

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent had a very prim and proper bourgeois background, and was decently brought up. She belongs to a class that is being regarded as "class alien" by the Communist regime. Subject had many drawbacks on account of this, but nevertheless, maintained a balanced philosophy. She was rather reticent, somewhat slow in her reactions. However, I believe her to have been honest and above board in her answers and picture given regarding life in Hungary under the Communist rule. She is the kind of person who will soon get acclimatized to American ways of living, because she wants to, even though she is, and will remain at heart, a very good and proud Hungarian.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"I have observed that despite the newspapers and the radio news, the American public is very little informed about the situation in Hungary. The same can be said about the American public, before the Hungarian revolution. I wish that people could go over and live there, -under the same conditions we did- for a very short time, and see for themselves what it means to live under terror.

"It is amazing how very much frightened the American authorities and public are of the Russians and their threats of using the atomic bomb. We can judge this better because we lived behind the iron curtain and among the Russians. We sincerely ~~imagine that this is only a bluff on the part of the Russians.~~ believe that this is only a bluff on the part of the Russians. My opinion is also based on what we saw during the revolution! -- that the Russian soldiers, on the whole, are not heroes at all. It is only due to their immense mass and huge numbers that the Russians can achieve something.

Last, but not least, I would like to call attention to the American public that the time now is working for the Soviets. I can only repeat that the Hungarians -- although our country is a small nation and numerically, has been inferior to the Russian forces -- were not scared of them. There's another point to this: we have known them better than the Western world does."

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

A. "I was working at the university library in Godollo when I heard from my co-workers, on October 22, that the public sentiments were riding high in Budapest.

"On October 23, when I took the bus from Budapest to Godollo to the library, we heard on the bus already that the university students held a meeting on October 22, late at night. We also heard about their demands.

"There was a great excitement boiling up at the university on the morning of the 23rd. Everybody already had heard about the demonstrations that were planned, and the lectures at the university were cancelled. The dean of the university let the students go and participate in the demonstrations. A couple of students began printing leaflets with their demands on the hand press we had at the university. (I would like to mention the name of our dean here. His name was Imre Mate.)

"The students of the university at Godollo, including myself, went to the town to join the demonstrations. This was around noon. Contrary to the former ~~xxxxxx~~ undisciplined and rather rowdy behavior of the young students when going and coming from lectures and on campus, this time all of them were disciplined, quiet, and extremely serious.

"When we arrived in Budapest, we changed to the streetcar. However, we could not go further than the large central boulevard. The crowd was so dense by this time that all traffic had been stopped. We joined the crowd that consisted mostly of students, civilians and even Hungarian soldiers. The

crowd was extremely elated and marched in orderly fashion toward the Bem statue on the Buda side. We had seen the new Hungarian flags flying -- with the Russian emblems removed. People were singing.

We saw truckloads of policemen who also took part in the demonstration.

"When we arrived ~~at~~ at the statue, the soldiers stationed in the barracks near the square were all at the windows and on the roofs. The crowd shouted up to them to join us and also to hoist the new Hungarian flag and remove the old one with the Russian emblem. We distributed and received a great many pamphlets. Around 5:30 P.M. we went to the Parliament Square. However, I did not stay because I had to go home. We lived quite near. I wanted to pick my child from the nursery school. I saw that the crowd there (at the square) was terrific.

"I met my husband, upon my arrival at home, who, being concerned about our son's welfare, picked up the child already from his nursery school. We then, together, went out again into the street. We heard that the ~~Stalin~~ Stalin statue had been pulled down. Later on, we heard about the fighting that took place around the radio building. By that time, the ~~the~~ crowd around the parliament square grew steadily. Around 8 o'clock, Minister Gero held a speech and this was received with a great deal of ill feelings by everybody. We all wanted to see and to hear Imre Nagy.

"Regarding my feelings during the demonstrations, I can only say that we were filled with intense joy in the hope that finally all of our troubles will come to an end

and we shall have an easier life when the Russians leave Hungary. Nobody was afraid. We did not think of any personal consequences that might result for us. Nevertheless, I remember, a few people cautioned us saying, 'You never know what the AVH is up to and they might have their spies everywhere -- even among the crowd. It is not good to show your feelings too openly.' Nevertheless, we still were hoping for the best. Moreover, since last summer and the events in Poland, a general easing of the strict rules had been experienced in Hungary.

"Our main demands consisted of the 14 specific demands of the students but, first of all, that the Russians should leave Hungary. In short, that Hungary be allowed to live ~~in~~ <sup>NUMBER</sup> the ~~true and real sense of a~~ democratic govern- <sup>TRULY</sup>ment. At that time, judging from the behavior and feelings of the crowd, I do not think that anybody even thought of accepting a compromise. The crowd was so persistent in its demands that nobody went home, nor did the people disperse even though they stood there until the early hours of dawn. Only when Nagy told them that he is going to do everything he possibly can and accept all of the demands, did the people start to go home.

"Before the fighting started and in the course of the demonstrations, we thought that the outcome of all this would result in, at least, the acceptance of our demands and so that our lives will be less under duress. Regarding the demonstrators' age, sex, and class -- I really could not say who did not take part in the demonstrations except, of course, for the Communists and the AVH members. But even here, I would like to distinguish. I am sure that many people who formerly have been Communists, -- or at least, said they had been, had also joined the demonstrators.

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"As to the leadership and organization of the demonstrations, I believe that, primarily, the whole demonstration started and was organized by the university students as a peaceful demonstration to show their sympathy toward Poland and the rest of the demonstration was completely spontaneous because people smelled freedom and wanted to be free and more free than ever. The whole demonstration, I can say, was completely spontaneous later on. The students started to march and the population of the entire city joined them."

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B. "While we were in front of the parliament building, we already had heard that the AVH had opened fire on the defenseless crowd. Also, we were convinced that former prime minister Nagy was not allowed to talk freely ~~in the beginning~~ because I had witnessed that the crowd was dissatisfied with what he said in the beginning. Nevertheless, he was the only person they put their confidence in. When, finally, Nagy told the crowd to disperse and go home, 'Everything will be in good order,' only then did people go home. When a truck arrived from the radio building with the news that the AVH had opened fire, the crowd boiled up and surged toward the radio building. I believe this was the reason for the bloodshed starting. It could <sup>✓ OF THE</sup> have been avoided if the AVH had not opened fire. Also, I believe that the fighting could have been avoided if the government had given in and complied, at least, with a few of our demands. It was certainly not the demonstrators who started the shooting.

"The revolutionary slogans came up at the very beginning of the fight. The Communist radio, of course, called our Freedom Fighters bad names all the time -- fascists, ~~and~~ and an unruly mob.

"Regarding the age of the Freedom Fighters, especially in the beginning, they were mostly young people, students, and soldiers. Also, the junior workers joined in. I have seen children, 10 and 12 years old, boys and girls, who also helped the Freedom Fighters and took an active part in the fighting. Here, again, I cannot really say who did not fight except the die-hard Communists or, maybe, a few of those people who were scared or who had too much to lose regarding their jobs and their positions. Nevertheless, everybody felt with us and even if the women stayed at home with their children, they helped where ever they could.

"As to how the fighters got their arms, this I can only tell from hearsay. Friends of ours, and my husband also, heard that it was the regular police and the army who handed over their arms. Also, the Freedom Fighters took most of their arms from the armament factories, like the so-called "lamp factory" in Budapest. Nobody knew that they were manufacturing arms here instead of lamps. It was only during the revolution that we got hold of this news. Also, it was very characteristic of the warfare of the revolution that we had seen a great many trucks full of empty bottles. These were taken to some places where they were filled with gasoline to be used against the Russian tanks.

"Due to the completely spontaneous uprising of the Hungarians, the Freedom Fighters were not organized in the beginning and, even to the very end, there was no overall leadership. Of course, several local groups had some leaders.

"For instance, we heard that at the Kilian Barracks, Colonel Maletar had taken over the command. Then, there was another group around in the old fortress part of Buda where a group of 20 or 30 university students were holding out. Also, in the Buda mountains, there were several groups. However, we did not know the names of their leaders. We only presumed that they must have been men who had some military knowledge. We had great hopes for the overall outcome of the revolution, especially when Gero had resigned and Nagy became the prime minister.

"Defiance and embittered feeling grew even after the bloodshed in front of the parliament buildings. It was quite by chance that I was not there because everybody in our house went to demonstrate in front of Parliament. My child was sick that day and was running a temperature, so, I did not dare to leave him alone. I only heard the RATTLING NOISE of the arms and the explosions since we lived quite nearby. Later on, I saw how the casualties were carried by the first-aid automobiles and Red Cross cars.

Everybody threw down, from the windows, towels, sheets, shirts and anything that could be used as bandages and dressings. I also saw many children, old people, and women among the dead. It was said that the casualties amounted to several hundreds. I believed this to be true because I saw the corpses stacked up in big piles in Parliament Square. Also, the pavement of the square was full of blood for a couple of days.

"When we heard that the government had called in the Russians, everybody was terribly upset and embittered. All the



more<sup>so</sup> since our hopes were pinned on the actions of the UN. We knew ~~that~~ then that since Russia had treated Hungary as a colony and now having <sup>so</sup> many casualties in connection with the revolution, the Soviet Union ~~was~~ would certainly not give up Hungary and allow her to regain her freedom. We were sure that ~~was~~ before November 4, it was the Kadar government that had called in the Russians."

C. Respondent spent the days between the Soviet withdrawal and the Soviet invasion at home, caring for her child and looking after her household. As she said, several friends of theirs had informed them that the Russians had withdrawn from the capital, <sup>BUT</sup> they had dug in around Budapest. At first, they believed ~~that~~ what the Russian command had said about the airfields being occupied by Russian troops for the purpose of evacuating the families and dependents of the troops, to be true. The population continued to hope in the sincerity of the Russian withdrawal ~~and~~ when they saw that the Russians had completely disappeared from Budapest. "However, the news we received <sup>later,</sup> was very disturbing and contradictory. The Russian high command even fooled the Hungarian government with the withdrawal of the troops and the starting of negotiations regarding their complete withdrawal from Hungary!"

"It was on November 1 or 2 when we first heard about the Russian troops having been dug in around Budapest. They returned at dawn on ~~the~~ November 4.

"I forgot to mention that the Russians first started to ~~negotiate~~ negotiate

their withdrawal with the Hungarian government in the Parliament and they said that the second ~~a~~ negotiations should be held among the Russians and that is why they called Colonel Maletier to take part in the negotiations. He then was captured and after that, at dawn on November 4, the Russians started to ~~in~~ re-invade the city.

"I mostly stayed at home at that time caring for my child. Only once did I go out to have a look around the city. I had to queue up for food and do some shopping for our household.

"Our decision to leave Hungary came very suddenly. My husband had taken an active part in the revolution and we knew after the return of the Russians that some bad consequences might result for us. We saw that the revolution had failed and were sure that if we ~~did not~~ did not escape, my husband would be arrested. It was only on the day before we left Hungary that we heard of a way we could use in order to escape. We left on November 16."

D. "Even though Hungary has lost so many lives, I sincerely believe that it has gained on the whole. I mean, first of all, that the Soviet Union has seen that it no longer ~~trust~~ trust the <sup>CAN</sup> Hungarians and that the Hungarians will not accept Communism. Furthermore, the Western world has also seen that ~~that~~ Hungary is an unwilling satellite, that Hungary will never accept the Communist doctrine and also that the Communist doctrine is not a world power, which can dominate for a very long time, even though it uses the most terroristic methods. ~~that~~ Last, but not least, I think that the Hungarian revolution has shown ~~the world that~~ the world ~~that~~ the true face of Communism -- that is, that the Communists use beautiful slogans and preach a wonderful doctrine, but in practice, it works out quite differently and they can maintain it only by sheer terror."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST  
DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "People like us, who thought more realistically, did not hope for any military assistance from the West. However, since we somehow felt that the West is caring for us, and the West does sympathize with the oppressed nations, we were quite sure that the UN will be able to, in one way or another, to be of assistance. This sentiment was prevalent among some of the Freedom Fighters. We had a young friend, who, during the fighting, rang us up many times and asked about the news we heard on the radio regarding the UN sessions -- whether anything is being done or whether the UN has decided on enforcing the sanctions. We were all fully aware that armed intervention would mean war and this is what nobody wanted in Hungary."

