

Interviewers Impressions of the Subject

Background is of the upper middle class. Respondent received a very good education. Father's income assured the family a comfortable and easy life. Due to father's interest and occupation, (he was the editor-in chief of one of the largest Catholic newspapers in Hungary and active in politics), subject at an early age became very interested in politics.

She is extremely intelligent, an ardent patriot; but very much biased, and unable yet to appraise her own and her countries present problems. She looks upon every thing from a very personal angle, and is therefore narrow-minded regarding many points.

I do not think that she will adjust well and easily, as she is full of prejudice and does not want to conform either, for that matter. She is unable yet to see the good sides of living here and sees only the bad ones as compared to her own standard and too high expectations.

The fall of the Hungarian revolution has effected her very deeply, and she finds that the whole world has let her country shamefully. She is a cynical, bitter, and very disillusioned young woman.

I believe that when quite young, she was a great idealist, but the events in Hungary have brought about a cruel break in her general philosophy.

II. MAJOR SALIENTS AND WARM-UP QUESTIONS

"There are two things I would like to point out that the American people ought to know about events in Hungary, in the Fall of 1956.

The first is that Radio Free Europe even in December was still encouraging the Hungarian Freedom Fighters and as a matter of fact on the 12th of December I still remember hearing it; and holding out high hopes for help from the West which I found thoroughly irresponsible.

The second thing at which I was appalled was the article of Life Magazine about the Hungarian revolution, and especially the part of it in which they at great length wrote and discussed the incident with that AVH officer, putting it as if he were a "victim" of the revolution. I would like to point out that this man certainly was not a victim. He was only judged by the rightful wrath of the people.

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

A. "ON the 22nd I had no notion whatsoever what was going to happen in Budapest. I lived outside the town and we did not hear a thing about it. On the 23rd of October, I went to my office as usual. The office was situated in the middle of the town. About ten o'clock I called somebody by phone in another office, but couldn't get hold of anybody and was told that the people are out to demonstrate.

I left my office also and went to see my husband whose office is in the 7th district of Budapest. We both went to the corner of the Great Boulevard at Rakoczi ^{around twelve-thirty} V STREET. By that time we saw the twelve points of the University students pasted all over the streets and the walls of the houses. We then returned to my husband's office again and picked up a few of his friends in the office and fifteen of us crowded into two taxis and rushed down to the Bem statue. Here the crowd was not yet very dense and we heard several young people recite patriotic verses and also singing, and people were ~~walk~~ waiting for the other demonstrators to turn up who came from the Petofi statue.

Everybody had been wearing red white and green COCKADES in their buttonholes distributed free by a haberdasher nearby. The crowd grew every minute. People sang and ~~the~~ were reciting and shouting their different slogans.

I rushed back to my office to pick up some more people, and I got hold of ten co-workers then, and all of us went back again to the Bem statue.

By that time the square was so full that you could hardly drop a nickel. We started shouting at the military ^{V BARRACKS AT} barracks on the square ~~and also soldiers~~ who were looking out on the crowds, ^{V TO DECORATE} ~~and~~ the windows of the barracks ~~were~~ ^{V HUNG TO} with the Hungarian flag, ~~hoisted a new flag~~. The soldiers there shouted down that they were not allowed to come out, but nevertheless, the Hungarian flag without the hated Russian insignia was hoisted very soon. They tore off the Soviet insignia from their uniforms, and threw them down into the street. The crowd then surged back to the Parliament, we walked; the others took trucks. About seven ~~o'clock~~ o'clock, Peter Veres tried to talk to us, but he was booed at. Then Imre Nagy also began his speech, "Dear Comrades" and was booed ^{too}.

I had to leave the Parliament Square very soon, however, because I had wanted to go home and I knew that it would be very difficult to get any kind of transportation, seeing the crowd and the excitement in the city. I only heard at the time that I left ~~that~~ the crowd wanted to go to the Radio Building. When I arrived home, I heard Gero's speech on the radio.

"While it is very difficult to describe how I felt and how everybody felt at the time that we started to demonstrate, there was a general feeling that all Hungarians were united. I was terribly happy to see the Hungarian flag being hoisted again, and felt somehow very much elated to be free at last, and I believe that everybody else felt likewise. When for instance I went back to my office to pick up other friends, to join the revolution, and I went by the streetcar, strangers whom I never had seen before were embracing me and hugging me only because I was wearing a red, white, and green cockade. However, after I heard the speech by Gero, I was scared. I knew that very strong retortions are coming up. To be quite frank, that very evening already, I did not even hope for those few days of free Hungary, and I only was expecting that something awful would be the result of all this.

✓ DEMONSTRATION

We wanted a complete change in the government. We wanted that Prime Minister Imre Nagy be reinstalled as the leader of the Hungarian government. And on the whole everybody wanted that the twelve points of the University students be complied with. We mainly wanted that the Russian Army leave Hungary immediately and the old Kossuth coat-of-arms and the Hungarian flag be restored. That the Hungarian army and police be given new uniforms. That the uranium mines become the property of the nation. And so on.

I am sure that at that time we would have accepted about half of our demands had the government complied with them. Because we were firmly convinced that if Nagy returned as the head of the government, the fact itself would give an assurance that his policies as started in 1953, would be carried out and a steady and slow improvement in the situation in Hungary would be forthcoming. I personally was convinced of this only up to the point of Gero's speech over the radio. After that I knew that everything was lost.

✓ TIME

"As to who did take part in the demonstrations, and who did not it is very difficult to say at all, because I have seen small children, school children, teenagers, young people, students, old people. I have seen workers, intellectuals, policemen, even soldiers. I think that all social classes and all age groups were represented. Surely the only people who did not take part in the demonstrations were the Communists."

"Regarding the organization of the demonstrations, I only know that the University students have edited the twelve points and they wanted to conduct a peaceful demonstration of the 23rd. But otherwise the whole demonstration was completely spontaneous, and the people just joined in as the students marched through the streets."

"I am pretty sure that had the government let the chair

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students read their points over the radio, and had Gero not spoken in the way ~~that~~^{as} he did, and finally had the AVH militia~~s~~ not opened fire against a defenseless crowd, the whole bloodshed could have been avoided."

"My husband told that for instance a whole detachment of policemen who were ordered to restore order and arrived without arms in front of the Radio Building, the moment ~~that~~ they saw the AVH fire they returned with trucks to the barracks and the arms factory and returned then with the young students and fought with them. The night of the 23rd, between 11 and 12, at the Calvin Square, everybody who wanted, could have picked up arms. They were distributed there."

"The revolutionary slogans such as Freedom Fighter and the rest, came up only after the 24th. As a matter of fact I heard it only for the first time on the 25th. As far as I can remember. As to who fought and who did not, all I can say, that anybody who was able to get hold of some sort of an arm was doing so. I have seen children nine years old, and I also have seen old men of 70, boys and girls. I think that only those did not fight who for some reason of other were scared to lose their jobs. But I am sure that even those were fighting with us by giving us encouragement. After all you can fight without weapons also by the way you conduct yourself and how you encourage other people."

"The Freedom Fighters were not organized either, unfortunately. They were small groups, who after the 24th elected their own leaders; and there were some who became leaders who were former officers or soldiers. I have heard of Col. Maletz who was in the Kilian barracks, and also an old former army sergeant called Uncle Szabo, who was fighting at the Szécher, Buda."

"On November the 10th, this old man together with his whole family was arrested by the AVH."

"Also I know of a group that fought in the castle up in the Buda hills and I have ~~many~~ heard that many Chinese and Korean students fought side by side with the Hungarian students. They were also many Red Cross nurses among the Korean student girls. Later in Vienna I met one of those Korean students who fled Hungary."

"Even till the middle of December we were hoping that something would be done and that we would receive help. That's why we stayed so long in Hungary and left only on the 24th of December. Also don't forget that for twelve long years we have heard only this on the radio: 'If you start to do something by your own forces and you start to show that you are against the Russian regime, we are going to help.' For instance on November the 5th, Radio Free Europe again promised that UN troops would be sent to Hungary."

" We were fully aware that it was not Prime Minister Nagy who asked for Russian help on October 24th. Because he, as well as everybody else, knew that the troops stationed in Hungary were unreliable, as it has been proved. By November 3, when the Russian troops were called in, Nagy was already a prisoner of the AVH. And it was Gero who did the dirty job. On the other hand, we also heard that the so-called Szolnok government headed by Kadar, is responsible for calling in the Russian troops."

" On November 3, there was a press conference in the Parliament building at which the Russians informed the Hungarian government ~~that~~ what were the conditions of withdrawal. They wanted to have staged a public demonstration for their withdrawal, complete with flowers and flags and crowds. Then they wanted ~~that~~ the Hungarian nation repair the Russian monuments which had been damaged during the revolution. They wanted ~~that~~ Hungary recompense them for all military damages, and last but not least ~~that~~ Hungary continue to be a "Socialist State." Col. Maletier left for further discussions on November 3 at 11 o'clock. He was the head of the military deputation, but he was captured as is well known now, and never returned."

C. "The days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the reinvasion, I spent in my office. However ~~we~~ didn't do very much real work there. People were indulging in politics, we formed our revolutionary council and fired our Communist manager. At that time I moved in to live with my sister who lived in Buda because my husband had disappeared from the 25th of October ~~November~~, and he returned only on the 4th of November. As I found out later, he was in the AVH prison for three days and when he managed to escape ~~he~~ he joined the revolution and the National Guard."

At first we believed that the Russians were retreating indeed. However, on November 2, the radio from Vienna gave the news that new Russian troops had arrived in Hungary. The government then asked the Russians what all this means. The answer to this was ~~that~~ that they only wanted to safeguard their withdrawing troops. I saw the first returning Russian troops on November 4th. By that time we had heard and known that there must have been some treason and General Kiraly was surrounded by traitors. He was the commander in charge of the town and even he didn't know that the Russians were returning. The Hungarian army was completely unprepared. For instance, ~~the~~ ^{ONE OF THE} tank ~~units~~ was captured in the barracks in their sleep. So we are rather sure that some planted agent must have been in General Kiraly's surroundings.

After the Red army had returned, I again went back to my office, but here again we never worked very hard. We held meetings; we again dismissed our

Communist manager. I also participated in the demonstration of the women on December the 2nd, when we laid flowers on the unknown/soldiers grave in ^{HUNGARIAN} Budapest. We marched among the row of Russian soldiers in a silent march and put our flowers and wreathes on the monuments.

After December 10, when we had seen that all hope was lost, and since we had known the Russians too well, and last but not least, because my husband and myself took an active part in the revolution, and on the 19th the new order of the government that everybody who had taken part in the revolution is going to be turned over or looked up, all this was instrumental in planning our escape.

We started on the 17th of December, but were captured by the Russians two and one-half miles from the Hungarian border. There were four of us, my husband and another young couple, and we were carrying many revolutionary pamphlets and also films. When we were captured the four of us chewed up this material and swallowed it. We were handed over to the Hungarians, herded together, and in due time, taken to Gyor and there on to Budapest.

You might be interested to know that we were put on buses at Gyor which carried a big sign 'Repatriation Committee.' So this is how they were using us for propoganda purposes. Back in Budapest they gave us back our papers and let us go. On the 23rd of December, we again started and arrived after three days of marching ~~at~~ on December 27th on the Austrian border.

