

husbands

Personal Impressions of
interviewer on subject.

Background. Her father was chief officer of the Hungarian National Social Insurance Company, and also head of the Baptist Church in Hungary. Both parents as well as husband and self, are Baptists, and the family seems to have been a closely knitted one, leading an intensively religious life on Christian principles. Respondent's husband could not escape Hungary with her, because as a doctor ~~and~~ (there was a great shortage of doctors during the revolution) ~~and~~ he felt it was his duty to stay with the sick and wounded; hoped to be able to follow her later, but was finally unable to do so.

Friend
This young woman, so intelligent, has not extensive interests. Her life is centered primarily on religion and her work. Being very lonesome for her husband, she is rather apathetic and quite a soft-spoken easy person. Her principles are somewhat like those of the early Christians.

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MAJOR SALLIANCE AND WARMUP QUESTION

When asked what she thinks are the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956, respondent says: "I am not quite sure ~~but~~ the people over here are aware of the fact that our revolution has been a democratic revolution and a national one. No one wanted to have the conditions as prevailing before 1945 to be restored, or that what we wanted was that Prime Minister Nagy be allowed to carry out his program. We were asking mor or less, a solution that was somewhat similar to that one achieved in Yugoslavia ~~that~~

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

Respondent's experiences during the days of the revolution:
"On October 22, I was working at the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Ujpest plant of the Chinoim factory. Some university students came to the plant and told us about the plan for demonstrating and meetings for the next day. On the 23rd at noon, we had a meeting and at the plant and everybody was participating in that meeting, and everyone ~~is~~ was very pleased to hear about the 16 points that the University students have set up. The University students asked us to multiply the demands so we sat down and typed them up as many copies as we could. I stayed at my work until ten in the evening, because I was on duty on that day. I rang up my mother, my husband and they told me about the demonstrations that were then going on in Budapest. At eight o'clock, in the meantime, I heard over the radio, the speech delivered by Gero. Workers at the plant who were on the night shift, told me that I should be unable to go home because the streetcars were not running. However, I managed to get a streetcar as far as the Western RR station. From there on I had to make my way to Buda. We lived in the 12th District.

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At that time, I did not believe that a revolution was going to break out, because after the 20th Party Congress, the situation became somewhat better and the government although reluctantly was giving in, little by little, ~~At~~ the Szena Square, I managed to get a streetcar again. Here a young officer who boarded the streetcar was asked by the conductor: "Well, Comrade, what's going to be new, and what's going to be outcome?" ~~THE~~ THE.
The young officer said: "We all are going to help the boys."

At one a.m. Finally my brother arrived home with ^{my husband} ~~his wife~~ and they told me about everything ~~that~~ had happened in town, and also about the AVH massacre in front of the radio building. They told me how the AVH opened fire on the peacefully demonstrating crowd who did not want anything else but that their demands be read over the radio. My brother also told me that when the AVH opened fire, the workers from Caspel, who had arrived at the radio building rushed back and brought arms. Also the Hungarian soldiers took up their arms on the side of the freedom fighters.

The Hungarian nation's demands were well drafted in the 16 points by the University students. They mainly wanted free elections; that the political prisoners be released; a complete change in the government, so that Prime Minister Nagy should come back as Prime Minister; we wanted the Russian troops immediately to leave the country, etc.

"I believe that concessions would have been accepted by the students had the AVH not opened fire, and if the Russians would have withdrawn the troops from Hungary. Maybe I was ~~am~~ naive at that time, but after the Russias had withdrawn from Austria and according to the Geneva agreement, we were very hopeful that at least the Russians would withdraw from Hungary.

As to the demonstrators they were of all age groups, but mostly the University students and the workers. I even saw a seven year old young girl during the fighting who threw a Molotov cocktail at a tank. I saw that everyone, even the older generation, was extremely elated and was happy, smiling and laughing. Even if the old people did not march with us, they were making up red, white, green cockades, and hoisted the real old Hungarian flag wherever they could. I'm sure that the only ones that would not take part in the demonstrations were those who served ~~for~~ the regime and were members of the Political ~~Force~~ Police.

"Altogether, there is one word for the Hungarian revolution and the demonstrations and that is spontaneity. It was completely unorganized and snow-balling to unbelievable dimensions.

"I believe it was on the 26th, I wanted again to go out to the plant to see what is happening, but I was unable to do so. I had to return on foot. I think it was on the 27th when I met several University students and friends at the Radio building. Here some of the Russians had surrendered their tanks and we all went together in front of the Parliament building to demonstrate again, and at that time we were demanding that our 16 points be complied with. We were very optimistic, and very hopeful. I am not quite sure of the day when this happened, but on one occasion it happened that the AVH opened fire again on the crowd from the building opposite the Parliament. I fortunately was just standing along the wall and I had only witnessed how the AVH had mowed down five to six hundred people. The Russian tanks suddenly turned around and shot back.

"I'm confident that had the AVH not started to open fire and had the demands of the University students been fed through the radio, the blood ~~shed~~ could have been avoided. Because all the fighting started when the people and the crowd was enraged by the actions of the AVH.

"As to the age of the people who took part in it, ~~I think~~ I have seen boys 12 years old, and as I said before a girl of seven who threw the Molotov cocktail on the tanks; I have seen boys and girls young and old. The majority of the fighters, however, were the working class and the University students. The intellectuals rather tried to take over the spiritual leadership of the whole revolution. The hardest fighters, however, were the workers - for instance, at the state plants, at Csepel island - the workers were holding out until November the 15th. The University students got hold of arms, ~~and~~ from the military dept. of the Universities and from the barracks, etc. I believe that everybody who could hold of any kind of weapon was fighting.

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"The Freedom fighters got organized only after about ten days of fighting. As far as I know, there was a group round the Szena Ter and the Southern RR station. They had the Hdqts. somewhere there. ~~The~~ fighting was going on around the town - the freedom fighters disarmed many Russians and AVH people and could hold ~~the town off with~~ ammunition. ~~the town~~ ^{THE TOWN}

FIERCE

I heard that General Kiraly was having his headquarters in the Buda mountains. Another group was holding the fortress but I do not know their leader's name. In the Pest part of the City I heard that the army was commanded by General Maletar. His headquarters were at the Kilian barracks.

I think I must tell you an incident just to show how scandalous the AVH behaved and to what tricks were up to during the revolution. Just opposite our apartment house, there was a so-called Party house - a house of the Communist Party - and the AVH declared that this now the Red Cross first aid station. They put on white doctor's uniforms, and walked around in these within the building. ^{By} the way, the hospital was in the same block, so there was no need of a first aid station at all. We young people found out that there ammunition and arms were smuggled into the house during the night, so we made up pamphlets and stuck them all around the next houses' walls, saying: "Attention everyone. The AVH is armed and supplied with ammunition and holding the house of the Communist Party ~~(Red Cross)~~."

Around the Southern RR station, the fighting was getting fiercer and fiercer. We, my brother and myself went along to get some arms and to organize some young people. We then stormed the house of the Communist Party and wanted them to surrender. However, during the night the AVH men escaped on a Russian truck ~~and under the cover~~ of Russian soldiers. They left all their ammunition and arms, so we were able to make a big haul there. We searched the whole building and found all the cadre files of the district there which we burned. We collected all together a whole big truck full of ammunition and arms.

✓ COVERED BY

"Even though I could work as I wanted, and I cannot say that I was politically oppressed, our feeling during the revolution was of great elation and happiness. We were very compassionate with those who had no personal freedom whatsoever, and who had to suffer under the Communist regime. I realize that everything that we were taught at school and the University - Marxism-Leninism, and the rest - are completely wrong, because I found out that no ideology whatsoever can be based on forced and oppression only. We never were afraid of anything, because we were so fully convinced of the ~~success~~ of the revolution, and we never thought that we should be overrun by the Russians again as we were on Nov. the 4th.

✓ SUCCESS

"It was altogether surprising that ^a ~~the~~ revolution like ours could have started in Hungary."

"I believe that Kadar cannot be held responsible for the calling in of the Russian troops because that man has not a will of his own, and he must have been acting on Russian pressure.

Q. "On the 3rd of November we were planning that on the 5th, which was a Monday, we should take up our work again. In the evening of the 3rd of Nov. we heard Cardinal Mindszenty speak and also Prime Minister Nagy. However, on the 4th of November at dawn, to our greater surprise we heard ~~nothing~~ the guns and the rumours that the Russians had returned to Budapest. Later in the day, Nagy asked the UN for assistance over the radio. On this day, I realized that everything was lost and the revolution was fruitless.

"During the revolution, I was working in different ^{PHARMACIES} ~~places~~ wherever I was needed. I volunteered for that work as I knew that there was a great shortage of qualified pharmacists.

