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III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. B. On October 22, I was working in Nyeregesujfalu. Nothing unusual happened there that day, nor did we have any presentiment of what was going to happen.

On the morning of the 23, the Hungarian radio played the national anthem several times in succession. An appeal was broadcast to everyone to put out their flags. We went to work as usual, but before the end of the day, we heard that Rakosi had disappeared and that student demonstrations were taking place in Budapest. The cause of the demonstrations was that the students demanded that the government revoke its order which compelled all university students to perform military service for two years.

Next morning, on Oct. 24, the Budapest radio broadcast an appeal for everyone to stop work. The demands of the Budapest university students were read over the radio. Among other things, they requested and demanded that the Russians leave the country.

About noon that day, several truckloads of young workers and students came over to Nyeregesujfalu ~~to~~ from Esztergon. Their trucks were decorated with the Hungarian flags. No Communist emblems could be seen on the flags.

The young workers and students told us to stop work. An open air meeting was held at which we sang the Hungarian national anthem and some one recited a ~~Kossuth~~ Kossuth poem. We decided not to work until the Russians left Hungary.

The students and workers requested the young people of Nyeregesujfalu to go with them back to Esztergon. We were told that the Russians dug themselves in in the Esztergon fort and from there, they had been firing on the demonstrators, killing several of them.

The trucks started a shuttle service between Esztergon and ~~the~~/ Nyeregesujfalu and practically everybody went to Esztergon.

I was among the last to arrive. When I got there, the crowd had already decided to free the political prisoners from the local jail.

The way to the prison led through the so-called "dark ^{gate} ~~light~~". Near the gate, we saw two armored cars. In them were soldiers in Hungarian uniforms. This was not suspicious to us and we were not afraid because we had already heard that most of the Hungarian army, especially the troops stationed in Tatabánya nearby, had gone over to the side of the uprisers. Tatabánya

When the crowd attempted to go past the dark gate, the soldiers in the armored cars began to fire on us. It turned out that the soldiers in Hungarian uniform were Russians. Many people died, among them a young girl who worked in the laboratory with me.

We went back to Nyeregesujfalu. Both factories, that is the chemical factory and the other factory in Nyeregesujfalu, a construction material factory, decided not to continue work. Everyone was out on the streets, all day. The next day, I believe that was Oct. 25, a revolutionary council was formed in Nyeregesujfalu.

A committee came from ~~Dorog~~ Gyor, they called themselves, the peasant revolutionary delegates. An elder man, a peasant by appearance, led them. The meeting was held of all the people in Nyeregesujfalu. The Hungarian national anthem was sung, speeches were made, poems of Petofi recited. The crowd cheered and was very enthusiastic.

At this meeting, we adopted a resolution not to continue work in either of the factories for as long as the Russians were in Hungary. We knew that this resolution meant millions of dollars of loss in the chemical factory because, for example, in our laboratory, experiments concerning the production of orlon and perlon were in progress and these required constant work and vigilance.

~~It~~ They turned the day the miners from Dorog came over. Most of them were young miners. With them came students from Esztergon. They brought arms for our young people. The workers militia was formed and guards were stationed outside the factory. A delegation of miners came over, also, and warned us not to start work, because if we do so, they will cut off our ~~power~~ power and water supply and they will blow up our factory.

We also heard that the miners laid mines ~~in~~ on the railroad tracks between Dorog and Esztergon.

Through the radio, we knew exactly what was going on in Budapest. Many of our boys went to Budapest to take part in the fighting.

During all this time, nobody thought of the consequences. Everybody was elated and enthusiastic. I think that the general enthusiasm in Hungary was not greater during the revolution of 1848 than it was in 1956.

What we wanted from the government was listed in the demands of the Budapest university students. At first, it appeared to us that the government ~~was~~ also, wanted exactly what the people wanted. For example, at first, we thought that Kadar is also on the side of the revolution, but, I personally felt that as long as the Russians are still in Hungary, we have not much hope.

The majority of the fighters and demonstrators were young people, students and young workers. Both sexes were equally represented.

I do not know who organized the demonstrations and lead the fighting in Budapest. I feel it was the university students. In Nyeregesujfalu ~~also~~, there was no organization or planning in advance.

But there was a young engineer in our factory who was very popular among the workers. When the revolution broke out, the director of our factory, who was a top Communist, was deposed and this young engineer was elected in his place by the workers. In general, he was recognized as the leader in Nyeregesujfalu. He told everyone what to do.

The first slogans I heard were the following: This country is Hungarian, every Russian should go home; also, Throw Rakosi into the Danube and Gero after him.

Everyone took part in the fighting from the age of 8 and 10 to 40 and 50. The vast majority of the fighters were students and young workers. I do not know what the situation was in the villages. There was a large military camp near Esztergon and even the officers joined the revolutionists. In Esztergon, the entire police force sided with the revolution. That is, the Blue police.

I heard from some of the students who were in the fighting, that the students and workers were organizing platoons. I do not know any details.

During the fighting, I was not afraid. No one was afraid. Our feelings were dominated by an intense hatred for the Russians, but we hated the Hungarian Communists and the AVO even more.

Immediately after the Esztergon massacre, we realized that we were unable to do much against the Russians without arms. Later, we acquired

arms, but the Russians withdrew from Esztergon.

The news that the government had called the Russians in to aid against the revolutionists caused much embitterment and resentment among us. We were outraged because the government branded the revolutionists as fascists.

We were extremely happy when we heard that the Russians were withdrawing from Budapest. Everybody thought that the revolution had won and that, ultimately, the Russians would go out of Hungary. I was rather pessimistic about this because I know that one cannot ever trust the Russians.

When the Russians were out of Budapest, everyone was excited. We were constantly sitting beside our radios, and listening to what was happening.

