

II CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

WORKING- This is a 100 percent product of a real proletarian family and has always lived the life of a hard working class woman.

VA She is an interesting example of the Hungarian working class people who were not beguiled by the promises of the Party and who has a great deal of down-to-earth common sense, and intelligence in spite of her having had comparatively little schooling (she only attended the compulsory six years of grade school).

Her animosity toward the Horthy regime stems from the fact that her father had been sacked and put on the blacklist by the Manufacturers Assoc. for instigating strikes at that time in the plant where he worked, and therefore he was unable to provide for his family adequately for a very long time.

Subject is very honest and outspoken, intelligent too, and her attitudes toward certain economic and political problems are very interesting. She did not just repeat cliches, but always thought first and argued out by herself the answer.

She is a self conscious, proud, but very good type of the working class women in Hungary, has no prejudices and is extremely willing and eager to learn about the other side of the picture. On the whole she is a very interesting subject in every respect.

I. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM UP QUESTIONS

When asked what she thought were the most important things that Americans should know about events in Hungary during the fall of 1956, respondent said:

"I believe that the Americans should not only know what has happened in the autumn of 1956, but also they ought to know why these events happened. I have to go back a little bit a couple of years in fact, because I think that it was the ~~the~~ Horthy regime that can be blamed for the Communists getting a foothold in Hungary, because at that time the class differences were far too great. Anyway, Communism used this as a very good pretext, because the Communist leaders knew very well what hurt the working classes most."

"On the other hand, Communism did not give us what it promised, and we very soon found out that ~~it~~ it's only a big lie. We had no rights whatsoever, ~~but~~ we had only duties toward the regime."

"I also would like to point out that not only the unhappiness and disillusionment has started the revolution in Hungary, but also our utter confidence in the United States for which we were hoping, to receive help which would have been necessary for a victory in the revolution."

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

A. "On the 23rd after 4 o'clock, I had finished my work and started to go home. At that time we didn't know a thing of what was going to happen, but somehow the air was filled with tension. I saw at the big central boulevard of the city that people were streaming toward a certain point. I thought that there was an accident and went to see. On my way from the Baross square to the National theatre the streetcars and buses were stopped and stood on the side of the street. I saw many young people marching along with the Hungarian flag. Only the red, white, and green flag with the Russian emblems cut out. I also have heard the different slogans these young people were shouting, among others "The Russians should go out," "The Hungarian Army should receive Hungarian uniforms," "We want a change in the government," and "The Russian language should be abolished at the schools as a compulsory subject."

"The students were marching and shouting to everyone, 'Come and join us.' Very many of the people coming from work including myself joined the demonstrations, too."

"It is very difficult to say what I felt at that time. Because somehow uncannily I felt that something extraordinary was happening. ~~xxx~~ The most beautiful ~~that~~ thing in the whole demonstrations was that we started to sing our Hungarian national anthem, and also to see the old Hungarian flag fly high again. I have also seen that at the National theatre ~~xxx~~ our most famous actress Clara Tolnay and one of the actors called Sinkovics led the group ~~the group~~ of actresses and actors of the National Theater toward the Bem statue where people were marching then."

"However, when I saw that people were surging toward the Parliament building I went with that part of the crowd. The whole square before the Parliament was crowded with people. I have never seen so many people together and we all were demanding loudly that Imre Nagy and Peter Veres should come and talk to the people."

"Our demands were plainly stated by the different points the students had set up. We others just joined in demanding the very same things."

"In the meanwhile, the crowd grew and grew. We have seen people who came in big groups. I have seen very young boys, children, men women, girls- they all joined spontaneously. It was getting dark by then, and the red star on the top of the Hungarian parliament was blazing. The crowd immediately started to shout, "Put out that light and save the electricity." After three quarters of an hour finally the lights of the star were put out. I remember I heard the church bell ringing at night at that time."

" Luckily I could catch a trolley bus and went home. The line of this trolley passed the Stalin statue at the Municipal Park, and we just saw when it was pulled down by the crowd. The trolley conductor turned around to the ticket collector who was a woman and told her, "Well, my dear comrade, you'd better take off the red star from your uniform because I am going to do so." Everybody was very elated and happy at that time, myself included."

" Next morning I got up to go to work, but when listening to the radio for the time signal, I suddenly heard that everybody has to remain at home and then the radio discontinued the emission. We only heard the rattling of machine guns and cannons. Of course no streetcars were running and so I couldn't go to work."

" I do not think that at that time anybody would have accepted a compromise; for the students and the workers asked for precisely what we wanted, ~~which would have meant~~ and which ~~only~~ would have meant the end of the Communist regime in Hungary. At that time we were convinced that since the whole demonstrations were so spontaneous and showed so very clearly the will of the people, we shall prevail. Also, before the revolution, in fact a couple of months before the ~~revolutionary~~ demonstrations started, the Hungarian press was becoming more and more outspoken, so we were hoping for a change."

" In fact it was quite amazing to read and to hear how the Hungarian press suddenly turned against Rakosi and his policies; and dared to criticize openly the regime. I remember one article especially in Szabad Nep which was a strong criticism of the regime and demanded a change. After all we didn't ask for anything more than the very same things our famous Petofi asked for in 1848 when fighting for Hungary's freedom."

" As to the demonstrators, they consisted of all social classes. There was complete unity and understanding. I have seen people of all age groups and of all social classes; I have even seen many officers and soldiers of ~~the~~ the Hungarian army who took off their Russian insignia. I have seen many students, workers, policemen and I have even seen AVH men marching in the crowd."

" The demonstrations were of course—as we were informed — organized by the students, but the crowd and the mass of people that marched on the streets of Budapest in these days were joining the crowds spontaneously."

B. " As to how the demonstrations turned into fighting I have only heard from two young men who were there at the Radio Building. These boys worked at the same place where I did. They told me the following: Between 6 and

7 on the 23rd in the evening a group of young students went to the Radio Building so as to read over the radio and to broadcast to the country their demands. They were not let in. One of the young boys stepped forward and read out their demands to the crowd. He wasn't even able to finish it because an AVH man from the opposite house shot him down. He died there in front of everyone."

"Those two boys who told me about what has happened at the Radio Building, told me that the AVH must have been awfully well equipped with arms and well organized, because within a couple of minutes the skirmishing and shooting started. ~~XXXXX~~ They have seen many dead and also a fourteen year old young girl who was killed. Later on her body was taken to the Parliament and the crowd shouted, "Look here murderers, what you have done."

"Therefore I believe that the peaceful demonstrations must have turned into a bloody revolution when the AVH started their weapons against the defenseless crowd."

"As far as I remember the revolutionary slogans started up during the first days of the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ revolution."

"It is very difficult to say who did not fight, because I have seen so many young and old persons, both women and men who fought. The spiritual leaders of the revolution were of course the university students, those who fought were mostly the young people. Not only ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ intellectuals, but the young workers and worker apprentices. I have also seen soldiers and policemen who went over and joined the revolutionary forces. The fighters were organized. They had a central headquarters at the Killian barracks. Here, Col. Maleter was the military commander who took over. This man was a legendary hero and his aides were to be found all over the city, organizing the young freedom fighters. Of course there were also local groups. We told that at every public school building in every district there was a kind of smaller headquarters where they were equipped with arms and insignia. I have seen the Freedom Fighters being transferred from one place to another by the trucks of the army or the police force."

"Between October 25th and November 3rd I went back to work at the garage which was situated at on the Tisza Kalman Ter, but there wasn't very much work to be done there. The fighting and sniping went on and it was quite dangerous to go near that place."

C. "When the Russian army had begun its retreat, we were completely convinced that they would leave Hungary for good. Also because we saw that they had left Austria also after the peace treaty was signed."

" We never wanted to have a Gomulka-like government, and wanted to have a free Hungary under the Prime-Minister-ship of Imre Nagy. I first heard that the Soviet withdrawal had been halted, in fact that the Russians had returned, on November 4th, when the Russian tanks rumbled through the streets of Budapest again. From the time of the Red Army's return to the time of my escape, I went to pick up my salary at the garage, but we were out on strike and we did not work. Our main activities consisted of hoarding food, and buying up whatever we could with the money we received at our working places."

" I quite honestly admit that at the time when ~~when~~ Prime Minister Nagy took over, and the time when he was still heading our government, I had not the slightest idea of leaving Hungary, because I somehow felt that after ten long years of oppression, now finally everything would be all right and we would be free. But when I saw that Nagy was ousted and I saw the pressure and terror which again was enforced by the new government, I thought that there is no more hope- that the country would be free again, and I thought it would be better if I scrambled. One of my sisters and my grandmother are here in The US. My grandmother came to America forty-six years ago and my sister followed her about twenty years ago, so I thought that I would have someone here. Also the different messages coming from the refugees who have successfully escaped, gave me more courage, so I started ~~my~~ planning my escape from Hungary."

D. When asked whether she thought on the whole Hungary gained, because of the revolution, respondent said:

"Even though the Hungarian revolution was quelled by the Russian might, Hungary in the eyes of the free world and of all the free nations, has gained a moral victory. "

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "I never expected any armed help from the West because every fool could know that this would mean a second world war, which I didn't want. But we were all convince that the UN would give us an effective moral assistance."

B. "The basis of our expectations were formed because we thought that the UN was that kind of an organization which would have had a great deal to say in instances like ours. We ~~thanked~~ thought that the United Nations would have sufficient authority to restore order in East Central Europe. We were hoping that the United Nations could enforce the sanctions, and that we would have free elections under international control, which would have solved the whole problem."

"As to where we got this idea, I can only tell you, the Hungarians did not eat but they had a radio ^{RATHER}, and everybody in Hungary was listening to the Western radio broadcasts. These were our spiritual food. On these broadcasts we heard many things which were tried to be kept in secret in Hungary and which were never ~~publicized~~ publicized."

Respondent did not come in contact with any foreign ers ~~between the time of the revolution and the time~~ of her escape.
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V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. On her own family background, the respondent gave the following information:

"ours was the life of a typical working class family. By profession, my father was a tool-and-dye maker and worked at the Csepel Weiss Manfred/ factory. At that time I was only eight years old, but my father told/happened there. The workers went out on strike and my father who was a member of the Social Democratic Party was the organizer of the strike. Charès Peyer the leader of the Social Democrats came out to the plant and talked to the workers, and promised that their demands would be fulfilled and they would take up work again. They did. However, the promises were never kept. So the workers went out again on a second strike under the leadership on my father who was extremely annoyed by Peyer's behavior and that said that he was a traitor of the workers. Due to the second strike, my father was dismissed and not only that, but he was put on the blacklist by the Hungarian Manufacturers Assoc. And as a result, despite the fact that he had been a fairly good tool-and-dye maker, he was never again able to get a job within his special qualifications. For ten years in fact, he was unable to get a decent job and was working at all kinds of odd jobs, wherever he could receive employment. Our family of three sisters lived in dire poverty. So much so that we were put in State asylums for poor children which was run by the State."

"My mother worked as a cleaning woman, and as I said, my father got all kind of odd jobs, especially in the summer, with building contractors-, in the winter he was shovelling snow, etc. We had our grandmother in the US, and whenever she could she sent us some packages. This dire poverty of my parents was brought about that I only could finish six grades of school. Finally in 1937, my father received a job at the arms factory and due to his extreme abilities he was made a teacher of the young apprentices. At that time he had a very good salary. I cannot remember however, how much he made. Later on when I grew up he also managed to get me a job there."

"The education of my parents was only six grades of school for both of them. My father then had a special training in technology for tool-and-dye making."

B. When asked about the social classes in Hungary, respondent said:

"Within a Communist regime, and according to the Communist doctrine, there should not be any social class and differences within the whole society. However, the classes are somehow divided according to the position the different

and we couldn't do a thing about it, for if we didn't work, we wouldn't have enough to eat."

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To my mind it was the working class which was hardest hit during the communist regime, because we worked for very low wages and also were unable to get ahead in our work."

C. When asked how an individual might advance himself in communist Hungary, and about the role of talent, political ~~views~~ and class origin, respondent said: "I believe that in all fairness you had to have a little of all three ingredients, however, the most important was political views, then came origin, talent was last."

