

"This does vary according to social classes because the moment a child for instance of a working class family is earning his own living, ~~if he is earning his own living~~ there is no more physical discipline. Of course, neither other punishments can't be doled out.

"Communism did bring about a great change in the respect of punishing children because the parents arrived home late at night, dead tired, and nervous, so it is very understandable that they lose their patience with their children and sometimes are more strict with them in discipline. On the other hand there were parents who were of the opinion that since they see their children so little, they did not want to be too strict with them when they were at home.

"The changes that have occurred during the last ten years in the way children are disciplined during their first eight years in school were mainly that the physical punishment in school was abolished by the government. However, I was brought up in a convent school and in our school we never received physical punishment so there was nothing to be abandoned. I do not what has happened in the other public schools and country schools, however. The only techniques of discipline that remained during the Communist regime were pedagogic and also the sending report cards to the parents!

"On the characteristics she values most in a friend, respondent said: "First of all a friend must be completely and absolutely reliable. Also, a friend must be willing to help to be extremely sincere and faithful and have a strong character.

"Regarding the changes in friendship under Communism I can say that new friendships were made very seldom but the old friendships became much stronger."

CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

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

"The most important things a child should be told in my mind are: 1, sincerity and a strong character. A child should also be told subjects by which he can acquire a wide and overall culture. It is also important that a child should be told religion and belief in God. In my opinion, a child must be disciplined by all means, and if good words have no effect then it must be punished physically when small. It is very important that you are very strict and ~~was~~ persistent when educating a child. Of course, there must be a difference in treatment for boys and girls, and a boy must always get a more manly education, so to say. The treatment must change as a child grows older according to the devilement of the individual child."

Regarding her own bringing up and recalling an incident when she was a young girl, she remembered that even at the age of 18 when she was impertinent with her mother, her mother never hesitated to give her a slap on her mouth. Other punishments consisted in locking the library from her which was the greatest punishment for her.

"Among people I knew it was usually the mother who punished the children but of course it always depended on the habit of the family. It also depended on the age of the child. The smaller children were slapped now and then - put into the corner, or something they particularly cared for was the pride of them. The boys, of course, were much more disciplined physically than the children.

differs

"The education and punishment of children ~~differs~~ greatly according to the social classes. The higher social classes, the intellectuals and aristocracy, etc. were bringing up their children more intelligently and educated them.

"The authority of the parents has decreased during the last ten years. I couldn't say that it was the authority of both parents that has suffered.

"As to when parents stopped punishing their children among people I knew I could say approximately that it happened that physical punishment for boys when they were between 16 and 17, and for girls around 15. Punishment in general is abandoned for boys around 18-19 and the same stands for girls.

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is not going to forget Hungary and is going to help us if we do something by our own force and start something.

"Despite what I have mentioned here above, I believe that RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary because after all the broadcasts were very much appreciated and especially among the working class. Besides this ~~is~~ the only tie with the West now

"Regarding the programs in particular, I ~~am~~ believe that they should give everything - political news- economic news- and even anti-Communist propoganda - but everything should remain factual."

B. Respondent has not heard about the F.E.P. leaflets nor ever heard the initials N.E.M. nor the Twelve Demands.

C. Respondent also has not ~~heard~~ seen any Free Europe leaflets but has heard about them however, and knew that they were meant for propoganda purposes. There was a great deal of risk involved in picking them up, and.....took people away whenever informed that people did do so. I do not believe that RFE should continue to drop leaflets into Hunga y. I do not see much sense in it.

D."The Western groups that broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary, I believe had the same aim and that is that they wanted to inform the people behind the iron curtain that thegr cause is kept alive in the Western world.

AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. "While in Hungary we regularly listened to the foreign radio stations and mainly to the BBC, RFE, and VOA. The least we listened to was RFE and the most to the BBC. The BBC broadcasts I heard in Hungarian, English and German language. We preferred the BBC to all other foreign radio stations because the news they gave us was always correct without the unnecessary, as we said: "blah-blah-blah". Of course, I always told others what I heard, and I also received news from friends what they have heard. We listened on our own radio, alone with my husband or friends, but very often, and especially during the revolution, there was always a big crowd of people who came to our house to listen to the radio.

"At the beginning of the Communist regime, especially 1948 and later on it was very risky to listen to the radio and everybody was pretty careful about it. There was no specific law against it but it was a very bad mark on your cadre file and also could be used against ~~it~~ you if the regime wanted to charge you with something. For instance, in our house, the wife of the janitor was always spying on everybody in the house who was listening to the radio.

"As I mentioned before the BBC to all the other foreign radio stations because it was very factual. It said everything it had to say in a few words and there was no news commentary attached to it. The Radio Free Europe on the other hand and the Voice of America exaggerated things and also their delivery of the programs was very theatrical. We also caught them pretty often telling things that happened in Hungary and which we knew were not true.

"The people in Hungary nevertheless listened to the foreign radio broadcasts because before the revolution it was their only means of receiving news from abroad, and during the revolution we always could hear what had happened in the other parts of the country. RFE, for instance, was in contact with the freefighter's radio, and the short wave radio and had established a contact thus with the whole world and the Hungarians who were listening to it.

"As to whether or not, RFE in particular, has helped incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help, I believe that this is true. I have heard it myself, when RFE told us to hold out until the end of the Presidential elections because after this help would be forth coming. Also it has encouraged the freedom fighters to hold out. We were also constantly during those 12 years that the West

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by the political parties.

"I also believe that groups that went into exile previously should return to Hungary but only after order had been restored and if they want to be allowed to take part in Hungarian political life.

E. "I do not think that I would like to go back to Hungary for good, but if Hungary is free again, I certainly want to go back visiting my country.

"If I ever have children I should want them to learn Hungarian as well as English in the US.

CWI have not met any Hungarians who escaped to the West after '45 and returned to Hungary later on. The defection campaign of the Communist had only propoganda purposes and was not effective."

D. "People in Hungary, I am sure would like to know whether or not th exiles here are able to do something on behalf of their homeland, and to keep the Hungarian cause on the agenda and in the public eye. The important thing they ought to know, however, is that it is not easy here - that you have to work here very hard, on the other hand it is much easier to achieve a decent living and has the best living standard of anyplace else in the world. I also think that the Hungarian people at home must be told that the Western world will not start a war on behalf of Hungary and they should never any more count on this.

"The exiles here in the US must do all they can, as I said before, that the Hungarian cause be kept in the public eye and that the Western world should not forget about our fight for freedom, despite that at present now everything is quiet in Hungary. Personally, myself, I would tell always everybody in detail what has happened at home. Also, I would like ~~xxxxxxx~~ do my best to discredit those Communists or pro-Communists who were infiltrated in the West- I'm thinking for instance of men like that author -writer, Aczel as I said already before.

" I would like to join an exile organization but not a political one. It should be a rather cultural one. I have no particular one in mind and I think I would join any one that has cultural aims. This organization should be of assistance to the Hungarian emigres and in conciling them and advising them. I believe that the organization should be made up by the old exiles and the new exiles also, of course."

On the various political Hungarian parties, respondent said:

"Of those parties before 1948 I can only say that they were all free political parties. Of the parties in exile, I do not know.

"Political parties revived in Hungary during the revolution were the Small-holder's Party and also the Petofi Party of which I knew. The latter was the former Peasant Party. Since many intellectuals have joined it, they thought they would rename it.

"I was strongly in favor of certain parties resuming their activities during the revolution because after all one of our main and most important aims was to have free elections, and the elections must be prepared

ATTITUDE TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. The escapees from Hungary were mostly young people but I believe there were quite a few who were middle-aged up to fifty. They came from the different social classes of course, and the majority of them came from Budapest and also from the Western border of the country. Their reason for leaving was probably that those who took an active part in the revolution were afraid of the reprisals, and others wanted to live free again and they were fed up living under the Communist oppression.

"Those who stayed behind were mostly afraid of facing an unknown future; also, many had very strong family ties. They could not break them off. Also, I think that there have been quite a few who were too optimistic. Then, on the other hand, lots of people did not want to leave their home. All I can say is that I am deeply sorry for all those who stayed behind.

"In my opinion people in Hungary who stayed behind do understand our reasons for leaving and are glad that we have managed to escape. On the other hand, due to the change which has occurred in Hungary, we shall not be very welcomed by them if we wanted to return. Assuming on the other hand that people in Hungary had a chance to come to the West and Hungary is still under Communist domination, I am sure that anybody who would have the chance to come out, would do so."

B. When asked which exile organizations and individuals respondent knew when in Hungary, she said;

"I have heard about the Hungarian National Council organization and of the individuals I have heard of Tibor Eckhardt, Ferenc Nagy, Paul Auer, Msgr. Bela Varga and Former Prime Minister Kally.

"I knew that these ~~politicians~~ politicians were trying to work for Hungary in the West, and in the interest of our country. However, I also had no knowledge regarding what results they were able to achieve. Altogether these people were looked on with a great deal of sympathy by the Hungarians back home." When handed over the list of individuals respondent had the following remarks on them: "Ferenc Nagy is very active in the West. Tibor Eckhardt is an extremely smart and good politician and I believe that Paul Auer is also a talented man. Former Prime Minister Miklos Kally was the best Prime Minister we had during the second World War. Of Otto of Hapsburg that she did not believe that he ever would become a king of Hungary, however there are many in the country who would welcome him as such. On Admiral Horthy, she said: "I liked this man very much".

"Of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, I do not know enough so as have an opinion.

"Ferenc Nagy. Well, I don't know but maybe they will accept him in Hungary as a politician again.