By the end of the week, we were somewhat disappointed and thought that the Russians would not go out of Hungary. Everyone was always out on the streets. The young people wanted to go to Budapest to take part in the fighting if the Russians should return.

C. We first heard that the Russians were returning through the radio. That was on Nov. 4. Allegedly, it was Kadar who called in the Russians the second time.

We heard that the Russians were approaching and were already at the outskirts of Nyeregesujfalu. Everyone fled to the cellars. There was a general feeling of despair. The workers said that they would blow up the factory, rather than give it over to the Russians.

However, the news concerning the approach of the Russians turned out to be a false alarm. The Russians went only as far as Tatabanya. On the night of Nov. 4, very many Russian tanks ~~went~~ went through Nyeregesujfalu in the direction of Dorog.

We heard the sound of fighting from the neighboring hills. These hills were dotted with small villages and settlements in which partisan groups were very active. A large number of Russian tanks were destroyed. The Russians went with tanks after them in the forests.

After the fighting died down, ~~the~~ it was announced that all the workers must resume work in the factories. I did not know what to do. I realized that it would be the end of my university studies if I refused to go. The engineer in charge of the research laboratory told me and the four other students to go back to work even if we did not do anything in the laboratory.

We went to work, but very few workers resumed work. The miners sent word that they would blow up the plant if we continued to work.

The women threw rotten eggs and tomatoes at the strike breakers.

For three nights in succession, the Russian tanks went through Nyeregesujfalu in large numbers. They were going in the direction of the border. I was very much afraid.

On the 15 of Nov., I went by train to Komorom to my uncle. At the railroad station in Komorom, I saw many Russians and Russian tanks. On one of the railroad sidings, there were three box cars, sealed and guarded by the Russians. The people said that young revolutionists captured by the Russians were in the box cars. What happened to them, I do not know.

In Komorom, I had a first cousin who was a university student in Budapest and who also took part in the fighting. He was worried because the iron box in which the roll of his company was kept, had been broken open and stolen by someone. The roll contained the names and places of birth and addresses of the members of the company. It was stolen ~~from~~ probably by one of the Communist students. There were a few students who were Communists who had to fear for their lives when the revolution broke out, but who became much bolder when the Russians came in.

My aunt and uncle told my cousin that he must leave the country. He attempted three times to get out, but he was always caught by the Russians. They turned him back three times, taking his name and address.

On one occasion, he was detained for three days by the Russians. My cousin studied Russian in school and could speak Russian. He spoke with one of ~~the~~ the officers. When the officer asked him why he was attempting to get out of Hungary, he answered: "If the Russians don't leave, then I must leave." He also spoke with some of the Russian soldiers guarding him. The soldiers told him that they did not want to fight against the Hungarians.

When the Russians let him go, my cousin came back to Komorom. At home, his parents told him to start again and they also advised me and their daughter to go with him. My uncle said that he would explain things to my mother. In the meantime, a friend from Nyeregesujfalu also came and the four of us decided to go.

We started on the 18th. We went by train from ~~Komorom~~ Komorom to Lorog. We had letters from an aunt in Csepreg asking us to come and fetch her, because she was afraid to come alone.

In Dorog, we did not stay at the railroad station until the next train came next morning, but went into a hotel instead. We were very lucky in doing this because, as we heard later, over 200 people were taken into custody at the station that night. They were all suspected of wanting to go across the border.

A patrol consisting of a Russian soldier, a Blue policeman and an AVO soldier, raided the hotel at 11 o'clock that night. We were fortunate, they were not local people and had no idea where Csepreg was.

Two young men were in the next room. They refused to open the door to the Russians. The door was finally broken in and the patrol took them away.

Next morning, we continued our journey by train until Celldomoldok. Here we had to change trains for Csepreg. On the both trains, the passengers were openly speaking about their plans to go West. The train personnel also knew this. One young man jokingly asked a conductor to give him a ticket as far as Vienna. We got off the train several stations before the border. The passengers formed groups and started off on foot in the direction of Austria.

To avoid suspicion, the four of us avoided the other groups. We walked along the railroad tracks. At one station, the railroad attendant telephoned ahead to the other station, warning them to be on the look-out for us. If the AVO or the Russians show up, someone was to come and notify us. At that time, the border was already patrolled by Russians and AVO.

We arrived at the next station on Nov. 19 just before midnight. The railroad man ~~re~~ warned us to remain concealed there, and advised us to continue our journey only after 3:30 because that was the time when we were least likely to encounter patrols.

We waited until 3:30 and started off again. An old railroad worker led us for a considerable distance until we could see the lights of an Austrian village. Here, he bade us good-bye and told us to go in the direction of the lights.

We continued our way very quietly. It was extremely dark and I could see practically nothing. But after we arrived in Austria, my cousin told me that we passed near three tanks. We were fortunate inasmuch as the personnel did not notice us.

When we were already several hundred meters inside Austria, the boys lit a much needed cigarette. We rested and then continued on our way in the direction of the lights which we still saw. We arrived at the first Austrian village in the early hours of Nov. 20.

I V. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. During the revolution, we expected the UN to intervene and to send UN troops to Hungary to maintain order. The UN and the Western countries should have known that Hungary is a small nation and its handful of people are powerless against the vast strength of the Russian army. The West hates the Communists so much and is so much stronger than they are.

C. The Budapest-Vienna main highway runs through Nyeregesujfaly. Until the Russians came back again, we saw numerous Western trucks and cars loaded with supplies, food and medicine coming through Nyeregesujfalu to Budapest. It was a wonderful sight to see all those cars decorated with their respective flags. The cars sometimes stopped in Nyeregesujfalu. We talked with some of the drivers. Others threw handfuls of chocolate and oranges to the crowd. The smiling faces of the western drivers revealed that they too were glad that Hungary had driven out the Russians.