"There were some changes to be observed however in the attitude of the government regarding this, for in the last two years, they finally found out that talent and specific knowledge was very important, and so they have, what they call, rehabilitated many of the former intellectuals, and put them into prominent posts."

"The kind of individual who would get along best in communist Hungary must be a person who is never completely sincere and does not say what he thinks. You work with your mouth closely shut, and you cannot show any disapproval against the regime."

"There are of course always groups which get more out of society than they deserve and these are what we call always OPPORTUNISTS, who are shouting loudly and speaking about their achievements and who are in fact political turcoats. Some of them, who had mostly to fear from the communists. For instance former ARROW-CROSS (HUNGARIAN) Party members."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "The spiritual life of my own family has completely gone to the dogs during the Communist regime. That's all I can say. My father became a communist party member, he was one of those idealists who, after what had been afflicted on him under that the Horthy regime, thought that now this new kind of political government would bring him only good, and he will benefit from it. Myself ~~was~~ have been a devout Social Democrat and member of that party too, very soon a strong conflict [✓] ~~broke out~~ broke out. I never trusted the communist party and when the Social Democratic Party was forceably merged with the communist party, I quit the party. Several times I was summoned to the party headquarters and they tried to influence me but I stood fast. I was "punished" by not even being admitted to ~~the~~ the new Working Class Party as they liked to call themselves. Because they found that I have the behavior of a "class alien" which of course must sound very ridiculous to you since you know that I am a working class woman. I just wanted to tell this to illustrate that we had great controversies raging within our family. Later on my father lost his faith in the Communist party and the way the communist doctrine was implemented in Hungary and he was a very disillusioned and broken man. The ideal he had built up crumbled in front of his eyes, and he very often used to say to me:

"This is everything else but ^{NOT} communism."

When told about the three kinds of families that lived in Hungary and when asked which her family belonged to, she said: "I believe the foregoing gave you a good illustration about our family life. I grew up ~~in~~ before the communist doctrine took over in Hungary and I will never be effected so profoundly by it. As to the average families in Hungary, I believe that the second type, the kind of family which grows closer together under the communist regime is most typical for all Hungarian families, except where children at school were too strongly indoctrinated by the communist ideology. And here in these cases, there is a split between family and the school life. This unfortunately happened mostly ⁱⁿ the working class families, the ~~working classes~~ because the workers being so busy day and night ~~education~~ had very little time to educate their children and to influence them against what they have heard at school. On the whole, I believe that our family belonged to the third type of family that was not much influenced by the communist regime in a way, because ~~xxxxxxx~~ we were all grown up when the communists took over in Hungary, and our parents lived their own life and we did ours."

"I'm am very sure about ~~that~~ the fact that the peasants and also the intellectuals were more closely united in their family life during the communist regime and as I said it was mostly the families of the workers

who suffered. These children mostly joined the Pioneer movement. They were indoctrinated with the so-called free love, etc. I cannot give any opinion on how children were brought up or educated in the last ten years because myself and all my sisters were grown up when the communists took over in Hungary. However, I could see for myself that there were many families who were able to hold onto the old ways, and it was quite interesting how you could distinguish between the people and the ways of living of those who lived in the Buda district of Budapest. These people as I saw them remained typical bourgeoisie people who kept to their tradition, who educated their children well and they still preserved the old ways, but always remained good Hungarians at the same time."

"I think that the surroundings must have a very great effect on young persons growing up. After all the Buda side of the city was full of traditions and the tradition of our thousand year old history. And this must have created a certain kind of an atmosphere. There was again another and quite different sort of atmosphere in the city which was populated mostly by the Jews. The outskirts of Budapest then were the districts of the working class and the districts where the factories were mostly located. The intellectuals also mostly lived on the Buda side which was more or less the residential district, and probably it must have been a much nicer district because the communist big shots were all living in the hills of Buda."

B. Respondent gave the following information on how communism affected marriage courtship and sex pattern. "The communist way of living had a great effect on marriage courtship, and sex patterns also. Since wages were extremely low, husband and wife had to go to work so as to make ends meet. Now take for instance a young married couple. Even if they don't have any children. Both parties come home dead tired in the evening, and instead of being able to lead a normal married life, of course either the husband or the woman is much too tired and of course then, quarrels start. I mean they are even unable to find sexual satisfaction in their married life due to being so terribly worn out. Then the second reason why so many marriages in Hungary went on the rocks was that ~~in that~~ since the women also had to work, at their jobs, both sexes were in constant touch with their opposite sex. Also ~~many~~ lots of friendships sprung up which did not remain on the ideal level. ~~So~~ many divorces can be recorded during the communist regime. Or even if they did not divorce many marriages broke up. If there were a couple of kids around then this was a tragedy. Not only were the parents unable to look after the children, but the children completely drew apart from their parents. After all they were taught to think according to party lines at school, and the world at home was quite different from that which they were taught at school. This frustrated and split spiritual life

could mostly be seen among the teenagers: 13, 14, 15 years old."

"Courtship as such, as we had it in the old times simply did not exist because I somehow felt that love didn't exist anymore among those young people. It was either work or sex. Our whole life had to be centered around work. Newspapers, movies, books, everything was writing speaking and telling us about work, work work, and how beautiful that is."

"There were many illegitimate children. This ~~because~~ ^{because} I believe ~~because~~ so many young kids went together on those co-educational camps. I do not believe that these marriages under the communist regime lasted more than one or two years, because there were so many divorces. ~~So~~ the extreme shortage of apartments was ~~xxxxxxx~~ also a cause of so many divorces, and quarrels within a family. Young couples had to live together with their in-laws in the same apartment or in the same room. So there ~~they~~ had no possibility of leading an intimate family life."

"The sexual morality somehow was interpreted in two different ways within the communist party. Within the party at least they preached strict morals. On the other hand they encouraged the young people to live loosely and without any morals."

"Prostitution was prohibited in Hungary officially because the communists said that it was degrading for a woman to sell her body for money and she must be given an opportunity to work decently. So these TARTS went out into public life. They became cab drivers, bus conductors, policewomen etc. And on the sideline, blissfully continued with their previous trade. The rate of syphilis has increased tremendously of course. ~~IX~~ Because, ~~is~~ after all at the time when they had prostitution these women were kept under constant medical control, ^{BUT NOT NOW} In the last two years, the regime was compelled to consider earnestly whether it wouldn't be better to reinstate prostitution."

"The number of children increased steadily because ~~the~~ all ~~means~~ of birth control devices and abortions were strictly prohibited, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ In the last two years it was allowed ~~that~~ if you got an official approval, you ~~were allowed~~ to have an abortion. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The application had to be sustained by your social welfare situation, whether you had too many children already, your income being inadequate of the support of them etc. These new regulations were issued by the regime, however, only because they have found out that they did not have enough schools, nurseries and hospitals to look adequately after the constantly and extremely fast growing population, and not because they had such ~~xxx~~ compassion for the welfare of the people."

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On the sexual morality of the convinced communist, ~~the~~ respondent could tell the following: n
 "I have talked with a communist party member once on this topic and he told me that marriage is necessary in order only to keep up the growth of the nation and it really is not necessary that one should run to church for this purpose. He also said that sexual life is only needed for ~~the~~ your health, for after "unburdening" yourself he has a clear head for the work in the party. According to him, you can always get sexual satisfaction without involving love in it. That is how it should be." I think that this gives you a good picture of how the communists thought about sexual morality. @

C. " On what can happen to friendship during the Communist regime, I can give you a very good example of my own life. In 1945 at the time when everybody was primarily a good Hungarian I had a very good friend. This girl, despite the fact that she wasn't even a member of the working class became all of the sudden an all and out communist. She broke with God, her family, and everything for which she stood before. But I think ~~that~~ she mostly did it for material gains. Anyway I really couldn't continue a friendship like that with her and I broke off with her. I sincerely believe that a friendship cannot be continued without keeping politics out of it."

D. " ON juvenile delinquency I really cannot give you more information because the Hungarian communist press never talked about it. Crime on the whole was not a topic ~~and~~ the press, because the communists wanted to show that everything is perfect and everything is going smoothly within the communist regime."

"As far as I could judge it for myself, I do not think that crimes, juvenile delinquency etc. has increased more during the communist regime. What I could experience was and at which I was appalled was that the young people were disrespectful towards their elders and the teachers, even though it was better back home than here, from the way I have seen children behave."

"Due to coeducation in schools, I somehow felt that the respect especially towards the women has been killed/ in children."

The "Jampece" is a harmless sort of a teenager who wanted to ape the American ways of living, the Americans dances, clothes; they were usually dressed in clothes that they received in packages, and ^{from America} tried to ape everything that came from the west. The Hungarian youth was longing for anything that came from the western hemisphere and tried to imitate it in small little things."

VII. RELIGION

A. " Religion always played a great part in Hungarian life. I could say that there were three different sections so to say. The Catholics were closest to God, the Protestants were the most strongly Hungarian and ~~the~~ and tried to give an outlet to this, and third, the Jewish people saw business even in religion. I wish to tell you here that all my opinions that I am giving on the Jews and the Jewish people is very much unbiased. The more so because I myself of am Jewish origin. My grandmother for instance is a Jewess. Nevertheless, I always try to be extremely fair in passing judgement on these people. To my knowledge and belief it was the Roman Catholic religion which was hardest hit, because ~~it was the most~~ the followers of this religion were the greatest in number. Also because I think that we Catholics consider God and our country to be the two most important things in our life. The Protestant clergy on the other hand despite the fact that they always emphasized being good Hungarians compromised with the regime more than the Roman Catholic church did. Cardinal Mindszenty was a thorn in their eyes, - that in the eyes of the Communist regime - and they couldn't defend themselves effectively against his power and they resorted to the only weapon which they could use and that was to lock him up." THE CARDINAL'S

B. " As to what part religion plays in my own life I must confess that though I have been educated in a religious spirit, during the Communist regime, my beliefs somehow got mixed up, because I just cannot understand why our good Lord has left a nation like ~~ours has left a nation like~~ ours, which was fighting for its rights, in a ditch. I sincerely believe that religion is a bulwark against communism, because communism and religion somehow don't go together. And if you remain an honest person these two things somehow do cause a conflict."

"What I have seen on the whole that all of a sudden under the Communist regime many more men attended church than before. The churches were always crowded."

"Our religion somehow gave us a moral strength in those twelve years and I think that this is why people stuck so much to their religion."

"The churches within a society should always cooperate with the state, and should be of equal rank. Because, to my mind, religion gives you moral stability whereas the state ought to give you financial security. In the field of education the role of churches cannot be emphasized enough. The churches must direct education on the moral field."

I also believe that the churches should exercise a certain

criticism regarding movies, plays, books, etc."

"Regarding whether or not churches should take an active political part in an independent Hungary I believe that the communist regime somehow forced the political role on the churches, and they ~~wanted~~ wanted to use this as a very good pretext against them. The churches therefore should never take an active political part in an independent Hungary. I think that the attitude of the different churches in America is quite a good example."

D. The Jewish minority. "As far as I know, the Jewish religion has been far less hurt by Communism than any other religion in Hungary. They were much freer to exercise their religion. Also the Jews were not persecuted ~~the~~ much by the regime for the fact that all the top communist leaders were Jews themselves. However, on the whole they were not liked in Hungary, and this due to their behavior after 1945 when the Jews returned from deportation and advocated the policy of hatred in everything. I thoroughly disapprove of this behavior, because after all the Hungarian nation on the whole had nothing to do with Nazism and it was not the Hungarians who deported the Jews."

"When the Russians came in and the Communists took over, the Jews in Hungary, and this I admit one can understand, were grateful for their liberation, and they were quick in taking good opportunity of their special situation. So all top jobs and key positions were soon filled with Jews. Everywhere they were the bosses. As far as I could judge, 80 percent of the economic leaders and people who held the best jobs were Jews. ~~Also for instance~~ Also for instance 70 percent of the so-called Maszek, small industrial enterprises were also in Jewish hands."

