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#### CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Subject is of the Jewish faith (the first one I've had so far) and her attitude toward the revolution and many other issues is very different than all others I've had hitherto.

I believe her attitude is not so much hers alone, but reflects the one of the Jewry altogether. She has no patriotism and puts material value before many things, and is quite frank about it, too.

She always said "liberation" when she spoke of the Russian occupation of Hungary in 1945, or saying "after the liberation" meaning the period between 1945 to 1950. Also, due to the fact that she was in the ghetto at the time when the Russians occupied Hungary.

In all fairness, however, she said she could not entirely blame the Hungarians for having anti-semitic feelings, considering that so many Communists and AVH people were Jews, and it must be difficult for them to differentiate. It was always interesting to see that she always spoke of "the Hungarians" - never identifying herself with the nation, OR saying "we". She rather pointedly always said: "they" or "the Hungarians".

Has a rather low-class background. Dresses loudly and in bad taste. She is primitive and uses all sorts of high-brow words, mispronouncing them or using them in the wrong sense. She seems to be out to improve herself tremendously but somehow has not succeeded yet. Being however, a very determined little thing, I'm sure she will make good. Despite her little schooling, she has a cultural interest for music, especially, and theatre. (When asked what she knew about the activities of the intellectuals she spoke of the actors and theatre folk only, and had no knowledge of the activities of the Petofi Circle, for instance).

On the other hand, she is a plucky person - lives all by herself despite having a very well-to-do uncle (living at Great Neck - owns his own medical instruments, has a lovely house, television in each room - even in the kids, etc. but gives her no financial support whatsoever - in fact, not even being nice to her. So she refuses to see him.) She wants to learn English well, first of all, and then to train to be an accounting machine operator as she sees no future in being a seamstress or dressmaker. She did some office work back in Hungary and knows some typing.

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II/3

MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARMUP QUESTION

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

"I believe that the Western powers and especially the United States ought to stop all material help sever all economic relations with Hungary and all the satellite nations because this will be the only way to bring Russia to heel. Russia and the satellite nations lean on their exports and on the economic help they receive from the West. I believe that I am speaking for 99% of the Hungarians ~~that~~ when saying that even if this would make their lot it would be for a shorter time, and afterwards would be allright again."

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

A. Respondent gave the following account of her personal experiences during the revolution.

"On the 20th of October, I didn't know anything about what is going to happen the next day. Even on the 23rd, it was about ten o'clock in the morning when people coming back from the city came out to the plant where I was working telling us that demonstrations are going on all over the city. Myself and my friends were rather scared about this news because we were afraid that the anti-Jewish feelings, or anti-Jewish demonstrations will be the result. Also we did not know how to get home. Nevertheless, in the afternoon, when we finished with our work, we caught a street-car to the city that took us as far as the Western station. It was around 5:30 as far as I can remember, and the demonstrators marching along the streets were going to the Ben status. I have seen a great many people marching by ~~themselves~~ with the Hungarian flags and the Russian emblems were cut out. People were widely cheering and singing. At that time, of course, I did not know what the result of all this would be. I went straight home to the 7th District where we lived and went to bed.

"On the 24th, I wanted to go to my work as usual but we saw that the street cars and busses were not running; looking out of the window, we saw trucks and cars crowded with young people who kept on shouting: "the general strike is on!" In the meanwhile, we also heard on the radio that no means of transportation are in operation throughout the city, so I decided to stay home. In the afternoon, we heard about the demonstrations and the general strike and myself and my family kept on wondering what's going to happen. Friday evening, on the 24th, the shooting has started, and even we heard guns being fired. We went to bed on that day as usual and did not go out from our apartment.

"On the 25th, we had to get some food, so I went down to see what do about this. On the boulevard nearby I have seen that the cobblestones were taken out as well as the streetcar rails, and barricades were erected. Since many owners, or employees of the different food stuffs were unable to come to their work, the freedom fighters made the janitors open up the food shops and somebody was entrusted to sell the merchandise for the owner of the shop. We did not leave our house except for getting some food on



this day either. There was much shooting going on all over the district. Finally, we moved down to the cellars and listened to the radio."

"What did you think and what did you feel about the demonstrations?"

"When I saw the demonstrations, my first thoughts were to get home as soon as possible. I did not want to participate in any demonstrations. I am not an patriot and I didn't think it worth while to risk my life for such a thing."

"Did you know what the demonstrators wanted the government to do at that time?"

"I heard that they wanted a free election and also that Imre Nagy be returned to head the new Hungarian government."

"Do you know anything about the organization of the demonstrations?"

"I do not believe that these demonstrations could have been pre-arranged. Everything seemed to me to be very spontaneous, and besides I do not think that any demonstration on such a grand scale as it was could be pre-arranged. As everybody knew, at that time, it was the students of the universities who, more or less, were the originators of the demonstrations and who printed the leaflets, etc."

B. "Would you know about how the demonstrations turned into fighting?"

"As far as I know the shooting started at the Parliament. In the beginning the demonstrations, as I was told, was quite peaceful, but then I heard that somebody threw a hand grenade ~~and~~ into the crowd and so the crowd opened fire. Also I heard that Soviet tanks were firing into the crowd."

(Please note that this information is incorrect as compared to all other interviews. This also proves that respondent was not ~~arguing~~ the revolution during the demonstrations or the fighting and has her data only by hearsay)

"Who took part in the demonstrations regarding social class and age?"

"The participants were of all social classes. I believe that all classes were ~~mixed~~ mixed together during the demonstrations, and everybody somehow seemed to have felt that they belonged together. Regarding the fighting, I was told that mostly the workers, youngsters, and the university students took part in the fighting."

Respondent could not give any information as to from where the freedom fighters got their arms, or how, if ever, they were organized. She said that she heard that the arsenals were looted by the freedom fighters. That's all she could say.

C. Respondent spent her days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion mostly at home. She pointed out that since they had been listening to RFE they knew that Russian troops are pouring in Zeheny and therefore did not believe that the Russian retreat was a genuine one. Respondent disclosed that she woke up on the 4th of November to strong canon fire - <sup>the</sup> whole house was trembling, she said. Respondent did not work until Nov. the 5th at all. However, on Nov. the 5th, since it was pay-day, she decided to go to the plant where she worked and pick up her wages. She walked all along the Vaci Street to UJpest, and all along the way she saw the Russian tanks lined up. Despite for not having worked respondent was paid her regular wages.

Respondent disclosed then that after ~~the~~ Nov. the 4th, she went several times to the city with her mother to see the damages of the revolution. She said that she was horrified to see how the city looked after the revolution which struck her as being more devastated than after the seige of Budapest in '45.

When asked when she began planning to leave Hungary, she said:  
"Ever since I was 14, I wanted to leave Hungary, and this is why I attended the apprentices course for dressmaking because I wanted to be good at some trade. Also since I had an uncle here in the US I thought it would be the best idea to come here. He, indeed, gave me the necessary affidavit, but ever since he never bothered to give me a penny or help in any other way.

"My father had served times in the different labor camps and in Russia and my mother did not want to leave. They thought that first of all father would dispose of their business and then they might join me at a later date; however, they did not succeed."

D. Respondent's answer regarding whether or not Hungary has gained because of the revolution was not to the point. She said: "Hungary has not gained but people back home will never again be willing to remain under slavery. According to letters I am receiving from home, something is smoldering under the ashes."

