

### CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent has a pleasant and easy-going nature, and a good sense of humour, always smiling, pleased with the world and everything, takes things in her stride, is never bothered with problems, she's happy in her new surroundings, very willing to work, and ambitious to get ahead in her new life here.

Respondent comes of a very poor working-class family. Father left family when she was a few months old. Mother brought up the children, all of whom but herself and one elder brother died in early childhood.

She is very outspoken and candid, does not hold back anything about herself. She has some sort of a religion of her own and was also engaged in selling religious articles. She admires Cardinal Mindszenty tremendously, of whom she speaks thus, "That darling, sweetest man, what a wonderful patriot he is!"

She got in trouble on account of selling religious articles and was taken by the AVH for interrogation. On the other hand, she admits with a poker-face at having had friends, one an Italian - hence her knowledge of Italian - "A single woman could never make a decent living under the Communist regime."

She has nice manners; is very fastidious and neat in appearance; well-kept, manicured hands; and becoming hair-do; dressed plainly and in good taste. I have the impression that she is a lady of easy virtue but great fun to talk to. She told lots of good jokes about the Communists.

She had some constructive ideas regarding what the new immigrants should do here, and what could be done for them. She seems to have a very good heart. She is kind and jolly, altogether a gay, old dog. She is looking around already for a boy-friend here, too, this being the easiest and fastest way to learn a language, said she.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"Of course, the most important things I think that the Americans ought to know about the events in Hungary during October and November, 1956, are, first of all, that the demonstrations were started as peaceful demonstrations by the Hungarian students, and the Russians turned their arms against unarmed people in the beginning."

"I also think that it is important that the West ought to know what terrible destruction of the Hungarian capital was done by the Russian troops."

"The West also ought to know that the AVH is keeping the whole Hungarian nation under a terrible regime."

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

A.

"On the 22nd of October I didn't hear anything yet.

"On the 23rd, in the afternoon, I went to see a family I knew and it was here that I first heard about the demonstrations that were going on all over the town. We have decided to go and see what's happening. We had to walk all the way because by that time no street cars were running any more. We first went to the University of Technical Sciences which was in Buda and heard about the demands of the students. We then proceeded to the Hotel Astoria which was on the Pest side of the town. Here we heard that the AVH was using gas bombs against the demonstrators. While in town I have seen an AVH car, the occupants of which had surrendered their arms, and we have seen two cars with four policemen also handing over their arms to the young people. There were many overturned cars in the streets and we have seen how a conductor by backing his streetcar in the middle of the road has stopped a tank. The tank then, later on, was captured by the students.

"Later on, however, the shooting started to become too much for me and so we decided to return home. We arrived home very later and when I told people in Buda what is happening in the Pest side nobody wanted to believe me because at that time Buda was still very quiet.

"Our demands consisted mainly of the Russians leaving Hungary, the ~~usual~~ <sup>Hungarian</sup> ~~flee~~, and on the whole we all approved the

demands of the young students.

"On our way to and from town we were shouting slogans - 'Out with Gero!', 'Out with the Russians!', and so on. Nobody of us could think of any personal consequences that might have resulted for us and neither did I. I was not scared, only when the shooting was become too much for me.

"I believe the peaceful demonstrations turned into fighting when first the tanks had opened fire on the people. I rather approved, I must say, that people took up the fight because I wanted to see all the AVH people killed.

"We were hoping that after the demonstrations have taken place Gero will not dare to speak because everybody hated him. We also believed that the demonstrations ~~xxxx~~ will have <sup>an</sup> ~~the~~ effect.

"The demonstrators were mostly the young people from the factories, the industrial apprentices and the university students of course. They were mixed, boys and girls together. And as far as I can remember everybody took part. People volunteered with their services wherever and whenever they could. I have seen many truck-drivers who ferræd to and fro the young students without accepting any fees of course. Next day, the more mature workers also joined in the demonstrations and the intellectuals.

"There is one thing that was quite remarkable, how disciplined and orderly the demonstrations and later on the fightings were. There was no anti-semitism or ~~PROGRAM~~ at all, neither during the demonstrations nor during the freedom fights. Then also, I have seen at the Western railroad station, for instance, the shattered

- "On November 4th, we have heard shooting shop windows of a jeweller's and all jewelry was just shoved back into the back of the window and nobody touched them.
- "The demonstrations have started quite spontaneously after the young people came out with their Sixteen Points, and I am quite sure that the demonstrations were completely spontaneous. Furthermore, nobody believed what the end will be of the demonstrations because nobody had any arms.
- "Regarding the ~~way~~ outcome of the revolution we were firmly convinced that Prime Minister Nagy would remain in power, and the small number of Russians who were at that time occupying Hungary would withdraw. These troops who stayed in Hungary for over ten years by now have seen how much better they could live there and ~~the~~ consequently many of the Russians went over to the Freedom Fighters as I was told.
- "However, when the Government called for the assistance of the Russian troops against the Freedom Fighters everybody was frightfully indignant. We were convinced that it was not Prime Minister Nagy who called in the Russian troops Kadar Munich.
- "We were told that the Freedom Fighters got their arms from the Csepel factory from the workers, and also from the lamp factory. I also have heard that at the Budaors Street Barracks the officer in command gave arms only to the Freedom Fighters.
- "Regarding the organization, I have heard from friends a great deal about the Maleter who organized the young Freedom Fighters at the Kilian Barracks.

C.

"On November 4th, we have heard shooting at early dawn, by six o'clock in the morning we went out to queue up for bread. Then we have seen many young soldiers coming from the Budaors Barracks half-dressed and in rags. These told us that the Russians attacked them and they were taken by surprise. They had to flee out from the city and returned by by-passing the town. Before the Russians ENTERED that part of the city where I lived, the Freedom Fighters have collected about 300 AVH men who were kept as prisoners in the police barracks at the Alkotas Street and took them away. They were all alive. By eleven o'clock the Russians have occupied the part of the city where I lived. We were extremely annoyed to see that the AVH people were taken away by the young people and not killed straight away. We were saying, 'To hell with them!' 'If you let them loose, trouble will start again.'

"I was told that the AVH barracks at the Maros Street was not captured by the Freedom Fighters. Here, the AVH men held out. They were shooting now and then but mostly staying behind their barricades.

"Knowing the Russians, we were doubtful that the so-called withdrawal was a genuine one. We have also heard from friends that the Russians were pouring into Hungary from Roumania and the direction of Beregszasz and Miskolc. The railroad trucks were taken out by our Freedom Fighters. I don't know how they by-passed the station.

"Around the 9th or 10th of November I had, together with a friend of mine, prepared Kossuth badges and these I peddled around the whole city. I sold them for one florin apiece. Of

course, I always had to walk everywhere. The shooting died down by that time but there was a curfew all over the city.

"All of these days we found the old chain bridge closed, nobody could go on or pass over any of the other bridges either. We had no idea what the reason for this was. The next day however, we have heard that at the Western Station there were a great number of Hungarian Freedom Fighters in railroad trucks, locked, and to be taken out to Russia. However, people freed them and they escaped. So the Russian closed all the bridges, trying to round them up.

"Around the 14th of November, however, I have seen that order was not yet restored and the situation is getting worse. The superintendent of my house was a Communist and he ~~gaxxxxx~~ ~~af~~ found out very soon what I was doing. I of course had made no secret during the Revolution of my activities, peddling the Kossuth badges etc., also I could not keep my mouth shut and I gave him very freely and very often my opinion. When the first Red Cross shipment arrived from Switzerland, on the 15th I believe, I thought that maybe I could escape with them, going out to Austria. However, I heard of a friend who knew of a truck driver. He then took me, together with a couple of young people, to the border and from then on I walked into Austria.

D.

"On the whole, I believe that in Hungary only very little has been gained. The Communists may have realized that they cannot exercise such a terror over a whole nation because they just won't take it. On the other hand, I think that the working class will fare worse because the AVH will try to control them even more than before.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING  
THE REVOLUTION

A.

"We indeed did expect arms from the West. We have seen, for instance, that at the Szena Square where good old Uncle Szabo, as everybody called him, who had a couple of Bazookas, could hold out for quite a long time.

"We also were convinced that the UN. Commission will come to Hungary, and we were terribly upset and indignant when it did not happen.

B.

"The basis of our expectations was only that we were sure that the West had realized that it was not only in the interest of Hungary but of themselves that they ought to help our country, because otherwise the Russians will get an even more overwhelming power over the whole Europe.

"We hoped also that the Russians will withdraw from Hungary, especially after the Austrian Peace Treaty has been signed. According to this, the Russians didn't have an earthly excuse to keep troops in Hungary any more, neither did they have the right.

C.

"I met a Canadian-Hungarian on November 7th at the Hotel Palace but I just exchanged a few ~~xxx~~ words with him, telling him that this is not the right time to come to visit Hungary. That was all I said to him."



Regarding social classes, there are several in Hungary. I have known these people well. Many of them were my customers at the newspaper stand for which I had a concession in Budapest. These people lived very well and rejected Communism strongly.

"My father was a master cabinet-maker but left the family when I was a few months old, and he went to live in Yugoslavia. My mother managed to keep us children and until I was seventeen. We were five of us, brother and sisters, but only two of us survived. A brother of mine and myself. He, in 1948, died. Mother went out and worked in households, washing, ironing, cleaning, cooking etc. You see this was something which the Communists never could understand. I came from a really proletarian background. We lived in great poverty, and yet I never could take in the communist doctrine.

"My parents, of course, did never own any property.

"I'm afraid I cannot tell you the education of my parents but I think that both had what was compulsory in the time, the sixth grade. My father then had his vocational training, of course, and he worked at the two top Hungarian furniture plants as a master cabinet-maker.