"Former President Roosevelt was a very great President of the US however we Hungarians blame him for not having seen what the Russians plans are when he gave in at Yalta. Chancellor Adenauer, on the other hand, is the greatest living statesman nowadays. He is a genius.

"Why do you ask me to say anything about Stalin? Everybody knows how the Hungarians feel about him. Kalenyov is the man who tried to deviate from the Stalinist line, but he was unsuccessful in this.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"I approve Generalissimo Franco's policy. I know that Bevan was the leader of the British Labor Party but I do not know much about his activities so I cannot say to approve them or not.

"Khrushchev is a monster. That is all I can say about him.

"Tito is a man who I would determine as a careerist.

"As I said before I only know that Peron was the President of the Argentine Republic and is now in exile.

"Molotov to my mind is another of those Soviet monsters.

"Ollenhauer - all I know that he is the leader of the Social-democrats in Western Germany but I don't know anything else about him.

"Former Prime Minister Churchill on the other hand is the greatest living political genius of the ~~20th~~ century.

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked to tell me who in her opinion is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent said: "Unfortunately, I do not know anybody whom I could qualify as such."

B. Her reactions to persons of importance in world affairs were as follows:

"I believe that Imre Nagy would not have gone any further than Gomułka did in Poland because he is a Moscow-trained politician, after all, and he was only swept by the tide of the revolution towards the finer attitude of complete neutrality.

"Cardinal Mindszenty to my mind is an extremely respectable and forceful character. I am sure that the speech he held on Nov. the 3rd and for which many people blamed him was not his idea at all, and he was more or less forced to deliver it.

"László Rajk, to my mind, is a complete waste and that is all I can say.

"Erno Gero is a lousy skunk and Janos Kadar is the same.

"I have heard the name of General Bela Kiraly mentioned for the first time when it was said that he is going to go with General Galetz together to negotiate with the Russians. However, it seems that he did not go.

"Regarding Miss Anna Kathly, I believe that she is a woman of good intentions but not a very smart politician.

"I hold President Eisenhower in very high esteem.

"Secretary-General Hammarskiöld on the other hand was not energetic enough in the Hungarian question. The Hungarian people at home had very great expectations in him.

"John Foster Dulles, I think is a very smart statesman, and so is also former Prime Minister Eden. Regarding former President Truman, I think, he was wisest when he decided to use the atom bomb against Japan and ended the war.

leader

"Of Mikoyan I know very little. The Indian Nehru is a smart politician but he is inclined to be on too good terms with the Soviet Union.

Also she was of the opinion that the American government should not acknowledge the present puppet government of Hungary ~~by Kadar~~ headed by Kadar.

According to respondent, people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors because these visitors would always find someone who could show them the real situation in Hungary, and people would hope that these people were returning to the West could actively make some propaganda for the Hungarians. Respondent thought that mainly newspaper men and politicians would be most welcome. These people however, should be informed in advance that they ought to try to contact the man in the street also, and not only the official people that they are told to meet; otherwise, they will never learn the truth.

"People at home" said respondent, "are famished for anything that is coming from the West - books, periodicals, newspapers, etc., however, I cannot see how this problem can be solved at present. The only way that books and periodicals can be taken into Hungary would be by the diplomatic ways. Respondent also said that people in Hungary would be very grateful to know that the exiles are taking part in such activities as sending Western visitors and publications to Hungary.

On the Marshall plan launched in '48, respondent said:

"Well I have heard a great deal about the Marshall plan, of course, and I also know the motives, - to give economic help to countries ravaged by the second World War. I believe that this assistance was quite on the selfless side although the Communist propaganda tried to present it in a quite different way.

"As to why America became involved in the Korean war in 1950, I think it was for the reason that the US wanted to put an end to Russian expansion.

J. When asked about the UN, whether or not they could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last months of 1956, respondent said: "Certainly had the UN been more energetic and forceful, they could have done so. To my mind, the UN should have enforced reprisals against the Soviet Union and had the Soviet Union refused to obey, finally exclude them from the UN. Also, I think that the UN should have accepted Miss Kethly as a lawful representative of the Hungarian nation in the UN. Due to the ineffective attitude of the UN in behalf of Hungary, I do not see any that the UN will undertake any effective action on behalf of Hungary.

Regarding the German military strength, I do not know how strong it is, but I only believe that the Germany army in quality is an extremely good one and very modern and certainly much better than the French. I do not know how long the term of service is in the West German army.

In comparing the German army to the Russian occupation forces, respondent said:

"The Hungarian population did not suffer from the German occupation army on the whole. The army was disciplined and this stood for both officers and enlisted men. The most unpopular occupational force was the Russian, of course. And the most unpopular force in Hungary is the Russian.

G. When asked about NATO, respondent said:

"I know that NATO is a military alliance of the North Atlantic nations. The Warsaw pact, compared to the NATO was supposed to be set up on the same principles but for the eastern European Nations in alliance with the Soviet Union, but of course, the participation in the Warsaw Pact was compulsory for the satellite nations - contrary to the member nations of NATO.

"Regarding the British Labor Party, I believe that this Party is an ideal social-democrat party which has no leanings toward Communism at all. I do not know anything about other European socialist parties.

"Regarding the living standard of various Western countries, I believe that the living standard is at its highest in West Germany, then comes Great Britain, Italy, Egypt, Greece and finally the Soviet Union."

H. When asked her first impressions on the United States, respondent said:

"I was prepared to find something grandiose here in the US but what I have found has ~~surpassed~~ surpassed my imagination in every way.

On what the US should do now for the people in the nations of Eastern Europe, respondent was of the opinion that the US should use its power that the UN should keep the Eastern European problem always on the agenda and should not drop it, as it seems it had. The US policy on the whole was considered much too cautious, by respondent, and she also said that the US should give no aid to ^{present} governments as Poland, Yugoslavia, etc. and neither to Hungary because the people of these countries would receive no benefit of these aids. Respondent also said that her attitude did not change since she came to this country as to what US should do.

relations with the other East European nations I would say are that these East European nations admire him, but do not like him. His relationship with Russia is something nobody knows for sure; it is always according to the present prevailing situation. His relationship with the West is extremely smart, and I really do not know and cannot understand how the Western world can tolerate his shilly-shallying. Sometimes he is pro-West and then the next day he is pro-Russian.

"Tito's attitude, however, during the Hungarian revolution was pretty decent, especially when he admitted and gave asylum to many Hungarian refugees. Titoism, as I said before, is not acceptable for me for the above mentioned reasons.

"I do not know to which Tito is popular in Yugoslavia, and I also no knowledge whatsoever of internal conditions in Yugoslavia.

E. "On the Middle-East - that is on the Suez situation, respondent said:

"The timing of the Suez invasion was extremely unfortunate for Hungary. Nevertheless, I believe that even though Eden had to resign, he was quite right. I do not think that the Israeli invasion of Egypt was right, on the other hand, and I believe that they interfered only on the instigation of the British. I also think that Nasser was wrong in nationalizing the canal.

"Event in Egypt, unfortunately, affected greatly the developments in Hungary in October 1956 because despite the fact that the British and the French have followed the United Nations and sanctions, the Russians were only encouraged in not doing so.

"The living standard in West Germany is far as I understand is extremely good.

"On the other hand, I do not think that the Germans are dangerous at all and might start another war. We only have to be very grateful that Western Germany is rearming and that the Western powers are helping her to do so, because, after all, against Russia it will be the German army only who will take up arms if the time comes, and I think that the re-armament of Germany should be stepped up as much as possible.

preferences or dislikes of these countries is based on the people among the Hungarians because the governments after all satellites as Hungary's government is.

"If free elections were held in these countries, I believe that the Communist regime would topple.

"As to the living standards, I believe that the highest is highest in Czechoslovakia, followed by Eastern Germany, then Hungary, Poland Bulgaria and Romania. "

C. The situation in Poland was summed up by respondent as follows: "I can define Gomulka's government like this: it has started to be a genuine change and now it has become a Russian puppet again; nevertheless his policy represents a step in the right direction, even though I do not believe in a policy of gradualism. I believe that Gomulka will stay in power for sometime, but the future policies of Poland will depend on what is going to happen in Hungary. At least I believe it, and as long as no major changes are going to happen in Hungary, Poland's policy will also be stagnant.

"In my opinion, events in Poland did have an effect on events in Hungary, because people in Hungary became more encouraged seeing that that Poles had dared to start to revolt against the Russian regime. I am referring here to the events of the Poznan revolt. During Oct. and after Oct. '56, however, the Polish events had no effect on the events in Hungary. I have not heard, however, in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. We have heard about the Poznan riots and also the trials. These were discussed in the Communist Hungarian press and also on radio, but more details were received from the foreign radios.

"Nevertheless I would not have preferred that the Hungarian revolution take a part along Polish lines, and I am sure that nobody in Hungary would have accepted the concessions that were given to Poland."

D. On Yugoslavia, respondent said: "I believe that Yugoslavia in a way impressed greatly the Eastern European nations; at least in Hungary, everybody was quite impressed by the fact that Tito dared to break off ~~xxxx~~ his nation from the Soviet bloc; on the other hand, it was easy for him to do so because Yugoslavia had no common order with the Soviet Union. In my mind the national Communism is still a Communism, and all I can say is that no kind of Communism is acceptable for me. Tito's

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the chances of changes inside Russia, respondent said: "After what has happened in Hungary, I do not believe that there is a chance of any change inside Russia because probably the Soviet government will be imposing all kind of restrictions in the country also. After the 20th Party Congress, there was a chance of slowly liberalization, but now I believe that only the top echelon will have some kind of controversy. This fact may be the cause of change in Russia. After all, I do not know what the feelings of the people are in Russia ~~now~~ about Communism, because as far as we have heard from the Czarist times and now, we can compare it with the Communist regime - both are about the same. The Russian people after all don't know very much more than oppression and believes it must be like this-as it is at present. On the other hand, there were a great many Russian troops who as occupation forces in Europe must have seen that life can be, and is, different somewhere else.