I do not think that Hungary on the whole had won anything for herself by the October Revolution; and also I am convinced that everybody has lost the illusions they ever had about the West and Western help. On the other hand, Hungary has proved to the other part of the world that the Hungarian nation will not ~~be~~ take up Communism ever.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

While certainly we did expect a great deal from the West, the least we could expect was that the UN sanctions would be enforced and that UN forces would be sent to Hungary until free elections can be held.

B. Our expectations were formed on the basis of the Western radio emissions during the twelve long years of oppression.

C. I did not meet any foreigners between October 23rd and the time of our escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURES AND ATTITUDES

A. My father was a newspaper man and editor-in chief of the largest Hungarian Catholic newspaper. His income assured us a very good life, and we were a family of ~~wealth~~. We had the best of education, we could keep servants and there was never any money problem in the family.

In 1945 my father was arrested by the Communists and my mother supported herself and us by opening a boarding house. Myself, I was fifteen at that time, and I served as a maid for her. I also tutored children in my school and after graduation I started to work. My father had no other assets, neither did my mother. Father was a high school graduate; he also had a University degree in Law and State sciences, he also had his Bar examination. My mother a graduate of the Sacre Coeur School, had a University degree for teaching German, French and English.

B. Regarding the social classes in Hungary, respondent was at first very reluctant to classify such. To her mind there are no such thing anymore in Hungary, because as she said, there are only two different ~~cat~~ classes, one in the Party functionaries, and the AVH, and the other, is all other Hungarians. But then finally she stated that she would put it this way: "There is the so-called educated class, and the uneducated class. Among the educated ones, she would classify the intellectuals who had a certain education, but regardless of their class origin." The uneducated ones are those she thought — who did not want to learn or who were unable to. And again these she thought to be of all social classes.

While in deportation, and doing physical work, respondent had contact with each of these groups. She worked for masons, she worked for peasants, and she was together with these a great deal. As to her opinion and attitude toward the different groups, respondent thought that the peasantry, whether the richer or poorer peasants, were the backbone of the nation. Then the industrial workers, and only last come the intellectual class. She herself does believe that she belongs to the intellectuals.

In explaining the above, respondent said that the Hungarian peasant could not be broken by the Communists except with the greatest force and brutality. Then there were very few real Communists among the industrial workers. Those who did join the party were rather doing so for the sake of their jobs. The intellectual class due to the fact that they had a bad political past in the eyes of the Communist regime, very often complied to the wishes of the regime, and at least outwardly professed to

be Communists. They were fearing for their jobs.
"In the strict sense of the word, however, there was no one in Hungary who was a Communist. Even those who were idealists were against the Muscovite regime as it enforced Communism in Hungary. I am thinking for instance of Rajk. and Tito."

When asked which ~~ea~~ class was hardest hit by Communism respondent said that anybody that had something or possessed something or whoever had been somebody before the war had suffered under the Communist rule. In her mind, this referred to all classes. The only difference she thought was that the so-called middle-class had to climb down to a greater extent than a worker and a peasant.

C. Regarding how the different classes felt about each other, respondent held the view that the workers in the beginning thought that the intellectuals were communists and visa versa. On the other hand everybody knew that ~~the~~ in the peasants, there are no Communists.

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E. On the chances in Communist Hungary for an individual to get ahead, respondent said that the most important role was that of social origin, class origin, then came political views, and last came only talent.

On changes in social mobility, respondent said that the situation was somewhat better between 1945 and 1946, and again after '53, which of course was the effect of the New Course.

About the kind of individuals that could get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent said that there were certain classes for instance artists, where it didn't matter if he was a class alien or not. Furthermore, experts, and if they were top experts, and not easily replaceable, also the Communist regime ~~disregarded~~ ^{THEN} their class origin. For an average person however, it was very important that he attended the seminaries, that he became a party member, and be on good terms with the Party secretary. Nevertheless, the work which was asked from a worker must also be preformed well.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. I am very sure that Communism has had an effect on family life in Hungary in general, because the Communist regime did its utmost to break up family life. Nobody had very much time to spend his or her time with the family, and this was true especially up to 1953. The regime tried to take the individuals time and therefore a normal family life can not be lived. Nevertheless, the Hungarian families always found their ways and means to educate their children, especially in cases where there was a grandmother or an aunt who took care of the children when the parents had to work. So of course the children grew up under the influence of the "old generation" and this "old generation" was the one which tried its best to counterbalance Communist influence.

B. The methods of the Communist regime regarding the bringing up of children in Hungary is as follows:
1) They take the small tot from the parents who work, who are thus obliged to put them in the so-called nursery or kindergarten. Also after school, they have their day schools. Thus the regime does its best to take the children out and away from the family circle. ||

As soon as a child is able to speak in the kindergarten grade, they are being taught Russian fairy tales, and they are constantly being told that comrade Rakosi, and Stalin are the benefactors of all Hungarian students. Of course, it was up to the leader and the teacher of those kindergartens, to which extent the indoctrination of the children went. It very often happened that these people were extremely courageous and did not teach the children they were supposed to teach by the regime. However, the moment they had a few children of the Party secretary's or other party functionaries, among them, the teacher had to be very careful what she said and how she went about it. In high schools then, the children are taught very little of Hungarian history, literature or geography. But on the other hand, they have their heads crammed with an amazing amount of Russian material: literature, history, political science, economics, etc.

I feel that these changes have occurred, ~~that is the changes if they did occur,~~ because the children were left on their own for a very long time. Due to this, children became more independent and more so to say modern and up-to-date with the facts of life. Also they were more mature and better informed politically. In fact it was the Communist regime which told us to think in political terms and to open our minds in this field. Children became more mature, and at an earlier age and could judge the contrast and the controversy between school and home. I do not think there was a great break in any child's mind or mentality regarding this problem because as I judge from myself, we knew perfectly well what we could say or tell about our life at school and about what we had to keep mum.

The children of course led a dual life, and unfortunately the child had to learn that there are certain situations when it had to lie. I only think that there had been one great damage done the children in Hungary and that is that the children at home had lost their illusions altogether.

I believe that the changes were the greatest in the intellectual class or the so-called middle-class, especially if we compare it to conditions that were prevailing before the war. The changes mainly occurred in the field of morals because these became very loose. Children started to work at an early age. They became independent, they went whenever and wherever they wanted and were subjected to a great many temptations. However, in our family we could not experience such a change because our parents were extremely strict with us.

It was very difficult to lead a good marital life, nevertheless, I'm convinced that anyone who really wanted could do so. As I have no friends among the young people of the other social classes, I really can not give any opinion whether and how married life and sexual life of others was effected during the regime.

~~The~~ Prostitution was prohibited in Hungary under the Communist regime, but of course it was still flourishing unofficially. Regarding the government's attitude toward morale, the main difference lies in this: the Communist morale is something quite different than religious morals and therefore it can not be compared at all. The Communists maintain that everyone is free to do what he wants and they have no moral inhibitions at all.

D. I am sure that Communism has greatly improved friendship, if that friendship was a good and true one. Because friends were more willing to help each other.

If I knew why a friend of mine for instance had joined the Party and he or she had very good reasons to do so, I ~~de-not~~ wouldn't have blamed her. It would have been a different case if he or she had joined the AVH, but that never happened to me, and therefore I ~~them~~ think to a certain extent you can't continue a friendship keeping politics out of it.

E. Regarding crime, alcoholism, and so on, since the ~~Hungarian~~ Hungarian Communist regime never gave much publicity to it, I really do not know what extent it has increased or not. I only know that there were a great many reformatory schools and boarding schools to which a great many children have been assigned. The government, however, never admitted that this was a great problem of theirs. As to alcoholism, I know that this drinking has terribly increased in Hungary and even women drank a great deal of stiff liquor.

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As far as juvenile delinquency is concerned, this was kept out of the papers also, but it was generally known that it has increased greatly. There were many young girls especially, between thirteen and sixteen who became prostitutes and then were sent later on to those reformatory schools. Then juvenile delinquency increased especially among the young apprentices, which were put in apprentice colleges without any kind of supervision and who worked for very low wages. According to their schedule, they had to attend school for three days, and they had to work in ~~the field~~ the other three days of the week. Here, they were paid very low wages, and then this led to juvenile delinquency. I am pretty sure that juvenile delinquents were to be found in all social classes.

VIEW THEIR
VOCATIONAL
FIELD

I do not believe that the hooligan is necessarily a criminal, but he is often one.

The parents of course are in a very difficult situation for they try to do something against it, but on the other hand they there are no means for that. Even if they would like to put their children in a reformatory school, they think twice about it, because it is generally known that at those places the children are indoctrinated politically again; also. All that a parent can do is to keep the child busy after school hours and do his or her best to counterbalance the Communist influence.

VII. RELIGION

A. "I do believe that Communist rule has an effect on religious life in Hungary, to the effect that the religious life and feeling of the individual has been strengthened. Even though religious instruction was prohibited in the schools, in the family religion really meant something. For instance I would like to mention the fact that those few schools which were allowed to be led by priests and nuns were always overcrowded and only one-tenth of the applicants could be admitted, there was such a rush for them. I know of a school in Esztergom, at Czentendre, in Pannonhalma and also in Budapest and Debrecen where priests and nuns were allowed to teach."

"I believe that all religions were equally hard-hit by Communism. Only maybe the leaders of the Protestant religion did give in to a certain extent and could conform better to the Communist demands which could not be said for the Roman Catholic clergy. Nevertheless, there were many among the Protestant Bishops, for instance Bishop Ravasz or Ordas who stood up against the Hungarian COMMUNIST regime. On the whole I would like to point out that there wasn't a great difference of opinion among the different religions in Hungary because ~~there was only one class so to say~~ Everyone was mainly and primarily Hungarian, and religion came always second. There wasn't such a big rift among the churches in Hungary as I see that there is sometime in the United States. I think that the Jewish religion was just as much oppressed as any other religion under the Communist regime."

AS FAR AS I AM ABLE TO JUDGE

B. "The role that religion plays in my life is an important one. I believe it is about the same as it has been in the life of my parents."

She regularly attended religious services as much as possible and as much as she could spare time for it; but here she made a rather bitter remark: she said that if she is going to stay long in the United States, she does not believe that she will continue to attend religious services, because she did not like the attitude of the priests here in the United States. She thought that they really do not care very much for the soul of their people; and the reason for this she thinks, is because the clergy on the whole in the Western world do not have the experience that the clergy had behind the Iron Curtain. To her mind religion and the clergy mean two different things.

C. On her views regarding the functions of the Churches in Society, respondent expressed her view that churches should be completely independent from the states. The churches should only care for the soul of their people and they should be less concerned with worldly affairs.

Respondent believed that the role of churches in

N. education should be a primary one and a very important one. They should be allowed to take this field into their hands. On the other hand she did not approve of the church's interference or setting of standards for such things as movies, plays, and books etc.

Regarding whether or not the churches should take an active role politically in an independent Hungary, respondent had an interesting point. She was of the view that in the very beginning after a liberation has been achieved, the churches should take an active part in politics because the leaders of the churches are the only people who would be accepted as leaders by all social classes. Later on, however, when the political situation has been strengthened and improved, the clergy should withdraw from the field of politics and hand it over completely to those who are destined to lead the country. Then the clergy should go back to their original field, that is to care for the souls of their people.

E. Respondent had the view that the Jewish religion also has been hurt by Communism. For instance the really religious Jews, who attended religious services regularly and lived a religious life, were not allowed to do so.

