

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent comes from a typical Hungarian Bourgeois-Bureaucratic family. She is a soft spoken mature woman bearing a neat and well groomed appearance. Not too intelligent but well educated. Her hatred against communism makes her to give biased and illegitimate answers.

However she has every right to be ~~xxxx~~ prejudiced against the Russians regarding her old Mother and young niece when ~~they~~ were raped in her presence when the Russians came in to Hungary in 1944.

Her equally strong hatred against the German Occupation Army and her looks, also ~~and~~ her way of talking ~~xxxx~~ makes me believe that even though she is a Roman Catholic, she must have some Jewish blood.

✓ THAT She is well adjusted already to the American way of living and quite content and even happy, in spite ✓ she is working here as a cook and household helper and baby sitter.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"I believe it is most important that the Americans know under what terrible circumstances the Hungarian people is forced to live under the Russian occupation. The Americans ought to realize finally what it means to live in constant fear and suffering. I believe also it is very important that the American public ~~opinion~~ opinion and authorities ought to know that as soon as the Russians are made to withdraw from Hungary, the whole Eastern European problem can be solved."

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

A. "On the twenty-second of October, 1956, I had already heard and this was generally rumored all over the city that on the twenty-third these students are planning a demonstration and also that they are going to FORWARD THEIR DEMANDS FROM TO the government.

"On the twenty-third, I went down to the street and toward the middle of the city I heard here from the people in the street that the students are planning to march to the radio building so as to ~~proclaim~~ proclaim their DEMANDS. The crowd was just growing by every minute and the streets were packed with people. I have seen trucks on which young people were riding. Everybody was infected by the enthusiasm of the young people and the enthusiasm and the daring of the people grew with every minute. All of a sudden ALL STARTED to shout slogans - 'Out with the Russians', 'Down with the Communists', DOWN WITH GERU and openly ~~the shouting~~ DEMANDING WHAT the students have put down in their declaration.

"As far as I have seen, everybody joined in in demonstrations regardless of social background, age and sex.

"I cannot describe the feeling that ~~gripped~~ gripped us in those days. It was something you never have experienced before. It was elation. It was the feeling of ~~being~~ being liberated finally from twelve years of ~~our~~ oppression. The feeling that something is going to happen and our slavery will come to an end.

"In the very first moments of the demonstration and in the very first days I thought that since we are under Russian occupation,

PRISALS

the Russians may enforce some re-
~~prises~~. Later on, however, we
 were quite sure that the demon-
 strations will finally make the
 authorities realize that the Hun-
 garians must be given some free-
 dom.

"We wanted the government to
 comply ~~this the demands~~ of the WITH THE DEMANDS
 students which expressed the
 wishes of the nation. I do not
 believe that anybody, and espec-
 ially not the students would have
 accepted a compromise from the
 government, especially when they
 saw how the population was so
 strongly favoring their demands.

"The demonstrators in the be-
 ginning were the students, but,
 of course, in a few hours every-
 body joined in and as I said,
 there was no class, age or sex
 distinction.

"As to the organization and
 leadership of the demonstrations,
 of course, the students organized
 a peaceful demonstration, but the
 rest came quite spontaneously.

B. "The demonstration turned
 into fighting, however, I was
 informed when the AVH started to
 use their arms against the
 radio building
 that the students tried to force
 their way in.

WHEN, IS

"We were quite sure that the over-
 all outcome of the revolution
 would be a victory because we were
 confident that the worst was go-
 ing to help. WES IS

"The revolutionary slogans, I
 believe I had heard to come up
 around the twenty-fourth of Octo-
 ber.

"As to WHO FOUGHT ~~letting the~~ DURING
 revolution, at first the students
 and the workers, but I think later
 on, it was mostly the workers.

The age I would put between sixty and thirty, but I saw quite old gray haired men taking active part in the fighting also.

"I do not know where from the fighters ~~got their~~ arms.

"Regarding their leaders as far as I was told, they have several ones locally elected so to say among themselves one who had some military training. I had heard the name of Maleter mentioned very often during the revolution and I must say that nobody ever ~~had~~ heard of General Kirely at that time. His name I heard only here in the US."

C. "My days spent between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the invasion were spent mostly on the streets. I was roaming the city, but if the fighting got too wild or too strong, I just took shelter in a cave or a doorway. After that time, everybody talked ~~to~~ everybody else, ~~was~~ all over the city ~~as~~ complete strangers. EVEN TO WE WERE ALL ONE NATION AND ONE ~~WAR~~. WILL WE WERE HAPPY AND RELIEVED."

WEST
PRESSURE
"We also had believed completely ~~and~~ ABSOLUTELY ~~and~~ IN that the Russians are going to leave Hungary because the ~~xxx~~ western half ~~will~~? must be forthcoming and ~~invest~~ their THE WEST WILL USE ~~pressure~~ ~~will~~ impress upon the Russians to ~~contrive~~ the orders to withdraw. ~~COMPLY WITH~~ AND

"After about a week after the revolution broke out, I have heard that the Russian withdrawal has been ~~or~~ HALTED I had seen the first Soviet troop returning on November 4th at dawn.

"For the time between the red army's return and my escape, was spent with a family ~~that~~ I was a ~~where~~ WHERE Governess for a small child. I very often went, however, home to my apartment ~~xxx~~ which was nearby.

I spent the night on November 3rd to November 4th also in my apartment. When I woke up, I could hear the rumbling of the tanks and the Russians came. When I saw them returning, I lost all ~~of~~ my hope and I thought I'd better leave Hungary."

MORA L D. "I do not think that except for a ~~merial~~ victory, Hungary has gained anything because of the revolution."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST
DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "From the West, everybody expected military assistance, especially that UN troops be sent into Hungary to restore order."

B. "Our expectations were formed on the basis of the radio broadcasts ~~xxxx~~ especially by the Radio Free Europe. Everybody was full of hope that these promises ~~xx~~ as made during the twelve years will also be kept."

C. "I did not come into contact with any foreign newspaper between October 23 and the time of my ~~xx~~ escape."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My Father died in 1950, ^{HE} was a construction engineer. He ~~has~~ ^{HIS INCOME} been gone before and after the war and was, of course, ~~FLUCTUATING~~ ^{WELL} BUT ~~cause~~ we lived very good and we had everything. We lived in our own house. We kept three servants. We had a carriage and stables with horses. We children (eight of us) could all participate in all sorts of sports and we also lead a gay life socially. (Respondent lived at Nagyvarad which belonged to Hungary at the time of her childhood and which quite a big city.) ^{PROVINCIAL}

"My father also owned several other houses in Nagyvarad and we also had about ten acres of vineyard.

My father was a high school graduate and also a graduate of the University of Technical Sciences where he received his ~~diploma~~ diploma, in Budapest as a construction engineer. My mother had only eight grades.

B. "In my mind there are different social classes in Hungary. First of all there is the middle class which is disappearing little by little. These people cannot take part anymore in the ^{LIFE AND} WORK of the nation because they are not allowed to do so. ^{THEY ARE} WORKING AS physical and manual workers. Then there is the regular working class and the peasantry also. The intellectuals, I believe, is ~~is~~ a special class of it's own. Then, of course, there is the new Communist Aristocracy."

"I have had contacts with all social classes since ^{WE} ^{ALWAYS WENT} to the country ~~this~~ ^{Summers} I met the peasants and ^{also} the real typical Hungarian working class and now in the last ten years when I was living in a huge apartment house and the next door neighbors were simple and also through

my work as a Governess and ~~also~~ cook, I met the other girls who worked in the households."

"As to the intellectual class, I had many relatives and friends who worked in the different ~~estate~~ or municipal offices. They ~~are~~ ~~even~~ ~~engineers~~ ~~and~~ ~~mostly~~ ~~all~~ ~~belonging~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~middle~~ ~~class.~~" **WERE**

"I believe that the Hungarian peasant is very unhappy about the present situation. **THEY FEAR** the future and hate the regime. ~~They~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~whole~~ ~~are~~ ~~considered~~ **ICANSAY** they wish back the good old times."

"The Hungarian workers are the enemies of the Communist regime and as a national value, they are tremendous and I'm sure that in case of a change, ~~that~~ ~~the~~ Hungarian working ~~will~~ ~~be~~ ~~a~~ ~~back-~~ ~~bone~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~nation.~~" **class**

"The intellectuals are very badly off under the Communist regime because of the bad salaries they are receiving. However, they try to keep up their standard of living **VERY BRAVELY** ~~anyway~~ and keep their chins up despite the awfully low living standard."

PERSONNEL

"The Communist ~~average reports~~ **ARISTOCRATS** of course ~~they~~ ~~are~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~top.~~ These are the chief party members, presidents of the workers **COUNCILS**, the leaders of the ~~personall~~ departments and the top party members. These are mostly working class people, but the worst type of working class. Very seldom can you find an intellectual among them."

