approval or permission of the Parliament. Therefore he was kept in arrest only during the day at Andrassy St. 60. In the evening they always let him come home, but accompanied by two AVH men who slept in the same room with us with all the lights on. On January 26 the Hungarian Parliament suspended my husband's indemnity privileges and he was arrested by the AVH. He was charged with conspiracy together with Frances Nagy, and the main charge was that having been the chief executive of the Hungarian Peasant Union he did not try to control the activities of Frances Nagy nor to find out what he was doing. He was charged with being an accessory after the fact. He received a 3 year sentence which he served, and for a complete year he was in solitary confinement and there was one AVH guard in his cell all the time.

"At the interrogation at the AVH headquarters he was extremely badly treated and he was also beaten up severely. All the underwear he sent out to be laundered was full of blood. The medical officer of the prison told me he was not so sure that he would remain alive, and this was the reason that the doctor gave an affidavit that the prisoner is unfit for false labor, so he only got a prison sentence. He was released in December 1949 and he returned home."

Respondent did not know or hear of any AVH man who wanted to leave the AVH Force or who suffered remorse.

"Of course it is true that life in Communist Hungary consisted of constant anxiety and fear. This was the method the AVH adopted from the Communist methods to keep people in constant fear. In my case, for instance, I was even told, as mentioned before, that my release was only temporary, and I never knew when they might ask me again."

"Whenever Hungary is independent I think that all people who were members of the AVH should be put to forced labor and also maybe they could be reeducated, but I doubt this.

X Regarding the regular police as compared with the AVH, respondent was of the view that you cannot compare these two forces. The regular police just did what they could or what they wanted, and they were not even trusted by the regime. The regular police, the general spirit of it, was certainly affected by Communism and the standard has dropped very much. Due to this of course they were very incompetent in dealing with regular crimes.

According to my personal experience, the regular police

wholeheartedly supported the revolution. I ~~was~~ talked to a policeman at the Radio building and he told me that he would have had a good opportunity to kill several AVH men, but unfortunately he did not have ammunition because the regime mistrusted them and they were issued very little ammunition always. Then, for instance, on November 18th, when I was queuing up for food, the policeman who kept order at the queue ~~was~~ told everybody, so that I could hear, that in his eyes Imre Nagy was still the Prime Minister. During the fighting I also heard from different friends that they joined the young people in the fighting. In the beginning they only handed them weapons and ammunition; later on they themselves took part in the fighting. Also at the Radio building there were many regular policemen who fought against the AVH."

B. Regarding the court and its activities respondent could give very interesting information. She disclosed that, for instance, a friend of theirs who was an attorney-general had been dismissed because he was unwilling to dole out justice according to Communist wishes. For instance, the Ministry of Justice in three different cases, ~~maxingxaxaxax~~ instructed a defendant who had a good record with the Communist Party, should not be sentenced severely, or another so-called class alien should be sentenced more severely than he really deserved. After these three cases in which he refused to obey orders, he was dismissed from his job. As to how the courts worked before 1945, respondent said that she always heard from her parents that a Hungarian court was something which was held in general respect by everybody and was known to be completely impartial. This could not be said about the people's courts in 1945 and 1947. She thought that it was quite hopeless. ~~Even~~ even a couple of the people's jurors who were well-intentioned, the president of the people's court had the last word to say. She mentioned here the name of people's court president ~~J~~ Janko, who was ~~ja~~ charged with the case of her husband. This judge, for instance, received his instructions, and which sentence he had to give to the defendant from the Ministry of Justice. In the case of her husband, for instance, they had to postpone the verdict for a day because in the Ministry some of the Party people had ~~an~~ argument over which sentence her husband should be given. According to respondent, the people's court dealt only with political crimes.

Regarding respondent's attitude toward the treatment of the alleged war criminals, she said: "I am sure that the war criminals were treated by the same methods mentioned in my husband's case. I also think that many completely unjust sentences were given to the so-called war criminals. I do not think that they were actually guilty. The Hungarian - Russian war was a tragic mistake, and certainly whoever was the cause of it has sinned against the Hungarian nation, but still in my mind a political criminal does not merit execution."

D. "The first Russian invasion of Hungary in 1848 did pop up in the revolution, but the prejudice against the Russian occupation troops certainly did not stem from this event. This was entirely due to their behavior in 1945. This was a good enough reason to be hated by everybody in Hungary. Before the Russians came to Hungary in '44 I recall Peter Veres telling my husband that despite the fact that the Russians would occupy Hungary they would soon leave the country and Hungary would finally be independent and free. We all were hoping that the Peace Treaties would soon be signed and this really would happen. But after all we heard about the Russian troops when they started pouring in to Hungary in 1944, we did not expect anything good from them. Our actual experiences with the Russian army in 1945 were first hand, and I can only repeat what everybody has probably already told you -- that the Russian troops were looting, raping. For instance, we could hardly save my 80 year old grandmother from being raped by a Russian, and they were thoroughly living off the land. They were a cruel, primitive, uneducated lot. Our attitude did not change toward the Russian army after 1945, nor did anybody else's for that matter. If ~~maxim~~ possible, it got even worse. In all fairness, however, I must add that I do not believe that the Russian people are fundamentally cruel and bad. These soldiers had to act on orders first of all, and secondly, these people were away from their homes and their wives for 5 to 10 years, so I somehow try to understand why they behaved this way.

"Regarding the Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution, I cannot say very much about them, because these troops were stationed mostly around Budapest and outside the city. I heard, however, from different friends, that they liked being in Hungary because the living standard was so much higher for them here than back home. They had their own PX shops and were paid in rubles, the exchange of which was extremely high, so that finally when they were ordered to go home many of them left the country crying and very unhappy. A friend of ours who lived at the frontier town of Zahony, through which the Russian troops were taken back to Russia, told us that they had to leave all their belongings behind, and everything was taken from them at the frontier station before they left the country."

"As to the attitudes and actions of the Russian soldiers during the revolution, I can only say that the very first days many of the Russians joined the revolution or just refused to fight against the Hungarians. I saw the soldiers talk to the people in the streets many times, and I also saw many tanks manned by Russian soldiers and Hungarian Freedom Fighters flying the Hungarian flag. Also, I saw myself a Russian jumping out of his tank and saying "I refuse to fight against children." These troops, however, were soon relieved and taken into barracks surrounded by barbed wire, until they were taken in locked railroad cars out of Hungary. I believe that the above

attitude refers to officers and enlisted men during the first days of the revolution, and mostly to people of a sort of middle age. The troops which were brought in about November 4, however, consisted of quite young boys who were extremely primitive. They were a short, stocky Asiatic race. They looked like animals to me. They had not the foggiest notion where and whom they were fighting. They were also strictly forbidden to talk to the population, and I heard of three different cases in which the command officer shot the Russian soldier whom he found talking to a Hungarian.