"After 1945 when the Jewish minority was mostly exterminated in the concentration camps, those who returned from these camps of course were full of resentments against all social classes. It was rather a sentiment of vengeance than conviction that made the Jews join the Communist party. And this is probably the explanation why so many Jews joined the Communist Party in the Beginning after the war."

It is also very true that the leaders of the Communist Party and the people who had a leading role in the AVH and other political police or military police branches, furthermore all Party Secretaries, and the heads of the personnel offices and section chiefs, were mostly Jews. The reason for this respondent believes is that the Jewish people on the whole always liked to live well, so they did this for material gains.

As a curiosity respondent mentioned that it was quite odd to see that the greatest part of these Jewish functionaries and people who were in top positions, positions due to their party membership had all relatives abroad, mostly in America and they were receiving a great many packages and material help from the so-called "capitalists" and "imperialists!"

Respondent believes that the attitudes of the Jews did undergo changes especially when after a couple of years the social background of even the Jews was investigated. But the Jews on the whole very seldom left the Party ~~and~~ mostly because they wanted to keep their jobs.

As to the attitudes and actions of the Jews during the revolution, respondent was of the belief that the decent Jewish people behaved like everybody else during the revolution and the fighting. On the other hand, respondent thought that the Jews might be afraid of an independent Hungary that is afraid of retaliation against their class because there were so many Jews who were Party members and members of the police, the AVH. Therefore, hatred against the Jews might be justified.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "When people say the Hungarian youth, I think that anyone who is under forty and feels young enough can be classified as such."

B. It is very true that the Hungarian youth took the lead in the revolution and I wholeheartedly agree with that. Six months before the revolution, the youth in the Universities had begun to voice disapproval; they wished for a change.

The Petofi circle was started by a group of University students and it became only later the meeting place of authors and writers and the elder intellectual generation. The role of the youth was predominant during the demonstrations and also during the fighting.

The reason why the young people took the lead rather than the old people was because they had a belief in something. The older generation on the side of the young people, but they also feared for their lives. On the other hand, we the young people had quite other ideas about ~~what~~ should happen after the revolution than what the old people held, for there was a great deal of controversy between these two generations, but only regarding to the issue. WHAT

C. Referring to school and educational systems in Hungary during the last ten years, the women had the following to say:

"On the whole, education in Hungary under the Communist regime is ~~emata~~ certainly a very slanted one. The majority of the teachers and professors, however, are of the old school, and this refers especially to professors of the Universities. The material children have to learn at school is tremendous, and a great deal of their time is taken up by the political sciences. Then all subjects are infiltrated with Russian propoganda. I believe that mathematics is the only subject which has been kept free from politics. The vocational choice is extremely restricted, and this begins even in the high schools. We had to attend colleges and universities where we were sent to, not where we wanted to go. And this refers also to the high schools which were divided into the so-called vocational high schools.

There was a time when the regime wanted the children of workers and peasants to join in great numbers the universities. So these children were admitted without the compulsory knowledge and without having the proper background for a University education. And of course in the long run this system did not work at all and had many draw-backs.

The professors politically were ~~rew~~ reliable. Mostly of the old school, but there were a few, especially those

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who lectured on political science, Marxism and Leninism, these were the younger ones and they were indoctrinated. The competency of the university professors was extremely good especially of those who were of the old school.

E. On the indoctrination of youth in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"The Communists did indeed spend a great deal of effort and money on the indoctrination of the young people. For instance the Pioneer and DIS programs. Then the recreation programs for the young workers etc. did cost a great amount of money. They were all out to influence and to rope in the younger generation. However, they failed to indoctrinate the young people because ~~mainly~~ the Communists always preached how wonderful life is under Communism and everything is fine and dandy. However, what the young people saw at home, at school and in life, was exactly the contrary. Their parents had to work at night and still could earn only enough for the bare necessities of life. I do not think that young people did, except Communism, at least not our kind of people. ~~WFO~~

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. The main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was the inadequate income which never covered our expenses. Then the second main dissatisfaction was that nobody or at least very few people were able to afford a home, *THEN* the complete feeling of insecurity.

B. Apart from big political things, the fact that we never were able to say aloud what we thought, was one of the most annoying things.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. On the standard of living of her family, respondent said:

"The standard of living of our family and our kind of people has shown a decreasing tendency during the last ten years. Food was extremely expensive and so was clothing and housing, one of the major headaches of everybody. The prices for the co-tenancies were terrific and no one had an adequate income to care for all the three major necessities. The greatest luxury that I considered was to have a nice and long vacation."

Due to our shortage of money I think that food, clothing and housing all the three caused us difficulty. The living standard was at its lowest possible most of the time. We missed our peace and security mainly and also that an adequate income.

The changes in the living standard were not very great, it was at its worst between 1951 and 1953 and it was still quite good in 1948 and it had improved somewhat before the revolution in 1956.

Families that were better off than any others were mostly those of the well-known doctors and engineers for instance, these had a very good salary and also they could have a private practise, therefore they earned more than any average Hungarian.

The extremely low living standard of the Hungarians during the last eight years, I hold the exploitation of the Soviet Union responsible. The country was exploited to the utmost extent economically and the cost of living increased due to this fact.

B. On subjects income in Hungary during the last eight years, she could give the following information:

In 1956 when she was working for the patent office, she held a part time job only and received 500 forints for that. Of this four per cent were deducted for a tax because she had no children, then three per cent for old age insurance and sick insurance. She paid four forints per month for trade union fees and 10 forints per month for the so-called peace loan. She worked for several companies at home as a part time job, translations and typing. She earned with this about one thousand forints per month and the four and three per cent deductions were made on this income.

Both herself and husband were working. She didn't receive any wage increase in the last few months while she was working for that company.

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C. On the retail ~~exists~~ in Hungary before the revolution: "Goods sold in the State stores were on the whole less expensive, but the quality was also worse. The smaller shops and the farm markets of course displayed a much better quality of goods, but they were more expensive. For instance in the farm markets the prices were the double of that of the State stores. The difference in prices were ~~usually seasonable~~ on the farm markets. Prices on the whole were steadily increasing in the last years, but the difference in prices between the state stores and the farm market and the private stores remained the same.

UNDERGOING
PERSONAL
CHANGE

The quality of the goods was quite good, as a matter of fact very good up until 1948, and it was extremely bad between '51 and '52. After 1953, it again improved. The reason for the decline in quality I can put to the fact that after '48, the purchase value of the forint had decreased, and therefore the government had to make up for that loss somewhere, and ~~was~~ of course this was to the disadvantage of the quality in the end.

The distribution of goods in Hungary was very erratic and sometimes quite fantastic. If you went out to do some shopping, whether it was for the household or food or other commodities, you never got what you wanted, and therefore it was impossible for a housewife for instance to make plans for the menu in advance. Also it very often happened that some commodity was available for two days only and then it disappeared for two years. It was very difficult to receive any standard spare parts. Here I could mention for instance, carpenters tacks were available only on certain days of the week and only at a certain store, and never elsewhere or on any other day. As to which commodities which were of short supply, this depended on the season and on the kind of commodity. For instance there was a great shortage of cooking fat during the summer, there was a shortage of potatoes in the Spring and a shortage of flour at the beginning of the summer. In the Fall on the other hand there was a shortage of food and clothing. Certain goods were either unavailable or much too expensive for our budget. However, during the revolution and immediately after, the markets were flooded with all the goods that were meant for export and never sent out of Hungary. Anybody who had the money was able to buy anything, and ~~the~~ extremely good quality goods or foodstuffs also, even the greatest delicacies which were an unheard of luxury and hardly seen in the last ten years on the Hungarian market such as goose liver etc.

I do not know of any blackmarket going on in the last years. As far as I remember, blackmarket was prevailing only after 1945, and it always depended who the person was who was in the blackmarket business. If it was a Party secretary or some relative of his, or a Communist Party member, then he received a small fine. Had it been a kulak or some class alien, then he put

In prison
~~IN PRISON~~. In the last years we had a so-called legal free market, and that put an end to the black market.

D. On working conditions in Hungary, respondent had the following to say:
"Maybe I will tell you about my first job in 1951, because I think that this would be the most interesting, since that happened when conditions were toughest for the people of my class. I happened to work for the Hungarian State railroad company, because my grandfather was president of same, and there was a minor clerk whom he once helped to get a job there. This very same person became manager of the personnel section under the Communist regime, so he helped me to get a job with this company in spite of my very bad social background.

I first worked at the stores of the railroad depot at the railroad station as an unskilled laborer and then as a skilled laborer later on. At night I attended commercial college and when I received my degree there, the same man helped me to be shifted over to the offices of the railway company where I worked at the statistical department. Our office hours were from 8p.m. to 5p.m., however, we had to be there at seven-fifteen. *from 7:15 to 7:45* The time was taken up by so-called free discussion of the current events and about news commentary on the Szabad Nep Newspaper. At seven forty-five we had to go over to our offices and on the stroke of eight work had to be started. The regime was extremely strict. There were no private chats, no taking it easy, no coffee breaks and such like. At twelve-thirty we had half an hour for lunch time. We received an inexpensive lunch at the Mess of the railroad company. We worked until five o'clock as I said before, but every day there was something which took up our time after office hours. On Monday there was the compulsory RISZ seminary, then on Tuesday we had the trade unions seminary, on Wednesday the young people had to participate in a dance group. On Thursday we had our rehearsals for the so-called cultural society, on Friday we had lectures on Natural Sciences, on Saturday there was always a dress rehearsal for something, and on Sundays we had to go with a Communist party member on a propaganda rounds, either connected with some kind of a Gallup Poll or other party activities. We were assigned to accompany a Party member and it was a "must." All this that I said before was compulsory in 1955; these were abolished later on.

ACTIVITIES
In the office I worked in the statistical department of the STATE RAILROAD Company, that is, we had to make statistics to which extent the company is fulfilling the Five Year plan. The relations with my co-workers were extremely good. They were all people who were well qualified for their job, but of course we also had people who were

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extremely inefficient and primitive. The superiors were still mostly from the old stock of the employees of the railroad company before the war and we all were very friendly together. They very often praised me for my work and after four months in that section I became a group leader without ever having ever joined the party and being only 21 years old.

|| In May 1951, my whole family, mother, sister, and brother were deported to the eastern provinces. When we were released from the deportation in 1953, I worked until 1955 for ~~that~~ co-operative of small crafts and home industries. Here all the compulsory meetings and attendances were abolished and the only activities we had to participate in were the cultural activities. At this office I was doing the wage work accounting for the workers. I was bookkeeper, cashier, and also finally I was the person responsible for all financial reports, which involved a great deal of responsibilities. Our office hours were from 7:30-4:00, but this was only on paper, so to say. That is we very often had to work until 10:00 in the evening. There were only eight paid overtime hours in a month and the overtime was equal to the regular hours. We did not have the one and a half over time as customary here. As customary at that time in Hungary I had to be a member of the cooperative in order to work for them. I had to pay a certain fee in order to joining the cooperative and I payed my shares in the cooperative in monthly installments. Thus finally I was entitled to participate in the profits. We also had of course, party members in our cooperative and the president was a Muscovite Jew. This man was extremely prejudiced against me because of my political past and that of my family and my cadre record fell disfavorably into the balance of the whole set-up. Several times, he tried to expell me from the cooperative, but the other people and the immediate superiors kept ~~me~~ because they found ~~my~~ work very valuable. Finally this president denounced me at the People's Court. My case came to VAKOS Major, who JUDGE after the hearing ~~detera~~ established that there is no case against me, ruled that the cooperative ~~had to~~ can expell me, provided that all members vote for it. The members refused to do so, so in order not to cause any more trouble I resigned. So I quit my job there and went over to the patent office.