AT THAT

~~"Two in my mind there are two social classes in Hungary. There is the former upper class. I have known these pretty well because they were many of my customers while I had had the concession of that newspaper stand. These people lived withdrawn quietly and rejecting communism wholeheartedly. Then the second class, I know, is the so-called working class.~~

Regarding my attitude to these different groups, I have a very good opinion of the intellectual class.

B.

"Regarding social classes, there are several in Hungary. First of all there is the former upper class. I have known these people well. Many of them were my customers at the newspaper stand for which I had a concession in Budapest. These people lived very withdrawn lives and rejected Communism strongly.

"Then there is another class of intellectuals that has come up during the Communist regime which we call the 'workers' cadre'. These were selected by the Communist party, trained, and made office workers, clerks, etc. However, they were very ignorant and held their positions only because they were party members.

"Then there are, of course, the top Communists which are a class by themselves, quite separate, the members of the AVH, the Communist Party, and all the fellow travellers.

"The so-called middle class in Hungary who were formerly civil servants, clerks, etc., white collar workers on the whole, had to work in factories and made their livings as workers.

"The peasantry in the provinces is another class by themselves.

"The workers of Csepel and the factory workers are another class yet. The workers at Csepel were the greatest ~~and~~ disappointment to the regime because they liked to call them the RED CSEPEL and the events during the revolution have put an end to this ~~mess~~. For instance, VIDEA when the regime have abolished the Easter Monday as a holiday, saying that the workers demanded this, as the newspapers carried the news, I remember because I was a bus-conductor at that time and working on that special bus line to Csepel, the buses were nearly empty, nobody went to work on this day, and kept it as a holiday. Only a few who feared very much for their jobs went to work.

"Regarding my attitudes to these different groups, classes, I had a very good opinion of the intellectual class.

They were extremely courageous, had lots of guts, and worked very hard. During the revolution, however, they were rather cautious; of course, they had so much to fear.

"The workers, on the whole, as I have mentioned before, had ~~thoroughly~~ thoroughly detested the Communist regime, and even those who became Party Members for material reasons had not become communists at heart.

"As to the peasantry, I talked a great deal to these when I was a travelling saleslady and I know their attitude. Even though they had received lands allotted to them by the regime, they weren't satisfied. They were of the opinion that while they were serving the landlord they always were sure to get a share of the harvest, rain or shine, or floods or animal diseases, and also did not have to surrender any of their own products. They didn't have the high taxes to pay and so on, and so forth.

"I really am at a loss to tell you to which class I belong, because my origin is decidedly that of the working class. However, myself, I have worked my way a little bit higher up.

"In my view, it was the so-called middle class, the intellectuals, who suffered most under communism, and then, of course, the very rich people who lost everything.

"In reference to the attitudes of different classes about each other, respondent said, "The workers were rather jealous of the peasants because they had a better diet than themselves and also they could make more money by selling their products. However, the workers knew nevertheless that the peasants did not agree with communism either.

"The working class did not like the new intellectual class that was brought up and educated by the Communist regime because the moment they were put there on a responsible

jobs they were looking down on their former colleagues, and sat on the high horse. On the other hand, the members of the old intellectual class who tried to conform in their new lives and to the working class were mostly liked and admired by the workers.

"Unfortunately, however, there were some of the former intellectuals who became AVH informers. These, of course, were wholeheartedly hated by everybody.

"The relationship between the peasantry and the working class was, I should say, 'so-so.' Many of the young peasant boys became factory workers in the provincial towns so maybe they got on better with each other. However, the peasants hated wholeheartedly those workers who came down on party orders to hold lectures there. ~~likewise~~<sup>towards</sup> the former intelligentsia, however, the peasantry behaved respectfully and they liked them. For instance, the village notary, if he was a good one before the Communists took over he was elected as the President of the so-called "VILLAGE COUNCIL". But if some of the new intellectuals were sent down in this capacity they were hated.

"The peasants respected and admired the former higher class, many members of which were deported in great numbers and placed with peasant families. They behaved very nicely and decently to them. These, of course, were mostly the former kulaks whom the regime thought to punish by this in putting intellectuals in their houses and making them to care for them.

C.

"Even ~~xxx~~ though according to the Communist doctrine nobody is irreplaceable, the Communists had to keep many of the scientists, engineers, doctors, and people who had exceptional qualities or qualifications. They ~~xxx~~ just didn't have the rightly qualified people to replace them so this is the only instance where it happened and learning prevailed. Otherwise, it has had nothing to do as to how you could advance yourself/ in Communist Hungary, because

the most important thing was your political conviction and then your class origin. If you had a bad class background, for instance, and you were not a member of the Party you were able to receive only heavy work, no intellectual work whatever. Regarding the class origin it was very important on your Cadre File that your parents, for instance, like in my case, shouldn't be a so-called 'master' in his job, because these again were kept down and under as much as possible.

"Under the first regime of Imre Nagy, in 1952 and '53, people of bad social background had it a little bit better.

"The person who could get ahead in communist Hungary must be a person who doesn't ~~xxxxxx~~ care a damn thing about anything and who is willing to profess the right political views.

D.

"Those groups that get more out of the society ~~xxx~~ than they deserve are the ones of the black marketeering people, then the political informers and of course the communist big shots."

VI.

FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A.

"Family life had to suffer greatly under the Communist regime in Hungary. For instance, people of the old type intellectuals, the upper classes, had great troubles in raising their children properly. ~~Whatever~~, or whatever they taught them at home, was spoiled then at school. Children were stuffed with the Communist doctrine. Nevertheless, the Communists were unsuccessful in impressing the children to a great extent. For instance, even though you had a good mark in Russian language which was the prerogative that you receive good marks in the other subjects also, children just did not study Russian. The abolishment of religious instruction had also a great deal to do with the deterioration of family life under Communism. But here again, for instance, the factory workers of Diosgyor and Miskolc forced the hand of the authorities and had religious instruction reinstated at schools. This again was a proof how "RED" the Hungarian working class was.

"Another cause of the bad family life under the Communists was that women worked together in factories and plants with men and here the man was subject to many temptations. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ The communist doctrine and the society on the whole can be blamed for this because, on the other hand, even though ~~XXXX~~ women had to work and do the same sort of work as men they never received the same salaries, so a single woman for instance was unable to live as she was used to live before. And then, of course, she was willing to accept different favours, a pair of nylons, a nice supper, etc., for her services. This resulted then of course in many divorces."

Respondent was a single woman living all by herself in those last ten years so she had nothing to say

about how family life went on during the Communist regime and about how the children were brought up in the last years.

However, she was of the opinion that the former middle class belonged to the second type of family mentioned in the interview, that is the family that grew closer together during the Communist regime.

"On the other hand, the working class family has grown apart but not politically. A man and woman both were working, were never at home and cannot look after the education of their children. These then have to attend the so-called 'day-schools'.

"I also see the reason of the deterioration of the Hungarian families and the heavy drinking that went on in Hungary during those last eight or ten years. People tried to forget their troubles and resorted to heavy drinking.

Respondent was of the opinion that those families, however, who stuck to their religion did not grow apart and tried to keep the family together. Respondent mentioned that she knew a family where ~~xxxx~~ even though the man was a member of the Party they went regularly to church and the wife educated the children well.

B.

According to respondent, Married life was very bad during the regime due to the aforementioned facts. The marriages lasted for a very short time and people divorced in great numbers.

Sexual morality was extremely lax during the Communist regime, according to respondent, which was also due to the fact that children were being taken to the so-called Pioneer and Youth Camps. The Communist regime also, as respondent said, encouraged the youngsters to become sex conscious. Here she mentioned that, for instance, a thirteen year-old girl heard a lecture over the radio about

sexual life. According to respondent, the number of illegitimate children has grown tremendously.

"Since the role of parents during the Communist regime has also greatly been curtailed, young people do not care very much about the opinion of the parents as regards courtship, engagement and marriage.

However, the respondent pointed out that this does not happen in the real decent families.

"Prostitution was prohibited under Communism," said respondent, "but with this the street prostitution has increased of course, and so has venereal disease. Why prostitution was tolerated in the old times, these women were kept under constant medical control. A second infectious disease, the inflammation of the liver, was also brought into Hungary by the Koreans to such an extent that at the hospital at Uspest there was a special section where they treated these patients. The Russian Army was held, and can be held, responsible for the introduction of gonorrhoea disease in Hungary.

"Regarding the sexual morality of the convinced Communist, this is something quite interesting. The Communist doctrine on the whole always preaches the so-called free love, but in marriage the Communists are extremely strict. A Party Member who is married has to lead an exemplary married life.

C.

"If my very good friend, who was my my friend before '48, but later on joined the Communist party did so ~~for~~ ~~me~~ because he had to make a living, then I certainly would still remain her friend. I had one, in fact, and she, despite she became a Party Member, went to church frequently with me. Nevertheless, the whole problem depends entirely on the friendship, what sort of friendship, and how deep it was, because many people have discontinued or cut off their friendships for political reasons.



D.

"Juvenile delinquency, as far as I know, had increased greatly especially in stealing and looting. Of course this can be understood if you consider how little people were earning, so people mostly stole from the factories and plants where they worked. Of course, regarding the reprisals it always depended who was the delinquent. If it was a Party Member and of good class origin then very light sentences were doled out.. Everything went according to the social background.

"I do not think that you can say juvenile delinquency belonged to one social class only. I think that these young ~~children~~ juvenile delinquents came from all sorts of classes. They were about 18-20-22 years old. The Communist press and the Party usually plays up the juvenile delinquency if these delinquents are of the so-called upper class or class aliens and they play it down again if the juvenile delinquent belongs to the working class.