"They disliked doing manual work on the whole and this I can illustrate by an example. At the time when my father was instructor for the industrial apprentices he had eighty boys under him for three solid years and there was only one Jew among them. Also for instance at the garage where I worked for and the whole office - I worked there for four years - Of 500 employees I have only seen one Jewish garage hand."

"The Jews were certainly afraid when the revolution started and of its consequences, and this due to the fact that the Jewish people could not appreciate our revolution was not based on any racial prejudice but we wanted to have a free Hungary. ~~By this~~ The Jews figured that Hitlerism was coming to Hungary again. This however, is completely false - nobody wanted it and this was only put out by the communist propaganda. Of course all the Jews holding

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top jobs were afraid of losing them, and they were unable to see the holiness of our cause. All I can say is that I have not seen a single Jew among the demonstrators or during the fighting. In our plant the Jews displayed a very cautious behavior and they never committed themselves, neither pro nor con during the revolution. Had the revolution succeeded, I'm sure that the only restriction we would have wanted to put on the Jews were that only well qualified people should take over the jobs that were filled now with unqualified Jews.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "When I speak of the Hungarian youth I am thinking mostly of the young physical workers and apprentices of the working class, but I also must include people between twenty and twenty-five. These people have a formed character already and they are mature individuals and cannot be diverted from their aims. The Hungarian youth on the whole is the greatest asset of the nation."

B. "Also the Hungarian youth played the greatest and most important part in the revolution. This is also proved by the fact that the regime that returns now to Hungary again is all and out against these young people. Hundreds and thousands of them are being arrested and deported as we hear now."

"Why the Hungarian youth acted as they did during the revolution: this is a problem which makes even well qualified pedagogues think, because after ^A the young Hungarian people were indoctrinated to full capacity and were also always pampered by the regime. However, an idea occurred to me- maybe at the different youth congresses they were allowed to attend- I'm thinking now of the VII which means world youth meeting- they had ample opportunity to see how the youngsters of other countries are living, and despite everything and every communist indoctrination, primarily, the Hungarian youth remained Hungarian first of all. It must have been also extremely humiliating to hear that everything that is Russian is on top, is the best, and the Russians somehow looked down on all the other nations. The Hungarian youth was hurt in its national pride and maybe this was one of the ~~same~~ causes why they took a stand against communism. "

"In my view it was the youth who took the lead, because they had still more hopes in the future. The older generation lost all hope they had ~~in~~ ^{on} a change. Also I think we can thank the teachers of the ~~old~~ old regime who kept alive the Petofi spirit among the younger generation. As a proof of this I have heard that now again many of the old teachers are being arrested for having exercised undue and bad influence on the young people."

"The older people admired the youngsters during the ~~the~~ revolution and ~~regarding~~ the young people's feeling toward the elder was that this was the fight of the youngsters and they did not expect any help, only compassion from the older generation, and this they got full share."

C. "Due to my age, I cannot give you an idea about the schools and education system in Hungary during the last ten years. I had however, a little god-son who was

in the third grade and I could see that they were fully indoctrinated with anti-American hatred and already at the lower grade schools. I have also seen that they have done away with God, that the Soviet Union is always praised to heaven. I have heard from several acquaintances that many of the old school teachers were being held in their old jobs because they did not have trained personnel. The old generation of course was much better qualified and trained for ~~the~~ teaching. That's about all I can say on this topic."

D. "The working class youth has reacted differently to communist indoctrination. In the very beginning - in the first two to three years, ~~the~~ some of the young people were quite sympathetic towards communism, but later on ~~the regime~~, due to what was happening in Hungary and how the living standards went down only, contrary to promises they have lost faith in communist promises. Despite the terribly low living standard we were always told ~~that~~ that we never had it so good. But in reality either we could buy food or we could ~~buy~~ buy clothing, for both we didn't have enough.

OF THE REGIME

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

"Because our major dissatisfaction in communist Hungary were the terribly low wages and the political oppression, we used to say that Hungary was the capital of Russia. Furthermore we were terribly annoyed by the way that our cultural aspirations were regarded. We always had to idolize and approve everything that came from Russia and nothing that came from within our own country."

B. "Apart from the political things, there were several smaller things that annoyed us greatly, for instance we hated the so called 'on the spur of the moment' political meetings. These took place before working hours or after working hours and usually they were held on an article or a speech that came out in the daily press. These meetings consisted of nothing other than the old story about communism, the communist doctrine and how good we had have it. Then also we hated to attend the different meetings of the free Democratic Women's assoc., etc. And last but not least we were also very much annoyed by being obliged to sign peace loans."

X. THE ECONOMICK LIFE

A. "In the last few years in Hungary, despite the fact that my father had a very good job, we were again at the bottom rock financially, so that my old mother who was very old and frail had to go out to work again. She is cleaning woman in a hospital even now."

"^{FOOD}
Regarding ~~that~~ was extremely expensive even if it was always available. And the same stands for clothing. As I said before either you were able to afford ample food or you had to spend the money on clothing. There wasn't enough for both items. Maybe you would be interested in hearing the prices of different food and clothing items. I wish to say that I ~~remember~~ ^{REARNE} ~~an hour wage~~ ^{of three forints and ten filler,} and this ^{PER HOUR} was quite a good wage for a driver. Compared to this wage, two quarts of milk were three forints 60, two lbs. of bread three forints, two lbs. cooking fat thirty forints and two lbs of flour between 6.60 and 7 according to quality. One pair of ladies shoes were two hundred to three hundred forints and one pair of men's shoes four hundred to six hundred. A man's winter coat was 2000 forints, and anyone who doesn't believe me is welcome to go to Hungary and see for himself."

"The only inexpensive thing in Hungary ^{WERE} was the streetcar tickets. We paid fifty fillers, and for a ~~transfer~~ ^{transfer} 70. But this also was of course only because they wanted us to get easily and quickly to our working places, not because they loved the workers so much. I remember something else that I would like to tell you. We paid about three forints 50, about one hours wages for twenty-five cigarettes, and eighty to 140 forints for a pair of nylons. The eighty forints ^{WERE} ~~was~~ Hungarian made and ^{WERE} ~~were~~ extremely bad quality and the 140 forint nylons were the ones that were smuggled into Hungary or which came in the packages from abroad. As to the housing there was an extreme shortage in housing. ^{APARTMENTS} Even though ~~the~~ building was going on at top speed. But the new apartments were mostly allotted to party members and a great deal of favoritism was going on in that line. Also many apartments were reserved for the Korean and the Greek and especially for the Russian families. These were dependents of Russians stationed in Hungary."

"I would have considered it the greatest luxury had I earned enough to live well while in Hungary. And another thing that I would have loved dearly when ~~me~~ back in Hungary was to see television just once. Thank God and President Eisenhower this point I have achieved now."

516E

"Regarding which of the three above, food, clothing or housing caused the greatest difficulty, I can only say

that we had our own apartment so this was no problem. But for our family getting enough food was always a great problem. Either we had the money and there were no goods available or if there were goods available we did not have the money. WERE

"The standard of living of my family before 1945 was very much better. What I in particular missed most was the extremely restricted possibilities of mental food and culture. All this was slanted. After all you can fill your stomach with bread if you don't have meat, but behind a spiritual iron curtain there is no life. We were compelled to look toward the East only and never toward the West. We were kept purposely at loss about what has and what was happening in the big world."

"The living standard of our family was at its highest when the value of the forint was still good. This was around '41-'48. Ever since the '48, the standard had gone down and down."

"I recall a family among those I knew personally that lived better than anyone else. These were a couple who both belonged to the Communist party and both held top jobs. They were earning about three to four thousand forints per month. The man was a section chief in one of the ministries and the woman was the head of a welfare office."

"As to what accounts for the Hungarian standard of living going down in the last eight years, I can give you a very simple answer: The communist regime, and that's all. We had to work extremely hard for very low wages. Every surplus went out of the country for reparations payment, and last but not least, the Soviet Union exploited the country economically to the last. Everything, the best of best, went out to Russia, and the little money the country that ~~the country~~ was allowed to keep for itself was spent on the bolstering of heavy industry. Everything that was good in Hungary was exported. I would like to mention here that our onions for instance were world famous in Europe, so we exported that and received machine oil instead from abroad. This now we gave in exchange for Greek onions which were awful as compared to the Hungarian ones."

B. Respondent gave the following details on her income in Hungary in the last ten years: "I earned my wages by the hour. That was customary in the kind of job I was holding. I received the same wages as men in that field of activity as a car driver and this was three forints ten filler per hour. I was compelled to work 250 hours per month, and this because we allegedly did not work eight straight hours per day, so we worked ten hours per day instead. Altogether I received 774 forints per month. Of this

I was compelled to pay 40 forints for the peace loan. Then reductions were made for trade union fees, ten forints, for different kinds of membership stamps five forints, then four percent of my wages for not having any children. This amounted to thirty forints per month and three percent for old age pension. This was 25 forints per month."

"My second source of income was when I made overtime at the company- so by average I worked 290 to 300 hours per month. Usually I got 930 forints on hand before reductions."

WHD "In order to supplement the family income, my father and my mother as well as all my sisters worked. That is the one that was a lipma. Of wage increases, I would like to mention that in 1952 when I received my drivers liscence I was not allowed to receive higher wages than the basic wage for an unskilled worker of 2.76 per hour in this kind of work. After two years I had to take another examination and then I received a kind of diploma which entitled me to full wages, three forints, ten per hour. I never had any increase in salary besides this."

With us in HUNGARY

C. "Myself and my family ~~had~~ bought food only at the state stores because this was the nearest one to the place where we lived. These shops were extremely nice to look at and the goods sold there were good, but extremely expensive."

XXXXXXXXXXXX "The prices of course were fluctuating according to seasonal changes. For instance in Spring when eggs were extremely scarce, and therefore rather expensive. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX The price of bread changed according to the harvest."

"Clothing and other necessities were also bought by us in the state stores because the privately run stores were too expensive. The clothing available at the state stores was extremely nice to look at but of very low quality. The prices were pretty steep too. I paid 150 forints for a gery plain little cotton summer dress."

"It was quite interesting to see whow prices went up, usually before the great holidays such as Christmas, Easter, etc."

"The retail distribution of the whole was always much better in the cities than in the country. On the other hand the peasantry always had much more money than the workers; so whenever they came to Budapest, the peasants as a rule brought along some food which they exchanged, and they bought everything that they needed. For instance they received 350 to 400 forints for a well-fed big goose and for this money they were able to

purchase a man's suit of lower quality."

" On the other hand again, it was extremely difficult to receive any standard spare parts. This I can say from my own experience, after all I was working for a country which had priority over everybody else because it was the Municipal Gas co. and I was driving a repair truck; and it very often happened that our trucks were laid idle, sometimes for weeks because we just couldn't get the spare parts for the repairs."

" Other commodities that were especially short in supply were usually rice, for instance, and then all spices, pepper and even the famous paprika which was grown in Hungary, but everything exported. Then there was a great shortage of children's dresses, in socks and shoes for instance."

" The blackmarket is still prevailing, but in foodstuffs only. I do not know what kinds of punishment were given to people for the different degrees of blackmarketeering. I have only heard of those published in the newspapers. There was also an under-counter sale flourishing, but this too was ~~punished~~ under strict control and punished. Of course, goods available on the blackmarket were

much more expensive, but of course also much better. I remember a very big ^{SHOW} - trial against a meat processing company which did a whole lot of blackmarketeering, even the cash registers were rigged, and the employees of the whole company were in the deal. Of course they were all locked up and received severe sentences."

D. On working conditions, respondent said the following "I had to work from 7 AM to 6 PM as a rule without any luncheon break. I snatched a meal whenever I could and whenever my car was satanding somewhere while the repair man worked. We also worked on Saturdays and every other Sunday from 7AM to 4PM. It took me about three quarters of an hour to get to my garage where I worked (by streetcar.)"