Some newspaper reporters also stopped in Nyeregesujfalu and interviewed some of the people. They wanted to know what was going on. They said very little, but rather asked questions.

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V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father was a county official and employed in the accounting department. I do not know what his salary was before or during the war, but I know that we lived very well. We also received an official home, lights and heat. My father died in 1942.

My parents owned a house in Nadudvar.

Both of my parents were gymnasium graduates.

B. The social classes in Hungary are the intelligentsia, the industrial workers and the peasants.

To the intelligentsia belongs everyone who has ~~been~~ a university or gymnasium degree.

I did not have much contact with the peasantry, but I knew the industrial workers very well.

In my opinion, the peasants of today are much more intelligent previously. I am too young to remember what the peasants were like before and during the war, but on the basis of what we had been told about their lives, they have shown a considerable improvement.,

My opinion of the industrial workers is a very good one. This class is worth the most in present Hungary.

I have a very low opinion of the present intelligentsia, but the present intelligentsia should also be divided into two classes. To the first class belong those who achieved their present positions with the aid of contacts. These people were not well trained for their jobs and they belong to the ruling class today. But the present intelligentsia also includes very useful persons who have a true vocation and who have great knowledge. My opinion of the old intelligentsia is a very good one.

I consider myself to be a member of the intelligentsia.

The old intelligentsia and the peasantry were the hardest hit by Communism. The Communists objected to the old intelligentsia because they had served the previous regime. The peasantry worked very hard. Nevertheless, everything they had was taken away from them by the government.

C. The peasantry hated the present day intelligentsia because it considered it the cause of all its troubles. Also they objected to the fact that the new intelligentsia, which came mostly out of peasants and workers, looked down upon their previous class, but I think that the peasantry had a very good opinion of the old intelligentsia. Peasants probably envied the industrial workers because they thought the industrial workers lived better.

The industrial workers on the other hand, despised the peasantry and were inclined to look down upon them. The industrial workers got along very well with the intelligentsia.

The old intelligentsia had a high regard for the peasants and the industrial workers. On the other hand, the new intelligentsia despised the workers and the peasants.

Under Communism, these three classes were not divided so distinctly from each other as before. In my opinion, the person most likely to get ahead in a Communist Hungary was a member of the Party. One had to forget his political convictions and enter the Party in order to get a job and support a family. For example, my widowed mother was a candidate for Party membership for six years in order to enable her three children to go to school. My father had been a military instructor in the pre-military training course for teen-age boys. That, under the Communist regime was considered a great crime for which his family was also supposed to suffer.

The role of talent was also important in Communist Hungary. But if a person had only talent and was unable or unwilling to comply with formalities that the Communists demanded, the person was unable to get ahead. An example of this was one of my class mates. He was a genius in Chemistry, but because he did not care anything about young students' activities or Communist membership ideology, etc., he was unable to get the grades and scholarships which he deserved.

~~Political~~ Political views were of primary importance. And also class origin. For the members of the intelligentsia, it was most difficult to get ahead. The oppression of the intelligentsia started in immediately after 1945, but in the last year before the revolution, the situation was much better.

To get ahead in Communist Hungary, one had to be a Communist or a person who has no moral compunctions because he acts contrary to his convictions.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Under Communism, family life in Hungary became more miserable than before. This applies to all social classes. Probably, the industrial workers were the least affected in this respect by Communism.

B. Under Communism, the children had greater freedom than before. In general, they were more independent. Under the previous regime, the education of the children was much more strict. The prestige and authority of the parents and instructors declined. A greater degree of disobedience could be noticed in every respect. These changes are probably the same for all social classes.

A typical example of the conflict of school and home occurred also in our family. My younger brother was very much affected in his faith by what was taught to him in school. My mother did everything possible to counteract the effects of the school on my brother in this respect.

C. Communism did affect marriages and courtship. Some of these changes were good and some of them were not. In the past, ~~contact~~ ~~between the two sexes~~ contact between the two sexes was too formal. ~~Be~~ During Communism, it sometimes was too immoral. In the past, marriages encountered less hardships. Presently, marriages, in general, were too turbulent. Usually, both husband and wife were compelled to work. This created a certain nervous tension which was the cause of much trouble.

Sexual life was much freer than before. A formal introduction was not necessary as before in order to get to meet someone. This happened to have its advantages. Life was less formal and co-educational schools also had advantages.

It is true that we were told "it is the duty of a woman to bear children and it is glory for a girl to do so", but such slogans were practiced only by girls from ~~proletar~~ families. The students whom I knew conducted themselves (much better than people, in general, gave them credit for doing. ~~proletar~~)

In school, doctors lectured to us on sexual life. We were told that it was nothing for a girl to give herself to a boy, but the vast majority of the girls thought otherwise.

D. If a close friend of mine became a Communist, I don't think my friendship with her would change if she became a Party member only to enable her to make a living. But if she joined the Party

from conviction and I were unable to make her see otherwise, then I would sever all contact with her. I think it is quite impossible to continue a friendship with a person who is a Communist by conviction and to keep politics out of such a friendship.

E. Because people are living in greater economic and financial difficulties, the crime rate of ordinary, non-political crimes has increased under Communism. This is true of the women and the youth as well.

I do not know about alcoholism in Hungary. It is probably the same as before the war.

I have never heard of the word "hooliganism". I do not think that the Hungarian youth was worse now under Communism than in the previous regime. I think that this entire question was exaggerated by the Communist press.

The "gampec" were these city slickers in Budapest who liked to dress well, to loaf and gamble and to work as little as possible. They accosted women on the street and thought that they were smart.

This term was sometimes applied to persons who liked to dance and dress well, but otherwise were decent boys. I knew of cases like that among my school mates. They were very good students with good grades/

The reason behind such conduct was the fact of education and family influence. The majority of such boys came out of industrial workers' families. Their ages were from 18 to 22. In general, I don't think that the parents approved of such conduct if it meant gambling and loafing.