B. "The basis of our expectations was, of course, that we knew that the UN was formed for the basic purpose of keeping order among the nations and to enforce the sanctions. After all, this, I believe, was quite logical and everybody expected this action from the UN."

C. Respondent did not come into contact with foreigners or newspaper men, diplomatic personnel between October 23 and the time of her escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's father was chief agricultural supervisor of the provincial district with the head offices at Szekesfehervar. Before the war he earned from 800 - 1,000 pengos. This salary assured the family a very good livelihood. After the war, he still remained in the same job, but later on, he was dismissed. Nevertheless, he was recalled and transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture in Budapest, where he worked until the summer of 1955, because they could not spare his special knowledge and qualifications and, they needed him. He, then, at the Ministry of Agriculture, was working for the livestock breeding section. During the revolution, they had found respondent's father cadre files, on which it was marked that despite his having a very specific qualification and being needed, he had to be dismissed as soon as anybody is found who can replace him. He became sick in 1955 and so, he left his job.

Respondent's parents owned 22 acres of land and a family house at Lake Balaton and a 2-acre vineyard. For this reason, they were said to be kulaks.

Her father was a high school graduate and had a degree from the Agricultural University at Keszthely in Hungary. Respondent's mother was also a high school graduate and she had a master's degree in hand crafts and was teaching ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in schools needlework before she married.

B. "I do not think that social classes in Hungary nowadays can be distinguished quite strictly. Officially, there are three social classes -- the intellectuals, the working class and the peasantry. However, due to the

Communist doctrine, these three classes are very much intermingled nowadays. Many peasants came up to the cities to work in factories and thus became part of the working class. On the other hand, many intellectuals had to earn their living as workers in the factories. I, personally, classify the intellectual class according to their education. Everybody who had some schooling and a university or college degree, to my mind, is an intellectual. Also, there was a time when only children of the peasantry or working class were admitted to the universities. The children of the intellectuals were completely shut ~~off~~ out. This never happened before the war in Hungary -- that a class could not get the schooling it wanted if the child had the talent, because in Hungary there were many children of peasant or workers' origin who were talented and could attend the universities and get a higher education. It was a pet subject of the Communists to harp on this -- that the regimes before the war did not let the ~~children~~ children of the peasants or the workers study but, as I said before, this is not true.

"My contacts <sup>WERE</sup> dealt mostly with the intellectual class at the university. However, when I spent some time in the countryside, I also ~~asaw~~ saw a great deal of the peasants. I can only say that I have a very good opinion of all the three classes in Hungary. My opinion was based on their behavior during the revolution. There was no difference between the social classes regarding their ~~part~~ participation in our freedom fight. At that time, there were no class distinctions at all in Hungary. The nation was united and ~~wanted~~ wanted only one thing -- freedom. Even tho, if there had been some

differences between the classes before the October revolution and during the revolution, everything simply disappeared. Even the working class that had been always favored by the Communist regime, had taken part wholeheartedly in the revolution.

"To my belief, there is a need for all the three classes in Hungary, if you consider the construction and the building up of a nation. The intellectual class has to direct the activities of any nation; the laboring class has to work and has to produce; the peasantry has to feed a nation. I, myself, feel that I belong to the intellectual class. This class was hardest hit by Communism. Not only were we oppressed and persecuted but they were deported, considered class aliens, and due to the cadre system the arm of the Communist regime was far-reaching and the intellectuals were always being punished for being members of the wrong class. At the time of the ~~so-called of ikasztama~~ the so-called rationalization of the industries and the offices, it was always the people who had an intellectual class background who were dismissed first and for ridiculous reasons, too."

C. "I do not think that there is a great controversy in the social classes in Hungary nowadays. There might be some animosity toward individuals in different classes because, unfortunately, among each class, you can always find individuals who sell themselves to the regime ~~that~~ is presently governing.

"Before the revolution, there might have been some resentment between the intellectuals and the working class because the Communist regime did its best to elevate the workers and to favor them. The intellectuals, of course, were persecuted. However, during the revolution, even the slightest ill-feelings between all social classes had disappeared."

E. "According to respondent, the role of class origin was the most important in Communist Hungary regarding the chances of an individual to get ahead. Then came political views and lastly came talent. The Communists liked to say that it is only talent that prevails, but in practice, this was never true.

"The situation was much better from 1945 till 1948. At that time, the class origin was not so much stressed. <sup>✓</sup> Until the re- <sup>✓</sup> UNDER gime of Imre Nagy in 1952-53, it was again quite good. However, after 1954, it became ~~aga~~ bad once again and there was a slight change to the better after the 20th Party Congress in 1956.

As to what kind of individual could get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent believed that this depended on the line of his activities. For instance, she thought that they were two types of people who really could get ahead in Hungary and the first type was the one who was a turncoat and who was a Party member and, or least, could talk as if he were one, and a convinced Communist. The other type who, despite the bad class origin or non-professing Communist views could get ahead in Hungary, was a person who was a scientist, a prominent

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artist, or a specialist and who was  
needed by the Communist regime due  
to his qualifications.



VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Communism had a deteriorating effect on family life in Hungary. The main reasons for this were because everybody had to work too hard and ~~the~~ both the husband and wife, when coming home from work, were dead tired, nervy and jumpy. Also, people felt very insecure in their jobs and in their lives also. In addition, certain people never knew when they are being taken prisoner or when they are being taken away by the police and for what reason. All of this, of course, had a very bad influence on the bringing up of the children. In our family, before 1945, the women never worked and they took care of the children and of the household. Now, under the Communist regime, everybody has to work in order to make both ends meet." To illustrate the insecure position of a class alien family, respondent told that she was first dismissed from her job because her background was that of a kulak. Then, her husband was dismissed because his wife was a kulak. Later on, he was told to divorce his wife because it would be easier for him to get a job. "Respondent's husband is of peasant origin." Nevertheless, he was not found to be politically reliable because after 1946 he was a member of the Smallholders' Party and he was even expelled from the university for that reason -- that is, because he took an active part in the Party functions.

B. In reference to how children are brought up in Communist Hungary, respondent could give details, especially

regarding the younger generations since she had a small child. When the baby was three months old, respondent left it at a nursery (day) when going to work. This, of course, meant that she had to wake up the baby very early and take it to the nursery. These nurseries varied. There was the so-called district day nursery and also the day nurseries for the larger industrial plants or offices. These were the better ones because ~~they~~ there were fewer children and better supervision. There was also medical care for those babies but it was not very efficient. Children here were brought up under the co-educational system. They received dresses ~~there~~ and food during the day. These day nurseries were for children up to three years old. From three to six there was the so-called kindergarten. The political indoctrination of children started here. For instance, the children had to use the Communist greeting, "Forward, Comrade!" They were taught to talk about "Pal" Rakosi, etc. Also, the fairy tale books were translated from the Russian and were thoroughly slanted. Regarding the classification and character of the nurses and the supervisors in the day nurseries and kindergartens, respondent said that she could not form a very good opinion as yet of these people because her boy was in that kindergarten for only three weeks shortly before they had left Hungary. However, she had heard that the supervisors of these institutions were people who were politically reliable and Party members. There was also very much to be desired regarding cleanliness and the methods of education. It very seldom happened,

respondent disclosed, that old fairy tale books were reprinted. For instance, there was a reprint of, The Grimm Fairy Tales. This was sold out in a short time because it was immediately bought up by the parents.

Later on, in the grade schools, respondent said, the children were drafted into the so-called, Pioneer Movement. They wore badges of different distinctions, different colored neckties, etc. Religious instruction in the grade schools was abolished and a child could only attend religious instruction classes with the permission of the parents. This was, of course, marked down on the cadre file. So, the parents preferred to have the children taught privately in religious matters. According to respondent's belief, this was (religious instructions) what caused some controversy between the school and the home. Parents who cared about the education of their children had to explain to them why they are being taught different things about religion in school and tried to influence the children in the right way. Even the purely academic subjects were infiltrated with politics in the grade schools. The political indoctrination continued at the university level. Further on, it was conducted by the means of seminars in every office where people were working. "I can only say from my own experience, that it happened very often that we had to learn much more about politics and political subjects than about our own chosen courses".

"During the last ten years there certainly had been changes in regard to children disobeying parents. This is mainly due to the fact ~~that~~ that at school the

children were ~~already~~ taught that they have the right to criticize the teacher and the parents. Furthermore, the teachers and the parents were no longer allowed to discipline their children in the way they thought it right. Of course, it depended a great deal on the family background and on the parents whether or not they were able to bring up their children in the old way and to enforce their authority. The second reason in my mind is, that not only have the disciplinary measures been changed or abolished, but the children were allowed to criticize things that were completely out of their field of competency. They were taught that they were free and also that the respect toward their elders and teachers had decreased. Young people became sloppy in their behavior and impolite.

"As to which social class was most affected by the change, I really could not tell for sure. I only know that in our family no change had occurred. However, I have heard that the change was greatest and most alarming among the young apprentices. These young boys were taken from their parents and were educated in so-called students' homes where boys and girls were brought together and the morals were extremely lowered.

"I believe that somebody can lead a moral life without being religious. Nevertheless, religion gives some moral background always and some moral standards to live by and that is why I think it has been so dangerous that religious instructions has been abolished at school.

"Children of high school age were usually put into day schools by their parents after the classes and here, of course, they were not educated or brought up in the good sense of the word. They played hookey very often. This is also a reason why you would find so many juvenile delinquents among the young people in Hungary.

"Nevertheless, to my belief, the majority of the children in the high schools who could already distinguish between good and bad usually told the parents what they were taught at school and the parents tried to counter-balance the bad influence of the Communist schooling. Due to the fact that children had to lead a double life, more or less, under the Communist regime, they became extremely serious-minded and responsible toward their parents also. They knew perfectly well which facts and when, they have to conceal at school and so that the parents would not be affected in their jobs and no bad mark would be placed on their cadre records."

C. When asked about courtship, marriage and sex patterns, respondent said that she was still educated in the so-called old fashion manner. Quite a few Hungarian families stuck to the old customs, such as the parents requesting that the boys visit the girls in their own homes. Nevertheless, the supervision of the young people was much slackened and, very often, the young people went out alone and unchaperoned. The whole life and the manner in which the young people amused themselves was much freer. However, in respondent's

view, this depended entirely on the education and upbringing of the child and the family background. The failure of so many marriages that occurred during the Communist regime can be traced back to the fact that people married much too young, according to respondent. For instance, respondent recalled that while attending the university, she had many classmates who married and who attended the university together with their husbands. Due to loose morals, there was a great number of illegitimate children. Respondent said that there was a time when the slogan, 'For a woman to bear a child is ~~an honor~~ a duty and for a girl it is an honor,' was openly displayed in the hospitals, for instance.

"Despite the fact that the government has always made a great fuss about caring for the family and for the children, there were many cases when there was an only child in the family because people just could not afford to bring up more children. There was a time when birth control was strictly prohibited and many of the doctors were convicted for ~~performing~~ performing abortions. However, ~~later~~ in the last year it was permitted to perform an abortion if a medical committee ~~had~~ had found the case justified.