"The fore-mentioned I think covers the questions to what extent the Russian soldiers helped the Hungarians, refused to obey their superiors, or fought on the side of Hungarians. Whether or not Soviet soldiers fought against the AVH I am not quite sure. However, once I saw near the National Theatre that a Russian tank turned its guns against an apartment at the window of which the AVH was shooting and sniping at the people. Now whether or not the Russians knew whom they were fighting I ~~cannot~~ cannot tell. I have not heard of any cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution."

bureaucracy

E. Regarding ~~respondent~~ respondent was of the opinion that in the foregoing chapter when she talked about the working conditions she said all she could and she knew. She had no further information to give on this topic. The reason for this was, as she said, was that she always tried to avoid contact with anybody who had anything to do with the bureaucracy, because of her and her husband's political past.

F. Regarding how to get around some of the regulations or how to get an official to change his mind, to get a friend to intercede for you, etc., respondent said that the intercession and ~~nepotism~~ nepotism was stronger than ever under the Communist regime, especially on the Party line. There was one office, however; this was the Housing Office, where you could bribe people now and then, even though it was quite dangerous and strictly prohibited. Respondent mentioned a case in which, in one of the outskirts of Budapest, the whole housing office administration was dismissed and exchanged because they found out that bribes were accepted there.

G. When probed as to how much she knew about the competence and efficiency of the various groups and people who hold power in Communist Hungary, respondent said that this is a field in which you cannot talk of intelligence at all. Some of them were quite smart, this is quite true. This refers to the secret police: "Maybe Gabor was a good and efficient tailor, but he certainly was not a good secret police officer." Respondent had no idea to what an extent the army leadership in Hungary was efficient, and ~~neither~~ neither did she know or have any opinion about the Russian army leadership. She said however

it seems that during the revolution the Russian army leadership knew perfectly well what they were doing, and they seem to have been pretty well organized.

Referring to public administration in Hungary and its officials, respondent said: "In the last years the public administration in Hungary was over-administered. There were too many people. There was red tape to such an extent that had never occurred before, and in spite of this or maybe because of it, everything was in a terrible mess. The reason for this of course was mainly also the fact that the public administration was entrusted to people who were incompetent and uneducated. They were put there by the Party. They had a good record with the Party and that was all. For instance, I can mention a case in which a former servant girl became the Section Chief of the Ministry of the Interior. I think with this example I have said a great deal."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. When asked what she thinks about events that are bound to happen in the next few years in Hungary, respondent said: "Unfortunately, if I try to be quite unbiased, I don't see any change for Hungary now. I believe that a very strict Communist terror will again be enforced and this will not cease until the time when an interior change in Russia will bring about the complete collapse of the Soviet Union. If one is quite reasonable, nobody can believe that any further ~~xxxxxx~~ resistance will be carried on in Hungary. Maybe a passive ~~xxxxxx~~ resistance, yes; but I am sure that Kadar will revert again to the Stalin line, and will not make any concessions. I am also pretty sure that the return to the Stalinist policies will also be carried out in other satellite states and not only in Hungary. I do not expect the West to act on our case either, and I think that in Russia itself they will go back to the Stalin line, the more so since, due to the Hungarian revolution, they have seen that the moment they slacken the reins they lose control."

"As to my hopes, I very fervently hope that the UN Special Committee, which has done a great deal of fact-finding now in Europe, will meet at last, and the UN will force the Soviet Union to respect the UN sanctions. I do not believe that the Polish type solution would be the right thing in Hungary, and I do not think the people in Hungary would accept this either. After all, after ~~W~~ having fought the Hungarian revolution the Hungarian people will not accept it. They have got beyond this line. As to the means whereby my hopes could be realized, there is only one thing, and this is the enforcement of UN sanctions, but after the way things turned out in the Fall of 1956, I don't know whether I should hope for it or whether I can hope for it now. Nobody in Hungary or in Europe desires war between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, and therefore I sincerely hope that it will not occur. Means ~~x~~ other than war, as mentioned before, are an enforcement of UN ~~xxxxxxx~~ sanctions and a strict international control. The chances of an internal change in the Soviet Union are very slight. Nevertheless, I believe that they could occur. However, this will be a very slow procedure if I know the Russian people."

B. "During the last ten years people in Hungary did not expect any change for the better. Nevertheless all international meetings in the West were followed with greatest interest. For instance, at the time of the Geneva Conference, hopes were high. Here I would like to mention in order to illustrate how everyone in Hungary followed the events in the West, that I met a poor shepherd in the country one day, and ~~we~~ we started talking politics of course, as everybody did at that time. He said "My goodness, something must come out of that Geneva Conference," and he was very confident that something really would. This is just to show you how even the poorest of people in Hungary ~~xxx~~ out their confidence in the Western

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XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

Respondent disclosed that she has heard about the Twentieth Party Congress and Krushchev's secret speech by means of Radio Free Europe leaflets. Other people in Hungary were informed by the foreign radio broadcasts and even the Hungarian Press carried Krushchev's ~~speech~~ speech, but very much abbreviated of course.

On Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee, respondent disclosed that they were given only the news as represented by the Communist Press, and mostly in connection with the Rosenberg case. However, she only heard about the un-American Activities Committee and not about Senator McCarthy. She added that unfortunately it seems that the Committee has not enough power and doesn't carry its activities on too widely, so as to deal effectively with that very grave problem.

Respondent did not hear anything, nor does she know anything about Peron. On ~~Rakosi's~~ Rakosi's private life respondent heard, due to the fact that the company she worked for was constructing the air raid shelters and atomic-proof shelters at his villa. It was generally known that Rakosi lived in luxury which outdid many of the reigning monarchs. Respondent also believed that Rakosi was a very vain and conceited person who was extremely far from the Hungarian nation itself and who, in general, was not even a very true and very convinced Communist.

