

## CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

As the daughter of a "kulak" who could well afford to give a good education to his children (she is a highschool graduate, one of her brothers is a doctor) this girl was brought up by loving and sensible parents. She pointed out that despite the mother being twelve years older than her father, they led a very happy and harmonious family life.

The whole family seems to have followed strong national principles, due to which all of them were imprisoned for longer or shorter periods during the communist regime. Subject was tortured and imprisoned by the AVH as for having "failed to inform" on a friend who left for the West.

Husband is the son of a former "white Russian" who despite having been born in immigration in Rumania became a fierce and patriotic Hungarian. He left Rumania when a young boy, objecting to compulsory military service there.

During the revolution the couple took most active part in the fighting. Subject also nursed at first-aid stations and was then in Vienna and returned to pick up medicines.

Subjects activities during revolution were inspired by her deep rooted hatred against the AVH which is understandable after all, and against the oppressors. She is a fierce patriot but also, on the other hand, preserved a very fair and unbiased judgement.

She has adapted herself extremely well to the American way of living and is happy in her work at the factory and grateful for this country for giving her the opportunity to make good.

Subject is level headed, intelligent and bright young woman, also very sincere. Despite the torture and the consequence desfiguration, suffered at the AVH (all her teeth were knocked out and scars burned by extinguished cigarettes on both arms, broken finger on

✓ UP

right hand) she seems to have kept her ~~lips~~  
chin under all circumstances. By the way she must  
have been extremely good-looking, because even  
now that she has a set of good false teeth, her  
dark eyes are full of life and courage, always  
ready to smile. She must be a very PLUCKY little  
thing.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AID WARM-UP QUESTION

When asked what she thought, which are the most important facts that American should know about the events in Hungary during autumn of 1956, she said: " I believe, even so it's late now to say this, the American should know that the intervention of the West would have been a decisive step in putting an end to Russian domination in the world. Because had the West given some assistance to the Hungarians, all others satellite nations would have closed ranks and turned against the Russian oppressor. By the time of the Hungarian revolution the situation was just ripe for such an action."

" The other thing I would like to point out is that as far as I have seen here, in the USm most people believe that the Hungarian revolution was a well organized and premeditated thing. This is not true. The fire of the AVH people at the radio building was the spark that ignited the fire under the ashes, if I may say so. ~~XXXX~~ Despair, hatred and unhappiness was smoldering for long years."

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

Respondent gave the following details on her activities during the first three days of the revolution. "On 22nd of October I was working as a bus conductor on the number 7 line. At that time nobody knew anything yet, but in the evening I bought the ~~V~~ paper for 30 forints. This paper had a blackmarket price because everybody wanted to read it and there was only a short supply of copies. This was the paper which in the last couple of months wrote extremely bravely and patriotically. In this paper we heard that there is going to be a demonstration on the 23rd. However, I believed it sincerely, I thought that this is a will-be demonstration organized by the communists, so as to divert attention from something else. I went home this day. On the 23rd again I went to my work. ~~At~~ At that time I was assigned to the bus which ~~which~~ run between ~~Tetyx~~ Budapest. Passengers who came from the city in the meantime had told me of what was going on in town. Later on a colleague of mine came also and told me that people are demonstrating in the streets and shouting the slogans and that the demonstration organized by the University students is taking a serious turn. Everybody, of course, was terribly excited. My husband and I we worked on the same bus. He was the driver and I was the conductor. I was very happy to be able to work with him during the whole time of the revolution. Finally we couldn't stand it any more, and we took the bus into the garage and told our supervisor that we are going to town, because we want to know what's going on. It was 10:30 when we reached the city and intended to go toward the radio building, but by that time the fight was going on. We were held up at the freedom bridge, where we met our troupes. These people told us what happened at the radio building. One of the men there at the bridge had started to organize a group which ought to guard the bridge and ask the authentication ~~expressing pieces~~

THURSDAY  
LITERARY  
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IDENTIFICATION PAPERS



of people passing with cars also. So my husband + MYSELF immediately joined. We were about three hundred <sup>V-11.1.11</sup> people in that group. We held up a truck with workers from the lamp factory which in fact manufactured arms. We asked arms from them. They very readily distributed them and with the rest they rushed on to the radio building. We then took over completely the guard of that bridge. We stopped every car and asked for the identification paper of every person. The first AVH man who came into our net was a lieutenant, on a motorcycle with another one who did not have any papers on him. We kept them under strict guard and disarmed them. Then an army car Poveda drove up with a man in civilian clothes in it. We stopped it of course, and asked them to identify themselves. The driver became extremely impertinent and rude, so the crowd who by that time was very much angry, beat him up properly. The man, civilian, finally gave his papers. My husband took them. He was an AVH, a colonel, a Jew. In the trunk compartment of the car we found his uniform. The crowd was very near killing him, but my husband restrained them. He told them justice must be given at a court. Nevertheless and of course we disarmed him. He had a pistol in his attache case. I was assigned to guard the disarmed man. When I think back now, it was quite ridiculous. From somewhere somebody gave me a rusty sabre and I stood there holding the sabre against his stomach and the man was trembling like a leaf. He was pleading for his life, of course. Then we asked him several questions and finally found out that he was the AVH commander of the oil fields at Lovaszi. He also ~~xxx~~ told us that he received orders from the communist party AVH headquarters to return in civilian clothes immediately to Budapest. We of course took away his car and then a couple of comrades rushed over to the Szabad Nep editorial offices where, as we were informed the printing of leaflets was already going on. We in the meantime continued to stop all cars and people who passed by. <sup>BUY'S</sup>

SABRE

SABRE

In our group, as far as I could judge at that time we were about 250 men and 80 women. All of us were

armed. It was about 1:30 at night already. Later on two army trucks drove up ~~xxx~~ commanded by a colonel. They were fully armed. We ~~xxx~~ asked them where to and what for. They said they had orders to return to their barracks. My husband then gave the colonel a ~~xxx~~ dressing gown <sup>DOWN</sup> telling him why does he go back to the barracks, when all Hungarians have to fight now. ~~xxx~~ All soldiers murmured their assent. The colonel was at loss, what to do. Later on we found out that he was the commander of those soldiers who refused to shoot, on the Hungarians, at the radio building. So we asked them to hand over their arms. We disarmed the colonel, and my husband sat next him and they all went back to the CHARLES Barracks. Five truckloads of arms then were taken from the barracks, where our people came back and took the arms to the radio building and also near the Chain Bridge where we heard fighting was going on. The officer was extremely decent about the whole affair. We were told then that all soldiers were locked up in the barracks later on.

When asked <sup>the</sup> ~~to~~ what respondent felt when she joined in the fight, (she never took part in the demonstrations she immediately plunged into the middle of the fighting) respondent said: "I think that you will understand that after being tortured forty days by the ABH I hated the regime and everything that went with it, more than anything else. Somehow, all of us felt that this is the time or never where we have to act and when we have to fight for our lives and for our freedom. I had no fear, whatsoever, and I must admit now that I think back I do not think that now I could do it again. But at that time just nothing mattered. We were willing to die, but not live any more under these conditions."

"What we wanted more and foremost was that the Russians should withdraw from Hungary, because we knew that the moment the Russians are no more in our country, the Hungarians will be able on their own to make a new sort of living to form a new cabinet and to take their lives into their own hands."

When asked what she thought when she only heard about the demonstrations and before the fighting started,

respondent said: I must tell you quite honestly, I did not believe that we would be able to achieve any serious results. Because in the last months the people were writing more freely and we heard that people also dared to talk more freely. We were hoping for a small change but not a overall change at all."

Respondent then went back to tell about the events of the night between the 23 and 24th. "We returned with the two cars and the captured AVH colonel to the Chain Bridge, where we handed him over to a group of Hungarian revolutionaries, because we wanted him to stand a trial."

"I must tell you it is extremely difficult and nauseatic to use arms against people who are unarmed. Also it is quite different in a battle when you have to fight for your life and are fighting people who are using arms against you. Also we thought that everybody should be given a fair trial."

"With the car then we turned to the Hegyaljai street, where we have heard that the Hungarian soldiers were going over to the freedom fighters and here all the streets were blocked by them and they did the same kind of control job as we did at the Bridge. However, when we were nearing the Budaorsi Ut, the Russian tanks started to come in. We then changed up our direction and went towards the Korter, so as to warn people stationed there. We started to make barricades. We pulled up the pavement and the streetcar rails. Of course, they were not very effective, but nevertheless we were able to delay the tanks a couple of minutes, if not more. We then rushed back to the freedom Bridge and there put up a resistance and started to shoot against the tanks. But of course, we saw that this was quite impossible and ineffective to carry on the battle further. So we hid out ~~on the~~ UNDER bridge-heads on the Danube quai.

When asked what she thought about the ~~outcome~~ <sup>WTCOME</sup> of the revolution fighting will be, respondent said: "At that time when we saw that neither the police nor the Hungarian army is fighting against us, in fact they were



passive and then also in the end they <sup>came</sup> over to us we were hopeful and we were convinced that the revolution will in the end win ~~out~~. We held Gero responsible for calling the Russian troops in."

when asked how she thought that the demonstration turned into fighting, respondent said: "this is absolutely clear, the AVH action at the radio building was the cause of everything. Also Gero's speech. Because I am sure that at that time everybody would have accepted the compromise. It was the first blood the crowd had seen which angered them and ~~we~~ made them to take up our arms. After all you must remember that as the fighting was started by the young people who were educated under the communist regime and who really had not much reason to fight."

Then asked when she heard the first time of the freedom fighter, respondent said: "I really do not know, this because we did not call ourselves freedom fighters, we called them 'boys' or the 'kids.' After all we had more serious things to do than to think about what we really were and what we should call ~~the~~ others. I believe that and I am speaking now of myself, ~~I~~ in the second part of the revolution, only ~~was~~ was the term of freedom fighter used officially and ~~widely~~ at the time when the communist regime has started to use the ~~counter-revolution~~ ~~no-~~ ~~vice~~ expression. ~~It~~ was probably the population who called us 'freedom fighters' because as I said we didn't think of that."

✓ EACH

✓ WIDELY

✓ COUNTER

When asked who fought during the freedom fight and the revolution, respondent said: "In the beginning they were mostly young workers and also a part of the University students. It was the workers from Csepel who fought from the very beginning ~~into~~ the very last. They were of course, lots of other workers, bus drivers, tram drivers etc., The University students organized mostly the demonstration, ~~only~~ in the beginning and I am sure they did not think of what's going to happen and what the results shall be. But later on they too fought with us, whole-heartedly. The University students after all ~~represented~~ the in-  
represented



telligentzia <sup>THEY/</sup> ~~thought~~ were more reasonable, did not want that bloodshed should start. They firmly hoped and believed in the beginning that the demands will be met."

"Regarding the sex and age of the people who took part in the fighting I can only say that I have seen boys and girls, women and men and even children around twelve years. It was quite natural that we, women took part in the fighting also. After all during the past twelve years we had to work like ~~them~~ ~~men~~ <sup>like men</sup> and we were told that we had the pride of men also."

"I can also tell you that the women fought more fiercely in the battle than the men. Of course also the more intelligent people they were fighting with their heads, the working class is going after the instinct, and we didn't <sup>care</sup> very much."