VII. RELIGION

A. Communist rule in Hungary had a very detrimental effect on religious life. The youth of today did not accept the religious traditions of their parents. They have become indifferent toward religion. On the other hand, the older age groups have become more religious than before.

There was no religious freedom in Hungary. Party members were prohibited from attending religious ceremonies. I know cases where the wife of the Party secretary went to church to take note of the women there who belonged to the Women's Democratic Association. Later, it was announced that everyone could go to church, but they (the Communists) constantly observed who did so and who didn't.

Our religions were affected by Communism, but it was interesting to note that the Catholics remained more true to their church and faith than others.

B. The role of religion in my own life is a very delicate question. Everyone has his own opinion about this.

I think that, in general, religion is necessary and important. If there were no religion, I think the people would be three times as mean as they are now. I think that religion plays a less important role in my life than in that of my parent. Because of its great moral influence, I think the Church should take an active part in the education of children. However, I do not think that the censorship of books, plays and cinemas should be entrusted to the church. I think that the churches should take an active political role in the independent Hungary.

D. I do not think that the Jewish religion was hurt very much by Communism. The reason for this is that the majority of the Jews were Communists.

The Jews adjusted themselves to Communism better than anyone else. It cannot be denied that they were protected by Communism because in the past, there had been anti-Semitism in Hungary. They were grateful to the Communists for liberating them from ghettos and concentration camps. Many Jews joined the Communist Party for the advantages derived from Communist membership.

Personally, I had not seen any Jews in the demonstrations or in the fighting, but I have heard from university students that some of the Jewish students fought very bravely in the revolution. It is possible that some Jews feared an independent Hungary. This is because Hungarians do not like Jews.

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VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. In my opinion, the Hungarian youth includes all young people from the ages of 14 to 24.

B. In my opinion, it is true that the Hungarian youth prepared the demonstrations, organized them and led the fighting during the revolution. They very well realized that their lives should not be so miserable. They knew that the youth of the previous generation had a much better life. They had the most cause for dissatisfaction.

During the revolution, the older people were satisfied with the Hungarian youth. The parents did not attempt to restrain them. Very often, they sent their children to fight.

C. I cannot tell you much about education in general in Hungary during Communism. But I can tell you about our school, The gymnasium for organic chemistry in Debrecen. I think that in our school, students studied much more than students in the past regime.

There were great restrictions on the choices of professions. For example, if somebody wanted to be a doctor, he would probably be admitted to an agricultural academy.

I think that the quality of education and competency of our staff in our school was very good. In general, the professors in our school did not care much about politics. There was one exception, the professor of the Russian language and literature. But during the revolution, he was one of the leaders. He was a Hungarian by birth, but his mother was of Russian origin. He spoke Russian because he was a prisoner of war in Russia for a couple of years. He was about 35 or 36 years of age.

E. The Hungarian Communists tried to indoctrinate the Hungarian youth but without success. They spent much for propaganda but failed to achieve this aim.

They did not succeed because the Hungarian youth knew very well that every word they spoke was a lie. Everyone was living in want and poverty. I never believed them for one second and I don't think anyone else did.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. We had a very hard life financially in Communist Hungary. My mother was a widow. She was employed as a book-keeper for an oil company. She earned about 800-900 forints a month. My mother was a very thrifty woman who could plan very well, but without the financial assistance of our relatives, we could not have managed. The fare at home was very simple. I wore the hand-me-down clothes of my mother. These she re-made for me, herself. We were fortunate, in as much as my mother's wardrobe was not robbed during the fighting of 1945. We lived in a three room house of our own, but it was difficult to get the tenant to move out when we wanted to move in.

Theaters, cinemas and clothes were considered luxuries.

The problem of clothes caused the most difficulty to me.

In comparison to our pre-war life, our standard of living under Communism was very low. We missed the peaceful family life, especially that we had lead before and every thing that one could buy then. Comparatively, the years, 1950 to 1952 were the best. The last two or three years before the revolution were the most difficult ones.

The family of a class mate lived much better than anyone else I knew. She was an only child. Her father was a chief-engineer in one of ~~the~~ the factories. I do not know which one. The mother also worked. They were Jews. My classmate never had to work during the summer months. She wore beautiful clothes. They had a five room flat in a villa on the Rozsadomb. Her father drove a car, but I do not know whether this was his own or whether it belonged to the factory where he worked. They very often staged parties at home. They had no servants, but a woman came everyday to clean their apartment. Their apartment was furnished very lavishly. The father must have had a very large income as a chief-engineer.

The low standard of living in Hungary during the past 8 years can be attributed to the fact that the government exploited the workers. The wages were very low. Valuable shipments were constantly going out of Hungary into the Soviet Union.

B. My mother earned from 800-900 forints a month as a book-keeper of an oil company. Deductions for trade union dues, compulsory government loans and such like exceeded 15%. She received an allowance of 72 forints per child. This sum was included in the 800-900

forints I mentioned. She had no secondary source of income and no one else in the household worked. During the past five or six years,

XIX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. My main dissatisfaction with life in Communist Hungary was the great poverty in which we lived. My widowed mother had to work very hard to earn 800-900 forints a month to support herself and her three children. We had practically nothing. Without financial assistance, from an uncle, we would have starved to death.

B. What annoyed us most in our every day life were the constant meetings and seminars, and compulsory subscriptions to newspapers, and the fact that you never had a minute to yourself.

she received no raise.

Before the revolution, I worked three months in all at a salary of 1,100 forints a month. I was a laboratory assistant in the research laboratory of the chemical plant in Nyeregesujfalu. I once received a production of 120 forints.