"Jampeo is a teen-ager who is aping the western way of dressing, dancing, etc.; these however are not criminals to my mind."

VII.

RELIGION

A.

"Religion, on the whole, always played an important part in the Hungarian life and even though, for instance, the Roman Catholic religion was oppressed, and if you were seen going to church you easily lost your job, people were not deterred by this fact, so they just went to church in another district where they were not known. In the course of my travels all over the country when I was peddling religious articles I have seen that the Hungarian people remained religious and, in fact, very religious. For instance, all the church affairs and pilgrimages were very well attended. I remember on September 8th, the last, when I was at home, at Maria Pocs, according to estimates ten thousand people attended the pilgrimage. Of course, the detectives and AVH informers were swarming all over the place.

"Just because religion is such an important factor in Hungary, I think it was a great mistake, which was committed by Hitler also, to attack religion and to persecute religion. And I am convinced that finally Communism will break its neck due to this fact.

"The hardest hit religion was the Roman Catholic religion, to my mind, and according to the best of my knowledge. The Roman Catholic priests were strongly opposing Communism and were unapproachable on the whole. Nevertheless, unfortunately, there were some of the so-called 'peace priests', like Czapiak, who tried to come to some sort of an arrangement with the Communists. Bishop Czapiak was Cardinal Mindszenty's greatest enemy and he was the informer among the bench of Bishops in Hungary.

"Since people are, nevertheless, very much scared in Hungary I do not think that religion is such a ~~xx~~ bulwark against communism there that it could be.

B.

"Personally, I am a religious person but not a bigot, but I am sticking firmly to my own religion and I am going to church regularly."

C.

"In my belief, in a free state, priests should not indulge in politics regardless of whichever religion they belong to. The churches after all are consecrated places and no such place should be used for political speeches. Unfortunately, in the last decade priests did take part in politics but I disapprove of this. The relation between the state and church should be a cordial one and on an equal basis. No differences between religions should be made.

"I consider the role of churches in education ~~an~~ of extreme importance because religion brings back the moral standard in the family life.

"I also think that a collective control of all churches over the moral codes and movies, plays, etc., is beneficial. I thoroughly approve, for instance, the law that children under sixteen should not be allowed to certain pictures, for instance.

"In an independent Hungary I do not approve that the churches should take an active part in a political life; however, if they do so ~~the~~ all churches must be on an equal footing."

D.

"Regarding the Jewish minority, I do not think the Jewish religion has been hurt by Communism to the same extent as the others. The Jews maybe have to thank ~~this~~ for their, I could say 'team-work', and the persecution against the Catholic Church was due to the unbreakable spirit of Cardinal Mindszenty as shown and who always has mercilessly exposed the mistakes and faults of the regime.

The Jews were willing to compromise, on the other hand.

"Also I have seen that the Jewish people could abstain from coming to work on their Jewish holidays and were not blamed or punished for that. A Catholic or a Protestant couldn't do so because he was due to lose his job.

"The Jews accepted Communism because of material reasons, but when they have seen that they too are objects of the same treatment as the other religions they of course turned against Communism also, but by that time it was too late and they still ~~was~~<sup>were</sup> and remained, ~~4~~ members of the Party.

"As far as I can judge, about seventy <sup>PERCENT</sup> ~~persons~~ of the Hungarian Jews became Party Members.

"I think that the Jews were wholeheartedly endorsing the revolution just as everybody else did because at that time there was no difference between any Hungarian peasant. Everybody was with us.

"I believe that about 60% of the Hungarian Jews would want an independent Hungary and only 40% not. These 40%, in my opinion, do fear an independent Hungary because of persecution. However, I think that if they would behave decently they would have no reason to fear. However, when in '44, after coming back from the deportation camps, they behaved so disgustingly that they provoked the discrimination and hatred ~~in~~ under which they had to suffer later on.

VIII.

THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A.

"When I say the Hungarian Youth I am thinking of youngsters of both sexes between sixteen and twenty-five.

B.

"The Hungarian youth played a very important role during the Revolution. It was the Hungarian youth that fought and died for us without any difference in religion. The reasons for their actions was hatred for the Russian rule.

"In my view, the young people have heard from the elders how life was before the Communists took over and how well ~~they~~ they lived in those times. How they had to live under the Communist rule everybody could see for themselves. The young people were dissatisfied with the way they could get on in life and were also disliking the bad standard of living.

"The older people have admired the youngsters during the revolution however they used to say, "Unfortunately, ~~in~~ everything is 'N WAIN' " Nevertheless, the young people always answered, "We'd rather die but are not going to live under such conditions."

"Young people respected their elders and only hated those who were holding some Party post."

C.

Respondent could not give any information regarding the question contained in this paragraph.

D.

Regarding youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination, respondent said, "I was told by my younger friends that they attended the political seminaries because it was compulsory, ~~but~~ usually either they read a book under the cover of the bench, or they just slept. They hated Communism altogether and besides that you cannot enforce a system compulsorily on any country and the least on Hungary. Look what has happened at the religious processions. They were always attended in surprisingly high numbers and the official and compulsory celebration of May 1st was always sparsely attended although the latter one was the compulsory one.

"Very few of the workers and the proletarians youngsters had in the beginning accepted the Communist doctrine, also if you asked the poor peasants who didn't have any land they always hoped that Communism would better their lot, but they could find out very easily later on that it did not.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A. "Our main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was that we earned very little. We could never make both ends meet. Either we could eat, or we could get ourselves dresses."

B. "Apart from the big political things, we were mostly annoyed for instance by the so-called 'social' ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ work the Party asked people to do. You had to do some typing for instance in your free time for the Party or you had to go out and try to recruit Party Members etc. In short, you had to work for nothing for the Party; by such small things, they made themselves hated thoroughly.

"The only thing I did for the Party was while I was a bus conductor that I took part in the 'singing reunions.' I had quite a good voice and so we sang all sorts of folk songs. After all, I had only a basic salary of 570 florins per month and I ~~xx~~ scared that if I do not do something for the Party I would be fired. And this was the least I could do, anyway.

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A.

Regarding the standard of living in Communist Hungary, respondent gave the following information:<sup>2</sup>

"Only the Party big-shots, the Communist Council leaders, could, for instance, live well. Others had to supplement their incomes somehow and of course there were many who stole from the state.

"Food was always, more or less, to be got at the official price but there were certain commodities you could only receive just before the big Communist holidays. Other commodities were extremely scarce, such as meat, for instance, and we had always to queue up for most of the food items.

"If we compared prices to the prices of the '30s then they were extremely expensive. In '38 for instance, we paid 17.50 for two pounds of lard while in the last years it was 35 florins.

"Regarding clothing, this was a very expensive item. I had to pay for instance for a very plain cotton dress 150-200 florins. 200 florins for a flannel nightgown, for instance. And therefore it was either food or clothing, so people mostly went about in their altered old dresses or dresses they received via American clothes parcels.

"As to housing, this depended on what kind of an apartment you had. If you had a so-called 'old rent' apartment then it was not so bad. But if you had to rent a new apartment, or an apartment that had been rebuilt, then you paid through your nose. Of course, there were always ample and beautiful apartments for members of the Communist Party, the AVH. There was a block of family houses at the Pasaret which is a beautiful and residential district of the city, as you probably know,



here the privileged members lived in a colony; of course, they had the money to pay the high rents.

ALSO WHEN  
"Housing on the whole was a problem, nevertheless. There were many co-tenancies, also. By law one person was entitled to have only one room and this referred ~~to~~ TO CASES husband and wife lived together. Engineers, doctors, lawyers were exceptions. They were allowed to have an additional room for a waiting room or office.

"I considered to have a telephone the greatest luxury at home because you had to pay 25 florin for a company line and if you had a line of your own then 60 florin per month.

caused

"Clothing ~~was~~ me the greatest problem while in Hungary. I paid, it is true, it was costing me nevertheless 2-3000 florin for a good winter coat.

"My standard of living has steadily gone down since 1948 and it was at its lowest in 1953; this was the year when my apartment was taken away from me and I had to go into sub-let.

"I knew people who were better off than any others; one of them was the manager of an agricultural cooperative - he just stole whatever he needed. Then there was an engineer who had a very good job and his wife also worked; both made good livings and they had an old aunt who looked after the children. Then there was another couple who had no children so what husband and wife earned was enough for them."

When asked what she thought accounts for the Hungarian standard during the last eight years, respondent said:-

as

"I believe that State Capitalism ~~is~~ exercised by the Communist Regime takes good care that the individual never can earn enough money.

"Furthermore everything went out to Russia for reparations payment. First class products and everything

that was of good quality was also exported either to Russia or to the other satellite nations. First class materials, textiles, for instance, never were put on the domestic market. There was one State Shop in which, however, the rejected export goods were sold. Here we could see what wonderful products went abroad.

B.

Under this paragraph respondent gave her earnings from the times when she was a bus conductor. Here she had to work ten hours a day and with all extras and a percentage of sold tickets etc. she made 960 florins. Her percentage on the tickets sold was one filler on a regular ticket and two fillers on a transfer. She signed 120 florins ~~VSPACE-Loan~~ and then there were also the different deductions, she could not enumerate them all, how much they were.

When asked whether she had a separate source of income, the respondent said with a poker face, "Yes, I had a friend. Otherwise, how do you imagine I could have lived ~~on what I have made~~ on what I have made, decently?"

"I have not received any wage increases while I was working for the bus company."

C.