When asked wherefrom the fighters got their arms, respondent said: "As I mentioned before our first arms we received from the Lamp Factory. Then we received arms from the military barracks of the police and also as mentioned before the army and even the police barracks were guarded by AVH people and the boys were not let out, so for instance it happened that at one of the police barracks the policemen threw out their weapons through the window. I must also mention that which is quite typical of the whole <sup>spirit of</sup> ~~spiritual~~ revolution that with us together fought the son of Horvath; the communist foreign minister and who was the <sup>Union</sup> ~~Union~~ delegate in N.Y. This boy was born in Moscow because his father was an emigrant from the first Hungarian communist there. He didn't know a word of Hungarian when he came to Hungary when he was twenty years old. My husband met Horvath junior in the army. This young man was the ADC. to the general Ilku an all and out communist. A part was dismissed within twenty four hours when instead of a Poveda car he sent a smaller car to the wife of that general who asked to be picked up for going to the market and objected to riding in a less sumptuous car. Horvath junior was an idealist who sincerely believed that communism is good. But during the long years he found out what it is really and he completely turned against his father especially after his speech at the UN. Incidentally Horvath junior escaped to the West and his father when he returned from the UN came to see him at the camp in Austria where we staid also and tried to persuade him to return. The boy however, did not want to speak to his father;"

UNITED NATIONS

When asked how the fighters were organized, respondent said: "In the beginning there was no organization at all. Small groups banded together and one among them took up the lead. Later on in the second part of the revolution however there was

Maleter who, being a career officer took over. This man was adolized by everybody. He was an extremely even man, a born leader; even though he served in the democracy army by his act of going over to the freedom fighters he has extolled everything.

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C. "I spent my days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the Soviet reinvasion doing Red Cross and first aid service in the Buda district at the Sports hospital, also I want over to the Pest district to pick up the wounded in the ambulances I very often was at the Corvin Koz; here it very often happened that during the fighting we were unable to go back to the hospital and we took off our white uniforms and picked up arms and fought. Our bus number 807 which my husband and I commandeered during the revolution and with which we were shopping between Buda and Pest and helping the freedom fighters, became quite legendary. Everybody knew our bus and proud to say. We were carrying the front instructions from the different groups to each other. We carried medicine and Red Cross supplies, also pamphlets. The Sports hospital was the head quarters of the revolutionary council of young people."

SHUTTLE

V-1 AM

When the red army had begun its retreat, we thought this is a real retreat, thus after all just before the revolution the situation was so much better and the tensions were slackened so that we were hoping that the troops would really leave the country.

... ..

When asked when she first heard the Soviet withdrawal have been halted, respondent said: "I have seen it for myself on October the 30th. There was no Russian in Budapest, however when in four buses we went to Vienna, in order to pick up medical supplies from the Red Cross, there after going out from Budapest, about fifteen miles in the outskirts of the city, we have seen the Russian tanks begin. We were stopped by Russian sentries, but since my husband speaks a good Russian we showed up our international Red Cross papers and we were let through. Also through the whole country to the Austrian border everywhere we have seen camouflaged Russian tanks and troops. We spent one a half days in Vienna, with



the Red Cross there. People were really pampering us there, many foreign journalist came and talked to us. It was an experience. Here in Vienna we heard prime minister Nagy's famous radio speech, when he declared the neutrality of Hungary. We got terribly excited and happy. Nobody could have hold us longer in Vienna and we wanted to return immediately. However ~~xxxx~~ authorities did not let us go. They said we must rest ~~xxxxxxx~~ another day. The next day we rushed back to Budapest and delivered all the supplies we received to the Red Cross!!

" <sup>to</sup> As when I have seen the first Russian troops returning it was like this: on November the third I was working on the number five line bus and ~~also on the number six~~ ~~October the fourth~~ I was supposed to take a turn on the number seven line. We lived quite near to the Charles barracks and at quite early in the morning I think it must have been around four o'clock we awoke to a fierce gun fight and explosions. We looked out of the window and saw that the barracks were in flames, at least part of them. We have seen that three Hungarian tanks broke out through the tall fence from the barracks and were putting up a fight. I have seen that the first Russian tank that rushed into the city was carrying the Hungarian emblems, so this is how this tank was able to break through by using false insignia. There was a ~~raffle~~ <sup>raffle</sup> going on. The Hungarian tanks were shooting against the Russian; soldiers from the windows joined in the fight. However, due to the great number of the invaders they had to surrender. The next one half day we spent in the cellar; then my husband and I went over to the blood center at Daroczi Ut to offer our services. We again took our bus Here we were told that we should go back to the Sports hospital, so we worked here again and did everything we could as before until the 20th of November. On this day at noon the chief medical officer of the Sports hospital who was an extremely nice man told us that we ought to flee immediately because the AVH was after us, they are picking up people. So it happened that we never even discussed our escape and we had to leave on the ~~spot~~ <sup>spot</sup> of <sup>SPUR</sup> the moment. After all, we had always were and still were hoping that the Western aid will be forthcoming and there would be no need for us to leave."

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

" We have only gained the respect of the Western world, otherwise Hungary has lost everything . However, may be one thing the nation has gained and that is that the fire in Hungary will never be put out again. "

IV EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "As I said before we were expecting that the West would interfere, because the situation was ~~serious~~ and the moment in our opinion has come when the Russian hegemony and imperialistic aims of the Soviet Union could be broken. Also the Russians were extremely disturbed ~~and~~ on account of the Hungarian revolution and the whole events in Eastern Europe were unexpected. Never in the last thirty years was the Soviet Union so weak than at that time."

B. "My expectations, I think, were quite logical, and ~~is~~ contrary to what some people said I did not think that the Western broadcasts ~~did~~ promise actual help. They did not promise help specifically but they always encouraged us, that's true. An further, I really did not expect so much from ~~the~~ Western powers than from the United Nations. And this was the greatest disappointment of everybody We were firmly convinced that the UNO will enforce its resolution and ~~the~~ Russian action would have ~~been~~ justified fully a UN intervention into the Hungarian affairs."

C. Respondent did ~~not~~ come into contact with foreign ~~people~~ between October 23rd and the time of her escape ~~in~~. ~~As~~ ~~she~~ ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~Vienna~~ ~~on~~ ~~October~~ ~~30th~~ ~~and~~ ~~31st~~ ~~as~~ ~~previously~~ ~~mentioned~~. There she met foreign correspondents, Austrian, American and Swedish etc., These people interviewed them ~~so~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~other~~ ~~way~~ ~~round~~, ~~so~~ ~~respondent~~ ~~did~~ ~~not~~ ~~learn~~ ~~anything~~ ~~from~~ ~~this~~ ~~people~~. They heard from her.

ONLY

THUS

AND

ROUND



V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Regarding her family background, respondent said: my father was a so-called kulak. He owned 40 acres of land and a family house. Also 120 acres he rented, but I cannot remember my father's income before the war at various times because I was a child at that time. I only can tell that we lived where we had everything. My father could afford to give us a good education. One of my brothers for instance was a doctor. I am a high-school graduate.

My father had eight and my mother six, regarding their education.

B. Regarding social classes in Hungary, respondent said: "to my mind there are different social classes in Hungary, for instance, the first is the former aristocracy, who of course, have ceased to be as such and ~~as~~ due to the persecution of the regime had to accept the lowest minor works, then there is the intellectuals-middle class,; these two were persecuted by the regime mostly. Then there were the craftsmen, if that could be said to be a social class, then the workers and the peasants."

"I had contact with all social classes more or less and therefore I can say that I respect very much the upper classes for having adjusted so well during the communist regime. They have been ~~the~~ working~~ing~~ doing the hardest works without grumbling. They had more difficulties than ourselves because they had to adjust to greater differences than ourselves. Also they were deported."

"The working class was ~~the~~ thoroughly dissatisfied during the communist regime and they also dared to speak out more freely, because the intellectuals were scared for very good reasons to do so, and the working class was tempered by the regime."

"The peasants in the beginning especially the poor peasants were quite enthusiastic about the land reform and the communist regime. The peasants did

not know much about politics and the Hungarian peasant is more interested in the land. However, later on when they were forced to join the kolhozes and cooperatives, they very soon found out that it is not so good as they have been told. After all, a family cannot live on four acres."

When asked to which class she belonged, respondent said: "this is a thing I really couldn't tell. I am a sort of a mule. I cannot say whether it is the peasants whether it is the working class, or the middle class, really, I am sorry, I cannot tell you."

When asked which class was hardest hit by communism, she said: "it was certainly the Hungarian aristocracy, the intellectuals and also one part of the peasants, I am thinking of the kulaks. These three classes have lost everything."

Regarding the attitudes of different classes to each other, respondent said: "the working class somehow looked down to the peasants, as they lived in the cities and believed themselves to be more superior. However during the communism I can sincerely say, that the class differences have ceased to exist in Hungary, because the workers and the peasants have seen that the intellectuals had to suffer just as much as they, maybe even more, and the common sufferings always brings people together."

C. Regarding how an individual might advance in communist Hungary, respondent said: "the most important thing is your class origin, then comes the political view and finally and last only talent."

Changes occurred however, because between 1950 and 1953 were the most impossible times, when at times you were checked two or three generations back. During 1953 and in 1956 the situation has improved somehow. The communist regime after all found out that they do need people who not only come from a very low background but also know something and have specific qualifi-

cations .

C"ARACT

As to what kind of individuals could get ahead in communist Hungary, respondent said: it's the kind of a person who is a turncoat, who has no character, who is always servile to the party and party members. In communist Hungary you should never express your own opinion because then you are lost. You are not supposed to see anything, to hear anything and you are never supposed to ask why .

D. When asked whether there are such groups in Hungary who get more out of the society than they deserve respondent said: yes I am sure, in Hungary too, as everywhere else the Jews can always get more out of the society. They are much smarter and they are opportunists. Then also ~~the sixth super class~~ , were those workers who whole heartedly and completely served the regime.

\*\*other groups that got more than they deserved were those workers.....



VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. 'Family life in Hungary during the last ten years was completely disorganized. Both parents had to work and the children grew up without any education or control, they had to be put in day schools if there was not an aunt or a grandmother round who could take care of them.'

"In my own family, since my mother took care of my little boy, we did our best to give our child the education we wanted him ~~and~~ the bringing up <sup>√</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>HAVE</sup> what I have seen in other families, where the children grew up without any moral standards and without being taught religion either, <sup>WAS TERRIBLE</sup> During the communist regime ~~the~~ what we really called family life has completely ~~been destroyed~~ <sup>and</sup> disintegrated. The child could be very seldom with the parents."

"My family comes closest to the second type of the family you give as an example, the family that grew closer together under communism. You know our family and our home was at the same time also our country and it meant also our homeland for us. My half-sister ~~was~~ and half-brother who were older than myself they grew too much closer to us during the communist regime and the revolution we were much more together. I also believe that this second type of family comes closest to describing typical decent Hungarian family."

About how children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent said: "I think that the families most <sup>√</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>AFFECTED</sup> affected by communist regime in Hungary were the families of the working class. Here many parents were <sup>√</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>not</sup> intelligent enough to bring up their children wisely also the moral standard has extremely deteriorated in those families. ~~The~~ Among the peasant class in Hungary this change couldn't be observed. A peasant brings up his children always in an old patriarchal tradition and the children do respect their elders. "

" In our family communism did not bring about a change because we did our best to continue to bring up our child as before and as we thought it to be right."

Q. On marriage, courtship ~~and~~ sex, respondent had the following to say: "of course, in communist Hungary many marriages were broken up for the reason that the young people married extremely <sup>EARLY</sup> ~~quickly~~ and only for sexual reasons mostly. They did not know each other, well enough in order to conclude a long lasting marriage. Also both of them were working. The money was never enough. the living conditions were extremely bad. Also since women were given equal rights they sometimes earned even more than the husband and this always led to fights."

" Sexual morality too has undergone a terrific change and the parents had no more influence in or had no more word to say in the moral life of their children."