C There was no difference in price between the state stores and the farm markets. The prices of all commodities was established by the government. Prices were comparatively high. Both those who sold for more ~~of~~ and those who sold for less were punished if caught. For example, the farmers who sold their produce on the market for less than the government price were very often fined.

The quality of goods in general was poor. This can be said especially of textile goods. Quality of shoes was somewhat better. For more money you could buy good quality shoes. In general, you could buy any quality you desired if you had the money. My mother bought me an over-coat for 2,200 forints when I graduated. She had to save the money for this coat for four years. A pair of shoes cost about 500 forints.

The quality of goods manufactured by the small ~~type~~ craftsmen improved considerably during the past two or three years. The quality of ready-made clothes, shirts, underwear, etc. was always very poor.

There was a black market in smuggled goods. Watches were smuggled in from Austria and many industrial products from Czechoslovakia. How the black market operates, I do not know. What I said, I know only from hearsay.

Sometimes, there was a shortage of otherwise available commodities because of red tape. It was difficult to get standard spare parts. For example, my brother had great difficulty in getting a bicycle chain. I do not think there was any waste or spoilage of food.

There was a frequent shortage of rice despite the fact that Hungary was a rice-growing country. There were also frequent shortages of meat products, soap, petroleum, and fuel. Such items as oranges, citrus fruits and coffee were simply unavailable or very expensive.

I once bought a wrist watch on the black market. It was smuggled in from Austria. I do not know how the black market was organized. I knew one or two Jews who were dealers of the black market. The watch that I bought on the black market was of the same quality as that available in the stores. I paid approximately one-half of the store price. The sale of goods on the black market was punishable by imprisonment.

D. I worked as a laboratory assistant in a chemical factory in Nyeregesujfalu. We were conducting ~~typical experiments~~ the preparation of chemical experiments of the production of orlon and perlon. I worked from 7:30 A.M. until 3:30 P.M. At 9:30, there was a twenty minute break for coffee. We had a half hour for lunch. Lunch was served between 1 and 2 P.M.

I never slept more than six hours a day. I could have slept more, but I do not need more sleep. I lived very near the factory and was there within a few minutes.

I took this particular job because I wanted to study chemical engineering and one year of laboratory practice was required before my admission to the university. I liked my job very much. I was on good terms with all my colleagues and superiors. I had great respect for their knowledge and experience. Our chief engineer was a very strict man, but he was also very just. Everyone liked him. He would often praise anyone if he was satisfied with his work.

In general, my colleagues knew their business and had very good training.

I think that the social health service in Hungary operated very well. It was one of the good things in Communism. Private doctors would have been too expensive. Very few people could have afforded them.

I think that the vacation plans and programs of the trade unions were very good. I would have gone on a vacation on such a program for the first time this year.

I do not know much about the pension plan of the trade union.

E. I did not like Budapest very much. I would prefer a small town or one of the provincial cities. I think that the city population eats much better food and had a comparatively higher standard of living than rural Hungary. On the other hand, it was easier to exist politically in the country. There, they did not attribute so much importance to political conduct, indoctrination, and such.

I was still a child when the collectivization farms began in Hungary, but I think no one approved of it except the Communists. First, I think that the richer peasants opposed the collectivization of farms more than the others did, but at the end, everyone was against it to the same degree.

Everyone in Hungary heard about the dissolving of farm eep-----
cooperatives . Conditions on these farms were entirely unbearable.
The peasants had to work from sunrise to sunset and they received hard-
ly any money for their work.

If I were an agricultural worker in Hungary, I would prefer to work
on a state farm.

Collective farming, should be abolished in an independent Hungary.
The farms should be distributed among the peasants. I approve of the
land reform in principle.

(QUESTIONS under capital A. were not asked of respondent because she was too young to know the political situation in Hungary before 1948.)

B. Originally, only Communists by conviction joined the Communist Party, but after 1945, many people joined the Party, not from conviction, but because of their personal interests. In reality, the true purpose of the Communist Party is not to achieve socialism, but to protect the interests of the Party itself and of its individual members. I knew many people who were members of the Communist Party. The vast majority of them joined the Party for selfish reasons.

I don't think that the policy of the Communist Party changed much in the last six or eight years. Objectives of the Party are always the same. The leaders want to preserve their rule by oppressing everyone in the opposition. For this reason, they must maintain their dictatorship by terror. There were differences within the Communist Party itself. The majority of the members did not even consider themselves as Communists. They did not like the way the Party functioned. There was also jealousy for power among the Party leaders themselves. I do not think that the Leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party believed in the objectives and dogmas taught by the Party. Their true purpose was to turn Hungary into a Communist state. They wanted to-own-a- the whole nation to forget every other way of life.

I think that the Hungarian Communists leaders were interested primarily in fame and power. Material advantages were of secondary importance to them. They were crafty, unscrupulous pharisees. If there were a political change in Hungary, all of them would become turncoats, but I do not think they would remain alive if those people whom they ruled until now would pass- have judgement over them. $\frac{1}{2}$

C. There was constant opposition to Communism in Hungary, but only in the form of general dissatisfaction and grumbling. Production slow-downs and sabotage were-very would have been very dangerous. Very often, people voiced their dissatisfaction openly. Sometimes they even gave the Party secretary a piece of their minds. This applies especially to women. But such oppositional behavior did not have much results.

Dissatisfaction with the regime was the same during the entire period. The only difference was that in the last few years, people complained and scolded the regime more openly.

I did not hear anything about the actual ferment or about the activities of the intellectuals before the revolution. I heard about the Petofi circle only during the revolution.

In my opinion, the intellectuals opposed the regime because they thought, probably, the best how bad life in Hungary was and they realized best of all that in a few years, ~~we~~ would become entirely Russians.

XII. APPARATUS OF POWER

A. (This entire section with the exception of the questions under D. was omitted because of the shortage of time.)

D. A large number of Russian troops was stationed in ~~the~~ Debrecen and the family of a Russian colonel lived next door to us.