"On Nov. 4th, when I again wanted to go to work, I saw the first Russian tanks returning to the city. From the time of the return of the Red Army, and my escape, I still continued to work in different pharmacies. It was a great risk to go home every night, however, because the part of the city where I lived, was constantly shelled. ~~There was a~~ Freedom fighters and Russians fighting each other constantly ~~from~~ the Szene Ter, ~~and~~ most of our time ~~therefore was~~ spent in the cellars.

HAD TO BE

"Since the whole apartment house where I lived, took an active part in the revolution, we ~~had not an idea~~ that after the Russians came back and the revolution is fruitless that we could stay on. Our house was ~~even~~ completely encircled by the Russians and they were closing in. We knew

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"We knew of an emergency exit by which we left at night - five of us. My mother who stayed with me in the apartment house sent word to my husband that I had to leave and that he should follow me immediately. However, he did not leave, ~~he stayed~~ and stayed behind. After ten days or so my mother and my husband tried twice to escape but they were held up both times on the border and returned to Budapest."

When asked whether Hungary has gained because of the October revolution, respondent said: "I believe and I hope that Hungary has gained morally tremendously in the eyes of the Western world because Hungary proved that no society can be built up or maintained by means of violence, force and terror."

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EXPECTATIONS FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. Our expectations from the West were great. After all, during the revolution we heard the UN sessions and we were convinced that ~~the~~ UN troops at least would be sent to Hungary. There was quite strong ~~feeling~~ and everyone believed that it would be hours only when the UN troops would enter Hungary.

✓ A DAY WHEN THIS RUMOR WAS

B. Of course there was a basis on which we formed our expectations! The UN after all was set up exactly that purpose and we were convinced that had the Russians only felt that the UN ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~meaning~~ ^{was} what they said, they ^{✓ MIGHT} would have ~~that~~ withdrawn. However, the UN has completely failed in its ^{✓ HAD} purpose and ~~why~~ ^{why} ~~it~~ failed to impress the Russians ~~at all in its weakness~~. We were firmly convinced that help ^{could} only come from a nation and from people where there is no Communism. Unfortunately now here in the US I have seen that people here do not realize yet, ~~not even now~~, what Communism is, and I am very much disgusted how our nation has been let down."

✓ FOR
✓ BY ITS WEAKNESS IT

NOT EVEN NOW

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

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Regarding respondent's family background and parental occupation, etc., the father was a chief officer of the Hungarian Welfare Health Insurance Company ~~and~~ Respondent did not remember the father's salary after and before the war, but she could say that the family lived well, and comfortably and were even able to buy a small family house. Parents of her husband were very active in the Baptist Church, in fact the father of her husband was the chief of the Hungarian Baptist Church there.

Respondent's father was a high school graduate and so was her mother.

B. When asked re: social classes in Hungary, respondent said: "I believe that in Hungary they can speak of three classes, and these are: the working class, the intellectuals and the peasantry. I consider people who are working in offices, who are University graduates or who've had an education to belong to the intellectual class, however, since the Communist regime in Hungary, ~~since~~ these classes have more or less merged because many children of the peasant and working class have been shifted over to the intellectual class.

I have seen that mainly in the University, where I had contact with all groups - that is with the children of all classes, and I have seen how little by little the children of the workers and peasants have assimilated into the intellectual class. According to Communist doctrine, there is no difference between the social classes; nevertheless, it does exist. The intellectual class nowadays in Hungary is a very mixed one, because it consists of the so-called ~~old~~ intellectual class and the new one. The working class in Hungary is the more valuable one, because it has been welded together especially during the revolution. The peasantry, on the other hand, was the class which never took in Communism and never would take it in anyway.

The Communists in Hungary were all out for a big merger of the working ~~class~~ class and the peasantry because according to their slogans, these two classes are building a socialist state; nevertheless, the Communist regime was ~~unsuccessful~~ unsuccessful in achieving such a complete merger of the two classes.

To my belief, the class which was hardest hit by Communism was the intellectual class, because they had no right whatsoever to learn, to accept a job, ~~and~~ they were badly paid and oppressed altogether. ~~Myself~~ ^I believe, too, belong to the intellectual class.

As to how the different classes felt about each other, respondent said: "I believe that the so-called old intellectuals looked down a little bit on the working class, not as I have witnessed it here in the US. The peasants were very self-confident but on the other hand, members of all ~~different~~ classes were ~~particularly~~ persecuted or imprisoned if they refused to accept the Communist doctrine. As I said before, the Communist could not get the workers and the peasants to cooperate.

As to how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, I can say that the most important factor is the origin, then the political view, and finally and last only, talent. Up to 1953, the regime was out for the so-called 'cadre' material, that means that only people who had a good and reliable social background were admitted to Universities and higher jobs. I have seen this, especially at the Universities where the children of the peasants and workers were allowed to pass their exams even if they had bad marks. After 1953, however, the situation improved.

As a person who wants to get ahead in Communist Hungary he must be one who is willing to compromise and who also can play (at least if not convinced ~~as a~~ the role of a Communist.

FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

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A. Communism in Hungary had an immoralizing effect on the family. But this I cannot say of our own family, because our family life ran on as before, but the Communist doctrine itself is introducing low ^{is/95} morals into human society. The education of the children has ~~been~~ ^{not} in the hands of the parents because after all the normal situation is that the mother educates the child at home. However, under the Communist regime, ~~the~~ due to the bad living standard the mother also was compelled to go to work. The Communist regime thus achieved its aim that the child should be educated by the state as much as possible. They ~~have~~ started this at a tender age when in the so-called day nurseries the children were already accepted when quite young. After on, the children had to join the so-called Pioneers and then at the high school and the University we had the ISZ. The children were also deprived of their belief in God. Their religion was taken away from them, and then the regime did its best to bring up the children without religion and without any belief in God. There were only two ideas put in front of the children, to be followed. These were Rakosi and Stalin.

The advocacy of free love was also extremely harmful, because the fantasy of a child is easily moved by such ideology. Also, they saw bad examples at school and in the day schools. At home, when the parents returned they were tired in the evening, and they had no more energy and were impatient, and couldn't devote themselves fully to the education of their child.

However, in general, the family life in Hungary went on before. The parents' ~~influence~~ influence was greater than that of the school.

I do not think that there was a difference in different classes regarding family life. It depended entirely on the family and its members. I am sure that there were children who were demoralized in every social class.

In consequence, the marriage ^{were} courtship and sex life was also greatly influenced by the Communist regime, and doctrine. Young people were free and this was fostered also by the government; their parents were unable to hold them back. Boys and girls were educated together; went to camps together. The abortion law was very strict; however, in the last two years, they had to revoke it as there were too many illegitimate children and there weren't enough schools or nurseries to care for them.

The rate of divorces ~~has~~ increased tremendously. The marriages had no moral value any more; people took it very easily and also they married on the spur of the moment fulfilling only sexual desires. People married much too young.

Prostitution was strictly prohibited during the Communist regime, but it flourished nevertheless.

It is very difficult to define the sexual morality of convinced Communists because Communist doctrine ~~is~~ advocates free love, but on the other hand, whenever the regime was talking of Communist morals, and morality, they never meant sexual morals, but they always meant character morals. The top Communists who were married were obliged to lead an exemplary life, but nothing very serious ever happened to them if they did not.

Regarding friendship, I do not believe that you can continue a friendship if you know someone has turned Communist. Of course it is different if I know that somebody became a Party member only because he had to keep his job.

On juvenile delinquency, respondent had the following to say: "I believe that ~~the~~ ~~rate~~ of ~~theft~~ and robbery increased during the Communist regime, but this was due to the very bad standard of living. I do not think that there were too many, however, because juvenile delinquency was strictly punished."

Regarding the increased crime rate among women, "I cannot give any data on that."

The Communist press discussed this problem after the 20th Party Congress, and they tried to cooperate with the parents so as to put an end to that undesirable condition. The police, however, did not play an important role in this.

Alcoholism was however on the increase, so much so that the Hungarian government increased the price of all stiff liquor 100 %.

Juvenile delinquency ~~is~~ prevailing ⁵ among the boys of 15, 16 and among what we call industrial apprentices. These young children are put into boarding schools and ~~these~~ these coeducational boarding schools are the hot-bed of all juvenile delinquency.

I do not think that the "Jampecs" are criminals. They are young boys who dress ~~very~~ flashily; spend ~~all~~ all ~~the~~ money on food and clothing.