The reason for all this is probably the war, first of all, and then communism ~~has continued~~. I also think that since children had no religious instruction any more, they had no moral standards which to live by. The regime took a good care to set the children against the educators and parents. There was no ~~more~~ authority any more, so I think that the co-education in the schools and the camps where the children were taken (boys and girls together) for camping and outings ~~XXXXXX~~ like the Szitadiszef camps, were causing the decline of moral standards."

" I think that the change occurred in all social classes. "

" <sup>P</sup> Prostitution was prohibited during the communist regime, nevertheless, it went on. Especially since the prostitutes were put into different jobs, at offices and factories. Maybe this too was the reason of so many broken marriages. They had an affair with three married men at the same time. The main thing was that they got the money out of them and last but not least I see the reason of the so many broken marriages in the very bad housing situation. Too many people were forced together ~~to~~

T. L. VI

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~~Live~~ in the same apartment or in the same room some-  
times ~~EVEN~~.

"I am sure that the sexual morality of the communists is different from that of an average Hungarian, because they are advocating the free love after all. However, the communist party expects leading ~~members~~ communist party members or a prominent big wig, to lead a moral life at least publicly, and if anything became public about the loose morality of a prominent party member he was expelled. Also the party's secretaries who always could exploit the situation of somebody who was looking for a job, or would like to keep the job, continued with their immoral life, but were careful how they did it. After all the communist doctrine says that morals are a bourgeois thing."

C. Regarding what she would do if a good friend of hers should join the communist party, respondent said:  
"I really do not know what to say because I cannot imagine such a situation. However, I knew of a man who was a communist and was disgusted in communism later on and who became a very good friend of ours. I am referring now to the young Horvath who was an idealist at the beginning and now has completely turned against communism. I think I could continue a friendship with somebody for instance who was forced to become a party member for material reasons but I could never be a friend of somebody who when becoming a communism party member has acted ~~all~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~methods~~ <sup>methods</sup> and identified himself with the mentality and ideology of the communist party." Vannier 10

D. On juvenile delinquency, respondent said: "I don't think you are right to say that you have read a lot in the communist press about juvenile delinquency because the communist press took good care to play down every crime not only juvenile delinquency. We never were informed what was happened there, regarding crime in Hungary, only we heard it by word of mouth."

"Of course, we also knew that the juvenile delinquency was indeed on the increase. These were mostly young boys and girls between seventeen and eighteen who did petty thieving and DRINKING and also young girls who were prostitutes. I was in prison



~~locked out in prison~~ with a girl who was fifteen years old, and she was charged with twenty-eight <sup>TOLD</sup> times prostitutions."

"The juvenile delinquents are mostly from the working class but they are also very many from the intellectuals. I see the reason ~~in~~ in this that the kids were left on their own and also because of having not being ~~and~~ taught religion. The juvenile delinquents are usually between sixteen and eighteen years old, and the behavior is wide spread but has ~~pledged~~ <sup>played</sup> down always by the communists regime, ~~because~~ so since the regime was fully aware that this behavior ~~is~~ can be put at their ~~door~~ step!"

VTHE MORE

PLAYED

"Regarding the jempecs these are more or less teenagers who imitate what they think to be the American way of dressing, dancing and behavior. These are not criminals and they come from all classes but mostly, amazingly enough, from the working class."

AND

VII. RELIGION

A. " Religion plays in Hungarian life a very important role and specially since religion was prohibited more people went into church and more men. Also in schools the parents did everything in order to have religion taught to their children. This was a constant fight between the regime and the parents. However, twelve years are very long, and many people sort of got ~~tired~~ tired of it. Lots of people ~~who~~ didn't dare to get married in church either. "

"It was the Roman Catholic religion that was hit hardest in Hungary because the Catholic religion is the greatest force in Hungary and therefore very dangerous for the communist regime."

"I quite believe that religion is a *BULWARK* against communism in Hungary and it is always a bulwark of resistance. Religion and communism do not go together. "

B. " Religion does play a great role in my part in my life because after all this is the fundament of everything. However, my religious belief is somehow different from that of my parents. But this is not due to communism but I think that the younger generations somehow is always differently religious than the older ones. I believe that I am as religious as the average person is in Hungary. I also attend church when I have the time for if I feel like it, ~~because~~ ~~to~~ me you can worship God everywhere, not only in church and I believe sincerely and honestly God as a supreme being. "

C. On the functions of church and its place in society, respondent said: " I believe that the church must have a very important role in the education of children and however, the churches/~~should~~/~~never~~ should never ~~take~~ take an active part in politics and therefore I do not advocate the idea that in an independent Hungary they should take an active part. Church and State should be independent of each other ~~and~~ however they should cooperate. On the other hand during the communist regime it was important for churches

to indulge in politics ~~but~~ because ~~that was~~ as I said before a bulwark against communism. In an independent country this is not necessary, because to my belief, God has nothing to do with politics.

*Religion was*

D. On the Jewish minority respondent said: "Whether or not the Jewish religion has also been hit by communism I really cannot say, as far as I have seen, certainly not to that extent, ~~As far as~~. And besides, Jews are not a religious race. The reason why the Jewish religion was less affected, or unaffected than other churches, is to my mind the fact that 90 per cent of the communist party\*shots are Jews. ~~These people say~~ I see the reason \* big ~~here is this~~ why these people were not good Hungarians, either, because a Jew is not a nationalist, somehow they are international;"

"The attitude of Jews toward communism also reflected their general principles. The Jews are usually opportunists and therefore they are always willing to make concessions. On the other hand of course, the rich Jews and those who lost everything also during the communist regime are not communists. They also managed very well too to get into top jobs during the communist regime, but they are very unwilling to take some manual and physical work. I can really say that I have never seen a Jewish factory worker for instance and in our bus company where we were, we had several thousands employees, also the percentage was very low at the section where I worked we had only two half-Jews, but the top shots in the offices were most Jews."

Did Jews also mostly join communist party?

"I do not know for what reason but I know that the Jews very easily received a party membership if they ~~wanted~~ they were not being ~~scared~~ at all."

"During the revolution as much as I have seen, the Jews were very cautious and in hiding. I have not seen Jewish people fight and I was pretty much in the mix thick of the fight everywhere."

"The reason why the Jews might not want an independent



24/VII

*W. W. W.*  
Hungary is because they perfectly well that due to their behavior in the past, and under the communist regime they will not get back that role they had before in an independent Hungary. However, I would like to emphasize that during the revolution there was no anti-semitism whatsoever, the feelings were only running high against the communists as communists of course, since they were many Jews so that reflected on them. "

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "I would classify the young people between fourteen and twenty-two to belong to the so-called Hungarian youth.

B. "And this Hungarian youth played the most important part in the revolution in Hungary and was really the soul of it. Why they took the lead and why they took part, I think the reason for it was that the young people saw that there was no future for them. They worked and achieved nothing. Also young people were less cautious, they didn't think of the consequences. Furthermore ~~the~~ their parents and their elders always told them about the good old times, and so they could compare it how it was nowadays."

"During the revolution the older people admired them, and it was the other way round. We young people were leading the older ones and they accepted us as leaders."

C. On the schools and educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said: "the standard of education in Hungary was put extremely high in the last ten years. Children were asked to study a tremendous lot and even too much for their age. My little son had to ~~leave~~ four to five hours home work. The children did not have a childhood. They had not any time left to play and do sports. Also they were stuffed with politics and ideological lectures. This was a separate subject from the fifth grade on. They were taught things they didn't even understand and couldn't grasp."

"Vocational choice was restricted of course, the greatest ~~descriptions~~ was carried out for medical or technical faculties at the University. Only persons with good ~~cadre~~ were allowed to register. It was much easier ~~to~~ for anybody ~~to~~ with bad class ~~background~~ P. NCK ground to register at the agrarian University.

The quality of the education was good, because mostly the old pedagogues were retained since they had not enough new and well qualified personalities. However,

PERSUNELL

what I have seen, the quality of the education varied greatly according to schools. Regarding the teachers at school I somehow felt that the two different teachers, the old ones and the new ones, the communists and the non communists, feared each other and it was not very good cooperation between those two kind of teachers. Also, a pedagogue of the old school taught the subjects differently than the young men would. The children somehow and sometimes got quite bewildered. On the whole however, the teachers were competent. //

D. <sup>115</sup>As to the youths' reaction to communist indoctrination I can say that in the very beginning young people, especially among the intellectuals were quite interested in the communist regime. Later on however, when they were obliged to study it and to study it hard, and to study things they didn't understand, they just hated it. Later on at the third stage, then finally they found out that the theory does not mean that ~~the~~ in practice the communist doctrine is interpreted as it should be. They soon found out that Marx and Engels' ideals are impractical and cannot be transplanted into real life. //



IX. Major dissatisfaction was felt in everyday life.

A. "Dissatisfaction in communist Hungary where our very bad stage of finances. We never had more than for the bare necessities.

Further we never could speak loud what we were thinking. We could not protest against oppression, and we lived under terror."

B. "Apart from the big political things, we mostly were annoyed by the labor laws, which after all should have been quite independent from politics. We for instance, were not allowed to change our jobs by our own free will, because then you received a bad mark and were put on the black list. On the other hand, the enterprises were free to dismiss us any time they wanted, to do so despite the existing laws."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. On standards of living respondent said: " Our standard of living in the last years in Hungary, was the lowest possible. All what we earned, and we did not earn little, my husband and I, was spent. The food situation was like this: everything could be bought in the shops, but of course, the price was such that you just could not afford it.

I give you an example: three days pay were needed to buy two pounds of salami, for instance. The clothing too was extremely expensive and the quality very bad, it was the so-called standard products. The good imported materials were simply beyond our purse. However, a couple of things you simply had to have. For instance, my husband's shoes: He paid one month wages for a pair of custom-made boots. The standard shoes as purchased in the state stores were of a very inferior quality. "

" Regarding the housing situation. People who lived in old and controlled rent apartments were quite well off. But for instance, I give you our case: we found a bombed out apartment for which we paid sixty thousand for, ~~of which~~ fifteen thousand of this you had to put down in cash, ~~the other~~ you received <sup>\*rest of the amount,</sup> for a fifteen years loan from the bank. We had <sup>per month</sup> to pay 280 for installment for the loan and every three months another 280 for the interests. Nevertheless, the apartment belonged to the state, whom I have to pay 68 for, rent every month and this apartment would never have become my own property, despite that I paid for it. The only rights I acquired ~~it was~~ that I was able to have one room more than generally we would have been entitled to have. Then, as long as I have not paid ~~over~~ the amount of the loan in full, the authorities could not throw me out of the apartment. So you see this was a wonderful arrangement for the state. "

" I considered theater or opera the greatest luxury while in Hungary, because if you wanted to attend an opera or theater performance you have to save it on your food. Of food, clothing and housing, it





wages were from 900 to 950 forints. One and a half per cent of this salary that is 12 forints I had to pay for trade-union fees, forty forints per month for peace loan and three per cent of the wages were deducted for old age pension and sick insurance. I received on hand about seven hundred eighty forints per month, depending of the hours I have worked. My basic salary was only ~~600~~ 630 but there plus were the overtime and also the commission I received on the tickets sold on the buses. After every hundred forints income I received three and a half ~~fiklxxx~~ fikler ~~the~~ the price of a ticket was one florint, the transfer was one fifty. The ~~standard~~ standard daily income on my bus was usually between 800 forints and 900. I did not receive any family allowance. This was only given after the second child and we had only one."

"I could not have any secondary source of income because it was strictly prohibited and under penalty to have two jobs. Besides my husband was also working. He was a driver of the bus company and he received 1300 florints per month, but of course, since his salary was higher, than <sup>ME</sup> the deductions were also higher."