This colonel was about 45 years old. He was married, his wife was living with him, one child, a boy of 7 or 8 was also there. The other child, a daughter of 16 was in an institute in Leningrad. The boy was a spoiled ill-bred brat who caused much trouble with his mischief in the neighborhood. He sometimes played with my younger brother. Everybody disliked him.

The wife of the colonel had a nasty temper and no manners.

The husband seemed intelligent. They lived very well. They were able to obtain ~~many things~~ in their PX many items of luxury which they sold on the black market.

My general opinion of the Russian army is that it is not a strong one. It is much greater in appearance than in fact.

The Hungarians hated the Russians and made nasty remarks about them when we saw them on the streets, but the people hated the Hungarian Communists worse. One could see the officers and their families more often than one could see the men. The soldiers had to stay within their barracks in the camps. They were prohibited from speaking with Hungarians and they could never be seen with Hungarian women. The children of the Russian families did not go to the Hungarian schools, they had schools of their own. Marriages between Russians and Hungarians were quite out of the question. I don't think any Hungarian in his right mind would have married a Russian.

My impression of the Russian colonel who lived next door was that, first, he was a Russian ~~id~~ and after that only, a Communist. I think that the same could be said of all the Russians in Hungary before the revolution. This colonel talked much with my mother about politics. He seemed to glorify Lenin and to hate Stalin. He was not satisfied with condition ~~back home~~ in Russia.

The colonel admitted that economically Hungary was much better off than Russia and that the standard of living here was much higher than in the Soviet Union. He admitted that in Russia, there were territories where the people lived under the most primitive circumstances. They knew the political situation in Hungary and it was quite clear to this colonel that communism was not popular in Hungary. He often

said that this in Hungary was not true Communism. True Communism was what Lenin taught. He frequently expressed his desire to remain in Hungary and said that he would very gladly resign his rank if he could stay.

We had no contact with the Russian soldiers. During the revolution, my contact was a very limited one. I've already mentioned that they fired on us in Esztergon, killing many of our colleagues. They were then dressed in Hungarian uniforms.

I also mentioned that my cousin spoke with the Russian officer and the guards who guarded him when he was caught when attempting to escape from Hungary the first time. The soldiers to whom he spoke then said that they did not want to fight against the Hungarians.

Those Russian troops who were stationed in Hungary for a longer period before the revolution were sent back to Russia and Mongolian troops came in their place.

I have heard of cases where Soviet soldiers helped the Hungarians, refused to obey their superiors, fought against the Hungarian AVO, and against each other, but this I know only from hearsay. However, I met several Russian soldiers who fled to Austria. They were in
→ Camp _____.

I know of cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers only from hearsay.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. It is my opinion that everything will be in Hungary as before the revolution, perhaps only to a greater extent. This will lead to the final incorporation of Hungary by Russia. The only thing that could save us, if we were to become independent like Austria. I don't think a Polish-like solution would help much.

I think that war between the US and the Soviet Union is inevitable. When this will happen, I do not know. I think this is the general opinion at home. I don't think anything can be accomplished by any means other than war, the Russians will not make any concessions.

I don't think there is much hope for an internal change in the Soviet Union. The Soviet students may stage some kind of revolt, but I don't think this is likely and even if they do so, they will not succeed in overthrowing the government.

B. During the past ten years, everybody in Hungary was hoping against hope that one day, Communism would cease. The intense hate of everything Communistic was linked with a hope that one day everything would change.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. I would want socialism in an independent Hungary. I would want the political leaders to be of the people and for the people. I would want Hungary to be completely neutral.

B. Hungary is basically an agricultural country. The Hungarian heavy industry should be restricted to the production of agricultural machinery and implements. The machine industry, requiring much skilled labor, should be developed.

In my opinion, when any of Hungary becomes totally independent, the so-called national enterprises should remain under state ownership. The farm cooperatives and the state farms should, however, be abolished and the land divided among the peasants.

I believe that the people in Hungary also favor the government ownership of industry, transportation, both the heavy and the light industry should remain in government ownership.

I do not know what role the government should play in agricultural. This is something I know very little about.

I don't think the maximum limit should be set to the amount of land any one person or family may own.

I think the best form of government would be for Hungary to be a republic.

Concerning the choice between a dictatorship granting employment and a fair standard of living and a democracy which does not insure a living for its citizens, I think that everyone would probably choose no freedom, ~~but~~ plus a fair standard of living. But if there is real freedom, everyone can make a living for himself.

I would be in favor of outlawing the Communist Party in independent Hungary. There is nothing to justify the existence of the Communist Party. It serves only propaganda purposes. However, I would not abolish fellow traveling organizations.

C. The ideal political position for Hungary would be neutrality like Austria. It would be the best to have no contacts whatever with the Soviet Union and with the other iron curtain satellite countries. But it would be advisable to have close economic, financial, cultural and military relations with the US and the countries of Western Europe.

I heard of the planned federation of Danubian states only in history. Kossut suggested such a federation in 1848. I have not heard about such plans more recently. I do not know how people feel about this question at home. I, myself, have no opinion.

I do not consider the present boundaries of Hungary as acceptable. I would like to see all the territories re-annexed which were taken away from Hungary after World War I. I think all Hungarians feel very strongly about this. The question of the Hungarian minorities could be best solved by re-annexing these territories to Hungary.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. While I was in Hungary, I heard nothing about the secret speech delivered by Khrushchev at the 20th Party Congress nor about Senator McCarthy and the House un-American Activities Committee. I do not know anything about Peron.

During the revolution, I heard that Rakosi's salary was 40,000 forints a month. He lived in the greatest luxury, unequalled by anyone else in Hungary. Before the revolution, I heard nothing about his private life.