In regard to the quality and prices of goods, respondent said, "I made my purchases at State Stores and also at the Free Market. Of course there was a great difference. For instance I paid 1 florin 20 for an egg in the State Stores whereas in the Free Market it was 1.80 to 2 florins. Pork was 33 florins at the State Store and 50 at the Free Market. On the whole, the food stuffs and meat was always much fresher on the Free Market than in the State Store and therefore the difference was worth it.

Commodities, especially in short supply, were the consumer goods. These were always to be gotten at

fixed prices but the availability of these depended on the harvest. Sometimes the authorities got around the low prices by saying that only a better quality flour, for instance, is available and of course this was priced higher.

"Clothes are usually better at the State Store or at the Commission Store where they sold American clothes, but I mostly had to have my dresses made. You can see that with my figure it isn't so easy to get something ready made."

(Respondent is rather on the plump side)

"Regarding retail distribution in Hungary, textile goods, for instance, were always available in the provinces around Fall because the authorities knew that at that time the peasants have more money. It very often so happened that there was a shortage of textile stuffs in Budapest, for instance, and also in the lower priced ready-made clothes.

"There was a shortage of household goods, too; for instance, soap, detergents, paper napkins, toilet paper, etc.

"As I mentioned before very often there was a shortage of meat.

"It was extremely difficult to get fairly good standard spare parts. These spare parts were mostly made of seconds and, for instance, also of artificial materials or soft steel. I remember these items from my times when I was a bus conductor. I also remember that once fourteen-year-old buses made for export by the IKARUS Plant were rejected. They were made for China. On the first day of the trial runs, many of the steering wheels were broken. Also, I remember that it happened pretty frequently that the bus company had an oil supply for one day only left at the garages, and they had to rush oil supplies during the night from Debrecen. Commodities that were especially short in

supply were, for instance, rice, black pepper, red pepper which was amazing considering that Hungary grows it but it was exported, salt, sugar and, as I <sup>THEN</sup> said, meat. Furthermore, fuel - I am thinking of heating fuel.

"The black market was flourishing of course, mostly in watches, for instance, and nylon goods; but it was at its peak in 1945-6. At that time, everybody was trading in foodstuffs. There was an organized black market chain that was run from Vienna.

"Black marketeering was punished and very strictly at that, but it depended who was the defendent.

travel

"Later on, when ~~xxxx~~ was resumed and permitted between the different satellite nations, then members of the sports teams that went visiting the other countries brought back large amounts of different items coveted very much in Hungary. For instance, they brought watches from Austria, Czechoslovakia, ~~xxxxxx~~ from Roumania, pepper, cocoa and coffee. Myself also, I did take an active part in black marketeering. However, I stopped these activities the last two years."

D.

Regarding working conditions, respondent gave the details again on the times when she was a bus-conductor.

"My working hours were either from 2 four a.m. to two p.m., or from six a.m. to three p.m., or from 3 p.m. to 12 midnight or 12.30. There was, however, a so-called relief shift to which you were assigned for punishment. Whenever the ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>Controller</sup> found you at fault, first you were sentenced to pay a fine and later on you had to do the relief shift. This was from 5 a.m. till 9 a.m., then in the afternoon from 3 till 8, and from

9 to 10 in the evening. So in the end you could never get a good rest between the working hours. Otherwise the authorities took good care that the workers, on paper at least, had their six hours rest. But within these six hours you also had to go home and go back to your work, so if you lived too far from your working place you never slept enough. I lived quite near to the garage where I worked as a bus conductor but it took me nevertheless about half an hour to get there.

"I had this job because at that time I was unable to get any other.

"My colleagues were awfully nice. They were of different classes, some of them were plain peasant girls, but the majority of them were women who even had Doctor's degrees, intellectuals, and they were mostly all so-called class aliens. In this service, and this was ~~maybe~~ maybe the only one where your social background did not count, it was killing work and that was probably the reason. Very few people could stick to it for a long time because most of them got all kinds of diseases, stomach, kidney, etc.

"We were given uniforms while in service, one set for winter, another set for summer, also high boots. In winter, in addition, we got a pair of slacks also. We had to wear a cap. In the beginning we got the heavy képis which were much too heavy and ruined our hair, so later on we were issued the Russian type of small beret.

"Regarding my superiors, the so-called Terminal Leaders were members of the Party who were educated and trained by Party schools. They were extremely strict. Being late was one of the greatest crimes. We had to pay fines for this. Also we had to appear immaculately clean in service. Whatever the passengers did, the controllers took it out on us. These controllers were also very strict. It happened sometimes that when we finished our ten hour service all of a sudden we were told that we had to go on for one more hour and if we

refused this disciplinary measures were put in force against us. If you were late three times, then you had to work on the afore-mentioned emergency shift for a month, and the next time something came up against you you were dismissed.

"However there were many of the old school, mainly the old controllers, and these were very decent and good HUMORED with us.

"The Party also sent out controllers in civilian dresses who snoopd around and tried to catch us. These people received, of course, a top salary from the Party. They were supposed to observe us, how we displayed our activities, and whether we were CURIOUS. These people also acted as agent provocateurs. They lured the men, for instance, into pubs and gave them a drink. If he accepted, then he was dismissed.

"I was never afraid of any of my superiors. I can open my mouth big and am able to defend myself. Of course, I was dissatisfied with my job here as a bus conductor but after all I had to make a living somehow.

"Nevertheless, my bosses had to appreciate my work because I was good at it. I also was very polite with the passengers.

"But I must tell you I always had a wonderful trick up my sleeve. Whenever I saw someone in the bus who wore a big communist badge and was reading the Szabad Nep and an expectant mother entered the bus I went up to him, tapped him on the shoulder, and I said, 'Come on, comrade, this is what you are being taught in the Communist Party? Be a bit more polite to a mother who is carrying a child of the future under her heart.' So he was quite ashamed and I had a good laugh.

"Regarding the Hungarian vacation plan, I cannot say anything because I never ~~xxx~~ took advantage of this vacation program. Besides, only people recommended by

the Trade Union were taken to these vacations. I only knew that you received 50% bonus on your travel. It was the policy, however, of the authorities not to send husband and wife at the same time on a vacation.

"The health program, on the other hand, was extremely good. If you worked you were taken care of, and well taken care of, by hospitals or doctors if you became sick. Also you could stay in the hospital, for instance, for two years if you had t.b., otherwise for one year. Also the dentist and the glasses, etc. were taken care of by the Health Program.

"The pensions, on the other hand again, were extremely low, and I have an acquaintance who ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ worked for 25 years and received only 180 florin per month pension. My godfather worked for 30 years with the same company as a cabinet-maker and he had 224 florins per month as a pension. My sister-in-law received 244 florins after 28 years of service."

E.

"I always have preferred to live in the city and would like to do so if I were in Hungary. After all, I was born there and educated there.

"Besides, in the provinces very often you could not avail yourself of everything, what you had in town. The standard of living was sometimes and in some places higher in the provinces because the peasantry had more money than the working class. I believe that politically it was easier in the provinces because there you couldn't force people to enter the Party.

"When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, I didn't think very much of it but I have heard that the peasants generally believed it would ~~work~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~peasants~~. However, very soon they found out that it did not. Regarding my opinion of collectivization, I believe that it just does not work, especially not in Hungary,

because the Hungarian peasant likes to work on his own land and not for anybody else. All the peasants in Hungary have objected in the end to collectivisation.

"The first time I have heard of collectives being dissolved was ~~at that~~ in the Fall of '56, I think it was, the beginning of September, when I heard at one of the county fairs that <sup>in</sup> several places the peasants are dissolving their collective farms.



XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A.

"I was never very much interested in politics before 1948, and all I know about that Communist Party is that I thoroughly hated them despite that they did try hard to make me enroll in the Communist Party; this was in '46 when I still owned the concession for newspaper selling. As to the former Communist Party in Hungary in 1918-19 and Bela Kun, I have heard tales from my mother how they behaved at that time. My attitudes towards the Communist Party are the same as to the SOCIALIST Party in Hungary, I just hate them and that's all there is to it. My attitudes have not undergone any change, or maybe 'Yes' I hate them even more for the way they have treated poor Mindszenty. I am so sorry for this dear old man."

B.

"The Communist Party members can be classified into two distinctive classes; one, who are idealist communists, but these are very few; and the others who assumed Party membership because of material gains. The Party members' attitudes to the Party have undergone a great change. Those who were Party members since 1919 and the so-called 'idealist communists' have admitted openly that the Communist Party of '48 and later on was no more the Party they thought and believed to be. They had expected something else.

"I am sure that Party Morale, too, has changed because there was constant bickering within the Party and a fight for power - I am thinking now ~~xxx~~ of Rajk and his followers. However, there was very little use in opposing the Party I am sure because the Hungarian Communist Party had to accept Moscow's orders. If one of them tried to hedge, then he was called to Moscow, became sick all of a sudden, and died. This

is the only thing that cheers me up, that in the end, one after the other, these Communist big shots will kill themselves."

"From what I have heard, the Communist Party members dislike the Party seminaries, the too many meetings, and also, for instance, that a good Party member couldn't even ~~write~~ <sup>write</sup> something <sup>of</sup> his own because then he had to make the round in the villages and disperse the Communist propaganda.

"Party morale, as I have seen, was slightly better in 1952 at the time when Communist Imre Nagy was at the helm. After he was ousted, despair and discontent took over again.

"In my opinion, the top leader of the Communist Party are megalomaniacs. They are all Moscovites and also they are scared to death. They try to implement the orders they receive from Moscow and at the same time they are scared for their lives.

"On Moscow's orders, they must try to enforce Red Communism.