B. Regarding her general reading habits, respondent stated that she very seldom read newspapers, never very regularly, because she didn't have time to do so. Sometimes, now and then, she read the Szabad Nep at her parents' place. She also read the literary magazine. She had very little time to read books as a rule, but she read the foreign, Western and Hungarian classics, sometimes in translation of course, and sometimes she also read Russian classics. They had access to and connections with the public library, and also they had many books at home, so they had ~~the~~ the opportunity to read if they wanted to. Respondent disclosed that she never read the new Communist Hungarian literature and so she doesn't know anything about it, nor can she give any opinion on that. The main reason for not reading newspapers in her family was that everybody was fed up with the lies they carried. Respondent said that only people who took up politics very seriously, such as her husband, read the newspapers regularly and thoroughly as a rule. These people tried to read and did read between the lines. The foreign political news was especially mistrusted usually, the more so ~~since~~ since the domestic news could always be controlled to some extent. The only parts of the newspapers which were trusted were those which referred to art, music and sports. The Communist Press of the Western world, for instance the Austrian Abend, was also available in the Hungarian capital, and her husband frequently read this paper, first of all because he knows German and secondly because this paper carried more Western news than any of the Hungarian Communist papers. She also knew that other Western Communist papers from France ~~and~~ and England were also available. Prohibited literature was only

world and its actions."

XIX - Social, Political & Economic Ideology

A. "If Hungary were independent, I would like to see a bourgeois democracy and free trade for my country."

B. "As to the desired economic system and emphasis, I think that in an independent Hungary the stress should be put on agriculture, and specifically on fruit and vegetable growing. The agricultural system should be an intensive ~~xxx~~ cultivation of the soil. By no means should Hungary continue to grow wheat, as the Hungarian soil is best suited to the growing of vegetables and fruits. It is well known that in all Central Europe nowhere can fruits and vegetables be grown so successfully and with such extremely good taste as in Hungary. Also, Hungary should continue to breed animals for meat, and also poultry. As to the industries, only those should be continued which can receive their raw materials from Hungary. Therefore, ~~the~~ heavy industries, which mainly takes the ? and imports its raw materials should be abandoned, all at least decreased as much as possible. Light industry, on the other hand, should be expanded.

"If the Communist regime is overthrown in Hungary, I think that the national enterprises should be returned to the private owners. This should be done gradually, however, so as not to bring about any disruption of production. The Kolchozes and the State Farms should remain in the ~~xxx~~ hands of the state if they are being managed in a profitable way. Then, even so, they must be under the management of an expert. As to the Kolchozes, I think that the wishes of the individual members should be respected, and if a Kolchoz wishes to remain together, let them be. But under no circumstances should any compulsion be exercised.

"I believe that the present large and huge industrial ~~xxxx~~ enterprises, such as on the island of Csepel, and the mining industry, transportation should remain in the hands of the state. Light industry, according to its size, should also ~~be~~ either remain in the hands of the state or be returned to private industry. However, this should be with the proviso that the living standard of the workers in heavy and light industry should remain on a favorable ~~tax~~ level.

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"As to government setting a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ maximum limit to the amount of land ~~anyxxx~~ one person or family may own, I think that the maximum of 100 acres is approximately the right size, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ if the land is of a normal quality. Of course, this would be different if the land were of an inferior quality. I do not think the government should set a limit to any other real estate or assets one person might own."

"To my mind, a republic would be the best kind of government Hungary should have after achieving independence. The

republic and the government should be based on free elections and with a ~~minimum~~ multiple party system.

"As to which form of government to choose, I certainly would choose the first form of government which guarantees the personal freedom of the individual. It is much easier to support dire need and misery than to live without freedom, and under constant fear.

"I do not favor the outlawing of the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, first of all because this is against the human rights of freedom, and second because I am very sure that the Communist Party in an independent Hungary would not have any followers, and the Communist Party should by no means be made a martyr."

C. "First of all I would like to have ideally the kind of situation for Hungary that prevails in Austria. We need a complete neutrality. Hungary's position and the general attitude of its population is best ~~xxxx~~ suited to this kind of a government and international position."

Respondent's ideas on the relations with the U.S.S.R., the East European states, West Europe and the U.S.A. were that she would welcome trade relations and cultural relations with all nation mentioned above, with the exception of military and alliances or military relations.

When probed on the idea of a Danubian Federation, respondent said: "I think this is a wonderful idea, and I wish they would work it out. Our former Prime Minister Teleki has already advocated this idea very strongly, and I approve thoroughly and wholeheartedly of it. Furthermore, I see the Danubian Federation as an immediate and straight road towards a United States of Europe, which is an idea I favor ~~xxxx~~. I quite believe this idea to be feasible, the more so because all Danubian states do depend on each other economically anyway. I also think that all states which lie along the banks of the Danube should be included in the Danubian Federation, otherwise the idea would not work out. I believe that the general feeling about the Danubian Federation in Hungary is good, and it is considered to be a necessary and very important thing. Also, the more so since a Danubian Federation would solve once and for all the very difficult problem of the minorities in Transylvania."

On the present boundaries of Hungary, respondent said: "I am not advocating the idea that Hungary should get back the thousand year old frontiers. This is an exaggerated demand. However, I would like to see a territorial adjustment to the effect that all territories that are largely or mostly inhabited by Hungarians should be returned to the mother country. This adjustment could be brought about, to my mind, by a plebiscite. At present I am very much concerned ~~x~~ over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary, and I do not see that any other solution except that mentioned above can bring about a favorable

change. This whole question, of course, is extremely important to me, and I think it ranks parallel to that of the liberation of Hungary."

available in the libraries or in the scientific institutes. Respondent and family read illegal literature, that is, a couple of the American books were translated and typed out by Hungarian patriots and handed around from friend to friend. Respondent recalled a book by Aldous Huxley that was on atomic warfare, or rather Europe after an atomic attack or something like that, she could not give the exact title of the book.

(Typist's Comment: Name of book by Aldous Huxley is "Ape and Essence.") These typed books were available in the literary circles and handed down only to very reliable members of that small circle. Respondent also read Kravchenko's "I Chose Freedom." The illegal publications or prohibited books were not burned or surrendered by most of the people. They themselves hid them in the cellar and so did many of their friends because they thought it was a pity to burn these valuable books."

C. Referring to news received by word of mouth, respondent said: "It was a general rule in my office that ~~many~~ all of my co-workers listened to the radio broadcasts from abroad, and discussed them openly in our office. This was mainly political news, of course. In the past ten years in Hungary I must add that everybody indulged in politics fervently, and was very much interested in all the problems, even those who hitherto had never taken part in politics. Regarding the news they handed down by word of mouth, of course this news was not very trustworthy, as the majority of people were indulging in a lot of wishful thinking, and people were too optimistic. "This is" said respondent, "generally a Hungarian characteristic." "I myself" continued subject "was very cautious in handing down news by word of mouth due to my and my husband's political past, so this was a good reason for not talking about the news received from Radio Free Europe or other Western stations."