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~~THEY ARE~~

But I do not think that ~~be~~ criminals

AND

The reason for juvenile delinquency is ~~only~~ ^{AND} solely to my mind lack of good family education. It is mostly in the working class and in the age groups of 16, -17. The family is fighting against this symptom but it has very tough time because the authority of the educators have been taken away by the Communist regime.

PREVALENT

RELIGION

MEMBERS
OF
CONGREGATION

A. When asked what part religion played in Hungarian life, respondent said: "It certainly has selected its members - people who attended the church and lived an intense religious life were decent. Persecution had the beneficiary effect of the spiritual life on the whole. I believe that the Roman Catholic Church was hardest hit by Communism. For the very reason that the Communists knew that there was a very great power behind the Roman Catholic Church; also, the leaders of this church did not compromise with the regime, like the Protestant churches did. ~~When a Priest~~ and ~~some~~ of the Catholic Church were put in prison, this I can say with all fairness because I am neither a Catholic nor a Protestant. In our church, the Baptist Church, ^{in Hungary}, the situation was different. We were a small church, and completely independent from anyone or anything, and entirely supported by our ^{MEMBERS} congregation. The Communist government offered material help to us which our church refused because we did not want to become dependent on the state.

B. "Religion, of course, plays a very important part in my life. There is no happiness in life without spiritual life. I believe that my mother is more, if I may use that word, ~~see~~ "bigot" than myself, and ^{has} very strict religious standards. Personally, I am not so exaggerated in my religious life but I am deeply religious, and I think that I am more religious than the average person in Hungary. I go to church, not only on Sundays, but often on weekdays also.

STRONG

C. Respondent's views on the function of the churches in society are as follows: "To my mind the relationship between the state and the churches should be on equal footing. The churches should be free within a free state and there should be no interference on either side. I believe that the role of churches ⁱⁿ education should be as ~~great~~ as possible, ^{BUT} ~~and~~ free, because education can only succeed if it has only highly moral levels. If ^{that} does not exist we have seen the results under the Communist regime.

1) Whether or not the churches should be responsible for setting moral codes and standards regarding movies, plays, books etc. to my mind it depends entirely on which level, moral level, the state is. If the state is able and morally fit to look after these problems, then the churches would not interfere. However, they should if the state cannot enforce these moral standards."

In an independent Hungary, the different churches should not ^{play} take an active role at all. ^{POLITICAL}

D. Regarding the Jewish minority, respondent could say the following: "As far as I know, the orthodox Jewish church was oppressed as well as all other churches; however, ~~the~~ very few Jews in Hungary belonged to this church, and who were deeply religious for that matter. The husband of a co-worker of mine in the plant was an orthodox Jew, and I was told by her that this church was oppressed by the Communist regime as well as any other.

^{V INDOCTRINATION} The attitude of the Jewish people in Hungary who want Communism is somewhat complex. First the Jews were liberated by the Communists, so they were not unsympathetic. Then when the nationalization came about and then when the assets of the Jews were also taken, they began to have their doubts. After all, Communism was out for material welfare. In 1949, later on when the ideology ^{education} of the nation started, then the Jews realized that it is not only a matter of material welfare but also it is against their principles.

^{V BY ALL MEANS} The reason why so many Jews had joined the Communist Party and were holding important jobs under the regime, might have been because the Jews attitude is that they must make money ^{anyway}. They also were out for material gains and good jobs - well paid jobs - ~~were~~ only attainable if you were a Party member. ^{WHICH}

During the revolution, however, I saw many Jewish students who took part in the demonstrations and also in the fighting.

Whether or not the Jews want an independent Hungary, this is again a difficult question. Internationally I'm sure that in the case of an independent Hungary, they would lose power, so maybe they would not quite like it. Since the most important thing in the Jews' mind is business and material welfare it is difficult to predict what kind of an attitude they would take relative to an independent Hungary - as a rule the Jews do not like to make sacrifices.

When asked about Hungarian youth, respondent had the following to say:

A. " I consider anybody who is between 15 and 35 to belong to the Hungarian youth. They might be students, intellectuals and also the young workers. I also believe that the Hungarian youth did play ~~the~~ a major role in the Hungarian revolution last fall. The Hungarian youth were the leaders of the demonstrations and the revolutions especially in the very beginning; later on, the older generation took part. ALSO, I believe the reason why the youth initiated the lead is because they have more ~~lat~~ and are more enthusiastic and have very little to lose - at least in Hungary. They wanted ~~the~~ life to be run on better and freer lines. The older people, on the other hand, ~~thoroughly~~ approved of the actions of the younger generation; in fact, many old people sent their children and the youngsters into the battle. Everybody helped us as they could.

REGARDING

C. ~~The~~ educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent says: "The standard of education in Hungary was kept at a very high level; in fact, we had to study terribly hard even at the grade schools, not to speak of the high schools and the universities. We had not only our regular subjects but also we had to learn extensively about politics and planned economy. The quality of education was very good. Since they did not have enough teachers to replace the old ones, the so-called reactionaries were teaching in the universities, especially those who had some special qualifications.

Vocational choice was restricted. The students had to enroll in the different universities, not where they wanted to, but there was a shortage of pupils.

The military sciences and Marxism, however, was taught by the Party's own trusted men. Even the girls had to attend the lectures on military science, as well as doctors and pharmacists. We had to learn about tactics, for instance; we ~~had to~~ practice target shooting, and ~~we~~ also had to participate in military training during summer vacations.

The young people of Hungary were indeed indoctrinated as much as possible by the Communist regime. We were stuffed with Marxism and Leninism; not only did we have to attend seminars, but read certain books and attend theatre ~~in~~ movies which were slanted. The most important exams were also on Marxism and Russian language. If anyone flunked these two, he or she was not allowed to take any other examinations.

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However, all efforts of the Communist regime to indoctrinate truly the Hungarian youth has failed. I see the reason for this in the fact that the young people could see for themselves that the Communists are practicing different laws than they are preaching.

Youth was, unfortunately, sympathetic to Communism at the very beginning, for after all, the regime promised them a great deal. As far as I can remember, around '52, however, they turned against the Communist doctrine all together. I saw this happen to many of my fellow students.

MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. The cause of main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary was the extremely low living standard. While we could see that others who went along with the Communists were living extremely well, ~~and~~ at the same time others innocently were being put into prison and tried for trumped-up charges.

B. Apart from big political things, we were mostly annoyed by the Communist propoganda with which we were fed, day and night.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE

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A. Of the standard of living during the last two years, respondent said: "I personally cannot complain because my husband, a doctor and myself ~~also~~ working, ~~and~~ we both were very well paid. We made about 4,000 forints per month which was a very good income. However, food was scarce and extremely expensive and so was clothing. The housing situation was desperate. Of the above, clothing did cause the greatest difficulty for all of us. The living standard of my family was at its highest in 1950. From that year on, it went gradually downward."

"Among people I knew, those who lived better than the others, I can mention scientist who were doing research work; doctors, and top engineers. Also, comparatively well paid were those people who had key positions in some of the enterprises of ministries. The extremely ~~low~~ low standard of living during the last eight years is only and exclusively due to the Russian exploitation of the country.

B. On her income, respondent gave the following details: she earned at one place where she worked part time, 1800 forints and at the other job she made 900-1000 forints. The deductions were 3% for childless tax; then 10% of her whole year's income for a peace loan; and 3% for social welfare and health insurance program. Once she received 4000 forints premium, and usually every four months, she received a bonus of 400-500 forints. All deductions had to be made from both incomes, except the peace loan which was deducted only once.

Other members of the family who were working were her mother, her husband and herself. Respondent did not get any wage increases over the last five years.

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C. Regarding prices and quality of goods, people were able to buy in Hungary, she said, "you either had to buy food at the state stores or at the farm markets. The prices ~~were~~ different than this: the state store always had two kinds of foodstuffs on sale, one which was cheaper but of bad quality; the more expensive was better and had the same price as on the free market. However, the prices of clothing there was a great difference between the standard clothing you could get at the state store, and those clothings you had made to order by the private stores. The quality of the materials were quite good until the end of 1950. However, since inflation in Hungary, the prices were high and the forints went down. As to the blackmarket, this was discontinued at the time when the so-called free market was permitted. The Communist regime, however, were holding back goods and foodstuffs, especially those which were made for export and were

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never put on the domestic market. There were times, for instance, when eggs, ~~flour~~, butter were ~~simply~~ ^{not} to be purchased anywhere and disappeared from the markets. Sometimes it happened that on great state holidays, some special goods ~~were~~ ^{were} sold, and of course there were seasonal changes also. In the Spring time, we had more eggs than at any other season."