"I do not think that this is a good question, that if Russia had free elections, what would be the result, because I believe that first of all there must be a change in Russia, and only then could the free elections be held, and after that change in Russia and the free elections, there is no question of what kind of change is going to be there.

"The aims - the overall and collective aims of the Russian top Communists is one of course is the world "Communism". ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ I do not believe that they have any private lives. They only strive to achieve popularity and to keep their heads on their necks as long as possible.

"The differences between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian Communist are that the Hungarian Communists are receiving their orders from Moscow and not even that slight independence of the Russian Communist leaders.

B. "On the relative popularity of other nations in Eastern Europe, in Hungary, respondent said: "The most popular in Hungary is of course Poland because Poland was the first one who tried to break away from Communism in the last year; then comes Czechoslovakia because it is greatly respected by the highly developed industrial and economic system. Then comes East Germany, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The

that the brother of a very famous milliner in Budapest, Vilma Gargely, Comrade Gargely was Makosi's driver."

B. "Regarding where I drew most of my information during the last ten years, they were taken from the radio. We listened always to the BBC, RFE and the VOA.

C. "By word of mouth I always got political news from friends, and reliable ones; also, from relatives. I found, however, that this news was usually less reliable than any other sources.

D. "Before and during the war, I read the Festi Naplo - the Esti Kiraly, and the Magyar Nemzet. Also among the magazines, I regularly read was Ujkor, and the Hid. As to books, I read widely the Hungarian, German French and English literature - mostly in originals. The press, however, ~~existing~~ during the war was greatly influenced by the German pressure. These papers I did not read.

"During the last eight to ten years, I did not read the newspapers regularly. We did not subscribe to any of those Communist newspapers. I sometimes read the Szabad Nep. Altogether, I can say, that ever since 1947, I did not put any trust into the papers at all. The only part of the newspaper you could believe was the movie programs and sports events. All was that was statistics was only lies. I only read newspapers during those last ten years when I knew that something important had happened and some of the bigwigs had a long speech, so I wanted to see what sort of lies they were again trying to feed us on. Neither did I nor my family read any publications from the USSR or other satellites; however, we read the Vogue and House and Garden and other American magazines that were sent and were allowed to come to Hungary by some friends.

"I also read many of the so-called ~~proscribed~~ ^{proscribed} books that were hidden by friends ~~xxxxxxx~~ and ourselves. We did not submit them to the government and loaned them out to anybody who was reliable. This way I also read very often the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, which is a Swiss paper, and also the Economist. These were, of course, illegal to read. I also read The Reader's Digest. Always a friend of ours got it somehow from the American legation and loaned it to us.

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

Regarding how subject got her information about the different events outside of Hungary, etc. she gave the following information: "The Hungarian Communist press and the radio, as well as the foreign radios have discussed at some length the 20th Party Congress and the Khrushchev's speech heard on this occasion, but we have not been given the full text. I'm sure that the top Communist leaders, however, have received the full text of it. What we knew about the 20th Party Congress and ~~Khrushchev's speech~~ Khrushchev's speech was that it was a complete change in policy and they turned against Stalin and all this probably because they wanted to appease the satellites. People at that time were quite taken aback to see that the Russians dared to criticize Stalin so openly, and of course, we all were hoping very much that at last a change for the better would be the result of all this. We were all so very curious to see the reactions of the Russian people to this new policy.

When asked about what she knew of Senator McCarthy or the un-American Activities Committee, respondent said:

"I certainly was informed about Senator McCarthy's activities and we were very glad that he at last has realized the danger of Communism. The Communist press, however, all over Eastern Europe was defaming him. We all thought it was high time that the United States ought to realize that the Communist agents are infiltrating the West also.

"I know that Peron was the President of the Argentine Republic, but I do not anything of what was the cause of his fall.

"About Rakosi's private life, we only heard details by hearsay and by grapevine. It was told that one of our prominent actresses was his girl friend and also, ~~his friend~~ ~~the~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~ ~~I~~ ~~was~~ ~~working~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~no.~~ ~~1~~ State building and Construction Enterprise, ~~was~~ - this company was building a huge swimming pool in his villa on the Svabegy. This was a very sumptuous affair and it had all the most modern devices, such as for instance, an automatic tar caulin which covered the pool when it was out of use so as the leaves from the trees wouldn't fall in, etc. It cost quite a fortune and I remember that all workers who participated in the construction were screened many times before they were allowed to go there. We also knew that his wife was a Klimuk - a woman who loved to paint on china and ~~was~~ by some "chance" she always won the first prizes of the exhibitions. It was also generally known

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The present boundaries are unacceptable for respondent, however, she said that at present a change wouldn't be appropriate. She thinks the only adjustment should be made by plebiscite.

Respondent was of the opinion that not all Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary had a very bad time, that is, economically. Otherwise, she said that she did not think very much about the Hungarians living outside of Hungary and did not think very much about the whole problem. She also was of the opinion that in the present situation this problem is really secondary.

"Regarding the maximum limit to the amount of land anyone person or family should own, I do not believe that the ownership of large huge estates of several tens of thousands acres has been justified principle, since I know very little about agriculture and its connected problems, I do not know which should be the maximum limit the government ought to set.

When I asked respondent what kind of government in an independent Hungary and when she chose between two possible kinds of government, she chose the first case that guarantees personal freedom of the individuals. This, because, she said that in a free country everybody can get ahead according to her or his talents and always make a living according to the living standard desired.

Respondent decidedly denied the reasons for outlawing the Communist Party in an independent Hungary because if outlawed, she said, the Communist Party would go underground because something prohibited is always very desirable. Besides, a Communist Party in Hungary would have no future at all.

~~International Relations~~

C. Respondent said that she would desire for an independent Hungary an international position that is similar to that of Austria. Her reasons for this were that because a small country like Hungary is always best off if completely neutral and independent. As to relations with the different other countries, respondent would not want to have anything to do with the Soviet Union, militarily, economically or culturally. Regarding the other East European states she would like to see only with Czechoslovakia, some economic relationship, and then with the rest of Europe and the United States, she would welcome economic and cultural connections.

Respondent did know about the possibility of a federation of Danubian states, but she believes that such federation is not desirable because there are too many Slavic and Western European states involved in it. The only states she would like to see included in a federation with Hungary would be Austria because the geographic situation is such and besides the country had many ties with Austria before World War I, and even now, for that matter."

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. When asked what an independent Hungary should be and what sort of a system she would like to see in Hungary, respondent said:

"I would welcome to see some socialized state which is based, however, on private economy."

B. "Regarding the economic system, Hungary should clearly emphasize agriculture and secondly the light industry, due to the prevailing soil conditions the country is primarily an agricultural country, and the emphasis on the light industry would save Hungary many foreign imports. The heavy industry in Hungary has been boosted on the Russian future and has had a disastrous effect on the country's economy. Hungary does not possess enough raw materials to supply our heavy industry and the raw materials have to be imported at the very high cost.

"I believe that industry of commodities should be manufactured from the richore Hungary has. Further more, all textile materials, with the exception of wool materials, and then also for instance the manufacture of china. Regarding what Hungary should grow or breed, etc. I do know very little about agriculture, so I cannot give my opinion on this.

"If the Communist regime were overthrown, I believe that the national enterprises should be handed back to the private owners. The kolkhozes and state farms should also be dissolved.

"However, in my mind, it would be a wise thing to keep the following industries and enterprises in the hands of the state. First of all, the mining industry and then the foundries and smelting industry; the transportations - all kind of transportation - railroads, buses, street cars, etc. Then electric, water and gas works, and also the mail services, including telephone. By the way, these four latter have always been state enterprises even before the war, in Hungary. In the light industries, I would return all enterprises to private ownership.

"The government should, however, have a control over the prices of agricultural products."

"Internal changes in the Soviet Union would certainly lead to a settlement in Eastern Europe and this is wishful dream in which all Hungarians back home are indulging, and maybe it will come about too, due to the events in Hungary.

B. Prospects for Hungary during the last eight or ten years were assessed by the people in Hungary according to what has happened to the Western world. When there was a Four-Power meeting or any other ~~confidential~~ conference, or the Soviet has eased to the slightest extent the restraints also - for instance, after the Austrian peace treaty, hopes were flying high in Hungary, and everybody hoped that sooner or later the Russians will also leave the country. In my opinion, people in Hungary have underestimated the Warsaw Pact and estimated the impact of the Austrian Peace Treaty far too high. Other hopes that were voiced at that time were also that a complete economic design - a collapse of the whole economic system in the satellite nations would also bring about a change, and the Russians will move out from this area. With this of course everything would have been solved.

"Generally, at home, people were always saying: "How long is this going to last?" The pessimists were boomed and the optimists always told each other that this was the last year, and next year it would be different."

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ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent gave her view on what she thinks what is going to happen in Hungary in the future as follows:

"Since the Russians have seen that they can subjugate the country without any interference and reprisals from the West, I have no illusions about the future of Hungary and I am sure that the terror is going to continue. The Russians will impose on the Hungarian people in order to keep them in a state of scared-fright so as they shouldn't even dream of starting a new revolt. However, I am also sure that the passive resistance in Hungary will continue, and this is the only way the people can show their dislike for the regime. Kadar, on the other hand, I'm sure will withdraw ~~him~~ even the slight concessions he has made hitherto and he will impose a much stricter rule than ever before.