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IV/7

#### EXPECTATIONS FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "This is a very painful topic, I'm afraid, because the Hungarians who were listening to the foreign radio broadcasts get a great deal of encouragement from them. They were always told that Western help would be forthcoming. However, if you tried to think without prejudice, I don't see how they could expect this help because this would have meant world war. Everybody was hoping, but I knew, however, that help would not come. Then again, the UN session that were transmitted through the radio gave a great deal of encouragement in the beginning to everybody. We, however, were pessimistic."

Respondent did not ~~xxxxxx~~ come into any contact with any foreigners between October 23rd and the time of her escape.

#### SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

Respondent gave the following account of her background, her father's occupation, etc.

"I cannot tell how much my father made before and during the war, because I was a small girl at that time. All I knew is that they lived well, dressed well, and had always food enough to eat. Father had a small business of his own which was wholesale hosiery on a charge account basis. This he did at our apartment. He did not have any business premises. He must have made enough because my mother never worked and we always could afford a two-week vacation at Lake Balaton in the summer. He was drafted in labor camp between 1944-45 and, somewhere in Hungary and when the Russians occupied Hungary, he just followed the Russian troops and came home. Then he became a sleeping partner in a business with a friend of his in the textile industry. At that time, we lived very well again. In these times after the liberation were good. I attended school until 1949, and when I finished the 4th grade of secondary schooling, I went in and attended to learn to be a dressmaker. By 1950, the company where my father was a sleeping partner was nationalized. Then, again, he started a new business with another friend of his. He broke up this partnership in 1951, however, and then was without a job for a year. This was the time when also my mother had to work. We also mostly lived on packages that we were receiving from the United States. In 1952, father became a stock clerk in a paper processing co-operative."

Regarding the education of parents, respondent disclosed that her father had ~~had~~ four years of secondary schooling and two years of commercial academy. Her mother had only four grades.

B. Regarding the social classes that are Hungary, respondent said: "I believe that there are two classes in Hungary - one is the working class wherever they are - factory workers or working in the fields like the peasants. It's just the same. Then there is the white-collared class. This class consists of the actors, actresses, painters and artists, office employees, doctors, scientists - all kind of teachers - etc."

Respondent pointed out that under the Communist regime, it was not so easy to draw a line between the classes because many of the old,



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Intellectual class have been degraded to the working class; on the other hand, workers, or small craftsmen became managing directors of big enterprises because of being a Party member.

Regarding contacts respondent had with the different groups, she said that she had the opportunity to be in touch with all sorts of people during the Communist regime, and she mentioned, for instance, the janitor in the house where she lived and his wife, who were absolutely primitive people of peasant origin but extremely decent and nice. Also, in her office, respondent mentioned, that she met people of very different class backgrounds.

She was of the belief that despite the working class up to the revolution ~~it~~ did not dare say very much against the Communist regime because of fear of losing their jobs, nevertheless, they were not happy at all. Neither were the intellectuals who really felt worse. These people were unable to receive jobs which were up to the level of their qualifications. Since, during the Communist regime, said respondent, it was not important how qualified you were - the most important thing was your class background.

Respondent believed herself to belong to the working class.

C. Regarding how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, respondent was of the opinion that the class origin is the most important factor, and then comes the Communist views, and only last talent.

As to changes in social mobility, respondent was of the opinion that only in the first one or two years of the Communist regime in Hungary was class origin disregarded when applying for a job.

As to what kind of an individual could get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent was of the opinion that he must be a political turn-coat who can preach and advocate the Communist doctrine - the farther the better.



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V/10 (2A)

D. When asked whether there are groups in Hungary that get more out of the society than they deserve, respondent said: "Certainly there were, and these were the Party members, and 99% of these, who were enjoying always privileges others did not.

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VI/11 (2 A)

#### FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. In reference to family life in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said:

"Family life in Hungary has undergone a great change, especially regarding the material side of it, which, of course, influenced greatly their spiritual side. We have experience this in our own family. Hadn't we received help from outside, I'm sure we couldn't have made two ends meet.

"I believe that our family belonged to the third type which was not influenced much by the Communist regime, and our family life went on as before"

(This is a contradiction to what she has said just a couple of minutes before)

Respondent could not tell which kind of typical Hungarian family comes closest to the different descriptions, however she ventured the opinion that the average Hungarian family would lead a family life very much as before the Communist regime.

Regarding also how children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent said:

"I have seen it that in many families, where, after the liberation, the kids started school and were greatly indoctrinated in the beginning. Nevertheless, when they came home and talked with their parents they soon found out that they were told quite different things at school than the ideas their parents are advocating. On the whole, what I have seen, children had bad manners and were disrespectful to their elders since the Communist regime. Unfortunately, 90% of the kids at home have lost their home and their family life. The children are trying to find something and looking for something. They don't even know what for. There is a sort of insecurity prevailing among the younger generation nowadays in Hungary. However, on the whole, I believe that only a very small percentage of the children have turned against the parents and accepted the Communist doctrine."

"I believe that the families of the intellectuals were most affected in this way. As I said before, in our own family, there was very little change. As to families who were able to hold on to the old ways, there certainly were some but only a very few. This could happen only in families where the head of the family had a good income. I have known of a couple of Party bigwigs who, for instance, were able to afford a governess to look after their children!

B. About courtship and marriage, respondent had the following information: "I couldn't say that there was any courtship in the big sense in Hungary going on nowadays. The young boys treated the girls more or less in the same manner as they would a prostitute. They were very rude - discourteous. A few young boys had good manners and were really nice. 90% of the marriages was bad because I believe that the advocacy of free and the same rights for men and women did a great harm, and the different youth camps, they learned to be very off-handish, very casual about the women. They did not respect them anymore. Also, in the offices, people were ~~xxxx~~ working together and taking liberties. The extremely bad living standard also was a cause of a great many broken-up marriages. Also, the exaggerated working tempo - people were that tired when they returned home in the evening and last, but not least, there was the housing shortage which caused to breakup many marriages."

As to prostitution under Communism, respondent did not know how this stood. <sup>^</sup>either could she tell whether or not the sexual morality of the ~~xxxxxx~~ convinced Communist was different than the average Hungarian.

C. When asked what would happen to her friendship if a good friend she had before 1948 has joined the Communist Party, respondent said: "It would depend entirely on what her reasons were for joining the Party. But even if I knew that it was for material gains, I would be rather cautious with her in my future relationship; however, all this is hypothetical because I had no friends who later on joined the Party."

D. On juvenile delinquency, respondent said: "While I was at home, I did not hear much about juvenile delinquency, because the government didn't publicize this. However, it was common knowledge that juvenile delinquency has increased under the Communist regime, and no wonder, children grow up without the supervision of their parents."

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Regarding the "hooligans", respondent thought that these come from all social classes; are in the age group between 10 and 25, but she also was of the opinion that the majority of the hooligans comes from the uncultured families, as she put it.

As to the Jampec, she said that these are boys mostly in their teens who tried to imitate the American way of dressing and dancing. They are just stupid, little apes, as she said.



## VII. RELIGION

A. Respondent was of the belief that as a rule religion does play a great part in Hungarian life. However, she pointed out that in the last two years to attend religious services at churches.