"I believe that there are very few among the top communists who are ~~Gemunist~~ Party members, but <sup>CONVINCED</sup> after all since they have lived for 20 to 30 years in Moscow something must have been done to their ideology.

"Whether or not these people are really evils, or whether they are in error or well-intentioned I cannot say. Maybe they are so ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ saturated by the Communist doctrine and indoctrinated to such an extent that they just cannot ~~xxx~~ see that anything else can be better. I have been trying to figure out what the reason can be that these people remain Communists at all. It must be that it is for their material and personal wellbeing.

"I think there is a difference between the rank and file members and those of the leadership regarding their

motives because the plain party member, the rank and file man, might be an idealist or is doing it for his job's sake even if he is completely disillusioned.

"When Hungary is independent I think that the top Hungarian communists should be dealt with by a very strict court and be given the sentences they merit for all their cruel deeds. I think that the death sentence would be even too lenient for them.

"The smaller rank and file communists, on the other hand, must stand trial and must accept their just and fair sentences.

C.

"I have not heard of any opposition to the Communist Party before the Revolution such as slowing down, complaining, etc., but I do not think that much could have been done at that time anyway. The people were terrorized so such an extent that they did not dare to do any thing."

Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said, "Yes, I have heard about the activities of these people before the Revolution. It was the Hungarian Radio who gave out the news and who even gave an on-the-spot report on these meetings. Otherwise, I did not pay much attention to these meetings and haven't heard anything further.

"In my opinion, these intellectuals stood up against the regime because ~~they~~ there must have been in their ranks also people who disliked the communist regime and who were expecting a change.

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A.

"Those who were members of the hated AVH were the scum of the nation. They were, many of them, dumb, plain ~~peasant~~ peasant boys who were picked up by the party and educated for their purposes. Also, there were many Jews among them who were filled with hatred. The leaders of the AVH were mostly coming from these two kinds of people; the peasants, however, held the lower ranks; then there were the rank and file members who held no special status, these were the ones who were the drafted soldiers and assigned to the AVH.

"Members of the AVH who were heading the so-called Interrogation Sections and supervised the interrogations were perverted people. They were using the most perverse interrogation and torturing techniques. Also, all improved devices of that wicked trade. I was told that at the Andrassy Street, now called Stalin Street, the one-time headquarters of the AVH, for instance, there was a door and whoever crossed the doorstep fell down to his death. Further, at the AVH headquarters near the Margaret Bridge they had a similar door which led down to the Danube.

"Regarding my own experiences with the AVH, I had some in '48 in August. I was selling religious articles at Szeged with the charge that I was peddling a paper that the Communists have tried to break up the Virgin Mary celebrations. They also tried to find a witness. I was arrested at ten in the morning and taken to the AVH offices. Here, till six o'clock in the evening, nothing happened. I had no idea why I was arrested. The man who was interrogating me didn't illtreat me. ~~She~~ He just shouted his head off. I shouted back, and shouted him down. And this was the end of it. At eight o'clock they tried to make me

sign a record according to which I have admitted my guilt, and that I am a political agitator for Cardinal Mindszenty. This I refused to do and at the time I used the vilest language with them and was very impertinent. Finally they let me go. It was typical of the whole procedure during the whole interrogation they never even asked my name.

"My brother was arrested in the spring of 1948 on the charges that he was selling Holy pictures and when the policeman stopped him to see his credentials he beat him up. In the course of the terrific beating at the AVH headquarters he received a kidney injury. He died in August in consequence of this treatment.

"The AVH also employed the method of rounding up of all so-called political suspects before the big communist holidays.

"I have met on November 4th and talked to him last on that day the secretary of Cardinal Mindszenty, Father Zachar, who was a broken and sick man due to treatment he received from the AVH.

"I do not believe that an AVH man ever could leave the AVH service even if he is suffering remorse. You know, these people 'know too much' and therefore I do not believe that they can just get away from the service.

"If Hungary is independent, I believe that a very strict and impartial court should deal with the AVH men and try them for all the crimes they have committed. I am sure that many of this evil force are minor criminals and did not take part, for instance, in the different tortures. These ought to receive smaller sentences but those who have been interrogating and torturing people - I think the most fair treatment would be to let them have the same kind of treatment they gave to their victims.

"When comparing the regular police to the AVH, I can say that there was a very great difference between them. After all, the regular police ~~did~~ dealt only with the traffic regulations and enforcing them and also with the regular crimes of non-political nature. I remember in 1953, they received new orders that arrested people and those who were under observation or not yet tried are not allowed to be beaten up. As far as I can remember it was after ~~the~~ Beria's death that the atrocities of the AVH have slackened a bit.

"On the whole, the regular police force tried hard to educate its members; the uncouth peasant boys were sent to schools - anyway they had the opportunity to educate themselves if they wanted to. I do not know about their military training.

"Regarding the effectiveness of the regular police force, I have no idea. I know that they were not accepting bribes since they never knew who among themselves is a member of the Party and would denounce them. Even the police force was scared of the agent provocateurs.

"Regarding the role of the regular police and their attitude during the revolution, in our district I have seen that they displayed a passive attitude. Nevertheless, they have torn down the Russian badges and insignia in the streets during the Revolution and the demonstrations - this I have seen for myself. As far as I have heard, in our district, the police did not join in the fighting.

B.

"Before 1945, the legal practice of the Hungarian courts was known to be always very fair and strictly according to law, not as it became much later under the Communist regime, when, for instance, the Judge might be a trained man ~~and a Judge~~ but two so-called Workers' Cadre men who are assigned to the

court are telling the judge what to do and what sentences to pass.

"I have heard and know that The Peoples' Courts in '45 and '47 were set up in order to deal with the so-called war criminals.

"I am sure that not all alleged war criminals were 100% guilty, and of ~~these~~ those executed not all of them had merited this sentence. They are guilty in the sense that they were pro-German, that's true, but, as I said, the sentences were far exaggerated and not at all just."

D.

Regarding the Russian Army troops in Hungary, the respondent said, "I never have heard that the Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army might be 'due to the events of 1848. The unpopularity of the Russian troops can be traced back only to their behaviour in 1944 and '45 when every ~~man~~ <sup>WOMAN</sup> between ten and ~~eighteen~~ <sup>EIGHTY</sup> WAS RAPEd and the Russian Army was carrying out a wholesale looting of the whole country. Before the Russian Army actually entered Hungary I, personally, did not expect anything good from them. We had plenty of personal experiences with them when they entered the city and came down to our shelters looting everything and raping the women. I have always wholeheartedly detested the Russians and their Army.

"The members of the Russian Army who were stationed in Hungary before the Revolution and the War ~~XXXX~~ for quite some time have approved tremendously in their appearance. They led a very nice life, they could purchase anything they wanted to in their own PXs and ~~many of them~~ have even learned Hungarian. Some of them have top jobs in plants and offices. Of course, here the top communists frequented them socially also. I have heard of one marriage only among Hungarian girls and Russian soldiers, the daughter of our next door neighbour, her father was the superintendent of the house. She married a Russian Major right in the beginning.

"Before the revolution, this was in 1955, I had to go to the St. John's Hospital. I was sick and spent about two weeks there. Here I talked many times to a woman Russian doctor. She spoke Hungarian too. She told me that even in Russia people can go to churches and she too attended church regularly in Budapest. She was not a Party Member but nevertheless her mother and grandmother, being back in Russia, she was tremendously homesick and wanted to return by all means. She always repeated to me, 'not everybody is a party member in Russia.' She has been staying in ~~Russia~~ Hungary for four years but could not go back for a visit because she was not allowed to do so, and she has to stay in Hungary whether she liked it or not.

"As to the attitudes or actions of the Russian soldiers during the revolution, I have it only from hearsay that some of them joined the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. I have seen, myself, once that at the corner of Rakoczi Street and the Andrassy Boulevard Hungarian boys were riding the tanks; with them were the Russians who were disarmed, and they rode with them. I have not heard of any atrocities committed by Soviet soldiers towards Hungarians during the Revolution."

E.

"I have heard of Local Government Officials who would be willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble. These were mostly the old Civil Servants who did not belong to the Party or who maybe have been members of the Party but only on account of their jobs. These people usually gave good advice to people in trouble or warned them in due time. These people never accepted money, they did it purely out of compassion."

F.

"Good connections on the party-line were the most useful means of getting around some of the regulations. There were offices, however, where bribes were accepted. Such were, for instance, the Housing Authority, or the Income Tax Offices, also, in the last two years, the



offices where you had to get your special licenses in order to be allowed to pursue a small craft industry. Maybe the AVH was the only place where you could not get away, or rather get around rather, with bribes. Officials caught accepting bribes, for instance, were tried and received heavy sentences - usually both parties, but it always depended however on the defense. If you had a good lawyer, you could sometimes get away with it.

G.

I have no idea as to how much the top people are clever or intelligent among the secret police, army leadership, Russian army leadership and the bureaucracy.

MIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A.

"I believe that some changes must come about in Hungary because it is impossible that people can live longer under such circumstances. These changes, however, might have to be waited for for quite some time.

"Regarding Kadar and his regime, I think it all depends on the Russians. If the Russians want to keep him, all right: later on, however, he might be replaced by another puppet. I also hope sincerely that the United Nations will, in the end, energetically force the Russians to leave Hungary. However, there is only one effective weapon against Russia which so far the West has failed to use, and this is the economic, and complete economic, blockade by all Western countries. You cannot fight Russia with gentleman-like weapons, you must terrorize them just as they do the Western Hemisphere. Also I hope that the United Nations will finally send an International Police Force into Hungary until that date when the Russians are willing to leave, because otherwise before they leave they would be capable of committing the most horrible atrocities.