"As previously mentioned, the ~~rate~~ rate of divorces had increased. This was mainly due to the lack of family life. I also think that the woman who had been going out to work in offices had more of an opportunity to be exposed to temptations and to

get in touch with more male colleagues and make friends with them. Also, after work, a woman when she went home, had to look after her household, cook, do the household chores and she was dead tired by the evening. The lack of money was a great factor in the deterioration of family life and marriage. If there were a couple of children in the family, the salaries of the two adults were not enough to cover the most essential expenses. The ~~arrangements~~ changes in courtship, marriage and sex patterns came about only during the Communist regime and not during the war.

"Prostitution was prohibited under Communism. It, nevertheless, flourished. The situation in this field was even worse than before the war because at that time the prostitutes at least were under strictest medical control and now they were not. Nevertheless, they continued with their illicit trade. The official government attitude on sex matters was typical of the Communist doctrine. On one hand, they were all out for a strict moral code regarding family life and the education of children and for this reason they abolished prostitution; on the other hand, they were preaching ~~the~~ free love which, of course, had a deteriorating effect."

D. "It was very deplorable to see how Communism had also affected friendship. People were frightened of each other and one had to be very careful with whom one was in a close friendship. The true and old-fashioned friendship relations remained only among the very, very old friends who

knew each other decades ago. Even so, it happened that due to either Communist indoctrination or, for instance, fear of losing a job, people joined the Communist Party. If this happened, the other friend became very cautious and withdrew. I have also seen that friends did not more stand up for their friends to a degree as before. This was ~~due~~ because they were scared for themselves or for their families. Altogether, it was very sad to see that you could no longer trust some of your friends. In the last two years, however, I have seen a change for the better in this respect and it was gratifying to see that persecution has somehow drawn people together again."

Respondent said that she could not talk on what her behavior would be if a ~~friend~~ former friend of hers had become a Communist Party member because this had not happened to her.

E. "The problems of crime, alcoholism and things like that were carefully kept out of the daily press by the Communist regime. I believe that the rate has increased under Communism. We escaped together with a former Hungarian policeman who told us, while we were together, that the regular police force was powerless against the increased crime wave. The newspapers were not allowed to print anything on this topic because the regime wanted to prove that everything was going well within the country. The greatest increase of the crime rate was to be found in robbery, thieving and rape. The reason for this was mainly that the average persons had lost their moral standards.



Also, living conditions were so very bad.

"I think, as far as I know, the crime rate among women and especially among young women has gone up. I do not know how high the crime rate was among the young people."

Respondent was unable to give any data about government measures to stem the crime rate. Regarding the work of the regular police, respondent said that the work they did was not very effective. They tried to trace down the criminals for weeks and, in very few cases, <sup>✓</sup>they <sup>✓</sup>DID succeed. Probably, their methods were wrong.

"Alcoholism, also, has increased in Hungary and it was a sorry sight to see that very young people got into the habit of steady drinking."

On juvenile delinquency, respondent said: "This again, was a matter that was ~~hushed~~ hushed up by the authorities. The whole thing was punishable but, on the other hand, it was not entirely the fault of the person if he or she could not get work because many people were refused jobs due to their class origin. For instance, regarding the ~~mag~~ jampec, I think this was a silly, childish way of imitating the Western teen-ager fashions by dressing flashily and growing whiskers, etc."

VII. RELIGION

A. "The effect of Communist rule on religious life in Hungary is, to my mind, twofold. First of all, it had a beneficial effect and secondly it had an adverse effect. I think that people who were never very religious before, just out of sheer spite, became more religious and attended the religious services more than before because it was prohibited. I had never seen the churches so filled to capacity as during the Communist regime. Also, people who had deep faith could endure much more and it gave them a certain kind of backbone to practice their religion and to become more determined. On the other hand, people who were kept late in their work and who had to work very hard -- these people became lax in exercising their religion and were growing apart from the churches.

"I believe it was the Roman Catholic religion that was hardest hit because the Roman Catholic Church most strongly opposed the Communist doctrine. Hungary had been predominantly Roman Catholic and the number of people in this church was the highest. Also, the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church did not accept any compromise from the State and since Cardinal Mindszenty was the head of the Church, this was reason enough for the Communists to be mercilessly against our church.

"Communism also had a bad effect on the Catholic religion because we had a couple of so-called 'peace priests' who were ready to compromise. However, the number of these in our church was very small. I do not know

<sup>MUCH</sup>  
how greatly Communism had affected the other religions, such as Protestantism and Judaism, in Hungary. However, I think that in all religions and sects you always could find a few of the leaders who were willing to compromise."

B. Respondent said that religion is a less important factor in her life than in the life of her parents. She is not so strict about attending religious services. She believes that she is about religious as the average person in Hungary would be. At home, she was so busy that she could very seldom find time to go to church. Nevertheless, she stressed the point that she is religious to a certain extent and she also attends church whenever she can.

C. On the function of churches in society, respondent held the view that in every country the church should be completely independent from the state and should have all of the privileges that are granted to a church in a free democracy. To her mind, the state and the church should co-operate in every way.

Respondent thought highly of religious schools in Hungary and she thought that these schools have a very important role in the education of children. However, she would like to see the religious schools less bigotted than a few of them had been before the war in Hungary. It is very important, according to respondent, that these religious schools give a religious and moral teaching to the children and set up an educational standard.

Respondent was of the opinion that the churches should have a certain kind of responsibility regarding moral codes and standards in such things as movies, books and plays. Under no circumstances should the churches take an active political role in an independent Hungary, respondent said.

"I believe that a country should be governed by the politicians and the Church should be kept busy with church affairs and spiritual matters and should never interfere with politics."

D. Respondent could not give any details regarding to which extent the Jewish religion had been hurt or influenced by Communism. She said she had no contact whatsoever with Jewish people and, therefore, she cannot tell anything.

Regarding the attitudes of Jews toward the Communism Party, respondent said that she believed this view was greatly divided. There were many Jews who became Party members. The reason for this she saw in the persecution of the Germans and the Nazis and that it was the Russian occupation and the Communist Party, so to say, that liberated them. Many of the Jews, however, disclosed respondent, had finally recognized the true face of Communism but it was too late then to get out from the Party. Nevertheless, there were quite a few of those Jews who became Communists by conviction and who still are serving the regime. Also, the Jews being very materialistic, they very quickly saw that a good job was only obtainable if one was a Party member. So, they did not hesitate to use the Party for their own personal material gains.

V A. W. D. y

Regarding the attitudes and actions of the Jews during the revolution, respondent said that she had heard that many had been sharing the feelings of other Hungarians against the regime -- even those who were Communist Party members. Respondent could not give any details -- whether or not they took part in the demonstrations or the fighting.

"I do not believe that the Jews in Hungary have any reason to fear an independent Hungary. After all, the regime that has persecuted them -- I mean Nazism -- has died for good, so, in an independent Hungary, they have nothing to fear. I believe this is only Communist propaganda of the same type they used against the fascists."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "I believe that we should not make any class distinction ~~regarding~~ when we speak about Hungarian youth. These young people, from all social classes, between the ages of 12 to 22 or 25, belong to this category."

B. "It is certainly true that the youth of Hungary took the lead in the revolution and I heartily agree with that. It was the young people who started the demonstrations and the fight and who ~~lost the most~~ had the most casualties, also. Before the revolution, the young people had joined and took part in the sessions of the Petofi Circle."

According to respondent, it was the young people who took the lead because they had less to lose than people with families. Also, it was the young people whose eyes were opened the quickest and could feel it and see it for themselves that the Communist regime is not the paradise ~~as~~ it promised to be. Also, the young people did not see any future -- how to succeed and how to get ahead -- in Communist Hungary. Furthermore, the young Hungarian patriots knew that the Communist ~~doctrine~~ doctrine is not a ~~form~~ *THE KIND* of doctrine or state that can be accepted ever by the Hungarian nation.

"I would like to point out this fact that the Hungarian youth knew perfectly well why they were fighting and for what. They finally gave their utmost ~~and~~ lives for it and *THEIR* were ready to sacrifice everything in order to attain their ultimate aim."

"As far as I can judge there wasn't anybody in Hungary who tried to hold back the young people -- I mean the older generation was wholeheartedly behind them. They were proud of their youth and the parents were always encouraging their children.

"As to the attitude of the younger people toward the older ones, I can only say that what I ~~have~~ had heard ~~was~~, that the older generation participated as much as they could and in the way they could in our revolution and we respected them for this."

C. On the schools and educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said the following: "Immediately after the war, the educational system in the schools and universities in Hungary had not changed yet. Political indoctrination (until 1948) was not being taken seriously. This was the time when the great changes came about and the political indoctrination of children in high schools and universities had started. From my experience at the university, I can only say this that each of us, especially those who were class aliens were under the observation of ~~the authorities~~ a reliable student who had a good Party cadre. This, of course, we only discovered after the revolution. Then, the young people were drafted into the ranks of the DISZ and here, the political indoctrination was set up. These two means of control were serving the aim to keep the young people under constant control and observation. After 1948, a great stress

was laid on the political ~~seminars~~ seminars which we had to attend and the subjects here had to be studied far better than the regular subjects. On the other hand, there is always something good to be gained from every bad thing and due to the fact that we had to be so completely efficient on political topics, we also could find out for ourselves where the snag was.

"The quality of the education at the university level was good. The regime tried to keep the standard high and since they kept the old and efficient professors, the level could be maintained. Of course, they had a couple of younger Communist professors, mostly assistant professors. These young assistant professors, who mostly gave lectures on politics, were, of course, not qualified and were chosen only due to their Party membership. These assistant professors were frequently changed ~~since~~ since they were sent out by the Party leadership. It so happened that it was never the same person who took our exams than who gave the lectures. The political seminar was led, more or less, by one of the students who was a Party member. The vocational choice was extremely limited and entirely in the hands of the regime. Even if you applied for admittance to a certain university, you never knew where you were going to be drafted. It depended entirely on which ~~university~~ university had some vacancies or at which of the ~~subjects~~ were lacking qualified people.

PROFESSORS THEY



"Even if you attained top grades, you could not use choose your profession if you happened to be a class alien. But, if you were politically reliable then, even with very low grades, you could choose your own preferred profession."

"Regarding the political views of the professors at the universities, I can say that the majority was dead against Communism. There was a small minority who were Party members and, as I said, mostly those who were lecturing on politics. Consequently, all of the old professors who were not Party members, were extremely good and extremely well qualified in their field of science."

D. "Regarding the efforts of the Communist regime to indoctrinating the young people of Hungary, I can only say that it was openly stated that it costs the regime about 10,000 forints to educate one student. On the other hand, we were perfectly aware where the Communist regime is taking that money from and where they made their cuts in the budget to afford this. They also gave ~~out~~ a great many scholarships for educational purposes. Nevertheless, class aliens had to pay a very high fee at the university. Later on, in the last years, however, these scholarships were distributed according to the results attained by the students.

"The indoctrination of Hungarian youth failed ~~entirely because~~ because, as I already said before, the very moment an intelligent young individual sees for himself that in theory the Communist doctrine works out completely differently than it is implemented, ~~he~~ he cannot be convinced by that doctrine.

"Also, the parental influence in Hungary has still prevailed to a great extent. I believe that only those young people whose parents were convinced Communists became attached to the Communist Party also.

"After the 20th Party Congress, people dared to criticize the regime more openly and, for instance, ask questions -- and sometimes, awkward questions -- at political lectures. It very often happened that ~~the~~ at the seminar lectures when the student asked something of the professor, he said, 'This is a question I cannot answer. I have not received my orders on what to say.'"

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The reasons for the dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary (in everyday life) were the extreme hardships, and the entire lack of the freedom of speech. People, somehow, felt themselves to be enclosed in a tight prison ~~matter~~ politically and lived under constant fear."