"I did not get any wage increase over the last five years. However we received the uniforms from the company. We received two, one summer and one winter uniform which had to last for two years. We had long slacks and one skirt. The skirt however was supposed to last for four years. They were made of extremely thick and heavy material. We also received a pair of high boots every year, ~~one pair~~. We had to see to the cleaning but the repairs were done in a special repair shop. In the beginning we had to wear flat hats like the soldiers did, later on however, due to many complaints <sup>711A7</sup> they were much too heavy, we were allowed to wear the Swiss baret. I had to carry the conductor's bag for the tickets and the money, this weighed 16 pounds, you can imagine adding to this all the small change I carried, this was quite some job."

C. On prices, quality of goods ~~was said~~ you could buy in Hungary respondent said: "Mostly bought at <sup>WLS</sup> the State's stores, because we couldn't afford to buy

elsewhere. Very seldom we want to buy food at the free markets, but these were far away. The so-called maszek shops were extremely expensive and we just couldn't afford it. Of course the shops and delicatessen shops etc., in the inner city were always more expensive. ~~The dresses~~ I mostly bought for the family in the state stores or in the commission stores, where you got second hand furniture, clothes and everything ~~But~~ the quality here was of course, quite good but more expensive." ~~It~~

"As to the price differences I remember that in 1951 there was a two hundred per cent increase in all clothing and hundred to hundred and fifty per cent increase on the foodstuffs. This increase on prices remained. ~~But~~ the prices of the food stuffs, of course, (certain food stuffs) were according to the season; however ~~they were~~ the staple food commodities ~~that were~~ the prices of each were state-controlled and were more or less ~~over-estimated~~ such as fat, meat, sugar flour etc.," STEADY

"The retail distribution in Hungary was not very well organized because there was always a shortage in something. Of course, then at that time the black market flourished. There was no black market in clothing naturally. There always seemed to be a boundancy in goods in Hungary because the shops and the shopwindows were full. However, this was just an illusion because nobody has the money to buy anything."

"It was extremely difficult to get for instance, spare parts for the automobiles. It was only after a special state permit that you were allowed to purchase spare parts. Regarding commodities that were especially short in supply I can only remember that in the last years mostly the steel and iron goods were short in supply not the food stuffs."

"Regarding the black market, this was always flourishing whenever some commodities appeared on the market. But <sup>it was</sup> it was very strictly controlled and under strict penalty. Besides the communist regime considered the black market-eering the fact <sup>that</sup> a person sold the own products instead ~~of~~ of surrendering, ~~of course~~.

FROM







people of very good social backgrounds, I mean ~~by~~ By my point of view. There were lots of the intellectuals former engineers, lawyers etc., Of course, as everywhere, there were a couple of planted party spies, but we didn't even talk to them."

"The relations with the superiors of course depended of what kind ~~xxxx~~ they were, if we had a few of the older school controllers who were decent old boys,"

These were retained from the old municipal transportation company and these were the real experts on the job. Then we had a couple of hard ~~goal~~ <sup>CORLE</sup> communists of course; I always dared to give them my opinion even so if I ran the risk that I have to go and wash cars for a while."

"People employed at the technical and mechanical section of the company were of course competent, they had to be, otherwise they were many people who were incompetent and were only put there for political reasons."

"It is very difficult to say that I was satisfied with my job because after all it was sheer slavery labor. Nevertheless ~~the~~ my colleagues made it easier for me. We all worked and tried to keep up our chin up. Those superiors were of the old school \* who praised our work but not the communists. All kind of diplomas and official praise was only ~~done out~~ <sup>DUE</sup> to people who were communists' party member or who were fellow travellers. Even we had to fulfill a norm which is ridiculous because after all you never know when and for what reason you have more or less passengers on a particular line."

"On the Hungarian vacation health and compensation programs, I can say the following: "We had eight hundred employees at that particular section where I worked and of these twenty grown-ups and six children were taken for a vacation during the last year. Everything was scheduled according to your cader and on the trade-union recommendation. It was always the political point of view that was considered mainly and never the social one. In paper their vacation program was a good one, but of course it didn't work out in practice."

"The health insurance was pretty good, but on the other hand, the doctors were pressed and told not to make recommendations for hospitalization, so you were half dead by the time you were able to get a room in a hospital. ~~Until~~ two years <sup>V A F I C R</sup> service you received sixty five per cent, after two years service seventy five per cent of your pay, even while you were sick."

The compensation or pension programs were extremely bad. A sixty five year old man for instance, received three hundred eighty forints per month, which is just enough ~~not~~ to die of hunger."

E. Regarding where she would have preferred to live in Hungary, respondent said: "I always preferred ~~the~~ life in the country, because I think it's much better there, also the political pressure is much less strong there. For the food situation too, maybe. The standard of living however, is always higher in the cities."

"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary I was convinced that this could not work out at all. The collectivization as carried out in Hungary was completely wrong because they used terrorist methods. In my opinion it was the poor and the middle class peasant that objected mostly to collectivization, because the richer kulaks didn't even dare to open their mouth."

I have heard of collectives being dissolved first in 1953 under prime minister Nagy and ~~the~~ and then in 1956 at the time of the revolution. The reasons ~~why~~ for the dissolutions were really quite evident, nobody liked them, "THE COLLECTIVES"



XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

" <sup>before</sup> ~~Before~~ 1948 for a very short time I worked in the Hungarian peasant party's offices, as a file clerk, but I never cared very much ~~for~~ <sup>FOR</sup> politics, ~~for politics~~. I was quite young and I was never a party member. However, the Christian Democratic party was the one I thought to be the ~~best~~ best because it fought for a democratic but Christian policy and did not go to the extremes."

"The communist party before 1948 was in such a minority that nobody really much cared for them and nobody took them seriously."

"~~Of the~~ Bela Kuhn and the first communism in Hungary in 1918 and 19, my father told me quite a lot about."

"My opinion of the communist party only <sup>got</sup> ~~was~~ worse."

B. On the communist party members respondent said: "To my mind there are three different kinds of communist party members, first of all they are the crooks who for money and position are willing to do everything. Second are the idealists/ communists who however, are not smart enough and have not the brain to find out what's hiding behind this, and then thirdly are those who became communist party members because they were gearing to lose their jobs."

"Regarding the attitudes of these party members the number one type of course believed in the party because they wanted to remain on top. The second type the idealists they always believed in it in the beginning and later on even if they were disillusioned they somehow didn't care to tell themselves how deceived they were. Now they have to ~~deal~~ with the wolves and the third kind of party member of course, was just a party member and that was all, I didn't believe them and I didn't indulge in any party's activity either."

"Regarding party ~~politics~~ <sup>policy</sup> changes during the last eight years, respondent said: the Hungarian communist Party underwent many changes. The darkest times of communist regime were in 1952-1953; it is very difficult to describe what was going on at that time."

"Then came the prime minister Nagy in 1953 who after Stalin's death has reshuffled the government. This was the time when everybody was exercising self-criticism. That went on for about six months. Then Malenkoff was dismissed and the reins were tightened again. In 1956 at spring we experienced then a more looser control and more tolerance, from the communist party."

"However, every change that came about in the Hungarian communist party was due to the changes in the Soviet Union. A Hungarian communist was never allowed to think or act independently."

"They were always <sup>internal</sup> fights in the party, for instance between Rakoszy and Nagy, then there was the <sup>RAS</sup> case and these differences were known all over the country. There ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> no secrets that ~~the~~ did not seep out somehow from these party meetings."

"Regarding party morale the situation was like this: it was the party who was dissatisfied with the members mostly, because the party members did not dare to voice openly their opinion. There were many who tried to do so, I am referring here to Kethly, Kiraly, Kadar, but they were put in a prison, of course."

Respondents opinion on the top leaders of the communist party summed down to this: "these are thoroughly evil, diabolic people who never even think of the interests of the country, they only promote their own interest, their own position. I believe that these are men with lots of brains and therefore I do not think that they don't know what they are doing and I do not believe that they think that what they do is right, so this all proves that they are rotten to the core. I also believe that

since most of <sup>THESE</sup> top Hungarian communist leaders were in immigration for twenty years in Russia, there is a kind of a hatred that still boiles up in them and keeps them on the top. The Hungarian top communists are scared from the Russians and are their puppets. Their collective aim is to subjugate ~~the~~ Hungary completely and put her under the ~~strong~~ of the communist regime." V YOKLE

I do not believe as I said, that these top communists had any convictions, at least very few of them can possibly have. I am sure, However that the top wigs have none. I am also sure that they are scared to death because ~~since~~ being smart\*they must perfectly know what awaits them V WELL They must know that a good policy should prevail and nobody would be against them.

\* men

There is surely a difference between the motives of frankie ~~the~~ members and also of the leadership, because a ~~the~~ member is ~~also~~ mostly a member ONLY for ~~youre~~ fear ~~for his~~ job and the others, the top communists, on the other hand ~~you~~ used\*to achieve ~~the~~ the vilest means their aims, they are crooks, all of them."

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"When asked what she thought should be done with the Hungarian top communists when Hungary is independent she said: " I have experienced all kind of different tortures at the AVH prisons so I wish them that they should undergo the same experiences, that all."

C. When asked whether ot not there was any opposition to the communist government before the revolution, respondent said: "there certainly was. The workers always tried to slow down or to sabotage, for instance in production and also by their behavior, party meetings were not attended etc., I can give you a good example how we tried to oppose the communist government. We were damaging the cars whenever we could. For instance, if we were too tired and fagged out, my husband slashed the rubber hose which carried the fuel from the tank to the motor with his knife, then he rung up the repair shop. The man came out, they had a nice long talk, after an hour or so the garage ~~the~~ said: well we better get on to work, then he repaired it and so we had a nice time of resting."

V (AIV)



"Also whenever there was a big demonstration planned by the party or the government all of a sudden the cars all were caught out of order." Of course it was always the mechanics and the drivers who cooperated in this."

"People in factories always worked with very little enthusiasm and just as much as they really had to. Of course the peasants also sabotaged ~~the~~ in ~~the~~ way. <sup>TILLER</sup> For instance they ~~surrendered~~ <sup>they hid</sup> their products."

AMONG "It was a well known fact also that many seconds <sup>WERE FOUND</sup> ~~came out~~ for the goods that were produced for the export, and this was an extreme set-back for the government because they lost ~~the~~ foreign currency. For instance, the Ganz factory produced locomotives for England. ~~Then also the~~ sewing machines <sup>WERE</sup> produced at CEPEL. <sup>BELOW</sup> for the export, and about 50 per cent of the export goods were rejected by the respective purchasers for being beyond the contracted quality."

"The opposition behavior of this kind was always depending on the different ~~plans~~ according to the <sup>plants</sup> and mood of the nation, ~~so to say~~. The most <sup>such</sup> behavior we have seen in 1955 and 56 when ~~the~~ people somehow got more impertinent and were no more fearing reprisals to such an extent as before."

"When asked what she knew of the activities of intellectuals respondent said: "In the last two years we have heard and seen that the writers started to write more freely and free from politics. I think that the way for the revolution was ~~prepared~~ <sup>paved</sup> by the writers <sup>and</sup> by the outspoken ~~people~~ <sup>Betofikör</sup> members."

"I heard about the Betofikör at first in the end of 1955 or very beginning of 56. Some of my friends and acquaintances from the University have told us about those meetings."

"In my opinion ~~that~~ these intellectuals have just formulated the ideas everyone had. It was also the intellectuals who were expert in this who brought up the uranium problem in Hungary. Nobody in Hungary before that did know anything about it. These mines represent a tremendous wealth for the nation and nobody heard of ~~it~~ <sup>THEM</sup>."