On the Hungarian vacation, health and compensation programs, respondent was of the opinion that the health program was extremely good and it was very easy on everybody's budget. However it was extremely difficult to be assigned to a sanatorium for instance, despite that the treatments in sanatoriums were included in the health programs. Only very selected people were able to receive treatment in sanatoriums. The vacation program was also well set up, however, for instance as ~~the~~ respondent mentioned, out of thousands ~~of~~ office workers, only fifty

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were able to be assigned for a vacation. Also due to the shortage of accommodations, sometimes they were compelled to take the holidays in February or so, never anyway when the people wanted it. The assignments to those spas went according to the selection of the trade union and the Communist party. The compensation or pension program on the other hand was extremely bad. Anyone who was fifty-six was entitled to a pension, but he had to prove that in the last ten years he had worked two hundred days per year. People ~~then~~ entitled to a pension, then received fifty percent of their last salaries. But in order to save on the pensions, the regime for instance used several tricks: one of them was that ~~as~~ ^{A RULE THE} laborer was sent to a much worse paid job, two years before his retirement so that he could be classified into a smaller category and received a smaller pension. "Anyway" as respondent said, "nobody could live entirely on the pension." For instance the widow of a war veteran got about as much as the price of two pounds of lard.

E. When asked where she would prefer to live, in Hungary, respondent said, certainly in Budapest only because this is the place that she likes and is used to. According to her opinion, the industrial workers in the city had a much better diet because the regime was out to please them by all means. It happened especially in 1951 and 1952 that in the country the peasants had to buy their bread for instance.

The general standard of living was always higher in industrial centers and for instance near the mines, because the industrial workers and the miners received a very high salary.

Politically it was much more difficult to live in the suburbs or in the country side than in the big city where you could always go into hiding if necessary.

On collectivization, the respondent held the following view:

I did not have great trust in the collectivization when introduced in Hungary because the Hungarian peasant loves his own land and likes to work only if it belongs to him. A few of the good-for-nothing peasants, mostly the younger generation who did not like to work, of course joined the first cooperatives because they thought that they could get away with less work. However, the whole system collapsed pretty soon and it was only by sheer force, ~~fe~~ and violence and pressure that ~~we~~ ^{THEY} were able to round up the peasants to join a collective. As far as I remember, collectivization was opposed by the well-to-do peasants as well as by the less well off peasants. I have heard about collectives having been dissolved in 1953 because the members of these collectives hadn't earned enough to live on what they made.

If I were an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, I surely would chose the private farm, because they don't have any norms to be fulfilled there and the norms in the agricultural field are simply impossible. Also, if you work on what we call a one-third basis, ^{V SHARE} on a private farm, at least you can live on what you make.

"Ideally I would like to see a land reform to be enforced in Hungary, but not the kind of a land reform the Communists carried out. I would put a top limit of 500 to 1000 acres which a person could own. I really could not tell which innovations I would keep, because the mechanization as I have seen it in Communist Hungary, is not very effective. By all means I would not continue to use the combines and the tractors that they are using now in Hungary because it is a terrific waste. I do not know the reason for this. Whether the machinery is inadequate or if it is handled badly or what, the results anyway show that they are no good at all."

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XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. First-of When asked how much and to what an extent respondent was interested in politics before '48, she replied:

"I always was interested in politics as far as I can recall even in my early childhood and I do hope that I will yet have a word to say in politics in a free Hungary."

"In our family we have always fostered the real Hungarian tradition and adherence to traditional Hungarian politics. My whole family was a fervent supporters of the Hungarian monarchy and we all were of the opinion that the division of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War was a mistake which has brought about the second World War. The situation created in Central Europe was an artificial one and there was a general dissatisfaction among the newly created states in Europe. Nobody in our family had joined any party."

Respondent said that she knew very little of the Communist party in 1918 and 1919 and mentioned that in fact nobody knew very much about their activities. She said: "I wish people would have learned something of this period, then." Respondent also said that she only knew that the Communist party did exist before and during the war, but did not know of their activities. Her attitudes have not changed since 1948 toward the Communist party because as she said I always did hate them.

B. On the members of the Hungarian Communist party, respondent said:

"People who have joined the Hungarian Communist party had one special characteristic in common and that was that they were all physically or ~~ment~~ mentally handicapped people one way or the other."

"I think that I would classify the Communists into three different classes. First there is the Communist who is convinced and who is an idealist, then second, there is the so-called opportunist who joins the party for material reasons, and finally there are the people who were just taken in by the beautiful words and promises."

All I can say, that in my eye, the convinced Communist was the better one because an idealist Communist always had or at least did show some kind of feeling, toward a class alien and they were what I would call more decent. Also I would like to point out that the idealist Communists were the first ones who were most disappointed in the way that Communism has been implemented and enforced in Hungary by a bunch of Muscovites and these idealist Communists were the first ones to join us in the revolution against Soviet oppression and the Moscow rule."

On party policy change during the last eight years, respondent said:

"There were decided changes in party policy during the last couple of years and they consisted mainly that up until 1953 the party was trying to enforce Communism by violence, by indoctrination and by forced production. The year 1953 and 1954 which also was the time when Imre Nagy was Prime Minister, the reigns were slackened a little bit. In '54 when Rakosi came back, he again reverted to the old strict ^{PARTY} rule. In 1955 and 1956, a friction within the party was already gaining ground and many people were expelled from the party. In '56 the formation of the Petofi Circle and the participation of the university students and later on the writers and authors in it has started the deterioration of a strict Communist rule.

As to why the changes occurred, respondent said that it is quite evident that everything went according to Moscow's rule and Moscow's orders, and she said that she was quite sure that Nagy at that time had to act under Moscow's orders, just as well as Rakosi when he returned. Everybody knew and heard rumors of factional fights within the Hungarian Communist Party and everybody knew that when Nagy was dismissed in 1954, that things were not running smoothly.

Communists who were more or less idealist always defended the Party and the others who were out for material gains only didn't care very much what happened within the Party.

And finally the Moscovites who only obeyed Russian orders and who were Russian citizens were completely disinterested in what is happening within the Party.

On the aims and motives of the top leaders of the Communist Party, respondent said:

"There is only one central aim that the Communists are out for and this is to merge Hungary into the big Soviet Union and to kill all nationalism and tradition in Hungary; also to merge the Hungarian people into an international proletariat.

"I do not believe that the Communist leaders of Hungary believe in anything or are interested in anything. They are only out for a personal career and quite a few of them are acting under duress. I am thinking now of Kadar. As previously mentioned I am sure that all these people have something wrong in their personality, and they must be physically or mentally sick. However, they are extremely intelligent and sly, smart people who would use all means so as to achieve their own ends, personal aims and especially for their own personal gains. Rajk was an idealist who was taken for a sucker and finally was eliminated. Imre Nagy on the other hand was a out and out convinced Communist until 1954, however, now at the time of the Hungarian revolution he has learned to see the Soviet Union's

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real face and was a disillusioned man. I do not think that in a critical time he would have made a good leader because he did not have a strong personality. As to the difference in the motives of rank and file members and those of the leadership, I am fully aware that a difference does exist. For instance a member of the rank and file who was an idealist expected something quite different and thought that the Communists really would help him. Another opportunist didn't care about convictions, the main thing was whether or not he would improve his lot. The top leadership on the other hand is acting only on Soviet instructions; they do not bother to take into consideration the interests of the Hungarian nation.

When and if Hungary is ever independent I would put all top Communist leaders into a concentration camp where they should be compelled to work according to the norms they have set themselves, and under the hardest and most difficult working conditions. I would of course put them before a tribunal, but I do not think that I would try to prevent the wrath of the people *TO TAKE ITS COURSE.*

C. When asked whether there was any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, respondent said that she did feel some opposition but this was entirely unorganized and it was more a passive resistance on the part of every individual. This passive resistance in her view is a very important factor especially if carried out by a cultured nation. It was mainly the peasantry who did most of the sabotaging, and this resistance finally climaxed in the nation in the October revolution of 1956.

On the activities of the intellectuals, respondent could tell that she heard first about their activities in the beginning of 1956 when the Petofi circle had its first public meeting ~~which was attended~~ by many people. Also the literary magazine which was put out by those young authors had was tremendously popular. It came out in a limited number only and people queued up to get a copy. Respondent first heard about the Petofi circle through a friend of hers who attended the meetings. Respondent heard about the intellectual ferment in 1955 and this fact was generally known in 1956. The intellectuals were the ones who dared to oppose openly the government, that is Moscow, and to voice what the people wanted. "Therefore I do not think that they had anything new to say but just because of this they were the spearhead of the revolution. I do have a great admiration for the intellectuals who are a very ~~dear~~ sincere and highly cultured part of the nation and I do not believe that they are impractical or dreamers."

Concerning the reason why the intellectuals stood up against the regime, respondent was of the opinion that this is a quite natural thing. Authors and writers and artist on the whole can not work and go on with their creative work if they are working either under duress or if they are told what to do and how to do it. Slanted

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and directed art is bound to kill all art on the whole.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Respondent had the following to say on the AVH people: according to her opinion, the members of the secret police force were people who held no convictions whatsoever and no ideals, who sold themselves for material reasons and also who ^{had} some mental or physical defects. According to the respondent, many of the former ~~Party~~ ARROW-CROSS Party have joined the Communist Party or the AVH so as to be on the safe side.

Respondent and his family had a great many personal experiences with the AVH as her father had been arrested, put in prison, tried and died in prison in connection with the Mindzenty trial. Mother too was twice taken for interrogation, and finally the whole family was deported to the provinces. She also had been taken for questioning by an AVH man at her first job with the state railroad. Due to the above mentioned facts, the family was always on the blacklist of the regime and they were deported for that very reason. Also when she was taken for interrogation at the state railroad offices, respondent was mainly asked about the relationship between her father and Cardinal Mindzenty and what she had known about him and their relationship.

I asked ~~ab~~ the respondent for more details, how they were deported, and she told me that the deportations order came that they had to leave that place within 24 hours. They were taken down to the county Szabolcs and they were put ~~at~~ to work in the fields or ^{helping} building construction etc. They were not allowed to leave the territory of the village, they were forbidden to listen to the radio, and whenever they received a package from friends, they had to show it to the party secretary. Also they had ^{to} submit to a thorough search of the place where they lived. They lived with five people in one room, her mother, her sister, her brother, her grandmother and herself. They also had a man assigned to the same room, but the peasant with whom they were boarded was extremely decent about that and gave the man another room to live in. Their work consisted mainly in assisting the farmer in his work out in the farm and also they were doing some HARDEST work, also assisting some bricklayers. According to respondent they had some extremely good experiences with the Hungarian farmers and peasants who were very decent to all the deportees and always helped them whenever and wherever they could.

"Nobody who knows the situation in Hungary can say that it is an exaggeration that Hungary was a country of constant anxiety and fear, because this is very true. We never were sure when and why we were being taken to the AVH or by the police for some trumped up charges."

"When Hungary is independent, I think that the AVH men ought to be judged by the people and by God, and I do not think that finally the courts will have many cases

to deal with because the people will have dealt with them by then, especially with those who even now are members of the hated AVH force.