CHINOIN

D. On working conditions, respondent gave the following information: "I worked with the ~~Vietnamese~~ ^{Vietnamese} pharmaceutical plant in Budapest. I was assigned to the laboratory where we measured out different materials, and anti-toxins for shots. My work started at 7: a.m., and I worked until 3:30 P.M. It took me about one hour to get by streetcar to my job.

AS THIS JOB

The ~~place~~ ^{work} was my own chosen profession and therefore I liked it very much. All my superiors and my colleagues were experts and well qualified for their jobs, therefore altogether I couldn't complain about my working conditions.

I believe that in this special field, people who are in it must be experts and must be very competent in their jobs.

I RECEIVED

All I can say about the vacation program is that it was an ideal one on paper. However, it didn't work out in practice. Especially, it was very bad for the morale of the people. On purpose, husband and wife were never allowed to go together on vacation. Of course, everything depended on the kind of spirit which was prevailing at the special office or plant where you worked. It very often happened, for instance at our plant also, that only those who were members of the Party were able to go and take their vacation under the vacation program. The compensation and health program was very good. We had little to pay - small deductions from our pay for this purpose - and we were treated, hospitalization as well as medical care, and also paid only 15% of the medicines and drugs.

The pensions, however, so far as I know, were extremely low and you could really not live on the amount you received for pensions.

E. I certainly would have preferred to live in a big city while in Hungary and it may be because I grew up in one and this is just the kind of life that appeals to me. In my view, the agricultural workers had a better diet during the Communist regime than the workers of the city. The standard of living was higher in the city. Also, it was easier politically for it was so much bigger and you could, sort of, let's say, get underground if necessary.

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On collectivization as first used in Hungary, subject said:
"I was pretty sure that the collectivization would not work in WITH Hungary. The Hungarian peasant works only in his own fields of pleasure and diligence. He does not like to work for other people, therefore, I knew before hand that the harvest products -in quantity and quality - would fall behind. Besides, no reforms can be carried out by sheer force. I think that both kind of peasants, the well to do as well as the less well off, objected strongly to collectivization for the very reason that the poor peasant didn't earn enough to make a living, and the rich peasant has been losing much of his land. I have only heard during the revolution that collectives had been dissolved. The reasons for dissolution were dissatisfaction of the collective members with the whole system.

If I were an agricultural worker in Hungary under Communism, I think I should chose to work on a state farm because the state farm is highly mechanized and therefore it would be easier to work in the fields.

Ideally, I should think that cooperative systems, but entirely on a voluntary basis, would work well in Hungary. I would keep the price-control system in agriculture among the innovations which have been introduced since 1945.

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. I cannot say very much about political parties before 1948, and about my interest in politics as at that time I was a very young girl. My feelings about the Communist Party before 1948 were about the same as they are now. I don't believe them, that's all.

We had learned about Bela Kun and the Communist Party of 1918-19 at school in history. That's about all. I know about these events. We feared the Communist party before and during the war because their attitude was actually just what we had heard about the political ideology of the Communists. My attitudes since 1948 have not changed regarding this matter.

B. Respondent's views on the Communist Party since 1948, were as follows:

" I certainly do differentiate between the different types of Party members. There was first of all, the simple, poor working class man and peasant who believed what the Party at first promised. As an ideal, it certainly looked all right. Then, there is the second type of person, who joined the Party out of sheer interest but not of conviction - I mean, for material gain. I have known a few of these Communist Party members among my co-workers in different places where I worked. Some of them, were idealist communists. Their attitude to the Party was of servient submission ~~we~~ ^{we} approved everything the Party did and put it above everything.

"The Party policies certainly did undergo different changes in the past eight years. From '48- '53, this was a tough period; from '53 on there was the new trend. This new trend might have been due to the fact that within the Party ~~somehow they realized~~ that terror cannot be carried on as before and until eternity. ~~Everyone~~ ^{Everyone} was more or less aware that something was quite well with the Party especially when Imre Nagy turned against certain Party ~~members~~ ^{MEMBERS}, despite the fact that he, too, was a Communist.

The Party morale was quite good in the very beginning of the regime in Hungary, but in the last three years, it deteriorated, little by little. At present I am sure that it is not so good; also, the number of Party members has steadily gone down since the revolution.

The top leaders of the Communist Party and their overall aims are inspired by Moscow and I'm sure that they have no individual aims at all. They are just rendering lip service to Moscow. Also as individuals there is no way back for them. They have to go along with the Party line. I think

NOT

ONE OF THE FOLLOWING

- the motives of the top leaders can be dual - either they believed in the Communist doctrine implicitly, or ~~others might~~ follow the party line purely for material⁴ personal reasons. I think that these men are evil and diabolic people, and instrumental in the execution of many innocent people."
- "Regarding Nagy I do not know very much of his past, but he behaved decently during the revolution. Rajk in my mind fully deserved what he got."
- "I think there is also a difference between the motives of rank⁴ and -file members and those of the leadership, to the effect that the motives of the leadership are nil; they have to obey Moscow, while simple, rank-and-file members may have idealist motives."
- "When and if Hungary is independent, I think that all top Hungarian Communists should be ~~kept~~ locked up and not let out on parole ever."
- C. "I never heard any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution because the terror was much too great and everything looked very hopeless before the 20th Party Congress in Hungary."

On the activities of the intellectuals, respondent heard the following: "First, I heard about the Petofi Circle at the beginning of 1956. This was, at the time, the Circle of progressive young Hungarian writers. It was the mother-in-law of Parraghy who, too, was a communist (I mean Parraghy,) told me that the Petofi Circle was holding meetings. She also asked me to come to one of the debates. I was greatly amazed that such a thing could happen in Communist Hungary and that people dared to criticize the regime."

FERMENT

The intellectual ferment had been started before the Petofi meetings. The intellectuals were always revolutionary but they also realized without backing, no results could be achieved, and so they were waiting until the public opinion was whipped up sufficiently. I do not think that the intellectuals had anything new to say, and I rather believe that they just put into words everybody's feelings which they could not express. These intellectuals were the spear-head of the revolution and later on became the leaders of the same. I hold the intellectuals in general in great esteem - I mean the real intellectuals ~~and~~ have qualifications to be so-called, but I do not esteem at all the new intellectual class that has been brought up by the Communist regime. The intellectuals stood up

✓ THAT

✓ WHO

42-F
HLR

XI /24

against the regime because they wanted to be free from ~~the~~ oppression
~~they had~~, and after all, no intellectual who can think a little and
has an intelligent life of his own, can live ~~on the~~ oppression and
where ~~there is~~ freedom of thought.

UNDER

LACK OF

THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Relative to the AVH, the secret police, respondent said the following:

"I believe that the majority of these people were convinced communists, and the other part of them was biased, evil people, who were lacking in human decency.

"My brother was once taken by the AVH for interrogation and despite the fact that he only had to testify, the moment he entered the building, he was beaten up. After his hearing, he was released but he was threatened that he would be called in for "investigations". We knew what that meant.

"I also know of one of our assistant professors at the University who was arrested for distribution of underground pamphlets. He, too, was tortured. Also I heard from him that the AVH tried to make him confess with all kinds of trumped up charges. I never knew any AVH men who wanted to leave or who suffered remorse."

"When people say the Communist Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear, they are perfectly right - especially those who, for the last five or six years were living under constant control of the political police and who were always accused and called in for interrogation on trumped-up charges. The situation after 1953 was somewhat better, however."

"I think that all those who have been members of the AVH should be sent to Siberia when Hungary is independent and not be brought back over."

"The regular police, as compared to the AVH, was certainly much better. These policemen took an active part in the revolution and fought on the side of the freedom fighters. Regarding the field of activity, the regular police had nothing to do with political crimes, and therefore, they were not hated. The regular police were pretty effective, and competent, regarding the traffic and petty crimes; however the standard of the whole police force has gone greatly down during the Communist regime. The so-called "crimes against national economy" were immediately transferred to the AVH and made a major political crime, so the regular police had nothing to do with these kinds of crimes."

"I have seen during the revolution how members of the regular police were fighting on our side and how they helped us out with their arms. I'm sure that none of them fought on the side of the AVH."