" I held this kind of a job because I heard about the vacancy and I filed an application. At first they were very fussy about my having relatives abroad, especially in America, but nevertheless I was admitted. I had six weeks training and then was put immediately on the truck. I did not drive the heavy trucks, ~~since these~~ ^{MINE} these were only small pick-up trucks and we carried the necessary tools for repairs. I drove a jeep, then also an Italian ~~Balilla~~ ^{BALILLA} and also a British Austen. This one was a very very good little car. I liked ~~her~~ her. Since this was the profession I chose by myself, I would say that I liked my job very much."

" My relations with my co-workers were extremely good. It was a good kind of fellowship among all of them. My bosses, the garage hands and the supervisor of the garage were extremely well-qualified elderly people

who liked us and were very decent with us. My superiors always praised me for my work well done, but official praise and medals or premiums of course I never received."

About the Hungarian vacation, health and compensation programs, respondent said: "The vacation program was like this: after every six months in service with the same company you were entitled to six days of paid vacation, after one year in service, twelve days, and after that every two years' service, one more day was added to your vacation. However, the time you spent in service before '45 for this time you received only one day for every three years in service."

" Since it was mostly the workers who profited under this plan, I was lucky enough to enjoy such vacations in 1953, 1954 and 1956. Whether or not ~~whether~~ you qualified for this vacation depended ~~entirely~~ ~~entirely~~ upon your boss who gave a kind of a recommendation to the union. This recommendation depended upon your relationship with your co-workers, with your bosses and also on the quality of your work. Also the material situation you lived in and your health played a role in this assignment. Since I never had any trouble with my bosses, I said I got my vacation nearly every year. I spent several weeks a Parad and also on the Lake Balaton."

" Regarding the health program, This was extremely good on paper. We had ~~xxx~~ the best doctors working on this program, however they were instructed to assign someone to a hospital only in extreme necessity. If you became sick after one year of service with the same company you received 75 percent of your pay, the rest took care of the hospital fees. You were entitled to stay out of work, if sick for four to five weeks, and you were allowed to spend twenty-eight days in the hospital, extended to six weeks if it was a case of serious illness."

" The pension program for the workers became effective if a woman became fifty-five and the man sixty years old. The pension was figured on the average income of the last year. And you received fifty to sixty percent of that average income. My father for instance, who earned 900 to 1000 forints per month is receiving now as far as I remember four hundred fifty forint pension ~~per~~ month."

E. When subject was asked if she would have preferred to live in the country while she was in Hungary, the respondent said, "No, I certainly preferred life in the city to that of the country, because I was born in the city and I am a city girl at heart."

H When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary

I had high hopes that finally now the distribution of foodstuffs would become more efficient in Hungary and we would no longer have a shortage of food. However, it worked out quite differently. It seemed to me that the whole collectivization was introduced only for the purpose of oppressing the peasantry and keeping them under steady control. Also what they said to be a surplus in Hungary they just ~~sent out~~ ~~over~~ ~~the~~ ~~border~~ exported."

" In my opinion it was the members of the collectives who most vehemently wished to get away from this system. "

" I would very much prefer to keep an individual agricultural system in Hungary, and that the individual be allowed to cultivate his own land. Also I think that the mechanized kind of agriculture would be a good idea to be followed even in an independent Hungary. "

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. " Before 1948, I was already interested in politics because I rather liked the idea that I had a word to say in them. I was an enthusiastic member of the Social Democratic Party, and criticized most violently the other one, the communist party. I felt somehow that the Social Democratic Party was really a party for the working class and very much similar to the Western Social Democratic Party. I found that our party sincerely and honestly tried to do what was best for us workers, and besides that and which was very important to me, was that ~~was~~ it was never against any religion. I was member of the Social Democratic Party from 1936 until, as I said, it was compelled to merge with the Communist Party. My feelings about the Communist Party are the same now as before 1948- I just don't trust them."

" Regarding the first communist regime in Hungary in 1918 and 1919, I have only heard about that and therefore cannot hold any opinion."

B. Her views on the communist party and about the communist party members boiled down to this:

"I think that especially during the revolution we have seen, there are different types of party members. First I believe that there are a few idealists who are or were rather convinced communists before the revolution. However, these were soon disillusioned and found out that this is not even communism, it is plain Bolshevism. However, they were unable to quit the party because the least they had to fear was loss of their jobs."

" Then there were others who were rather luke-warm about the party, but once they were in it somehow they couldn't get away anymore. These for instance took part in the revolution. Then there were those who were all out to achieve a career, that's why they became party members."

" Party policy changed during the last eight years very much, especially after the death of Stalin. We however, were informed that he died very much before the day that it was officially published. After his death, the Russian terror somehow abated and the party was more, if I could say, easy going. Since all instructions to the Hungarian Communist party came from Moscow, everything always went according to the very same plan. I think that within the Hungarian Communist party there was quite a lot of fighting going on between the different factions, however, this was mostly for a certain position and power, but not because of having a different ideology."

The party morale, however, weakened considerably especially after Stalin's death, and the party itself became more lenient. Also in 1953 there was a decidedly new course to be felt. At that time, they were still courting the Hungarian peasantry and that was the time when prime minister Nagy took over for the first time."

"Regarding the aims and motives of the top leaders of the communist party, I really cannot tell you, because first of all we were never told and again we did not believe what they were trying to tell us. The big slogan was 'a Socialist state.' Regarding their individual aims, here again these top leaders always claimed to believe in the idea, but how can I trust them? After all these Hungarian communists were educated, indoctrinated and trained in Moscow. They have spent at least ten or twenty years in the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet Union and they already thought in the Stalinic manner."

"Personally I followed Rakosi's career more closely and we always thought that Rakosi, first of all is a Hungarian and only then a party member. He did much in order to promote the Hungarian economic life and in order to keep the Hungarian forint steady. This however, did not last very long. Once a Soviet mission, I cannot tell the year, came to Hungary and found that our living standards were much too high and would be "dangerous." So Rakosi was compelled to hold a speech in which he said in part: "We should not eat an egg which tomorrow can become a hen." So all Hungarian top communist leaders have to wait and ask for Moscow's approval. //

"I am quite sure that there is a difference between the motives of the rank and file communist party members and those of the leadership. Among the top communists, maybe you will find a convinced and idealistic communist. However, the little man in the street has probably joined the party only because he wanted to keep his job."

"I believe that the whole Rajk affair was a put up job. He was the leader of the ~~Magyar~~ newly formed Hungarian secret police, the AVH and I believe that the other Communists thought that he was getting too big for his boots. As far as I was informed, Rajk always fought Rakosi and Rajk was the one who tried not to execute so many people and who put his job at stake if he wasn't given a free hand. So I think the Communist party rather put him down. What they have done now, regarding Rajk's rehabilitation, I thought was extremely ridiculous and as they have only weakened the party with this stupid act."

When asked what should be done with the top Hungarian communists in the event of Hungary's

independence, the respondent said: "Due to my nature I am not a blood thirsty woman and I would not necessarily kill or execute all Hungarian communists. I would let them go to live under the Soviet system. There is one man whom I ~~was~~ would like to see hanged and this is Gero."

E. As to whether there was any opposition to the Hungarian ^{government} before the revolution, respondent said- "I have heard of one serious sabotage in one of the mines in 1945 ~~and~~ as far as I remember, and that was in the coal mines of Tatabánya. I have not heard of anything else. However, on the whole nobody worked with great enthusiasm and everybody as little work as possible under the circumstances for those very low wages."

"In 1955 ^{at} again, I heard that the Ozd, iron foundaries one of the big Martin stoves was blanked and many tons of raw ~~material~~ of ore became unusable and spoiled. We never found out what the reason for this was, ^{whether} that it was some technical calamity, ~~OR~~ SABOTAGE "

On the activities of the intellectuals respondent didn't know anything before the first public meeting of the Petofi Circle which was widely commented all over the country. Respondent said that as far as she knew, this was a very serious effort on the part of the intellectuals to bring about a change in the government. Also they advocated most strongly, the freedom of speech and press of course. Respondent was also of the opinion that the intellectuals did not have anything new to say. They just published the will of ~~the~~ the whole nation, and therefore she also thought that they were the spearhead of the revolution.

As to why the intellectuals stood up against the regime, ~~the~~ respondent said, "I believe that because the intellectuals were forced under the communist regime to write in a communist trend, there was no freedom of press and writing. Also their whole literature was to be slanted to the communist ideology. These must have been the main reasons why the intellectuals stood up against the regime."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. When asked her opinion on people who were members of the AVH, respondent said, "To my sincere belief, these people were those sort of men who would have sold their own family, fathers, mother and sisters for money. They were lacking fear of God- they had no morals. But I must point out that these were only the AVH officers who had higher ranks there. There were many young boys who were members of this hated force and were drafted and assigned to this special unit. These boys of course cannot be regarded as real AVH people."

When asked whether her family or any friends had personal experience with AVH respondent said: "Thank God never, none whatsoever. We were hard working people who kept our mouths shut and tried not to get into conflict with the regime openly, so that they can't accuse us of anything."

When asked what should be done with those members of the AVH when Hungary's independent, respondent said: "After all that I have seen myself during the revolution I do not advocate any tolerance toward these people."

Respondent here wanted to mention what she had seen herself on October 31st, 1956 at the Tisza Kalman Ter, when the freedom fighters stormed the Communist Central Party offices there. Respondent gave with great gusto a minute by minute account of the whole gory incident. I tried to boil it down and give the major salience. According to respondent, the day before the 31st, they observed that heavy big cases had been taken into the Central Party building at the Tisza Kalman Ter. Later on she said it was found that all these were ammunition ~~anyway~~. On the morning, shortly before eleven, respondent said that many young freedom fighters started to assemble at the square. Shortly after eleven they were hearing shots, so she went to the third floor office building and she saw how the freedom fighters opened fire on the building. The crowd by that time had swelled considerably and people started to shout "release our boys, you murderers." "Give us back our sons and brothers. According to respondent, here, in this building many of the young freedom fighters were held prisoner. By twelve o'clock the whole square was swarming with armed freedom fighters. Then the AVH opened fire with machine guns from the loft of the Party building. Respondent saw many prisoners and also when the ambulances came along to pick up the casualties, she saw that one of the stretchers bearers was wounded and fell dead. The skirmish lasted for about an hour when from the ~~reverse~~ direction Vaj Adam Street a tank was approaching. This was a tank sent by the freedom fighters. All of the sudden, an AVH man came out on one of the

balconies waving a white flag. The young freedom fighters then in closed ranks, marched towards the porch and bigger door of this building, believing that this meant submission ~~on~~ on the part of the AVH. Hardly ~~had~~ did they approach the building when again, from the second floor of the building, the AVH opened fire. There were many casualties according to respondent. Also the tank opened fire. Again they started shooting. Around two o'clock in the afternoon, two other tanks came around, also sent by the Hungarian freedom fighters. Now again one of the AVH officers came out with a white flag. Again the crowd surged toward the building and the Avh again opened fire. After this the two tanks opened fire on the building and were shooting it into shambles. The AVH now gave in. The Hungarian freedom fighters surged into the building and according to respondent it was really an awful sight to see how they threw out all the AVH people by the windows on the street. Respondent also alleges that she has seen how two of the top AVH officers there were hanged by the crowd. One of them she said was called 'Fatty', the other one was "the tall one." According to respondent these two criminals were left hanging on the trees for two solid days until the health commissioner ^{had} them to be taken down and buried for health reasons. ^{USA 11/11/47} Respondent said, "I wish to mention that the freedom fighters found 2000 forints in cash on the 'Fatty'. This money was pinned on his breast, and ~~was~~ this money was never touched while his body was hanging from the tree. There was a note also pinned on his breast saying, 'This is the money ^{with} which you have sold our sons and brothers.'"

Respondent then said- "Unfortunately the whole attack proved to be fruitless, because the freedom fighters never found the prisoners. For days we heard and everybody around us heard knockings and even the people from the gas company did their best to try to find from where those noises came. Later on very complicated instruments of the Geological Institute were also brought on the spot to try to sound out where the noises came from. As long ^{as} I as I was in Hungary, nothing was ever found. It was generally rumored however, that there were secret exits and entrances all over the square and as a matter of fact we have found dead AVH men here and there on the square- probably those who tried to escape through one of the hidden exits and were shot by the freedom fighters. Many young boys fifteen and sixteen years old fought in this battle" said respondent, "and those who were killed were covered with the red white and green Hungarian flag, and showered with flowers then they were taken away to be buried."