When asked to compare the regular police to the AVH, respondent said: "The blue police was unreliable regarding the point of view of the Communist party and they were quite right in this as the revolution has proved. They I do not think that the morale of the Blue police was affected by Communism because they were the first ones to take up arms against the regime. Whether or not the work of the regular police was competent, I do not know, because as a rule, common crime was not interesting for the regime. They tried to make a political crime out of everything and so that the cases could be transferred to the political police, also all economic infringements of the law were referred to the AVH. The regular police behaved extremely well during the revolution. For instance I myself have seen two policemen who broke into the barracks to get some arms there. Also I have seen many policemen among the demonstrators. My husband has seen many of them fighting side by side with the revolutionaries.

COUNCIL
On the Hungarian courts, respondent was of the opinion that all sentences were prejudiced by the origin of the defendant. The cases of the Peoples court was represented by two members at every court, and these people were doling out sentences according entirely to which class the defendant belonged. Therefore, respondent said, "I can not say that the Hungarian courts were impartial even in non-political crimes.

However, courts before 1945 as everybody knew were very just and fair. The Hungarian courts were known for their fairness. Unfortunately this was also the case when Rakosi was sentenced by an impartial Hungarian Court and finally he was exchanged and sent out to the Soviet Union.

On the People's Court, respondent said :
"To the best of my knowledge, these people's courts dealt with political cases mostly. As to the sentences of alleged war criminals I can only say that the sentences were made up before hand and so they were unjust. I also know of several cases when the defendant's attorney who was assigned by the authorities has sabotaged the plea for clemency so as to give ~~te-gé~~ time for the execution. I do think that all so-called war criminals were actually guilty and I do not believe that the sentences were all just.

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B. When asked about Hungarian feelings regarding the Russian army, whether or not these feelings were due to the events of 1948, the respondent said:

"This is quite ridiculous to assert that the feelings against the Russians are due to what has occurred in 1948. Their unpopularity are entirely and only due to the way they behaved in 1944 and 1945 when they

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entered Hungary. We didn't expect anything good from the Russian army, because anyone who knew a little about Communism and the Russian Communist Party, and the Russian soldiers, knew what to expect. We hoped that after the peace treaty was signed, the Russians would withdraw and we would be left independent. At that time nobody had heard about the disgraceful Yalta agreement. As to my personal experiences with the Russian army in '45, thank you very much, they were awfully bad and nothing but bad. The people were stealing, they were raping and they were as everybody knows, behaving disgracefully on the whole. We had loads of experience with them since they were billeted, or rather they forced themselves into our summer home in the country. Our opinion regarding the Russian army has not changed since 1945, and I must confess that this opinion is very low. The Russian army is fighting only if it is dopecd by drinks.

The attitude of the Russian soldiers during the revolution was that of unwillingness I would say. Those troops that were stationed for a long time in Hungary liked to live there, and as they had a very comfortable life they were very unwilling to fight. Many of them have joined the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. This I have I have heard from several friends of mine who took an active part in the fighting. Also my brother and husband have seen many of them. We have also heard of wounded Russian soldiers who were taken to Rokus hospital, who implored the nurses not to tell anybody that they had surrendered or fought against the Russians, because they were fearing Soviet reprisals. The Kilian barracks were also defended by Russians during the last two days of the revolution. (This fact she heard from her husband who was there.) Respondent also added the information that her brother was imprisoned by the AVH during the revolution for a couple of days and at this prison, the top floor was entirely occupied by Russian soldiers ~~who were entirely imprisoned by the Russian soldiers~~ who were imprisoned by the Russian GPU for having deserted.

According to respondent there was a marked difference between the troops that were stationed for a longer time in Hungary and the freshly brought in troops. The old occupation troops had sympathized with the Hungarian Hungarians during the revolution, while the new troops didn't even know why they were brought over and where they actually were. They only knew that they had to fight some imperialists.

Respondent recalled personal experiences when she had witnessed brutality by Soviet soldiers towards Hungarians during the revolution. It happened several times when they were queuing up for food, that the Russians just fired around into the people there and many times, she together with the others took cover by lying down on the ground. Also she

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has seen that some of the newly brought in Russians had ~~fired~~ fired on ambulances and have out the wounded soldiers from these ambulances.

E. On the machinery of bureaucracy, respondent could not give any further information than disclosed in the paragraph when she spoke about her office and the working conditions there. She was of the opinion that this had covered the whole problem completely.

F. On the question whether or not it was possible to get around some of the regulations and the authorities in Communist Hungary, respondent thought that as far as she remembered there were two places where this was easy and here you could achieve everything with bribery. One was the local housing commission, when you were looking for an apartment ~~you could~~ if you had ~~the~~ money, you were bound to succeed. And the other authority was when ~~they~~ they were enforcing the deportations, if you had ~~pull~~ pull or if you could bribe people it was easy to get away from that, also to get permission to come back to the city ~~which~~ which was normally prohibited to deportees. There was one authority, however, where it was impossible to change the mind of an officer or an authority and that was the AVH. Officers caught in accepting a bribe were judged entirely according to their political ^{of} background. If it was a party member or if he was ^{ka} favorable social background, then it was usually said that he made a mistake and he was transferred. Other people of course received more serious sentences such as imprisonment etc.

G. In reference to the efficiency and competence of different groups that hold powers in Communist Hungary, respondent thought that the members of the secret police certainly had some brain, but the way they ran the department did not require brains it was just up to them how far and how much they could stomach what was going on. In the army leadership, respondent thought that there were many Moscow trained officers in the ministry of defense where they have kept a couple of the older and well trained officers as long ~~of~~ as they needed them, dismissed them when they could be replaced. In the public administration, as already mentioned ~~previously~~, the top people were not efficient and not qualified for their jobs. These positions were only purely political positions and so the work was carried on by the minor officials who were competent.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Future prospects for Hungary were assessed by ~~the~~ respondent as follows:

"The future of Hungary depends entirely on the attitude of the free world powers. There is one thing that the Western powers ought to realize and that is that co-existence with the Soviet Union can not have any good results. I do not see how I can hope or see any hope for a change for the better for my country. Of what we have seen, how the United Nations has acted and how they have been unable or unwilling to enforce their sanctions, it is very difficult to imagine that in the future they will act differently. What I would hope for on the other hand is that the United Nations at last could enforce the sanctions against Russia so that free elections could be held in Hungary with the participation of the different political parties. This would be the only way and means to get rid of Communism in Hungary, otherwise I do not see any other means short of war by which the liberation of Hungary could be brought about.

Within Hungary, I am convinced that the resistance is still going on though it is only a passive resistance because people have lost all their faith in the West and also they have lost too many lives and have no arms anymore.

Outside Hungary, the unification of Germany and especially after the new NATO declaration in the recent days, there is a faint hope ~~that~~ that the Western world is realizing its duties.

The United States and the United Nations ought to realize that the events in Hungary have thrown back Russia for at least ten years in its preparation for war, and the sudden peace offensive of the Russians now again is only meant to lull the Western world into a false security.

Short of independence I do not and would not accept any compromise. At the time before the revolution, we would have accepted one, but I do ~~not~~ believe that this is the opinion of not only me, but of all the Hungarians still back in my homeland.

Regarding the means whereby the liberation of Hungary can be realized as matters stand now, I think that only war can bring this about. And this war between the United States and the Soviet Union will come. This is not my wish and it is nobody else's wish, but it is a necessity and it is a logical result of the recent events. Therefore I am nearly positive that it will happen some day, sooner or later.

Meand other than war are very difficult to imagine, as I said before, the United Nations has proved to be

completely powerless, and Russia will never heed any international sanctions arbitrations or pressures. Also the United Nations was unable to enforce the economic blockade ~~against~~ China and couldn't or didn't want to enforce the cultural blockade of the Soviet Union. I do not believe ~~that~~ in an internal change in the Soviet Union because only ~~the~~ people that ~~have~~ ^{V HAVE} ideals can revolt against dictatorship. The Russians have none.

~~The attitude of the Russian soldiers during the revolution was that of unwillingness to see~~
B. Referring to prospects for Hungary, as imagined during the last eight or ten years, ~~the~~ respondent said:

"We had always thought as I said before even during the last ten years that an armed conflict can lead to the liberation of Hungary. At the time of the Geneva conference however, we still believed that the American foreign policy has something to say in the future of Eastern Europe, and that at last the United States has recognized that the Soviet Union is unwilling to keep any agreements. However, after the Geneva conference, and the declaration of co-existence, the above mentioned opinion has crystallized in me.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. On her views and ideas on what she wanted an independent Hungary to be like, respondent said:

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I would ✓ to see my country governed on the Austrian pattern. There ought to be two leading parties, the Social Democrats and the so-called Christian Party. The smaller parties should be merged and I believe that the two party system is a sound one.

B. On the ~~economic~~ kind of economy that ~~the~~ respondent would like to see in a liberated Hungary, she said:

"I believe sincerely that Hungary must and ought to [✓] ~~return~~ [✓] to put the emphasis on agriculture, [✓] and on the lighter industry that is connected with it, and the manufacture of consumer goods. There is no necessity for the heavy industry which is not justified in Hungary when we have to import the major part of our raw materials. The production of uranium, however, must be stepped up and I am sure that with the income gained thereby all financial worries of Hungary would be over. ~~The yearly over-all income of the uranium mines equals the~~ The yearly brutto income of the uranium mines in Hungary is ten times as much as the total budget of the country. We have it from well-informed sources, that the uranium mines in Hungary are the second largest in the whole world.

If the Communist regime were over-thrown, I would leave in the ~~STATE~~ state's hands all the mining industries, transportation and public power works. However I would not let the state handle the export and import business. I would on the other hand leave the large companies in the hands of the state at present, but I would tolerate that the private companies or private persons can set up new commercial companies and compete with the state companies. The light industry and home crafts should be returned to private owners.

In the field of agriculture, some of the large state farms should remain in the hand of the state so as to serve for experiments and as model farms. The kolkhozes on the other hand should be and must be dissolved. As previously mentioned I would leave 500-1000 acres for every private person to own and this would be the top limit as set by the government.

Regarding the kind of government that I would like to see in an independent Hungary, I believe the only way open for Hungary now is a republic because unfortunately the idea of a Kingdom is an idea of the past and wouldn't work any more.

If I had to choose between the two governments as you mentioned ~~of~~ now, I certainly would choose the first kind which guarantees the personal freedom of the individual. And my reason for this is that in a free state everybody

who is able and capable can find work and will succeed. And on the other hand life is not worth living in a country where you do not have freedom. I would not advocate the outlawing of the Communist Party in a free Hungary, because a Communist Party in a free Hungary is always more dangerous than one is that is allowed to work. In an independent and free Hungary, the Communist Party would have a very few followers *AN OUTLAWED* *ANYWAY.*

C. The position that I would want Hungary to have ideally as I said before, should be according to the pattern of an independent Austria. Our 1000 year old historical past I believe, gives us the right to wish for peaceful and separate life on the highway of the nations, where history has put us.

Respondents ideas on the relations with the different countries were as follows:
She would welcome cultural relations only with Soviet Russia, and that only in the case that Russia were free and not Communist dominated.

Military relationships and alliances she would not like to see with any country, the more so since a complete neutrality would not allow it. Economic and cultural relations would be most welcome by respondent with East European States, the rest of Europe and the United States also.