According to respondent all religions were equally hard hit by Communism. More so, since all religious instructions were prohibited and it was .....for the Communist regime which religious people are confessing. When asked whether she thought that religion was a bulwark against Communism in Hungary, she said that "I do not believe because religion is something spiritual and has nothing to do with Communism, to my mind. Besides, I think that people were too scared in Hungary so as to profess openly and stand up against Communism.

B. When asked what part religion plays in her own life, respondent said: "As far as I'm concerned, I keep my religious holidays and I pray. I do not attend any temples here because I don't have the time and am working, but at home, in Hungary, upon request of my parents, I always attended the Friday services in the Synagog. I believe in God and therefore I was never disappointed; however, I want to point out *bégette*. My parents are more religious than myself, but I think this has to do not only with the political situation at home, but also because young people as a rule are less religious than their elders. I believe myself about as religious as the average person in Hungary is."

C. Regarding the relation between church and state, respondent held the following view:

"I believe that churches should be completely independent from the state. They ought to co-operate but they ought to have equal rights.

"As to the role of churches in education, I consider this a very important one. At the time when I still attended school, we had religious instruction at school. To my mind, it is very important that children should get a religious education. I also think that it is sometimes quite desirable that churches have a word to say in setting moral codes and standards and exercise censorship over movies, plays and books.

"I also believe that ~~ix~~ the churches should have a word to say in the government because we have seen to what it has led that the churches are excluded from the life of the state. People have become animals instead of

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human beings ever since the churches were excluded from politics."

D. The Jewish Minority:

Regarding whether or not the Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism, respondent said:

The Jewish religion was not hurt by Communism. It was hurt only by anti-Semitism. After all, mostly all of the members of the government were Jews."

(Respondent apparently meant the Jewish people and not the religion when giving the above answer)

When asked whether the Communism <sup>rule</sup> affected the Jews in Hungary, then she said: (And I believe this should have been the answer to the Jewish religion, as a matter of fact)

"The Communists were gainst all religion. To my belief, to the same extent."

Regarding the attitudes of Jews toward Communism in Hungary, she said: "The Jewry in Hungary was expecting the Leninist Communist and I'm sure that had real Communism been enforced in Hungary, everything would have been different. Communism as practiced in Hungary at present is not Communism- it is sheer barbarism."

"In the very beginning, as a matter of fact for the first three years after the liberation, we thought that Hungary will become a little Paradise and living standards will improve. In fact we used to say that it would become just like in America. However, the situation changed very soon. Ever since the Social Democratic Party was forcibly merged with the Communist Party and became what is called the Worker's Party the true face of Communism became apparent.

"Of course, many Jews joined the Communist Party because they were afraid of losing their jobs; also, they did not know what the future will be. Many of them since have regretted having become a Communist Party member but we couldn't get out of it anymore. They resented very much the high pParty fees, and contributions, they had to make. They were always some collections made for Korea, China, etc."

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When asked about the attitude of the Jews during the revolution, she said:

"Sometimes we were rather afraid that if the Russians will leave Hungary, anti-Semitism will start again. However, I would like to point out that during the revolution there was no anti-Semitism. I do not blame the Hungarians for being anti-Semetics, because after all, the members of the government and also chief top wigs of the AVH, and people who were set in the best paid jobs were Jews, indeed, and therefore, the Jewish people had to take the blame."

When asked whether or not that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary. "This is not true, because the Hungarian Jews would not mind an independent Hungary. After all, in an independent country, and after free elections I do not see that we would have any reason to fear anti-Semitism in Hungary."

As to whether or not, the Jews were part of the fighting and demonstrations, respondent said that from hearsay they took part in both.

### THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. To respondent's mind, the expression 'Hungarian youth' includes young people between 14 and 30 years of age.

B. Respondent thought that it was, indeed, the Hungarian youth who played the leading part in the revolution. When asked they did act as they did, and why the young people took the lead rather than the old people, she said:

"After all, the young people had more courage, and were more dissatisfied. From their elders they have heard stories that life before Communism was different than now. Also, some of the young people who had the chance to go abroad told also what they have seen. Young people were dissatisfied with the living standard we had to live under in the Communist regime. Also, I believe that the elder generation was mentally and physically tired.

"During the revolution, the older people admired the younger ones because they were hoping that the younger generation would fulfill their dreams.

"What the young people thought of the elder generation, I really cannot tell, since I haven't taken part in the demonstrations nor in the fighting."

C. Regarding the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent could give the following information.

"The standard of the school education was extremely good. The teachers who were mostly of the old school were very competent and anti-Communist. I attended the public school of the 7th District in the Dohany Utca ~~in~~ (This district and this street was mostly inhabited by the Jews in Budapest. It was here that they had the main synagog also). My geography teacher, for instance, was the sister of the famous Bela Illes. My sister for Hungarian literature was herself an author. At that time, when I started to go to school, we were still allowed to choose which foreign language we wanted, and at that time Russian was compulsory yet."

D. Regarding the reaction of youth to Communist indoctrination, respondent said:

"First of all, in the very beginning, they didn't even know what Communism is, and what for the different youth organizations are established. After a couple of years, however, about half of the youngsters have left these youths' movements because the young people have very soon found out that Communism has very little to offer them.



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MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. "The extremely low living standard caused great dissatisfaction in our every-day life. We couldn't earn enough money so as to live as we would like to. You could eat, or you could dress, but both things were impossible at the same time."

B. "Apart from big political things, we were mostly annoyed in every-day life by the lies they were feeding us; things that they didn't even believe themselves. There were always contradictions in every newspaper and in every decree as issued by the Communist regime."

THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Regarding the standard of living, respondent disclosed:

"All of our requirements were toned down as much as possible, because we knew that we could not achieve to live as we would have liked. Food was little and expensive. Regarding clothing, I said we bought food, or bought clothing. We, personally were greatly helped by the packages we received from the United States. Housing was no problem for us because we lived in our old apartment and were lucky that it hadn't been bumped out during the siege; also, it was a controlled rent apartment. We had two rooms and the three of us lived only there.

"I considered ~~xxx~~ travel or a vacation the greatest luxury while I was in Hungary, or for instance to have three dresses, or two pairs of new shoes, instead of one - also the so-called delicatessens were far beyond our budget.

"Of the above three, food ~~ckx~~ caused us the greatest difficulty.

"Our living standard was quite bearable in 1945 and '46, and ever since then it has gone down considerably.

"Among families whom I knew and who lived much better than the average, were mostly the merchants who had saved of their stocks which they could sell little by little, and people also who received packages from the US, and last but not least, all the Party big shots lived always extremely well.

"The extremely low standard of living in Hungary during the last 8 years ~~ix~~ can only be put at the doorstep of the government, because the country was economically exploited, and every product - food or merchandise was exported and manufactured for export and sent out abroad, mainly to the Soviet Union."

B. Respondent's income in 1956 was 450-500 forints per month. She had to work under the norm system. She did mostly machine embroidery. Deductions were as follows: they had to pay peace loan, which, however was abolished in a certain part of '56; then there was the trade union fee; she couldn't remember whether it 1 1/2 or 2 %, and then there was 4% childless tax, and 3% retirement tax, and also something which she could not remember for sick insurance.

Respondent did not have any premium extra-pay or wage increase during the last year. Only father worked in the family to supplement the family income; mother was ailing. She did not work.