B. "One of the petty annoyances in everyday life was the daily press, especially the Szabad Nep, which printed the most blatant lies and whose articles were very annoying."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "The standard of living in Communist Hungary was extremely low. If husband and wife were both wage-earners, then, their wages were sufficient only to cover the most important and essential things such as food and lodging. If you wanted to be dressed well, you had to save, usually, on food. We managed to have meat once a week and this was on Sunday. The cost of a good dinner for three people was about 100 forints. Regarding clothes and shoes, they were made in standard types by the state stores or state factories. They were rather inexpensive but of extremely low quality and in bad taste. Also, the supply was very limited. Anything we had to have made-to-order was nearly impossible to afford. There was also a very acute housing shortage and everybody had to live in co-tenancy. Very few families could afford to have an apartment to themselves. Also, the prices of the ~~best~~ apartments were terrific. Even if you wanted to receive a room in co-tenancy in an apartment where you had to share the bathroom and kitchen, you had to pay a certain bonus.

"There were so many things I considered a luxury in Hungary that it is difficult to say which one to tell. Mainly, ~~these~~ these would be the nylon items, a better piece of clothing or shoes, chocolate, cocoa or oranges and lemons for my child, etc.

"The standard of living in our family has changed mainly from 1948. It was pretty good after the war until ~~the~~ <sup>THIS</sup> ~~DATE~~. Then, steadily, it went down.

"The prices went up and the value of the forint went down. These very bad conditions prevailed until about the beginning of 1956 when revision of the salaries had been brought about."

Respondent knew a few people personally who were better off than others and she mentioned well-known artists, actors, and people who were top sportsmen. These were coddled by the regime and received a very high salary. Regarding the reasons for the very low standard of living in Hungary, respondent gave ~~the~~ several reasons, such as the great amount of reparation payments that had to go to Russia. Also, anything of good quality had been exported to the Soviet Union and other Peoples' Democracies which, under Soviet method, had a common market. For instance, Hungary sold a commodity to the West so, the price received for this was divided among those countries who needed it or, it was taken for reparation payments. "Also, the terrific degree of exploitation by the Soviet Union can be blamed for the extremely low living standard in Hungary in the last ten years."

B. Respondent gave the following information about her income during the last ten years: she received 1,430 forints per month. She had to pay 50 forints per month on so-called peace loans. This was abolished in 1956, she said. Then, the deduction of three per cent for old age pension was made so that all together 200 forints were usually deducted from her pay per month. In her field of work, there were no premiums and so she did not receive any. There were no bonuses, either. She

had no secondary source of income and neither did her husband." However, both of them were working. Respondent started with a salary of 780 forints. After five years, she received an increase to 1,000 forints and later on, to 1,430 forints. She was due to receive another increase by the end of 1955 but did not receive it because she was a class alien.

C. Respondent could tell the following about the different prices in Hungary before the revolution. There were very few privately owned shops and these were operated only by the owner. All the rest of the stores were State-owned. Prices in the State stores were always lower. The quality of the goods received in private stores, such as clothes, shoes, food, was certainly better. One could purchase commodities in the so-called commission stores where only used items (this referred to clothing or any household commodities also) could be bought. The State food stores had not such good quality foodstuffs but they were less expensive. Prices on the free market were higher but, here, you were sure to receive fresh food. <sup>FRESH</sup> The difference, for instance, was: "We paid two forints for a quart of sour cream on the open market while it was one forint 70 in the State store. I do not believe there were any changes except the seasonal changes in the food prices and this depended entirely on the harvest of that year. If the season was good, prices were low. The situation and the prices ~~on the food market~~ on the food market and of all other commodities was the best before 1948. From 1948 until

1949 and later, prices were always on the increase and the quality of the material was always worse. In 1956 <sup>IT WAS POSSIBLE</sup> one ~~year~~ purchase ~~of~~ rather good quality goods but, on the other hand, they were expensive. ~~From~~ I believe the reason for this lies in the fact that the export toward the Soviet Union had decreased a little bit in the last year. The distribution of goods all over Hungary was not too well organized. The situation was not too bad anyway, always better in the city than in the provinces. This applied especially to consumers' commodities. Nevertheless, the distribution of consumer goods or foodstuffs was not even and it was very sporadic and badly organized.

"It can be said that, generally, all consumer goods were constantly in short supply. This was due only to mismanagement despite the regime's constant harping of the planned economy. Spoilage of food also occurred ~~in~~ due to misorganization since, very often, foodstuffs rotted away in big storage places ~~in~~ or in railroad cars. Many goods that were available were much too expensive for the average working man or woman. Cocoa, for instance, was unavailable for years."

According to respondent, the black market was flourishing only immediately after the war and there was no black marketeering like this in the last years. She could not give any further information on this subject.

D. Respondent gave the following information on working conditions in her special field of work. She was employed as a librarian, first in Budapest and later on, in Godollo at the Library of the University of Agrarian Science. This library was established in the last years of the Communist regime in Hungary and had started its scientific and more-expanded work only recently. Here, in this library, they employed the Dewey decimal system. Respondent worked in the section for foreign scientific books and publications. Respondent worked from 8 A.M. till 4:30 P.M. with half an hour for lunch. It took her about three hours to go and come from her office to her home. Sometimes it took even longer since she had to take a streetcar, a bus and/or a local train. Regarding how respondent got this particular job, she disclosed that she wanted to become a doctor and was not admitted to the medical school. She had to take up the teaching profession and she started out ~~working as a teacher~~ by majoring in Hungarian and German (languages). Nevertheless, after two years she switched over to the library science program and she received her degree in that field. The job she got was of her own choice.

The relations with her co-workers were extremely good. However, she suffered much because of the fact that she was a class alien. After



a year at the Budapest section of the university library, she was due for what they called rationalization<sup>what 1307</sup> was ~~then~~ "allowed" to accept the job at Godollo which, of course, meant a great of inconvenience for her because it was outside of Budapest --- about 25 miles or so. Respondent's immediate superior was a man of Russian-Lithuanian origin who held a job at the Budapest Agricultural University and also was on the ~~under~~ staff of the Ministry of Agriculture. Respondent did not maintain a too-good relationship with this immediate superior of hers, who was always very nasty to her. He did not have a librarian's qualifications. But, because he edited a Hungarian-Russian agricultural dictionary, ~~xxxxxx~~ the regime thought that he would make a good librarian, too. This man had a Hungarian step-mother and knew some Hungarian. Respondent's boss at the Godollo Library was a very decent fellow, as she said. He was not a Party member. He was a historian by profession but he had been working in a library since 1949. He was a great linguist, also. Respondent's other co-workers were not all qualified people. In that specific branch of the library, respondent and another girl were the only qualified librarians. There were many Party ~~xxxxxxx~~ members who had no qualifications, whatsoever.

Respondent believed that her fellow workers ~~who~~ were WELL qualified ~~were~~ for their jobs. Her superior also praised her for work well done, but she never received any official ~~praise~~. PRAISE,

On the Hungarian health and compensation programs respondent was able to give the following information: "The vacation program on the whole was a good program, and the communist regime liked to emphasize that since this program was established, more workers were able to benefit from it than ever before. This was however only on paper, - so, because the vacation program served mainly only the few chosen, and those who were party members more or less. The prices of those vacations were very low, but for instance, on purpose, they never took any married couples along together at the same time.

"The sick insurance program was good, but this was nothing new since we had an extremely efficient and good sick insurance program before the war already. Here ~~now~~, under the Communist regime, ~~xxxx~~ all the hospitals and medical centers were under-staffed and therefore the doctors could not examine the patients so thoroughly and this was mainly experienced in dentistry. The pension and compensation program on the other hand was thoroughly immoral. Pensions were very low, and also the majority of the people who earned their pensions were deprived of them. I know of many suicides committed by old despondent people. It very often happened ~~also~~ that if someone had a job in order to supplement the meagre pension, he was immediately deprived of his pension."

E. "I certainly would have preferred always to live in Budapest when in Hungary, because I found that the cultural standards in the provincial towns or in the ~~cuntry~~-side are much lower. Also in the capital we had more theaters, MOVIES, and the ~~xxxx~~ opera house etc. I also think that the general standard was higher in town, and ~~xx~~ also politically it was easier to live there."

"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, I did not think that it would work. My belief was based on facts I heard from my father who was an agricultural expert. The way that it was implemented in Hungary and carried out, there was no future in collectivization. It only meant a deficit for anybody who ~~was~~ took part in a collective farm. Furthermore no collective farming ~~can~~ can be successful if it is ~~enforced~~ enforced on the members. The poor peasants who did not own any land have joined a collective farm ~~it~~ it would improve their lot. The kulaks, the so called enemies of the regime, were of course never admitted to a collective farm, and in general I believe that the farmers in Hungary were very much against collectivization."

Respondent heard of collective farms being dissolved

during the revolution, but as far as she knew, some of them have rejoined the collective farm again.

The reason why they ~~dis~~ dissolved the collectives was because it was unprofitable and it was ~~voluntary~~ *COM PULSORY*.

As an agricultural worker in communist Hungary, respondent would have preferred to work on a private farm. Respondent said that she had heard so much about the state farms and the collectives that to her belief it was always better morally and pecuniarily to work on a ~~pxa~~ private farm.



morale, and also <sup>DARED</sup> to point out the different mistakes they are making.

On the Communist Party leaders, and their aims and motives in Hungary, respondent thought that the Communist Party in Hungary on the whole is a very well organized body ~~and~~ the members of which however, are not all wholeheartedly convinced of what they are doing and ~~how~~ they are doing. It is generally known that the top Party leaders in Hungary have sent large amounts of money, in fact fortunes, abroad where they have bank accounts in different foreign banks. Also as it had been generally known, Rakosi lived in a very un-Communist like way and better than any reigning monarch for that matter. All Hungarian top communists are Moscovites, and servile followers of the Russian Communist Party. Some of them are intimidated.

WHY "I'm thinking now of Kadar ~~and~~ all others are not very <sup>WHO</sup> intelligent. I believe that this is true for all Communists in the so-called People's Democracy. I believe that the whole Rajk case was a trap purposely set by the Soviet Communists for him, because he wanted to deviate from Moscow lines. On the whole, as history has proved, the Communist doctrine is based on lies and exploitation, morally and economically. I believe that there is a difference between the rank and file members and those of the leadership. The more so as there is no democracy within the Party, and there is a great deal of personal cult there. If and when Hungary were independent, I would send all top Hungarian communists back to the Soviet Union and they should stay there forever."

C. "I do not believe that before the revolution, there was any opposition to the Communists or let us put it this way, any open opposition. People were very easily arrested for the slightest sabotage, and this intimidated people. Also people were somehow apathetic, and felt that it would be completely useless to do so (to sabotage or slow down any work because it would have no effect at all.)

"I believe that the spirit of the revolution was kindled by the writers and the young people who gathered around the Petofi Circle. No writer or author can write or create anything under duress, and so it was quite natural in a way that the Petofi Circle became the focus of the revolution later on. It was here that the political debates started, and where people dared to express freely their thoughts and to criticize. It was in the Spring of 1956 when those literary, and later on political debates, ~~were~~ became widely known among the public, and many young people and university students also some of <sup>my</sup> colleagues attended those debates and told me about it. Even my boss at ~~the~~ the University library has spoken once at one of those meetings. And even before 1956 in the literary magazine, we could always find something which was new and which was more daring. I do not think that the intellectuals on the whole had specifically new things to <sup>SAY</sup>

They only formulated the ~~new~~ ideas everyone held and they just put it into a more factual shape. Members of the Petofi Circle were the spiritual leaders of the revolution so to say, and surely they were the spearhead of the revolution."