" B. On the Hungarian courts I only can say that maybe the only trials or cases that were treated impartially were the divorce cases - or traffic violations, but even in these cases if the defendant was a Party member, they tried to touch up the case. "

TO
" Regarding the courts before 1945, I was a child at that time, but I always heard that the Hungarian courts were very impartial. I have heard of the so-called People's Courts in 1945 and '47. I heard that these courts were set up ~~in the~~ deal with the so-called war criminals and I am sure that these were guilty and I think that the sentences were just. "

NEASTLY, AND IMMORAL
D. Respondent's opinion on the Russian Army was somewhat like this: "It is nonsense to say that the feelings of the Hungarians are due to the events of 1848. Had the Russian army not behaved as it did in 1945 there wouldn't have been any prejudice against them. Before the Russian army entered Hungary in 1945, we were expecting the worst. We had heard the news about their behaviour from people who were in Russia, and also from the Germans. We had some experience with the Russian army in 1945 as they were billeted in our home also. All I can say is that they were ~~completely immoral~~. They broke the doors down on us, my mother was sick in bed; my father had just died during the siege; the major part of the Russians were utterly immoral and corrupt. My opinion of the Russian army has not changed since. "

" On the Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution, I cannot give any opinion because at that time I had no contact with them whatsoever. The attitude of the Russian soldiers during the revolution, however, was different. They started to fight under orders, but very soon joined us because, having lived in Hungary for quite some time, they liked the Hungarian people in their own way and believed in what we were fighting for. The officers, as a rule, were a little bit more intelligent than the enlisted men. I could not see any difference between younger and older men. "

" The new troops, however, who were sent into Hungary after the revolution on Nov. 4, were Mongolians and they didn't even know where they were and had no idea why they were fighting. They were looking all the time for 'Fascists.' "

BY
I saw, myself, that ~~many~~ Soviet soldiers have helped Hungarians ~~that they have given arms and ammunition to them~~. I have even met Russian soldiers who had defected from the Russian army, in Vienna.

LIVING THEM

" I only know that the Soviet soldiers were very brutal and cruel when *NOT* fighting, ~~because~~ I saw once a man queuing up with his wife and ~~was~~ *BEING* shot. That was on the Grand Boulevard in Budapest. "

K. Regarding ~~the~~ bureaucracy, I was very little in touch with them I had nothing to do with trade union or Party members. The leader of our laboratory was a pharmacist with a degree and who was extremely competent; he was not a Party member. The Manager of the company was Party member and a former cobbler, and of course didn't know anything about pharmaceutical matters. The section chief of the personnel department was a Communist and not a qualified chemist. I believe he was a clerk before the regime. Well, then, of course, we had the Party Secretary who was a Party member. People who did the actual pharmaceutical work in the plant were all well-qualified.

ATTEND THE
WITH
The behaviour of the people who ~~Party~~ *WERE* Party members in our company, was ~~the same~~ rather easy-going if they knew that the employees did not rebel very much. The main thing in ~~their~~ their eyes was that the ~~plans~~ *plans* should be fulfilled. I was never a Party member; however, those who were, had to ~~attend~~ *attend* Party meetings, otherwise they were expelled from the Party. We, as a rule, kept pretty quiet about everything in the office. It was wiser to keep away from trouble. I ~~was~~ *was* very taciturn and also very cautious so I never got into conflict ~~with~~ the official functionaries.

I have known one Party Secretary in the Central offices of the Communist Party who, by profession, was a lawyer. He was an idealist, and when he saw the turn ~~the~~ the Communists ideology took in Hungary he was thoroughly disgusted. This man, whenever he could, tried to help people; for instance he got ~~out~~ *out* many political prisoners out of prison, due to his different Party connections. I am sorry to say that I've forgotten his name.

F. Whether it was possible to get around some of the regulations, respondent said: " I knew that it was done, and you could do it. The best way was of course was to pull some strings on the Party line. I do not believe that you could bribe people in the Party. "

G. Respondent said about the various groups who held power in Communist Hungary ~~that~~ that she really couldn't give any opinion as she knew far too little about any of the people concerned.

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent's reply to what she thought would probably happen in Hungary in the future was as follows:

"As far as I can see, very few concessions will be made now and gradually the reins will be tightened again, and everything will be as it was before the revolution. As far as my hopes are concerned, I sincerely hope that the Russians will withdraw from Hungary one day. This would solve, of course, all problems. I am sure that there is, and that there will be, going on passive resistance in Hungary, but maybe even an armed resistance may break out. After ~~all~~ ^{what} we have seen at home, at the turn of the revolution, anything can happen."

The government of Kadar might be a little bit softer for the time being because he could not remain in his post if would he follow the straight Stalin line again.

The Russian policy might be a soft one for the time being, but only in order to gain time, and to show that they are "good boys," but everybody ought to know that fundamentally the Russian policy will not change.

I have no hopes whatsoever that the West and the world will do anything in Hungary's interest right now. Best of ~~nothing~~ short of independence because with the Russians you can make no compromise nor believe anything they promise ~~to do~~.

ONE CANNOT
ACCEPT ANYTHING

"My views, as to how my hopes may be realized, can be put this way. ⁴⁵ After what has happened in the fall of 1956 and how ineffective the UN was at that time, the Russians will never again obey any international forum. Therefore, there is nothing else left but ~~the~~ war. I certainly do not wish that war should be started ~~but~~ nor does anyone else in Hungary, but I think that it is something that will come, whether we like it or not. It might occur within the next five-ten years, maybe less rather than war, as I said before, I cannot imagine any means by which my hopes could be realized. Had the UN done something, or had they had really wanted to have done something, they could have done so in Oct. 1956, and I do not think they will do anything now. Changes within the Soviet Union, of course, would be the ideal solution of all problems in South-Eastern Europe because then the whole Communist regime would tumble there, and maybe revolution could be started in Russia.

42-F
HLR

XIV/29

B. During the last eight or ten years in Hungary, we didn't hope for anything. We were prepared to a complete and continued oppression by the Russians and our estimates remained about the same all the time.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "In independent Hungary, I would like to see ~~it~~^{it} be a democratic-republic, and I believe this is the desire of all Hungarians, back home. I do not think a Kingdom could, or should be, established again, because this is already outdated."

B. "In my opinion, Hungary should put the emphasis on agriculture, because Hungary has always been primarily an agricultural country and the industrialization ~~is~~ under the Communist regime was forced. The lack of raw materials made industrial products much too expensive. We did not have Transylvania nor the ~~part~~^{part} of Hungary which we had before the first world war and ~~we~~^{we} were supplying us with ample raw materials. I am convinced that the economic failure of the Communist regime in Hungary is mainly due to the fact that they tried to foster the industries at all cost - probably under Russian orders.

Therefore, I believe that a new and independent Hungary should promote the light industries rather than the heavy ~~ones~~^{ones} which should be steadily decreased. Only those branches of heavy industry should be continued which have enough raw material to be supplied by Hungary.

Were the Communist regime overthrown in Hungary, I believe that the large ~~state~~^{state}-enterprises should remain in the hands of the state; the smaller industrial enterprises and the ~~xxx~~ home crafts should be returned ^{to} private owners. ~~It~~^{It} also believes that the cooperatives should be dissolved; nevertheless ~~they~~^{they} should be left open to the individuals to join a ~~coop~~^{coop} on a voluntary basis. I think it wouldn't be too bad to leave the state farms in the hands of the state for certain purposes, such as growing produce for export and raising cattle, etc.

Also I would prefer to see that all enterprises for transportation, mines, power works, etc. remain in the hands of the ~~state~~^{state}. However, these should not be exploited as they were under the Communist, or Russian regime.

I think it would be a good idea if the government could give a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person may own. I would set this limit to 120 Hungarian acres. My reasons are because I believe having that much land on hand anyone could make a good living farming.

By

V WHICH

When asked what kind of government she would prefer in an independent Hungary, she said she certainly would prefer the kind that gives her all personal freedoms even if it doesn't guarantee the security of a job. She reasoned that in a free country where everyone can compete and ^{also} free to start an enterprise, anybody who is hard working or has some ideas and who ~~isn't~~ decent, can make a good living.

DURING THE
"I certainly would not outlaw a Communist Party in an independent Hungary. There wouldn't be any need for this after all that has happened in the regime. I'm sure that the number of the Communist Party members in an independent Hungary would be extremely low. I even would let them try to set up candidates in a free election, just to see how they stand."

IN R
C. Regarding what kind of international position would be good for an independent Hungary, respondent said; "I would prefer to see Hungary's position as Austria's enjoying now - that is a complete neutrality. My reason is that only in complete neutrality could we be guaranteed our independence."

Respondent's ideas of relations with the USSR, East European states, the rest of Europe and the USA were that she would not like to see any military relationships with any of the above mentioned countries; however, she would continue the economical and cultural trading with all countries providing they are on an equal footing.

When asked about the federation of Danubian states, respondent said that she had never heard his subject discussed and therefore she has no opinion.

NO ONE
Regarding Hungary's present boundaries, respondent does not find them acceptable. She would welcome a plebiscite and the result of which should be put before an international forum. Respondent is extremely concerned about the fate of the Hungarian minorities, especially in Rumania and Czechoslovakia. ~~Now~~ at present can do nothing about them, however, she finds the problem extremely important because the minorities are Hungarians by race and descent.