JPCAR

To my mind the intellectuals were the spine head of the revolution. I also believe this is due to the fact that ~~because~~ during the last twelve years of oppression these intellectuals were very practical and down to earth people. On the other hand I do not know what ~~to~~ mean by asking what I think of the intellectuals in general. Of the other intellectuals as a class I hold a very high opinion because ~~that~~ during the last twelve years I have seen how well they had stood their ground despite all oppression and drawbacks."

writers

When asked why the ~~writers~~ and intellectuals stood up against the regime, respondent said: "After all this is very understandable ~~that~~ writers have been oppressed and where does a writer stand if there is no freedom of thought and freedom of press."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

V UNIT  
VOID

A. On the AVH respondent had the following to say:  
"The top officials of the AVH were sadistic perverts who for money were willing to do practically everything. In fact they enjoyed it doing so. Others who did not "question" were the more decent. Then there was also a third category, the AVH FILE AND BANK was mostly young people of military age who were drafted into this odious ~~unit~~. Of course, ~~among~~ among these you could find some of the most horrible type but as a rule they ~~would not have been~~ members of the AVH. ~~It was~~ ~~also~~ quite amazing to see that about seventy per cent of the AVH top officials were Jews."  
When asked about whether herself, her family, has been in prison or arrested etc., respondent said:  
"myself I spent thirty three days at the Avh prison at Szombathely and then I served my sentence one year at Marianostrá. My father was held at the Andrassy street 60 and subsequently interned at ~~the~~ Kistarcsa for nine months. My sister was imprisoned for eighteen months and my husband in 1945, two months by the Russian GPU. My brother again three weeks at the AVH prison at Szombathely. My "crime" was for failing to ~~the~~ denounce a friend of mine who left for the West. The same was held against my father. ~~My mother~~, My sister on the other hand was put in prison for an article that her husband had written in a newspaper ~~which was~~ a theatre critic on the performance of an actress, so it really had nothing to do with politics. My husband was held by the Russians for alleged spying and my brother was held because he also tried to escape to the West, he finally succeeded."

V WANT TO BE

"I can give you here a short summary of my experiences with the AVH. I was ~~\*kaptak~~ at the railroad station of ~~\*captured by~~ Gyor, when I went to say good bye to my friend who ~~them~~ was trying to go to the West. First they took us to the AVH head quarters at Gyor. Here I was introduced to their methods, they started us to beat up. We were beaten until we became unconscious. One of the men, also arrested at the same time, was tied up and hanged up by his feet., and his soles were beaten. Another one was also beaten terrifically. The woman,



(I mean my friend who also was arrested with us,) since she had admitted immediately that she tried to go to ~~the West~~ West, ~~she~~ was let off with a couple of slaps in her face."

After I was nearly unconscious they threw me down in the cellar in a small cell. Here they opened the sewers on me and the water reached up breast high. Here I was standing from eight in the evening till one a.m. At that time a young AVH officer came down and asked me if I am still alive. He behaved very decently. He lifted me out of the water <sup>✓</sup> to wash my <sup>✓</sup> LOT ME dress at the lavatory and also ~~the~~\*food to all of us.\*gave After the water has been let off he took us back to the cell. However he implored us not to tell anybody that he was decent with us and took us out of the cell."

Next day he told the other AVH who embarked upon a new torture, that he is the one that is going to be with us because he has something special grudge against us, so we were all herded off to another room. Here again he told us that he used this trick in order to get us away from those beasts and he was extremely nice again. He gave us cigarettes and finally he managed to make a sort of statement which was not too derogatory for us. We were then taken in irons to Szombathely to the AVH prison. Here of course, the report of the Gyor AVH was not accepted and the whole procedure started again anew. There was a man <sup>✓</sup> everybody called the "colonel with the pipe," and then another one "Rudy the Lieutenant". These two were the most sadistic beasts I have ever seen. For thirty days every day and night we were wakened up and taken to the offices and here <sup>✓</sup> without any interrogation or questions asked, we were just beaten up and that was all. And this was the regular routine, they worked on every prisoner, every day. The colonel and that lieutenant usually worked in shirt sleeves and by the end of these procedures, usually sweat was streaming down their faces. All my top teeth were knocked out by that lieutenant and he used ~~usually~~ probably ~~sees~~ not to leave open scars, gloves over an iron, (what we call boxer) ~~a kind of an iron.....~~ ring pulled on your fingers; fingers of my right hand were also broken and they also ~~laughed~~ ~~to~~ extinguish their burning cigarettes ~~along~~ my arms lower arms.

40M

~~By all means~~ they were all and out that I should confess for having spied for the US which was of course ridiculous. This was at the time 1949 February when the new AVH was set up and probably these peoples they wanted to earn their ~~tip~~. I also got pneumonia and pleuresis while at the prison. I really don't know how I survived it. I could tell you very much about other kind of torture methods, these animals have used. There was a young woman with us, who had a small baby whom she nursed. The baby was taken from her and of course she run a high temperature. Poor woman was in agony and was imploring them to give her ~~called~~ compresses or the baby back. She was not allowed ~~to~~ any ~~such~~ privileges. " ✓ KCC 20  
FOR NURSING

✓ THE TOWERS OF  
" Another woman died there among us in the cell. She was a fifty five years old peasant woman, who was charged to have stolen some Jewish immigrants who fled the country. The AVH were especially out for jewelry because they received a percentage of everything they could get hold of. This poor woman was kept for six weeks on the floor. She couldn't even sleep on a coat. She was beaten to unconsciousness and when we saw her body in the cell it looked like if someone would have used a huge pitchfork on her body, small bits of flesh were just torn off. Her whole breast and underneath her armpits were covers of scars, results of cigarettes extinguished there. She died there in our cell."

" Then I was taken back to Szombathely again where the so-called peoples' attorney handled our case. I was given a one year sentence. The judge was a very nice old man who fought for my sentence with the lawyer ~~who was~~ ordered by the communist party to defend me, and he of course wanted a much heavier sentence. Then I spent three weeks at the ~~best~~ county court PEST and from there I was transferred to Marianostrá where I served my sentence. "

" The guards here were women and many of the former prison attendants who were nuns were with us together in prison. These women were even worse than the men. They were also mostly sadistically inclined prostitutes. The commander, a major of the whole prison here, was a

GUARDS

former cook, Mrs. Nagy. At first we were allowed to work in the fields with the regular field workers but later on the political prisoners were not allowed to do out-door work. Then we worked in the doll factory which was set up in the prison. In between however, for four months we were not allowed to work. It was just a special punishment and I can tell you this was the worst period of my prison life."

"When Hungary is independent I think it's quite fair if I wish these AVH ~~they~~ should be given the same treatment what they gave to me and all the other victims. These AVH people were taught to use the Middle-Age and Chinese torture methods and ~~these~~ really I have heard of most appalling cases which I do not like even to repeat here."

When asked her feelings about regular police compared with the AVH, respondent said: "the difference is heaven and earth. These people were decent even though rough and tough country boys, but the majority of them was <sup>reactionary</sup> officers of course, were <sup>THUS</sup> carefully screened by the government and they were fellow travellers of the regime. The ranks however certainly not."

"REACTIONARY"

"Regarding the regular police systems' efficiency, this has greatly deteriorated during the communist regime because before the war, for instance, police officer had to have a University degree. Nowadays, of course, all this is abolished, they are inefficiently mostly."

Since they were also extremely badly paid it was easy to corrupt them and they were open to bribes."

"During the revolution I have seen for myself how the regular police behaved. I have fought with many policemen at the Corvin Koz and also at the Szena: <sup>TER</sup> In the very first two days of the revolution they were showing a passive attitude and ~~had~~ never returned their weapons against us. Later on they fought with us, whole-heartedly."

(I wanted to find out to what an extent subject also



✓ T. m. m. -

fought during the se days and she disclosed that she had a ~~Tommy~~gun and a pistol. The pistol was in her pocket, day and night because herself and her husband, as she said, ~~were~~ decided that should they be captured they first would kill themselves. ~~and~~ she then also told me how easy it was after a while to operate ~~them~~ those machineguns against those hatred enemies.

B. On the Hungarian courts, respondent said: that courts, as far as she heard, before 1945 had worked ~~as~~ strictly according to the law and were absolutely impartial.

About the people's courts she knew they were set up in 1945 so as to deal with the so-called war criminals. In the very beginning this is what they did. However, respondent said that ~~in~~ later on they were dealing with the so-called political crimes ~~and~~.

Respondent was of the opinion that the war criminals were not actually guilty ~~from~~ an international point of view, because for instance, an officer cannot be blamed if he carries out the orders, ~~and~~ the orders of somebody to whom he has sworn allegiance. She thought that the sentences were not just and mentioned specifically Imre <sup>dy</sup> and Bardossy.

D. When asked whether she believes that the Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848, respondent said, "This is not true, because at that time even though the Russians attacked Hungary at Válagos when the Hungarian army put ~~the~~ down the arms the Russian generals behaved like a gentleman. Besides I do not think that the people especially the unintelligent ones, even knew that at that time already we fought the Russians. The unpopularity of the Russian troops was only due to their behavior in 1945, when they ~~said~~ so to **✓ RAPE** say the whole country and looted and committed cruel acts."

"Before the Russians came to Hungary we already feared them because their bad reputation ~~was~~ spread all over Europe."

"And we were quite justified because the very first

day they have robbed us of everything we had. On the whole the Russian army behaved disgracefully."

My opinion has changed in a way toward the Russian army because later on those who came as occupation troops, I mean among those, you could find decent kind hearted peasant boys and I thought that the Russian people itself is ~~is~~ rather stupid but kind hearted people. Due to this fact they are very easily led astray. Of course, also what we have seen ~~at~~ the first troops that entered the country were always more or less drunk. I believe it was the policy of the military leadership to keep them in a kind of HAZE and make them fierce."

"We were not able to learn very much about Russian soldiers on the other hand because there was very little fraternization going on. ~~xxxxxx~~"

Regarding the attitude of Russian soldiers during the revolution, respondent said: "What I have seen was that the Russians were very reluctant to fight ~~it~~ ~~open~~ Many tanks surrendered to the Hungarians freedom-fighters. My husband who speaks fluent Russian talked very often with them and they always told him that they were told they are fighting fascists, but they can see for themselves that the people is fighting. The second troop ~~from~~ after 4th of November, came from Rumania. These were said to be send on manoeuvres only and were shocked to see that we are using LIVE shells against them. Myself I had seen four tanks to surrender on the Gellert square and hoist the Hungarian flag."

"I also have seen myself on the Korter, on the other hand that ~~perhaps~~ happy Russians were firing rounds ~~of~~ <sup>OF</sup> shots into the population who were ~~queued~~ <sup>UP</sup> ~~off~~ for V <sup>UP</sup> bread. Here we had fourteen dead ~~for~~ <sup>in</sup> a day and twenty casualties. I know the number because I was myself carried them ~~off~~ <sup>back</sup> to the first aid stations."

E. Regarding the local government officials <sup>WHO</sup> would be willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble, respondent said: "Of course, this is true and these people were mostly the civil servants of the old regime, who were ~~ever~~ <sup>never</sup> able to help people

in trouble, mostly just because they wanted to be decent. It was usually regarding the new law on working ~~conditions~~ ~~commissions~~ which they tried to get around. <sup>CONDITIONS</sup> ~~So~~ of course there were again some of the new regime, these employees openly accepted bribes. However, if found out they were put in prison, both parties. ~~Яххххххх~~

F. "As a rule officials in the state offices were always open to bribe because they were extremely badly paid. But it was well known that at the local town Halls and housing authority offices bribery was going on whole-scale. Also ~~personal~~ <sup>PERSONAL</sup> connections were pretty usefull and last but not least party connections. Everybody was trying to get around things as she or he could. Then also as I said before, if found out, prison was the answer. On the whole in Hungary except for the traffic fines which had to be paid in cash all other penalties were prison."