C. Regarding price and quality of goods one could buy in Hungary, respondent said that they always bought at the state stores as the free market was much too expensive, even though the quality of the goods was better - rather it was fresher, regarding fruit, vegetables, etc. The difference in prices was quite great. One egg was one forint 90, to the State store, while it was two-twenty at the open market. She also said that before the Jewish holidays, prices of several foodstuffs always went up, such as goose and ski.....for instance. There was always a change in the prices of sugar, flour, butter, lard, etc. It always depended whether or not foodstuffs meant for the export could be shipped - ~~infamously~~ if for some reason they were held back, or sent back to Hungary then these goods were thrown on the market.

Regarding clothing, respondent disclosed that textile materials manufactured for domestic consumption were sold at the state stores; the quality was pretty bad there, and therefore, the family mostly used the dresses they were receiving from abroad in packages.

Sometimes if merchandise was rejected for export, then these materials or goods, could be bought at the state stores and these were, of course, of superior quality.

Retail distribution, according to respondent, was very bad, sporadic, and mismanaged in Hungary.

The retail distribution of foodstuffs, for instance, changed in every district. There was also a great shortage in standard spare parts which were very difficult to get. She said that usually if you want to have a spare part you had to have it made, because it was simply unobtainable.

As to which commodities were especially short in supply, respondent said: "For instance, we nearly never saw oranges, lemons or all kind of what we call delicatessen. Then there was a shortage once in toilet paper; then glass for windows, kerosene, etc."

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Regarding the black market, respondent was of the opinion that this flourished only between 1949 and '52. Later on, it somehow stopped more or less in the foodstuffs but it was still flourishing in foreign currency, gold and watches. Punishment was pretty stiff for black marketeering and people usually got a couple of years prison for it. Also if people ~~stared too much~~ stored too much foods, they were punished for hoarding.

D. Respondent described the working conditions under which she had to work, as follows:

"My working hours consisted of - starting at 8 o'clock a.m. and lasted until 4:30 p.m. As a rule, I worked 51 hours a week. This was at the state enterprise where I was employed as a seamstress. It took me about 45 minutes by streetcar to get to my job.

"I received this particular job through personal connections of an actor I knew, and this actor had some personal connections to the manager of the plant.

"My relations with my co-workers were also very cordial. All social classes were represented among us. All the girls were trained there in the plant, and so they were pretty competent in the kind of job they had to do. We worked under the norm system and had electric sewing machines.

"My relations with my superiors, on the other hand, was the worst possible. The plant when it was nationalized was managed by a former upholsterer apprentice who couldn't even write his name properly. However, he was a member of the Party, of course. He was extremely rude with everybody, and had a bone to pick with everyone. The section manager was very a decent person, however, he, too, was a member of the Party. Her husband was the plant manager of another state enterprise.

"I was not satisfied with my job, because we were constantly being pested with political indoctrination also. I had especially some quarrels to pick with the Party secretary because I refused to attend some trade union meetings. However, it so happened that whenever there was a so-called production conference, we were kept there after hours, and even the doors of the plant were locked so nobody could go home. It happened that often the meeting lasted until one o'clock. My parents were, of course, very anxious as to what had happened to me on those days.



We were very poorly paid and the whole plant was dirty and unsanitary. We never received any praise because the policy was that we should not be praised or else we would get conceited."

Regarding the Hungarian vacation program, only people who were selected by the management could go for a twelve-day vacation. The selection then also depended upon the trade union. Here too, it helped if you had connections. There were some of the workers who went every year for a vacation. Others, who never could be recommended. The number of people that could go away was extremely low. The people who made it were taken to lovely spas or health resorts. Just to give you an example, in our factory there were six hundred workers and only 35, or 40 were sent away under the vacation program in a year. Of course it was very favorable on your budget to be sent under the vacation program because you received 50% deduction on the transportation fees, and you paid also, as far as I remember, about 100 forints for two weeks, and daily three meals. Of course, you never were alone in the room. Several people were assigned to one room.

"The health program, on the other hand, was comparatively far the best. Under this health program, you received free medical treatment, free surgery, and even you had to pay only a small part of the expenses for medicines. However, unfortunately, the doctors had to work on the production line, and therefore could devote very little of their time to the individual patient. On the whole, I can say that it was much better than what I have seen here because at present I could not afford to become sick here.

"The pensions were extremely low. In fact so low that it was impossible for anyone to live on the pension only."

E. As to where respondent would have preferred to live while in Hungary - in the country or in the City, she most emphatically said that she would prefer life in the city, because she was born there and had grown up there. On the whole, she was of the opinion that country life is distasteful to her. According to respondent, the diet was much better in the country for the agricultural workers; on the other hand, the general standard of living, in her opinion, was about the same all over the country. Politically everyone had an easier time in the big cities because you could get lost there and nobody - rather not everybody knew you like in a small town or a village.

When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, respondent said: "We knew what's going to happen, because we have seen the Russian example. We also knew that collectivization was in all the agricultural programs so as to export them to the Soviet Union. In my opinion, all ~~peasants~~ peasants

75-<sup>2</sup>  
HLR

X/23

did object to collectivization equally. I have heard that after the revolution, several collectives were dissolved. The reason is very simple because the Hungarian peasant doesn't like to work for the state.

75-F  
HLR

XI/24 (3 a-~~4~~)  
4 a

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Having been too young in 1948, respondent could not give any opinion on the political life at that time. Nor did she have any opinion about the Communist Party before 1948.

We believed them

B.....inthe beginning, but later on when they found out that everything was just lies it was much too late.

I have known several Communist Party members .....se to say. She was, of course, a very big Communist. I found out that ~~beforehand~~ formerly she became a Communist because she wanted to save her skin.

When asked what should be done with the top Hungarian Communists when Hungary is independent, she said: " I would exterminate them all."

75-B  
HLR

XI/25 (4a)

C. Respondent did not hear of any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution. Only ~~was~~ in one instance did she hear that there was something brewing at the Csepel Island among the workers took part. What it was she didn't know. Up until the Hungarian revolution, everybody was much too scared to do anything, she said.

Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said:  
"Yes, I have heard about the activities of the intellectuals. The writers who even under the Communist oppression during the last years tried to write and express their opinion, and during the revolution they came out into the open.

"I have heard, for instance, that a couple of months before the revolution that the actors in the music halls ridiculed the regime."

However, regarding the Petefi Circle, respondent didn't know anything about it.

When asked why, in her opinion, the intellectuals stood up against the regime, she said: "Probably as everybody else, they wanted freedom."



THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. When asked to give her opinion about the AVH, respondent said:  
"These people were bought by money and they did everything for money. They were the enemies of the ~~my~~ population. Everything they cared for were their high salaries, and they were willing to do the greatest atrocities for money. I have heard from friends that during the revolution, the freedom fighters have found in the AVH cellars, people who have been imprisoned ten or twelve years ago."

When asked whether her family or friends had had any personal experience with AVH or were in prison, she said:

"Yes, my uncle was locked up for sixteen months because he was black marketeering in US dollars. Further more, I myself, spent a day and a half at the police of Deak Square. I went to get some potatoes from my uncle, one day, and then I happened to arrive at his place when the economic police were searching his apartment, so the detectives took me along and interrogated me about what I knew of my uncle's business. I was not ill-treated. They only asked me questions referring to my uncle's activities."

Respondent did not know of any AVH men who wanted to leave the force or who suffered remorse.