When asked her feelings about the regular police as compared with the AVH respondent said: "Due to the fact that the regular police had closer

contact with the people, and the men in³⁸ the street, ~~and~~ I know they were more aware of our troubles during the communist regime. They were somehow much nearer to us and during the revolution, contrary to all expectations, the police turned its weapons against the AVH and sided with the Hungarian freedom fighters."

"Regarding their competency, however, ~~due to the~~ ^{SINCE} ~~fact that~~ I had many contacts with them since I was ^{BEING} a driver, I can say only this- those policemen, who posted to regulate the traffic and keep order in the streets were of extremely low intelligence. There were many women also among them and these were the worst. Then there was another kind of policeman also, these were the detectives who had to help the AVH in the different political cases and crimes."

"The plain cop in the street was decent. You could always talk yourself out if he wanted to punish you for some traffic ^{VIOLATION} ~~violation~~ if you didn't argue with him and ^{with them also} were nice ~~also~~. For this they never accepted any bribes- however, some police officers in the higher echelon had to be bribed if you wanted to achieve something. ^{with} the AVH however, bribing was impossible."

"During the revolution, I have seen many policemen who ~~had~~ fought side by side with the freedom fighters, or at least if they didn't fight ^{they} went home and let the others do the fighting. Anyway ~~by all means~~ they showed a passive resistance. Some of my friends who fought at the Kilian barracks during the revolution told me that they were quite ^{like} detachments who in ^{VIEW} a body who came over to the freedom fighters."

"I also remember that the Hungarian communist radio ~~when taking over again~~, for days and days first begged the police force to return to the job, then they threatened them. So it was quite apparent that the police force was very reluctant to go back to the communist service. Everybody was amazed and enchanted how nicely and decently the police force behaved during the revolution."

B. Regarding the Hungarian courts before 1948, ~~the~~ respondent said that since she never had anything to do with the courts at that time, she really was unable to tell ~~what~~ how justice was implemented at that time. Regarding the ~~pages of~~ People's Courts from 1945-1957 ~~the~~ respondent ~~says~~ again said that she doesn't know anything about them, but since they tried to enforce the communist rule and communist justice on the people they must have been very bad. As far as respondent knew, ~~she said that~~ the People's courts dealt only with political crimes and on instructions of the AVH. As to the treatment of alleged war criminals and whether they were actually guilty, respondent said- "As far as I'm ~~concerned~~ concerned there was only one sentence which was just ~~was~~ passed by the people's court, and that was

against Szalasi and his officers, But all the other sentences were ~~not~~ "just." According to respondent, she thought that the ~~main~~ great injustices of the People's Court lay mainly in the fact that people were judged by a political attitude, ~~and~~ that is because of their attitude against communism, and that justice was always doled out according to ~~the~~ ^{THE} communist party's standards.

D. On the Russian occupation troops in Hungary, respondent said: "I do not believe that the feelings about the Russian army can be due to the events of 1848. However, anybody who looks back into history and who knows ~~about~~ what has happened in the past has dreaded the arrival of the Russian troops. Nevertheless, there were quite a few people in Hungary, the Jews and the communists who expected the Russians and were looking forward to their coming as 'liberators'. I can only say for myself and my family that we have been terribly disillusioned by what has happened in 1944 and 1945, and ~~this~~ ^{BY THE} behavior of the Russian troops at that time, how they were looting and raping all over the country ~~was~~ ^{THIS} brought about the dislike they were enjoying in Hungary, ever since. After a year of the arrival of the Russian occupation troops, we could not go out into ~~the~~ streets without being molested or in danger. I recall an incident when in '45 when we were still living in cellars after the ~~seige~~ ^{seige}, a Russian officer came in and told us that he was going to discipline his men, and ~~if~~ if any ~~case~~ of looting or raping occurs, we should go and tell him. A few days later, this officer ~~was~~ was shot by his own men. Also an old friend of ours in the country whom we visited in '45 told us that his twenty-one year old daughter who ~~wa~~ had a baby of two months and was still nursing it, was raped by five Russians, and they forced the husband and father to look on. The two men were tied with ropes to the chairs. Then after this terrible deed, the Russians killed the young couple and cut up the baby with a hatchet."

Respondent ^{IS ATTITUDE} toward ~~toward~~ the Russian army in Hungary did not undergo a great change. However, she mentioned that those troops who were stationed now in the last years in Hungary were much better than the first occupation troops.

Regarding the behavior of the Russian soldiers, before, during or after the revolution, respondent said, "Russian occupation troops lived in closed colonies before the revolution. They had their own allotted houses and apartments and their own RK. These people never fraternized with the population, and in fact it was prohibited to do so."

Regarding the attitude of Russian soldiers during the revolution, I have only heard from several of my friends that many of the Russians have actually helped the Hungarian

freedom fighters and surrendered together with their tanks."

Regarding the difference between the old occupation troops and the ones who were brought in on November 4, respondent said: "The troops that were stationed for a long time in Hungary somehow quite liked the Hungarians and certainly liked to be stationed there. The new troops that were brought in after November 4 were a scared lot of youngsters. They started shooting at the slightest provocation and the smallest noise. These too were behaving in the real Russian manner, ~~however, because~~ on November 19 for instance when respondent went to pick up her salary, the company could not pay anybody because the Russians had looted the cashier's office and had taken away all the money, had demolished the office equipment and had stolen all the dresses they had in their lockers. They had requisitioned the whole garage for their own purposes. They were also scared to such an extent that they ~~never~~ never walked alone or even in pairs in the street. They usually rode the army trucks and held their rifles ready to shoot in their hands."

However, respondent did not recall any incident of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers or Hungarians during the revolution.

E. When asked whether once in a while local government officials were willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble, respondent said: "Certainly, they were those decent people of the old school who just simply did not enforce the regulations as they were supposed to do, and tried to help people in need without using regular party channels."

F. Whether or not there were ways of getting around some of the regulations or at least to a certain extent and to bribe yourself out of a fix, ~~surely~~ the working class had neither the money nor the opportunity to do so. However, I know that the so-called Maszek people who had their own little shops, could bribe government officials, especially at the income tax offices. Another public office where you could achieve whatever you wanted with bribes was the housing authority. This was a well known fact. As I said already it was impossible to bribe anybody at the AVH."

Since the bribes were divided by everybody ~~was~~ had *a hand* the dirty deal; respondent said: "If one person was caught for instance at the housing authority, then the whole section was dismissed, because every official had his finger in the pie. However, if the person who got caught was a high party functionary he was not dismissed, but as they said, transferred to a disciplinary position." The minor officials however, were just locked up."

G. When asked whether or not she could tell something about the competence of the various groups and people

^srepondant said: "I really had so little contact with these groups that it would be just bragging on my part if I offered any opinion of them."

XII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

The guesses and hopes of subject regarding Hungary's future were as follows:

"I really would like to know what is going to happen in Hungary, because the communist regime has obviously failed to become popular, and even the convinced communists have found out that the communist doctrine is just a big lie, and even these people do not have confidence in the communist regime anymore. The regime of Kadar will run into difficulties in keeping up appearances."

"On the other hand, the government will not be able to make any concessions for obvious reasons. They are going to try to intimidate and to scare people so as to avoid another revolution, but I am ^{so} sure ^{NOT} that this will not happen after all. Anyway, the actions of the government, I am thinking now of the deportations and the imprisonments etc., evidently show that they are still scared of the Hungarian spirit. In fact, only the Russian tanks that are guarding the communist regime and maintaining it in power in Hungary. An idea and the spirit of freedom cannot be kept at bay by weapons."

~~XX~~ "However, I do not think that Hungary would accept any kind of Poland type solution. This is a compromise after all. I am pretty much convinced that inside Hungary a passive resistance will be going on. However, the expectations of the West now can only be a very strict economic boycott against Soviet Russia, and all the satellites."

"Nobody is desiring a war between the USSR and the United States, and yet I do not see any peaceful solution, because after all, what the Soviet Union is doing or wanting rather, is that America go back three steps while the Soviet Union is advancing those three. Besides I think that it is just bunk, WHAT THE Soviet Union is preaching, "aggressive peace". What do they mean by that?"

B. Respondent's hopes for Hungary during the last eight to ten years up until the revolution is summed up in the following: "Until the twentieth party Congress we were absolutely hopeless for the future. We were scared and afraid that not only physically, but spiritually we should be enslaved and become a satellite of Soviet Russia."

"After the Twentieth Party Congress, however, and when we saw how even the Soviet leaders were criticizing themselves for their previous acts, little by little we started to hope that we shall be able to have ~~back~~ Prime Minister Nagy as the head of the government, and then again become free from the

Soviet Union somehow, by keeping ^{up} a kind of friendly
relation with them only.
SIP

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. ^{FOR} "An independent ^{HUNGARY} I would like to see ^{to} have the kind of democracy that Sweden has. This form of government greatly appeals to me."

B. The desired economic systems and emphasis were as follows:

"Since Hungary has a very rich uranium mine, I believe that all industry in Hungary should concentrate on processing this ore, and on the manufacture of industrial commodities for the domestic market. Hungary should also manufacture much agricultural machinery, because Hungary being an agricultural country, this machinery should be in great demand. ~~However~~, I would like to see the manufacture of arms discontinued, at least only those and in such quantities should be manufactured that are absolutely necessary for the small Hungarian army. The light industry on the other hand must be modernized and streamlined, but also expanded."

"I also believe that all enterprises that have been taken over by the state should form a kind of trust. I believe that productions would only benefit from this system. I also would leave in the hands of the state all the transportation companies and power stations for instance."

"I believe that lands should be given back to their rightful owners. However, with the stipulation that the landowners should look after the social welfare of the workers or at least they should be compelled to do so. I also think that the state farms should also ~~should~~ be returned to the private owners."

FROM "I do not approve that a government in a free country should set a maximum to the amount of land any one person and family may own. This is quite contrary to democracy. After all larger estates can always give work to more and more people and if the landowners have to observe the wages set by the state and have to look after the welfare of their workers adequately, I do not see why they shouldn't have large estates also. What I have heard about the economic system in the United States regarding industry and also land, I believe that this is quite the kind of administration and government that I would like to see in a free Hungary."

When asked what kind of a government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, she said: "There is no doubt about it that I would chose the first kind of government, because I do not believe that money and wages are everything- after all if you can work and live and enjoy all the human rights you will always be able to make an adequate living for yourself."

"I certainly would not outlaw the communist party in an independent Hungary because this is contrary to

a true democracy. The communist party would go bust anyway ~~because~~ there is no need to kill it."

C. "The position that I would ideally wish for a free Hungary should be an alliance with the West. To my mind, the Russians are much too near to our country and although the Austrian neutrality had many advantages, I still believe that only a Western alliance could give Hungary a complete security against the East. On the whole I believe that the ideal solution for all Eastern European countries, including Hungary, would be a sort of a United States of Europe, like the one here in America. Regarding the different relationships with the different countries I would not like to see any military or economic ties with the Soviet Union. The cultural connections I would keep up, for after all Russian music, art and literature has something in it. I would only like to see economic and cultural ties with the other satellite nations, however, with western Europe and the United States I even advocate military alliances besides the cultural and economic ones."

Respondent has not heard of the Federation of Danubian= but, when asked what she thinks of it she said: "I think that it is a very nice and acceptable idea, but I think that even if ~~that~~ what could be brought about, it should be only in the field of economics and culture and no politics should be involved, but I still believe that the United States of Europe would be the better solution."

~~Hungarian~~ "Hungary's present boundaries are and shall never be acceptable to me," said ~~the~~ respondent. "After all, it has been a political injustice to dismember Hungary and I would like to see Hungary receive back her thousand year old boundaries that were justified by the history of central Europe. If ever a settlement of Eastern Europe comes about, I think that a plebiscite would be the best idea for all nationalities living outside of Hungary."