// It was a very old fashioned view and I do not hold it that the intellectuals are not down to earth and practical people. I have the greatest esteem for the older intellectual class and these people have shown ~~me~~ that under the communist regime when they were deported, they could work under the hardest conditions and could show a great deal of backbone. //

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

√ WAS  
A. "To my mind, anybody who was a member of the AVH was a man or woman of extremely base character who had ~~been~~ sold themselves for material gains, and have undertaken the torture of innocent people, and to carry out this repulsive ~~matter~~ of police torture and investigation. In our family my husband had a closer contact with the AVH police as he was arrested for an alledged conspiracy in connection with his activities within the peasants union. He ~~only~~ only in a so-called ar preliminary arrest, pending the investigation, but never the less he was tortured plenty. He still carries the scars on his leg for instabce where they burned him with cigarettes. //

"Since at that time he was not yet my husband, I cannot give anymore details about the treatment the AVH gave him when he was in prison. I've never heard of any AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH force, or who suffered remorsees. Nevertheless, I knew that some young people of the AVH force were not by choice members of this hated organization, because of the boys who were drafted in the Army were simply assigned to this unit."

"I certainly agree with the opinion that life in Communist Hungary was a constant anxiety and fear for many people. You never know when and why you might be arrested due to an enemy denunciation by a so-called friend, or for having dared to criticize the regime, and you were overheard by somebody. The general situation was the worst before the first regime of Imre Nagy, and ~~having~~ had improved by 1956. At present, as my people write from home, it has switched back to the fromer reign of terror and intimidation, and many people are again re-arrested."

"When and if Hungary is independent <sup>if</sup> ever, I do not know what you could do with the AVH men because their number goes into the thousands. However, I think the fairest way to deal with them would be to put them before a very strict and fair tribunal."

"As I mentioned before, I am sure that there are many who are innocent of any atrocities, but on the other hand, I also am sure and I know that the rang leaders merit a very severe sentence. I certainly would not be lenient with those."

The regular police behaved completely differently from the AVH during the revolution as it is well known, many of the regular police have either deserted or handed over their arms to the freedom fighters and also took part in the revolution. The regular police was decidedly against the AVH. I personally believe that communism had a deteriorating effect on the regular police force because first of all in the way they speaking with the people, and how they handled the crowd. In the old atimes, they were polite and nice mannered, now ~~the brutal force~~ was that they had ~~been~~ USG

BRUTAL FORCE

using, I could compare them very well with the Austrian police force. How nice they were. And the regular police under the communist regime was educated and brought up in that rude and brutal spirit. As I have previously mentioned we came out with a policeman from Hungary and he told me that the over-all competence of the regular police was not very good. I do not know whether or not they were honest. Regarding my personal experiences as to how the regular police behaved during the revolution, I can only say that I have seen it for myself during the ~~demonstrations~~ demonstrations for instance, how they were whole-heartedly with us and also I heard from my husband how they handed over weapons to the freedom fighters and fought on their side.

D. All courts in Hungary before 1945 had the reputation of being absolutely above board, very just, and administered justice without any bias. This was of course not the case with the courts, since then, and under the Communist regime, since politics were prevalent even in justice. Cases which had nothing to do with politics whatsoever, — I'm thinking of economic matters, — were also by some trick or other declared a political crime. It certainly must have been an extremely difficult thing to be a judge because he was also under constant duress and he could not act according to his own convictions."

I know that the People's Courts in 1945 and <sup>to</sup>/~~1947~~ were set up to deal with political crimes, and I also know that these courts acted under instructions of the Communist Party. At the time when the People's Courts had passed its sentences on so many political prisoners, I was still a youngster and therefore I cannot volunteer any opinion whether or not these sentences were just. "

E. "I believe ~~is~~ this is a misconception that feelings of Hungarians about the Russian Army were due to the events of 1848. I go even further. The experiences of the First World War that the Hungarian nation had with the Russians, wasn't bad either. The dislike of the Hungarian people of the Russian Army can be traced back only and entirely to the Russian Army's behavior in 1944 and '45 when they occupied Hungary under the pretext of "liberation."



We had first hand experience with the Russian occupation army in 1944 and '45. When they came in they were extremely primitively equipped and not at all mechanized <sup>✓ ALL</sup> compared to the German Army, and as soldiers on the whole, they were a very backward uncivilized Asiatic horde, <sup>45</sup> and when the first combat lines have passed our village, the others who were billeted in our place went out continuously to loot, to rape the women and etc. On the whole they were a very cultured and uncivilized lot. Our opinion of the Russian army has not changed since. The Russians were billeted in our house and we were evacuated. Of course, due to language barrier we never talked to them and ~~the~~ when they needed something, they just took it away and never paid for it. This was in '45. Later on also, quite until the outbreak of the revolution, the situation was about the same. We ~~also~~ had no contact with the Russian occupation army whatsoever, but it was generally know that all ~~the~~ those Russians who stayed in Hungary for a longer time, and especially those who had their families with them, loved living in Hungary and hated to leave it. Some of the older soldiers openly told however, that life in Hungary is much better than in Russia, and I recall a case where my father talked with one of these older men who was an agricultural expert also, and this man again stressed how much higher the standard of living in Hungary is compared to Russia.

<sup>✓ SAY</sup> Regarding the attitude of the Russian soldiers during the revolution, that is in the first days of the revolution, all I can <sup>✓</sup> say is what I have seen, that they were terribly scared. The whole revolution seems to have taken them by surprise, and somehow they couldn't quite grasp the idea of what ~~the~~ has happened to those people among whom they liked to live and were living unmolested. As I was not out in the streets during the fighting, I cannot give any information regarding the behavior of the Russian troops during the revolution or the differences between officers and enlisted men, younger and older men. I could see however the difference between the old troops that have been withdrawn and those that have been brought into Hungary on Nov. 4th. These new forces consisted of quite young ~~men~~ boys, about 16 or 17 years old, some ~~of~~ of them ~~did~~ didn't even know Russian and all of them were completely at loss as to where they were. They were told that they had come to fight Fascists and that they were sent to Germany. I have seen personally two cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarian civilians during the fighting and this once I saw them shoot at a small child in the street, and then an old man was also shot by them. He was queuing up for bread. Both cases were ~~just~~ the actions of trigger-happy Russian soldiers."

"I have also heard of many civilians being killed by Russian soldiers who did not carry any weapons and only wanted to cross the bridges."

E. The library of the University of Agrarian Sciences where

respondent worked, belonged <sup>to</sup> under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture. The President of the Trade Union for the University was represented by section chiefs. Each specific section of the University had its own chief, and these again had the so-called group heads under them. The Trade Union people were not all on the Party line, only the top leaders, and in every section they had a so-called confidential representative who kept an eye on all the people who worked in the office or library. The top trade union man was not an expert ~~in~~ but he had his deputy who worked instead and for him. This was the man who was an expert. Usually the administrative work was carried out by a typist, she at the same time was the so-called confidential representative. She mostly did only administrative work. If such a person was a Party member, then of course she kept up close contact with the Party also. The Communist Party had a similar organization which was as they said "built in" into the University staff. People however, were not aware of this fact, and only when the rationalization of the ~~ministers~~ came about, did they <sup>MINISTRIES</sup> find out. People who belonged to the Party kept pretty much to themselves. They attended the Party meetings, but never talked about them. They were in a special class by themselves.

Office discipline was strictly enforced, and everybody had to be on time. However in the last two or three years, the office superiors were more lenient in that matter, and they knew that people had to come by train and that the trains were often late.

Respondent did have the feeling that the top functionaries were especially hard on her, and this due to the fact that she was a "class alien," the daughter of the Communist Party member for instance was promoted over her head. She was formerly a ~~house~~ worker in a hair dresser shop, and has no qualifications whatsoever to work in a Library. Respondent mentioned one boss of hers who was the chief executive of the Library. He was not a Party member in spite of that fact, he made a point of looking out for his people's interest. This man was smart enough to represent the interests of the library in such a way that he was also able at the same time, to guard the interests of his employees.

F. <sup>//</sup> The Communist Party has blamed the regime before 1945 that they were exercising a great deal of ~~corruption~~ and ~~was~~ NEPOTISM such like. The Communist Party however did very much the same. In fact it was even worse. Nepotism was exercised mostly of course on the Party Line. I also heard of bribes being accepted at the housing commission office, and by the local Party councils, especially in the Provinces. But I never heard that you could bribe anybody at the AVH. If found out an official who accepted bribes was immediately dismissed, but due to the terrific corruption that reigned among these Party members, I do not think that they found it out very often, ~~before the time~~ The reason for the increased corruption during the Communist regime can be found

in the very bad and very low standard of living. People, and especially the more simple minded people had entirely lost their bearings, and they did not know anymore what is right or wrong. The personnel of a restaurant for instance stole the food wherever they could and whenever they ~~was~~ could. It was on the whole not considered a crime to steal from the state because the State was exploiting the individual so much."

G. "I do not believe that any member of the Secret Police had any talent or intelligence or was efficient. These people were family<sup>ly</sup> educated, unintelligent people who had inferiority complexes for some reason or other, and who again for some reason did not get any decent jobs anywhere else. As I said before, they have sold themselves for ~~the~~ terrific wages. They had their own PX shops where they could purchase good commodities for very low prices and for instance foodstuffs that ~~was~~ we never had seen for years and years like oranges, lemons etc. Among the Army leadership I am sure they also had a couple of Party people who were planted there, but on the whole, they had to keep some of the old reliable and efficient military leaders. Regarding the Russian leadership, I think that they mostly and primarily had to stay on the Party line. On the other hand they also must have been good military experts because the whole Soviet system is well organized militarily."

"In the field of bureaucrac~~y~~, I can only say that everywhere, the Party line was the most important factor, and not efficiency. Shortly before the revolution, this was even openly discussed by the newspapers."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

IN my opinion I don't see any changes in Hungary in the foreseeable future, regarding her internal policy. The Kadar regime is reverting to the Stalinist line, and is keeping its position by sheer terror and persecution. ~~It is a very small reward for the Hungarian nation to know that the entire Western world had finally found out now that the Soviet's~~ ~~ardent aim~~ is world domination. Therefore, maybe this unbearable situation which prevails in Hungary now, will not last for very long, and this is my sincerest hope also. What I wish for is that the Western powers would take over the initiative to put an end to the Soviet expansion policy, and take over the management of the world. The attitude of the Russian policy is very unpredictable. There are several ups and downs tending toward leniency and then again to more strict enforcement of the doctrine, and maybe this will happen again sometime.

I do not believe that any compromises would be acceptable for the Hungarians except a complete and true independence. As to the means whereby my hopes may be realized short of war, I ~~do~~ see only very severe ~~and~~ diplomatic and political reprisals against Russia. Everybody like myself would like to see this problem solved without war. Short of war, no diplomatic means can be used against the Soviet Union unless it is very strong, strict and perseverant. The internal changes in the Soviet Union are swinging back to the Stalinist line again, but maybe something or some deviation might occur in the satellite nations.

B. Before the revolution, during the last couple of years, it was fervently hoped by the majority of the Hungarians that Imre Nagy would be brought back into the Hungarian cabinet, and that Gero would not remain there. This was a solution that was generally expected and even the newspapers have had to write about this ~~problem~~. Since Imre Nagy since 1953 has won the confidence of the nation, it was generally believed that a solution like in Yugoslavia could be brought about with a gradual liberation. Nobody ever thought that a revolution would break out in Hungary.

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XIV. SOCIAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "I would like to see a democratic government in its real and true sense in an independent Hungary. The main emphasis in Hungary ought to be put on growing of fruits and vegetables, and also breeding livestock. I do not believe that Hungary should continue to grow wheat. I also of course would discontinue the several branches of heavy industry, but would like to see the light industry developed to a great extent. On the whole only those industries should be kept for which we have ample raw material in the country and do not have to import it. If the communist regime were overthrown in Hungary, I would leave the large national enterprises or State enterprises in the hands of the State such as all communications, then the mining and power stations. The smaller enterprises should go ~~back~~ back into private ownership and so should the industry and trade. Regarding the State farms, if a State farm had been made up by smaller properties, it should be given back to the owner. Some of the State farms should be kept as experimental farms as it has ~~been~~ been in the past before the war. I would also ~~would~~ like to see the cooperatives being dissolved and the land being returned to the rightful owners. Certainly if and at some places the cooperatives wish to remain, then they should ~~stay~~, but under an expert and adequate leadership.