"I feel that I belong to the old middle class even though that in the last years ~~that~~ I have realized that there was no difference in social classes. Also, I have somehow become acquainted with the different people coming from different social backgrounds and I

must admit that I have found life among them very agreeable because everybody in Hungary had the same wish and was of the same political opinion and that was to get rid of the Russians."

"In my view, the middle class and the peasantry were the hardest hit during the Communist regime. The middle class because they were deprived of their living and even the possibility of receiving a good job. They were persecuted and despised by the regime. The peasantry on the other hand was made ~~To SLAVE~~ and the land was taken away from them.

"I do not think I can say much about the attitudes of classes to each other because somehow as I mentioned before, the whole nation was united together in one sincere wish - to get rid of the Communist regime. I have seen, however, that the workers and the peasants are respecting, maybe even more the middle class than before the war and before the Communists took over."

C. As to how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"The most important point is always the political view. Then comes class origin and talent comes always last. But, of course, there were ~~as~~ specially qualified and talented ~~specialists~~ ~~who~~ ~~was~~ ~~prominent~~ ~~could~~ not be replaced by the regime for the very reason that they did not have anyone trained in ~~these~~ special fields. So these ~~whether or not~~, they confessed the right political views ~~or were~~ of right class origin, they had to keep them."

"These were mostly architects, engineers, doctors, scientists and artists of all fields."

"However, the party ^{ALWAYS} of us tried to induce them to join the Communist party, and besides these people even though they were kept at their jobs were ~~already~~ ^{VERY} badly paid and were under the jurisdiction of a party member who had not the qualification ^{but} who has earned the higher salary, ~~but~~ who was a party member and gave out orders."

"I believe that a person who is absolutely irresponsible and has no conscience whatsoever - no character and maybe a person who is in dire need and really ^{can} talk ^{can} as the party wants him to, can get ahead best in Communist Hungary."

✓ G107

D. "I believe that the groups that ~~were~~ ^{put} more out of society than they deserve are the merchants, and who were doing free lance business. I have seen it in the family where I worked. He was a former owner of a big furniture plant. He managed somehow to save lots of his stock which he distributed with friends. These then he sold at enormous prices. He also bought up second hand furniture from the impoverished middle and upper classes. These he repaired and sold again at ten times the original price.

"Then other people who got more out of society than ~~they~~ ^{did}, ^{DESERVE ARE,} of course, the big party big wigs and their fellow travelers who were always ^{HANDS IN GLOVE WITH THEM}."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "The family life under Communism has changed greatly because parents had to go out to work and the children were left alone. Of course, the situation was better if there was an aunt or grand mother who could take care of the children. But ~~the~~ ^{VAT} schools - day schools, etc., ~~showed them that~~ ^{INDOCTRINATED} indoctrinated and this had its effects nevertheless. ^{WHAT I} have seen what I have experienced is that the kids had bad manners, were unobedient. They did not respect their parents and also they did not know a thing about religion. So, of course, they grew up in a mentality completely different from ~~the~~ their parents. Also when ~~the~~ both parents come home tired in the evening, they do not have the energy anymore to educate their children."

^{HAVING} The Respondent ~~living~~ alone could not say anything about her own family which lived in the provinces. However, she said that her family in that provincial city remained very close even now and her grown-up ~~brothers~~ ^{brothers}, all are around 60, ~~They still go to see their mother every morning before going to work.~~

The family with which she was living as a Governess was the third type of family that was not much ^{INFLUENCED} ~~transpired~~ by the Communist regime because the man has ~~again~~ made a very good living in ~~good parts of~~ ^{AND HAD LOTS OF} money.

Respondent also mentioned that ~~living in~~ a family where the kids did not go out to the day schools and stayed at ~~the~~ home because there was a grandmother or aunt to look after them - this family always grew closer together under the Communist regime and somehow the family ties became stronger.

Families most affected by the Communist regime were those of the former middle class where the girls in order to be able to buy the most coveted luxuries such as nylons, lipstick, rouge and nail polish, etc., prostituted themselves very often. Especially bad was the situation according to respondent, ~~was~~ in the offices. Young people ~~was~~ WERE DESPERATE FOR HAVING BEEN being rejected from the universities, and then they became destitutes.

Respondent, however, disclosed that she has known families where the children tutored themselves AND EACH OTHER - at home and studies when they ~~was~~ WERE not allowed to attend the university so as - would a change come about, they ~~was~~ be ready with their studies. TUTORED

B. According to respondent, marriage, courtship and sex pattern automatically changed with Communism.

"The young people just ~~was~~ did not care about the opinion of the elders and their parents. They did not care what the neighbors or acquaintances would say about their behavior. They wanted the money so the girls easily took a friend who paid for the luxuries and the young boys became juvenile delinquents."

"The rate of divorces has increased terrifically and the reason for this was mostly the material situation. Then there ~~was~~ also the housing miseries. People had to live cramped together - several families in the same apartment and too many people in the same room. There was no privacy for anybody and this, of course, got on the nerves of all people."

"The number of illegitimate children grew alarmingly. Especially

since abortion was prohibited. Only if you paid a terrific amount, could you find a Doctor who did it."

~~xxx~~ "Prostitution, state controlled as it was before the war was prohibited, but it has been continuing. In fact, quite shamelessly on the streets and in the factories."

"I believe that the sexual morality of the Communist is different from that of the average Hungarian. The Communist is brazen and according to the Communist ~~love can be exercised every-~~ **FREE** love can be exercised always."

C. When asked what she would do if a good friend of hers before 1948 has joined the Communist Party later on, respondent said: "I would break off the friendship because I ~~xxx~~ despise anybody who joins the Communist Party and among my own people everybody despises them. We would rather take it upon ourselves to live and die in poverty, but we are not going to ask favors of any party member and will not become party members."

D. "Juvenile Delinquency was ^{QUICKLY} quickly discussed among people in Hungary. However, the party or the newspapers never talked about it. It was played down as much as possible. The Daily Press didn't carry the other crimes either. We never heard of a murder, etc., but everybody knew when something happened nevertheless. I do not think that on the whole crime or juvenile delinquency has increased in Hungary because the Hungarian people aren't ~~sovereign~~ ^{sovereign} people here."

"Juvenile delinquency consisted mostly of petty crimes - stealing, pick pocketing, etc., and this must be due to the fact that nobody had never money enough."

"The age of those youngsters was always in the teens and also the so called Jampec was a teenager. These boys were certainly not juvenile delinquents. They only dressed flashily and tried to copy the American way of dressing and dancing."

VII. RELIGION

A. "Since religion was oppressed by the Communists in Hungary it meant something very important to everybody. Within the family religion was kept. I believe that the religion that was hardest hit was the Roman Catholic and then ~~xxxx~~ Protestant and this because the Roman Catholic Church is the largest one ~~for~~ ~~FOLLOWED~~ ~~NEXT~~ by the Protestant church.

Also, the Roman Catholic priests have relentlessly preached and made propaganda against the Communist doctrine and the Roman Catholic priests did not try to compromise with the government.

"I firmly believe that religion in Hungary is a ~~BULWARK~~ against Communism."

B. "Religion in my life is about as important as in the life of my parents. I am a religious ~~xxx~~ woman, though not a Bigotte, and attend church whenever I have the time. I rather try to conform with my religion and follow my religion ~~with~~ ⁱⁿ my actions.

"I think that I am about as religious as the average person in Hungary is."

C. "Regarding to function of churches in society, I am decidedly against it that any church should compromise with the Communist regime. In a free country, the church and state should cooperate and the relationship should be on the same footing that it has been in the past in Hungary.

^{role}
"The ~~roll~~ of churches in education, however, is extremely important because we have seen that as long as churches have a word ~~to~~ ~~say~~ in education, there was no

^{WITH}
trouble ~~involved in the~~ ~~XXXXX~~
morals of the young people.

"I believe that the responsibility of the churches to ~~set~~ set moral codes and standards in movies, plays, books, etc., is rather good."

"I do not think that churches and the priests of any church should take an active political part in an independent Hungary. The priests should remain within the church and leave politics alone."

D. ~~Regarding~~ Regarding the Jewish minority, respondent had the following to say.

WITHIN

"The Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism, but not to the extent ~~as~~ other religions were. I see the reason for this in the fact that ^{so many Jews} ~~live in~~ ~~the~~ Party and all the top Communist leaders were Jews. Of course, everybody tried to ^{USE} the family connections if it ^{THEY WANTED} came to get ~~out~~ some favors from the Communist regime for the Jewish church."

"In my opinion and among the Jewish people I knew, everybody was dead set against Communism. These people, of course, have lost under the Communist ^{RULE}. ^{THESE} were the rich merchants, doctors, lawyers, etc."