Respondent was much concerned with the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary. She said: "Since we have lived under Russian domination and oppression, I know what it means to live under the rule of another nation, and therefore I could realize what sort of a life the minorities have outside of Hungary. I consider this question extremely important."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent seemed to have very little information of the Twentieth Party Congress, that is more specifically on Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech'. She said: "The Hungarian press carried ~~the~~ the events of the Twentieth Party Congress and I was told that also the speech of Khrushchev. However, I do not remember what he has said. I only know that the Twentieth Party Congress was held after Stalin's death, and attended by all the top communist leaders of Soviet Russia.

~~These~~ These big shots were probably quite glad that they had gotten rid of Stalin finally, and they blamed him for ALL THE errors."

I believe that ~~the~~ ^{THE} whole Twentieth Party Congress ^{THE} was meant to give something to the people and to relax the reigns somewhat."

Respondent never heard of senator Mc Carthy and about the Un-American Activities Committee nor did she know anything about the fall of Peron etc.

When asked what she knew about Rakosi's private life she said: "This man did not have a private life at all. Even his 'wife' was a planted spy and so I do not think that he was able to do anything in private. All that was rumored about his life was that he was living in great luxury and he was always very heavily guarded by the AVH men."

"It was also very obvious that whenever he spoke he never voiced his own opinion he never spoke for the party. To popularize himself he very often received workers who asked for an audience for him and tried to straighten ~~him~~ out their grievances. "

B. "During the past ten years I drew my information mostly from the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe."

C. "Of course I got news by word of mouth. ~~This~~ This was said to be ~~disseminating~~ "false rumor" as put by the government and it was under penalty. We usually received news by word of mouth while we were queuing up. Here everybody discussed ~~what~~ what people have heard over the radio. Also at the garage where I worked. However, ~~there~~ we had to be very careful. There were always many agents - provocateurs planted in every plant and factory. So we only talked to people on whom we could rely. As to whether or not this news was reliable or not, I can only say ~~that~~ on course since it was coming by word of mouth it was always a little bit exaggerated."

D. Before and during the war, respondent said that she only read the newspapers and she said "To read books, I wasn't intelligent or ~~enough~~ educated enough." Respondent listed the papers she read as the Esti Kurir.

Further the Az Est; and of magazines, she mostly read magazines on movies and theater, called Sinhazi Magazin.

Respondent thought that the Esti Kurir could be compared to the Daily News here. While the Magyar Nemzet is more like the New York Times.

Respondant did not bring up the influence of the German press and literature which might have been imposed upon the Hungarian press.

During the last eight to ten years, ~~the~~ respondent mostly read the Szabad Nep. However, she pointed out that she very scantily read this papers and she was most interested in the weather forecast and the movie news, etc. only. Respondent disclosed that she did not put any confidence into those papers because they were extremely slanted. Also she said that she was enraged and offended by the constant adulation of everything that was Russian: "Our national pride has constantly been insulted by the adulation that went on in the Hungarian press, which tried to give the impression that the Hungarian people and nation on the whole are servile to the Soviet Union." — "After all if you go into the street, you do not look into only one direction, you always look left and right, sometimes back- so this is what I like in an unbiased press. The last twelve years however, we were allowed to look only one way- towards Russia."

"Besides we never believed anything.- For instance the economic data carried by the Hungarian communist press. Sometimes they got lost and entangled in their own lies and forgot ~~and~~ seemed to forget what they had said a week before. Much of ~~the~~ economic news was extremely contradictory!"

"Unfortunately I was unable to read any publications of books from the West since I did not speak any foreign languages."

(Respondent did not read any publications that were illegal, while in Hungary.)

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

On Russia, respondent said: "Since many Russian soldiers have been as occupation troops in the Western world I believe that the Soviet government is quite rightly scared something similar to Hungary or Poland might even happen in Russia. Anyway, we have heard that all Russians who were in Hungary as occupation ^{TROOPS} have been immediately recalled and sent straight to Siberia to re-indoctrination camps."

"However, since Russia is made up of so many nationalities, I do not believe that they could stage a revolution together and unitedly. Therefore only a gradual liberalization would be possible in Russia."

"On the other hand I really do not see how much the Russian people knew about the Western world. People are shut off too much from the Western hemisphere, and I do not know how far they can be influenced by those Russians who did live in the Western world for some time. All this is a much too complicated problem and I do not think that anybody in the Western world can really figure out what's going to happen in the Soviet Union."

On the aims and motives of the top Russian leaders, respondent said: "It seems to me that the top Russian leaders are out not so much to establish communism than to establish their own rule. What Lenin and Marx have thought up is a Utopia and cannot be transplanted into real life and cannot be imposed on a nation compulsorily."

"As far as I see, in the Soviet Union, there is Bolshevism and Stalinism, and not even real Communism. From their own point of view I believe this was necessary, because an uncultured and backward nation does need a strong hand."

In my opinion however, it was a mistake to use the same methods ^{as in HUNGARY}. As far as I know, Rakosi differed in a way from the Russian leaders, in that he wanted a primarily Hungarian sort of Communism in Hungary- not the Russian type."

TWO POLITICALLY MATURE COUNTRY LIKE THAT,

B. On the relative popularity of other Eastern European nations, respondent had the following to say: "Eastern Germany was most popular in Hungary because we were always hoping that the unification of Eastern and Western Germany would eventually bring about a settlement of the whole Eastern European problem, and with it, our own."

"The Czechs were ^{popular} then quite because they could remain more independent from Russia. Then Poland again was popular because we had about the same problems, and Yugoslavia too, because they had the strength)

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and the courage to break with the Russians. Bulgaria and Rumania were not popular in Hungary."

"I believe that the sympathies toward the nations were mostly due to nations itself. However, it was with the Yugoslav government with which we sympathized because after all they brought about the break with Russia."

"Would free elections be held in the other satellite and Eastern European nations, I think that all of them would break away from communism."

"As to the living standards in Europe, I believe that Eastern Germany has reached the highest living standard, followed by Czechoslovakia, then Hungary, Bulgaria, and last Rumania."

C. On the Polish question, respondent's ideas were the following: "Regarding Gomulka's policy I believe that initially it was a right step in the right direction. However, due to the events in Hungary and the Russian interference and terror now, he is compelled to show a good face to the Russians. I have the feeling that sooner or later he will also be dismissed by the Soviet Union, for after all they do not trust him."

"Events in Poland certainly did have an effect on events in Hungary. Because in the beginning, the inspiration after all, came from Poland, when we saw the Polish 'thaw' carried out quite effectively there. We were sincerely hoping that the other satellite nations would follow suit and that would have meant victory for all nations in this hemisphere. During and after the revolution, however, all that was happening outside Hungary became fairly unimportant to us. After all at that time we were fighting for our lives and never thought of any other nation. However, we were extremely annoyed by the behavior of the Czechs which was decidedly hostile. I believe that they were quite jealous of our getting more attention than they do and also of our moral victory. Furthermore, they also were afraid to show sympathy toward Hungary because they thought that if they did so the Russians might occupy their country."

"As far as I knew there were certainly changes in freedom of expression etc. in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power, but I have very little about the riots in Poznan and the trials, and even this news was extremely slanted. We certainly would not have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines because we were absolutely convinced that Prime Minister Nagy would be able to form a government and to achieve all that the nation has demanded." ✓ HEARD

D. On Tito, Yugoslavia and national Communism the respondent said: "National Communism is a political

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cocktail

██████████ and I am sure that it was Tito who mixed it.

██████████ Respondent then continued: "Excuse me Miss but we had a sort of saying regarding national Communism. It is just like a 'hare's shit' it doesn't smell and it is round, but nevertheless it is shit."

On her views of Tito's relations with the ████████ Eastern European nations, Russia and the West, respondent said: "You know, Tito is behaving ~~like~~ like ~~the~~ field center in a soccer game. He is really a turncoat and he is very smart in trying to please everybody. Regarding his position with Hungary and the Hungarian revolution I am quite willing to admit that he was in a tight spot at that time and he was very unwilling to commit himself pro or con."

"Tito is ~~now~~ behaving like what we call a small Stalin and quite a lot of adulation is going on there too. However, the population likes him, and he is quite popular, because they are convinced and they know that he ~~is~~ is doing (mostly) everything for the benefit of the people."

"As far as I was informed while in Hungary, the general situation in Yugoslavia is far superior to ours in Hungary. There's more personal freedom, the working and living conditions in a way are much better. They also have the cooperatives but these are not forced on the people. There is also more personal freedom and freedom of the press compared to the one we enjoyed in Hungary."

E. On the Middle East, respondent said, "I'm afraid ~~that~~ that I know about the situation in the Middle East ~~only~~ only through the ~~slanted~~ slanted Hungarian press, and the Communist Party version. Therefore I am unable to give any opinion on it."

"However, I am firmly convinced that the whole flare up in the Near East was staged by the Russians who have a finger in every pie, and the events around the Suez Canal have greatly influenced the Hungarian problem, and the settlement of our revolution. They diverted the attention from the Hungarian freedom fighters."

F. Regarding the living standards in West Germany, as far as I knew, they are nearly as high, if not higher, than in the United States. It seems that Western Germany and the United States are ~~even~~ competing with each other regarding the living standard and the industry. The Russians on the other hand are trying to win over Eastern Germany, and boosting up the industry and living standards there. The difference however is that while America is giving Western Germany the surplus in stocks and foodstuffs, Soviet Russia is pouring everything that they rob from these OTHER satellites into Eastern Germany."

✓ WAS

"I quite believe that the Germans would start another war, but only for the purpose of uniting the two Germanys and only against Russia, and we hope they do. Regarding the West German rearmament on the other hand, I do not believe that this question is rightly put, because after all, the strength of an army cannot be judged by its number. ~~xxxxxxx~~ The strength is shown always by the spirit of that army. Therefore I believe that spiritually the German army is very much superior to all other armies regarding technical equipment and also the morale of the men. I have however no knowledge of the length of service in the West German army."

When asked to compare the German occupation army to the Russian occupation army at the end of the second world war, respondent said: "Since the behavior and intelligence of the German occupation troops is far superior to that of the Russians, they were of course, far more popular."

"I cannot understand how you can ask which army was better disciplined. The discipline and behavior of German enlisted men ~~was~~ ^{is} far superior ^{to} any Russian general, that's all I can say. In my opinion therefore, ~~also~~ the Russian occupation army was most unpopular ~~also~~ in Hungary."

G. When asked what she knew about NATO, respondent said, "NATO was widely discussed by the Hungarian press, but since that was extremely slanted I never believed what they said and I did not know for what purpose NATO was set up. And for the very same reason I cannot volunteer to offer you an opinion of the Warsaw Pact. It would be putting on airs if I did so."

On the British Labor Party, respondent said:

I found it extremely interesting and it appealed greatly to me. "How in a kingdom the Progressive Democratic ideals of the people can also be represented by the British Labor Party. I think this country, I mean Britain, is giving a wonderful example how people can live and abide by its traditions."

"As much as I could make out through the news I heard on the London radio, the British Labor Party has accepted and introduced several good points of the Communist doctrine and has judged well what the needs of the working class are."

On the living standards of other Western European countries, respondent had the following opinion: She believed ~~that~~ that the living standard is highest in Great Britain, followed by Western Germany then Italy. However, she could not say in which country, Soviet Union Egypt or Greece, the living standard is

at its lowest.

H. Respondent's reactions to the United States were as follows:

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"I'm most struck by the unlimited freedom of every individual politically and economically, here in the United States."

"On the other hand there was something else that struck me as very interesting and unexplicable. I am here in the US have worked in large enterprises and also in small private companies and have seen that the social welfare of the workers is cared for quite differently. In a large country it is like in a state. The social welfare of the workers is very well taken care of, whereas in a small privately owned enterprise ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ no consideration is paid whatsoever regarding the welfare of the workers. An owner here only gives here what is strictly necessary and enforced by law."