"As far as I can see from letters received from home, people back in Hungary are still hoping that some assistance from the West will be forthcoming, but myself, I am pessimistic about that because I have seen that here, now, nobody cares about matters in Hungary anymore.

"Short of independence, I do not believe that anybody would accept compromise. Neither the Hungarians back home, nor the people who have left Hungary. We do not want a Polish-like nor a Yugoslav kind of solution.

"The situation in Hungary can only be solved by means of war, but this is of course distasteful to everybody - myself and also to some people at home. However, I have also heard voices that we rather die -all of us- than to continue to live as we have to. An atomic war nevertheless is not desired by anybody. Also I do not think that a war is likely to occur in Europe on behalf of Hungary unless there is a flare-up in the East. This may rather cause an outbreak for which we are hoping, and maybe in connection with that the Western world will be shaken out of its inactivity because after all they probably have a more interest in the near East than in Hungary."

"Why, back in Hungary, I believed that international pressure of UN sanctions maybe would force the Russians to leave Hungary. However, since I am here, I am completely pessimistic about this because I have seen that the UN is good for nothing.

"If it was found out that an official accepted bribes, it depended who was the one. Usually they were dismissed and received one or two years of prison."

G. "Concerning the efficiency of different people who had power in Communist Hungary, I must say that the secret police, the AVH, are well -trained for their jobs and after all, if someone can stomach the kind of things they had to do, they must have had a talent for that. I do not know anything about the efficiency of the Hungarian army - ~~xxxxx~~ leadership, nor the Russian army leadership. The public administration officials on the other hand were very inefficient and they were people who didn't know a thing how to administer an office, usually they were people of very low intelligence and of low class who were put by the Communist Party into the key jobs. The competent people and those who were experts were serving low wages and in the lower echelon.

Quite shortly before the revolution there were no Russian troops stationed in Budapest ~~xxxxxx~~ itself so I have no ideas whether there were any relations between the civilians and the Russian occupation troops. Regarding the Russian troops' behaviour during the revolution I have heard only by hearsay that some of them had ~~xxxxxx~~ exchanged their tanks for bread as they were badly in need of food. After the revolution, there were four Russian tanks to each exit and entrance to the tunnel under the fortress. I had to pass them every day on my way to work, and I can say that I was scared to death every day as they all the time these soldiers were "mustering" the women that passed them. Those soldiers who were brought into Hungary after the 4th of Nov. were scared to death. They were shooting at every small provocation. It happened in our street. For instance, if somebody let down the blinds of the window, this made a rattling noise and all of a sudden the Russians turned the tank against the house and shot the whole house into shambles. The occupation troops that were stationed in Hungary before the revolution were exchanged probably because they were unreliable. The newwere mostly Mongolian soldiers and also a wild lot, but even those expressed amazement when they knew where they were; they never were told why they had to fight, and where they were sent. "

E. Whether or not local government officials would be willing to forget the rules and help in trouble, respondent answered:

"Yes, it usually was one of the old civil servants in the government offices who either out of kindness, and sometimes also for money, helped people in trouble. After all, I cannot blame those people if they accepted bribes because they were paid a pittance only.

F. However, it was quite easy to "get around" some of the regulations to a certain extent, and this was mostly possible through Party connections. It was very useful also if you had a couple of ropes to pull by the Party or the trade union line. As far as I heard, everyone was open to bribes, and mostly at the local government offices -district offices, rather - and for instance also at the housing -local- committee. The tax offices especially were known for accepting bribes as mainly from the individual small craftsman, who for instance made dresses or shoes to order for those people. This was the reason why the employees of the tax offices were very frequently changed. I have heard also that you needed a great deal of money, usually 30-40,000 forints if you wanted to bribe someone at the AVH, or for instance, at least surrender an apartment to the men of the AVH you wanted to bribe.

B. The Hungarian courts before 1945 were a highly respectable institutions. They were always fair to everyone and the treatments and the sentences were extremely impartial. The Hungarian courts were always known for their high standards. Contrary to these courts, the People's Courts in 1945-47, which were established to pass judgment for political "crimes" was the most horrible institution ever set up. People ~~were~~ who were completely uneducated were assigned as judges and jurors. The sentences were passed under the strongest class prejudice, against those who have committed crimes against the "people's democracies". I also believe that the so-called "war criminals" were not all guilty and serious injustices have been committed at those trials, and I do not think that all sentences were fair."

D. When asked about the feelings about the Russian Army of the Hungarians and whether they were due to the events of 1848, respondent said:
" I do not know how this idea worked out but nobody ever talked about this. The feelings about the Russian army are due entirely to their behaviour in 1955 when they ~~admitted~~ admitted atrocities against the population. They were raping young women, young girls and even old women. They were looting and pilfering everywhere.

"Also, I believe that since the Russian army was looked upon as the representative of the Communist regime, in Soviet Russia, and as the representatives of foreign power, the Hungarian nation quite rightly started to hate them even more intensely day by day, to the degree as people hated Communism. Besides, after all, an occupation troop is never popular.

"Before the Russians actually entered Hungary, we had heard enough about them, and these were very bad news; nevertheless we never thought that they would be that bad. Their behaviour exceeded every imagination. I had some first hand experience with the Russian army because they occupied an apartment right underneath ours in an apartment house. Here, several of the windows were boarded up the Russian officers, and every night we have seen that they have carried young women there, and during the night we heard the most terrible screams, and sobbings. You can imagine what was going on. The only advantage that we had officers living in the house that at least the AV² men didn't dare come to the apartment house to loot and to rob. So you can imagine that my attitude toward the Russian army in Hungary since 1955 has not changed; in fact, as everybody else does, I hated them more and more every day..

THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. The AVH, respondent said:

"These people were the sum of the earth and they came from all social classes. Most of them were ^{of} sadistic inclinations, extremely unintelligent and stupid. My brother-in-law was hanged by the Communists in 1952, maybe in 1953, I'm not quite sure. He was the editor of the Roman Catholic Paper, UJ ~~EMBER~~. He was charged with subversive activities against the people's democracies, and also with trumped-up charges that he had connections with the French. He was for a long time in AVH prison before he was executed. We never could find out anything about him.

"Then there was the so-called disciplinary camp at at Recsk. The way innocent people for that matter were treated, was equivalent to a Grand Guignol. People were tortured, beaten up, and they were dying of hunger. They, sometimes were tied up near a stove, for instance we knew a man whose hand was burned this way. I also had a friend of mine who was beaten up and tortured at the so-called collecting prison in Budapest. When Hungary is independent, I think all members of the AVH should be put before a competent tribunal, and all those who have murdered and tortured people should be punished adequately. The fellow travelers of the AVH men I would send to disciplinary camps as they have sent the innocent people, or even better perhaps transfer them to Russia. They should live in a Communist "paradise".

Regarding the regular police with the AVH, this police force had quite a number of decent people. It was not a danger to your life to come into their hands. This is sure. However, I feel that Communism did affect the morale of the regular police system, because the Communist regime tried to bring them out and indoctrinate in the Communist spirit. They were also extremely badly trained and therefore not very competent. I do not know if they were apt to be corrupted by bribes, or so.

"On the other hand, what I have heard the regular police mostly took the side of the freedom fighters. I also remember the policemen were quite of happy that they were again called "officers" by the people instead of "comrades". I also heard many of ~~the~~ regular policeto the freedom fighters.

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courts were always known for their high standards. ~~Commonly~~ these courts, the People's Courts in 1945-47 which were established to pass judgment for political "crimes" was the most horrible institution ever set up. People who were completely uneducated were assigned as judges

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like him -- a man called Kuczka, and then Zoltan Zelk. The
aforementioned- Thomas Aczel, etc. even took possession of an
apartment of a family who was deported. I heard that much has been
written about him in one of the magazines over here, and I am really
shocked to see this. It was really not worth while to suffer for
twelve years if one sees that people who have served the regime ~~that~~
as he did suddenly make a departure and presto: here they are being
treated as martyrs. I am really quite sick to hear this.

tried to slow down our work as much as possible. This opposition behaviour grew stronger and stronger as time went by, and it was at its peak between 1955 -56. As a result last year the government had to give in and several government restrictions were eased.

"Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, I did hear of the Petofi Circle first in the Spring of 1956. This Circle at first was the Circle of Communist Hungarian writers, who nevertheless, wanted to achieve the freedom of the press and the right to criticise the government as well as to protest against the undue influence of Moscow and also these writers and poets wanted to bring back the Hungarian literature on a national purely Hungarian basis. This intellectual ferment was one widely known, but I never heard of any active movement against the government. Later on, the students from the various Universities have joined into the activities of the Petofi Circle. This was in the summer of 1956. I would like to mention here that on Oct. the 6th, ourKodaly has composed music to the words of the Petofi's famous national song, with the refrain "we swear that we shall no more remain slaves". This was sung and performed at the steps of the National Museum by a detachment of the Hungarian army and it had a terrific success.

"In my opinion, the intellectuals had nothing new to say, nevertheless they were the ones who ignited ~~xxxxxxx~~ the Hungarian revolution.