ANYTHING

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

✓ PUBLISHED
✓ POLICY
✓ SATELLITE

A. On the 20th Party Congress and Khrushchev's secret speech, respondent said the following: "Certainly we have heard about this; in fact, the Communist regime ~~had~~ Khrushchev's speech ~~in~~, and it was compulsory reading material at the political seminars. Of course, we did not know, at that time, whether it was published in full or with omissions. As far as I know, the digest of the whole speech was that Khrushchev turned suddenly against Stalin's ~~letter~~. The reaction in Hungary was extreme amazement because we didn't understand how it could happen that Russia ^{was} all of a sudden turning against Stalin. Hungarian newspapers also carried the speech, and it was at that time when newspapers and individuals dared to criticize openly the regime. On the whole we were amazed and didn't know what to think about the Volte Face. The 20th Party Congress had been discussed generally by the public and we thought at that time that the main purpose of it was to satisfy the satellite ~~state~~ nations. It certainly was done with ~~tendency~~ ^{REASON} but we were not quite sure ~~why~~ what this ~~tendency~~ ^{REASON} was.

KINDA REASON
Respondent did not ^{know} anything about Senator McCarthy, the un-American Activities Committee, nor about the fall of Peron.

✓
On Rakosi's private life, however, she had the following to say: "Everybody in Hungary knew that he lived sumptuously and not according to Communist ideology. It was during the revolution that his apartments were opened and everyone could see how he lived, ~~in~~ in great luxury, and he was not the puritan it was generally believed.

FROM
When asked from what sources respondent drew most of her information about what was happening, she said it was mostly the Western radio stations where she got the news. Also she received news from people who came back from abroad - those allowed to go out on official journeys.

C. Respondent also received a good deal of news by word of mouth, and especially from her co-workers in the different places where she worked. In her opinion these resources were less reliable than the radio because people usually exaggerated the news and handed it on with an extreme optimism and a great deal of wishful dreaming.

D. On the reading habits of respondent, I was able to gather the following information: before the war, respondent was too young and she said that at that time she didn't read at all. However, during the war, she and her family read the "Magyar Nemzet". Then she also read all the compulsory books she had to read at school, which were mostly in the field of Hungarian literature. In her opinion, the newspapers and the whole press before the

BEING

war were under the influence of the German mentality. At that time, she said the trend was ~~like~~ under the Communist regime, ~~just~~ the difference that they were speaking of Hitler as a ^{deity} god as the Communists talk about Stalin. ~~The~~ Hungarian ^{journalism and} modern literature was indoctrinated and influenced by Germany.

" During the last eight to ten years in Hungary, respondent read the Szabad Nep! While attending ~~the~~ University it was compulsory to read this paper, and they had special hours devoted to the discussion of this paper when they had to discuss political and economic problems. Respondent said that she did read the paper thoroughly because she tried to evaluate and read behind the lines. Nevertheless she did not put any trust in the communist newspapers, especially ~~not~~ regarding ^{the} economical and political situations - especially, as she said, 'statistics were a pack of lies.' "

News about sports was the only news/unbiased, because even the theatre and movies were written up regarding ~~xxx~~ ing Communist ideology, etc. Respondent did not read any books from the U.S.R or other satellites, except for scientific papers from ~~ussias~~ on pharmaceutical problems. These she read in Russian, and respondent said these were ~~extremely~~ good even ~~if~~ biased against anything that came from Russia. She said regarding researches ^{that} they were very advanced in comparison with the Hungarian researchers. Western literature was unavailable, and so were Western books on pharmaceutical problems. Of course, there were always newspapers which were ~~smuggled~~ into Hungary illegally, but to be on the safe side she never read these.

Books also were proscribed during the Communist Regime. These were taken out of public libraries. Nevertheless, people kept them at home and didn't surrender them or burn them, and they lent them out to old friends and people they knew ~~and~~ were reliable.

THOUGH SHE WAS

SMUGGLED

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. On the chances of changes inside ~~of~~ Russia, respondent ^{Held} had the following view:

"It might happen that a revolution would break out in Russia because during the revolution, the students of Moscow had already started to mumble against the Communist machine in Russia. I do not believe that any slow revolution would result in liberation or free Russian people. If Russia will ever be able to ~~have~~ have free elections, I believe that results would be a democratic regime, as desired by the voters."

~~The aim of the~~ top leaders of Russia collectively ^{is} what one thing, and this is the establishing of World Communism ~~is~~. I don't think that the Communist leaders in Russia have any personal or individual aims, besides safeguarding their own little lives, and ~~to~~ remain in power. I believe that this is the same outlook of our Hungarian top Communists, except that the Communist leaders in Hungary are dependent on the Russian ones and they have to enforce rules in their own country which ~~is~~ dictated by foreigners.

B. Regarding the relative popularity of other Eastern Europe countries in Hungary, respondent put them as follows: Most popular is Poland, then Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the least are Yugoslavia, Romania and Eastern Germany. In respondent's opinions these preference or dislikes are based on the attitude of the government and that is why she put the East German Government at the bottom of the list, because she thinks the Communist East Germany govt. goes along with the Russian regime in Russia. Poland is top because the Poles did dare to do something against Communist oppression.

Respondent's belief ^{is} that if free elections were held in these countries, ~~she believes that~~ the people ~~in~~ would denounce Communism. There is no doubt about it. Respondent was doubtful about the future of Romania or Czechoslovakia where she said the change would only result in National Communism.

Regarding the living standard of the different Eastern European countries, respondent said that the highest is Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary with Poland, Bulgaria came last, along with Romania.

C. On the Polish situation, respondent thought that the Gomulka regime means genuine change; however, she thought he would not be able to achieve much against the Russians because you cannot negotiate with the Russians. Respondent also thinks it is entirely up to Gomulka as to what sort of concessions he will be able to get from the Russians in the future.

In respondent's opinion the Polish "thaw" didn't influence people in Hungary. However, the events in Poland did not affect the outcome of the ~~1956~~ revolution, ~~either~~, in 1956. THE FALL OF 1956 EITHER

Respondent ^{was} ~~was~~ aware of changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka rose to power. This happened in the last six months. She also heard of the Poznan riots and the trials that followed. Of course, as she said, "these trials and the events in Poznan were commented on by the Hungarian Communist press and were extremely slanted. Nevertheless, since everyone listened to the foreign radios ~~also~~, we were fully aware of what was at stake and how the whole thing started."

When asked whether or not she would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to have taken a path along the Polish lines, respondent emphatically said "no." "You never can make the Russians give in and durable change cannot be brought about by negotiations and concessions."

D. On Yugoslavia ^{HE} had the following views: "I think that Tito was the originator of national Communism. He is a Communist, nevertheless, and is only achieving independence from ~~the people in~~ Russia, and this is how ~~the~~ National Communism ~~is~~ different from international Communism - ~~due to the fact that it is independent from Russia, but nevertheless, it still remains a~~ Communism.

FORM OF

Regarding Tito's feeling toward other East European nations; "I think that Tito wanted to be on good terms with everybody, and the same refers to his connections with Russia and the West. Toward the West he is behaving extremely ~~well~~; he knows perfectly well that he ~~does~~ need the ~~WESTERN~~ ^{WESTERN} economic help. Regarding Tito's attitude toward the revolution, respondent did not hear his speech at that time, and can contribute no opinion.

Regarding Tito's popularity in Yugoslavia, respondent thinks that he was pretty popular - maybe because the situation in Yugoslavia was better than ^{any} ~~any~~ place in Eastern Europe - the standard of living was higher and many visitors were coming and going; altogether, Yugoslavia was not sealed off from the West as the other Eastern European countries. "We did envy them there for this reason" - ~~although~~ ^{since} so far as I know, working conditions were far better and personal freedom was more respected."

V. WISELY

When asked her views about the Suez situation, respondent said:
"I did not approve of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, nor did I approve of the Israeli invasion. In my opinion, Nasser had no right whatsoever to nationalise the canal; he should have respected the rights of the other nations. As to the effects that the events in Egypt had on developments in Hungary, I can only say, they greatly contributed to the bad outcome of same, because the whole world - th UN and USA were far more concerned about the situation in Suez than about Hungary.!"

F. Respondent heard that the living standards in West Germany were extremely high. She also heard that the Germans are not dangerous and won't start another war. She reasoned that Germany has suffered so much during the second World War that they ~~cannot~~ possibly wish for another war. Also, in her opinion, the Germans have long ago abandoned any ideas of world domination.