APPARENCES

"I think that the Hungarian Jews have accepted Communism only for ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~sake~~ ^{sakes} rather than wholeheartedly.

"There were a great number of Jews who joined the Communist Party. These especially did so due to the events in 1944 and 1945 and I was very much concerned to see how the Jews were filled with hatred and revenge. They are blaming the Hungarian nation for everything that has happened under the Nazi regime.

BLAMING

and ~~to us they were~~ ~~harming~~
people who had nothing to do
with Nazis at that time.

"As far as I have known, the
Jews have taken part in the dem-
onstrations and the fighting as
well in the fall of ~~xxxx~~ 1956.

ALLEGATION

"As to the ~~allegation~~ ~~that~~ Jews
do not want an independent Hun-
gary, I'm sure these are only
the top ~~four~~ big shots who are
scared, of course, of an inde-
pendent Hungary, but I'm sure
that 90% of the Hungarian Jewish
people are desiring a free and
independent Hungary as everybody
else does."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "I considered a youth between 16 and 30 to be what they call the 'Hungarian youth'."

B. "I think that the Hungarian youth played a very active part in the revolution without exception regarding social background. In my view, young people took the lead because during the twelve years they had to suffer ~~x~~ too much under oppression and they have known about the life ~~the~~ foreign students abroad are leading and also they have seen no future ~~and~~ how they will get along in life.

"I believe that old people did not take the lead because they were much too tired. They were fearful of an unsafe future also.

"During the revolution the older people were very happy that finally the young people had started the revolution. We were full of gratitude and admiration to watch them because we were hoping that we too will benefit of what they will have achieved.

"The young people have fought for us and for a better future."

C. "Regarding the schools and educational system in Hungary, I can give you some information because we have many children in our family. The education and schooling of children was on a pretty high level and very tough. The kids had to learn much more than before the war. However, the knowledge wasn't as profound because they tried to cram a great deal into their heads. So it was rather a most superficial knowledge.

"~~the~~ restricted ~~and~~ vocational ~~choice~~ choice, of course, existed and the children of the class ~~individual~~ were, of course, always

Oppressed.

"Regarding the teachers and professors, I do not believe that they were Communists at heart at all. Nevertheless, for the sake of their jobs they had to pretend that they believe in the Communist doctrine. Of course, they also had to join the Communist Party and they had to teach the children according to the instructions received.

"The old teachers and professors that were retained, were, of course, very well qualified and competent. However, the younger ones who attended very short and speeded up courses were incompetent in my opinion."

D. "Youths reacted to the Communist indoctrination quite differently than we expected. They mostly pretended to accept Communism for the very reason only that they be allowed to take their exams, ~~xxx~~ but due to the fact that indoctrination was put up at full pressure, young people became to hate the ~~REGIME~~ and the whole system.

"Also the Communist system did not seem to assure them ~~xxxx~~ future and a good living."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN
EVERYDAY LIFE

A. When asked what her main dissatisfactions were in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"It was the terrible standard of living, the scarcity of food, clothing and every impossibility of making enough money to make both ends meet.

"But there was something more important which we resented mostly, and this was - that you never were sure when and for what 'crime' you are being taken by the political police."

B. "Apart from big political things, the shortage of some commodities and the bad quality of food irked us most."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "The standard of living was at its ~~xx~~ rock bottom. Especially difficult was to get decent food and there was a shortage of foodstuffs all the time. The prices of food were terrific, and it was sometimes really impossible to buy enough food.

"Clothing was one of the major problems. I just can give you the example that I earned 600 forint per month and during six years I was unable to save money for a decent warm winter coat. I, for six years - summer and winter, was running around in a thin trench coat.

"Housing was also very bad. It was nearly impossible to get an apartment. You had to pay through your nose. The ~~cost~~ - tenancy is one of the most TERRIBLE inventions of the latest decade and the reason for many crimes, broken up marriages and so on.

"While in Hungary, I considered a pair of nybns a ~~xxx~~ luxury, or for instance a good slice of bread with lots of butter. I also never was able to afford ~~my~~, for instance, a string of custom-jewelry pearls.

"Since I lived in my old apartment - of course, not ~~also~~ anymore, but ~~still~~ ~~the~~ clothing and food were ~~the~~ greatest problems.

"My standard of living as compared to 1945 has been ~~going~~ going only down and it was definitely very, very ~~xxxx~~ ~~much~~ low. As far as I remember, it was slightly BETTER between 1949 and 1951, but ever SINCE THEN it declined steadily.

"People whom I knew personally were better off than others because of their profession. As I mentioned before, the family for

which I worked was very well off materially and on the whole, could afford everything. They could afford to keep me, afford a child, both of them could go out to work. They had a lovely apartment, etc. Only these kind of people who were engaged in all sort of trade REGULAR OR ILLEGAL, were better off.

"The exaggerated export of all Hungarian products to the Soviet Union was the cause of the Hungarian standard of living coming be so low in the last ~~3~~ XXXXXX years. The regime's economic policy ~~of that~~ of course, ~~was~~ WERE ~~XXXXX~~ ridiculous and completely SERVILE to the Russian regime."

B. Regarding respondent's income during the past years, respondent gave the following information.

"I earned 600 forint per month and 6 forint of this was deducted. That is, paid by my ~~employer~~ for what you would call your social security. I worked from 6:30 until 10:00 at night. Sometime even later. I had no Sunday or Holiday because I had to be with the child and, of course, had no free time."

C. "Regarding food, the quality of the food was much better on the so called free market, but, of course, the prices were higher. Nevertheless it was always worth while to buy at the peasant store BOUTA instead of the State Store. The price of different commodities always underwent seasonal changes, of course. For instance, the eggs WERE awfully expensive during the winter months.

"Regarding clothing, these are bought in the State Stores, but my main resource of clothes were the American packages. That is,

you could buy second hand clothes in the so called commission stores coming from those packages. Then, of course, there were rich people who could have their clothes custom made by some of the small craftsmen who worked overtime at home and in secret. Regarding the quality of the clothes you received in the State Stores, at the beginning of the Communist regime, this wasn't so bad. Later on, however, it got worse everyday.

"Retail distribution in Hungary was very haphazard and ~~SPORADIC~~ C. It all depended on what sort of a manager the State Store had. However, there were many consumer goods which were scarce or very short in supply. For instance, soap and detergents. Then lard. For several months we didn't see any meat, for instance and also it happened that we had meat for a couple of weeks and it disappeared again for a couple of months.

"Spare ~~parts~~ parts were nearly impossible to be bought and even those were extremely bad. Spare parts for sewing machines, for instance and all electrical appliances were nearly impossible to buy. Then, for instance, a chain for a motor bike, etc.

"Commodities & especially in short supply were as I said, soap - then for instance, buttons and needles and what you would call notions here.

"Black marketeering was widely exercised during those twelve years and the black market in the last years ~~consisted~~ consisted mostly in furniture, bicycles and meat, also in foodstuffs.

"I do not think that it was organized. Nevertheless, in a small private circle so to say, we always had a list of people who

AND

what. The quality of goods purchased on the black market was always good but, of course, the prices were terrific. Sometimes ten times as much as the regular price.

"Black marketeering was under strict penalty, but very often ~~TOLERATED~~ ~~came by~~ the regime, since the ~~XXXXXX~~ people ~~know~~ who were supposed to control the black market have accepted ~~it~~ bribes.

"As far as I know, the penalties mostly were fines, about 70% of the value, but sometimes people were locked up for two or three years also."

D. Regarding the working conditions, respondent could not give any specific details since she was Governess in that family for a child of three years old and as she said, she was there from 6:30 to 10:00 or 11:00 at night.

~~XX~~ Respondent discloses that her Master and Mistress were very nice with her even though they were ~~exploiting~~ exploiting her now and then.

Respondent had no information regarding the Hungarian vacation plan. However, she said that the health program was extremely ~~xxx~~ good. The only trouble was that the ~~personnel~~ - doctors, nurses were exploited. There were too few for the many patients. They had very little time to spend on the one patient and therefore, they were rather slipshod. Everybody would have approved of the health plan, said the respondent, had they employed more doctors and nurses.

"I think this is one of the only things which I could ~~imxxx~~ approve of what the Communist regime has introduced and this is the socialized medicine. It was extremely good in principle."

"Regarding the pensions, however, for instance, I was deprived in 1951 of my pension. This was the time when the pensions of all what they call military unions *VMITS* were taken away and the police force was looked upon one as such. Before the war after 1951 I received a widow's pension of 397 forints which was not too bad. But on the whole, pensions are frightfully low. The top officials received 500 forints pension and widows half of it which is really not enough to live on."