When asked what should be done with the AVH when Hungary is independent, respondent said:

"I would exterminate them just as all the Communist Party members. They are not human beings any more, only animals."

When asked about her attitude regarding the regular police as compared with the AVH, respondent said:

"I was told that the regular police was quite different from the AVH. They were against the Communists. So much so, that in the last days of the revolution, the AVH people donned the regular police uniform because they knew they were safe if they wore the regular policeman's uniform."

B. Respondent could not tell anything about the Hungarian courts, or how they functioned before 1945, neither did she know anything about the People's Courts ~~and~~ between 1945-47.

D. Regarding whether or not, Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to events of 1848, respondent said:

"This has nothing to do with those times. The unpopularity of the

Russian troops was only due to the fact that they wanted to subjugate Hungary and the satellite nations."

"Before the Russians came into Hungary, in 1945, we were expecting freedom. At that time, my ~~family~~ family and myself were in the Ghetto in Budapest and were liberated by the Russians in nick of time. At that time, we were not aware as to what was going to happen to us under the Russian occupation. The Russians behaved like barbarians; they were stealing, raping. Altogether, they are an uncultured, barbaric hordes. I always felt very badly toward the Russian Army because due to them, and due to their occupation, I never had anything out of my life since I was a small child, and even though I was the only child in the family, my father and myself had to work hard so as to make both ends meet. "

and

Regarding the Russian soldiers and officers also, their behaviour during the occupation, respondent had no direct contact with them and could not give any information. She only said that the sixth district was mostly inhabited by the Russian officers and their families. They had their own shops and lived quite separately; there was no fraternization between the Russian families and the Hungarian ones. However, everybody knew that the Russian families were very reluctant to leave Hungary because they lived far better than back home in Russia.

Respondent could also not tell anything about the behaviour of the Russian soldiers during the revolution. Only after the 4th of November, she said that these forces were Mongolian and barbaric soldiers. Respondent repeated that during the revolution she very seldom left the house, and didn't care very much what was going on in the streets. She was very aloof about this question, altogether.

E. Whether or not people in the local government were willing to forget the rules, respondent said:  
"Yes, you could find a few people. These were the old civil servants who were left in their jobs. However, they did not dare to do very much.

F. As to pulling ropes and getting around some of the regulations under the Communist regime, respondent said:  
"It was done, and especially in the housing office where you could nearly bribe everyone. Also, in the labor offices. Even in the courts.

75-F  
HLR

XII/ 28 (4a)

With the AVH, it was more difficult. Here you had to have some private ropes to pull, if you wanted to achieve something. I also have heard that the police was accepting bribes, too. However, mostly people used their private connections in order to get ahead under the Communist regime, but sometimes money was a great help, too. If people were caught accepting bribes, then both parties were punished. Usually, the penalty was mostly put in prison.

G. Respondent could not tell anything about the competence about various groups and people who held power in Communist Hungary.

#### ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. When asked to give her ideas what she thinks will probably happen in Hungary in the future, respondent said:

"This is something that nobody can tell. I'm sure that even the big political bigshots who are unable to forecast the events in Hungary. You never know what's going to happen there. Just as nobody expected the revolution to break out, maybe something will happen. Within Hungary I am sure there is still going on a passive resistance. Regarding the Russian policy, I do not believe that this will be more lenient. After all, the Russians are out for world power.

"Regarding my hopes and wishes for Hungary, a government like in Austria would be the ideal solution. Complete neutrality, of course. On the other hand, I do not see that the West would do anything for Hungary. After all, the Americans and the other free countries will not go to war for such a small country like Hungary. Also, I do not see any possibility of the UN doing something for Hungary."

B. Regarding how respondent and her family thought about the prospects for Hungary during the last eight or ten years, she said:

"After the liberation in 1945, we were convinced that within two or three years, everything would be changed and Hungary's prospects will be very bright. Since 1946, however, gradually the situation deteriorated and we had no hopes for a change. Somehow we get resigned to the inevitable. Also, when we saw that the race for the atomic weapons was going on in full speed, we did not believe that a change could come about because we thought the Russians to be too strong. Shortly before the revolution however, in 1956 when the newspapers started to write more freely and people were more outspoken we thought that some changes would be forthcoming."



SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Respondent wanted an independent Hungary to be like Austria - a true democracy where everyone is enjoying the rights of human freedoms.

B. Regarding desired economic system and emphases, respondent said: "I believe that Hungary should put equal emphases on agriculture and on industry because on industry especially because the exports are very important for the country..on agriculture also because Hungary can export a great deal of foodstuffs and this is good for Hungary's economy. I believe also that the heavy and light industries should be equally developed in Hungary. However, there is more sense in developing light industry. The heavy industry has been boated only during the war in Hungary."

Regarding which product in particular should be emphasized, respondent was at a loss. She said that this is a very difficult question to answer. However, she was of the opinion that the ~~handicraft~~ products of the handi-craft industries were known abroad and had a very good market.

If the Communist regime were overthrown "I believe that the state enterprises should be dissolved mostly, and returned to the private owners. I would also dissolve all kekhozes and state farms. "

Regarding what role the government should play in the ~~economic~~ economic system of an independent Hungary, respondent said: "I think that it would be a good idea to keep the mines, for instance, and the power works, transportations and armament works in the hands of the state. However, under a different management and different system. I also believe that the government should set a maximum limit to the amount of land one person may own; however, I do not know what this limit should be."

As to which kind of government, respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, she chose the one which guarantees the personal freedom of the individual, and she said: "The moment you are free to do, and free to work, there can be no trouble in getting a job, also."

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XIV/ 31 (4b)

Regarding the outlawing of the Communist Party, respondent said: "I advocate the outlawing of the Communist Party because as long as they are allowed to be active they will never keep quiet. I also advocate for the same reason, the outlawing of all fellow-traveling organizations because every Communist activity must be killed at the very beginning."

C. As to what kind of international position respondent would desire for an independent Hungary, she said: "Ideally, I would choose the neutrality like Austria's because the two other solutions - national communism or alliance with the West are not the ideal solutions."

Respondent did not see any kind of relations with the Soviet Union and only cultural and economic relations with the rest of ~~Europe~~ East European states. However, with the West of Europe and the US she wanted to see military, economic and cultural relations.

Respondent never heard, nor thought of the possibility of a federation between the Nubian states.

Regarding Hungary's present boundaries, respondent did not find them acceptable at all because, as she said, after all, the country has been dismembered and was not a whole geographical unit. She thought that an exchange of the population would be a solution, but on second thought she was of the opinion that a ~~Ruk~~ Plebescite would be the ideal solution. The fate of the Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary, she thought to be an important one. She said: "Even though I am not a patriot, and nevertheless I believe that everybody must be sorry for them as human beings."

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Respondent did not know of Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Party Congress. She did not know about Senator McCarthy, the an-American activities committee, about Peron either. Regarding Rakosi' private life, she said that the only thing she knew about him was that she was told that the wife of his was a spy planted on him; also, that he was guarded by heavy security police guards at his mountain villa where she lived. Respondent said that altogether the private life of Rakosi and other Communist top people were just not discussed in the public, in the newspapers, etc.

B. Regarding from what sources respondent drew most of her information, in the last ten years, she said:

"We drew our information mostly from the foreign radio broadcasts, and these were the most important to us. We listened to RFE, VOA, the ~~XXXX~~ French radio, the BBC, and also to the news from Vienna."