D. When questioned on her general theatre and cinema habits, respondent said that she attended the theatre once a month ~~was~~ regularly, and also opera once a month. She attended the cinema very rarely, and only if she knew that the ~~was~~ picture was extremely good. They had a season ticket for the theatre, and she mentioned that on this occasion whenever they billed a Russian play for the season ticket holders the theatre was nearly empty. Respondent spoke with great enthusiasm about the British picture film "Hamlet" which she ~~was~~ thought extremely artistic, and a French film the title of which she couldn't recall, but which referred to educational problems. Regarding the theatre, in the last few years she liked best Bernard Shaw's "Joan of Arc", and then a new play by Julius Illyes called "Dossa Gyorgy." (This "Dossa Gyorgy" was a legendary figure in Hungarian politics who ~~was~~ stood up for the rights of the oppressed agricultural workers and peasants in the 18th century.) Both plays, respondent said, dealt with actual problems, and had a very good bill. Also the management and staging was wonderful.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. The chances of a change ~~xxxx~~ inside Russia, according to respondent, can hardly be brought about by a revolution. Respondent said it is not characteristic of the Russian people that they could or would revolt. She only thinks that this change will be brought about very gradually. Nevertheless it will come, because after all, young people will start asking questions even in Russia. The feelings of the people in Russia about the Communist regime should not be too good. Here respondent quoted an example. The brother of a friend of hers came back from Russia quite recently. He had been deported there during the recent revolution. He ~~was~~ succeeded in escaping and knocked at the door of the first peasant hut he found. The peasant and his family immediately gave him all the assistance they could. They gave him a dog and sled, and also told him "We wish we were already as far as Hungary has gone now." This man escaped to Finland and came home from there on account of his children. He was put on trial and now at present he is allowed to work as a doctor, but he does not receive any salary. This information respondent got via a letter from her mother. It did not better the situation that he came back from Russia; on the contrary. His letter describing the facts about his imprisonment, about his deportation, his life in the prison camps of Russia and his escape has now been submitted to the United Nations. His name was John Dudas, and he was picked up by the Russians at the Western station in Budapest.

Respondent is of the opinion that if Russia had a free election the Communist votes would be at a minimum. However, she said of course this depends on how mature the Russian people are politically. She doubts their political maturity very much; otherwise, they would ~~xxxx~~ already have resorted to different measures to throw off the Soviet yoke.

Russia

"In my opinion the top leaders of ~~xxxxxxx~~ are Chauvanistic Russian nationalists. This is their collective outlook. Their individual ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ aims are megalomaniac. Collectively, the leaders of the Russian Communist Party would like to establish a world leadership for Russia. The difference between the Russian and the Hungarian top Communist leaders lies also in this. A Russian is a Chauvanistic, nationalistic man who is working for his own country. The Hungarian Communists, on the other hand, are servile persons. They are puppets of the Russian Soviet Union and their masters and do not even think of the interests of the Hungarian people."

B. The relative popularity of the other satellite nations of Eastern Europe in Hungary ranks as follows: first of all Poland, then Eastern Germany, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, and Romania is at about the same level. These preferences of the Hungarians for the Poles and East Germans ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~

be accounted for by the mutually shared historical past with the Poles and their ~~known~~ thorough dislike of the Russians. With respect to Eastern Germany, the Hungarian people have a great respect for their culture and civilization and technical superiority.

The dislike of Czechoslovakia and Romania may perhaps be attributed to the treatment these countries gave to the Hungarian minorities.

If free elections were held in the above-mentioned countries, respondent thinks that all countries would renounce Communism, though here she added "I ~~know~~ really don't know how many Communists there are in Czechoslovakia and how strong the Communist Party is there, because during the revolution the Czechoslovak government sent their railroad men, locomotive drivers and machinists to Hungary to look after transportation, which was completely at a standstill due to the strike of the Hungarian railroad men.

The living standards of the different European countries were classified as follows by respondent. She believed that the highest living standard was in Eastern Germany, followed by Czechoslovakia, then Hungary and Poland are on about the same level, followed by Romania. The lowest, in her belief, was the living standard in Bulgaria.

C. In connection with the Polish question, respondent said: "Had the Hungarian revolution not been quelled I am sure that the changes in Poland would have been more significant. Due to the events in Hungary, the Russian pressure of course is much stronger now. Gomulka's policy, nevertheless, represents some sort of a change which I believe would not have been bad at all in Hungary, because at least it would have meant some gradual change. Nevertheless, in my opinion the future outlook for Poland lies entirely with the Soviet Union and depends on the policy of Russia. Therefore, it is not known whether Gomulka will succeed in achieving independence for his country."

"In my ~~own~~ opinion, the Hungarian events in the Fall of 1956 were brought about to some extent by the events in Poland, since the whole revolution started with the sympathy demonstration for ~~the~~ Poland. Later on, however, it was events in Hungary that influenced the situation in Poland. Freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power already was a precedent which the Hungarian youth tried to exploit to the fullest extent. It was generally known in Hungary that the Russian policy toward Poland had slackened greatly, due to the fact that the Soviet Union wanted to gain over Eastern Germany, and for this ~~same~~ purpose they needed a peaceful, quiet and contented Poland. People in Hungary heard about the riots in Poznan and the trial in Poznan, mostly through the foreign radio broadcasts, which were factual, and through the Hungarian radio and press, which gave a very slanted account of all the events. The whole Polish ~~thaw~~ had the events in ~~the~~ Poznan to thank for the slackening of the Russian reins.

Whether or not the Hungarian revolution should have taken a path along Polish lines, respondent was of the opinion that the situations in Poland and in Hungary could not be compared. "Gomulka, after all," she said, "was the Polish Rajk, and he was the leader of the Polish secret police. On the other hand, in Hungary Imre Nagy had no relations whatsoever with the AVH and therefore it was impossible for him to remain in power."

D. "Yugoslavia and Tito certainly had some affect and were influential in Eastern Europe. However, Tito was not so much liked in Eastern Europe as he is in the Western Hemisphere. People in Hungary were much better informed than people in the western Hemisphere about the real and true situation in Yugoslavia. People in Hungary knew that there were concentration camps and prison for anybody who was against the regime, despite the fact that this regime was a form of National Communism."

Regarding National Communism, respondent said: "As far as I know, it wasn't even Tito who was the originator of National Communism. His official ideologist was Dilas, who was the inventor of the National Communist ideology. It was very characteristic of Tito that he locked him up. Tito is a smart enough politician to foster good political relations with European nations, Russia and the West alike, but nevertheless he is a Communist, and his behavior during the Hungarian revolution ~~was~~ ~~was~~ showed him to be unwilling to stand at Hungary's side completely. As to the Western Hemisphere, he very smartly uses them and sponges on them as much as he can for economic and military aid."