D. "While I was in Hungary, I always preferred to live in the country. Of course, it is always more peaceful and also cheaper than in the big cities.

"In my belief, the diet of city worker was always better. Also, the general standard of living was higher in the city. Politically it ~~was~~ also better in the town because in a small community in the providences, everybody knew each other and in the capital, on the other hand, you could always disappear."

IMPLEMENTED
"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, they had no hopes whatsoever that it will bring something good, because we knew that it was going to be ~~im-~~ ~~plement-~~ ~~ac-~~ ~~cord-~~ ~~ing~~ to the Soviet system and therefore, it cannot be good. Collectivization on the whole to my mind is something which simply does not work.

"As the collectivization has been practiced in Hungary was, of course, very bad because it was implemented by people who hadn't got the faintest idea how to go about it.

JMS
"The Hungarian peasant ~~is~~ different ideas because a Hungarian

PEASANT WORK
person likes to work on his own
land and has ambitions only
if he is working for himself.
He doesn't like to work on a
collective farm."

"In my opinion all peasants were
less well off ones and also the
WELL to do ones objected equally
strongly to collectivization.

"I have heard that after the revo-
lution some of the COLLECTIVES WERE
DISSOLVED."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "Before 1948, I was not very much interested in politics - only to the extent as it was important for the benefit of my country.

"None ~~of our~~ ^{my} members of the family belonged to any political party and I did not sympathise with any party either.

V WERE

"Regarding the Communist before 1948 ~~was~~ exactly the same as now. I despised them altogether. Communism is a utopia and my attitude has become more stiff against them since then.

"Regarding the Communist party from 1948 on, I believe that the ~~max~~ majority of the people who joined the party at that time were afraid of losing their jobs and they had to live somehow.

"They must have been nevertheless some, but very few only, who were convinced Communists, but I believe that the number of those is extremely small.

"Seventy per cent of the party members are just members for appearances sake and do not believe the doctrine at all.

"Regarding the change of party policies during the last eight years I believe that there were quite a few changes. For instance, when ~~PAKOSI~~ was dethroned so as to say and when the Stalin era came to an end. At that time, we were very glad and full of hopes that change will come about.

"I believe ~~that~~ ^{within} FIGHTS the party did occur now and then because after all within the party they must have realized that ~~the~~ people were discontent and everybody was grumbling against the regime and the time must

come when they have to relent and have to give in at least somehow,

"On the other hand, it was common knowledge that all instructions come always from Moscow and the Hungarian party ~~HAD~~ to act on Russian orders. Also, it was quite conspicuous that the different decrees and regulations never came immediately, but always after a couple of weeks and even months. They had to wait for instructions from Moscow.

"Also, it was widely rumored that within the party, not everything is lovey-dovey, and great quarrels are constantly occurring among the big shots.

"The party morale was always pretty bad as far as I can judge, because nobody was happy about things how they were going within the party. For instance the party steward of our apartment house, who was, of course, also a party member, told me one day, 'You know, Mrs. ~~Lewis~~, this whole party business is lousy. The big shots want to keep their position and they don't care a damn about the other people.'

When asked about her opinion of the BIG WIGS of the Communist party and their aims and motives, respondent said.

"EVEN TROUGH ONE would like to give them the benefit of the doubt regarding their aims which might be to better the lot of the working class, I do not believe that the leaders of the ~~TOP~~ Hungarian Communist party can do anything without asking Moscow for advice. And should they try to do something independently, I'm sure that Moscow will do it's utmost to

prevent them from doing so."

"Regarding their collective aims, it seems to me that they would like to get the whole humanity together to one camp and give them a standard of living that would be uniform all over the world.

"I also believe that the top Communist leaders in Hungary are convinced Communists, but at the bottom of their heart they probably envy the western standard of living. However, I'm also sure that they like to see their material and personal gains to be assured."

"Regarding the difference between the motives of the ~~farm~~ member and the one of the top leadership, I believe that they must be the same if both are convinced and idealist Communists, but I do not quite see how ~~AM~~ KIND OF Communist can fail to notice that THE big shots are living quite differently from what they are preaching.

"Even when Hungary is ever independent, I would like to see that all Hungarian Communists be sent to Russia and let the Soviet Union where they want.

C. ^{CP} "Our position to the Communist Government before the revolution was always prevailing in Hungary. However, it was very difficult to do anything ~~to effect it~~. EFFECTIVE. I have heard that the factory workers always had day to day best in ~~V~~ DID THEIR order to slow down production. Anyway, nobody worked ~~feel~~ heartedly ~~V~~ FULL - under the Communist regime and this was already something. NO WHOLESALE ~~SADNESS~~ could have been carried out, however, in Hungary because the terror is far too great there."

"I have heard of the activities of

the intellectuals. These intellectuals belong^{ed} to the Petofi Kor, and these people, long before the revolution have already started to raise their voice against the regime and the doctrine as implemented in Hungary.

"In my opinion, the intellectuals just put into words what everyone else was wishing for and desiring, but I do believe that they were the spirit of the revolution to some extent.

"In my opinion, the intellectuals stood up against the regime because they wanted to have a free press and freedom to write whatever they wanted about whatever they wanted. Everybody amongst them was fed up with the **SLANTED** literature and orders they were receiving from the party. Who cares to write what he is told to do? They directed ~~the~~ literature ~~somehow~~, of course, did not please them. After all, you cannot write lies and against your conviction all the time.

"The Hungarian authors and writers were also dissatisfied with the way their works were published. Some of them were even ~~xx~~ unable to publish their works and wrote only for their ~~V~~, as we used **DESK DRAWERS** to say. Others tried to write about things which ~~xx~~ had nothing to do with politics like Steve Fekete who wrote the most charming animal stories. On the other hand there were some like Thomas Aczel who was all and out Communist and I'm horrified to see ~~as~~ **HOW HE IS** ~~fasted~~ here by the ~~fast~~ as an **WEST** anti-Communist. This is not true. He is a scoundrel"

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A SPIRIT

A. "The high officials of the Hungarian AVH force were ~~materially~~ ^{MORALLY} and spiritually the scum of the society. The more so since they were intellectuals and ~~lowered~~ ^{LED} by ~~vengence of spirit~~ for imaginary wrongs suffered in the past. ~~I want to reconcile,~~ however, ^{AMONG THE RANK AND FILE} there were many of the drafted men who served their compulsory military service.

"The top AVH Officers were trained very well indeed to a special courses.

"I, myself, have not been arrested but I had many friends who could tell a sad story about their experiences with the AVH. For instance, the son of my best friend who received ten years sentence and who was ill treated by the AVH and we still don't know why.

"The husband of another friend of mine who was chief forester and had an old rusty rifle somewhere in the loft about which he forgot completely was arrested and tortured for four days for hiding arms. This was the charge ~~made~~ against him. They made him stand up for thirty solid hours, for instance. Then ~~xxx~~ pricked his finger and toe nails with needles. There was a ~~DEPO~~ terrible woman in the AVH force, ~~for instance,~~ who sat on his mouth and urinated in his mouth. Then he never received clean water to drink. Only salty water - nothing else. You can imagine what he had to suffer."

"I have heard about an AVH man who ~~xxx~~ has suffered remorse. When I took the ~~xxx~~ I was in child charge of ~~the~~ walk in the neighborhood park, I used to meet an old woman whose son was a member of the AVH. She told me that the boy is always sad and in ~~need~~

and wishes he could leave the AVH, but he's not allowed to do so.

"When Hungary's independent people who have been members of the AVH should be deported to Russia. Not a single one should remain in Hungary. This would be the best solution to get rid of them once and for all.

"The regular police in Hungary as compared to the AVH is different because, after all, the regular police is only enforcing the regulations. The only field in which they cooperate with the AVH is detective work. Police who control the traffic are decent and do their ~~x~~ their work quite well.

"They are also trained pretty well, but, of course, the spirit is quite different from that what it used to be in the old times. On the other hand due to the extremely low pay they receive, of course, they are ~~always~~ open to bribe. After all, the Communist regime is the cause that corruption has become so widely spread over the country.

"While the AVH members were scared and hid during the ~~XXXX~~ revolution, the regular ~~xxx~~ police joined the young intellectuals in the revolution. I have seen them myself taking part in the demonstration and shouting the slogans and during the fighting. Of course, there were certainly some of those who did not cooperate but just stayed at home."

B. "Before 1945, the Hungarian courts were known for their justice. The judges were strict, but absolutely impartial. Everybody would get a fair treatment from the courts in those times. The courts were a highly respected body before the war.