C. "Of course, we always received word by word-of-mouth, and this news was mostly political, and we received them from people who were friends of ours, or good acquaintances. Of course, it was impossible to control whether or not this news was reliable but I'm sure that people did add a lot to the news when they were handing it down to other people, so it couldn't have been very reliable. "

D. Regarding respondent's reading habits, she disclosed that before and during the war, she mostly read the Crai Utisag, and the Esti Kurir. Besides that she sometimes read a magazine referring to movies and theatre. As to books, she said she mostly read French and English, also German books in Hungarian translation. She mentioned Alexander Dumas, Stephen Zweig, then Cronin, Wells, and also Remarque.

She pointed out that in the last or ten years, she read very little; she read mostly a magazine of Life and Science. Otherwise, as she put it, any literature or newspaper you could buy in the last years were not worth the money.



EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the changes inside Russia, respondent said:

"Changes in Russia can only come about if the government is going to be changed because the Russian people are oppressed by the Soviet government and they do not dare to stand up against this oppression. Also more than a generation has grown up under the Communist regime, so I believe that only a radical change could bring about a difference in the political situation in Russia.

"  
I believe that the Russian people have about the same feelings about Communism as we have, and that if free elections were held in Russia, I'm sure that the results would be a democratic government.

"In my opinion, the top leaders of Russia have one collective aim and this is world Communism. Their private motives are only to remain on the top as long as possible. The Hungarian Communists are completely under the influence of the Russian ones and obey them implicitly.

B. Regarding the relative popularity in Hungary of the other nations in Eastern Europe, respondent graded them as follows: Most popular was Czechoslovakia, because as respondent said, people traveled quite often to Czechoslovakia and knew the country; also, they held the Czech industry which was highly developed in great respect; also, people who visited Czechoslovakia could purchase many goods that were unobtainable in Hungary.

Second in popularity was Eastern Germany, mostly because, as respondent said, people could go over to the West more easily from there.

Next, was Yugoslavia because somehow respected Tito for having been able to break off from Soviet Russia.

Then came Poland because according to respondent Poland was instrumental in the starting of the Hungarian revolution also. Respondent put Romania last on the popularity list. She did not know anything about how much popular Bulgaria was because as she said nobody knew anything about Bulgaria.

When asked what she thinks if free elections were held in these countries, respondent believed that all the above mentioned countries would denounce Communism.



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XVI/ 38 (4b)  
(5 A)

Regarding the living standard of the Eastern European countries, respondent put Czechoslovakia on the top of the list. She said that she had no idea about the East German living standard and also nothing about Poland, Bulgaria or Romania.

C. Regarding the Polish situation, respondent was of the opinion that Gomulka, too, is only a puppet, and despite the fact that some changes did occur in Poland, as far as respondent was informed, the situation in Poland is turning to the worse again.

Regarding Gomulka's policy, respondent said:

"I do not believe that his policy will bring about great changes. In the ~~beginning~~ beginning it looked as if his policy would mean real change, but I do not believe that in the long run it will be one."

"For the same reason, I cannot say what the outlook for Poland is, and I'm sure that Gomulka doesn't know it himself, either. He might be fired by the Russians any moment."

Whether or not, in respondent's opinion, events in Poland have affected the events in Hungary, respondent said:

"Very much so. Generally, it was said that the events in Poland gave an initiative to the Hungarian revolution. However, I do not believe that events in Poland in anyway affected the events in Hungary during and after the October, 1956."

Respondent had not heard any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise in power. As to whether or not, she would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a part along Polish lines, respondent said: "I would not have preferred the Polish solution, because this is no solution whatsoever. It was not a final and definitive break, so what good is it?"

D. Regarding Yugoslavia respondent did not whether or not Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe. She was of the view that Tito was not the originator of national communism, because she said: "This thing was was invented by the Russians."

75-F  
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XVI/ 35 (5a)

Regarding her general view on Tito and his policies, she said:  
"Tito really did not, or could not achieve what he wanted. He is still too far under the Russian influence."

"As to national communism, I believe that any kind of communism is the same."

"Tito's relations with the other Eastern European nations is something of mutual mistrust. Regarding his relationship with the Russians, this is changing, and whenever it is in the interests of his country, he must be very careful with the Russians. His attitude toward the West is also changing and always according to the Russian influence."

Respondent did not hear anything of Tito's attitudes toward the Hungarian revolution.

Regarding respondent's attitude toward Tito-ism, and in other satellite nations, and toward Rajk for instance, respondent answered: Rajk was, too, a Communist; otherwise, I don't know anything about him."

In reference to Tito's popularity in Yugoslavia, respondent said:  
"As far as I know he is pretty popular, because his aims are fundamentally good. He wants to help his country but only he is too much under Russian influence."

Regarding internal conditions in Yugoslavia, respondent said that she has only heard rumours that there is great controversy raging between the Communist and the non-Communist elements within Yugoslavia. She didn't know about the living standards, working conditions, etc.

E. When asked about her opinion on the Suez situation, the invasion of the Suez Canal and the Israeli invasion of Egypt, etc., she said: "I have heard about it and really I wasn't interested in it at all."

"However, I blame Israeli for the constant fighting and bickering because I do not believe that it is always the Arab states that are aggressive."

"I do not believe that Egypt had the right to nationalize the canal, because after all, a canal like that in Suez is an international waterway, and should belong to all nations and ought to be used like a street by everyone. This was highly exaggerated by Nasser when he wanted to have the canal for Egypt only."

"I do feel that events in Egypt have affected the developments in Hungary in the autumn of 1956 because the United Nations was being kept busy with the Suez problem which they thought to be more important than that of Hungary."

F. Respondent's opinion on West Germany were as follows: "As far as I was informed the living standard in Western Germany is very high. Also, the working conditions -salaries - are far the best - sometimes even better than here in the US. I also have heard that the purchase value of the German money has increased tremendously."

"I do not know how far the Germans are dangerous and would want to start another war but I think that it is not quite wise to re-arm them as to such an extent as America does, because after all the Germans have shown their real face in the past. I really do not know against whom they would want to start another war. I'm sure it will depend entirely on the political situation at the time."

Regarding West German military strength, I really do not know how strong it is, but I'm pretty sure that it must be - the military strength must be far above what other countries have. I do not know how long the term of service is in the West German army."

When asked to compare the Germany Army when occupying Hungary with the occupation of the Russian army, respondent said:

"Both armies are equally barbarians. The facts have proven it."

"The German army was far better disciplined, of course, because after all this is a cultured nation. Both officers and enlisted men were equally disciplined. In my opinion, the most unpopular occupation force in Hungary was the Russian one."

G. Respondent did not know what NATO is and ~~what~~ why it has been set up. She couldn't compare it either to the Warsaw pact.

Respondent didn't know anything about the British Labor Party either.

As to respondent's impressions as to the living standards of various countries, she put them as follows: the highest was West Germany, followed by England and Italy, Egypt and Greece and thought these were of the same level. Soviet Russia she put last.



H When asked what surprised her particularly about America during her first few months here, respondent said it was first of all the traffic in the cities - the wonderful highways - the skyscrapers and the automation in the industry and the terrific distances.

She also found that people over here are very friendly, kind-hearted and ready to help. She also said that politically and economically this country had no surprises for her because she was more or less well-informed about it.