"The withdrawal of the Russian troops from Hungary ought to be tried by peaceful means first and the economic blockage, but if this is ineffective only <sup>BY</sup> ~~WAR~~ remains. I am sure that <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. the Americans would come out victorious because the Russians will not dare to arm their nation since the Russian people themselves are discontent with the regime.

"Even now, in peacetime, the Russians have to keep their people under constant control. I am thinking now of the fact as I was told that people are not even allowed to travel within Russia. Russia

would never dare to start a war, ~~besides because of its~~  
~~treatment.~~ I am sure that the U.S. has a  
superiority regarding the quality of arms and men.

"International pressure on the U.S.S.R. would only be effective if, as I said before, carried out strictly and mercilessly. This must be the economic blockage, and a complete one at that."

8. (Respondent could not give any idea regarding what she thought about the prospects for Hungary during the last 8-10 years. She maintained that she was too busy in making her living to think or dream about things she knew could not become true.)

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A.

"I would like an independent Hungary to be completely independent and free so as Hungary never should become again a Russian hemisphere and to be used as a base of military operations in case of war. Our geographical position is bad enough.

"As a political system, I would like to see the multiple party system and a coalition government. I would want to have free elections and a parliament to govern the Hungarian people. I do not want Hungary to be a satellite of any nation. We were quite well off when we were independent."

B.

"Regarding the economic system in Hungary, I believe that both agriculture and industry should be furthered but in industry I am thinking of the light industry most.

"In agriculture, just as before, the wheat-growing should be emphasized but I think rice culture has also its good points. Then raising, of course, OF LIVE - stock has always been a strong point in Hungary. Furthermore, wine producing as before the war. We had a very large-scale export in this branch. Furthermore I would also grow fruit in Hungary for export.

"As to the light industry, I believe consumers' commodities should be produced, especially those items that come in useful in the household, such as washing machines, refrigerators, etc.

"The national enterprises I would return to the rightful owners or if this one is deceased then to the rightful heirs. The state farms and kolkhozes

should be dissolved and the land returned ~~also~~ also to the owners.

"The Government should manage as before the railroad companies; ~~for instance~~, gas, electricity, water, transportation, (I mean buses) etc., were always municipal before the war and this is a good system. The railroads, as I said before, and the National Bus Lines can belong to the State. I believe that mining has fared better when in private enterprises and therefore I would return the mines to private companies, and I would return the heavy industries to the old owners too. The light industries, of course, should go back to the private owners. Regarding the State Farms and the kolkhozes, I think that the State Farms should go back to the owners, as I mentioned before, and the Kolkhozes should decide themselves whether they want to work together or go back to individual farming.

"I think that it wouldn't be a bad idea that the government should set a maximum limit to the amount of land any one personal family may own if it is a reasonable limit. Of course, it is not so easy to say how much that limit should be because, in my opinion, it must depend on the quality of the land. You could make a very good living on 400 acres if the land is good, and on the other hand you would need 1000 acres of an inferior quality land. By all means, I believe that this problem should be settled by experience and not by me.

"I would like to see in an independent Hungary a President; like here in the United States, a president who would be elected for four years. I think the American, the Austrian or the Swiss system - all the three are pretty good - would work well in Hungary.

"There is no doubt about it, which kind of government I would like to see in an independent Hungary. It is the one that gives me all freedom

freedom rights. It's no good to ~~xxxx~~ be assured of a job if you cannot live freely and especially talk freely. What sort of freedom would that be?

Her views regarding the outlawing of the Communist Party are as follows:-

"I firmly believe that in a free country everybody should be allowed to profess his views freely and therefore I do not see any reason why a Communist Party should be outlawed. Besides, I am quite sure that the Communist Party in an independent Hungary would never have any followers after all what has happened in Hungary during the Revolution and after all the experiences we have had during the last 12 years."

C.

"As to the position I would want Hungary to have ideally, I think that an Austria-like solution would be the best. I do not think that the situation in Poland is something ~~good~~ <sup>good</sup> ~~at all~~ <sup>at all</sup> ~~proof, and on the other hand,~~ however an alliance with the West would not be bad. But I think that independent Austria is the most ~~probable~~ <sup>PREFERRED</sup> ~~xxxxxxx~~ solution for me."

Respondent did not want to have any relations with the U.S.S.R. when Hungary is free again, neither with the other East European States. She, however, would welcome the military relations with the rest of Europe and the U.S.A., and by all means economic and cultural relations with all these states.

Respondent has not heard about the idea of a federation of Danubian States.

Regarding Hungary's present boundaries, these are unacceptable for respondent. She would like to see a territorial adjustment which could be brought about by plebiscite and also by international

arbitration. Respondent was concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary because, she said, "We know what it means to live under oppression and under the government of a foreign nation."

This whole question was important to respondent since "it is of greatest importance to all decent Hungarians."

IV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent had not heard anything about the 20th Party Congress or Khrushchev's secret speech because, as she said, "I never read the newspapers."

Neither did she <sup>HEAR ABOUT</sup> ~~read~~ Senator McCarthy or the Un-American Activities Committee or about the fall of Peron in Argentina.

AT About Rakosi's private life, she only heard that he had a luxuriously equipped apartment and four different places in the capital. He had 65,000 florin salary per year. She added, "What sort of a Communist was he really, if he lived in such luxury?"

B. "During the last ten years, up until '48 and I had the concession of that newspaper booth in Budapest, I got my information mostly from my customers and also by reading all newspapers. I was well-informed about the daily events at that time. When in the countryside later on, when I was travelling as a travelling saleslady, I heard a great deal of news by word of mouth. Then I listened to the Hungarian radio but mostly to Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. Lately, in the last years, I did not read the newspapers."

C. "I received mostly political but primarily economic news by word of mouth from peasants in the countryside, from friends and people I met on the train for instance. I always started an argument even with Communist officials. Some of this news was quite



reliable if it came from people who had a good source of information."

D.

"Before the war, I read all the dailies and also the magazines. I was an avid reader. I read also books, mostly fiction, historical fiction too. I read them, of course, in Hungarian translations; most of these were foreign authors. I read also, Mitchell's "Gone With The Wind"; I read books by Frances Dumas etc.

"However, after the war, during the last ten years, I never read the papers. I only read the comics sometimes, and then in 1956 I started reading the Hetfoi Hirlap. Despite that this paper was a Monday paper it came out on Sunday evening already and literally you had to fight. You even paid sometimes 140 ~~for~~ for one paper. Its great success can be attributed to the fact that after 10 years this was the first paper that tried to print openly the opinion of the people, tried to criticize the Communist regime and altogether displayed a fighting and courageous spirit.

"I was not interested in other newspapers or books because they were slanted. I hated the newspapers for their transparent lies; either they contradicted themselves within a day or two or all they printed was just a lie. The only paper you could read now and then was the Magyar Nemzet. This was the least slanted paper.

"I do not know that there were any illegal publications in Hungary. However I have read books which were proscribed. I even myself had quite a few. And amongst friends we were always lending these books to each other.

✓ TO GET  
ACAY

"There were a few people who surrendered these books to the authorities to be burned, but mostly people just hid them. In fact, many of these books could be bought on the black market."

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A.

Regarding the situation in Russia, respondent said:-

"I quite believe that there is a possibility of change within Russia, but since the Russians will not give arms to their people I do not believe that a revolution can break out. However, I believe that a slow change is more likely and this also due to the fact that the top communists under Western pressure must change their policies. Also, troops or officials who were in the West surely are telling people at home how things look on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

"Had Russia free elections ever I am sure that the Communist Party would crumble or at least it would have very few members. But I think that this can come about only if the feared Russian secret police too would be dissolved.

"In my opinion the top figures of Russia are out for Red Communism. I do not know what their motives personally are.

"Regarding the difference between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian Communist leadership, I think the difference consists only in the Russians being much stronger and imposing their will on the Hungarian Communists.

B.

The relative popularity of the other Eastern European nations, as seen by respondent, was as follows:-

"Czechoslovakia is the most popular in Hungary I believe because this country has achieved a true socialism, more or less. Also Soviet terror wasn't so strong in Czechoslovakia."

"Then comes Eastern Germany because the country is more independent than we are.

"I do not think that Yugoslavia is very popular because after all National Communism is not a good solution either.

"The Polish people are very popular in Hungary but only the people and not the Government.

"Bulgaria and Romania are the last on the list of popularity.

"If free elections were held in these countries I think that Communism would be defeated in all countries. Of course a small percentage would always remain everywhere.

"The best standard of living in my opinion is now in Czechoslovakia, then followed by Eastern Germany, then Hungary, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria comes last."

C.

On the situation of Poland respondent had the following to say:-

"~~W~~ Gomulka's policy represents a change at present but I do not think that he will remain at the top of the Government because after all he is a Soviet puppet. Only in case if he succeeds in bringing about a gradual but very great change then he might remain in power. Otherwise, not, because the Russians are always changing their puppets the moment they start to kick too strongly.

"The events in Poland have affected events in Hungary to my mind because at first we have heard about the Poznan riots in the newspapers and we all said, "Well, the Poles have started. Maybe we would follow them. We were full of hopes ~~xx~~ at that time."

"I do not know of any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power.

"I would not have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines because in that case the world would never have been informed about the Hungarian spirit. The Hungarian Revolution, as it came about and as it developed, has shown the West what Communism really is. The Western world maybe would have realized this any how but only twenty years hence. We, however, have shown it now."

D.