B. Before and during the war, my parents read much and had a large library at home. They had works by Hercegy, by Zilahi, by Jokai, and others. Before the end of the war, they subscribed for the New Times and two women's magazines. I do not remember what kind of newspapers my parents read before and during the war.

The love for books and magazines is a common trait in my family. I read the "Szabad Ifjusag". This was the only periodical for young people which was worth anything. Of course, there was much politics mixed in it. I also had to read the Szabad Nep and the Hungarian women's magazine.

I did not believe very much of what I read in the newspapers. Foreign political news could be trusted least of all. There were, however, news concerning industrial production, output, production methods, etc. which could be accepted.

With time, everyone developed a certain ability for reading between the lines. Otherwise, the entire material in the daily newspapers was mere propaganda or criticism. Neither I nor my friends read any publication from the Soviet Union, other iron curtain countries or Yugoslavia. Not did we read any publications from the Western countries.

Many of the books which we had in our library at home were on the index. I almost got expelled from school because they found a copy of Margaret Mitchell's "Gone With the Wind". Most of the books on index were kept in the living room at home. However, there were a few such books, as for example, Horthy's biography which were concealed in the attic. I read them there.

When the list of books placed on index was published, an order was issued compelling everyone to take these books to the city hall and have them destroyed there publicly. We disregarded this order entirely.

C. We students always discussed political news and other information, among ourselves. What news we received by word-of mouth, we didn't accept only with a certain criticism. Sometimes such news was true and sometimes exaggerated. Persons of whom we knew who hated the regime, were always considered more reliable.

In my opinion, the question concerning what information I passed on by word of mouth is not a good one. -It should be changed. Every body always talked about politics, but-everyb with everybody they could trust. Politics included everything that happened at home or abroad which was of political significance.

F. Most of the films shown in Hungary in 1945 to 1948 were Russian propoganda films. In 1948, they began manufacturing Russian with synchronized Hungarian text. In the last few years, we had some very good Italian and French films and one or two exceptionally good Russian films. Some of the new Hungarian films were also very good. Many of them had political tendencies. I went very often to the cinema and I had inexpensive season tickets to the theatre and opera.

The two films which I liked most during the past few years wer Belle Amie (Bel Ami?) and The Convent of Parma also a French film The two plays which I liked most were the operas, La Traviata and Madama Butterfly.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. I do not think there is much chance for a political change inside the Soviet Union. The average Russian, I think, is ~~not~~ not more stupid than to revolt against the government, but if war breaks out between the Soviet Union and the West, it is possible that a revolution may also break out at home in Russia. It is my opinion that the majority of Russians ~~hate~~ hate Communist regime, but the only way for a political change ~~breaking-out~~ in Russia is if war breaks out between the West and Russia.

It is my opinion, that if completely free elections were to be held in the Soviet Union, ~~the~~ a very slight per centage of the Soviet population would vote for the Communist regime.

I think that the top leaders of the Russian Communist Party are/ true Communists by conviction. Their purpose os to achieve world rule and their motives are fame and power.

I do not think there is much difference between the Communist leaders of Russia and the Communist leaders of Hungary. The Hungarian Communists try to imitate the Russian leaders in every possible way.

B. Of the nations mentioned, I think that Poland and Eastern Germany are the most popular and Rumania and Czechoslovakia are the least popular in Hungary. This is because of the historical background and also political reasons such as territorial demands. ~~of-annexed-territory.~~

I attended a Communist Youth Rally in Poland in 1953. I liked Poland very much, but Wassaw did not appeal to me.

In my opinion, if free elections were to be held in the satellite countries behind the iron curtain, the Communists would get only a very small fraction of the votes.

I think that Eastern Germany had the highest and Rumania the lowest standard of living.

C. While still in Hungary, I heard something about the events in Poland, but I do not know ver much about them. I think that the Gomilka government is a puppet government depending entirely on Moscow. Their policy of gradualism is better than nothing. I belive the Gomulka government will remain in power. He will probably try the middle raod between Stalinsim and Titodsm.

I do not know what events took place in Poland which would have had an effect on Hungary.

Now, in retrospect, it would seem that it would have been better for the Hungarian revolution to take the same path as the events in Poland.

D. I do not think that Tito is the originator of national Communism. He is a very controversial character. It is very hard to form a definite opinion of him.

National Communism may be good if there is no dictatorship and there is total equality. ~~I feel Communism may be good~~ But such a situation is in a Utopia.

I do not know what relations Tito had with the other Eastern European countries. Tito and Russia hate each other mutually. I do not quite know what the relation between Western Europe and Tito is.

I think that Tito was overjoyed to witness the fall of Rakosi and Gero during the Hungarian revolution.

I do not know anything about Titoism in the satellite countries.

I do not know whether Tito is popular in Yugoslavia, but I know that I do not like him. The internal political situation in Yugoslavia is not quite clear to me.

E. I do not know anything about the situation in Communist China and the relations between England and India.

I think that Egypt had no right to nationalize the Suez Canal. Events in Egypt did not have much effect on the Hungarian revolution, because they took place after the revolution had already broken out. But I think that the Hungarian revolution would have ended differently if events in the East had not occurred.

F. I think that the standard of living in Western Germany is among the highest in entire Europe.

It is possible that Germany may be the cause of the outbreak of the next world war.

In my opinion, the army of Western Germany is probably as strong as the British armed forces and is certainly stronger than the French armed forces. I do not know how long military service in Western Germany is but it is probably long.

Comparing the two armies of occupation in Hungary, the Germans are more intelligent, more cultural. They were very well equipped and they had strict discipline. German officers had more prestige in the eyes of their men than the Russian officers. On the other hand, the Russian army by its behavior was very unpopular and was loathed by everyone.

G. I do not know much about the British Labor Party.

From the viewpoint concerning standard of living, Great Britain ranks first, Greece, fifth, Germany second, Egypt fourth, Soviet Russia sixth, and Italy third.