G. Respondent thought that she could not give any opinion regarding the competence and efficiency of the people who hold power in communist Hungary more than she had done already before, in different chapters of this interview.



XIII. ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. When asked what she thought what is going to happen in Hungary in the future, respondent said: I see a very bleak future for Hungary, unless the western powers/~~follow~~ completely their policy. Hungary will now never be able on her own to get rid of Russia. Of course, what I ~~would~~ would like to see, is that Hungary be liberated by the Western powers and Russia be chased out of this hemisphere. At the time of the events in Hungary the whole world was against Russia and the Western world has missed this unique opportunity. "And WOE to America when the time comes when China and the East, together with Russia, will rise."

"Within Hungary I am sure there will be further resistance, a kind of passive resistance, of this I am quite sure. Outside Hungary on the other hand I do not expect any action on the part of the West because they do not seem to want to put up any effort."

"A Poland ~~type~~ type solution would be in Hungary maybe better than anything but on the other hand I do not believe that such a solution can be permanent, because a compromise as specially with the Russians will never last, and with communism you can't identify yourself and neither can we accept wholeheartedly Tito or Gomulka."

✓ NOW "I think I speak for the majority of the Hungarians, that the whole solution in Europe can only be ~~now~~ solved by means of war. At the time of the Hungarian revolution it would have been different, but now this opportunity having been missed, war is the only answer. The Hungarians are so embittered that I am sure they would be willing to sacrifice their lives even ~~so~~ not to live under the communist regime."

"I am therefore convinced that war is inevitable and maybe it may come ~~within~~ within not too long time. It all depends on the situation in the Middle-East

to my belief."

Any other means other than war ~~is~~ would be absolutely ineffective against the Soviet Union and ~~this~~ we have AS seen. They just ~~laugh off~~ their sleeves when the UN is bringing a resolution. It is really a disgrace and shame how the UN can tolerate this and how long they are going to tolerate it."

B. Regarding the prospects for Hungary during the last eight years that is how they thought about them, respondent said: "In the beginning of the communist regime people were very hopeful that sooner or later war will solve all the problems and Hungary will be liberated. But as time went by and nothing happened people lost hope and got very apathic. A compromise will never be effectful because as we know, I hope by now everybody ~~ought to~~ know that you cannot make any agreements with the Russians because they don't keep it and they are getting round it as they have done in the case of the Warsaw agreement.

THAT  
LAUGH UP

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Respondent wants to see a democratic republic in independent Hungary.

B. Respondent believes that Hungary should revert to agriculture because this land has always been an agricultural land for the reason that the soil and the climate is extremely good for that purpose. Besides she was of the opinion that it is downright foolish to promote heavy industry for which raw materials have to be imported. Respondent was of the opinion that wheat should be grown by Hungary (mostly) then the light industry should be emphasized and the heavy industry abandoned as much as possible. The production of industrial commodities for instance which are much better and cheaper manufactured in Germany should also be abandoned. On the other hand in the light industry, the textile industry should be developed and also the manufacture of ~~every cultural~~ machinery because <sup>AGRICULTURAL</sup> the whole agriculture in Hungary ought to be modernized and mechanized.

When asked what should be done with the national enterprises etc., if the communist regime were overthrown, respondent said: "I think that the enterprises should be given back to the original owners, except the case of the very large mammoth enterprises, such as the mining, the transportations, the power stations, <sup>should</sup> remain in the hands of the State. Industry and commerce must be given back to private ownership." She was of the belief that without competition trade and quality is no good.

Respondent also held the belief that the State farms should remain in the hands of the State, because they are many things that are profitable only if produced on and by a large estate, and since the large estate as such, cannot be returned



on the whole to the private owners, some large estates must remain and these state farms would serve the purpose. Otherwise respondent believed that the Kolhozes and cooperatives, I mean the lands of these should be returned to the private owners.

Respondent said: "I do not believe that the government should set a maximum limit of land people may own because where is freedom then? If somebody is industrious and can amass a fortune or more land, let them do so."

When asked what specific kind of government, respondent would like to see in Hungary, Respondent said: "I am quite sure I would choose the first kind of government ~~that~~ that one that guarantees the personal freedom of the individual, because without freedom life is not worth living. After all ~~this~~ was ~~the same~~ kind of government ~~we had~~ like the second one you mention here <sup>✓ WE HAD</sup> during the communist regime. We did not go without work because we always could find work but we were oppressed and could not enjoy our freedom."

When asked about the outlawing of the communist party in independent Hungary, respondent mostly emphatically said: "no" this would be a very silly thing to do. First of all after twelve years of communism nobody would want to belong to communist party and second I believe that everything that is prohibited looks more tempting and is interesting."

C. As to which kind of international position, respondent desired for independent Hungary, she said: "I would prefer the Austrian kind of neutrality for Hungary, because after all Austria even <sup>ALTHOUGH IT</sup> neutral she belongs to the Western world and on the other hand she is <sup>✓</sup> ~~the~~ part <sup>✓</sup> of the western <sup>✓</sup> world <sup>✓</sup> than the western Germany is."

When asked about her ideas on relations with the USSR, East European states, rest of Europe, U.S. Respondent said that she would like to see a

military , cultural and economically relation with all the western European countries and the U.S. She would like to see cultural and economic ties with the Eastern European states and with Russia only commercial ties as to the extent that are profitable for Hungary. MAY 11

Respondent has heard of the Federation of Danubian States. She was of the opinion that this federation from the Hungarian point of view could not possibly be very advantageous and also since there are too many controversies regarding the minority problems between Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Rumania, respondent doesn't believe that it could be ~~thought~~ BROUGHT about. However, respondent was of the opinion that it would be a solution for the whole Eastern European hemisphere and maybe in the long run it could be brought about.

When asked whether or not respondent finds Hungary's present boundaries acceptable , she emphatically said: "no." As to how she would like to see a territorial adjustment to be carried out respondent said that she is of the belief that a plebiscite would be the most ~~un~~fair solution. \*just and

NOTE

Respondent did not seem to be very much concerned about the ~~faith~~ of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary. She said: " As far as I have heard the Hungarian minorities in Czeckoslovakia, and Austria have somehow ajusted themselves to their new homeland. In Rumania on the other hand, not."

Respondent however emphasized that from the point of view Hungarian unity, the problem of the minorities is rather an important one.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

A. Regarding the twentieth party Congress in Khrushchev's secret speech, respondent said: "of course we all have heard about the party congress and about Khrushchev's speech. However, we did not know to which extent the Hungarian press has published this speech, it has carried however some details."

When asked what exactly she heard about the party Congress and the speech she said: "as far as we were informed the 20th party's Congress, Khrushchev ~~did~~ deviated from the line completely. I believe however that this was only to save their faces. The Russian communists have realized that great many mistakes have occurred in the whole set-up and in their policies, so they had to find a scape-goat and Stalin was an ideal one since he died. So the whole thing was to my mind only just a theatre."

Respondent only heard about senator McCarthy and the un-American activities committee but could not give any details. She did not know and hear about Peron.

Regarding Rakosy's private life, respondent said: "it has been general knowledge that he lived in great luxury. This however became known only during the revolution. We were told that he had an atom-proof air raid shelter, which had specially wide doors adapted to his size. A friend of mine has seen the report of the building contractor who stated that the exit of this air-raid shelters were made according to special specification and requested larger size."

RAKOSY

My father also told me that Rakosy came from a very good and wealthy family, who had a good education. It was also known fact that he was guarded by tough AVH guards. His alleged wife was also said to be only a planted spy. Horvath

STALIN



RAKOSI

Senior knew Mr. Rakosy and his wife, and he told the story to his son who then told it to us, that the Russian communist party forced Rakosy to marry that Mongolian woman. Mr. Rakosy's sister in law, (his brother's wife) was also for a time the managing director of the Weismanfred or rather Rakosy works."

RAKOSI

B. "During the last ten years in Hungary I drew most of my information from the Hungarian radio but I knew what to believe of all the news they broadcasted. Then I also compared it always to the foreign broadcasts. But here again I formed my opinion. Then last, but not least, also I had some news by word of mouth."

"Of these sources mostly important to me were of course, were the foreign radio broadcasts. For the very reason because they always broadcast news about which the Hungarian radio very often kept silent."

C. "News which I received word of mouth came usually from very good friends or colleagues at the place where I worked. Also we had relatives in Austria and these people wrote to us very often. Of course not openly but in a kind of code."

"The news what we received by word of mouth was mostly political of course and also news about the economy of the country. The news we received from our uncle in Austria was always reliable. However the news we received by word of mouth from people at home were sometimes exaggerated but there was always something to it."

D. This section being optional and time running short, I did not press the point, besides the respondent was a very young girl before and during the war.

Regarding what Hungarian newspapers and magazines, respondent read during the last ten years in Hungary she said: "I read the Magyar Nemzet very regularly, and even the other dailies because I was interested what they are lying. Also I used them to compare their news with the news received on the foreign radio."

Regarding the reliability of the Hungarian dailies since 1948 you should not believe in what they said.

Respondent did not read any publication from the

Regarding the reliability of the Hungarian dailies since 1948 you could not believe a word of what they told us."

Respondent did not read any publication from the USSR or other satellites.

However, respondent and her family read the News Bulletin which was printed by the American and the British legations. They were supplied by some friends who went to pick up these bulletins at the respective legations. Respondent pointed out how excellent these news bulletins were and how very reliable.

Respondent also disclosed that she and her family read great many proscribed books which were still in people's possessions. People as a rule did not give up these books. They were only confiscated from the public libraries.

XVI. ~~EMERIXIX~~ EVENTS OUTSIDE OF HUNGARY

A. Regarding chances of changes inside Russia, respondent said: "I do not believe that after what has happened in Hungary anything ~~possibly~~<sup>possibly</sup> could happen in Russia, because the Soviet government will keep the nation in terror so as to kill in its bud every movement that might start. However I still believe that the Russian nation is fed up with the communist rule. My husband has talked to many Russian soldiers and mainly those who already have been stationed in Europe for a longer ~~it~~ time. They had a good eye opener. However these people, as it was rumored, were generally sent into redocrination camps when called back to the Soviet Union."

"If Russia had free elections I think that the result would be a free republic and the communist regime would be overthrown."

"In my opinion the top leaders of Russia are keeping their positions only by sheer terror. They are out for world communism and want to extend their power to the West too. In my opinion the Russians' leaders differ only from the Hungarian communists' leaders ~~where~~ the Russians intend to impose the world power, ~~AND~~ <sup>AND</sup> impose world communism, whereas the Hungarian communists' leaders are just puppets and obey their Russian masters."

B. The relative popularity in Hungary of other nations in Eastern Europe was put as follows by respondent: "the most popular in Hungary is Poland of course, because we have many common things in the past. Poland was also subjugated by the Russians. Then second most popular is Eastern Germany because we knew that here only the leaders were communists and the people were ~~were~~<sup>were</sup> strongly anti-communists. Eastern Germany is followed by Czechoslovakia regarding the popularity because we somehow, at least myself, always respected the czechoslova~~cks~~<sup>cks</sup> for their culture. Then at the end of the list comes Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Respondent pointed out that the antipathy of the Hungarians toward Rumania came mostly from the fact that the Rumanian people were widely disliked in Hungary."