Regarding other Titoxists, such as Rajk, in the Eastern European countries, respondent thought that it is very difficult to say what they really wanted. Rajk was up against the Moscow and Russian Chauvanism, and the Soviet imperialism. Nevertheless, respondent did not think that Rajk was a very great patriot. He was rather an international Communist. After all, it was under his Ministership of the Interior in 1945 and '48 that so many people were executed by the AVH, and also as a result of the death sentences brought about by the peoples' court, against the so-called-conspirators. "Therefore," respondent said "to my mind he was first of all a Communist."

Regarding Tito's popularity in Yugoslavia, respondent believed that in 1945 he was very popular there, but since then, especially in the last years, voices were heard disapproving of Tito. The living standard, as far as was known through the newspapers, was much higher than in Hungary, and the more so since the people were allowed to own private property. Regarding the labor conditions, respondent could not give any information, but she heard that freedom of movement, for instance, was much greater than in Hungary. Nevertheless, she has heard of many concentration camps and prisons in Yugoslavia under Tito's regime.

E. The Communists gained control in China, in respondent's opinion, because the living standard in China had been extremely low and it is always easy to improve such a low living standard with very little material help. Poverty and a low living standard are always a very good bed of Communism. Whether or not

Communist China is more independent of Moscow than the other Communist countries, respondent recalls that in 1955 a Hungarian author, Thomas Aczel, was visiting Communist China, and wrote that the freedom of expression was very much better over there than here. "However," said respondent, "this is only due to the fact that Communism started to take over China much later than the Eastern European countries," and she said "I am quite sure that little by little China will become the same sort of satellite as any other European satellite country, because it is against the policy of the Soviet Union to stop at midway."

Respondent did not know anything about relations between England and India.

When referring to the situation in Suez, respondent said: "This is a very ticklish problem to answer and I think that in all fairness you can only pass judgment on the British and the French if it can be discovered whether or not the Russian arms shipment to Egypt was so large that it justified an armed intervention. As to the Israeli intervention in Egypt, respondent said she is completely at a loss regarding the situation there.

Also, she doesn't know whether or not the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Nasser was justified.

Events in Egypt nevertheless had a very great affect on the developments in Hungary during the Fall of 1956, because it was a good precedent for the Russians that ~~any~~ armed intervention could be started any time, and also in the Hungarian case they could refer to the attack of the British and the French.

F. Respondent believed that the living standard in Western Germany is the next highest after Sweden and that it is increasing constantly and steadily. Respondent did not believe that the Germans would be dangerous in starting another war because Germany had such severe losses during World War II that it will think twice before getting involved in a third world war. When probed about her opinion on ~~whether~~ the rearmament of Germany, respondent could not give any information as to what she thought the strength of the German army is, or how long the military service is. However, she volunteered the opinion that she believes that the Western powers are rearming Western Germany only because they want to use them as gun ~~for~~ fodder against the Russians if it comes to an armed conflict with Russia.

In comparing the two occupational armies, the Russian and the German, the most distasteful was of course the Russian occupational force. However, respondent said "In my opinion the German occupation army was more dangerous with regard to the Hungarian nation, because after all, the Germans are a cultured nation also, and therefore more dangerous to the Hungarian nation on the whole. Of course, you cannot draw any comparison between the Russian and the German occupational forces regarding discipline, because the German army was thoroughly disciplined, both men and enlisted men alike. The most unpopular occupation

force was of course the Russian in Hungary."

Respondent could not say anything about the British Labor Party.

On the living standards of various countries, respondent had the impression that the highest living standard was in Great Britain and Western Germany, followed by Italy, Greece, Egypt and the Soviet Union.

H. Her main impressions of the U.S. when arriving here were that first of all she was amazed by the richness of commodity supplies.

As to what the U.S. should do now for the people and nations of Eastern Europe, respondent was of the opinion that the U.S. by and through the UN should bring about the withdrawal of the Soviet troops not only from Hungary but from the whole of Eastern Europe. Referring to the foreign policy of the present U.S. government, respondent said that she is under the impression that the U.S. government is more afraid of the Russian military forces than it should be, and that it is dealing too much with gentlemanly manners and ways and means with the Russians than the Russians deserve.

Respondent is of the view that loans, for instance, to the Eastern European countries, even at the risk that the greater part of them would go to the Soviet Union, would be worthwhile since this would increase the sympathy for America tremendously. In respondent's opinion, the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ official relationship with the present government of Hungary should be completely broken off by the U.S., but only now, it should have been done already, in her opinion, on November 4th, 1956.

Whether or not Hungarian people would like to see more Western visitors, respondent said that this is not quite rightly put, because under the present political situation this is completely impossible. This problem should be considered only, if and when the Hungarian government would let in foreign visitors. Hungarian ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ people on the whole would more than welcome any foreign visitors that would come to Hungary. Respondent believes that newspapermen would be most welcome, because these people could write about everything that the Western World ought to know about Hungary. These people should be informed first of all that they should not give any encouragement to people in Hungary because that would be a great responsibility. However, they ought to open their eyes and open them wide, so as to see also what they are not shown.

People at home would also like to receive Western books and periodicals, but as previously mentioned, under the present political regime this seems to be completely impossible. Books and periodicals should not be shipped into the country illegally because this would only bring harm to many innocent people. The

Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications, I believe that this would harm only these two actions, because then the regime would only object to letting in Western visitors and publications. "

On the launching of the Marshall Plan in 1948, respondent said that she knew that by accepting the Marshall Plan the Western European nations ravaged by war could return to a normal standard of living very much sooner. Everybody in Hungary would have been very pleased had Hungary also accepted this help, but of course the Communist government or better, the Soviet Union did not allow Hungary to accept the Marshall aid. The interpretation of the Marshall aid as put out by the Soviet regime was that the imperialistic Western world was giving military assistance to the countries involved, and by this means the Western European countries were being colonized by the U.S.

On the Korean War in 1950, and America's involvement in it, respondent said that she tried to figure out America's reasons by comparing the official Hungarian press and the Western radio news broadcasts. She came to the conclusion that the war in Korea was provoked by Communist China and the reasons for being involved for such a long time in the Korean war were, on the part of America, that the Western world wanted to give a good trial to the newest and most modern military equipment. In her opinion, the Korean war could have come to an end very much sooner than it did. Nevertheless, respondent said that nobody in Hungary believed the Communist propaganda radio transmissions when dealing with the Korean ~~warfare~~ warfare. They said that poisoned bombs were thrown from airplanes to poison and exterminate the Chinese Nationalists.