THIS
Respondent approved wholeheartedly of West German rearmament, because as she said: "These is one country of which the Soviet's are scared, and the Germans are very good soldiers." As far as she knew, the West German Army is stronger than the French or British, ~~and~~ she had no idea of length of service in the West German Army. *7/12*

When comparing the occupation by the German Army and the Russian Army, respondent said: "This is very easy to answer because there is no doubt about it. The German army was an intelligent and well-educated army however, we must not forget that they did not come in as enemies, but only as occupation troops. The Russian occupation troops, on the other hand, were brutal and uneducated and undisciplined and altogether terrible. The men and officers in the the Germany army were equally disciplined and in the Russian equally undisciplined. Of course, I do not think it is necessary to say that the most unpopular force was the Russian one in Hungary."

G. On Western Europe ^{NATO} problems, specifically ~~NATO~~, respondent had the following view: "I know what and why for NATO was set up; to give military assistance and safety to the member nations; as far as I know, NATO was set up on a voluntary basis, and therefore it cannot be compared to the Warsaw Pact which was compulsory for all satellite nations, and no one who belongs to the Pact has a word say except the Russians."

"I believe that the British Labor Party is rather pro-communist, This can also be said of the French and Italian Communist Party, but not of the social-democratic parties in Western Europe."

When asked about the living standards of ~~these~~ in Western European countries, respondent graded them as follows: The highest living standard, according to her opinion, is in Western Germany, followed by Great Britain and Italy, then Greece, Egypt and the Soviet Union the last.

H. Respondent registered her impressions about America as follows:
"I was pretty much struck with the high grade of ~~mechanization~~ in this country as compared to not only Europe, but of the whole world."

As to what the UN should do now for the peoples of Eastern Europe, respondent said: "To my mind, there is only one and one only thing that the US should achieve and that is to put an end to Russian expansion and make them retreat from Eastern Europe. This would be the solution of all problems."

"I also believe that the foreign policy of the US is ineffective and wrong; there is too much talk, and too little action on the whole. I think it would be wise for the US to give material aid to the Yugoslav gov't; not to Poland, and not to the present Kadar regime. However, it is important for the US to keep the friendship of Yugoslavia; as to the attitude of the US toward the Kadar regime in Hungary: If the US didn't break off political and diplomatic relationships at the time of the revolution, it isn't very important that it do so now because then all ties will be broken off which ~~may~~ might be useful in the future."

// I think that Hungary would like to see more Western visitors, especially for the reason that it seems to me that the Western world still knows too little about Hungary. These visitors ought to be mainly politicians and they ought to be told not to believe what they are told in Hungary, but should see everything for themselves. Anyway, I must say that this ~~question~~ cannot be worked out at present and I don't see how the Communist Government of Hungary would let in Western visitors.

The same refers to Western books and periodicals. The Hungary ^{ian} people would greatly enjoy to receive all of them, ~~as a matter of fact~~; as far as I know this problem cannot be worked out at all at present. I think that as people in Hungary do not have the means to buy books, the best and suitable places to send books into Hungary would be the museums and public libraries so as to give them a wide circulation.

MECHANIZATION

PROBLEM

NEVERTHE LESS

" At present both activities - visitors and books - would only endanger the life of people at home, and I don't think we should do anything about it at present; otherwise, it would make a good impression at home, showing refugees connected with these activities."

ARC

When asked about the Marshall plan and why the US launched it in 1948, respondent said "This Marshall Plan was launched after 2nd World War so as to build up the deteriorated economic situation in Western Europe. The Communist regimes all over in our hemisphere, of course, put out the theory that this means that the Marshall Plan is attached to political strings and therefore Hungary was made to refuse Marshall aid. At that time, however, I didn't see any political tendency in it, because Russia was unable to help economically all these countries, anyway."

Re; America becoming involved in the Korean War, ^{SIE} said: "As far as I can judge, America fought against Communism also in Korea and I do not think they had any other reason for fighting besides that."

OPINION OF

J. I have the worst possible ~~attitude toward~~ the UN since the events in Hungary in 1956. The events have proved that this world organization is unable to keep the upper hand and to control its member nations. To my mind, the least the UN could have done in October was to enforce the sanctions against Soviet Russia to the effect that the Russian troops withdraw immediately from Hungary. We never expected anything else from the United Nations, because we knew that if, and when, the Soviet troops withdrew from Hungary, the whole situation ~~would~~ be under control and Hungary could ~~win~~ her independence. This weakness on the part of UN made the Soviet Union impertinent. The Soviet felt that US and the UN are scared of starting World War III which everyone behind the Iron Curtain would ~~not~~ have happened. The US and the UN were taken in again by the Russian bluff. After all that happened in the Fall, I do not believe that the UN will again act effectively on behalf of Hungary in the foreseeable future.

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KNOWLEDGE OF AND ^ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Respondent said she could not answer the question as to who, in her opinion, is the greatest living Hungarian.

b. Respondent's reaction to people of importance in world affairs were as follows:

a. Imre Nagy - despite the fact that he was a Communist, I deeply respected him, because he tried to ^{HIS} do the best to represent the interests of the nations, and he was anxious to implement and to enforce demands of the people. He wanted to do his best.

b. Cardinal Mindszenty I hold ^{HIM} in highest esteem because he was a man who was never willing to compromise and was fully prepared to accept prison for his beliefs and his principles. He did not give in to the Communists as many of the church leaders did.

c. Laszlo Rajk has fully deserved what he got.

d. Erno Gero was representing Rakosi's policy, and he was just ^{as} bad.

e. Janos Kadar, "a former social-democrat when the two worker's parties merged he became a member of the Communist Party and fully accepted their doctrine. I think him to be of very base character. He should not have accepted any part in the Communist government, but by doing so, he has shown that he is weak and thoroughly frightened. Maybe he was acting under compulsion."

f. Of General Bela Kiraly, I have only heard that he ^{WAS} the leader of those freedom fighters who held the Buda mountains. As far as I remember he was released from prison about six months before the Hungarian revolution began. He held out until the bitter end, even against the overwhelming number of ~~the~~ Russian soldiers.

g. Miss Kethly I cannot make out. While in Hungary, she was behaved decently and everybody had high hopes that she would be able to do something when she arrived in the West. However, what I heard and of how she behaved while she was here, I really can not reconcile these two different behaviours - even if she is a social-democrat she shouldn't have greeted the crowd at Madison Sq. Garden at that rally with uplifted fist, and she shouldn't have talked about co-existence.

On President Eisenhower, respondent had the following view: "I believe that he is not strong enough - I do not mean physically. We were expecting a much tougher attitude from a former soldier."

b. Secretary-General Hammarskjold to my mind, is a coward. He, at that time should have boarded a plane and gone to Hungary even though the Russians didn't approve at that time of his visit. ~~xxxx~~ (IF)

c. I know very little of Secretary of State Dulles, and therefore I cannot say anything about him.

d. Mr. Eden is a cold-blooded British politician.

e. I disapprove of ex-President Truman because he used the atomic bomb against Japan.

Respondent had no opinion on Mikoyan, Nehru and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

ON Perenc Nagy she held the opinion that he was unable to achieve any results here in America on behalf of Hungary.

Respondent spoke bitterly about former President Roosevelt because she said Hungary can thank/fate to this man, he sold out eastern Europe to the Russians at Yalta.

Chancellor Adenauer of Germany seems to her to be a very aggressive politician.

In reference to Stalin she said that words failed her to tell what she thinks of this rascal.

Molotov went along with Stalin; She didn't know of Franco or Bevan.

To Khrushchev she gave the following epitaph: "He's the smiling politician".

Tito is a fence straddler. She never heard of Peron. Molotov she classified as a top Communist. She never heard of Olthauer.

Of former Prime Minister Churchill, she said he was a great statesman.

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. On the people who escaped from Hungary, respondent gave the following information; "As far as I know, generally it was the younger generation who left. All social classes were represented among the escapees, and they were mainly coming from Western Hungary. The reasons for leaving were mostly fleeing for their lives. The young people had all taken part in the revolution. Then there were the political prisoners who had escaped from prison; also, as always, there were a few among them who came out urged by desire for adventure, and also in this category I rather despise those who came out just because of sheer adulation of the West and who thought that a better living ~~came~~ ahead of the welfare of their father-land.

Those who remained at home were mainly those who were unable to leave; also those who hoped against hope that the events in Hungary ^{turn} to better. There were those who did not suffer politically and they're relatively well off.

"I admire and respect those who stayed behind because they have taken on a very heavy load, and it is much more difficult to stay out under oppression and bear the consequences and live here in the greatest freedom.

"I didn't ~~mean~~ know anyone who decided to remain in Hungary if he had an opportunity to escape.