"The People's Courts on the other hand as set up between '45 and '47 were out only to avenge the alleged crimes committed by individuals before '44. They were set up mostly to judge the war criminals and the members of the Arrow Cross Party. I do not think that the so called war criminals were actually guilty. I'm thinking now especially of Mr. Bardossy and many others who were executed. Many of them thought to the best for the ^{DO} country and were under duress and acting under German pressure. Others, on the other hand like Szalassy and the top Arrow Cross Party men were, of course, guilty of crimes and these sentences in their cases were just."

D. "I think it's a wrong idea to believe that the Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848. Not at all. It is only due to the behavior of the Russian Occupation troops in 1944 and '45. The way they behaved and later on how the regime ~~ABETTED~~ ^{THEIR BEHAVIOR} behavior has been the cause of the hatred.

"We never expected anything good from the Russians before they came into Hungary because we were scared of Communism. In Hungary everybody knew more or less what the situation is in Russia and we have been feeling what was coming, but not even in our dreams could we imagine how it will be like.

"I had plenty of actual experiences with the Russian army in 1944, October when they occupied ~~MM~~ Nagyvarad. At that time I went back to my parents because of the war. My aged mother and niece were raped right in my presence. You can believe me that this was a holy fine ^{DERIVING} experience. I still don't know why

they didn't touch me. We were also chased away from our apartment and allowed to return only ~~xxx~~ three months after. By that time the apartment was looted. We hardly found anything. After two weeks ~~at~~ again we had to leave and then we were allowed to return to our own house - only as paying tenants. Three persons had to live in one room.

"So you can well imagine that my attitude ~~x~~ toward the Russian army has not changed. In fact, yes, it has become only worse."

~~XXXXXX~~ Respondent had a few experiences with Russian soldiers before the revolution. Once she went to beg the Russians to return them a few dresses because they did not have any and respondent was then chased away with a butt of a rifle and beaten up.

Later on when she lived in Budapest and acted as a ~~Governer~~ to **GOVERNESS**
A that child, she used to take the kid out in the ~~xxxxxx~~ municipal park and a young Russian mother who lives nearby in one of the Russian occupied apartment houses, ~~xx~~ came often there with her little boy. Respondent talked sometimes to this woman who told her how well they live in Budapest. They have their own PX and can buy everything they want and the things they never dreamed of in Russia. This young Russian woman also told respondent that they like to stay in Hungary and would like to stay on as long as possible.

When asked about the attitudes and actions of the Russian soldiers during the Revolution, respondent was of the opinion that they rather behaved **PASSIVELY**.

Respondent has not heard about cases of brutality by Soviet soldiers

toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E. According to respondent, local government officials who were of the old regime, ~~was~~, even in minor posts were always willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble. These people always acted out of sheer good will and never accepted any bribes.

F. However, the Communist ~~Dem~~ BUREAUCRACY was open to bribes and was corrupt. Respondent was of the opinion that on the party line and if you had good connections you could achieve almost everything. Also, the higher officers in the different offices were always open to bribes. For instance, the housing authority was an office according to respondent, where you could achieve anything if you had the money. Also the income tax offices were open to bribes.

~~Efficiency~~ Officials caught accepting bribes or getting around the regulations were fined but sometimes also sentences to prison. According to respondent, ~~XXXXX~~ however, it was always depending on who was the culprit.

G. Regarding the competence of the different Communist authorities, respondent has the following views:

"The top people in the AVH as I mentioned before received very strict and efficient training so, of course, they were good, if you could call this good. They were trained according to the Soviet system and this was also ~~THE SAME~~ with the army leadership. The Hungarian officers were all trained according to Russian regulations. I do not believe that more than one per cent of the old army officers stayed on in the Hungarian Army

Everywhere in the army at every unit, they had their Russian specialists."

Respondent had no idea about the efficiency of the Russian army leadership.

In public administration, the old officials were kept whenever ~~xxx~~ possible, but declassified and the top positions were held by the Party members who were inefficient. The old officials, however, did the work for very little pay. The others had the high salary and the key position.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Respondent's estimates of what probably will happen were as follows:

"I most sincerely believe that the time simply must come when the Russian supremacy will be annihilated and Communism will fade. FAIL,

"However, within Hungary, ~~xxxx~~ despite there will be a passive resistance always, the ~~KABAR~~ regime will now revert to the Stalinist line.

"Outside Hungary since the Communists and the Russians are working so hard to influence the U.S. government, I do not believe that the west will do something for Hungary unless finally they don't wake up and see the international danger."

X Respondent was of the opinion that the Poland type solution can only be ~~xxxxxxx~~ temporary everywhere even in Poland.

Her views were that short of war the independence of the South Eastern ~~xxxxx~~ European countries cannot be achieved. Even so [✓] ~~so~~ this ^{THOUGH IT} would mean the use of atomic bombs. War between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. is likely because the Russians are out for world domination and also because international pressure on the U.S.S.R. or U.N. sanctions will not help and will not make Russia to heed.

B. "While in Hungary during the last eight or ten years we were resigned that the ~~West~~ ^{West} has ~~xxxx~~ abandoned Hungary and will not come to our aid. We were pessimistic and accepted that our condition cannot and will not be changed.

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

KIND OF GOVERNMENT

A. When asked what ~~respondent~~ ^{respondent} would like to have ~~an independent~~ ^{an independent} Hungary ~~to be like~~ she said, "A western democracy."

B. Respondent was of the opinion that Hungary ~~xxx~~ should put the emphasis on agriculture because the country's soil ~~AND~~ ^{GEOPHYSICAL} position makes it an ideal country for this purpose. However, respondent ~~xxx~~ also thought that the industrial development and especially that of the light industry should not be neglected.

Respondent thought that Hungary should continue to grow wheat. Then also to produce all ~~the~~ ^{vegetable} vegetables and food. Furthermore, livestock breeding and wine ~~growing~~ ^{production} was also believed to be important in Hungary by respondent.

"Regarding industry I believe that the Hungarian light industry ought to produce the spare parts that are necessary for the different machinery~~s~~. Then, ~~xx~~ bicycles, motor bicycles, sewing machines and all consumered goods. The textile industry that was at a very high level before the war should also again be developed. Furthermore, leather industry and ready made clothing."

If the Communist regime is overthrown, I would keep and large ~~xxxx~~ enterprises in the hands of the state, but would force these enterprises to look well after the interest of the workers and the ~~xxxx~~ officials and that these people be paid properly. The smaller commercial ~~enter~~prises and plants should be given back to their rightful owners. On the whole, I can say that the trade and commerce should be entirely private because this is

only to the benefit of the consumer.

"The communications and the minds furthermore ~~to back~~ ^{THE} monopoly, ^{TUBACCO} I would leave in the hands of the state as it was before. Gas, electricity, water works, buses and street cars should remain municipal as ~~xxxxxxx~~ it was before the war.

"Regarding land reform, I would give back up to 1,000 acres the land to the former owners of the larger states. Otherwise, the state farms, I would keep in the hands of the state. The ~~T.S.X.C.~~ ^{T.S.X.C.} should be dissolved by all means. The maximum limit of the amount of land any one personal family may own is about 1,000 acres in my opinion which would insure smooth running agriculture system all over Hungary."

When asked what kind of government respondent would like to see in independent Hungary, she said:

"There is no doubt about it that I would choose the first kind of government - the one that insures me all freedom and rights, because if you can live freely, it is entirely up to you and your talents and industry what sort of a living you are going to make. Freedom is more important than everything else."

OUTLAWING

^{EMPH}
Respondent was most ~~infactically~~ ^{factually} for the ~~out-going~~ of the Communist party in ~~independant~~ an independent Hungary. When asked her reasons why - she said, "Because the Communist doctrine undermines". She also was in favor of outlawing the fellow-traveling ~~xxxx~~ organizations for the very same reason.

C. In reply to which kind of international position respondent would desire for an independent

to see an alliance with the West because I think that Hungary would benefit of such an alliance better than under any other system. We can see how well things go in Western Germany who is an ally of the Western hemisphere. Also, the Western assistance combined with Hungarian talent would achieve something really good for Hungary."

Respondent did not want to see any relations for Hungary - that is, ~~in~~ an independent Hungary, with the U.S.S.R. She believed that economic and ~~and~~ cultural relations would be permissible only ~~with~~ with the eastern European states only if there is no Communism there either. With the rest of Europe and the U.S., however, respondent ~~will~~ ^{would} like to see extensive economic and cultural relations.

Respondent has heard of the Federation of the Danubian states which she thinks a workable idea if not under Russian influence and if it could be carried out independently from the Soviet Union. She would like to see only Austria, Rumania, and Bulgaria included. Respondent has strong ~~prejudice~~ prejudice against Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Respondent found Hungary's present ~~unacceptable~~ unacceptable because she advocates the return of territories to Hungary which have belonged to the country for over a thousand years. Respondent was of the opinion that territorial adjustments should be brought about ~~by~~ ^{BY PLEBISCITE UNDER} international ~~control~~, but she added, "The members of this court, however, ought to know a great deal about history and especially Hungarian history and the history of these territories concerned."