Regarding what she thought the US should do now for the people of nations of Eastern Europe, she said:

"There is only one solution which find a settlement of Eastern Europe and this is war. However, I quite see that the West and the US is not inclined to start another world war. However, this will not depend on the Western world, but on Russia entirely. ~~THESE~~ It is quite futile for the US to carry on negotiations with the Soviet Union because they just don't care a damn about any agreements or treaties. But I believe that the US' policy from the point of view ~~of~~ of the United States nation is quite good, because this is the only way the US government can remain in power."

"I do not think the US should give any economic aid to the satellite nations because only the Soviet Union will benefit from it, and therefore, I do not think it wise to give any assistance to the Eastern European governments and to Hungary."

Respondent's attitude regarding the above has not changed since she came to this country.

Respondent was also of the opinion that the US government should not ~~acknowledge~~ recognize the present Hungarian government, and she also would like to see diplomatic relations broken off.

Respondent was of the opinion that people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors because somehow in every Western person they see the symbol of freedom, and besides respondent was of the opinion that economically it would benefit the country also if the tourists trade is booming.



She thought that mainly tourists would be very beneficial for the country. She thought that visitors would not necessarily be told of anything before going to Hungary because after all anybody who wants to go to Hungary probably gets some information before hand. However, she thought it would be wise to warn them that even so they might be foreign citizens and there is a danger in going to Hungary.

Respondent thought that people at home would tremendously like to receive books and periodicals, however, in the present situation she did not see how this could be brought about. She was also of the opinion that it would mean a danger to the people at home, if it would be made public that they had been in connection with the people in the West. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Therefore the emigrants should not take part in these activities, such as sending books and visitors home. ~~XXXXX~~

Regarding the Marshall plan and the reason for which the US launched it, respondent said that as far as she ~~knows~~ this was a program ~~xxx~~ to assist the satellite nations.

She did not know why America became involved in the Korean war in 1950. But she volunteered the opinion that probably it was because of the spreading of Communism in that hemisphere.

I. Regarding the activities of the UN, respondent had no positive idea. She admitted however that during the autumn and winter of '56, they were hoping that the UN would send occupation troops to Hungary. She also was of the opinion that she does not see any chances of an effective UN action for Hungary in the ~~xxxxxx~~ foreseeable future.

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked whether she could tell me who in her opinion is the greatest living Hungarian, and why, respondent could not give me any idea despite she did a great deal of thinking.

B. Regarding selected personalities, about MRS NAGY, she said, "he is a man who fundamentally thinks democratically. He is an idealist Communist and follows the Lenin line which is a different Communism than the one which has been enforced in Hungary. He is a man who could be accepted as the head of the government for Hungary as he has shown it during the revolution."

Of Cardinal Mindszenty, she held the view that he is a martyr of the Hungarian nation who suffered persecution because he stuck to religion and national beliefs and fought Communism persistently.

Regarding Lasslo Rajk, she said she was too young at the time when his trial came up and cannot give any opinion.

Of Kerno Gere, she said: "He is a man of extremely base character and he ~~is willing to sell the country in order to save himself.~~ is willing to sell the country in order to save himself."

Of Janos Kadar she said that this man is a prophet who was unwilling to give up his career and therefore has gone so far in complying with the Russians.

Of General Bela Kiraly, respondent hasn't heard anything.

Regarding Miss Kethly, she said that at home in Hungary she was highly respected, however people were of the opinion that at present nobody is quite clear what she is going to do, and why she is acting as she is.

When asked about her opinion regarding President Eisenhower, respondent said: "I am not quite clear to which extent President Eisenhower is able to influence the activities of the government, and the country."

Regarding Secretary -General Hammarskiold, respondent was of the opinion that he did everything he could in Hungary's interest. As she said that she has heard he wanted to come to Hungary as an observer but was not allowed to do so by the Russians.

Respondent did not know a thing about Secretary Dulles, Eden and Truman.

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Regarding the list of selected personalities as in section XVII, the reactions were as follows:

MIKOYAN. "Who is he?"

NEHRU. "I don't know anything about him"

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI SHEK. "Neither about this one."

Regarding Ferenc Nagy, she said: "He lives here in America and he was the one who set up the new Hungarian government. We also heard that he wanted to come with that new government to Hungary during the revolution."

Respondent couldn't give any opinion on Roosevelt. Of Chancellor Adenauer, she remarked that she knows that he is the Western Germany Chancellor. Nothing else. Of Stalin, she said: "This one has died already". Malenkov, Franco and Devan were unknown to her.

Regarding Khrushchev, she said: "This one is also only a puppet. She felt Molotov to be an idiot. She never heard of Ollenhauer. Not even about Churchill."

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Regarding the escapees, respondent was of the opinion that they were of all social classes, and the reasons for leaving were mostly due to material, and the bad economic conditions. Regarding the geographical distributions ~~she~~ she thought most of the refugee escapees came from the Western part of Hungary and Budapest. However, she holds that there were quite a few of the other parts of Hungary, also.

Regarding those who stayed behind, she believes that these were of the older generation, and the Communists. The older people did not have the will or the health to start a new life. Regarding her attitude about them, she said she feels very sorry for them, but not sorry for those who did not come out because they didn't dare to.

Giving an example of persons who decided to remain in Hungary even though they had the opportunity to escape, she mentioned her own parents. Because the father first wanted to liquidate his small business before coming away. Now of course, they are very sorry that they did not come.

Regarding the opinion of those who stayed behind in Hungary, she believed that people who had relatives and friends come out are glad that they did, but the rest are sorry they didn't come out too. Even so, many people were greatly disillusioned who came out and write home unhappy letters.

if

Respondent was of the opinion that there should be orders that Hungary be open once again, very few people would stay back in Hungary, if the Communist regime is to continue there. Those who would stay behind are mostly the peasants who are always sticking to their land, and also, the very old people who could not start a new life abroad.

B. When asked about Hungarian exile organizations and individuals that were active in the West during the last ten years, respondent said she has heard several mentioned over the radio but couldn't give any names of persons or organizations.

When handed the list of organizations, she had only heard about the



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XVIII/ 42 (5b)

Hungarian National Council on the RFE in Hungary. Of the individuals she mentioned Msgr. Bela Varga and she knew that he was the President of the Hungarian National Council. Also about Admiral Horthy, she heard that ~~she~~ he is living abroad, and she was unaware of the fact that he died recently. Ferenc Nagy she mentioned elsewhere already.

Regarding people who left Hungary before 1956, and their activities, respondent was of the opinion that she supposes that these people all would have liked and sincerely wanted to do something for Hungary, but had very little opportunity to do so.

C. Respondent did not meet any Hungarians who escaped to the West after '45 and returned to Hungary.

Regarding the Communist redefection campaign, respondent mentioned that she received an article sent to her by ~~her~~ her mother, copying from a Hungarian Communist paper, calling on the Hungarian youth under 18 to return to Hungary and no reprisals shall be enforced against them. Also that these young people should not be taken in by Western propaganda, and they are being expected back home ~~with~~ with open arms. Respondent added that due to this propaganda, she had several acquaintances who returned to Hungary, but they were deeply sorry now. She even knew a woman who returned from here - from the US - who was not satisfied with the wages she was earning here. Now she is extremely unhappy at home in Hungary. On the whole respondent was of the view that the redefection campaign was not very successful.