On the question of a federation of Danubian States, respondent said:

"This idea of a federation of Danubian States is a very old one. In fact, Louis Kossuth already advocated it. This was Kossuth already has recognized the Slavic danger coming from the East and it would have been a bulwark against the German expansion toward the East. At that time, I mean in Louis Kossuth's time, it would have worked extremely well. Now it is very desirable, but it is doubtful if it could be worked out. Anyway I would not like to see Hungary federated with any other country except Austria. We have an instinctive fear of all the Slav nations and therefore I do not think that it would work to form a federation with the Czechoslovak or Yugoslav countries. Against the Rumanians there is a general prejudice and dislike in Hungary anyway. Therefore I believe that it is generally believed in Hungary that a federation with Austria would be quite welcome, the more so since this federation which was called at that time the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was broken up by the treaty of TRIAVON and was the cause of all the evil that has come upon Eastern Europe since."

On whether or not respondent accepts the present boundaries of Hungary, she gave an emphatic 'no' as an answer. She was of the opinion that ~~on~~ the 1000 year old historic rights, Hungary is entitled and also pre-destined to receive back her all territories that were taken away from her after World War I

Otherwise Hungary could not fulfill its historical duty which is to safeguard Europe and which she has always done in time of history. In respondents opinion the adjustment of Hungary's present boundaries should be brought about by an international court, but she added ;

"But I implore that at that time the members of this international courts should at least read the history that refers to Central Europe and Hungary. I advise them to read the Homan-Szekfu history of Hungary."

"I believe that what as I have said now confirms my attitude over the problem of Hungarian minorities over which I am deeply concerned, and the whole question is of very great importance to me."

XV. FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. "Before the revolution we certainly did hear about Khrushchev's speech on the occasion of the Twentieth Party Congress. The Hungarian newspapers, among them Szabad Nep carried his speech. Whether it was carried in full we of course couldn't tell and nobody else at home could.

Of Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee, we also have heard as presented by the Hungarian Communist Press which was certainly slanted.

I know that Peron was president of the Argentine republic and his downfall was caused by a military clique that revolted against him. However, events like these in Argentina were never printed in our newspapers.

The private life of Rakosi was not a topic of the daily press and people knew very little about him until the revolution. Allegedly he had a wife, but it was rumored that she was a spy planted on him by the Soviet leadership. After the new revolution, the new Hungarian revolutionary papers carried articles on the luxurious life that Rakosi was leading.

B. Respondent's reading habits were outlined as follows:

"Before and during the war, I mostly read the Uj Nemzedek, Magyar Nemzet, Nemzeti Ujsag and the magazines, Kapes Kronika, Magyar Lanyok and anything I could get hold of that referred to world events, Hungarian literature and culture. Looking back now with the eyes of an adult, I am of the opinion that the literature and magazines, books and such like that were available at that time in Hungary were excellent and unbiased. At that time, the foreign literature did not have any effect at all on Hungarian writers."

"In the last eight to ten years under the Communist regime in Hungary, I have read the Szabad Nep quite regularly and this because this was the official organ of the government. I also wanted to be informed of the government's attitude, and after all this is the only way to get to know the methods and tactics of your enemy if you are reading up on their papers also.

I also used the Communist newspapers to compare them and their news with those of the Western radios so as to be able to form my own picture and opinion about world events. The only magazine I read in the last ten years was the literary magazine as edited by the Hungarian authors and which was one of the first one which dared to carry articles criticizing the government."

The trust that I placed in the Communist press was equal to zero since 1945 and has not changed. I particularly distrusted any data that was printed on statistics, because from my job I knew perfectly well, how statistics are forged in a Communist

regime. The only part of the newspaper I trusted dealt with sports and with sports results."

Respondent or family never read any newspapers or publications from the USSR or other satellite countries. According to respondent the material available from the various satellite countries was restricted to the Communist newspapers of those countries. ~~So the~~ ^{✓ THUS} Communist papers of Western countries such as Austria, France and Britain were allowed and were on sale in Hungary. Occasionally they had the Austrian Abend, the French Humanité, and the British Daily Worker. Western publications that came in were with different packages sent by friends from abroad, but were not on sale in Hungary where the Reader's Digest, Life Magazine, Vogue, and Harpers, House and Country. These magazine were handed down from friend to friend and read every-where.

Respondent then referred to books that were on the prohibited list by the Communist authorities which nevertheless most people read. She mentioned the Sinclair ~~Lewis series~~ [actually, Upton Sinclair, N.R.] series on Lanny Budthen she also read Romanoff's Memoirs, then she mentioned the Moscow report of the American abassador during the war the name of whom she could not ~~mention~~, then she remembered having read Huxley's Brave New World, Thomas Mann's, The Ten Commandments, George Orwell's Animal Farm, and also Emery Madach's, The Tragedy of Man which was widely read and re-read in Hungary. These illegal books and publications were obtained from friends and everybody freely discussed these books if they ~~were~~ were together with reliable people. They proscribed books in people's possession were not surrendered and people usually hid them in different places at home.

C. When questioned on news that the respondent got by word of mouth, she said ~~that~~ it was a matter of course that everybody always got news this way and everybody passed it on. The news usually was political, military and also economic. Respondent told that these pieces of news she always received from people who were near to the source and she considered to be extremely reliable.

"It was very characteristic of the corruptness of the Communist regime in Hungary, that even not the eleven top Communists were completely reliable. This can account for the fact no matter what secret meeting the Supreme Secret Council held, the subject of that meeting and all resolutions and the happenings at such meetings were known within 24 hours all over the city."

F. On her cinema and theater habits, respondent disclosed that ~~she~~ up to 1948, as long as American and British and other foreign films were shown in Hungary, she went very often. ~~Beginning at in~~ 1953, however, she very seldom went to a cinema mainly because she could not afford it and besides she was much too busy working late at night

In the last years when some of the British films and Italian Opera films came to Hungary she went to see them. ~~The~~ The Opera House on the other hand, in Hungary was expensive and she could see but a few performances. The family attended concerts about once every four months and went once a month to the theater. ~~The~~ Respondent preferred the classic plays by Bernard Shaw, Moliere, Shakespeare, etc. She never went to see any Russian movies or plays but saw a couple of Hungarian operettas. The Hungarian films though they had been slanted, especially in the beginning, were extremely good regarding the quality of the actors.

Among the movies and plays she saw in the last couple of years, respondent mentioned having liked the British movie Hamlet and a Hungarian drama, the name of which she forgot, and among the plays she mentioned ~~Shakespeare's~~ Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, and an operetta by Emory Kalman.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. On chances of changes inside Russia, respondent had the view: ^(LCL)

"I do not believe that there is any chance of a change within Russia. If anything could happen, I am sure that no revolution would bring about such a change because the top party leadership is representing several trends and you can never be sure when and why one of those top leaders will decide to grab the power. Therefore I believe that a sudden change might come about, but not by the means of a revolution. The attitude of people in Russia toward communism is very difficult to know and therefore I cannot tell how they feel about the communist regime. Therefore I am also convinced that if Russia had a free election, a beautiful big chaos would be the result. No free elections can be held in a nation where people do not know what they really wanted and for what or for whom they can vote. Inside Russia there are only maybe half a million people who know that there is something different and other methods besides their own, outside the Iron Curtain and in the Western world.

In my opinion the top leaders of Russia are out for a Soviet world domination and will do whatever is in their powers in order to achieve this. Personally their private little aims are probably very personal and they are out for material gains. I do not think that there is a great difference between the Hungarian Communist leaders and the Russian ones. Both are out to achieve the same, but the Russian leaders of course have much more power behind them.

B. The relative popularity in Hungary of other nations in Eastern Europe was put by respondent as follows: the most popular country in Hungary is Poland, followed by Eastern Germany, then Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania are on about the same level. That is both countries are thoroughly disliked by the Hungarians, that ^{of} is both people. ~~Because~~ When I asked the respondent whether the preferences or dislikes referred to people or governments, she was of the opinion that this preference or dislike is directed against the people, because the governments in all satellite countries are the same and directed by Moscow. The sympathy to Poland is based on the common historical past and the sympathy for the Germans is based on the military strength and military discipline of the German people because everybody in Hungary, as respondent put it, knows that the only nation that Russia really is afraid of is the Germans.

"If free elections were held in the satellite countries, I am not so sure that all would break or would reject communism. It might happen that Czechoslovakia and Rumania would establish a Tito-like national communism, but I am sure that Eastern Germany would reject communism wholeheartedly. Bulgaria being a Slavic nation I really don't know how much they believe in Communism.

On the standard of living in various Eastern European countries, respondent thought the highest standard of living is in Czechoslovakia, then Eastern Germany, followed by Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria.

C. In reference to Poland, respondent said:
"I do not believe that Gomulka's government is a puppet of the Russians yet, but if the Western world continues its foreign policy and will not come to the assistance of Poland, Gomulka sooner or later will have to become a pawn in the hands of the Russians.

In my opinion Gomulka will stay in power if the Western assistance is forthcoming. Gomulka's further policies will follow a Titoist, nationalist Communist line and it is hoped ~~that~~ that he will succeed. However, ~~the Polish~~ ^{SEEKING} people ~~after~~ what has happened in Hungary and how the Hungarians were left in the ditch by the Western powers, it is doubtful that ~~they~~ ^{THE} would dare to risk anything ^{THE POLES} drastic. My views on these matters did change in the last few months, because I believe that the Poles after all had something more in view than national Communism, and only due to the defeat of the Hungarian revolution are they contented now with what they received."

"I could not say that I would have preferred ~~that~~ the Hungarian revolution take a path along the Polish lines but I believe that up till eight o'clock on the 23rd before Gero had held his speech on the radio, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters or rather let us say not the Freedom Fighters at that time, but the demonstrators and the students committee would have accepted a compromise on the Polish lines. After the fighting and the blood shed has started, certainly no more.

D. ON Yugoslavia, respondent had the following views,
"I believe that Tito and his policy had some influence on the European Communist party, but only within the party. The Hungarian people on the whole did not trust the Yugoslavs for the very fact that they are Slavs, I do not consider Tito as the originator of national Communism, it was ~~from~~ Trotsky who invented this, so to say. To my mind national communism and national socialism that is fascism ^{ARE} something very close to each other. Both attitudes are chauvanistic to the extreme and are founded on the power of the state. The difference that exists between these two ideologies is only that the Nazis or the national socialists are advocating the theory of race purity. A theory that later in the course of time might even be added to the Communist ideology, I am thinking now of the strong anti-semitic feeling in Russia ^{AT PRESENT} Tito's relations with other Eastern European countries depends always on what these nations are told to do by Moscow, and also to what extent Tito needs ~~the~~ American help. Tito's relations with Russia are even unknown to people who know more about world politics ~~than~~ than myself and I am sure very few people really know what is behind all his tiffs and reconciliations with the Soviet Union. One thing is

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sure, Tito is respecting the Soviet Union because he knows the Russians and he knows communist and all their methods. He is much too smart to put too much confidence in them. He only had to think of the fate of the Bulgarian statesman who suddenly became sick and died. As to Tito's relations with the western hemisphere, he knows perfectly well that only the material ~~the~~ help that he gets from the Western hemisphere can keep him in power. Because he needs the foreign loans and military equipment. On the other hand he also knows that the Western world needs him.

Regarding other Titoists, such as Rajk, he was not a Titoist in the strict sense of the word. His ~~trial~~ ^{trial} came about on the instructions of Moscow. They decided that a trial and a case must be produced against him and if Tito hadn't been in existence they would have called him Trotzkyist. The whole Rajk case was staged in order to scare the ideal~~ist~~ communists. I do not believe that he can be very popular on the whole, but one thing is sure, he is far from being as popular as our Imre Nagy is in Hungary., because the Yugoslavs are not too fond of Communism either. I have heard of the situation in Yugoslavia from some friends who came over from there. I heard that the standard of living is much higher than in Hungary, also the labor conditions and personal freedoms are better. //

E. Why the Communists gained control of China, respondent gave the following reason: first of all China is a mass of millions of uneducated people to whom the Communists promised beautiful things. Only the upper ten thousand in China have a culture and are educated and of course a huge mass of impoverished people can be misled by the Communist doctrine which promised only good things to them.