BOUNDARIES

Respondent is very much concerned about the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary and desires fervently that if ever free Hungary ~~is~~ is re-established, these minorities come back into the fold. The whole problem is very important to her.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

CULT

A. Respondent has heard about the 20th Party Congress on which the Court of Stalin has been abolished, but has not heard about Khrushchev's secret speech.

Respondent has learned about the 20th Party Congress in the Hungarian newspapers which carried this event at length.

Respondent has heard about Senator McCarthy. She said, "Senator McCarthy has quite recently died. I knew that he was a violently anti-communist, sincere and honest and integere~~d~~ man. He was persecuting Communism and corruption."

Respondent has also heard about the un-American Activities Committee which tries to clear up Communist infiltration in the American government.

Respondent was very vague about Peron. She only knew that he was an Argentine dictator.

HE WAS

Regarding Rakosi's private life, respondent said, "We only knew that ~~he~~ fearing for his life and that he slept everyday at a different place. He was under ~~the~~ Russians influence and ~~even so~~ and even when he might have wanted to do something for Hungary, he did not because he obeyed Russians orders."

B. During the last ten years in Hungary, respondent drew most of her information about what was happening from news received by word of mouth. Then second - from letters received from abroad and also from the foreign radio stations.

Respondent said that the BBC broadcasts were the most important to her followed by letters received from friends from abroad.

C. The news respondent got by word of mouth was^{was} political and ~~XXXXXX~~ economic news. These she received from different friends and relatives of the intellectual class.

Respondent was of the opinion that this news was always reliable NOT since everybody always adds a little bit to it and there is also some WISHFUL DREAMING.

D. Regarding ~~the~~ respondent's reading habits before and during the war, they were as follows.

Among the newspapers, respondent read Magyar Nemzet, Pesti Hirlap, and the Est. Among the magazines she mentioned Ujidok, Tarsasag and ~~the~~ Magazines for Women.

Respondent also disclosed that she used to read a great deal of books mostly fiction by foreign authors in translation - classical and modern and also much by the Hungarian modern and classical authors.

As to the reading habits of respondent during the last ten or eight years, respondent said:

"There wasn't a great choice, REGARDING YOU GET the newspapers, The Szabadnep There was the most prominent people under the PAPER Communist regime and all other papers more or less printed some of these same stories. Sometimes I read the Szabadnep, but very seldom because you could not ~~xxx~~ rely on any information contained therein.

"I did ~~it~~ try sincerely read sometimes between the lines to get an idea of what happened, ~~XXXXXX~~ but without any success.

"I never did read any newspapers with public issues from the U.S.S.R. or other satellite nations.

^{Sol-1}
NEE not allowed to be shown in
Hungary. The only paper from the
West was the Communist Daily Worker.
That was on sale in Budapest."

Respondent never read any illegal
publications. However, she read
the so called post card books in ^{PROSCRIBED}
great numbers. She herself had a
great many in her own library and
so did her friends. They ^{RATHER}
hid them and lent them to their
friends - then destroyed them.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the chances of changes inside Russia, respondent said, "It is quite possible that the change may occur within Russia, but this could only come about by a revolution because here too, as everywhere else, it's the young people who try to rise. After all, those youngsters who were abroad and the young soldiers have seen how different the life in the West is. The standard of living, culture, etc.

I believe that due to the terror reigning inside Russia, the people there are somehow resigned to their lot, but should once upon a time ~~ASPAK~~ ~~be like~~ like in Hungary I am hopeful that the ~~masters~~ masses will ~~xxx~~ arise.

"If Russia had a free election, ~~in~~ I'm sure that they will denounce communism if these elections are really and truly free.

"There is no doubt about as to what the aims and motives of the top Russian Communist leaders are. First of all, they want to achieve world domination for Russia. Then they personally want to main their positions, their top jobs and their material welfare.

"In my opinion, there is no difference between the Russian and the Hungarian Communist leadership if we regard their Communist conviction, but as human beings, the Hungarian Communists are more cultured and more educated than the Russian ones. On the other hand, it is always the Russian leadership who gives the orders to the Hungarian Communists who obey implicitly."

B. The relative popularity in Hungary of the other nations in

by ~~the~~ respondent. The most popular is Eastern Germany because she is so much stronger than Hungary and everybody hoped that the revolution would first explode there. Second in popularity was Poland because we had so much in common with this country in our suffering and in the oppression. The Rumanians and the Czechs are not so popular and ~~not~~ neither are ~~the~~ the Yugoslavs because here the minority problem plays a great role, but Bulgaria was put at the bottom of the list by respondent. Her reasons for this were, "This is a very small and primitive nation".

The popularity and the dislikes of the above mentioned nations are due to the behavior of the nations themselves said respondent, because the governments are all ~~satellite~~ governments anyway.

The only ~~European~~ ^{European} nations besides Eastern the Hungarians respondent knew, were the Rumanians. Since her hometown had become a part of Rumania after the war and she has lived a great deal there.

In ~~the~~ respondent's view, if free elections were held in the ~~satellite~~ countries apart from Poland, she believes that all countries would reject communists, except maybe Yugoslavia.

In respondent's opinion, the living standard is at its highest in East Germany followed by Czechoslovakia. Then comes Hungary followed by Poland and the lowest living standards are in Romania and Bulgaria. Respondent added, "The more you go to the east, the lower the living standards are."

3. Respondent had the following views on the Polish situation.

"It has been a very small change

TO THE BETTER, but I still believe that Gomulka is a puppet. His policy and Poland's future depends entirely what the Russians want him to do. The policy of gradualism is only a temporary solution and therefore, I do not believe that Gomulka will stay in power for long.

"Events in Poland affected events in Hungary inasmuch as people in Hungary dared to voice their objections to the Communist regime. Later on, however, and especially during the revolution people in Hungary had so much more to think about than of Poland so nobody cared about anymore what was happening there."

Respondent was unaware of ~~any~~ ~~changes~~ of any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power. She admitted, however, that she has heard and read in the Hungarian newspapers about the Poznan riots and the consequent trials.

When asked whether she would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to ~~xxx~~ take a path along Polish lines, respondent said:

"I wouldn't have missed for anything in the world this experience to have lived through the Hungarian revolution and as it happened, it was beautiful and tragic and I wouldn't have wanted to have it otherwise. The Hungarian revolution as it was, ~~xx~~ after all has more and clearly shown the ~~West~~ the true feelings of the Hungarian nation and it's adversity to any sort of Communist doctrine."

D. Regarding Tito and Yugoslavia, respondent said:

"Tito's only merit is that he has made himself independent from the Soviet Union, but I do not believe that ever he has..."

stabilise his position because
the Yugoslavs would like to have
it better too. Tito's relation
with the other east European ~~to~~ COUNTRIES
TO my mind ~~are~~ rather horse-tied HOSTILE
V West and his great friendship with
Russia AND THE, is just a make-
believe. He's an OPPORTUNIST and
he always acts as it is better
for him. He considers America
to be fairy god-mother and from
whom he could always get the
money he needs. He's shameless-
ly exploiting America for his own
purposes. I do not believe that
he is whole heartedly on the side
of the Western world.

"Regarding his attitude ~~toward~~
the Hungarian revolution, this
was a typical attitude of a turn
coat.

"I do not think that Tito is very
popular in Yugoslavia except for
his closest collaborators.

"As far as I was informed, the
living standard is pretty low in
Yugoslavia while labor conditions
are very bad and there is no free-
dom of ~~xxxx~~ expression or press."

E According to respondent's
opinion of the Suez ~~xx~~ situation,
the invasion of the Suez canal,
etc., has ~~practically~~ influenced GREATLY
the Hungarian revolution since
they happened at the same time.

Respondent's ~~had~~ ^{HELD THAT} the Anglo-
French invasion of Egypt was
illegal as well as the ~~xxx~~ Israeli
invasion.

She also felt that Egypt also had
no right whatsoever to national-
ize the canal.

F. As much as respondent knew,
the living standards in West ~~xxxx~~
Germany are pretty high.

"I believe that it is possible
that the Germans may start another

WEST

~~XXXX~~ war. This, however, would be only against the Soviet Union, and therefore, I believe that the ~~best~~ German rearmament is justified because it is defense against possible and ~~xxxxxxx~~ probable Russian attack."

Respondent, however, had no knowledge about the strength of the German army and regarding the term of service she said she believes it is two years.

Comparing the German occupation army during World War II and the occupation by Russian army, respondent said:

"Both were arbitrary and brutal and equally distasteful to me personally.