"I think that 100 acres would be a good ~~max~~ <sup>LIMIT</sup> ~~unit~~ the government should allow that an individual person or family may own. Otherwise I would put no restrictions on other assets such as houses for instance."

Respondent would like to see a democratic, neutral, but independent government in a liberated Hungary. The form of the State that she would like is a Republic. When asked under which kind of government she would prefer to live in a n independent Hungary, she chose the first form the one that grants all personal freedom and rights, because as she said "after all, the main thing is that you have ~~it~~ liberty and if you are free you can work well, and you don't mind so much even if you are working under not very ideal conditions. I do not think that it would be necessary to outlaw the Communist Party in an independent Hungary because the Hungarian people know now very well what communism means."

G. The international position ~~the~~ respondent would desire ~~for~~ for an independent Hungary ~~would be~~ ~~desire~~ for Hungary is a situation which is similar to Austria-1 complete neutrality. "Hungary has always been a buffer state all the time in history and back to the 12th century. Now after years and sufferings, Hungary would really ~~merit~~ <sup>DESERVE</sup> to live peaceful, neutral and constructive life."

Respondent's ideas on relations with the USSR, East European states, the west of Europe and the ~~USA~~ <sup>USA</sup> were as follows:

"If Hungary is a neutral state, then of course I would not want to see her have any military relations with any of the afore mentioned countries. I would like to see Hungary have economic and cultural relations with everybody, but with the proviso <sup>W.H.</sup> that ~~if~~ Russia <sup>is</sup> if it is being kept on a very fair basis. I also think that it would be useful to have cultural relations with the Soviet Union for the mere fact that the Soviet Union should see what a new Hungary can be, and how life under a free democratic regime can work out."

Respondent has heard of the Danubian Federation before and she thought that it would be a very good idea if it could be devised so that it also works. Furthermore provided that it is kept under a strictly neutral basis. "I believe that it is extremely desirable that between the Soviet Union and the Western world there should be a large buffer state and not many small ones. This must be a unity so as to put ~~an~~ barrier to the Russian expansion policy. I am sure that this Danubian state federation could be established if worked out by able politicians."

Respondent was of the opinion that the general feeling about a Danubian Federation in Hungary is very favorable. Her opinion as to which states she would like ~~to~~ to have included in this federation, she said that Austria-Hungary and Yugoslavia would be the best. <sup>Rumania</sup> She did not like very much having Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria participate also. Nevertheless, she doesn't object to it if this would be the sine qua non.

The present boundaries of Hungary are unacceptable for respondent and she would like to see some adjustment of the borders which could be solved by means of an international committee or international arbitrating body. Also a plebiscite would be acceptable. The main aim should be that all people of Hungarian nationality should live within the country. Respondent was much concerned about the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary because since the general thaw last year in Hungary she had heard many things <sup>W.H.</sup> told by friends from Rumania and Czechoslovakia how the Hungarian minorities were treated there.

The whole problem of the Hungarian minorities is very important to subject. She is especially concerned with the fate of Hungarians who live in Transylvania, presently occupied by Rumania. She does not think that the Hungarian minorities there are being <sup>GIVEN</sup> a fair treatment as she has heard from her friends visiting from Transylvania. Also she believes that regarding the point of view of the whole Hungarian nation and Hungary itself, it is very important that the Hungarian

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minorities should live within the boundaries of  
Hungary

XV. THEIR FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent confessed that though she had heard about the Twentieth Party Congress she did not know anything about the Secret Speech of Khrushchev he held at this Congress. She explained that she was happy when she had nothing to do with politics and was not very much interested in it anyway. Respondent also did not hear anything about Senator McCarthy and the activities of the un-American activities committee.

Of Peron, she only knew that he was a dictator in Argentina, but did not know anything about what caused his fall.

Regarding Rakosi's private life, respondent said that very little was divulged by the authorities regarding his private life. Only during the revolution did people get hold of some news about how he lived and what sort of an apartment he occupied. Respondent was of the view that it was very characteristic of ~~the~~ one of the Communist leaders that although he tried to make Hungary a Communist State, and tried to enforce the Communist doctrine, nolens volens on the Hungarian people, he lived in luxury as befitting a Prince. He also took good care to put himself in the limelight ~~through~~ some cheap and corny action. He also was well known to practise nepotism, to a great extent, and it has been generally known that his relatives were planted in all important posts in Hungary. It was also rumored about his wife that she is only a planted spy who was selected by Moscow to keep an eye on Rakosi.

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B. Respondent was too young to give a picture of what she had read before and during the war regarding her reading habits in the last eight to ten years she disclosed the following: "I have read very few newspapers for the exclusive reason that I just hated the way they dished up the news. I especially disliked the Szabad Nep, with its slanted editorials and news commentary. The Magyar Nemzet was much better in this respect. I also have read the literary magazine. Regarding other literature, I mostly read the Hungarian classics and Western authors in translation. I never read anything by Russian authors because I just couldn't stomach their style. Some of the Russian classics however I did read. In the last one or two years I also read Hungarian ~~authors~~ ~~and~~ who came out in reprint. For instance ~~the~~ Aron ~~and~~ Tamassy books. However, I did not read the works of these modern or new Hungarian authors who wrote as the regime demanded and whose books were full of propaganda and were very slanted."

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"I distrusted the Hungarian Communist press because of



the pack of lies they were putting up day by day, regarding agricultural production, industrial production, about the plans for milk ferment<sup>and</sup> etc. We were fully aware of the fact that these are only a pack of lies. The only parts of the newspapers I did trust were the parts that referred to literature and the sports news. ✓ PROCESSING

"I handled quite a lot of publications from the USSR and the other satellites at the library where I worked. These were of course mainly highly specialized magazines referring to agriculture mostly. We also were allowed to order some of those periodicals or magazines from abroad. However the amount that was appropriated for that purpose was always kept at ~~the~~ lowest possible. From Russia we were allowed to order as much literature or magazines as possible. We had to apply for a special permit from the ministry if we wanted to order any Western magazines or text books referring to agriculture etc."

"Books that were put on the illegal list in Hungary were of course surrendered by the public libraries and destroyed. Some part of them however, was kept by the libraries with a special permit. These were packed in large cases and locked. For example ~~that~~ all books that referred to or treated the Rajk case were packed away and also when the anti Stalin campaign started, Stalin books were also packed up. As a rule it was the duty of the communist party member to collect these books and this was never the librarian of course, and to submit them to the authorities. Also for instance whenever a change of heart came about in the Soviet Union, about certain things we had to destroy and replace certain parts of the Soviet encyclopedia which was issued accordingly."

"People on the whole very seldom submitted books from their private libraries. Most of them kept them hidden and retained them in their possession. Some of them, a couple of books ~~as~~ they surrendered to show their good will."

Respondent disclosed that she always got news by word of mouth from people she knew best and good friends and co-workers. These news were of course mostly political ~~where~~ were heard over the Western radio. Respondent was of the opinion that this news, getting around by word of mouth was quite reliable and it was only the communist press that made a big ado about it, that people are conducting a whispering campaign and passing on exaggerated news."

Respondent always passed on news by word of mouth whenever it was possible and this she passed on to friends and

relatives. "During the past twelve years it always was the main topic whenever two or three people met to discuss the news heard on the Western radio because nobody ever believed the Hungarian communist press."

F. Regarding respondent's general cinema and theater habits, she felt that she was much too busy and had to work too much, and did not have much time to attend cinemas and theaters. Besides in the beginning of the Communist regime in Hungary every movie or play was so infiltrated with propaganda that she just hated to go and see it. She preferred the so-called classics or comedies. Here she mentioned that it was amazing how many times the writers of the sketches and comedies dared to criticize the regime and ridicule it. However, she thought highly of the Russian ballet which was extremely good in her opinion, and also the film dealing with the Russian ballet which came out in color were extremely beautiful. The colors were good, the actors were bad. She thought they were always ham actors. Among the Hungarian pictures there were a few which were quite good, especially in the later years. From 1955 on several ~~xxxxxx~~ Italian, French and British pictures were presented in Hungary. These she liked very much. The two plays she saw during the last few years and liked best were Ibsen's Nora and a play by an Italian author whose name she couldn't recall. Also she loved Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. Among the two movies she liked best, the Italian film ~~xxx~~ called Girls of Rome and a French picture ~~Infidel~~ Women.

UNFAITHFUL

XVI. EVENT<sup>s</sup> OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the chances of changes inside Russia, respondent thought that she does not believe that there is much hope for ~~this~~ this even though the young people had started a ferment ~~even~~ there after the Hungarian revolution, but ~~the~~ the Communist <sup>BECAUSE</sup> regime over there is keeping a very tight watch especially now, so as the events in Hungary should not be repeated any where else. Respondent did not believe that any revolution could break out inside Russia. The only way she believes that some changes should occur is by means of slow evolution. The reason for this respondent ~~said~~ is because communism had been discredited now in the West and all over the world during the Hungarian revolution and the Hungarian revolution has started a process which in the long run cannot be topped. In due time, all people's democracies will strive to become independent from the Soviet Union. In the end the Soviet Union itself will become incapable of maintaining the Communist regime.

Respondent ~~thought~~ firmly believed that had Russia a free election, the nation would certainly turn against Communism if the election would indeed be free.

In respondent's opinion the top leaders of Russia are the men who, in order to get ahead and in order to safeguard their own careers, are using effective propaganda and utmost cruelty to enforce the communist ideology throughout the world. "Maybe I am biased but I ~~am~~ very much doubt that there is real convinced and idealist communists among the top leaders of Russia. Maybe they are only one of two, because if someone really does know communism and its methods cannot possibly approve of ~~it~~ it. I see the difference between the Hungarian and the Soviet top Communist leaders in the fact that the Russian leaders are the ~~masters~~ masters and the Hungarian ones are their slaves. ~~Either~~ Either they do not dare or Soviet Russia does not let them go their own ways. This might be the only explanation for the fact that the Hungarian Communist leaders are so servile towards Moscow.

B. The relative popularity in Hungary of the other

nations of Eastern Europe, respondent put in the following order: first Poland, then Eastern Germany, and Czechoslovakia, but only until the revolution because at that time the Czechoslovaks behaved abominably towards Hungary, then comes Rumania and Bulgaria. "The Czechs, said respondent have disapproved off the Hungarian revolution and stood up for the Soviet Union. I also have heard that they have refused ~~th~~ entry to Hungarian refugees. The preferences and dislikes of the Hungarian people are always directed against the people because the governments are about the same everywhere in ~~th~~ satellite nations. The great sympathy towards Poland is mainly due to their mutual fate and the same sort of history as Hungary. On the other hand everybody respects Germany in Hungary because they consider the Germans the only real and staunch enemy and a bulwark against the Soviet Union."

Regarding the free elections in the above countries, respondent was not so sure so as to give an answer as to which country would completely turn away from Communism. The only nation she was quite sure of were the Germans.

On the standard of living, ~~the~~ respondent had the following opinion: Eastern Germany probably had the highest standard of living, and this is about the same in Czechslovakia also, followed by Hungary and Poland on the same level, then ~~Switzerland~~ Bulgaria, and Rumania is last.

C. On the Polish situation respondent thought that it seems to be changed. It is one step anyway in a good direction, and also respondent did not believe that Gomulka is a puppet in the hands of the Russians. The changes he brought about are favorable and respondent approved of a gradual change. She pointed out that Yugoslavia on the whole followed the policy of gradualism also when breaking off from the Soviet Union. However, respondent could not give any idea regarding the future outlook for Poland.