Respondent's ideas on what the United States should do now for the peoples and nations of Eastern Europe were as follows: "The United States should do now for Eastern Europe what it should have done for Hungary at the time of the revolution. That is they ought to do their utmost to force the Soviet Union to let free elections be held in all satellite nations. As I see, world policies are influenced only by the United States and the Soviet Union, and these two countries are in a constant economic battle after all, and if the United States is not going to show more strength, this economic warfare might bring about a third World War."

"I think the United States was quite right when it was unwilling to give armed assistance to the Hungarian freedom fighters, because ~~ix~~ too much would have been involved with that and it might have started a war. Even if the attitude of the United States at that time did do a great deal of harm to our cause, I admit that it was the right thing to do. However, in the long run, it is not right to show weakness all the time and (at least economically) the United States ought to put his or her foot down because the whole Eastern European problem must be settled, and the sooner the better. The United States should give aid to the present government of the satellite nations only in the case ~~that~~ they can make absolutely sure that this is ~~not~~ going to ~~the~~ benefit of the satellite governments, but ~~of~~ the nations only. It should try to keep control as to where these economic aids are going ~~to go~~ and also ~~what~~ ^{for} the purposes ~~are~~."

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"In the interest of the Hungarian people I believe that it is necessary that the diplomatic relationship with the Hungarian government and the United States be ~~xxxxxxxx~~ maintained."

"The people in Hungary would welcome the sight of Western

visitors, for after all this way more and more Americans could see for themselves the actual situation in Hungary, and therefore understand the reason why we have started our revolution."

"However, I do not think that it would be wise to send newspapermen. As much as I have seen the press here in the United States, ~~it~~ is always after sensationalism, and not accuracy. I think that serious politicians and trade union men would be much better to be sent to Hungary. Also I think that people who are going to Hungary, ought, at least, to understand the language. The language barrier is an awfully great obstacle. I see it now myself, and if you speak the language of the country where you are going ~~and~~ you always have more first-hand information."

"The people at home would also naturally like to see Western books and periodicals, but this can only be done when Hungary has achieved at least freedom of ~~the~~ press; and at that time I think it should be sent all over the country. I also think that it would be a good ~~and~~ idea to send newspapers, regular dailies to the Eastern European countries and, and ~~two~~ ^{TWO} different sort of newspapers, I am thinking of the Times and the Daily News, so that people of different spiritual levels ~~will~~ ^{would} be able to enjoy the Western newspapers."

"In fact I have thought right now of something that might be quite useful. Maybe ~~an~~ Hungarian newspaper could be edited for that purpose ~~and~~ somehow by combining the above mentioned two newspapers. This could be a weekly only, but it should contain the serious articles and editorials of the Times and then again the picture part of the Daily News. I'm sure that a paper like this would meet with immediate success at home."

"As long as the present regime is ruling in Hungary, I am sure that it would do only harm to our people at home if the Hungarian exiles were associated with the above mentioned activities."

"In 1948 we certainly heard about the Marshall Plan, but it was the usual way as it was presented to the Hungarian people. We were made to fear ~~the~~ acceptance of the Marshall Plan, because, as they told us, that would lead to another world war, so the Hungarian government was instructed by the Soviet Union not to accept the Marshall aid. I have heard Gero speak on this subject myself and he violently attacked the Marshall Plan. In my opinion, Hungary does not need any ~~the~~ economic help. The moment that the Russian reparation payments are stopped and the country is no longer exploited by the Soviet Union, Hungary will be able to stand on her own feet."

"As to why America became involved in the Korean War in 1950, here again we were told that the Korean conflict

broke out after the violation of the Korean border by an American plane, which was trying to take military photographs. Therefore I was unable to form any opinion as the real reasons why America became involved in the Korean war."

"Of course

I. On the United Nations: ~~some~~ all confidence put into the United Nations and an effective action of their part have been lost after the Hungarian revolution. We felt somehow that the United Nations ~~also~~ is only interfering if there is something to be gained materially, and they did not appreciate the moral ~~force~~ and driving force of the Hungarian revolution."

"I think that we were fully justified in expecting moral support from the United Nations, and I personally never thought of any armed interference. I am very sorry to say, but this was the opinion of everybody, that the oil in the Near East ~~was~~ was much more important than the blood-shed by the Hungarian freedom fighters. If the United Nations continues to display such ~~weak~~ policy, it will lose all popularity among the smaller nations if it hasn't already. After all was it so impossible to enforce the UN ~~will~~ SANCTIONS that free elections be held in Hungary?"

"Due to the above outright ^{MCEW} behavior of the United Nations, nobody in Eastern Europe believes in any effective UN action for Hungary or for the other ~~satellite~~ satellite nations. Even if ~~we~~ they did try to do something now, the Soviet Union would just shrug it off."

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XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELECTED PERSONALITIES

When asked whether she could tell us who was the greatest living Hungarian and why, respondent said:

"I believe it is Paul Maleter, if he is still alive."

"Also Maleter made a great mistake when at the time of the second world war he, together with his units, went over to the Russians and accepted Russian military rank and favors from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, during the revolution with his ~~xxxx~~ behavior he has atoned for all his mistakes. He was willing to put his life at stake for the Hungarian freedom and also he ~~with~~ his genius of a born leader, tried to organize the resistance of the Hungarian freedom fighters. From what I have heard from different young men who have fought under him, he is quite a legendary person in Hungary. He is a born leader and his whole personality is extremely . It is due to his extremely able leadership that the Hungarian revolution was able to hold out as long as it did. Some people compared him to the famous legendary figure of General Bem, the Polish hero."

VHAYING

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Respondent's reaction to a number of persons of importance in world affairs were as follows:

"Prime Minister Nagy is a politician who although fundamentally a leader of the Hungarian peasantry, was aware of the wishes of all three social classes. He was not a chauvinist and his program was exactly what the Hungarian nation wanted, and which is more important, he was trusted implicitly by everybody."

Cardinal Mindszenty;- while he was free and able to direct the affairs of the Roman Catholic church we were always sure that our church was in good hands; however we were also fully aware of the political might that stood behind him, and this was something that endangered the expansion of communism in Hungary. Therefore, the communist authorities had to put him behind bars quickly."

"Regarding the character and political activities of Rajk, there were many explanations. I judge him to have been a very ruthless and brutal man. He headed, in fact installed, the hated AVH and using them as a forceful weapon he wanted to establish National communism also in Hungary. However, he was betrayed. I like to call him a political Tosca."

"Gero- this one is a dirty lousy criminal."

Kadar-"He is a pitiful man who has been ill-treated by every party until he became a political nonentity and ~~an~~ an idiot. It is impossible to understand that if of sound mind, anyone would have accepted such a

dirty role."

General Kiraly- ~~whaxxkxkxaxkxkxixxx~~ "The political attitude of this man is very doubtful. For what I have heard about him I wouldn't put my trust in him. He seems to be a turncoat to me. Anyway during the revolution, I never heard him mentioned."

Kethly- "this lady has the character of a man. She was the first one who openly dared to criticize the regime. She is a forceful character and a fierce Social Democrat. At the time when Szakasits and Marosan came back from Russian ~~vis~~ cars, Miss ^{IN "ZIS"} Kethly told them: "THIS is for what you have sold Hungarian honor."

When asked what she thought of President Eisenhower's response she said: "Unfortunately, he again we only knew ^{THROUGH} through the distorted picture that the Hungarian communist press gave us. Since I have been in the United States for only a couple of weeks, it wouldn't be fair ^{FROM} to pass judgement on him. However, what I have seen here in America, the great prosperity and economic boom, I am sure that all of this reflects on his qualities- he must be a very able leader if he is able to achieve the kind of democratic prosperity that is prevailing here in the United States. It also seems to me that in order to safeguard the peace of other nations, he is even willing to ~~makxxx~~ ask sacrifices from his own nations. I sincerely believe that he is serving the welfare of his nation and according to my grandmother (who has been living here in the United States for the last forty years and who is a great admirer of President Eisenhower,) people never had it so good under any president. She also said that President Eisenhower is the only man in the United States who does not underestimate the Russians."

"I must sincerely admit that I dislike Secretary General Hammarskold and for the very reason that he acted very feebly during the Hungarian crisis. It seemed to us that he was stalling for time until the Hungarian government could veto his coming to Hungary. I wish he would not occupy the post that he does right now."

C. On Secretary Dulles: "I can again say that he was always presented in a very slanted way to us in Hungary. As much as I have heard and seen here he seems to be the right hand of President Eisenhower."

"I do not know very much about former British Prime Minister Eden. As a woman I must say that he is an extremely good looking old man. I also believe that he is a great diplomat."

E. "I somehow never like former President Truman. The

late President Roosevelt at least showed that he was pro-Russian. With President Eisenhower, the welfare of the people comes first, but with former President Truman I never knew what he wanted. He wanted to solve every problem by war."

On other selected personalities, respondent said:
"I never heard the name Mikoyan."

"Nehru of India by his repeated statements did a great harm to Hungary because the sanctions and resolutions of the United Nations were always postponed."

Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Chek "I cannot make him out, I do not know his aims, I do not see clearly."

Ferenc Nagy- "this man we never liked, because ~~there~~ ^{AT} were times when Hungary needed him badly he let down the country and escaped to the West. People of such quality are no longer needed in our country. I have heard that during the revolution he wanted to return to Hungary. He wouldn't have been welcomed I am sure of that." ~~I~~

"I quite liked former President Roosevelt before he suddenly became such good friends with the Russians. By supplying the Russians with war material and selling out Eastern Europe to the Russians he was made very unpopular to me."

"I must ~~quite frankly~~ ^{THAT} admit I hate Stalin ^{FRANKLY} and nevertheless I admire him for his qualities- what he has done for the Soviet Union. After all it seems a little ironical to me that a man who was wanted for robbery can become the head of the large Soviet Union. Nevertheless in thirty-five years he had brought about economic and social change in Russia which otherwise would have taken at least five hundred years."

H. "I wouldn't trust Malenkov very much and I don't think ~~that~~ he is a man of very high qualities. Even his name suggests ~~that~~. Malenkov means in Russian the 'Little One'."

"I admire General Franco very much. He was able to put an end to the Spanish Civil War."

J. "I never heard of Aneurin Bevan. Who is he?"

K. "Khrushchev is the ~~shrewdest~~ ^{shrewdest} slyest politician ever. He was even able to beguile the smart British politicians. In fact I was quite appalled when I heard that he was received by the queen of England and even went to kiss her ~~an~~ hand!"

"Of Tito I have talked before if I remember well."

"Peron I don't know as I said before."

"Molotov is the one who has ^{THE} most brains among the Russian politicians, however I believe that Khrushchev puts a check on him."

"I know that Ollenaer is heading the Western German Social Democrats, but all we have heard of him in the Hungarian press does not entitle me to give an opinion on him."

"^{WOULD} ~~Has~~ Prime Minister Churchill be ~~be~~ younger and be ~~be~~ able to remain at his post, I am sure that with his far-reaching and far-thinking diplomacy he would be the only man who could insure world peace."

XVIII. ATTITUDE TOWARDS EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. As to who escaped from Hungary to the West, ~~the~~ respondent gave the following resumé:
"I believe that the escapees were of all social classes and of various ages. The majority of them however were in the younger age-group. Of course most of them came from Budapest, especially the students and young workers who took part in the revolution. Then many ~~M~~ Jews came out too. These people thought that it would be more profitable for them to come to the free Western world. I think that the Jews in Hungary were not so much all out for a free Hungary, but rather for free enterprise. Furthermore, people who had relatives in America like myself jumped at the opportunity. Also people who again like ~~myself~~ myself were fed up with living under Communist oppression and were longing to live in freedom at last."

"Those who remained home were mainly people who had strong family ties, people who were old or ill, also people who were scared to start life anew and face the future in an unknown world. Further of course were the communists who now have taken over again and who had nothing to fear from a returning communist regime."

"In my opinion people in Hungary either say, "those people were smart who left," others are a little bit jealous that we succeeded in leaving. But on the whole I am sure that these people sincerely hope that we who managed to escape to the West will serve the Hungarian cause effectively."