"I still do not understand the motives of the members of the Petofi Circle who organised the active resistance against the Communist regime because after all the regime was very kindly disposed towards them. They had all sorts of privileges. It was more surprising therefore that finally they had enough. I believe that the cup overflowed when the regime ordered that the literature and poetry, everything, should be submitted to the Party Control. Also, after the 20th Party Congress, the members of the Petofi Kor became more and more courageous. These authors and writers who belonged to the Petofi Circle for long years had been opportunists, because they quite liked, I believe, to be coddled by the regime. But nevertheless, they had a ~~good~~ fifth sense to feel that the time had come when something could be done and they have used this opportunity as well as they could. Because I'm convinced that even without their actions, a revolution in Hungary would have started sooner or later. I thoroughly despise one of the Petofi Kor members ~~known~~ by the name of Thomas Accel who was the greatest of opportunists. He ~~was~~ received the Stalin prize, together with other famous authors who served the regime. There were also several others

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It is well known in Hungary that there are frictions between the different Party factions in the Hungarian Communist Party and especially that there were great debates and scandals at every Party executive meeting. These factual fights were mostly due to the bad Party morale; also because the Party members were dissatisfied with the Party altogether, but all of this only happened as far as I was informed after the 20th Party Congress. Even the newspapers in Hungary mentioned this.

"In my opinion, the top leaders of the Communist Party in Hungary are almostand they have only one aim...to extend the Communist doctrine and Communist domination over the whole world. These people had only one thought and that was the Party, and I am convinced that they did this mostly because they were fully aware that they simply have to do it once they have started - to do so in order to remain alive at all, and to keep their positions. They knew perfectly well that it is impossible for them to diverge from the Party line.

"Regarding their personal and private aims, I cannot tell what ~~was~~ were the motives of the top leadership, but I presume that they must have ~~been~~ had a very strong conviction - at least some of them. Others were cruel, and maybe a very small number of them ~~was~~ was just in error. Rajk, for instance, imagined to introduce a kind of Tito-ism in Hungary. He failed but I am really not sorry for him because he was a Communist nevertheless. There is a great difference between the motives of the rank and file members and those who belong to the top echelon. Rank and file members just want to be left in peace and in a good job. The ~~unexpressed~~ aims of the top echelon, however, are fixed and controlled by Moscow.

"When Hungary is independent again, I believe that the best punishment would be to send all Hungarian Communists to Russia.

C. "As far as I knew and heard before the revolution, there was no other opposition against the Communist government other than passive resistance. I never heard of any sabotage. I saw an example of passive resistance, however, in the office among the people of my own social centre and among my friends in different offices.

"We always tried to avoid any official meetings, Party meetings; we never went out together with people at outings organized by the trade union or by the Communist Party. We also sabotaged by going to the demonstrations as organized by the different offices' authorities. We also

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "I could say that ever since 1942, I started to become interested in politics and I followed the political events through the press and radio with great interest. However, my family never joined any political party but we were very sympathetic to ~~the~~ the small-holders and democratic party. Regarding my feelings about the Communist Party before and after 1948 - until the very day is expressed in one word - hate.

B. "In my opinion the members of the Communist Party come of a very mixed social background and of all social classes. Partly they are the old idealist communists, but to say who already at the time of first Communist regime in 1949 in Hungary have remained communists were mostly the poorer working class people and the poor peasants who lived at a very low living standard. Also, there were a couple of idealist Communists among the intellectual class and among the Jewish people. I'm sure then as always every Party has, the Communist Party also had a number of followers who were opportunists and belonged to the Party because they were acting for material or other gains, and finally the Jews who belonged to the Communist Party became Party members out of vengeance for all the sufferings they ~~had~~ were subjected to under the Nazi regime. The attitudes to the Party in all kinds of members must have undergone a great change because those who were a little bit intelligent must have seen that very soon, ~~the~~ little by little, everything went wrong in Hungary, and the great Communist promises were never fulfilled. By that time, when they were completely disillusioned and wanted to leave the Party, sometimes it wasn't possible for them to do so. I think that those people who were expelled from the Party were quite happy about it.

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"The Communist Party policies changed decidedly after the ~~the~~ Party Congress. This was the new era. I must admit quite frankly that at that time when the regime eased the reins we were a little bit scared, because we thought that now this is only propoganda weapon by which the Soviet Union is trying to pull wool over the eyes of the West, and tried to bring about a conciliation in our living conditions and that everything will remain in the same stagnant condition as under the Communist rule forever. There is no doubt about why the changes occurred, because the Hungarian Communist Party fought strictly the Moscow Party line. ~~After Stalin's death~~ After Stalin's death, the new slogan was to please the people.

insurance was free. Everybody who worked was entitled to free hospitalization and free medical care. The vacation plan worked nicely on paper, but not in practice, and the compensation or pension program were simply awful and there were too many people who applied for a vacation, and there were never enough open places. Usually the workers received their vacation allotted to them by the trade union, and even so you were lucky if you could get a vacation in every two or three years. The pensions were usually abolished and as far as I know very few people had them returned, and even then what they got was extremely little.

E. "As to my preference where to live - in the country or in the city - I must say that I am a girl who always lived in the city and I think it would be awfully lonely to be live in the country. As far as I have seen, the working class in the cities have a better diet in Communist Hungary it very often happened that the peasants had to buy their bread, and the regime always cared for the workers better. The general standard of living was also higher in the country because the peasants had always enough money to buy what ever they wanted. Whether they had an easier time politically, I really cannot say. I believe it was about the same in the city and in the country.

"When we heard the collectivization was introduced in Hungary, I immediately thought it would fail completely. The collectivization as it was practiced in Hungary was the worst possible because in the end nobody made any effort to work seriously. The collectivization was mostly objected to by the richer peasants as far as I believe. I have heard that under the first Prime Ministership of Nagy the collectives had been dissolved because the whole system was a failure. At that time, the peasants were permitted to quit the collective farms if they wanted to do so. So many of the collectives were dissolved. However, I was informed that the members of the collectives did not ^{get} ~~take~~ back any of their animals - live stock - nor the machinery they have given to the collective. They had to buy it back for a very high price.

"In an independent Hungary I believe the most sensible agricultural system would be the middle sized properties. I am afraid I do not know any of the agricultural innovations introduced since 1945 and so I cannot give my opinion on those."

D. "Of the working conditions, I can say the following: we had to work from eight - five in the office where I worked last. It took me about half an hour to get there by bus or by streetcar. The office where I worked was a state patronized organization occupied with the promotion and development of folk dances, folk customs and so on. We organized shows and meetings where people from the countryside were selected to present to the city people their original folk dances in their old traditional costumes and dresses. I worked there as a secretary in the correspondence department and did mostly typing. I got this job due to a friend of mine who already worked there and told me of the vacancy. Nevertheless, we didn't tell anybody that he told me about this and that he was the one ~~man~~ through whom I got the job. There was some difficulty in getting this job however, because due to my bad cadre file which was marked with all my foreign relations. They were very unwilling to employ me; nevertheless, they badly needed someone in the office so I was hired. As to my relations with my co-workers, I had a couple of friends who belonged to the same class as myself. With these we had very good relations and the atmosphere was congenial. With the rest of the people, we kept a cool and polite relationship. This was duly marked also on my cadrefile, as we found out later on during the revolution.

"My immediate superior was an extremely nice man; however, the chief of the office who was a Communist Party member was not one with whom I had any good relations whatsoever. The manager of the accounting office where I worked was competent in his field. He was a former bank employee. The rest of the personnel was mostly Party members - I'm thinking of the ones who held more important jobs. For instance, the manager of the personnel department was a former bookbinder apprentice, and the manager ~~of~~ was a grade school teacher.

"I cannot say that I was satisfied in my job but I had to be satisfied whether or not I liked it because I was in bad need of having a job. I was fully aware that I was exploited. I had to work extremely hard. Because altogether ~~ixxi~~ we had only 20 administrative employees. The whole work in the office was just about what I could stand. That's all I can say. ^{Whatever} My fellow workers were good at their jobs and it's really hard to say. I have seen about 15% of them who were pretty good. The rest of them, however, were taking their work very easily. No, I never was praised for my work well done.

The Hungarian health and vacation programs I can say that the health

Concerning clothing, as I said before, I only had clothes that I got from the United States from my cousin. If there were a couple of things I did not urgently - or I could not wear - I sold them. Usually to the commission stores. The quality you could purchase at the state stores was awful until 1951. After 1951, and 1952, the quality and the choice improved decidedly. I believe this was in 1951 ~~mark~~ after the general 20% pay in salaries was introduced. In the last years in Hungary also, the choice, the selection and the quality of the clothing was quite good and I believe this was due to the fact that little by little the regime has decided to improve the light industry and to abandon heavy industry.

"The distribution in Hungary was the worst possible and extremely haphazard. It very often happened that certain things completely disappeared or you couldn't buy summer clothes only in the winter and vice versa. Also if you saw something in the window, you were unable to buy that. It was strictly a showpiece. A tailor or a dressmaker could work at home, but it must - he or she had to preserve a strictly private character of the whole enterprise, and she could not employ more than three people because otherwise it was already qualified as a small factory, or wholesale plant. It was simply impossible to get any standard spare parts if something went wrong with household machine-sewing machine or vacuum cleaner, you simply had to have these spare parts made.

"In especially short supply were mostly the toiletries - soap; then electric bulbs, and there was a time when you couldn't get any mending wool, also wool in yards, etc.

"Regarding the black market, this has more or less ceased since 1951, at the time when the so-called free market was allowed. There was, however, still a black market for nylon stockings. Even now in Hungary. No ~~want~~ black-marketing in foodstuffs went on anymore. At the times when the black market was still in full swing, it was never organized and it was always on the spur of the moment and only the commodities which were presently in shortage. The punishments were jail, or fines. I can, however remember that there was black marketeering still going on now in Hungary for gold and jewelry. People had to sell their last belongings in order to eke out their living, and you always could find someone on the black market who was willing to buy gold or good jewelry.

The Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years ~~and~~ went down due to the immense exploitation of the Soviet Union - the country's national resources - its foodstuffs, goods, commodities etc. all went out of the country to the Soviet Union.

B. ~~MM~~ On respondent's income in Hungary during the past ten years, she gave the following information: her income was 950 forints a month. Of this she had to pay 55 forints for a peace loan; 4% for childless tax, 3% old-age pension, and 10% for straight union fees. The reductions altogether were above a 100 forints per month. Respondent never received any premium nor extra pay.

Respondent did have a secondary source of income. She took in translations and typing in her spare time and also, for instance, during her paid vacation time, she went as a film extra. She also worked at the film studios at night very often. Here she generally received 40 forints per night, but that ~~work~~ meant work until the early hours. The reductions were only 3% - old -age pension reduction was made of the fees from the movie studios. Her mother looked after their household, and only she and her husband worked in order earn enough for the family. ~~XXXXXX~~ When she started to work she earned 900 forints, and in 1955 she earned 950 forints .

C. Referring to prices and quality of goods in Hungary at present, respondent said the following:
"As much as possible we always bought on the free market, though it was more expensive than the state owned store goods, but of course, the quality was very much better and it was really worth it. Flour, lard, sugar and soap however had to be bought at the state stores. They were out of supply everywhere else. The difference in price between the state owned food stores and the free market was quite substantial. For instance, in the state store we paid 1 forint for one egg; and on the free market it was 2.20 - 2.40, but then we were sure it was absolutely fresh. Also, you were better served at the free market than on the state stores, and after all you always had to go back to the free market if a different commodity -for instance, butter, disappeared completely from the state stores. There was a great shortage of food items in 1950, '51 and '52. At those times, the regime searched the private homes of people for food and if anybody had a little supplies than officially permitted, he was locked up for hoarding. We, too, had a couple of such searches but luckily at those times they never found anything.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. When asked how her family got along financially during the last years in Hungary, respondent says: "Thank you. Extremely badly. In fact, as bad as possible. For instance, food was available but extremely expensive so that we could hardly afford it. For instance, we had meat only once a week, and even for this we had to queue up. The butcher was only open twice a week for a couple of hours. Regarding clothing, I could afford decent clothes only due to the fact that I received clothe packages from my cousin in the United States, quite regularly. These clothes either I used myself, or those I could not use or did not need, I sold. The housing was no problem, because we had a nice apartment. It happened like this. We in the lifetime of my father, we had a nice apartment which next to the radio studio. During the war, at the time I married, the studio wanted to expand its facilities and bought the house. We received severance pay for our apartment and with this money we were able to pay for what they call the vision of a larger apartment. We had two rooms in which we lived - my husband and myself and my mother. The rent was not expensive, but the heating was, for instance, terrific. This was the main item that caused us the greatest difficulty. For instance, we had to pay 4,000 forints per year in order to have adequate heat in our apartment. This is did not include the hot water.

"I consider it a great luxury while in Hungary to go out on a nice vacation - for instance to go and eat out in a restaurant.

"The standard of living of our family decreased and deteriorated steadily since 1945. In particular, we missed money. We had a very low income. The living standard was good only until '48 - not good but somehow quite good - and ever since it went down only. First it was during 1951 and '54. At that time both of us were out of jobs and we eked out a living by playing at night as ^{film} extras in the ^{film} studios.

In '56 our living standard improved because my husband also received a job.

People in Hungary who had some special qualifications and were irreplaceable as a rule lived much better than anybody else because they received a very high salary.

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MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The reason for our main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was the complete lack of spiritual freedom, lack of freedom of word and thought - the lies of the press, radio, and also ~~the~~ being completely sealed off from the West, and finally the very bad material circumstances with had to live in.

B. "Apart from big political things, people were most complaining about the lousy transportation methods and system. Also about the difficulty in purchasing food, and the lack of commodities."

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always attacked the national feelings of the young Hungarian people. Also they were fed with very transparent lies.

"Youth in the very beginning was sympathetic to Communism and especially the peasants and the young working class of people. It very seldom happened with intellectual classes. However, they soon stopped sympathizing. In fact, around 1950 and '51 already because by that time they had seen the different controversies and the differences which the doctrine has preached and has practiced.

THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "When we speak of the Hungarian youth, I mean young people of all social classes and of both sexes between 15 and 25 years old.

"Hungarian youth played a tremendous role in the revolution. Mainly, the University students who started the whole revolution, and quite surprisingly school children of 10-15 years old. These kids didn't know fear and took part in the fightings.

"Why young people started the revolution and took such an active part in it, can be found in the fact that the young people started to compare what they were told with the facts, and deeds, of the Communist regime. Very soon they found out for themselves that the "darned old regime" as the Communist said was much better than the present one. It was very easy to find out that the Communist regime and the Communist doctrine is not "stupid" and that there is no ~~unpleasant~~ truth whatsoever behind the doctrines they have forced them to accept.

"In my view it was the youth who took the lead because it was initiated by the young people- by the University students, and later on young people of all social classes were welded together due to the mutual sufferings under the Communist regime. Besides, young people have more alarm and they have less to lose. Also they are independent of their families.

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"During the revolution, the older people simply admired and ~~looked~~ the young people in high esteem. We, on the other hand, we were happy to see that the older generation is looking up on us, and we somehow forgave them that they did not take part in the revolution."

C. Since respondent is over 30 years of age and she finished her schools in 1943, respectively, 1944, there is very little she could tell about the schools therefore I didn't go into details.

D. On the reaction of the Hungarian youth to Communist indoctrination, respondents said: "Young people in Hungary showed always a passive resistance against the Communism and they tried to avoid the Communist indoctrination lectures- for instance - at the Universities - as much as they could. Even though you got bad marks on Leninism and Marxism the bad marks were also applied against the other subjects. The indoctrination, in my mind, failed also because the Communist regime

THE JEWISH MINORITY.

"The Jewish minority was less effected by Communism than anybody else. Maybe the religion might have been effected equally but on the other hand don't forget that the Jews do not take their religion as seriously as other people do. At least not the average Jews.

"In general, I do not think that the Jews were enchanted with Communism, because after all there were many of them who had to suffer just as much as anyone else, and especially the Jewish middle-class. On the other hand, those, who in 1944 had to suffer under the Nazi regime, these people were expecting something good from the Communist, and therefore they joined the Communist Party maybe out of vengeance, but in the long run they did a bad turn for themselves. Then there were a great many among the Jews who joined the Communist Party out of sheer opportunism, because they were unwilling to give in and to accept the lower living standard and they thought that by joining the Party they will get the good jobs which they did in fact, and thus, make a good living. Nevertheless, I do not believe that they were approving of the Communist regime. In the very beginning maybe they believed in something that the Communist regime would offer them, but later on, I'm sure they were disillusioned.

"The attitudes and actions of the Jews during the revolution, I cannot tell what they were. In general they were improving the ideals as promoted by the revolution, but on the other hand, they were scared a little bit, because they might have thought in case of a complete change, anti-Semitism might start. This fear of theirs was not completely without reason, because after all, of what we have seen all top and key jobs were held by Jews; the members of the Communist Government were mostly Jews, and also those officers of the AVH who tortured people were mostly Jews."

RELIGION

"Religion in Hungary played an increasing role, and became of more and more importance, mainly because this was a means by which you could demonstrate against the Communist regime. People who hitherto did not attend churches, now they became more religious and maybe out of mere spite they went to church more than ever. All churches were crowded, and somehow there was only religion that was left and to which they were clinging in desperate hope. The Roman Catholic religion was hardest hit by the Communist regime because the Roman Catholic clergy was the one that fought against Communism and showed the greatest resistance, against the materialistic Communist ideology. I believe that religion was indeed a bulwark against Communism in Hungary because this was the only way to show them, so to say, that we are not giving in and that people took refuge in their religion."

B. Regarding what part religion plays in her own life, respondent said: that she believes that religion is about the same kind of fact in her life as in the life of her parents and she also said that after all she was brought up in a convent, and very religiously. She also thought that she is more religious than the average ~~xxxxx~~ person in Hungary. She has a deep belief in God and she follows the rules of her church. She also added "after all, so many things near to a miracle, have happened to us in the last two years, that I think it is almost impossible not to believe in God."

C. On the function of the churches, and the role they should play in society, respondent said:

"I think I can answer this. If God was given what is due to Him, and give the state what is due to the state, the role of the churches should be a leading role in an independent state. The church, on the other hand, I do not believe the church should interfere in setting standards in such things as movies, plays, etc. And also the churches in an Independent Hungary should take no part whatsoever in political life."

D. "I do not understand why you say we have read a lot in the Communist press about 'juvenile delinquency' because the Communist press did not publish any data on this. They kept it very quiet. Even if juvenile delinquency was written up by the Communist press, it was always the juvenile delinquency of the so-called Imperialist state and Western countries. The Hungarian Communist press, as a rule, never printed anything about juvenile delinquency, or other crimes for that matter. Nevertheless, I believe that juvenile delinquency is a boy or a girl who is under 18 years of age. I believe that they must have been young people who committed petty crimes, stealings, mostly but of others I do not know a thing. I do not think that ~~there were~~ there were many "hooligans" either. If there were, I didn't hear. I believe if there are such things as juvenile delinquency and hooliganism in Hungary there must be of all social classes.

"As to the Jampec, these were mostly of the middle-class and the working class - young boys who sped the American style of the American teenager in their dress and behaviour and dances."

mutual agreement were no more permitted, and the only reason for a divorce was that one of the parties is being caught in-flagrant adultery.