H. The most surprising thing in America after my arrival was the very high standard of living.

In my opinion, the American government should sever all contacts and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the iron curtain countries including Hungary. My opinion has not changed in this respect since my arrival in the US.

I think that the people in Hungary would like very much to meet with visitors from the Western world. They would have an opportunity to talk about conditions in the West, in which they are very much interested. I think these visitors should be tourists, but not newspaper writers. Prospective visitors should be told about conditions in Hungary so that they would not be taken completely by surprise by what they saw there. It is indifferent to me who will inform these visitors about conditions in Hungary, but I think the US government itself does not know very much about what is there in Hungary today.

I think that the people in Hungary would like very much to read what Western publications, but I do not know to whom these publications should be sent. Certainly not to the official Hungarian government.

I think that the people at home would like to know that Hungarian exiles, especially the prominent ones, are associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications, but on the other hand, this would mean that these Western visitors would not be admitted to Hungary and the publications would be confiscated.

I heard much about the Marshall Plan. It was launched by the US to stop Communism, the theory being that Communism thrives in want and misery.

In 1950, the US became involved in the Korean war because the Russians wanted to occupy all of Korea. This country was of great strategic importance.

J. The ideals and principles on which the UN is based are very nice on paper, but the UN isn't worth anything in practice. It did not, cannot and will not be able to help Hungary nor any other nation.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. I consider Cardinal Mindsenty to be the greatest living Hungarian today.

It was a great mistake for Imre Nagy to sit down and start negotiations with the Russians.

Cardinal Mindsenty is a true Hungarian.

I have no opinion about Laszlo Rite.

And Gero is the same kind of man as Rakosi.

I have very little opinion of Janos Kadar. He is a pharisee. I hate him the most of all.

President Eisenhower is a very good politician. I think he knows what he is doing.

I have no opinion about Secretary General Hammerschild.

~~I do not know much about Dulles. I haven't talked about him at all.~~
I have a good opinion of Secretary of State Dulles.

I know who Eden and Truman are, but I have no definite opinion on them.

(Question 3 concerning Nikoyan Nehru, etc. had to be omitted because of resistance on part of subject.)

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XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A(Section had to be left out because of lack of time)

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XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A(SECTION XIX HAD TO BE LEFT OUT BECAUSE OF LACK OF TIME)

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

I think it is very important to give a child a religious education. It is also necessary to teach the child to have respect for his parents and other people. Children should also be taught social studies, but not the way as in the Soviet Union. I think it is necessary to discipline the children. They should not be allowed to do anything they want to, but at the same time, they should be allowed to be self reliant. Physical punishment should be inflicted on them whenever necessary.

I think there should be no difference in the treatment of boys and girls. I think it is vital that children and parents should be the best of friends. They should maintain close contact with each other and talk over all their problems.

I remember two instances when I was punished by my mother.

I was a child of six and I wanted to go out and play and take the beads which I got from my father years ago. At that time, my father had already died and the beads which he bought me were considered to be a relic. My mother warned me not to put the beads on because I would lose them. I stole the beads out of her box, put them on and went out to play and lost them. When my mother found out what happened, she made me kneel in the corner for hours. She did not speak to me for the rest of the day.

I was 13 and at home for the Christmas vacation. Both my brother and I were sitting in the kitchen reading. My mother told my brother to bring in a bucket of coal for the fire. He said it was my turn to bring in the coal. My mother told me to bring the coal and I got up very angrily and slammed the kitchen door, breaking one pane of glass. I came back and banged the bucket down. My mother gave me two slaps and sent me to my room and did not let me go that evening to the party.

I remember that my father spanked me once when I was about three years old. He was not very strict with me. He was I was 4½ when he died.

I don't think that the sex or age of the child has anything to do with which parent disciplines. I don't believe there is any difference according to social classes. I have no knowledge of any changes in this respect during the last ten years.

I think that physical punishment for both boys and girls is abolished between the ages of ten and twelve. Punishment, in general, is abolished between 16 and 17.

This may vary according to social classes. I think that the intelligentsia probably uses other methods for punishing the children. I am sure that they will not punish a child in front of others and make it ashamed. I remember one instance when a peasant girl in my class lost a sweater. Her mother came into the school and beather and beat her in front of the whole class .

I believe that under Communism, the children were not so much worried about punishment. They ~~is~~ did not fear it any more. Parents received no respect, but I don't think there is any difference in the frequency of parental punishment, the kind of punishment or the age at which it ceases to be administered.

Since the Communists came to power, children are not beaten any more in the school. This was a common occurrence before the Communists. The form of ~~the~~ punishments now used in school is demerits, the suspension of some privilege or expulsion from school.

I don't think I could be on good terms with anyone who does not act his natural self. There must not be any affectation about my friends. They must be sincere, reliable, ~~and~~ they must have character, and they must be reliable to friends.

In the past, richer children would not be apt to form friendships with poorer children, for example, the children of industrial workers or peasants. This has changed to a great extent under Communism. Every one in the class was considered alike ~~and~~ regardless of whether the parents of a child belonged to the intelligentsia or were peasants or industrial workers. This is all.

6-F
D

Add.

Subject is a very intelligent girl of 19. She is something of a tom-boy. She does not use cosmetics and does not care much about clothes. Boys interest her only as friends. She is a typical product of the specialized secondary schools in Hungary. She had acquired a thorough knowledge of chemistry before beginning her university studies.

Since subject was available for only one day, sections XVII-XIX and most of section XII had to be omitted. Her information concerning Russian occupation troops in Hungary (section XII. D.) is of special interest because her family has had direct contact with a Soviet officer and his family.

Her excellent and rapid rapport made it possible to cover most of the questionnaire despite the shortage of time.