J. On the UN respondent said: "Undoubtedly, the attitude of the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary during the revolution. We expected the UN to enforce its sanctions against Russia strictly and immediately. They did not do this; neither did they acknowledge Hungary's neutrality under the regime of Imre Nagy. Also, they should have sent observers immediately, as they did in Egypt and if Russia did not comply with the UN sanctions, much stricter measures should have been used. For instance, Russia should have been cut off from all economic and diplomatic relationships with the Western world. What the UN did, in fact, was only to talk and talk and talk, and everybody was terribly unhappy and greatly disappointed that the UN didn't act as promptly and swiftly as it did in the case of Suez. Regarding UN actions for Hungary in the foreseeable future, respondent said "I fervently hope that the UN Fact-Finding Committee now, which finished its activities in Europe, will put the findings before the General Assembly and then the General Assembly will enforce the sanctions against Russia by realizing that the UN hitherto was not up to its purpose."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked who is the greatest living Hungarian in her opinion, and why, respondent said: "This is a question I cannot answer, because unfortunately even during the revolution we did not have one Hungarian who was an all out leader and a man perfectly suited to assume leadership.

"As to Imre Nagy, he was complying with the wishes of the revolution but he was not a leader of the revolution, and that is why I believe that he would have been the man for a short period only and would have been exchanged for somebody with a much stronger character."

On Cardinal Mindszenty, respondent said: "He is a very serious and respected leader of the Roman Catholic Church. However, he is not a good politician. In my opinion, he should not have gone to the American Legation. This made a very, very bad impression. Rather, he should have taken refuge at one of the neutral Legations. I am thinking, for instance, of the Swiss or Italian. That would have given a much better effect towards the Soviet Union as well as the Hungarian people, who resented that he sought asylum in the American Legation very much, because no help was forthcoming from there. Furthermore, I think that his political speech, held during the revolution, was rather unfortunate, because he was attacking Imre Nagy, which was not a wise thing to do at that time. Also he mentioned that the Roman Catholic Church strictly respected the private ownership of assets, and of course everybody thought that he wanted the lands of the Roman Catholic Church to be returned after the Communist regime had toppled. I do not think that his speech was objective enough on the whole."

"Of Laszlo Rajk, I have said what I have to say before."

"Gero is a convinced and merciless, cruel Communist. If there ever was a man who is a convinced Communist by strong conviction, then he is the one."

"Janos Kadar is a man of weak character who can be influenced very easily. He is a louse; that's all I can say. He showed his true face during the revolution."

On President Eisenhower, respondent had the following to say: "He is an amazingly human, a real human being, and according to his pictures and the things we read in the newspapers, we Hungarians are greatly impressed by his integrity and Christian good will. Let us hope that his good influence will have some effect on world politics."

"Of Secretary General Hammarskjold I have only heard praise."

"John Foster Dulles I believe to be a very great statesman, but I don't think that he is very much pro-Hungarian."

~~XXXXXXXX~~

"Of former British Prime Minister Eden, I knew very little and cannot say anything. This stands also for former President Truman."

On the selected list of personalities, respondent said:

"Mikoyan is a typical Stalinist politician."

Of Nehru, respondent was of the opinion that the Hungarians in general had great hopes in him, because they believed that he, with his lack of bias, could be of assistance.

Respondent doesn't know anything of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek.

Francis Nagy she believes to be a very good politician, and is convinced that in the political life of the future and independent Hungary, he certainly will have a great role to play.

Of former President Roosevelt, respondent said he certainly was the one who frustrated the Western powers efforts to conduct the invasion through the Balkans, and for this very reason, which brought about the Russian occupation of Eastern Europe, he was a man who was very much blamed in Hungary.

Chancellor Adenauer respondent believes to be the greatest living statesman in Europe and she said we can jolly well envy the Germans that they have a statesman like him. He is the only one who can treat the Russians as they deserve to be treated.

Stalin is a sly and merciless sadist, a dictator that can be imagined only, in respondent's opinion. As compared to him, Malenkov is really quite a nice fellow.

Respondent has not heard of Bevan.

In reference to Krushchev, respondent said that people in Hungary would bring about an appeasement, and she thought it is very characteristic of the ~~top~~ Communists that now he is continuing to work and behaving as if nothing had happened, and he is returning now to the Stalinist policy.

Of Marshall Tito, respondent referred to her previous opinion.

Of Beron she didn't hear.

She thought Molotov to be even more sly than Stalin was, and he ~~is~~ changes his code according to the direction in which the wind is blowing. So far each change found him still at his post.

Ollenhauer was unknown even by name to respondent.

On Churchill she said that this great statesman is already a thing of the past, and it is greatly to be deplored that the

Western politicians didn't listen to his advice at the time he was in full power. Respondent believed that the whole situation would ~~now~~ now be completely different or would not even exist had he been able to enforce his will.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. On people who escaped from Hungary, respondent had the following to say: "Mainly those people left Hungary who, first of all, actively took part in the fighting and who fled for their lives. Into this same category I would put the people who were political prisoners and who were freed by the revolutionists, and also had to flee, because they knew that if they were taken they would be put to trial again. Then the second category of people who left were ~~xxxx~~ those who, though they were not in danger of imprisonment, were fed up with the Communist rule and wanted to live a free life in free countries. Then, thirdly came those who came with the flood so to speak and some of them didn't even know why they came. Then last came those who, as it happens with every mass exodus, were the scum of the country, the ordinary criminals who were in prison and who also escaped during the revolution. To my mind, only the first two I mentioned should have come out to the Western world. The social classes that came out from Hungary after the revolution consisted mainly of people from the intellectual class and the working class. There were very few peasants who came out. As to their ages, the majority of them were young and even those who were of a more mature age were on this side of middle age. Most people came out from the Trans-Danubian district, from the Western part of the country, and also from the capital, Budapest."

"Of ~~xxxx~~ course all the Communists and AVH people stayed behind. Then the others who could not or did not want to leave their homeland and then, also, many people stayed behind for family reasons, even if they knew that they were facing prison. This was, for instance, the case with my brother. I think that if we are quite frank about the whole problem we must admit that those people who stayed behind have chosen the heavier lot."

"As to the opinion of people in Hungary who stayed behind, I can say this from the letters I receive that compared to the mass immigration of '44 and '48, the people who left now are not blamed by those who stayed behind. For instance, when in the village my husband came from, the news arrived to his mother that he was in safety in the U.S., people cried and were happy. They surrounded his mother, telling her how happy they were that my husband had escaped. I am sure that if the Communist rule continues in Hungary and if people had a chance to come to the West, a very small percentage of Hungarians would nevertheless stay behind in Hungary."