When asked what she thought of Tito Yugoslavia, respondent said, "Tito is a national communist but I do not approve of this national communism which is communism after all with the difference only that it does not take its orders from Moscow. I believe that Tito has invented national communism because he wanted to remain in power. His relations with all other Eastern European nations, Russia and the West are always according to the presently prevailing political situation. Tito is a turncoat and an opportunist.

"Not everything is 'fine and dandy' in Yugoslavia, otherwise Tito would not need to beg always for foreign help, once from the Russians and then from the Western World."

"Regarding Tito's attitude in reference to the Hungarian revolution, this was in the beginning quite decent. He even gave asylum to Communist Nagy. Later on, however, he danced back on his word. He is the typical turncoat, as I said. Besides, I'm sure he is always scared.

"I think Titoism is approved by many people because it is better, slightly, than Soviet inspired communism. I am thinking now of the independence from Moscow. It is not a bad solution but only a momentary one.

"I have no idea how ~~much~~ popular Tito is in Yugoslavia. I know that the internal conditions, standard of living, labor conditions were pretty bad a couple of years before."

E.

Respondent has the following views on the Suez situation.

"The Anglo-French invasion of ~~Egypt~~<sup>Egypt</sup> was quite right because to my mind the Suez Canal is an international waterway and should be kept open to all nations. Israeli had no right whatsoever to invade Egypt. I also disapprove of Nasser's nationalizing the Canal because after all international treaties have to be respected, and besides, Nasser acted on Russia's prompting.

"Events in ~~Egypt~~ had affected the events in Hungary during the fall of 1956. It was the United Nations was busy with the Egyptian situation which in their eyes was more important than Hungary. They did not realize that this was the most opportune moment when the World power of Communism could have been stemmed once and for all. Had the United Nations interfered effectively, all the other satellites would have risen. The Russian soldiers who came into Hungary after November 4th ~~felt~~ that they were fighting in Egypt and were looking for the Suez Canal."

THOUGHT

F.

"My impression is that the living standards in West Germany are very high.

"I approve of the German re-armament because after all everybody knows the Soviet Union, too, is arming. Somebody has to be prepared against them.

"I do not know the Western German military strength nor do I know how ~~long~~ long the general service

is in the West German Army. I do not believe that Western Germany would start another war except  $\sqrt{\text{it is}}$  if with Russia.

"The difference between the German Army during World War II, when occupying Hungary, and the Russian Occupation Army is tremendous. The German Army never committed atrocities. They did not loot the country. It is true they were against the Jews but not against the Hungarian nation like the Russians were. The German Army was, of course, extremely well disciplined as to both Officers and Engisted Men. There is no doubt about it that the Russian occupation troops were more unpopular in Hungary."

G.

When asked about NATO the respondent said, "I think this is a sort of international police and I think it is a very good organization. But I think they ought to go into every country where there is trouble brewing.

"If I compare this with the Warsaw Pact, the latter one is a military alliance and therefore different from the NATO.

"Regarding the British Labour Party, I believe that this party has more Socialist trends than Communist ones. Even so they have a few Communists in their ranks.

~~The~~ "The living standards are highest in Western Germany, as far as I know, followed by Britain, then Italy, Greece, Egypt and lastly the Soviet Union."

H.

Respondents general impressions about America during her first few months here were;

"I was very favorably and greatly interested by

the orderly way the traffic is flowing in this huge city, how the police handle the whole problem with great efficiency.

"Then I was very much impressed by the different household gadgets which are helping the housewife in her daily chores.

"I did not like it, however, that people are all out after money so much and also that the wives here terrorize the poor husbands. It seems that in the United States the woman is wearing the pants and I disapprove of this.

As to what the United States ought to do now for people and the nations of Eastern Europe, respondent said, "The United States should first of all exercise its power in the United Nations and bring about a Russian withdrawal from Eastern Europe, not only from Hungary. Then free elections should be held under international control in all Eastern European countries and also the West should give long term loans to Hungary so as to rebuild everything that has been destroyed ~~xxxxxx~~ during the short-lived revolution.

"I think that the American foreign policy is much too soft towards the Soviet Union.

"The American government should not accept the present government of Hungary as the rightful government. All trade relations should be broken off, not only with Hungary but with all Eastern European nations, as I said before, because this would hurt Russia most.

"I am sure that people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors. However, the present regime would not allow this. There are so many things these people who really wanted to go to Hungary should be told. If such visitors would be allowed to go to Hungary I think that tourists would be the most welcome because before the war tourism was a main source of



income of Hungary, especially for hard currencies. These visitors ought to be told before they go that they should not only see the ~~same experts~~ of the country but should also go in among the poor classes so as they could compare it with their own land, AND <sup>SCENIC SPOTS</sup> <sup>LIVING STANDARDS</sup> As long as Russians are in Hungary they ought to refrain from politics. I believe that we, the newest immigrants, should tell them all about the situation back home.

"People at home would like very much to receive Western books and periodicals and mostly scientific magazines and reviews. I am thinking now of medical magazines, magazines referring to radio, automobiles, etc. Originals and translations of different famous western authors would also be very welcome. I think the best idea would be to send them to a nation-wide printed matter distribution company which is in Hungary, the former Ibusz, now called Newspaper Distribution National Enterprise.

"I believe that people back home would be very pleased to hear that we, the exiles, are associated ~~with~~ with such activities as western visitors and publications."

Respondent knew that the Marshall Plan ~~was~~ as launched by the U.S. in 1948 was a kind of relief plan meant to give economic assistance to the smaller countries. Respondent was of the opinion that the Marshall Plan was inspired by the benevolence of the United States towards these small countries.

As to why America became involved in the Korean War, respondent was of the opinion that ~~it was because~~ because the United States wanted to put an end ~~to~~ TO THE war regime in Asia.

RED

I. In reference to the United Nations, respondent said,

"At present, I have an extremely bad opinion of the United Nations because at the time when Hungary did need help it failed to come to her assistance. The least we were expecting was that the United Nations send its international police into Hungary. The failure of the United Nations to intervene effectively in the Hungarian issue has led to the bloodshed in Hungary.

"Nevertheless, I still believe that after nearly a year the United Nations will finally on September 10th pass an effective resolution."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED  
PERSONALITIES

A.

"In my opinion the greatest living Hungarian is Cardinal Mindszenty because he is the best and the truest Hungarian among us. "

B.

Respondents reactions to persons of importance in Budapest were as follows:-

"Despite the fact that he, too, was trained in Moscow, Imre Nagy behaved decently during the Revolution and he tried to do his best for the Hungarian nation trying to defy the Russians.

"Do I have to say anything else about Cardinal Mindszenty as I have said before.

"I do not have anything else to say about Rajk than what I have said before.

"~~Germ~~ Gero - he was hated from the very beginning by the whole Nation and so was Kadar.

"I have a very bad opinion of General Bela Kiraly, a man who has turned his coat so many times cannot be an honest person. You know sometimes I even think that he might be a planted spy.

"Miss Kethly is an old girl but she is a woman of good intentions. She is a true Social-Democrat.

"President Eisenhower is to/<sup>my</sup>mind a very good man

who stood up for the Hungarian Nation and for our freedom. Also he has greatly helped us, the refugees, to be able to come to this country. He gave his wholehearted support to us.

"I find it somewhat peculiar that Secretary-General of the United Nations, Hammarskjold, did not come to Hungary whereas he had the right to do so. Why did he have to ask the Russians for permission?

"Mr. Dulles, the Foreign-Secretary of the United States, is a decent man.

"Former Foreign Minister of Great Britain Eden was quite a good Foreign Minister in his time. I do not know anything about the Former President of the United States Truman. I have known very little about him."

Mikoyan, Nehru and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek were unknown to respondent. Neither did she voice any opinion on Roosevelt.

Chancellor Adenauer, to respondent, has a very good and acceptable policy.

In reference to Stalin, she said, "God damn him!"

Respondent did not know any thing about Malenkov. of Generalissimo Franco she said, "He is the Spanish dictator who is one of the anti-communists."

Respondent had no idea who Anuerin Bevan was. She had no opinion of Khrushchev and Molotov. Respondent asked who Ollenhauer was and had no idea about him. Neither did she voice any opinion of former Prime Minister Churchill.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A.

In respondent's view people escaping from Hungary came mostly from the Trans-Danubian district. They were mostly in the younger age group ~~but~~ Many people ~~were~~ and highly trained specialists, such as scientists, doctors, etc., came also from Budapest. She thought that the majority were men and that all social classes were represented, even the Communists. She ~~thought~~ that all TOLD along the borders many torn-up Communist Party Membership books were found by refugees who passed the border later.

The reason for leaving was mostly the longing after freedom or the longing to lead a better life than under the Communist regime.

According to respondent, those who stayed behind were mostly those who had some family reason or old relatives whom they didn't want to leave, and of course the communists also stayed at home according to respondent.

In respondent's opinion people in Hungary say that those who came away have acted wisely. She disclosed that she receives many letters from her friends from Hungary ~~and~~ who always praise her for having been so smart ~~as~~ to come away.

Assuming that they had a chance to come to the West and that the Russians are still in power in Hungary, respondent is of the opinion that very few people would stay at home. And in her opinion these would be only the communists and fellow travellers.

B.

Respondent has not heard of Hungarian exile organizations who are active in the West. However, she mentioned the name of Francis Nagy and ~~Nikolas~~ Kallay as individuals who were active in the west during the last ten years.

When handed over the list, she made the following remarks, "Monsignor Varga, I know that he was a priest but I do not know about his activities in Hungary. I only heard that he came to the United States quite some time ago.

"Former Prime Minister Frances Nagy came out, I believe, in '47. Mr. Eckhard is also here in the United States, as a leading political role and has come out from Hungary around the '40s as far as I know.