"The German army both officers and enlisted men ~~were~~ certainly disciplined. There's no doubt about that. In my ~~K~~ my opinion, the Russian occupation force was the more unpopular in Hungary."

G. "Concerning the NATO in Hungary we always hoped that this will weld together all the ~~western~~ forces and in due time, it will be a very effective alliance against ~~the~~ Russian *expansion*, and ~~this~~ thus also a great help to us.

"I do not know the stipulations of the Warsaw Pact and therefore I cannot give any opinion on it, neither can I compare it with the NATO.

"As far as I know, the British labor party is a very strongly socialistic party with leanings towards Communism, even though I ~~think~~ believe that they do not want Communism. The other ~~west-~~ern ~~xxx~~ European socialist parties are more or less fellow travelers of Communism."

standards of the various countries rank as follows - Western Germany, Britian, Italy, Greece, Soviet Union and finally Egypt.

H. Respondent was particularly surprised about the terrific economic and material welfare here in the U.S. when arriving here. She thought that it was unbelievable to her to see the amount of goods displayed in the stores. She also was greatly ~~by~~ ~~xxxxx~~ impressed by huge buildings and the dimensions of New York City.

According to respondent, the U.S. should strongly cooperate with all the world powers in order to stand up against Communism.

In respondent's opinion, the American foreign policy is extremely weak and cowardly.

Respondent thought that present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary should be given help-aid by the U.S. only if it could be controlled that it benefits the respective nations and does not strengthen the respective ~~COM M UNIST~~ government.

In the respondent's view, the American government should not accept the present Kadar regime as ~~THE TRUE~~ representative of the Hungarian government. However, respondent thought that diplomatic relations should not be broken off.

Regarding Western ~~xxxxxx~~ visitors, respondent said:

"People in Hungary would love very much to see more Western visitors. These should be ~~the~~ politicians and newspaper men; but before these visitors go to Hungary they ought to be told by competent Hungarian politicians ~~and~~ and recent imigrants about

home. They ought to be told not to believe the official and guided tours, but that they go and see for themselves." ^{SHOULD}

According to ~~xxxxx~~ respondent, people back in Hungary are famished for Western literature and if and when the Hungarian government permits to ship Western books to Hungary, the best idea according to respondent would be to send those to the existing State Literature Distributing Company or whatever it is called, so as to assure the widest distribution of Western literature. According to respondent, people back home ~~rather less, but to buy a~~ ^{WOULD} good Western book. ^{IN ORDER TO AFFORD}

In respondent's opinion, people back at home would be very glad to hear that the exiles are associated with activities - such ~~xxxxxx activities~~ as western visitors and publications because it must give them the feeling that the exiles have not forgotten them.

Regarding the Marshall Plan and its aims, respondent seemed to have mixed up the organization with the NATO because her answer was as follows:

"The Marshall Plan was an alliance of the Atlantic Countries so as America can have ~~x~~ military bases in case of war."

As to why America became involved in the Korean war in 1950, she was of the opinion that the U.S. wanted to try out its military might against the Russians.

I. Respondent held a very bad opinion of the United Nations and its effectiveness. Her answer was short and ~~LA CONVIC~~ : "Salt office." (In Hungary usually ~~if~~ if an office ~~and~~ authority does

pretends to work, is usually called
a 'salt office!')

According to respondent, the United Nations should have sent U.N. troops to Hungary in order to restore peace and order there. Furthermore free election should have been held in Hungary under the ~~ASPIRES~~ of the United Nations and the Russians should ~~be~~ made *SHOULD* to withdraw, first of all, from Hungary.

Respondent is of the opinion that as long as the United Nation leadership is not exchanged, there isn't an earthly change that anything be done in the foreseeable future for Hungary.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD
SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked who in her opinion was the greatest living Hungarian and why, respondent replied without hesitation, Cardinal Mindszenty, and this because he has accepted ~~MARTYRDOM~~ for the Hungarian nation. He always fought Communism and never compromised.

"Imre Nagy is a decent Hungarian man who is an idealist and who was unable to carry out his plans. He was full of good intentions to help the nation and to implement real socialist ideas and not the Communist utopia.

"Rajk, to my mind has been an opportunist.

"Gero is the most dangerous ~~SCOUNDREL~~ He is even worse than Rajk.

"Kadar is an impotent puppet of the Russian government.

"In my opinion, General Kiraly is a man without any steadfast character. First of all, he was an officer in the Horthy army. Then he becomes the ~~A.D.C.~~ of the most notorious pro-Nazi Arrow Cross General Bereghffy. Then, all of a sudden he goes over to the Russians and how he come to be put in prison, I don't know. To my mind, he never identifies himself with the code of the nation. He only looks after his own interests. Here, for goodness knows which reason, he is being fettered ~~like a hero.~~ FETED

"Regarding Miss Kethly, I also have a very bad opinion about her. She is a very dangerous woman."

When asked her opinion regarding President Eisenhower, respondent said.

"I believe him to be too weak. We were greatly disillusioned because everybody was full of hope when he was elected President and we believed that as an army man, he really knows the Soviet Union. We also hoped that he will act more effectively against the Communist expansion.

"Secretary-General Hammerskjold I believe to be too weak also. He furthermore is very badly informed it seems to me.

"State Secretary Dulles of the United States is not a man of his own will. I believe that the U.S. government on him and the cabinet PUTS PRESSURE does not listen to his advice.

"Regarding Eden, once upon a time, I heard him to be a very politician, GOOD but since the Suez situation, I thought that he has made a grave mistake against his own country as well as against Hungary.

"Former ~~XXXXX~~ President Truman was a stronger ~~XXXXX~~ President than President Eisenhower.

"Mikoyan is the Secretary-General of the Communist party, strongly anti-Stalin, but a convinced Communist.

"Nehru of India would like to raise the living standards of India and in my opinion he tries to implement the socialist part of the Communist ~~DOCTRINE~~ without terror and violence.

"The Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is the Nationalist leader of National China, but unfortunately he is lacking funds so that his fight against the red Chinese GRANT, is ineffective.

"Former ~~XXXXX~~ President Roosevelt was one of the ~~XXXXXX~~ grave-diggers of Hungary and has sold out Eastern Europe ~~AT NAZI~~. I

am pretty sure that his name will be cursed once upon a time even here in the United States.

"German Chancellor Adenauer is a politician who knows what he wants. He is a wonderful real statesman who directs well the affairs of the German nation.

"Stalin was a criminal and a blood thirsty scoundrel.

"Malinkov is just a clown in the Communist leadership.

"Generalissimo Franco is the right wing dictator of Spain.

"~~ANEURIAN~~ ~~HE~~ Bevan is the chief man of the British trade unions. He is the man who stands up mostly for the British miners. MINERS.

"Khrushchev ~~ix~~ is a very sly but a good politician. He is leading the ~~western~~ world by the nose just as he wants it.

"Molotov is a politician of top grade. He is an all in out Communist and has served excellently the Communist cause.

"Ollenhauer is a very able man and German politician.

"Churchill is the greatest statesman of the world who has fully realized the dangers of Communism and it ~~was~~ was only very sad that Roosevelt at that time did not listen to his advice. Churchill has seen clearly the danger of Communism and the results if Russia is being let into Europe."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. "Generally speaking, ~~the~~ first of all, those people have left Hungary who took part in the revolution and in the fighting and for this very reason were feeling re- WERE FEARING prisals. Then, the former middle class which was so utterly oppressed has also left because they wanted to start a new life and then there were, of course, great many people who came out, mostly the youngest, of sheer adventure.

"Those who stayed behind did so for family reasons. Also, there were many elderly people who did not dare to face the future. Then, last but not least, there were very many people who said that we have to remain and face and fight and suffer with our people here at home. I had some relatives of mine who acted on this idea.

"I can say that I am deeply sorry for those who stayed behind and also I do admire them very much.

"In my opinion, people in Hungary are very glad that we came out and they still hope that, we, the new immigrants will be able to do something on their behalf.

"Suppose the Russians are still in Hungary and there is an opportunity to come out to the West, I believe that very few people would remain at home. Mostly the old people than those who still receive some sort of a pension, and finally, of course, the all and out Communists."

B. "While in Hungary, I have heard only of individuals who were active in the West during the last ten years. I did not hear of exile organizations. Among people I heard were Mr. Eckhard, Francis Nagy, Bela

Fabian and MONSIEUR Varga."

X When handed over the list of organizations and individuals, respondent had the following remarks.

"The ACEN has been set up with the aim to liquidate communism.

"The Hungarian National Council is an organization here in the U.S. which strives to bring together all Hungarians to work for the common cause.

"The MHBE is Hungarian semi-military organization, but as far as I am informed, they have bitter quarrels among themselves. They have organizations in America and also Canada and South America.

"I have heard about the Christian Democratic union also. As far as I know, this is headed by Barankovich.