B. "While in Hungary I heard through the Radio Free Europe broadcasts of the Hungarian National Council; also about the activities of Msgr. Varga, Francis Nagy, Mr. Pfeiffer, and Mr. Sulyok. However, we knew very little about what they did and their activities. The only thing I can say is that people sympathized with them according to the date when they left Hungary. The later they left, the better they were liked back home."

When I handed over the list of organizations and individuals, respondent made the following remarks: "I know that the Hungarian National Council is the official representative organ of the Hungarians in exile. I know of the MHBK that they are a bunch of Arrow Cross Party people, but maybe I am wrong here" said respondent. "Of the Christian Democratic Union I heard that this organization is led by Mr. Barankovics and Kozl Horvath." Respondent was also aware of the fact that Mr. Francis Nagy was taking an active part in the affairs of the International Peasants' Union. The periodical Lathatar she heard mentioned over the Western radio, and since then here in the U.S. she has also read it. Msgr. Varga respondent holds in high esteem. She disclosed that he was greatly liked in Hungary and he was extremely nice and compassionate with her and her family while her husband was in prison. She believes that he is a very, very good man.

On Tibor Eckhardt she heard that he is an extremely intelligent, well educated and interesting person who is also a very good speaker. Nevertheless, her views do not tally with those of Mr. Eckhardt, and ~~while~~ as a child ~~gax~~ back in her home village she heard a great deal of bad words against Mr. Eckhardt, because in spite of being a member and leader of the Smallholder Party, he rather sided with the aristocracy.

Of Mr. Auer she knew that he was Minister of Hungary to France and also that he was in the diplomatic status. Of Mr. Imre Kovacs she thought him to be an extremely learned, well educated and cultured person who also is an extremely good writer. Respondent knew that Imre Selvig was the leader of the Hungarian Social Democrats in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ England, but had not a very good opinion of him. Of Mr. Peyer she knew that he was the leader of the Social Democrats in the U.S. and that he died recently.

Of Mr. Kallay she heard that he is at present associated with the Hungarian & National Council. The same refers to Mr. Pfeiffer, who is a very smart and well qualified newspaperman to an extent, but he is an extremist ~~and~~ as he was at home. He is always attacking everybody and, too, in respondent's view, he is not quite normal. Subject believed that a quip of Mr. Pfeiffer's characterizes him best, and this runs: "Everybody is sinking down to his own level in the immigration."

Respondent thought very highly of Mr. ~~xxxxx~~ Barankovics. ~~He~~ She thought he was one of the most outstanding characters among Hungarian politicians in any immigration. In respondent's view, Mr. Kozl Horvath represents the right wing of the Christian Social Democrats.

When asked about Otto of Hapsburg, respondent said: "Ever since I have been in America I have heard him mentioned more in two days than I heard in twenty years back in Hungary." Besides this, she thought highly of him, as much as she heard, though she is a very well educated, intelligent and well qualified person who is extremely well informed on Hungarian matters.

Of former Regent Horthy she said: "He might have been an extremely good soldier, but he was a very bad politician, much to the bad luck of the Hungarian nation."

"About the politicians who left Hungary before 1956 we heard a great deal on Radio Free Europe. Also, we heard about the activities of the Hungarian National Council. However, I don't know any of the results that might have come forth from ~~the~~ these activities. I always thought that these former Hungarian emigres should do something for the Hungarian nation. However, I also admit, ~~xxxx~~ seeing the situation as it is now, ~~xxxxxxx~~ I don't see how they could have done anything. The only time I think there was an opportunity for them to do something for our country was during the revolution. At this time the Hungarian government in exile ought to have stressed much more strongly that the government of Imre Nagy should be accepted by the United States.

"Having had relations with the Smallholders' Party I know that it was a thing that was discussed during the revolution and that Francis Nagy should be called home. My husband, in fact, wanted to meet him in Vienna, but by the time things were arranged Francis Nagy was already expelled from Austria."

C. Respondent did not know of any Hungarian who escaped to the West after 1945, and who returned to Hungary later on.

D. "People who left Hungary and are now in the U.S. should, to my mind," said respondent, "get integrated into the American nation and work hard so as to show a good example."

"In general people in Hungary would like to know about us what we are doing, how we are faring, about our jobs and how much we are earning. The main thing people at home should know is the terrific living standard in the U.S. We do not dare to write this in our letters because we think we would be doing our people back home more harm. Nevertheless, they ought to know also that freedom of speech is greatly respected here, and in fact it is quite unusual to us, the extent to which everybody is allowed to express his opinion freely in writing and in words.

"For myself, personally, being a woman, I would consider it my main task to enlighten the American people about the aims of the Hungarian revolution and to give them more details about the situation in Hungary.

"I do not consider it necessary or desirable that I join any sort of exile organization, whether existing or to be formed.

"On the political parties before 1948 I cannot give my opinion. At that time I wasn't very much interested yet in politics. I only knew the names of the different parties. Due to my husband, I was closely associated with the Smallholders' Party. I do not know anything about the different political

parties in exile. However, on the parties that have been revived in Hungary during the revolution, I hold the view that this was a great mistake. It was unnecessary to start forming different parties so soon, and it is my belief that even this was carefully planned by the Russians, since it was Minister Erdel who insisted on the forming of the different political parties. The Russians wanted the Hungarian forces to be divided and not united."

"I do not think that whether or not the previous emigres should have been recalled to Hungary is an important problem. I think this ought to have been up to the parties themselves."

E. "My own plans regarding the future are to return to Hungary if and ever Hungary is free, but only then. I certainly want my children to learn Hungarian and speak Hungarian here in the U.S."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

"While in Hungary we always listened to foreign radio stations, though not very regularly, because I had no time to spare for this purpose. We mostly listened to the BBC, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and sometimes to the Hungarian Broadcast of Paris. We most frequently listened to the BBC. The news we got over the radio we freely discussed with friends, and we always listened with our family on our own radio. In the years of 1949 and 1953 it was quite risky to listen to the foreign broadcasts, and everybody had to lock the doors and windows. Later on, however, it wasn't so strict. People were not deterred, but despite this they only just became more cautious. Officially, however, it was a great crime to let other people listen in to your radio, and it very often happened that for this you got several years in ~~the~~ prison.