As to whether or not the events in Poland had any effect on the events in Hungary, respondent said: "Most certainly they did have an effect because primarily the university students staged ~~th~~ demonstration at the Bem statue in order to express their sympathy with the Polish thaw. Also the freedom of expression in Poland as experienced already in 1955 has encouraged the ~~Hungar~~ Hungarian public opinion greatly. Respondent referred here to the developments before the Posnan riots. However, she also pointed out that the Posnan riots and subsequent trials were well known to the

by the Communist press, but also by means of Western Radio.

Whether respondent would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines, she said, "Now, when I am looking back and see how ~~many~~ many lives Hungary has lost, maybe it would have been much better to proceed progressively, but I can assure that at that time nobody would have been satisfied with a compromise."

D. On Yugoslavia, respondent said the following: "I am convinced that Tito and his policy had influenced the Eastern European people. They have seen that this idea can be followed up and also something can be achieved. It was one way and means to break away from the Soviet Union. Also people in Eastern Europe have seen that the Western hemisphere is looking upon Yugoslavia's attitude favorably. Yugoslavia received different foreign loans; I do not think that Tito was the creator of National Communism. This was only said by the Soviet Union. Tito's relations with the other Eastern European nations, Russia and the West depended always on Moscow. These were a time when the so-called People's Democracies were HERMETICALLY sealed off from Yugoslavia on Soviet orders. After '55 however the ~~xxx~~ relationship was allowed to flourish again. Towards Russia Tito is trying to maintain Yugoslavia's independence and therefore he is careful not to go too far. However, as far as I know, since the Hungarian revolution, the relationship between the Soviet Union and Tito is not too good. He also has shown much consideration in the problem of the Hungarian refugees and on the whole he disapproved of the Soviet action in Hungary."

"As to Tito's attitudes and relationships to the Western hemisphere, this is very characteristic of him. He is a wonderful politician to the effect that he is a good turncoat, and regards his own, that is Yugoslavia's interests."

"As to Rajk case, I believe that he also tried to find a similar solution to that of Yugoslavia, but of course the Soviets wouldn't have tolerated that. We got news that during the Communist regime, that even the big shots could tumble down from their heights within twenty-four ~~xxx~~ hours if so ordered by Moscow."

"I do not know how popular Tito is in Yugoslavia, I think his break with the Soviet Union is looked on favorably by the nation nevertheless. As far as I know the conditions in Yugoslavia as to the standard of living, labor conditions, and freedom of expression etc. are much better than in Hungary. I also know that Yugoslavia has received huge Western loans, but in spite of this the country is very backward."

E. On the situation of China, respondent had the following view:

"First of all, China is neighboring the Soviet Union, and second the standard of living of huge backward masses is extremely low in China. Therefore it is very easy to achieve results with promises, and lovely slogans. Also numerically, China is a potential rival of the Soviet Union, and this is probably the reason why Moscow is more lenient with China than any other Communist Country."

Respondent did not know anything about the relations with England and India.

"On the Suez situation I do not know very much and therefore I can't give a very straight answer. All I can say is that due to the Suez situation the whole problem of the Middle East has become more involved, and the controversies are increasing. I only think that the big powers should have gone ahead in this matter with a little more diplomacy. I would like to say this, that on the whole the whole world ought to learn a great deal from the Soviet Union about diplomacy. So far their foreign policy has been ~~thoughtless~~ and they never ~~did make any mistakes~~. I do not approve of the Israeli ~~xxxx~~ invasion either. As to whether or not Egypt was right to nationalize the canal I know very little about this problem and therefore cannot give my opinion."

"I feel however that events in Egypt ~~in~~ had a very serious effect on events in Hungary in the Fall of 1956. I see the main tragedy in the fact that the United Nations was completely powerless to act ~~in~~ on behalf of Hungary due to the events in Egypt and the Anglo-French invasion."

F. "I have the impression that the living standard in Western Germany is extremely high, maybe surpassed only by the standard of living in Sweden."

"The assertion that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war in my mind is nothing but Soviet propaganda and mainly directed against the rightful desire of the German nation to see their country united. The Russians know perfectly well that this is of greatest importance not only to Germany, but to America also because Germany is the bulwark against Soviet expansion."

"Of the West German rearmament I do not know many details, I only believe knowing the Germans, that technically it certainly must be excellent and also I have heard and seen that the only enemy the Russians ~~xxxx~~ fear are the Germans, therefore the West German military strength must be of some importance. I have no idea however how long the term of service in the West German army is."

*West German Army*

"N obody who has lived in Europe can ask such a question as to compare the German army with the Russian occupation army. There is no doubt about that, that the Russians are the worst occupation army you can imagine. The reason for this is that first of all, that the Russians are an uncultured lot. Here we must distinguish by all means between the German army and the German Nazis, because the Nazis of course were those who persecuted a section of the population. I am thinking here of the Jews. But as soldiers the German army is above board. They are very courageous, very intelligent cultured people. The German army of course was the better disciplined regarding both officers and enlisted men. Even though the German army invaded Hungary and disregarded all its values, the Russian army was still the most unpopular!!

Regarding the People's Labor Party respondent could not give any view because as she said all they heard about this party was ~~tax~~ in a biased way by the Hungarian Communist Press and Radio. All they were told during these past years was that at the Western Labor Parties on the whole are fellow travelers of Western capitalism, and do not serve the interests of the working class.

On the living standard of various Western European countries, respondent said that she believed that the living standard in Western Germany is the highest followed by Great Britain and Italy, but about Egypt respondent said that she could give no idea at all and neither could she about Greece, or the Soviet Union, but she believes that the living standard here is very low.

H. The terrific dimensions everywhere and in every way surprised the respondent mostly in her first months stay here in the US. She mentioned in particular the sky-scrapers, the super highways the distances, the bridges and the tremendous abundance in material and food.

About what the United States should do now for the people and nations of Western Europe, respondent had the following idea:

"All I can suggest is that the United States should promote and work for the idea that all Eastern European nations form a United bloc. I believe that this would be the best solution to stem Soviet expansion and the creation of a buffer state comprising all Eastern European nations on the pattern of the United States like the forty-eight states working together for the same purpose. I believe that this would be the only and practicable solution."

"Regarding the present foreign policy of the United States, I see that this country is striving to do something, but I think that the foreign policy of the United States on the whole is too weak. After all it is not only in the interest of the Eastern European states, but finally and ultimately in the interest of the United States to put an end to Soviet expansion."

"I believe that the United States should ~~xxxxx~~ give aid to the present governments of Poland and Yugoslavia and the rest because this would tie

these countries more strongly to the Western world and to the West and would promote stronger ties. However, even though the Hungarian nation would deserve some assistance from the United States, the Kadar regime in Hungary should not be favored with this because I'm that not a penny would be used for the people. On the other hand, on second thought, this might easily become a second Egypt when ~~the~~ the United States turned Egypt down for receiving help and Egypt jumped at this to extend a helping hand and thereby tied Egypt to the Soviet Union economically and politically."

I did not change my attitude nor my ideas on what the United States could do since I came to this country despite the fact that we were stuffed with propaganda, nevertheless we were fully aware that the United States was willing to do something. ~~Even~~ Even though during the revolution no help was forthcoming, ~~and~~ presently the United States has extended a large-scale program so as to assist all refugees. Therefore I am sure that everyone is grateful.

As I said before, it is extremely difficult to find a workable solution regarding the present relations ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the United States government with the government of Hungary. And I believe that even smarter people than myself do not see what can be done. Nevertheless, as I can see, the Russians have always found a good solution for everything which I cannot say from the United States which has blundered several times."

I don't quite understand the question whether or not Hungary would like to see more Western visitors. This can only happen if the Communist government is willing to let them in, then it is no problem, because everybody ~~xxxxxxx~~ certainly would like to; however, I don't see how we can talk about it when the borders are sealed off as they are at present for foreigners. I believe that on the whole, Hungarian people would certainly like to see more Western visitors and they ought to be of all classes and professions. Certainly newspapermen, authors and diplomats would be most welcome. Also it is hoped that these people in the latter category know the situation in Hungary already and will not be taken in by the tales of the Communist government. I ~~think~~ think also that the Hungarian diplomats and newspapermen would be the most suited persons to inform the visitors as to what to see in Hungary. I thinking here of a fifty-fifty ratio of new and old Refugees ~~and~~ politicians."

Whether or not Hungarians would like to ~~and~~ receive Western books and periodicals, here again I must say that at present this is impossible, also people at home do not have the money to pay for these publications. If and when the Hungarian government would let these periodicals and books in, I believe that the best place to send them to would be the public libraries where from they would be available to everyone. The reaction of people at home regarding the relations of Hungarian exiles participating in sending books or Western visitors to Hungary, would certainly be favorable because they would feel that somehow these people are doing something for them. On the other hand, this again might bring about retaliations by the government and the people receiving books and periodicals could be persecuted for this if it is not allowed by the authorities.



"So as I said before I do not find this question very appropriate now."

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"The purposes of the United States when launching the Marshall Plan were of course interpreted by the Soviet and the Hungarian Communist press in a very ~~controversial~~ way. We at home at that time were told, the United States is launching the Marshall Plan only for the purpose of tying the different Western European countries to the apron strings of America. By acclaiming loudly that anything that comes from the West is bad and has some ulterior purpose, the Soviet Union only camouflaged its own attitude., because it is in fact the Soviet Union that oppresses all small nations and exploits them to the utmost extent. I for myself, believe that the Marshall Plan was launched with the intention of helping economically the Western European countries and to get them to cooperate in an over-all commercial and trade plan."

"As to why America became involved in the Korean war, I believe that America just wanted to put an end to Communist expansion in the East."

J. "It is my sincere belief that the United Nations could have affected the situation in Hungary in 1956, had the United Nations enforced vigorously and with greatest energy and determination all the sanctions that were voted. After all the Soviet has invaded a defenceless country, and therefore the United Nations should have enforced all these sanctions against a member nation."

"I am sure that the United Nations have learned a great deal by the Hungarian case, but this was a very high price to pay for the Hungarians. I think the effectiveness of the United Nations can only be improved if the charter is changed, and unless something happens to this effect we can only hope, but not believe in any actions in the near future on the part of the United Nations regarding Hungary."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

"IT IS HARD

A. To define the greatest living Hungarian and to find someone who would merit this adjective, it is very deplorable that we do not have a second Louis Kossuth. During the revolution we had quite a few spiritual leaders among those I would mention J lius Illyes, who wrote the stirring poem on tyranny. Politically at that time ~~that~~ there was only one man, Imre Nagy in whom all hopes have centered. He, however, would have been only a temporary solution. Nagy was an honest Hungarian who despite the fact that he had been a member of the Communist Party he was the first one to turn against the kind of Communism the Russians wanted to enforce in Hungary. Imre Nagy had character and knew what the Hungarian people wanted, and with what they were fed up."

"I greatly admire Cardinal Mindszenty who dared to speak up against Communism and who was not intimidated despite his atrocious experiences in prison. Everybody rejoiced when he was freed from prison.

"Of Rajk, I cannot say anything other than what I said before."

"All cruelty is written on the face of Gero. By his attitude during the revolution, he has more than proved to what an extent he serves the Soviet Union."

"Nobody believed that Kadar, after his prison experiences, would again come up as a trusted man by Moscow. My personal opinion of him is that he is thoroughly and wholly intimidated and has no will of his own anyway."

"We must speak with greatest gratitude of President Eisenhower who has extended the American haven to so many Hungarian refugees. And it is our sincere hope that he be able to direct the policy of the world and to be more strong in doing so."

"We also have great hopes that he will not let lapse into forgetfulness, the Hungarian cause, and some help on the part of the United States will still be forthcoming."

"I think that Secretary General Hammersjold is doing his best to enforce the authority of the United Nations and hope that he will continue his work on behalf of Hungary."

Of the other Dulles, Eden, and Truman, respondent could not say very much because she knew much too little about them so as to give an opinion about their activities.

Of Mikoyan, Nehru and Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Chek, respondent again could not give any views. On former Hungarian prime minister Ferenc Nagy, she knew that he was charged by the Hungarian Communist government with conspiracy and that he lives presently in the United States. Of former President Roosevelt she could not tell anything.