D. Respondent was of the opinion that people in Hungary would very much like to know ~~if~~ about the exiles, regarding how they are faring here, what are the living standards, what they are earning and also whether or not the Western propaganda was right. She was of the opinion that on the whole people here are very happy but about 15% are pretty desperate.

She was of the opinion that people back in Hungary ought to know, by all means, that the US is not a country where money is lying around on the streets to be picked up, and you have to work pretty hard so as to achieve a good living. However, that your work is greatly appreciated here and you are being well paid.

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HLR

XVIII / 42 2x (6A)

Respondent was of the opinion that exiles should do their best to influence the UN that the Hungarian issue be taken up again. Also, the UN must be convinced that only a very fundamental and radical change or solution would help the whole situation, because time is working only for the Soviet Union now.

When asked what she thought that she personally could do, respondent said:

"I am a very little figure in the whole universe, and I'm unable to do anything to achieve in this matter."

When asked whether or not she would like to join an exile organization, she emphatically said "no", except if it were a cultural organization which ought to display activities regarding culture only, because she thought that people here on the whole have very little interest in culture, literature and art.

She also thought that this organization ought to be made up of all exiles - new, and old ones as well.

Regarding the activities of various Hungarian political parties before '48, respondent had nothing to say; also, she could give no opinion regarding parties in exile. In reference to political parties revived in Hungary during the revolution, she heard that the Peasant Party and the Social Democratic Party was being revived; however, there was not much time to do very much about it. She was of the opinion that groups that went into exile previously should not have returned at all to Hungary, because, after all, as she said, they would have been unable to achieve anything.

E. Regarding her own plans for the future, when asked whether she wants to go back to Hungary and if so, under what circumstances, she very quickly and emphatically said: "never". Later on, she added, that maybe after ten or fifteen years if, and ever, the whole Eastern Europe is being changed and no Communism is prevailing anywhere, then she might go home for a visit. She added: "It was enough to risk my life once." When asked if she would like to have her children learn Hungarian as well as English in the US, she also said no. She would not teach them any Hungarian, except if by that time she wouldn't know English enough.

#### AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Respondent and ~~xxxx~~ family did listen to foreign radio stations while living in Hungary. They mostly listened to RFE, VOA, BBC, the Hungarian emissions, Paris and the German news from Vienna. Most frequently they listened to RFE. Regarding the reception, this was quite different. They listened regularly every evening after work, together with people they knew well, or the ~~xxxxxxx~~ family. They also told others what they had heard, and received also news about Western broadcasts second-hand from people who were of their family circle, friends and acquaintances. She thought that as far as she could remember around '48 it wasn't so dangerous to listen to radio broadcasts, but from then on, everybody did so behind closed doors and windows. ~~xxxxxxx~~ The penalty was very different. Sometimes, it was money, but usually they convicted you on charges of disseminating foreign and false propaganda.

Respondent's opinion on the different broadcasts was as follows: the most effectual news was that of VOA. RFE usually ~~was~~ exaggerated, and also liked to broadcast in a more sensational way. Also, they used more propaganda than the VOA did.

The broadcasts therefore in Hungary were, of course, of inciting nature and people became very impatient and were expecting a change.

During the revolution, we did not listen so much to the radio because we were down in the cellar. At that time, we mostly listened to these radio broadcasts that were transmitted from the UN sessions." Respondent felt that during the revolution, any news on RFE was pretty good.

Respondent quite liked the lighter program of RFE - that was free from politics. She thought that they had extremely good features. She liked very much ~~xxxx~~ what she called the "black voice" and also she liked any program of ~~xxxx~~ Beda Balint and the feature program of Colonel Bell, and the musical programs.

When asked whether Radio Free Europe in particular helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help, respondent said "This was generally the opinion and also I believe that the propaganda of RFE did ~~xxxx~~ foster a great deal the outbreak of the revolution. Respondent added: "I myself have heard several times them to encourage us to hold out still a couple of more days. Personally, we never thought that any actual help could possibly be forthcoming.



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Respondent was of the opinion that RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary because it is still the only link with the Western world; however, she would prefer to see less propeganda and more factual news. Also, she thought that more cultural musical programs would be very much welcome. People should not be fed on baseless propeganda.

On the other hand, respondent was of the view that anti-Communist propeganda would be quite useful, because after all, even the Communists are listening in to the Western propeganda and it would serve them right to hear what the world thinks about them.

B. Respondent has not seen any FEP leaflets but has heard about the Twelve Demands and the leaflets in the newspapers in which even there were some photographs and reproductions were printed. The penalty for picking up such leaflets, or showing them to anyone else, was very heavy. Respondent thought that the Free Europe Committee should not drop on any more leaflets into Hungary, because it would bring only trouble to people.

D. Regarding the goals and motives of Western groups who broadcast and sent leaflets into Hungary, respondent said: "I believe that all these groups had one aim. . .to shake-up the oppressed people and then to inform them about the life in the Western hemisphere and also to tell them that they are not forgotten over here. I think that what they mostly wanted to tell these people was that the mills of God grind very slowly but surely. I also believe that their aim was the same."



#### CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent was of the opinion that the most important things that a child should be taught are: first of all to respect the parents and to be self-conscious independent individual, to be honest and truthful.

Regarding discipline, she thought that discipline is extremely necessary when bringing up children. She would, however, apply physical punishment in extreme necessity and only at a young age. Respondent was of the opinion that the treatment should be the same for girls and boys - girls until about 2 yrs. old; later on, it would change. She thought that this change depends entirely on the child.

When asked to give an example how she herself was disciplined when a child, she disclosed that she was a very naughty child when young; always very sassy and talking back to her parents, but "you know, my mother's hand was extremely quick, when I was disrespectful I was beaten, pretty often. Later when I was older, I remember I was around fifteen I came home too late. Then the next time I wanted to go out to a party, I was not allowed to go. My mother locked me up in the apartment, but I escaped through the rear entrance. It was usually my mother who punished me. Father usually pampered me."

"I have known many families where children who were six years old, or older, were also punished or disciplined. I do not believe that the treatment and punishment of children varies for the different social classes. I rather believe it depends on the parents and on the child, usually.

"There were great changes in the last ten years, also, regarding this because of what I saw, the children had less respects for their parents. After all, since 99% of the parents are working in the daytime, children are no longer brought up by their own parents."

Regarding the age when parents stopped punishing their children, respondent thought that usually physical punishment is abandoned for boys when they are 20, and children when they are 19, and other punishment generally depends on the child and the parents. She thought that this does not vary by social class.

Respondent was of the opinion that changes came about during the Communist regime in this respect because the teachers in school were not allowed to discipline the children, and the parents had no authority, either.

Regarding the changes during the last ten years in the way children are disciplined during the first 8 years in school, respondent said: "Techniques of discipline before Communism consisted -1. girls schools - to be put in the corner, to sit in the last bench. Then we get report cards sent to our parents by the teachers, or the headmaster.

"Techniques of discipline during the Communist regime were only the report cards..nothing else? Respondent had no knowledge regarding the discipline/ in schools where boys were educated.

The characteristics respondent valued most in a friend were sincerity good character, truthfulness and reliability.

Regarding changes in friendship under Communism, respondent said that Communism had a very bad effect on friendship. People did not know when one of their so-called friend would turn against them and even denounce them at the political police. People did not have so much confidence in their friends. Also, friendships were not so easily made as before the Communist regime.