"There were many illegitimate children - nevertheless this illegitimacy of the child and the stigma has been taken off by the fact that the unwed mother simply had to give the name of the father and the child carried the name of the father without adoption. Abortion was prohibited, but as from 1950, and the gynecologists had to give up, for instance, all their instruments. Nevertheless, a couple of them kept them also. The sale of birth prevention devices was also prohibited. From 1955, however, on the indication of the doctor, abortion was permissible. Also if somebody had more than two children, was past forty or had some kind of illness. All the abortions could be done under the social welfare program, and were free.

"Prostitution was prohibited also but did not cease. In fact, it flourished. The former prostitutes were converted to private life. Mostly they became taxi-drivers or bus conductors.

"The sexual morality of the Communist is extremely difficult to judge. And I believe it depends entirely on the individual. Some of the Communists were all out for what they called "free love"; on the other hand, the Communist Party sometimes very strictly interfered with the family life of the Party members. On the whole, I can say is that they were preaching to drink water, but they themselves drank wine. Besides, there is very much hypocrisy in a Communist regime, and therefore I believe that the strict morals is only thing for the show-window as we would call it.

C. "If I had a good friend before '48 but this friend would have joined the Communist Party, I'm sure that I had broken off such a friendship, but it never happened to me and therefore I do not know what usually happens in such cases. I am sure it would be the one who is not the Communist who would break up the friendship. I also do not think that you can continue a friendship keeping politics out of it - not in Hungary. Here in America, of course, you can. But in a Communist state, friendship between a Communist and a non-Communist is simply impossible."

difference struck the children and made them think at a very early age. Very soon children found out for themselves that Communism is only preaching a doctrine which simply does not work in practice.

"I believe that families most affected during the Communist regime, were those of the middle class and the working class. Our family ~~was not~~ was not affected at all. Some families, of course, could hold on to the ^{old} ~~old~~ good relationship between the family members and also if they were intelligent enough and the hatred against the Communists was kept alive in their midst."

B. On marriage, courtship, sex matters, etc., respondent said:

"Marriage has suffered also under the Communist regime. People sidestepped, so to say, much easier ~~than~~ and sooner than before. I think the reason for this was mainly that people married much too young; also the young children who had to participate in the DISZ and in the Pioneer movement etc - the co-educational camps and the co-educational education had greatly fostered the growth of the population if I may put it this way. It very often happened that girls of 14 were having children by fathers of 15, also especially in the beginning of the Communist regime in Hungary you could see the slogan posted on all hospitals..it is a duty for women to bring children into the world, and it is a great thing to bear children. The so-called courting per se has literally stopped, and of course, the parents tried to put a check on the going together of the young people, but with very little result. In school, the children were taught that they are independent, that they are free and so, of course, they rather preferred to believe this side of the picture. I also believe that the terrific speed of work and life and pressure under which you had to live was because people wanted to forget, they wanted to do something else and wanted to enjoy themselves, so they grabbed anything they could. The men usually said we have no time for simply courting, and so they woman knew that if she didn't give in, the man goes and gets it somewhere else. ~~There~~ There were many bad marriages and broken marriages also. Nevertheless, whether or not, marriage was deteriorating depended entirely upon the individual, and also the family life - its closeness and its purity also depended upon the relationship between the children and the parents.

"Very few people dared undergo a church wedding and if they did, they did it in secret. However, in 1956, already everybody went openly to have their marriage blessed by the church. Divorce was extremely difficult and extremely expensive. Contrary to previous law practice, divorces on

FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "Family life in Hungary during the last ten years has suffered greatly. When husband and wife could be together very little since both of them had to work, it was extremely difficult to preserve a good marriage under the living conditions in Hungary. People who were so much apart and met in their offices other people - of the other sex - and after all they stayed a longer time in the offices than at home - were easily led astray. It very often happened that husband and wife even when they went out in the evening, but not together, but with someone they knew in the office. Life in Communist Hungary was extremely hard on the children, also. If there was a grandmother, or an aunt, or anyone of the other generation who could take care of the children while the parents were working, it was all right, otherwise, the family had to put the children into the day nurseries, or the day schools of the..... or the children joined the pioneer movement. Here they did not receive any education except political indoctrination. If a child wasn't intelligent enough it caused a great rift between the family life and school. However, it was quite interesting to see that in general, children remained "reactionary" and this was quite astonishing if you consider how much they were indoctrinated at school.

When asked to which type of families, respondents' family would belong to, she said it most decidedly is the second type of family which grew closer together under the Communist regime; who talked freely about they could not talk about to other people, and the children grew closer to the parents.

A typical Hungarian family, however, she said, would belong to the third type of family which was very little influenced by the Communist regime, and family life went on as before.

On the education of how the children were brought up, respondent had the following to say:

"Unfortunately the parents had very little time to look after their children and so the children as a rule spent most of their times at school and in the day-schools. Here ^{what} we would call an average good education they could not receive and nevertheless what the children had heard from their parents - how it was before the Communist regime, and experiencing what it is now, they could draw a comparison and judge for themselves. The great

very important to have a certain percent of Communist Party members and if you coul n't be fitted in the other percent that was not a Party member, then you could not get a job not matter how talented you were. The kind of individual who could ahead in Communist Hungary must be one who, as we say, has a thick skin on his face, or else he must have such specialized qualifications and talents that he is very important and needed and irrepacable by the Communist regime."

D. When asked which of the groups which get more out of the society than they deserved, respondent said:

"Certainly this was the working class in Hungary, because the Communist regime was pampering them and doing everything they could to please them. Also they were selecting from the working class people upon whom they could rely and had a good cadre and put them into the key positions and in the most important jobs in every office. Other groups that had maybe more than they deserved were the artists, the actors, painters and the people who indulged in sports. I mean those who were pursuing sports professionally, more or less.

been. However, she added that she really could not pass judgment on these two classes because of the very slight contact she ever had with them.

Respondent class fied herself to belong to the intellectual class. To her mind it was the Hungarian aristocracy that was hardest hit by Communism, because not only did they lose all their assets and they weren't even given the opportunity to make a living for themselves. They were always persecuted due to their social background, and unable even to receive the lowest kind of jobs.

On the way how the different classes felt about each other, respondent said the following:

"Despite that the Communist regime was advocating a getting together a closed corporation of the workers and peasants they were unsuccessful in achieving this, and the workers and the peasants thoroughly disliked each other. The peasants were still pretty class conscious in a way toward the intellectuals and they always respected what they call the "gentlemen".

Altogether what I have seen that the Communists were extremely unsuccessful in making the peasants and the workers hate the so-called upper classes. Of course, ~~in the times~~ the Party functionaries were an exception who always hated the so-called class -aliens.

The difference between the different classes, however, was leveled down during the last couple of years, and in the end, as the regime said, there remained only three classes - the intellectuals, the workers and the peasants. It was quite interesting to note in the offices that the different people belonging to the different social classes did not mix, and the difference between the classes did not disappear. I believe the reason for this attitude might be found in the different educational background and family backgrounds also. The field of interest, manners, education and last but not least, the old social structure, ~~in~~ in Hungary.

C. As to how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, respondent gave the following information:

"The most important thing if you want to advance and get ahead in Communist Hungary is the origin -then comes the political views, and last comes the talent, which is never very important in Communist Hungary. It was especially bad until 1954, with the new course and after the 20th Party Congress, the situation in this particular field was somehow eased but still it was not good. Maybe even if you had a bad cadre but you were talented, then you could receive a job. However, in every office it was

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent gave the following account of her own family background.

"My father was a painter (respondent gave the name and he was, as far as I know and could judge a very well known painter in Hungary in his time) He died in 1928, and then my mother took over looking after us and she managed very well. We never had any financial worries. We had a large apartment and I had governesses, and we were able to keep servants. I attended the best schools and I had always ready made dresses and shoes, etc. My family had no property nor any assets at all.

My father was a high school graduate and then he attended the Academy of Arts. My mother was a high school graduate."

B. On the different social classes in Hungary, respondent said:
"I believe that in Hungary, first of all, there was the so-called aristocracy; then, there was the middle-class which was composed by the intellectuals and the merchants - the bourgeoisie - then we had the workers and the peasants. I would classify anyone who is a professional to belong to the intellectual class. Also people who have had adequate school educations and received some sort of diplomas, and also I would classify as an intellectual anybody who was an artist, writer, author, etc.

"I only had contacts with the intellectual class. None whatsoever with the others."

Respondent was of the opinion that the Hungarian aristocracy and the intellectuals were the ones that ~~xxxxxx~~ were the most valuable part of the nation who had tradition and who had the backbone and character to refuse to accept any kind of Communist doctrine. She also said that these people could always, and would always, work for the benefit of their nation.

Of the so-called bourgeoisie, she had not too good an opinion. She thought that the middle-class, and especially the lower middle-class was rather an opportunist section of the nation. With the working class she had very little contact, but she voiced the belief that wherever the working class is well-paid, they are not very much interested in politics. The most important thing to them are the good wages. She more or less thought the same about the peasants who are extremely money conscious and always had

EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A "All we expected from the West was that the Uⁿ should enforce the sanctions they have voted and that the Russians be forced to quit Hungary.

B. "Our expectations were formed on the basis that we were listening day and night; in fact, we always set the alarm clock so as to be able to listen on a short wave to the sessions of the United Nations. Then, we trusted implicitly and believed in the principles on which the UN was based. Instead, after all, the West who always said that if freedom is such an important thing, ~~we~~ will not, cannot leave us alone in the ditch.