"As far as I know, the American-Hungarian Federation is the federation of all Hungarians here in the United States."

Regarding the individuals, respondent had the following remarks.

" MONSIEUR Varga is the President of the Hungarian National Council who takes an active part in Hungarian politics and propaganda for the Hungarian cause.

"Francis Nagy. This man is a turn coat and not the right man to represent the Hungarian nation.

" Tibor Eckhardt. This is the man who, at present, could best represent Hungarian interests. He has the most practice in politics and terrific historical and

~~MAN~~ language knowledge. He was the man who has been brought up on politics and besides, on top of everything, he is a good Hungarian.

"Charles Peyer, former Social Democrat.

"Nicholas Kallay was Hungarian Prime Minister, but I don't find him a very good politician. Pfeiffer is a man who works with great enthusiasm here in the U.S. for the Hungarian cause. Barankovich is the one who tries to bring together the Hungarian Catholic factions.

"~~BEL~~ Fabian is the one who tries to make the greatest possible publicity for the Hungarian cause. He's organizing all the picketing and all the demonstrations. He's a plucky little man.

"As far as I know, Otto Hapsburg has ~~denounced of the coming of~~ ^{BECOMING} the king of Hungary ~~ever~~, but nevertheless, he is hoping fervently and sincerely that the Hungarian nation will once succeed in achieving independence and will elect the kind of government under which it is willing to live.

"Admiral Horthy. Under his governorship of Hungary's living standard and power has tremendously increased after the last war. His only drawback was that he could not select his collaborators well."

C. Respondent did not meet any Hungarians who escaped to the West after '45, but who returned to Hungary later on.

According to respondent, the redefector is a man of very weak character or who could not resist the homesickness.

Respondent was of the opinion that the redefection campaign

RENOUNCED

MKE had been started by the Communists only for propaganda purposes. However, she was of the opinion that this campaign was not very effective.

D. The respondent is of the view that people who have left Hungary should now disregard all personal interests and should concentrate in working together and pooling forces for the Hungarian cause. Everybody - all Hungarian exiles, ought ~~watch the~~ *TO WORK FOR THE* purpose that the Hungarian issue be kept in the limelight and not forgotten. Also, the Hungarians must try and do their best to convince the American public opinion of Communism.

"People in Hungary, according to letters I'm receiving from home, would always like to know how we are ~~fairing~~ *FARING* and what we are doing and how the living standard is here - the prices, etc.

"There is one thing which I believe people back home should know and that is that they must be informed of the ~~steek~~ *political* STARK situation whether good or bad.

"What I personally would like to do if I had the talent for it, I would like or draft a small pamphlet easily obtainable by everyone telling the world what Communism is and what the Russian expansion and Communism means to the free world."

Respondent would not like to join any exile organization, old or new.

Regarding the various Hungarian political parties, respondent was of the ~~mk~~ opinion that the parties active before '48 were unwillingly, but nevertheless, serving the Russian purposes.

Parties in exile as the other

hand, according to respondent,
are splitting up Hungarian forces.

Respondent was of the ~~xxx~~ opinion
that political parties revived in
Hungary during the revolution
should have ~~xxx~~ not done so because
this again meant the splitting up
of the forces.

Respondent held the opinion that
exiles previously that come to
the U.S. could have returned to
Hungary to participate in the
revived party but only in a coll-
ation.

E. Regarding her own plans for
the future, respondent said that
in case is independent again and
free from Russian occupation and
Communism, Then she would like
to ~~xxx~~ return to Hungary.

✓ HUNGARY

Respondent also approves of the
idea that children of Hungarian
immigrants should learn Hungar-
ian in the United States besides
English too..

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND
LEAFLETS

A. Respondent listened regularly to foreign radio stations while in Hungary. She listened to the BBC Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and French and Spanish radio stations in Hungarian language. All receptions wherever there was a Hungarian broadcast, were jammed, according to respondent. She mostly listened to all stations - one after the other very regularly. She also always told others what she has heard and has also received news second hand from friends and relatives. Respondent listened on her own radio or together with friends and acquaintances.

Since there was a great risk involved in listening to broadcasts, according to respondent, everybody listened in secret with closed doors and windows. Nevertheless the danger never deterred people.

Regarding respondent's reaction to the foreign broadcasts, they were as follows.

"I preferred the BBC broadcasts because this was the most factual and gave out the strict facts and nothing but the truth. I especially liked the broadcasts of Andrew Martin ~~every~~ week."

"Regarding the effects of the foreign radio broadcasts, in Hungary, I believe that before the revolution they had a great effect because people did a great deal of willful wishing and dreaming after these broadcasts. They were raising our hopes. We always thought and hoped and believed that the West is ~~is~~ working for Hungary and doing something in our interest.

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"During the revolution we were sitting day and night at the radio hoping that the news would be broadcast ~~at~~ that the United Nations troops are finally coming to Hungary, or at least a delegation."

When asked about her opinion whether or not Radio Free Europe in particular helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help, respondent said: "There is some truth in this because I have heard the Radio Free Europe very often myself. It was rather the way how they talked that gave the impression. The voice was big, but there was very little behind it. That was the general opinion."

"Nevertheless, I believe that Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary because this will be the only link with the Western world and will keep up hope in the hearts of the people over there. Also, people do want to know ~~at~~ political and other news from the West. I believe that regarding the programs, news about politics and economics would be good as well as anti-Communist propaganda and programs about life in Western Europe and life in the United States."

B. Respondent has not seen any Radio leaflets that were dropped in Hungary. She only has heard about them. She was of the opinion that it is not worth while to continue to drop leaflets into Hungary.

D. Respondent believed that the Western groups that broadcast and send leaflets into Hungary have the same goal. That is to show the Soviet Union that the Western world is not accepting the Soviet system and doctrine.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent's idea of how children should be brought up is as follows:

"I ~~think~~ think that a child should be brought up ^{with} a great deal of love and tenderness. A child must be brought up to respect the parents and to be disciplined mentally and in body. A child must also be told to respect and appreciate other human beings.

"I must certainly advocate the discipline of children which must not necessarily be physical punishment but if good ~~words~~ words and good examples are useless, then now and then in an early age, you might as well resort to physical punishment also.

"The treatment should be different for boys and girls. A boy must be educated and brought up to face life and girls should be brought up to be a good mother, a good wife and housewife."

When asked to tell of an instance when she was punished as a child, respondent said:

"The greatest punishment for us children - we were eight in all - was when ~~we~~ we behaved naughtily or did not obey, our mother didn't talk to us for one or two days, or in going to bed, she did not kiss us goodnight. Also, if we were very naughty, it so happened that we did not receive any Christmas presents or presents for our birthday.

"I remember once I thought it to be ~~a~~ a wonderful idea to put a ~~BRUSH~~ BRUSH into the bed of one of our servants. I was about ten at that time. The poor girl, when she went to bed got a shock, jumped up and knocked her head

against the wall, so that she got a big bump. The punishment consisted of my Mother making the girl slap me and thus humiliate me by this act. Then, my brother, for instance, he was about 12 years old, had knocked in a couple windows with stones so he did not receive the bicycle he was promised for Christmas.

"Among people I knew, it was usually the mother who punished the children and who on the whole looked after the education and bringing up of the kids.

"The education and bringing up of children varies with the different social classes. The middle class, the educated people brought up their children very well, disciplined in the modern way.

"The lower class people, however, employed much more physical punishment. The Politarians did not care very much about the education of their children. The Hungarians on the other hand were very strict with their children and brought them up to work steadily and diligently all their lives.

TRANSCRIPTS

"Communism did indeed bring about changes in this respect because the authority of the parents has decreased.

"As far as I know, people I knew stopped physical punishment when administered to boys around 13 to 14 and to girls around 8 and 10. Punishment in general is abandoned about the same age everywhere. But it depends on families. Sometimes the punishment is drawn out by the parents in Hungary even when you are quite grown up. For instance, even now days that I'm quite older and so are my brothers, we extremely respect my mother and she is a kind of a matriarch on whom everybody is

DOLE

"There were, however, some even in Hungary who have accepted the methods of progressive education, but the results were disastrous as they are also here in the U.S. The peasants and the workers in Hungary usually a physical punishment much longer than the ~~it~~ intellectual class.

"Regarding the changes during the last ten years in the way children are disciplined during their first eight years in school, I can sum it it like this. There are no disciplinary methods except report cards have been abolished. You can imagine the results.

"Regarding characteristics I value most in a friend are complete ~~sincerity~~ sincerity and will to help each other, to suffer together and to be glad together. I believe that the changes that came about under Communism are only that friendships became even stronger. ~~xxx~~ Mutual suffering made each other more understanding and within the same social class, friendships remained strong."