The people in Hungary - part of them completely agree with us and understand our motives ~~but~~ others despise us for having fled because they know perfectly well that we ~~will~~ be able to do very little for the Hungarians. I still believe that even though people had a chance to come to the West, 80% of the Hungarians would not leave their country.

B. Respondent did not know and could not name any organizations of exiles and individuals who have been active in the West during the last ten years - however, of individuals she had heard of Ferenc Nagy and Mr. Tibor, Eckhardt - respondent added, however, that all these were ~~known~~ not looked upon with the highest regard in Hungary, because we thought they left Hungary such a long time ago, and Hungary has undergone such tremendous change in the last ten years that probably don't have very much in common with the Hungarian nation now. Respondent said that she

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had heard that many of the emigres had wished to return to Hungary, but she doubted very much that they would have been welcomed with open arms.

When given the list of individuals, ^{THE} only two persons she was willing to remark on were Otto Von Hapsburg and Admiral Horthy. Her opinion on Von Hapsburg is very biased as she knows only what they were told at school and at the Communist seminaries. Her epithet on Horthy was that he was a ~~stink~~ dictator.

Respondent did not meet any Hungarians who after 1945 went to the West and returned later on.

When asked what those remaining in Hungary would like to know about the exiles, respondent was of the opinion that they all are interested in how the exiles shall fare here and how they are getting on in life, and if it is really true that everyone ~~is really~~ is in complete freedom and how their future is shaping. When asked what they should know, she said: "They ought to be told that we came to a country where ~~in~~ ~~every~~ everyone is enjoying ~~their~~ personal freedoms to the greatest extent; where all Parties are free to be formed; where the living standard is so high that no one would dream back in Hungary that Communist propoganda is just alie. Respondent's ideas as to what the exiles should do now are as follows: "Everybody in his or her own little field, should promote the ideas of the Hungarian revolution and to try to keep the Hungarian cause in the public eye, especially before the UN."

Respondent would like to join a new exile organization which ought to be mainly cultural. However, she would draw a line and accept only the new exiles, because to her mind the old politicians and old exiles can only be admitted to a group of the new exiles if they can make a complete break from the past, and they must accept the present policy of the new emigres.

Respondent only knew that ^{THE} various Hungarian political parties active before 1948 were free parties and they had all different aims. About Parties in exile she had no knowledge. ^{REVIVED} During the revolution in Hungary, respondent ~~was~~ ^{had} the feeling that the setting up of new parties was unnecessary at that time and far too early to start political activities; furthermore the concern of the people was for far more important matters.

Respondent is against groups who went into exile previously ^{to} return to

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Hungary and join, or participate in ^{THE} ~~an~~ revived parties because according to them they wouldn't understand each other anyway and as she said they "got along without them very well."

E. Regarding her own plans for the future, respondent disclosed that as soon as she can be a citizen, she would like to return to Hungary for a visit, ~~then she would like to return~~; however, if Hungary ever becomes independent and free from Moscow domination, then she would like to return for good.

Also she said that if she had any children, she would want them to learn Hungarian also beside English in the US and ^{she} ~~we~~ would always talk Hungarian to them because they can learn their English at school anyway.

AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

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 A. Radio: Respondent said that they listened always to foreign radio stations while they were in Hungary. She said they listened mostly to the BBC radio and RFE and VOA. The two latter ones, RFE and VOA were jammed heavily. Reception on BBC was much better. Besides they preferred BBC radio broadcasts because they were factual and matter of fact; on the other hand, RFE and VOA had always *interrupted* the news *from* widely different angles, and also they were instigating *for* "true idiotic" things. On the whole, respondent said "we had the impression that RFE and VOA interpreted wrongly the situation in Hungary."

Respondent listened to the broadcasts on her own radio; sometimes, alone, and sometimes with the family.

According to respondent up to the end of 1955 there was considerable risk involved in listening to foreign radio broadcasts. After that, not so much. People were very cautious up 'til then when they turned on the radio and did so behind closed doors and ~~with~~ windows closed. The sentences for those who were caught listening to radio or "disseminating foreign propoganda" as the regime put it, received imprisonment. Usually they were charged with alleged spying, and such trumped-up charges.

ON *SHE RELIED*
 When asked about which broadcast, respondent said she preferred ~~the~~ ~~usually preferred~~ the BBC as I said before and especially during the revolution because it gave the straight news and RFE and VOA were inciting the Hungarians by holding out hopes for a Western intervention. Before the revolution, because the radio broadcasts came from the West, everyone liked to listen to them. During the revolution, because of the commentaries, many people turned *back* *to* ~~the~~ *on* Budapest radio. After all RFE must have been fully aware that it is acting without any official backing and would not be able to fulfill all promises. It was mainly the way things were said which made people believe that help was forthcoming.

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 Respondent said that she ~~didn't~~ *thinks* that Radio Free Europe if they wanted to, could go on broadcasting to Hungary, but she didn't think it would do any good. One thing they do not want to hear ~~and that~~ is anti-Communist propoganda. What people would certainly like to hear is the straight political and economical news, and also ~~about~~ programs about life in the US and Western Europe. Here, however, I would like to mention that in these programs they should not exaggerate; everything should be very factual. This is why we preferred the BBC when I was still back in Hungary. The Western radio broadcasts should not speak in such *regimental* way ~~that~~ *about* everything that is Russian and ~~the~~ Russian situation and Russian system - but give a better and fuller account of the good things in the West. Also I would think that a good cultural program would be welcome in Hungary.

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B. Respondent did not hear anything about the leaflets of Free Europe initials N.S.M. or of the Twelve Demands.

C. Neither did respondent hear ^{the} anything ^{about} Free Europe leaflets.

When asked if RFE should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary, she was of the opinion that this was not necessary.

D. Of the goals and motives of the different Western groups that ~~send~~ and sent leaflets into Hungary, respondent thought probably these organizations had the same aim - that is, they were fighting against Communism.

BROADCAST

CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

THK/VG

On her ideas ~~of~~ how children should be brought up, respondent said: "I believe that the main and most important is to educate your child to believe in God, to respect human beings and human dignity, also, to be a useful member of the community."

The education of a child must be very consistent. She feels that a child must be disciplined by all means. According to respondent, the ~~parents must~~ either by word, by good example, by physical punishment if necessary - all should be doled out.

WETHER

11 Treatment for boys and girls should certainly be different, according to ~~which~~ we are stricter or more lenient, and also according to age. The mentality of a child improves day by day, and as you can talk with a child freely about certain matters, and as you can talk sense to them, then little by little, physical punishment can be abandoned.

Respondent recalled an incident in her childhood when she was about five years old and went out into the garden and picked all the flowers of which her mother was very proud, and her mother returned and put her into the corner where she knelt down for a very long time. Respondent disclosed that in her family it was father and mother, both who punished her if she was mischievous.

Among people she knew, she said it was both parents who punished the children who was six years old, or older. As a ~~rule~~ the father punished the boy; the mother, the girl.

The education of children is different in the social classes, according to respondent as she said that it is only the intellectual class that really educates a child and who takes time and patience to bring up children. The workers and the peasants don't educate, they just beat them up. Respondent is of the opinion that the authority of the father ~~was~~ not change during the Communist regime, but that education of th children was taken out of the hands of the parents.

As to when parents stop punishing their children, respondent ⁴⁷¹ had the view that physical punishment for boys is abandoned at 16 yrs and for girls, 14. Punishment in general is abandoned depending entirely on how the parents educate them, and the character of the child.

Under the Communist regime, physical punishment was abandoned at school, and the effects of this show that it cannot be abandoned on the whole. In the last two years, the regime tried to cooperate with the parents and

the parents were very often asked by the teachers to help them in the education of their children and to cooperate more closely.

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Techniques of discipline before the Communist regime consisted mostly in the boys getting a ~~caning~~ a couple of smacks - put into corners, kneel down - to write down 100 or 200 times whatever wrong they have done. Very often children were kept after school and locked up by the teachers, some of this referred to the girls also with the exception of ~~caning~~ ^{CANING} them, or smacking them in the face. Usually there was less physical punishment for the girls. Then also there was the note sent to the parents if the child behaved badly every month.

During the Communist regime ~~the~~ physical punishment had to be ~~more~~ abandoned all together, and only the notes sent to the parents, remained as a the only kind of disciplinary measure.

The characteristics which respondent values most in a friend are: "They ^{SHE} must be very sincere and have a good character and ready to make sacrifices for the other party."

As to whether or not there were changes in any ^{FRIENDSHIP} ~~friendship~~ under Communism, I cannot tell, for in my belief a sincere and true friendship cannot be affected by ~~people~~ ^{people}, however, moved cautiously during the Communist regime because you first had to find out how strong a character the person had before you would like him to become a friend of yours.

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