I also think that it is true that the Communist China is more independent of Moscow than the other Communist countries and for the very reason as mentioned before, China is much too big and numerically even larger than Russia, and the Russians respect China to a certain extent because they would not like to see them turn against the Russian giant. "

The relations between England and India have been completely spoiled by the Britishers. After the first World War England should have given independence to India."

On the Suez situation, respondent had the following ideas:

The whole Anglo-French invasion of Egypt came too late; if they wanted to attack, they should have done so twenty-four hours after the nationalization of the Canal. I believe that ~~xxxxxx~~ Israel invaded Egypt on the instigation of the Western powers. As to whether Egypt had the right to nationalize the Canal, maybe it could have been brought about in a different and more legal way with the consent of all the parties that have signed the Canal agreement at that time or by votino or by some other solution. I am

thinking that parts of the Canal income should have formed a national income of Egypt, etc. In my opinion, events in Egypt had a very strong and unhappy effect on the developments in Hungary in autumn 1956. If the Britishers had not only borne in mind business advantages that were connected with the Suez canal, they ought to have withdrawn from Egypt only if the Russians withdrew from Hungary. "

F. As far as I am informed, the living standard in West Germany is extremely high. The belief that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war I find extremely stupid and silly. The German people do not want any war, the only aim they have in mind is to unite the two parts of the country. Nevertheless as I said already once, the Germans are the only nation that the Russians respect and are scared of. Speaking of West German rearmament, I believe that this is not stepped up enough. Twelve years after the end of the Second World War, the Western powers ought to realize that a strong and well-equipped German army is of primary importance against Russia, because only the Germans will be able to stem Russian expansion in Europe. I do not believe that at present the West German military strength is equivalent to that of the Russian military might. I have no knowledge whatsoever as to whether Western German army is stronger than that of Britain or than that of France. As far as I know, the term of service in the West German army is around two years. "

When asked the difference between the German and the Russian occupation army in Hungary, respondent said: "This is a very silly question, because how can you compare these two armies. They are beyond any comparison. I can only give a definition in one word, the German army is an army of a cultural nation, and the army of the Russians is barbaric. In all fairness, however, I would like to point out that the German troops came to Hungary not as an enemy, and maybe had they come as such, maybe they would have behaved differently. The Russian army on the other hand came as the "liberators", but did not behave as such. This is also one of many things, and since Roosevelt, that the Russian army came to liberate civilized Europe. Certainly the German army as to both officers and enlisted men, was the better disciplined and it was the Russian army was the most unpopular in Hungary.

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G. On the British Labor Party, the respondent said: "I believe that this party is very similar to the Austrian Social Democratic Party, and it is not favorable to Communism. Regarding the other Western European Socialist Parties, the French is thoroughly corrupt, and therefore will not be able to achieve anything serious politically or economically. The West German Socialist Party on the other hand is pretty good, and especially under the leadership of Ollenhauer and this party is geared against the danger of the Russian danger. RM

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Respondent's impression of the living standard of various countries were as follows: she believed that the highest living standard was in Western Germany, followed by Great Britain, Italy, Greece, and Egypt.

H. "I gained my first impression ~~of~~ of America when arriving in New York, and therefore the first impression is limited to this area. I was thoroughly appalled by the extreme dirt and filthiness of this city as compared to other European cities.

What the United States should do now for the people and nations of Eastern Europe I can answer in very one short word: "do something" and do not talk all the time without any action. In my opinion, the foreign policy of the ~~United~~ United States is bad. The United States should extend aid only to those countries where it is assured that Russia will not profit from this aid. Therefore the aid to Poland and Gomulka's government should be given with that proviso. I believe that Yugoslavia ~~is~~ should be given every possible help by the West, but Hungary and the present government of Hungary should receive no help whatsoever. The American government should not acknowledge the present government of Hungary.

"I am sure that the people in Hungary would not like to see any visitors at present. Whom they would like to see are United Nation troops."

"Whether or not people would like to receive Western books and periodical, I am sure that first of all people would like to be liberated first. This is of major importance to them, and any way the Hungarian government at present would not let in any Western books or periodicals."

Respondent was very annoyed by these two last questions, because she thought that it is idiotic to talk about such problems when there are more important problems now in Hungary and anyway as long as the country is under Communist domination, these questions sounded extremely stupid to her.)

When asked about the Marshall Plan and what she knew about it, respondent disclosed that she knew very well what the Marshall Plan was all about. She explained it this way: it was an effort by the Western hemisphere to raise the living standard of the Western European countries, as compared to the Communist states. However, respondent pointed out it would have made an even greater impression on Russia had the Marshall aid been connected with military assistance also. Respondent was of the opinion that the motives ascribed to the United States in connection with the Marshall Plan were mostly preparations of a defense in a second World War against Communism.

As to why America became involved in the Korean War, respondent believed that they wanted to keep their strategic position in Japan and at that time Japan

was surrounded by two world powers and ~~xxxxxx~~ America wanted to be the first one on the spot.

J. On the activities of the United Nations and its effectiveness, respondent said:
"The United Nations has lost its powers the very moment when the veto right was introduced. I can draw a parallel between the Holy Alliance, the League of Nations and the United Nations. The Holy Alliance was effective only until Napoleon came into power, the League of Nations only until Mussolini decided "needs" Abyssinia and the United Nations only until Russia had received the right of veto. The United Nations had proved its ineffectiveness and loss of power by the events in Hungary and the way they handled the whole Hungarian situation. I don't believe that the United Nations will ever be a political power any more. I also find it completely wrong that according to the United Nations charter, Russia has five votes, because as ~~xxx~~ they say these five states are independent even though they are living in a social state. Under the same principle, the United States could ask for a 48 votes because the 48 states of the United States are also more or less independent states.

The United Nations could have acted in 1956 in the Hungarian situation in a way that they ought to have disregarded the Russian veto and immediately sent United Nations troops to maintain order in Hungary until the free elections. ~~SINCE~~ ^{SINCE} what I have said before I believe that it is clear that I have not hopes whatever of an effective UN action on behalf of Hungary in the foreseeable future. "

XVII. KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked who is the greatest living Hungarian in her opinion, respondent said:

"Good Heavens, this is a very difficult question and the most difficult so far."

After a long meditation finally the respondent said:

"I think the man upon whom all Hungarians look with great admiration is Cardinal Mindszenty."

B. Respondent's reactions to other persons of importance in ~~the~~ world affairs were:

Imre Nagy: He is a good Hungarian and full of good intentions, also I am convinced that he ~~is~~ has turned his back on Communism after the events in Hungary. However, I do not think think that he would be the person for the leader of the Hungarian nation.

Cardinal Mindszenty: I admire him greatly. I admire his character and his impeccable political attitude. As I said before I think he is the greatest living Hungarian.

Laszlo Rajk: He was only a ~~is~~ figurehead on the chess-board of the Russians and he also was to my mind an idealistic Communist.

Erno Gero: He is one of ~~the~~ the most dangerous gangsters very well ~~educated~~ educated and highly intellectual person ~~is~~ who uses his good qualities for the vilest purposes.

Janos Kadar: He is a nobody, a puppet in the hands of Moscow, and a man who has no will of his own. Besides, he is a very base character.

When probed for her opinion on president Eisenhower, respondent said: "I am convinced that the ~~President~~ President is full of good will and good intentions, however, he is ^{not} given power enough to enforce his will. His hands are tied by the Senate and ~~the~~ members of the Senate are not living up to these ideals and standards that the American nation stands for.

I hold a very bad opinion of Secretary General Hammerskoljd whom I believe to be inclined to be a "drawing-room Communist."

Secretary Dulles is a man who is making one political mistake after another and at a time when the American nation can ill-afford to do so.

Former Prime Minister Mr. Eden is a man of very small calibre and ~~not~~ sure of his mind. I think very highly of former ~~is~~ president Truman whom I believe to be one of the best presidents that the United States had.

Mikoyan as all Russian leaders is not an individual in my mind. They are all only figureheads in the big wheel of

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the Soviet administration.

Nehru of India is a dangerous man. He is a fence-straddler.

Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Chek is a corrupt man.

Ferenc Nagy: ~~xxxxxx~~All I can say about him is that he is a gangster.

On Roosevelt, here I have a great deal to say. I cannot find words bad enough to express my opinion of him. He is a second Stalin or rather was a second Stalin who wanted to remain in power by all means. He can be blamed for the present situation in the whole world, because he was the one who sold out Eastern Europe at Yalta to Russia. And if and when the third World War breaks out, he is the man who can be held responsible for it."

"Chancellor Adenauer of Germany is the greatest living statesman in the 20th century who is a gifted, a cautious and a very matter-of fact politician. Unfortunately he is not too young anymore."

Of Stalin I can only say that he was not normal.

Malenkov is a figurehead as all other Russians are.

Generalissimo Franco is a smart politician.

Aneurin Bevan of the British Labor party is a good politician, but he is a little bit narrow minded.

Khrushchev: again I do not think that a will of this own.

Of Tito, I said what I have to say before, and the same refers to Peron.

Molotov on the other hand has the making of a great statesman. He is a very good politician, a very smart man and the only foreign minister so far who did not blunder.

Ollenaer of the West German Social Democrats is the right hand of Chancellor Adenauer, despite the fact that he is the leader of the other party. I am convinced that the two parties under the leadership of Adenauer and Ollenaer are coordinating their policies.

Churchill is to my mind, or (has been rather) the greatest living statesman of our times. It is very unfortunate that due to his age he has to withdraw from the field of international politics. I wish that the politicians after the end of the second world war would have listened more to his advice and acted accordingly."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. On her views who escaped from Hungary and who stayed behind, respondent said:

"Generally speaking, people who left Hungary were mostly from the Western border of the country, but a great many came from the capital and other parts. As to their ages, they were mostly young people, young families with children and the freedom fighters. By social class, I believe that all social classes were represented in the great exodus, except maybe for the Hungarian peasantry and the farmers who came out in very small numbers only. The reasons of their leaving were mostly political because were the freedom fighters or those who took an active part in the Hungarian freedom fight and who had to fear reprisals. Others came out because they wanted to give their children an education in a free country and free from Communist influence. Also these people are striving to make a good living, to be left in peace and to be left in a free country.

I only can admire ~~that~~ those who ~~can~~ by their own free will did stay behind, because it must be an awfully hard lot they have to bear, but on the other hand I know that the future of Hungary is laid down in the hands of those who dared to remain within their homeland.

People back in Hungary understand fully our reasons for fleeing the country and I don't think that there is any resentment in their hearts.

When asked, assuming that the Hungarian people had a chance to come to the West, what percentage would nevertheless stay in Hungary, respondent said:

"After all what has happened to the refugees now and the way the situation is handled by the different countries and the different authorities, and unfortunately also by the United States, I am sure that people in Hungary are disillusioned to such an extent that nobody would come out then. I must say here that I am really very unhappy to see that the admission of fifty thousand refugees is such a problem, or at least it is said to be such a problem to a country of 220 million people. I believe that with some good will the whole problem could be ~~xxxxx~~ solved."