~~Respondent stated that the communists are the only ones who are interested in the people's welfare.~~



Respondent was of the opinion that if free elections were held in countries, apart from Poland, the communist regime would tumble everywhere. Maybe in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria not so much because these two nations are slaves after all.

Regarding the standards of living respondent was of the opinion that the standard of living is highest in Eastern Germany followed by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland ~~to~~ her mind were about ~~on~~ the same level and followed by Rumania and Bulgaria.

C. Respondent summed up the Polish situation as follows: "In my mind Gomulka's government does mean only a small and slight change. ~~THE~~ Also I slight believe that the change was supposed to be much greater but after the events in Hungary the Russians have greatly frightened them. Besides I do not think that the policy of gradualism is any good, also I am convinced that in case of a complete change, Gomulka will also have to disappear. I do not think that Gomulka will be able to stay in power for very long. In the long run the Russians will liquidate him also."

"In my opinion events in Poland had a great effect on the events in Hungary. In fact, I feel that the Polish events have caused, to some extent, the Hungarian revolution. After all we have heard what has happened in Poznan."

"I have not heard about the changes in freedom of expression in Poland ~~before~~ before Gomulka rose to power, ~~anyway~~ *ROSE* anyway they were not so important as in Hungary."

*HAVE* "I certainly would not have preferred the Hungarian revolution to ~~take~~ *V* take a part along Polish lines because *V* *PATH* after all they Poles did not achieve anything very important and they did not merit the admiration of the world as we did. Also, last but not least, they haven't liquidated so many of her secret police as we did."

D. On Yugoslavia and Tito respondent held the following opinion: "I do believe that Tito was the originator of national communism, because when ~~he~~ for the first time ~~was~~ broken with the ~~maximal~~ Comintern the other governments of Eastern Europe were quite impressed. However the Russians pretty soon saw to it that this national movement be quelled. I am thinking now of Rajk in Hungary, I am convinced that at that time Rakoczy and the top communist big wigs knew about Rajk ~~and~~ had contact with Tito. However, when Moscow decided to be against Yugoslavia they needed a scape-goat and Rajk was the one. Regarding Tito, personally I think that he is a smart man but he has a very wide conscience so to say. I have known his nephew who was the son of his brother coming from Bunyevac family from the southern parts of Hungary. This nephew had a Hungarian mother and was a very fierce and good Hungarian. During the ~~war~~, second ~~war~~ war he was in the Hungarian air-~~force~~ world force."

RAKOSI

"Regarding Tito's relations with the other East European nations and Russia I think that Tito is mainly conscientious about peace on country only. It is for this reason that he is such a turncoat. It is really disgusting to see how he leads the West by the nose. FOR HIS

"His views and attitude <sup>WERE</sup> was very well expressed in the speech he held at the turn of the Hungarian revolution. It was typical ~~TITOIST~~ TITOIST SPEECH. I am sure that he would not have liked to see the Hungarians' revolution to win, because in that case his national communism in Yugoslavia would also come to an end."

"Regarding Tito's popularity, all I know is that he was not really popular there. I have talked to several people from Yugoslavia. He was a very strong man and ruthless."

"I also have heard that the general standard of living was pretty low in Yugoslavia, however people were free to choose their jobs, also in the field of agriculture, the situation is better. They do not have the kholzes there, however I have heard that

freedom of speech is pretty restricted there and also they have many internment camps in Yugoslavia."

E. "Regarding the invasion of the Suez Canal I can only say that from the Hungarian point of view it was a very unlucky timing. As to the Israel invasion of Egypt I am sure that this was not their own idea, they must have done it on the British instigation."

I do not think that Nasser had <sup>4</sup>/right to nationalize the canal."

"The events in Egypt had a very bad effect on developments in Hungary during the revolution, because the Russians had a wonderful excuse ~~at~~ the UN not to obey orders."

AS F. "Regarding living standards in West Germany, much as I have heard it is extremely high, at least, is what the statistics say."

"I do not believe that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war, and if they would, this war would only be against the Russians. Of course it is doubtful that after a victorious war to what an extent the Germans would become aggressive or not."

"Regarding the West German rearmament which is going on I still believe that they are not yet ready, otherwise I am sure, they would have used the Hungarian revolution to unite their two parts of the country. I do not know anything about West Germany's military strength and the time of service in the west German army. However, I hope sincerely that the army will be strong enough sometime because the German army will be the only one that will be able to fight the Russians if another war breaks out. //

"Regarding which occupation force was more ~~dis-~~ tasteful to myself I can only say that we were not pleased with the German occupation force but the Russians were ~~th~~ more distasteful ~~was~~. The Germans were after all intelligent and cultured



people and never committed any atrocities like the Russians did. In my opinion the most unpopular occupation force in Hungary was the Russian one. The German army was very well disciplined, both officers and enlisted men."

G. Respondent <sup>was</sup> asked about NATO but could not explain what it was and its principles. However she said that the Warsaw pact was a comedy, which was signed on Russian orders.

Respondent could not give any opinion about the British labor party.

Regarding the living standard in the following countries, respondent said: as far as she thinks the highest living standard at present is in West Germany followed by Britain and then Italy. Regarding the other countries she only guessed that the living standard in Soviet Russia must be higher than in Egypt and in Greece.

H. When asked what surprised her particularly about America during her first months here, respondent said: "I was greatly impressed to see that here in the U.S. every American has his own car, so this ~~is~~ the propaganda we heard on the radio; we still couldn't believe until we had seen for our own eyes how extremely high the living standard in the U.S. is. On the other hand I was taken aback to see that the average people here in the U.S. are isolationists and also that the average man in the street has very little culture, even ~~so~~ that they <sup>ought</sup> could easily afford it because people have very good living."

I must point out here that the communists take a much better care of educating their people <sup>and</sup> thinking now of musical <sup>or literary</sup> or literary. We had very good operas and very good concerts. ~~At~~ The operas were the kind of popularized versions of course that <sup>to a tired man, a working man who</sup> adapted ~~to~~ to the opera at night. <sup>after work only</sup>

Regarding what she thought the U.S. should do for the people and nations in the East of Europe, respondent said: "First of all the UN ought to finally issue a very strict and strong statement and force ~~it~~

ENFORCE IT

I really cannot understand how they can tolerate ~~the~~ Soviet Russia's behavior.

"I do not have a very good opinion of the U.S. foreign policy altogether. In the last couple of years they made too many ~~mistakes~~ and unfortunately the Russians never did."

"Regarding the aid the U.S. is willing to give to the present government of Poland, Yugoslavia etc., I would not like to see the U.S. to give this aid to these countries. The countries concerned would certainly not benefit from this aid, everything would only go to Russia and for the very reason I do not think that Hungary should be aided economically either."

The American government should not recognize the Kadar government as a legal government of Hungary however I do not think that it would be wise to break off diplomatic relations."

"I am sure that people in Hungary would like to see most western visitors if they would be allowed to enter the country, because people over there have been sealed off from the West for such a long time, that they would be glad to make contacts again."

"If anybody is allowed to enter Hungary then they ought to be told not to look at things they are shown officially but go to see for themselves. They ought to try to get in touch with people with the man in the street and to find out the true and authentic situation."

I also believe that people at home would very much love to receive Western books and periodicals again, for the twelve years complete isolation from the Western literature. If and when the government is willing to let Western literature to come into the country, then I believe these publications should be sent to libraries or just to bookstores to be sold, so as to insure a wide publication."

"I am sure that people at home would be delighted to know that the Hungarian emigres are associated

with such activities. It would make a very good impression on them.

Regarding the U.S. Marshall plan respondent said: "the Hungarian communists papers talked a great deal about the Marshall plan but of course since ~~we~~ they always <sup>viewed</sup> the Marshall plan in a very slanted way, I am unable to tell whyfore the Marshall plan was originally initiated by the U.S. I knew that we have been misled by our government. I believe that it must have been in order to assist the countries that were ravaged by war on one side and on the other side, I also think it must have been quite a good business for the U.S. also.

"Regarding why America became involved in the Korean war I believe it was with the intention to stem the Russian expansion in the East."

I. When asked about the UN what the UN could have done during the last months of 1956 in connection with the Hungarian situation, respondent said: "had the Un in the very beginning strongly and emphatically exercised its power the Russians maybe have heeded. I am sure that even had the UN sent troops to Hungary the Russians would not have dared to launch a third world war."

"I hold a very low opinion of the UN effectiveness now because I see that the whole set-up doesn't do anything else but talk and the Russians are leading the whole UN by the nose."

The UN should have <sup>PUT THE</sup> ~~a vote of~~ blame entirely on the Russians for the events in Hungary. After all the genocide has been established, and as I said, ~~before~~ UN troops could have been sent to Hungary. Had the UN shown more strength I am sure that ~~that~~ the other Western powers would have also behaved differently."

"Due to the weak attitude of the UN and non-interference in the Hungarian situation in the fall of 1956,, they have succeeded in killing all hope and confidence the Hungarians ever had in the UN. "



XVII KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. When asked ~~When asked~~ who in her opinion is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent said: "I believe Cardinal Mindszenty is the man who is the greatest living Hungarian now, not only as a priest but also as a Hungarian."

B. "Imre Nagy ~~and~~ has shown during the revolution that ~~that~~ despite having been a communist, he was a good Hungarian primarily. He must have known what ~~faith~~ is in store for him because after all ~~he~~ for forty years has known the communists, and yet he did not give in."

F A T E

I hold a very bad view of L. Rajk. After all he was the one who set up the whole AVH. I do not regret that he was exterminated by his own beloved communists."

Erno Gero is the vilest gangster of all."

Janos Kadar is a puppet who has no will of his own."

General Bela Káraly: I hold a very poor opinion of this man. After all during the revolution he didn't do a thing. We never heard about him and besides he also was the A. D. C. of the notorious Hungarian nazzi Beregffy. Káraly is an opportunist who always used well all situations for his own benefit; not like Maléter who with the role he has assumed during the revolution has extolled all his errors.

Anne Kethly even so she says she is a social-democrat, she is much too pink for my liking."

When asked what she thinks of President Eisenhower, respondent said: "When the President was elected for the second time we had very great hopes because being a soldier we thought that he will be very strong. It was a great disappointment. As a man I think everybody likes him."

" Secretary general Hammarskjold is a coward in my mind, that's all I can say."

" Secretary Dulles is a very smart statesman, nevertheless he did make a couple of mistakes lately."

" I quite admire Eden for stepping down when he did."

" Of president Truman I cannot say anything. At the time when he was the president of the U.S. we were completely sealed off from the West."

(SCREE)

When asked what opinion she had of ~~khaxrxism~~ different politicians respondent said: " Mikoyan is an Armenian. He is very smart and I think he is not such an all and out communist than the others. It is always good if there are representatives of some minority in a government like Mikoyan because the minorities are always grumbling and this is good. "

" Nehru behaved quite decently during the time of the Hungarian crises."

Of generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, respondent said: unfortunately we have been informed very little about China and what can I tell about something I don't know of."

When asked her opinion of Ferenc Nagy respondent said: "don't talk to me about that man. He is a coward. Why did he leave Hungary at that time? Former president Eildy came to no harm whatsoever, he stayed on, why ~~amud~~ couldn't he? If a person is a coward he then should not be a politician. Good politicians must always be ready to put up the consequences."

" President Roosevelt at that time was a good President for the U.S. However he ~~shook~~ shook hands and was hand in glove with Stalin and this of course has been something I never can forgive him."

"Chancellor Adenauer of Germany is a man of high qualities. He is a very cautious and matter of fact, typically German politician."

"Regarding Stalin I do not think that you would ~~be~~ put down ~~down~~ what I could say about this gangster. Malenkov even though that he was the one who in 1953 was <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ reins I am quite glad that he got what he has ~~deserved~~ now."