"Assuming that people in Hungary would have a chance to come to the West I am not so sure that many people ~~would~~ would still want to come out; because of what has happened to the Hungarian refugees in the last weeks after the first waves of compassion have died down- does not encourage anybody to leave. We have seen that comparatively smaller countries than America have done a great deal more for the refugees. I do not want to criticize the United States or seem to be ungrateful, I'm just quoting facts."

"The communists who have taken over again in Hungary would of course never come out. The more so because they can be sure that no country will accept them."

B. Regarding Hungarian exile organizations and individuals who have been active in the West in the last ten years, respondent said that she had heard about the activities of these people and organizations only through Radio Free Europe. Nevertheless she could not name any of them. When handed the list she had the following comments:

"I have heard that the MHBK, an organization of former Hungarian officers in Austria, has organized troops of volunteers to come to the assistance of the Hungarian revolution. This is the only time I heard about the MHBK."

"I have heard about the Christian Democratic Union, but we did not trust this Union very much."

"The International Confederation of Free Trade Unionists in Exile was of course violently attacked in Hungary by the Communist press, saying that it was not set up for the workers but only in order to defend international politics."

On the list of individuals, ~~the~~ respondent had the following comments:

Ferenc Nagy: "Of this man I have already said what I have to say."

AGD "Mr. Eckhardt is not very popular in Hungary because we thought that ~~he~~ after all has left Hungary ~~for~~ such a long time that ~~he~~ could not possibly have any contacts with the Hungarian people."

"Charles Peyer to my mind and from what I have heard from my father, has betrayed the workers. The Social Democrats back at home violently disliked him."

"We have heard during the revolution that Otto of Hapsburg intended to return to Hungary after the revolution was over. No thank you, we do not want him back again."

"In my my opinion Admiral Horthy did only one decent thing during his long career and that was when the Szalasi government ~~government~~ wanted to take over, he put down the arms and asked for Western assistance. For the tragedies that befell ~~his~~ his family I was deeply sorry for him as a family man, but I never approved of his politics."

"You have been ^(ASKING) many questions about so many people, some of them are really unimportant to my mind. Why doesn't anyone ask anything about the late Count Teleki. ~~There~~ was a true Hungarian who ^{THINKED RESPONSE -} sacrificed his life so as to keep Hungarian honor clean. I wish people in the West would know a little more about him."

507 When asked about the people who left Hungary before '56, whether or not they have accomplished or tried to accomplish anything for Hungary, respondent said: "The majority of these people, I am sure, have ~~not~~ ~~only~~ done things for material reasons, ^(many) but in fact ~~truly~~ ~~and~~ ~~honestly~~ have tried to serve the Hungarian cause and ~~do~~ their best. To my mind they did not have

the connections and the power to work more effectively toward their purpose."

"During the revolution we were sincerely hoping that they would be able to achieve something; and in fact we were hoping that Miss Kethly would return and take part in our new government."

C. Respondent did know people who left Hungary before '56. She even mentioned a couple of names for instance, the opera singer Alexander Sved. Then she mentioned a writer whose name she forgot. Further another actor, PAGER. Of these people, respondent was of the opinion that they returned because they were homesick, just plain homesick. The writer who returned had to criticize the American way of living in order to make good. Respondent also mentioned a very blatant case of a famous actress Giselle Bajor who in order not to cooperate and in fear of reprisals committed suicide with her equally famous surgeon husband.

D. Respondent thought that people in Hungary would like to know how their next of kin who came to the West are faring and whether the living standard is indeed as high as alledged by Radio Free Europe. On the other hand, what people back home really should know is in my opinion how much rights and privileges the American working class has." - SAID RESPONDENT.

"Regarding what the exiles should do now, I believe that the old Hungarian immigrants, cooperating with the new immigrants, should put their heads together and listen to each other and coordinate their actions so as to present effectively the Hungarian cause to the whole world."

"Instead of being quite jealous that we are being given preferential treatment by the United States, the old immigrants should closely cooperate with us. I would like to tell those old immigrants that by living twelve years under Soviet domination we indeed have deserved the treatment that we have received here by the Americans."

"Personally what I could do, I would imagine that since I do not know a thing about politics, I would prefer to show with my work and with my behavior my great admiration and respect toward the American nation, and I also wish to become later on a good citizen of this country."

When asked whether she would like to join an exile organization, the respondent said:

"I admit sincerely and honestly, I would prefer to live a little bit for myself, at least in the beginning, and learn English properly so I'll be able to know better the aims of the United Nations. ^{STATES} Later on however, I think that I would like to join an organization that holds all the Hungarian immigrants of the three different categories if I can say it this way, because I do not believe that people who have come out at different times should be separated. It is extremely important that all Hungarians cooperate here."

On the various Hungarian political parties before '48 respondent said:

"I thoroughly disapproved of the many political parties that sprang up before 1948 because I attribute the strengthening and the might of the Communist party to the fact that the strength of the nation was divided by the various political parties. I have never heard anything about parties ~~and~~ in exile. The parties that sprung up after the revolution committed exactly the same mistake, as the parties before the revolution. The forces were split ~~up~~. ~~We~~ always criticized and disapproved of the movements to organize immediately so many political parties. I do not think that more than two parties would have been necessary in a free Hungary, or let us say three. I am thinking of the Social Democratic Party, the Small holders Party and for the sake of democracy, the communist party, knowing that sooner or later this party will die. Besides the setting up of too many political parties was quite contrary to what Prime Minister Nagy would have wanted us to have."

"I wouldn't have approved that exile groups that went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the political life. These people were away from Hungary for ten to twelve years. They did not have the close contact ~~with~~ with the people anymore."

E. When asked about her own plans for the future respondent said: "At present I do not feel like returning to Hungary, ~~but~~ especially not under a communist regime. If Hungary is ever liberated, then I certainly shall return, but for a visit only."

"If I ever have children here in the United States I certainly want them to learn Hungarian as well as English."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. On the radio: respondent disclosed that she listened to the BBC, the Hungarian broadcasts from France, Radio Free Europe, and sometimes the Hungarian broadcasts from Madrid, Spain.

According to respondent the radio broadcasts of BBC were badly jammed. Respondent also says that due to the fact that she doesn't speak any foreign languages she always listened to the Hungarian broadcasts, and whenever possible to the BBC which she favored among all the others. She also said that on Saturdays and Sundays, she listened to the non-political programs of Radio Free Europe, and the same stands for the French Radio broadcasts.

Respondent did not have a radio. She usually listened with some friends, the whole family and a couple of acquaintances.

When asked whether she heard of Western broadcasts second hand, respondent said "Believe me whenever two Hungarians met in the street or anywhere else the first question was: "Did you hear what the foreign radio said today?"

There was risk involved in listening the ~~the~~ radio broadcasts, and therefore people usually ~~to~~ did it in great secrecy behind closed doors and windows. Even if it was not under penalty the authorities always used it as a pretext. They could always rig up a couple of charges against you by saying that he was listening to foreign propaganda or 'disseminating subversive propaganda.'

Respondent preferred the broadcasting of the BBC to all other broadcasts. She was of the opinion that the BBC had very reliable news. It was extremely factual. On the other hand, RFE was inciting instead of calming down tempers in Hungary. Respondent also disliked the way RFE was putting over its news. She mentioned a broadcaster by the name of Gallicus whom she particularly disliked for his way of giving the news over the Radio. "As to the effect that these broadcasts had in Hungary before the revolution, as I said before they were decidedly inciting. When the revolution broke out we were under the impression that due to previous broadcasts Western help would be forthcoming. During the revolution on the other hand, all of the sudden they revised their attitude. To my mind RFE was primarily disseminating Russian propaganda ^{rather} than serving the interests of the Hungarian people." INTI-

Nevertheless, Radio Free Europe, in my opinion, should continue by all means to send broadcasts into Hungary, however, not in the old manner. They should imitate rather the BBC. I am sure that straight news, political and economical will always be welcome. However, Hungary does not need any anti-communist propaganda anymore. On the other hands programs about life in Western Europe and in the United States would certainly be very welcome.//

B. Respondent has not seen or heard of FEP leaflets.

C. However, she has heard about leaflets that were sent into Hungary by the means of balloons. She has not seen them however. Respondent was also very skeptical about the effect of leaflets and she thought she didn't see much reason for continuing to do so.

D. Respondent was of the opinion that even though the different Western groups have basically the same goals, these groups nevertheless should pool their money and their resources together so that only one organization remains who can carry out an effective program. Respondent particularly mentioned here in advising the United Nations effectively in the Hungarian cause. She added: "We do not want propaganda, we want actions."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. When asked about her ideas of bringing up children, respondent said: "My ideas of bringing up children ~~CONFLICT~~ with the ideas of bringing up children here in the United States. I think that it is very important that children be taught respect toward the elders, ~~PARENTS,~~ teachers and superiors. Children should be taught love for God and country and for the neighbor. They should be taught a dignified behavior but ~~that~~ not of pride. I advocate very strongly the discipline of children, if necessary even using physical punishment. I believe that in the very beginning boys and girls should be brought up in the same ~~and~~ the same disciplinary measures should be used against them. However, the individual character of the child always plays a great part in education."

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When asked how she was disciplined when a child, respondent said: "We were brought up in the old-fashioned manner and had to obey our parents implicitly. I remember once at school, I was, I believe, six or seven years old, I was extremely lively and therefore distracted the attention of the others. My teacher sent a little note to my mother and then I got a terrible beating from both of my parents. In ~~fact~~ fact if I misbehaved, even to the age of twenty, I got a slap in the face now and then from my parents."

"~~Among~~ Among people I knew, children who were over six were also punished, regardless of age or sex. I would like to point that in spite of the fact that in Hungary, children were disciplined very strongly, and even physically, we at home always respected our parents and our elders, and it was unheard of that any child would take up arms against his parents as I have read here so many times in the newspapers."

"I do not believe that education ~~here~~ in Hungary was different- or let us say bringing up children was ~~different~~ in the different social classes. It was always different according to the intelligence of the parents, that's all. Furthermore, education and bringing up children was closely connected with religion back home. Children were taught to distinguish between bad and good, and every parent tried more or less to be a pedagogue when bringing up children."

"Even the communist regime sooner or later found out that children have to be brought up with the cooperation of the parent and the ~~teaching~~ ~~class~~ teacher ~~class~~ class."

The communist regime in the beginning, however, imagined that by instigating the kids against parents they could use them for political purposes. This was a great mistake. I ~~believe~~ ^{know} that the mistake was on their part, because within the families in ~~general~~, HUNGARY

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THE WORD OF THE PARENTS WAS AUTHORITATIVE. " ~~In Hungary.~~

" People in Hungary in general stopped administering physical punishment to boys around 14 and a little bit earlier for girls. Since the communist took over in Hungary, parents were very reluctant to punish their children physically at a later age, because they were no longer physically punished at school, and also the communist regime incited the children against their parents."

" Punishment in general is abandoned always according to the parents and the children's individual character, or the family atmosphere. I cannot quote here any examples, because during the communist regime we were already grown up and have not seen how other people discipline their kids. Therefore I really cannot say what changes communism has brought about in this respect regarding frequency of parental punishment, kind of punishment etc."

" However, I can very well tell how we were disciplined in school during our first six years because I did not finish eight years, I had only six grades before the communists took over in Hungary. The disciplinary measures consisted of getting a rap on our knuckles, donkey's ears put on our backs, we were put in the corner, we had to write down a hundred times, I did this or that, then the teacher was sending a report card to the parents and finally the children were completely unmanageable they were expelled from school."

Techniques of discipline under the communist regime changed to the effect that physical punishment was abandoned, all the ways and means of punishment could be enforced.

On friendship, respondent had the following to say: "I believe that the fundamental and most important basis of a friendship is sincerity. Further I think that friends should love each other despite all the faults they may have. Personally myself, I prefer that a friend of mine should have more brains than I have and whom I can respect."

" Regarding changes in friendship under the communist regime, I believe that people became more cautious with whom they made friends. Scare and jealousy has spoiled many friendships. Scare, maybe he will betray me after all, and jealousy that the friend has an easier time than the other party has."

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