B. Regarding exile organizations and individuals, respondent has heard about the Hungarian National Council while back in Hungary. Also she heard of Tibor Eckhardt, Nicholas KALLAY, Paul Auer and Ferenc Nagy who were living in exile in America.

Regarding her feelings about them she said:

"I only know that they came here to represent Hungary, and they are representing a country which has been lost a long time ago and will never be restored in a form or in a way as these people imagine it could be. Therefore,

people could play an important role anymore in the future reconstruction of Hungary.

When handed the list of organizations and individuals, she made the following remarks:

"I know that Monsignor ^VARGA is a very nice priest. Ferenc Nagy should never return anymore to Hungary and will never be accepted by the nation. Of Tibor Eckhardt, respondent held the opinion that he is one of the few Hungarians who is carrying on some useful work on the part of Hungary.

The late Charles ~~PEYER~~ ^{she thought that he} was a social democrat rather on the right wing of the party, but not a very great leader. F

~~Mr~~ Former prime minister Miklos ^{KALLAY} in respondent's mind was one of ~~the~~ the smartest politicians before the war. Respondent added that Mr. ^{KALLAY} and Tibor Eckhardt are those two Hungarian politicians who know and are fully aware what Hungary needs and strive to achieve these aims.

Of the other Hungarian politicians in exile, such as: ^{PFEIFFER, BARANKOVITS, KOZM-HORVATH} respondent had a very bad opinion. Of Bela ^{FABIAN} however, she said that he is very good, and doing whatever he can for the Hungarian cause. ^{HUNGARIAN}

In reference to Otto of Hapsburg, respondent said what she has heard of him was only good.

The late admiral Horthy was greatly respected by respondent and she only deplored that he was not smart enough a politician. She was convinced that at heart he was a very good Hungarian patriot.

On politicians who left Hungary before 1956, respondent had a very poor view because she felt ^{they} they did not go about their aims correctly and also they did not try in earnest to accomplish anything for Hungary. The activities of other Hungarian immigrants were looked upon with favor in ^{AS INDIVIDUALS} Hungary, but certainly not the activities of Ferenc Nagy, ^{PFEIFFER}, and ^{BARANKOVITS}. The other well intentioned Hungarians surely tried according to respondent to do their best, but lost heart ~~on~~ on seeing the apathy over here. "During the revolution" said respondent, ^{she} sometimes thought of these exiled politicians, but were convinced that in case of a ~~liberated~~ liberated Hungary we would not have wanted them back.)

C. My own father-in-law was one of those Hungarians who went to the West in '45, but returned to Hungary later on for

family reasons. He was bitterly disappointed and regretted having done so. The Communist redefection campaign, in my view, was purely for propaganda purposes so as to show the Western world that the Hungarian people prefer to live in Hungary even under the Communist regime. "

D. I believe that people who have left Hungary and are now in the United States should never denounce their country and their nationality. They ought to collect experience and knowledge as much as possible so as to be able to return to Hungary and participate in the rebuilding of a free Hungary to a great extent.

Myself personally, I am going to do the same and also since I am very much interested in politics, I would like to find and meet some American statesmen to whom I could tell a little bit about the pre-war Hungary, and to induce them to learn more about the history of Central and Eastern Europe.

The people in Hungary are very much interested in everything that is happening to us and we are doing our best to inform them about our lives here. I think there is something they ought to know, however, and this is that it is extremely difficult to get adjusted in any foreign country. You have to work very hard in order to achieve something everywhere. Also, I would like to tell every parent back home in Hungary how important it is that the young people should learn languages.

I would like to join an exile organization which has no political purposes and in fact is above all politics. The only aim of this organizations should be to mass the Hungarians regardless of political or religious creeds into one closed unit so as if the time comes, this organizations has a word to say in the formation of the future of Hungary. For this very reason I think that this organization should be made up of new and old, pre-revolution-exiles.

When asked about feelings regarding the various Hungarian political parties, respondent said:
"Before 1948 the Smallholders party was the largest political party in Hungary, but the leadership was impotent and they were unable to put up a sound political platform. The Social Democrats as such was the largest party of the workers in Hungary, and is even nowadays very popular. However, due to the corrupt leadership at that time, they became tools in the hands of the Communist party. The Peasant's party was a small party which had no political weight whatsoever. The Communist party, before 1948 was mostly the party of idealists, nevertheless it was the slave of international proletarianism."

I do not know anything about parties in exile. As to political parties revived in Hungary during the revolution, I know that several of them have been revived. However, there was no time left for them to build up strong and

two large parties who started their activities the Christian people's party and the Social Democratic Party. Then we also had the Smallholders Party and the Peasant Party. Also the Communist party still existed on paper at that time, but of course I do not think that they had many members left anymore.

This is incorrect to say that the parties had resumed activities during the revolution, because it was not during the revolution that they did so. It was on October 29, 30, and 31 after the revolution that these parties started to resume their activities and to my mind it was right to do so. A free country must start political activity immediately. The unfortunate thing however was that the parties had no time on their hands to work because of the Russian reinvasion of Hungary. Groups that went into exile previously should return to Hungary by all means, but not as politicians, but only as the plain workers for an independent Hungary. "

E. My own plans for the future are very easily defined. I want to go back to Hungary by all means, but only if Hungary had been liberated from Communism. Anyway I could not possibly go back before that. If I have children, I am going to teach them Hungarian as well as English here in the United States and I want to bring them up to be very proud Hungarians.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

"We listened always to foreign radio stations while we were in Hungary. The stations that we listened to mostly were the German emission ~~in~~ Vienna for Hungary, Radio Free Europe, the French Radio broadcasts, the BBC, the Voice of America and also Ankara. We thought that the Viennese broadcasts, since they were in German, were the best, and the least jammed. All other stations were very much jammed at all times. We mainly listened to the Hungarian language broadcasts, but also to German and French ones. The most frequently listened to was the Viennese broadcast and the BBC in Hungarian.

We listened to our own radio, sometimes alone, sometimes with others and always told each other and other friends what we had heard on the radio. At the beginning of the Communist regime there was a risk involved in listening to the broadcasts or talking about them to anybody. A change came about in 1953 when the rules weren't kept so strictly anymore. In fact there was no law against listening to Free Europe or any other foreign radio stations, but the regime used it as a very good pretext; if they had something against somebody it was easy to trump up the charge that the person concerned was listening to the foreign radio and "disseminating foreign propaganda."

The reaction of respondent to the foreign broadcasts sums up in the following:

"We believed that the BBC radio broadcasts were the most factual ones, followed by the Voice of America, and the least reliable were the radio broadcasts of Radio Free Europe. I happened very often that this station gave out news which was not true and could easily be checked by the events at home. Also the BBC never incited against the Communist regime or anybody else and it gave only straight political or economic news. The Voice of America on the other hand, and RFE have been inciting the Hungarian people without any responsibility during the twelve long years and also during the revolution. In fact I have heard them holding out with promises for help on November 17 and also on November 20th. I think that these two stations were thoroughly irresponsible in their broadcasts to Hungary by holding out promises that they knew could never be fulfilled.

"I judge ^{10/15} the accuracy of these statements on the basis of the events in Hungary and by comparing them with the news in Western papers even though they were papers of the Western Communist Parties.

In my opinion these broadcasts were at first, I would say wood on the fire, and during the revolution it was oil poured on a fire.

"I thoroughly agree that Western broadcasts and especially Radio Free Europe did help incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help and this is not

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only true of Radio Free Europe, but as I said, also of the Voice of America. Nevertheless I think that Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary and give straight political news without any commentaries. It should be very factual and should not contain any irresponsible promises. Since I have come over to the United States, I am no longer astonished at the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe holding out promises because I find that this is a nationwide habit here in the states.

B. "I did hear the initials NEM in fact I have seen such leaflets and have read them, but I can not remember what they contained. I have not seen any Free Europe leaflets, but I have heard about them. I also know that there were great risks involved in picking them up or keeping them or talking about them to anyone else. Here again it depended entirely on who the person was who was caught in the act regarding the kind of punishment doled out by the Communist regime.

Respondent was very casual regarding her opinion about the Radio Free Europe leaflets and she just shrugged it off. In her opinion people only read these leaflets and they did not have much effect in Hungary. Respondent did not hear of any leaflets during the revolution. When asked whether or not the Free Europe ~~is~~ Committee should continue to drop ~~the~~ leaflets into Hungary, respondent's attitude became again very hostile and she said, "I am very fed up with the kind of propoganda that Radio Free Europe hadk been ~~and~~ doing in ~~the~~ Europe, and I wish they would do something instead of talking about things and promising things they do not intend to fulfill!"

D. Respondent was of the opinion that the Western groups broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary for the purpose of disseminating anti-Communist propoganda and that all Western groups had the same motives and goals.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent's views on how children should be brought up were as follows:

"I believe ⁱⁿ bringing up children in a religion, no matter what sort, for children must believe in God and must have a thorough knowledge of religion.

A child must love its homeland and also must have respect for its parents.

Regarding how children should be disciplined and whether physical punishment should be used, I believe that the method of child rearing depends entirely and always on the individual child. There are children with whom one stern word is enough and ^{others} need some physical ^{punishment} also. I do not believe that physical punishment does harm to any child if it is needed. Treatment should be the same for ~~both~~ both boys and girls up to the age of six. I think ^{at that time} it should be different."

Respondent recalled that when she was a child and refused to eat something at the regular meals, she received the same food put before her as long as she did not finish it up. This ~~same~~ sometimes happened in ^{three} consecutive days also. Both parents, father and mother punished her for misdemeanors.

Among people that respondent knew, both parents usually punished children who were six years old or even older.

Respondent believed that there was always a difference between the disciplinary measures among the different social classes. As she put it, the primitive people in the lower social classes did not educate their children in the proper sense of the word. They went after their instincts and usually used physical punishment. As to when physical punishment is abandoned for boys and girls or when punishment is abandoned for children of both sexes, respondent that this always depends of the parents and the children and on their ways of bringing them up. And most certainly it does vary by social class.

Communism did bring about change in ~~the~~ respect that ~~physical~~ physical punishment was abolished at school, but otherwise respondent was of the view that ~~the~~ Hungarian parents went on with bringing up children in the same way as before the Communists. Parents who did educate and care for the bringing up of their children continued to do so ~~in~~ The ways of discipline were still the same. They were deprived of something they liked very much. The good dress was taken away for a couple of days, toys when they were smaller, etc.

Even though the parents were ^{NOT ALWAYS} with their children ~~xxx~~, they

always did their utmost to educate them and to educate them well, and to teach them manners. ^{PARENTS ARE}
"In my opinion as long as he or she is living together with the child never stops correcting the child, educating him or trying to teach him better manners. As a rule generally between the ages of sixteen and seventeen the ^{PHYSICAL} discipline is abandoned.

Changes in the discipline of children have only occurred at the schools under the Communist rule according to respondent, but not in the family circle. At least regarding the kind of family the respondent belonged to.

Officially physical punishment had to be abandoned at school and the only technique of discipline during the Communist regime that remained was sending reports to the parent on the child, or expulsion from the class and finally from the school.

Respondent pointed out that the characteristic she values most in a friend ^{and} even if she is in trouble a friend is willing and helpful to share her plight in fact to be more helpful than ever. Respondent thought that in real friendship there haven't been any real changes under Communism even ~~the~~ friendships, and good friendships have improved and have deepened further.

THE END

ON THE CONTRARY,