"I take my hat off to the Generalissimo Franco that for twenty five years was able to maintain his power in Spain. It must be quite an achievement to keep up the leadership surrounded by democratic countries."

"I have never heard the name of Bevan."

"As to Khrushchev I do not think that he is one inch better than Stalin. In fact he does not even have the grandeur of Stalin. He is just a rat."

"Molotov is a very intelligent and smart man. If I remember well, he was once an officer in the old Tsarist army."

"I never heard the name of Ollenauer. Who is he?"

When asked about Churchill respondent became quite sentimental. "I loved that old man, she ~~is~~ said. He is a genius, has wonderful brains even so He is quite old now. Whenever there ~~is~~ is some trouble they still take him out of the mothballs."



XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWAR EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. When asked who first of all escaped from Hungary and why, respondent said: "the very first who left Hungary were the AVH people who were scared to death of the consequences. later on however, when the Russians returned to Hungary, then all those political prisoners for instance who feared to be taken back and who were liberated by the revolutionaries left the country. Also people who had relatives abroad tried to get out of the country thinking that this is a good opportunity to do so. Later on when they saw that the Hungarian revolution has been quelled than the freedom fighters and anybody who took part in the revolution tried to escape also. There were of course some who came out for adventure only and as always the scum of the nation tried to escape. I am thinking now of the regular criminals who were locked up in the prisons and who escaped in the ~~middle~~ <sup>SOME OF</sup> of the revolution.

Most people came from the Transdanubian part of Hungary and from the Capital Budapest."

"They were quite a number of those who stayed behind for family reasons. Also I think that some who stayed behind should have come out. ~~ixixixixix~~ I do not approve of false heroism. After all if you stay behind ~~xxxx~~ knowing that you are going to be caught and executed you don't serve your country. People who did not take part in the revolution and had nothing to fear stayed behind of course, I do admire them because it needs a great deal of courage and moral strength to remain in Hungary now."

"People who stayed behind have different opinion of us who left. Some say that we are cowards, because we run away, others are glad that we have escaped and saved our lives."

"Assuming they had a chance to come to the West, I believe that at least sixty per cent of the

population in Hungary would remain at home, because this is about the percent of the peasantry and the Hungarian peasant very seldom leaves his land."

B. "I have heard of Hungarian exile organizations that have been active in the West during the last ten years but I can only remember now the Hungarian National Council, which as far as I knew had representatives in Germany also. As individuals I have heard the name of Mrg. Varga mentioned on the foreign radios.

When handed the list respondent had the following remark: "of Mr Nagy I have said what I have to say. I do not wish to add anything more."

"Imre Kovacs I know personally. He was the secretary general of the peasant party in Hungary. I don't like him very much after all, he left Hungary together with Francisz Naksyx Nagy."

"I quite admire Otto of Habsbourg or rather <sup>what</sup> I have heard about him. I know him to be a man with brains and thoroughly democratic young man. However he never will be able to become king of Hungary. This is something of the past."

<sup>felt</sup>  
"I ~~am~~ very sorry for Admiral Horthy when he died. He merited another fate. He after all did everything what he thought to be the best for the country. He had <sup>one</sup> mistake during his lifetime and that was that he wanted to make a king out of his son."

The emigres who left Hungary before 1945 have tried to do their best for Hungary but they had very little opportunity doing so and also they had not enough ropes to pull."

My opinion on those who came later like Nagy and Cie, you have heard already."

We did not feel that the former emigres should have returned to Hungary the\*time of the revolution." \*at

C. I have not met any Hungarian who escaped to the West after 1945 and who returned later on.

D. People who have left Hungary and are here in the

V.M.D.C.

U.S. ~~they~~ ought to work hard and decently and merit the esteem of the American people."

" People in Hungary of course are very interested how we the immigrants are living here and how we are faring. What they should know however is that we must tell the degree of freedom everybody can enjoy here and which is something quite unbelievable to us. I for my own person would also do ~~as I said before~~ my best in order to show the Americans here that we are a credit to our nation."

" I <sup>would</sup> like to join an emile organization but only if it serves the Hungarian cause. It should be an organization who primarily ought to inform people back home about us here and the organization at the same time ought to give more support to the new emigres, try to inform them about different particularities of this country and also to have <sup>CLP</sup> them to integrate into this wonderful nation. "

" This new organization however should not indulge in politics at all and should be neither rightist nor leftist. To my belief all kind of emigres should participate in this organization. The leadership should be the old emigres because after all they know better this country. I think that the quite fresh emigre should not assume any leading role. On the other hand we know much better the situation back home and could give a great deal of advice. I firmly believe that the newest emigres ~~should~~ must be taught that they must realize at last that we are here in this country more or less as guests and we have to conform to the customs here."

3 " Regarding my feelings about the various Hungarian political parties I can say that in 1948 the Small holder party was quite good until they didn't start pickering. I have not known or heard anything about parties in exile."

" Regarding political parties in Hungary during the revolution I believe that the Petofi party was quite a sensible set up. But all together I think that it was a absolutely idiotic thing to do to start reviving political parties when we have so

HAD



much more to do and before the final results of the revolution were known."

" GROUPS  
The troops that went into exile previously should not have returned to Hungary at all, in order to participate in those rival parties. This is my belief."

E. "Regarding my plans for the future I certainly do want to go back to Hungary and if the situation does not change there and the communists are going to remain, then only as a visitor when I am an American citizen already. But if the situation changes in Hungary and my country will regain her freedom, then I certainly shall want to go back to Hungary. For the very same reason I would always speak Hungarian with my boy at home."

XI XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. "While in Hungary we always listened to the voice of America, Radio Free Europe, BBC, Madrid and Ankara. Since we had a very good radio we could get all these stations. Of course the western radio stations were always jammed more or less. The least jammed was the BBC. We always listened to the Hungarian broadcast ~~max~~ <sup>official</sup> stations and quite regularly. We of course told everybody what we heard, at least to good friends and reliable friends and also we always received news from them. We usually listened the whole family and also sometimes friends. We always heard western broadcasts, second hand also."

"In the beginning there was <sup>ENVIRONMENT</sup> ~~risking~~ listening to these broadcasts however not in the last years so. In the years from 1950-1953 people were locked up quite easily for having listened to foreign radio. Therefore ~~if we were~~ <sup>we were</sup> very cautious in listening to foreign broadcasts and they did so with windows and doors closed."

"We preferred the radio BBC to all other stations. I personally disliked the program of the radio Free Europe because it wasn't ~~enough~~ enough. BBC in that respect was far better. Also the BBC's news was the most reliable and accurate. Radio Free Europe very often broadcast what we call "canards" in Hungarian. We always had to bow down the news what we heard on radio Free Europe."

"Before the revolution these broadcasts had a tremendous effect. I quite believe that these broadcasts have paved the way to the revolution in a way. However during the revolution the radio Free Europe did encourage people to hold out and to fight. But I do not hold the opinion that the Radio Free Europe had incited to start the revolution. I was very much annoyed by the attitude of the radio Free Europe because after all people responsible there should have known that there is nothing behind all the promises, which even if they were not open and straitforward promises,

<sup>THE</sup>  
It made people believe that help is forthcoming. Nevertheless everybody during the revolution was listening to Radio Free Europe, myself included. BBC after the Suez attack somehow ~~came~~ down. It seemed as if they had some remorse.

Radio Free Europe should by all means continue to broadcast to Hungary, but I believe that they should go about it with a little bit more caution. I think it would be a good idea to make people talk over the radio who came out quite recently and I am sure that this broadcast would have an appeal at home. I think that political and economical news should be broadcast but very factually. I even think that a toned-down anti-communist propaganda can also be continued. Programs about life in western Europe and programs about life in the U.S. Further I believe that cultural programs should also be broadcast but not the ones they did recently. They should consist of classical music, not too long programs but good ones."

B. Respondent has not heard any FEP leaflets nor about radio Free Europe leaflets. She was of the opinion that leaflets dropping has no sense whatsoever anyway.

D. Respondent was of the opinion that ~~western~~ western groups who broadcast and send leaflets into Hungary have the same aim. They want to disseminate political propaganda against communism.



XX.

## CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. When asked what are the most important things a child should be taught respondent said: "first of all a child must learn self-discipline, then honor, love of its homeland, and also good manners which I have seen so little here. A child must know how to do its duty towards its new homeland here, but I think that at heart my son must remain a good Hungarian."

"In my opinion a child must be disciplined. As to how it should be disciplined it depends entirely on the child. A mother or father must know the child well so as to employ the effective disciplinary methods. I believe that physical punishment if employed with wisdom is very useful. However as the child grows up you must always more and more rely on his brains."

The treatment for boys and girls should be different, according to their character. Boys must be brought up more tougher than the girls."

I can recall an incident, two, as a matter of fact, the only two times in my life when my father had administered physical punishment to me. I was six and I have stolen ten pennies from my mother and then another incident I was nine and I did not treat my mother with due respect. So on both occasions my father gave me a very good beating. Both of my parents punished me if it was necessary, and the greatest punishment for me was when my parents refused to talk to me when I was naughty. Also they used to take away my favourite toys, but altogether I can say that I was brought up by my parents mostly very lovingly and they always talked things over with me."

As a rule I can say that the mother may be has a quicker hand as we say and gives a little slap very much sooner and quicker than a father. But in the serious matters it is always the father in the Hungarian Family

who punishes/ the child.

There is a great difference regarding the bringing up of children in different ~~sorts of classes~~. What I have seen among the Hungarian peasants the patriarch system is still prevailing. Here the authority of the parents is unquestioned and also the children of the peasants respect their parents most. The situation is worse at the working class because the children ~~have fear that~~ their parents fear but don't understand them. Also the working class parents give a good ~~thing~~ to their children much more often than people of the intellectual ~~sort~~ CLASS. The intellectuals either spoil their children or they bring them up very well. I must say this."

"During the last ten years ~~the~~ changes have occurred regarding the punishment of the children and since there was no discipline in the schools the parents had to be much stricter with their children, when they were at home. The communist regime took good care to abolish the authority of the educators, the pedagogues and the parents and so it was very difficult to bring up children in a decent way."

Physical punishment as a rule is abandoned for boys when they are sixteen and girls when they are thirteen and fourteen. Other punishment is usually abandoned when girls are sixteen and boys when they are seventeen and eighteen. This also varies by social class as a working class man for instance beats his children ~~at~~ more mature age."

"As I said before, communism did bring about changes in respect because the parental authority has been abolished. Also a child who has already held a job and worked for his keep had to be considered as a grown up individual."

In my experience I found that children as a rule in Hungary matured more quicker than before and you could talk all things with them pretty well."

Techniques of discipline before communism in the first eight years in school consisted mainly of ~~spanning~~ with the boys then making the children stand in the corner, sometimes to stay over-at

CLASSES  
school, also they had to write a hundred or two hundred times down the mistakes for misbehavior and finally there was also the reports that the teacher and the headmaster sent to the parents. During the communist regime only the reports remained for the teacher. Later on sometimes however, the teachers did employ physical punishment whether it was allowed or not. And the teachers of the old schools still employed physical punishment."

"When asked what characteristics she valued most in a friend, respondent said: "a friend must be extremely honest, even if his opinion differs of mine. In my mind the friendship is something more holy than love."

"I do not know whether there have been any changes in friendship under communism or not. Personally myself I make friends very difficultly, very cautiously and if I make friends with someone then she remains for a lifetime. I also want a friend of mine to stand by me in all circumstances."

"Of what I have seen I can draw the conclusion that under communism friendship somehow became stronger. People who had common sufferings stood by each other better and more than ever."

THE END