Of other personalities she thought that he is the greatest

thorn in the side of the Soviet Union. In respondent's eye, Stalin is a dictator on whose life an evil DEEDS books could be written.

Of Malenkov she only knew that he was one of the top Communists.

Of Franco she had no idea at all and she asked who is Aneurin Bevan/

She knew a little bit more about Khrushchev, she said that this was the man who took over when Stalin died.

Tito she could not add anything beyond what she said before, and of Peron she had not heard.

Of Molotov she cannot give any opinion at all, and it was the same regarding Ollenauer.

Of former British Prime Minister Churchill, she volunteered the opinion that he was one of the greatest statesmen of our lives.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. On the Hungarian escapees, the respondent held the following opinion: she thought that mostly the intellectuals and the working class were represented among the escapees, and very few Hungarian peasants have left the country. Their ages ranged between very young people and middle-age. However, the majority was the younger generation and also they were mostly young men. X The reason for their escape was fear from the consequences and deportations due to their active participation in the Hungarian revolution. Then also people were glad to find an opportunity to get rid of Communism and to leave their dire life behind and to start life anew under better circumstances.

As to from which part of the country the escapees mostly came from, respondent thought that of course the majority was from the Western part of Hungary. Nevertheless a great number of people came from the capital Budapest, and also from Gyor which is an industrial center in the Western part of Hungary.

Respondent was of the belief that those who stayed behind have chosen a very very heavy lot. These people either did not want to leave their homeland ~~and~~ or had too strong family ties. "We all are extremely sorry for our kin who stayed behind. Our hearts go out for them because we certainly do know what kind of a life they are going to lead from not on."

"I believe that on the whole the opinion of those people in Hungary about us who have left is not unfavorable. Anyway our kin and friends are glad and think that we have been wise in leaving Communist tyranny. Also they ~~are~~ are glad for us that we can make a living in a free country."

"Even assuming that all Hungarians had a chance to come to the West I do not think that they would do so. After all 9 Million people cannot leave a country. Furthermore, the people who came out came only because they had to save their lives, and as a ~~rule~~ rule Hungarians are very patriotic minded people and do not willingly leave their homeland."

B. I only have heard of Ferenc Nagy former Hungarian prime minister who lives in exile in America. I cannot recall any other names nor do I know of any other Hungarian ~~in~~ exile organizations

in the West."

On the list of organizations and individuals respondent remarked that she heard only of Varga, of Ferenc Nagy, Tibor Eckhardt, who are all Hungarian politicians in exile. Respondent also mentioned Paul Auer and Imre Kovacs as politicians in exile in the West.

Respondent was aware of the fact that Otto Hapsburg is the last descendent of the Hapsburg. She also mentioned that she had a very good opinion about the young men, but of course during the Communist regime in Hungary all his actions and articles etc, were thoroughly misrepresented.

Respondent named Admiral Horthy as the last governor of free Hungary who died recently in Portugal.

In reference to people who left Hungary before 1956, respondent said: "I do not know very much about the activities of these people, but I give them the benefit of the doubt and I presume that being good Hungarians they will try to do their best for and on behalf of our homeland."

C. Respondent did not know any family who has left Hungary after 1945 and who returned to Hungary later on. On the redefection campaign of the Communists, respondent held the view that this had a propaganda purpose only. That is the Soviet Union and the Communist regime of Hungary would have liked to prove to the West that the Hungarians prefer life in Hungary. Also they wanted to show that they are good boys, and forgive sins committed against the Hungarian state. Nevertheless this redefection campaign was unsuccessful. There were a few people who did return from sheer homesickness, and also on account of family reasons.

D. "From the letters we are receiving from home, people in Hungary are interested in everything that refers to our life here. Nevertheless there is very little we really dare to write, even though we know that they do not get a good picture of the life in the West in the Hungarian press. I think that our people should know for instance that we are not forgetting them, nor does the Western world completely forget what Hungary did in the Fall of 1956."

"All exiles including myself, should do their utmost for the purpose that the Hungarian cause should be kept alive in public opinion. Also people here in the United States and the Western world ought to understand that there is no reason to be scared by the Russians. The Soviet Union is putting up a great deal of bluff. Furthermore it is our duty to behave in a way that the Hungarian people should be liked and respected here in the West."

Respondent expressed the desire to join an exile organization but only if she knows the purposes of same. She would prefer that it be a cultural organization with the purpose that the cultural riches of the Hungarian nation be preserved among

the immigrants. Also that the Hungarian language be /  
taught to children. Furthermore that the Hungarian emmigrés  
be able to get Hungarian books and literature. On the whole  
respondent held the view that it is not necessary to  
restrict the membership of this organization to the new  
immigrants, only.

On the various political parties before '48, respondent held the  
opinion that despite many political parties being active  
at that time such as the Social Democrats, the Christian  
Democrats, and the Peasant(s) Party, it was the Smallholder's  
Party that was most what ~~they~~ desired to be. She fefered to  
the first and the last free elections after the war in which the  
Smallholder's Party gained majority.

Respondent does not know nor has she heard anything about  
parties in exile. In reference to the parties that were  
revived in Hungary during the revolution, respondent was  
of the view of the view that it was really irrelevant whether  
they have started their activities, and this problem was  
brought up already during the revolution. She was of the  
opinion that agains t the over powering might of the Russioans  
notheing could have been achieved anyway, politically.

6. Respondent plans to return to Hungary, but only if Hungay  
is liberated and Communism is wiped out. She pointed out that  
from the very beginning this was her only purpose in life,  
not that she is not happy and content here in the United  
States, but she feels that will not be able to ajust herself  
completely to the American way of life and besides she is =  
a much too great and deeply convinced Hungarian patriot.  
And for the very same reason she will always want her  
children to learn Hungarian as well as English while in the  
United-States.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. "It was only the foreign radio that we listened to while in Hungary. The stations most frequently listened to were the BBC, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe. All these stations were always jammed. Now and then we were able to fish out one of the wave lengths which carried a better broadcast. We listened mostly to the broadcasts in Hungarian language, and very regularly for that matter. However, we preferred the BBC broadcasts to the others, because the BBC gave the most factual news without any commentary. On the other hand RFE did not give straight news. We liked the other programs broadcast by RFE. It was only to news material which we thought to be exaggerated. Also RFE by holding out hopes has encouraged the Hungarian people to a great extent to believe implicitly in instant help and in consequence, to be thoroughly disillusioned and unhappy when none came forth. The broadcast from the United Nations session were also very good and we listened to them all the time. We had our own radio and we listened to it either in the family or together with friends. We also always told everybody about the news we heard on the radio as did people in Hungary under the communist regime."

In listening to foreign radio broadcasts, there was danger involved from 1948 to 1953. The government became more lenient after 1953 and again it became a little bit more strict after a year or so. But after the death of Stalin, nobody cared very much whether the authorities know that we are always listening to foreign broadcasts. In fact as respondent said there was no straight rule about radio broadcasts being prohibited to be listened to, but the police used it usually as a pretext when charging someone with trumped up charges. The usual slogan was dispersing foreign propaganda and subversive news.

"As I previously said we preferred the BBC for more factual and unbiased news commentary. We could only base our judgement on comparing the BBC news with happenings in Hungary."

"Before the revolution, the news from the Western world as broadcast by the foreign radio stations was always most welcome and also during the revolution it was the only broadcast we could listen to, because in the first days of the revolution there were no other broadcasts."

"I do not think that the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe or other Western broadcasts needed to incite the Hungarian people to revolt against Russian oppression. We had ample reason for that, but I would admit this, that Radio Free Europe did commit a great mistake when holding out promises for Western help which were taken seriously by the freedom fighters and the whole Hungarian nation."

"Radio Free Europe should certainly continue to broadcast into Hungary even now the more so, because the Hungarian nation is

completely shut off from the Western world and will not be able to receive any unbiased information for a long time to come."

I believe that straight news without superfluous commentary regarding politics and economic events should be broadcast. Also cultural programs and programs about life in Western Europe and the United States. However, I do not think that any anti-communist propaganda is necessary or is welcome any more in Hungary.

B. Respondent did not hear the initials NEM nor did she hear the twelve demands. X

C. Respondent did not see or hear anything about Free Europe leaflets.

She does not think it is worthwhile to drop any leaflets into Hungary because the "addp broadcasts can say so much more and give more information, also the Communist propaganda will only use this as a retaliation measure against the population.

D. "I believe that the Western groups that have broadcast and that sent leaflets into Hungary have the same aim, and the same purposes. They want to inform the people behind the Iron Curtain about the foreign political events."



## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

On the way that children should be brought up, respondent was of the view that the child should be taught primarily to respect the parents and family life. The parents should try to create a family atmosphere so that family should really mean something to the child. Respondent also thought that religious instructions is extremely important in the education of a child though it should not be going into extremes. A child must learn to become a useful member of the community. Spiritually the parents must direct the education of the child, that a child should learn everything that it is able to learn and to make a good career in life. On the whole, that a child should really become a man. Last but not least a child should learn to love its homeland and be a good patriot.

On the discipline of children, respondent held the following views: "Discipline is an extremely ~~important~~ important factor in child rearing and I am convinced that a child must be disciplined. It depends entirely on the nature of the child, however, how the discipline should be applied and what sort of a discipline should be used. If necessary it must be physical punishment also. I do not say that a child must always be beaten, but a good slap now and then does not frustrate anybody's ego. Punishment must be employed when educating a child otherwise it will never be disciplined.

It needs a great deal of perseverance on the part of the parent of course to enforce her authority. The treatment for the children must always be changed according to their sex and age.

In recalling an incident of her childhood when she was punished for mischief respondent recalled that she was four years old when dancing on the top of a table where the radio was, the table toppled over and she broke the radio. On this occasion her father gave her a very good spanking. On the whole respondent said that she was very seldom physically punished, but nevertheless she was now and then.

Among people respondent knew, children who were six years old or older were punished by both parents. The form of punishment as respondent said varies greatly for the different social classes. In her opinion it is only the intellectual class that can really educate the child and also can use the means of punishment intelligently. On the other hand it happens very often that it is the intellectual person who gets more nervy and loses patience.

"The authority of the parents on the whole has greatly deteriorated in the last ten years or so and this was due to the fact that the children spent very little time at home and also both parents had to work and so the family life wasn't so close anymore. Also the teachers have lost authority over their pupils due to the new regulations in the schools.

|| Among people I knew there was no line to be drawn about the time that physical punishment was abandoned for boys or girls. If a child did deserve punishment he or she got it. In general punishment is abandoned in the age around fifteen I would say. As previously said, communism did bring about changes in this respect because as physical punishment was abolished the parents have less authority over the child. As a rule, in Hungary, as long as the child stays within the family, it has to obey implicitly the parents.

During the communist regime, ~~in~~ in Hungary, the discipline of children underwent a change in the first six eight years in school. The techniques of discipline before Communism consisted of, for the boys, physical punishment or a warning note by the teacher in more severe cases from the dean or headmaster of the school and finally expulsion from the class. For girls it was about the same with the exception that physical punishment was very seldom employed against girls except for a rap on the knuckles with a ruler or so when they were smaller. Under the Communist rule in Hungary, physical punishment was completely abolished at schools. The only method of discipline a teacher could use remained a note to the parents by the teacher or the school master.

On characteristics she valued most in a friend, respondent said: "Two friends must have implicit confidence in each other and also be willing to help each other, especially if one of them is in trouble."

Regarding changes in friendship under communism, respondent was under the impression that people were more cautious when selecting their friends. Also she knew of cases when people were let down by their best friends. Also Communism has developed suspicion in people much more. Many friendships were loosened due to the political situation, for instance, when people kept apart from their friends in order not to bring any harm to them because they were ~~for instance~~ suspected by the regime.