"As previously mentioned, we favored the BBC stations to any other Western broadcasts. We listened to Radio Free Europe mainly because there were several of our friends who were broadcasting over this station. The reason why we preferred the BBC was that it was the most factual and matter-of-fact of all the stations. Also, their news commentator was more down to earth. We ~~always~~ especially disliked the man on the Radio Free Europe station who broadcast the program called "Reflector." He had a disgusting voice. Even the Voice of America was sometimes much better, because Radio Free Europe was what we called all the time "blah blah blah blah." The French station was very difficult to get, but sometimes we were lucky to get a good broadcast through them. In short, the Radio Free Europe broadcasts were out for sensationalism and the BBC's broadcasts were logical, plain and down to earth. Foreign radio broadcasts, nevertheless, had a great effect in Hungary, and it was mainly the ~~the~~ older generation who listened in, because they had more time on hand. But in general, the whole nation, even the simple peasants, were listening. This was the situation before the revolution. During the revolution, we had three radios at home and all three were tuned to different stations, so that everybody could listen to the different news. All I can say is that we were expecting a miracle, maybe, from the West, and this was the reason why we listened to the radio day and night. Also, it was a very handy means of keeping the Freedom Fighters informed about the fighting and about the UN sessions. This was a very good point in ~~a~~ favor of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, that they carried the UN full sessions during the revolution.

"I certainly would not say that Radio Free Europe in particular helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help. Nevertheless, the radio broadcasts of Radio Free Europe in the last ten years have made the people very optimistic and they were very easily carried away by wishful thinking. During the revolution, however, I myself heard quite a few inciting speeches over Radio Free Europe, and mainly the

above-mentioned broadcasts from Radio Free Europe called "Reflector," which were read by a man with a very disagreeable voice, had a very annoying effect. Another ~~mistake~~ mistake, I think, was made by Radio Free Europe when they read the names and messages of people who escaped to the West and were on their way to America. This had given encouragement to many people, and I am sure that quite a number of people left due to this news than would have done so otherwise. Anyway, this news promoted the great exodus from Hungary.

"Nevertheless, I believed that Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary, and this for the reason that these Western broadcasts are the only link between the countries behind the Iron Curtain and the Western Hemisphere. I do not think, however, that there is need for any anti-Communist propaganda. The radio broadcasts should be limited to straight political and economic news, the more so since the Iron Curtain countries are completely closed off regarding Western news material. I also believe that news about Western literature, books, art, music -- things which are all beyond the reach of people who are behind the Iron Curtain -- should also be transmitted as well as programs about life in Western Europe and the U.S.

"There is also one item which I think is very important and which also should be broadcast into countries behind the Iron Curtain, and this is news referring to the different churches and their religion. Also, religious services should be held over the radio in all religions, because lots of people cannot or dare not attend religious services in church, and these services would in a way substitute for them."

B. Respondent has not heard about the initials NEM, nor did she know anything about the Twelve Demands.

C. However, about Free Europe leaflets she could say more, since she had ~~seen~~ seen several and read them. She believed that the one, for instance, she read about the Twentieth Party Congress and Krushchev's speech was very interesting. However, there was a great danger involved in being seen picking up or reading such pamphlets, ~~but~~ but nevertheless people were not deterred. "We received these pamphlets from ~~our~~ friends who brought them to us from the Trans-Danubian district" said respondent. "Of course we burned them immediately after we read them. I do not know whether or not the Radio Free Europe leaflets had any effect during the revolution, or before the revolution, because these leaflets were found only in the provinces and never in Budapest."

X Respondent said that she believed these pamphlets were very useful. However, the danger was too great, and therefore she does not believe that under the present political conditions in Hungary ~~that~~ Radio Free Europe should ~~send~~ send leaflets behind the Iron Curtain.

Respondent believed that the main aim of the Western organizations in sending leaflets and radio broadcasts to the countries behind the Iron Curtain was mainly to inform them about the events of the Western Hemisphere. She believed that all the Western organizations had the same purpose.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

When asked about her views on how children should be brought up, respondent said: "I believe that it is very important that a child should not only receive an education and knowledge of the facts of life, but also a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ child's soul should be educated and formed. A child also must be taught how to become a valuable member of human society,

"In my opinion, a child must be disciplined, even physically, but not to an extreme. The child must be taught to differentiate between right and wrong at an ~~early~~ early age, and if this has succeeded, then I do not think that a child must be disciplined very much. The treatment of girls and boys of course is quite different, because a girl child is much easier to bring up than ~~a~~ boy. Sometimes you have to employ stricter methods with a boy.

"Until which age punishment should be enforced on a child depends entirely on the child and also on the parent. I remember when I was fourteen one day I came home much later than I was expected to return and so my parents ~~put~~ put me into confinement in the house for a whole week. In our family it was our mother who educated us, but our father was the one who had the right to decide on our fate. On the whole, I can say that we were brought up very justly but very strictly.

"The effect of education is quite different in the different social classes, and I ~~found~~ found that children who have grown up under very hard circumstances usually can stand up against the hardships of life much better. Enforcement of discipline, of course, changes as the child grows. I personally do not approve of applying physical punishment after 1 or 2 years of age.

"At the beginning when the Communists took over Hungary in the first ~~two~~ two years or so, there was a very great change in the education and upbringing of the children. First of all, physical punishment was abolished, and then the children were taught that they are equal with their parents or their teachers. This, of course, resulted in the authority of a parent or teacher being reduced to zero, and the situation at the schools was awful. Later on, little by little they tried to return to a stricter educational system.

As to when parents stopped punishing their children, respondent believed that physical punishment as a rule is abandoned earlier for girls than for boys, and if a child is brought up in discipline, there is very little need to employ physical punishment. Punishment in general is abandoned at the age when a child's mind is more or less developed and when you can reason with him properly and explain right and wrong to him. "I believe that between the ages of 15 and 16, punishment in general is already abandoned."

Respondent was of the view that there wasn't much difference between the social classes in disciplining a child in Hungary. Whether or not Communism has brought about many changes in this respect, respondent said she could not give an answer right away, because in her family there was no change at all.

Regarding discipline employed at school before Communism, respondent said that ~~as~~ the girls at school usually got a rap on the knuckles, they were put in the corner, ~~they~~ teachers sent a note to the parents warning them about the bad behavior of the children, and finally they could also be expelled from school. With the boys ~~it~~ was slightly different, because especially in country schools, ~~it~~ boys very often got a couple of slaps, and the teachers even used the rod now and then. After the Communists took over, physical punishment was completely abandoned and the children were even encouraged to denounce the teacher or parent who employed physical punishment against them. The only disciplinary measure that remained was the note of the teacher to the parent, or dismissal from school.

On characteristics respondent values most in a friend, she ~~said~~ said: "A friend must remain your friend not only when things are running smoothly with you, but also when you are in danger and when it means a danger to the friend to be seen with you. This especially was very true during Communism, when many of the people you believed to be your friends turned ~~against~~ against you or did not dare to show themselves with you when you had been imprisoned or you had a bad political past. During the Communist regime, this happened very often, unfortunately. On the whole, if there is a danger, this is the proof of what sort of friends you really have."

THE END