"You know it was like sometimes when you dream that you're persecuted by something or somebody. You are shouting for help and you do not hear your voice and nobody sees you and nobody hears you, and you are asking for help. It was exactly the same feeling that we had during those days sitting at the radio and listening to our agonies and cries for help, and no response was forthcoming."

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

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was openly against the Russian methods and did not approve that the Russians had called in troops to put out the Hungarian revolution. However, on Nov. the 9th, finally we realized that everything has been lost, and my husband and I started to plan our escape. "

D. When asked whether or not Hungary as a whole has gained because of the revolution, respondent said:

"By all means, she did, because Hungary has approved to the West and to the whole world that the Communist regime is not tolerated by the Hungarians, and the life under such a regime is simple impossible. Even though there might be a few Communists in Hungary, 90% of the country at least, is that against them - the Russian oppression -- the Communist regime."

In the Museum of Industrial arms. Here, since nobody worked, he returned again home and after myself had ~~had~~ been sent home, we started to queue up for food. Later, at home a friend of ours visited us and told us that the fights are going on the city, and many of the Russians - with their tanks - have joined the Hungarian freedom fighters. When my husband arrived home, he told me that he could hardly get out from the battle and the firing around the Kilian barracks and the corner of Ulloi street. On his way home, he was told by some people that the demonstrators were gathering around the Parliament. On the 25th, the battle was on already in the Buda district, and from our home which was at the Hegyaljaiut we could see the guns that were fired at the Gellert Mountain. Their mine exploded quite near our house so that many people who lived in the same house with us went down in the cellars. We did not, and were all the time listening to the radio - BBC, FRÉ and VOA.

C. "The days between the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion I spent mostly in my office. Everybody was happy and cheerful. We believed that after all the revolution has gained everything we wanted, and we were looking forward to a lovely future. People in the office who formerly treated me with cool contempt because I was a class-alien, all of sudden became extremely allied and nice to me. The office workers have elected the so-called revolutionary council, but otherwise we did not work very much. There was a food store in the same building, and the foodstuffs were distributed among others - among the office workers. All the time, of course, these days, we had to work to our office because the transportation was out of order. Finally, I got a sore knee and I stayed at home. Everybody, however, planned, that on Monday, the 5th of November, the regular work will be resumed and everything will turn back into normal. We all were convinced that the Russians did really retreat. We also listened on the 3rd of Nov. in the evening to the speech delivered by Cardinal Mindszenty, and all of us were making lovely plans for the future. We never heard anything about the Soviet withdrawal could have been halted. We just woke up on the 4th of Nov. at dawn, and heard the gun fired, which meant the return of the Russian troops. For days we could not leave our apartment and we only saw from our window how the gun nests were active at the Gellert mountain. A couple of days afterwards, I resumed my work in the office, except I did not get to work on the days when ~~the~~ the generally strike was declared. Also, we had to queue up for food sometimes from four in the morning until four in the afternoon. It was quite interesting to hear that the office manager who was a Party member did

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Then the radio all of a sudden started to give instructions to everyone not to leave the house. So I stayed at home. It was on the radio that I heard first the declaration of Prime Minister Nagy also. We heard shooting all the time, and had the radio on to read his statements from the Government urging the so-called rebels to put down their arms. We also heard that fightings at the Kilian barracks were getting fiercer and fiercer. We stayed at home all the day, and listened to the radio. At that time, pessimistic as I was, I thought that the revolution would be quelled. I am also sure that it was Gere who was responsible for asking the assistance of Russia troops. We felt very desperate about this, but after all, what could you expect from a Communist government. As to how the demonstrations turned into fighting, I believe that it must have been when at the radio, the AVH started to use their weapons against a defenseless crowd. I am quite sure that had not the Communist interfered with arms, the revolution would not have gone out of hand, and the peaceful demonstrations would not have turned into fighting.

"I first heard the revolutionary slogans and the word of "freedom fighter" on the 26th of October. Mainly the students, boys and girls in an age group of 18- 28 fought during this period. Later on, they were joined by the workers and these were mostly mature men, and then also the Hungarian army joined in. Of course the Communist Member Parties did not fight. I cannot tell of anyone else who did not take part in the fighting.

"A friend of ours who participated in the fighting told us that on the 23rd of the evening, truckloads of arms were brought to the radio building, and there distributed to the people. Anybody who asked for arms got some. As to the organization of the freedom fighters, I have only heard that the only one who did organize and took the lead, was Maleter. A friend of ours showed us that a regular call-up paper issued by his demands."

"On the 25th of the morning, the radio blared out the news that the revolt "was quelled" and that the Hungarian people's democracy has restored the order and everybody should return to their jobs and to the factories. My husband I both wanted to go to the office. We were unable and report for work. to afford to lose our jobs and therefore we did our best to get to our respective working places. We somehow managed. At my office, hardly anyone was there and the same was the situation in my husband's office. His office was opposite the Kilian barracks in the

At eight o'clock we heard Gero on the radio. When he talked and I heard how he talked then I thought that this is the end of everything. However, others were more optimistic and said: "Oh, well Gero is just talking to save his face and nothing can happen, and everything will be all right with the revolution."

"The demands of the young people were mainly as put down in the 14 demands mainly that the Russians should leave Hungary - that the teaching of Russian language should be discontinued in the schools, that we wanted free elections, and the restoration of the old Hungarian Court of arms, that the Hungarian army and police force should receive Hungarian uniforms, that the political prisoners should be freed, and mainly that Imre Nagy should be the Prime Minister. I believe that accepted concessions of the government

"I thought that if Prime Minister Nagy would have become the Prime Minister, he very wisely would have followed a complete new policy. I do not think that Tito-ism would have been enough, neither the solution similar to that one of Poland. I think that Prime Minister Nagy has very wisely seen that the only way for Hungary is to remain completely neutral. We also trusted Nagy that little by little he would be able to achieve always a little more.

"The demonstrators were mostly young people up to 40. As to which social class they belonged, I really couldn't tell because as far as I saw, all social classes did participate in the demonstrations. The older generation, however, was more cautious. This is sure. Possibly also member of the Party and high office functionaries didn't join the demonstrations; however, our office manager who was a Party member went along to demonstrate.

"Regarding the organization of the demonstration, the students were certainly organized at the different Universities. All of the rest was completely spontaneous. Somehow the demonstration was snowballing out of control. All offices, plants, factories joined in quite spontaneously.

"On the 24th of October, at six o'clock in the morning, a friend of mine rang me up and told me not to leave the house because the fighting is going on. Nevertheless, I wanted to go to my office and could not. A friend of mine rang me up and told me not to leave the house as the fighting

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

Respondent told her personal experiences during the days of the revolution as follows:

"On the 22nd of October, we were at the theatre with my husband and it was, I remember quite well, a play by Victor Lloj, and we didn't hear anything at the time. We just went home."

"On the 23rd of Oct., however, I went to the office as usual in the office as usual. Our office was situated on the Buda side of the city. Here I received a call from a friend of mine who told me that the University students are going to organize a sympathy demonstration at the Bem statue. This demonstration was meant to be a peaceful, sympathy demonstration only in order to show that we are sharing the Poles' desire for freedom. At one o'clock, p.m., we heard that the demonstration was canceled by the government, but also we heard that the students will march nevertheless. At 3:00 o'clock, many of our office workers went to join the demonstration. I was very much annoyed because many of these office workers were rabid Communists, up till now, and I thought that really shouldn't associate with people who belonged to the Party and I should not go out with them to demonstrate. I did not go, therefore. However, my husband phoned very soon after that and told me to go with him, so he picked me up, and we went then along the Danube River up to the Bem statue. The banks of the Danube and the streets were teeming with people; you could hardly move. The crowd was so vast. People were carrying the old Hungarian flag and others had cut out the hated Russian emblems. People were cheering loudly and just being happy. When we joined the demonstrators, we were immensely elated. Nevertheless, I was, at the bottom of my heart, scared a little bit of what would be the reprisals by the government for that. At six o'clock somehow, I mentioned to go over to the Pest side of the town. I had a couple of errands and I thought I better finish with these. The buses were crowded, and it was quite amazing to hear that the bus conductor called everybody "madame" instead of "comrade". Also, he didn't give tickets to anybody. Everyone was just happy and laughing and talking with each other on the bus. In the evening I met my husband at home. Several of our friends have rung up and told us about the demonstrations, and another one living in the same house. We opened a bottle of champagne to celebrate. I still was skeptical and I felt "my goodness, it is a little bit too early to be so happy" about everything."

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MAJOR SALIENCE AND WAKE UP QUESTION

"One of the most important things I believe that Americans ought to know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956, is that ~~the Hungarian people had implicit confidence in the West and they were dead sure that the Western powers would come to the assistance of the Hungarian freedom fighters.~~ that the Hungarian people had implicit confidence in the West and they were dead sure that the Western powers would come to the assistance of the Hungarian freedom fighters."

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

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Background:

Respondent comes from an upper middle-class family. Her father had been a well-known painter in Hungary, and professor of the Academy of Arts at Budapest. Therefore, he had an extremely good income and was able to provide the child with a very good education. Respondent attended the best of schools, learned many languages, had governesses, costumes and dresses, etc. They also could afford to have servants.

When father died in 1948, mother took over to provide for the family, and she, too, succeeded well by running one of the largest and most exclusive florist shops in Budapest.

The family had also many social contacts with the "upper ten thousand."

Subject is very intelligent, well-educated, well-read and extensively traveled. Due to her age (32) she's able to compare and judge well the differences in every field that have occurred in Hungary between life before and during the Communist regime.

Altogether she has a pleasant and quiet personality.