"Social Democrat leader Peyer is also here in the United States. (She did not know of his death in October.)

"Nikolas Kallay was Prime Minister of Hungary also is here in the United States." Pfeiffer and Barankovits were known to respondent as former members of the Hungarian Parliament.

Of Mr. Fabian, respondent has heard since she came to the United States. She has heard that he is very active in the defense of the Hungarian issue AND MANUFAIS ~~many~~ letters to the editor in ~~the~~ ARE PUBLISHED the newspapers, REGARDING THE HUNGARIAN EVENTS

Respondent knew that Otto of Hapsburg is the HUNGARIAN THRONE PRETENDENT. She mentioned that she knew that his mother was the Empress Zita and that he is the son of the late King Charles ~~xx~~ 2nd of Hungary.

Respondent knew that former Hungarian Regent

V HOW

Horthy acted as Hungarian Regent from 1919-1944. She mentioned about the Germans have captured him and forced their will upon him. He was taken prisoner in Vienna till he promised to comply with German wishes.

C.

Respondent had an acquaintance who <sup>FBI</sup> from being very homesick has returned to Hungary but he has greatly regretted it and always used to say 'I wish I never had done it! I never knew what was waiting for me here in Hungary!'

Respondent has heard about the Communist redefection campaign in connection with two amnesty decrees. She also sheltered a family in her own apartment who returned after having been promised by the communists that they would receive back everything. Of course they never did. In respondent's view the Communist redefection campaign did not meet with an over-all success because only very few people returned, mostly for family reasons.

Respondent also mentioned that she knew a young man who came out at the same time as she from Hungary and who had quite a good job here in the United States already, earning \$96 per week. He returned in March to Hungary and respondent heard from a friend of his who shared the apartment with the family that he arrived on April the 6th in Budapest and on the 9th he had already been taken away and she didn't know what has happened to him since. The reason for his return was a longing for his wife and small child.

Respondent is of the opinion that the Communists started the redefection campaign solely for propaganda <sup>PURPOSES</sup> to the United States and the Western world. They are using those redefectors on the radio for propaganda purposes.

AGAINST

D.

When asked what she thought the exiles should do now, respondent said, "First of all, and this is very important, everybody must learn English as quickly as possible because this is very important. People should accept any sort of work, even if they are highly skilled people, because after all they ought to be grateful for this country, that they were allowed to come here. Everybody must be the maker of his own fortune, as we say in Hungary. People should be happy to be allowed to live here."

"People in Hungary always ask first about the living standard here and how we are getting on. Whether we meet any friends and so on.

"I believe that people back home ought to know what a terrific freedom everybody can enjoy here, because they still cannot believe it, especially people in the provinces are not informed about the living standard here. ✓ THEN,

"I am always writing home everybody about the wonderful gadgets here, about the different machineries all for the purpose of saving manpower. Also I am painting them the picture of industrial development here as compared to the <sup>backwards</sup> ~~backwards~~ <sup>way</sup> back home.

"There are great many things I could personally do, I believe. First of all, I would hold a little lecture or pep-talk to the new immigrants telling them about the difference between the two countries and helping them in getting them assimilated to this country.

"I also intend to take part in all picketing of the United Nations or the Russian Legation that is going to take place. If it was for myself I think I could go bare-fisted for the Russians. I am that mad against them. Later on, when I will be settled on my own feet ~~xx~~ materially much better than I am sure I will always contribute to all collections and



charities which will help the Hungarian cause."

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

"In as much as it is not a political organization. I want to join an organization that is for cultural purposes only. This organization ought to show the new immigrants pictures about America and about the way of living, about the whole state, about the population, etc., showing them the possibilities America can offer to them. The young people ought to be held busy with schools so as they should not have any opinion to take to drinks. The organization should ~~have~~ <sup>ARRANGE FOR</sup> lectures also.

"I think that this organization should represent all immigrants, the pre-revolutionary ones and the new ones also. The work must be done together because we, the new ones, can learn from the old immigrants a great deal."

Regarding the various Hungarian political parties, respondent said, :-

"Before 1948 I had heard of the ~~Smallholders~~ <sup>Smallholders</sup> party which was a good party, embracing all the Hungarian peasants. Then there was also the Social Democratic Party which wasn't bad; anyway, it was better than the Communist Party. Then there was a quite good Party, the Christian Democrats. I don't remember any others. I haven't heard any parties in exile.

"As to the parties that were resuming activity during the Revolution, I was for this action because a one party system is no good at all. However, it was not right that they resumed their activities so early. They should have waited for the outcome of the Revolution.

"I am sure that some of the groups that went into exile previously would have been welcomed in Hungary but not all of course."

E.

Regarding her own plans for the future, respondent said, "I would go back to Hungary only if the Russians are no more there.

"I think it is very laudable if children of Hungarian parents learn Hungarian also as well as English in the United States. The more languages you know the more ~~you know~~ life **"YOU HAVE"**

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A.

"While in Hungary I was always listening to foreign radio stations. I mostly listened to the Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and sometimes to the BBC. Radio Free Europe was jammed most. I always listened to the Hungarian radio broadcasts and usually and quite regularly by night because reception was by far the best at that time.

"Of course I told everybody even though it was prohibited about everything what I have heard and so the others. I listened on my own radio and sometimes alone or sometimes with friends.

"As to the reliability I preferred Voice of America and BBC and thought not a ~~lot~~ about the news of Radio Free Europe. *GREAD DEAL*

"Even though there was risk involved in listening to foreign broadcasts people didn't care very much about it and were not deterred by this fact. Usually the penalties were a couple of months of prison.

"I judged the accuracy of these radio broadcasts by comparing them to my own experiences and to the news of the Hungarian radio. In my opinion, before the Revolution, these broadcasts had a great effect because everybody implicitly believed them. During the Revolution everybody was listening to the United Nations sessions as broadcast over the foreign radio."

When asked whether or not Radio Free Europe, in her opinion, has helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help, respondent said:-

"I have not heard of any inciting but maybe it

occurred when I did not listen. I have not heard any promises to be broadcast by Radio Free Europe. People were always expecting help, especially when they listened to United Nations Sessions. They hoped that the international police force would be sent after all.

"Radio Free Europe should continue by all means to broadcast into Hungary because the Hungarian Radio at present is completely unreliable and ~~this~~ <sup>RFE</sup> means the only link with the West for them. The Hungarians have always been interested in the foreign political events all over the world.

"I believe that political and economic news would always be welcome but the anti-communist propaganda should be toned down because otherwise the communists will start to jam the stations again. Programmes about life in the United States and about Western Europe would be very good. I would think that Hungarian performances of Western dramas would also be very popular if broadcast in Hungary.

B.

Respondent has only heard about the different leaflets that dropped into Hungary and has not seen any of them.

D.

Regarding the motives and goals of the Western groups that broadcast and send leaflets into Hungary, respondent thought that all of them had the same ideas and this was to enlighten the Hungarian people about communism. The Voice of America and the B B C in her opinion aimed only to give news, and reliable news at that.

Respondent mentioned in the Radio Free Europe programs what she called the "black voice". She said that it was an extremely popular program and it was quite

quite uncanny how wonderfully well informed the people in Radio Free Europe were. Everybody enjoyed greatly when he listed the communist big-wigs and their crimes. ~~It happened often that something happened in Hungary and within an hour the 'black voice' gave out the news over the radio.~~ It happened often that something happened in Hungary and within an hour the 'black voice' gave out the news over the radio.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

When asked to give an idea of her views on how children should be brought up, respondent said:-

"I believe that sincerity is the most important thing in bringing up children. The children should never judge their parents, that they have lied to them. A parent must be absolutely frank and sincere with the child. A child must be brought up in a religious belief. It does not matter what kind of religion. A child must learn to attend church also; this is very important, to my mind.

"A child must be educated to be polite and have nice manners. Also, I like to put emphasis on sports.

"With girls I find it extremely important that the 'facts of life' should be told at an early age by the mother. It happened in my life that my mother did not do so and I have greatly suffered for this omission.

"I approve that children must be disciplined. But not always by physical punishment. You can achieve a great deal by talking to a child. Physical punishment, however, if it is reasonable and in very brief cases can be administered to small children.

"The treatment for boys and girls must be different of course. Boys must be brought up more strictly and with more discipline and as I just said a teen-ager girl must be taught by her mother how to behave in different circumstances. If it is done so, the girl will never lead an immoral life.

"I remember when I was about four years old I do not know what I have done wrong but I remember I have talked back to my mother and was sassy with her.

FIND OUT

She gave me a good hiding and then put me into the corner where I had to kneel on corn grains until I had asked her pardon.

"Whenever I brought back a bad report card from school it was my brother who beat me up.

"Among people I know there were many who disciplined their children ~~xxx~~ even when they were quite grown up. Under the communist regime unfortunately this did not happen any more because children at school were indoctrinated against their parental and teacher's authority. The education of children varies of course within the difference of the classes. The upper classes give a much better education to their children, also they let them attend school for a longer period. The child of a poor family is getting his education in the streets also if his parents are working. Children of the upper classes and the higher middle class receive the best education in Hungary before the Communist regime. However, in these last ten years the situation has greatly changed. The Communist regime maintains to help the parents when they open the day schools. In fact, it was only because they wanted to indoctrinate the young people.

"However, a great deal depended on their teacher. If the teacher was of the old school, everything was all right with the kids that grew up under him. However, if she or he was a Party Member then things turned to the worst of course.

"Physical punishment in general is abandoned now between the ages of 12 and 13 for boys and girls. Punishment in general depends of course on the family, but it is usually abandoned for boys and girls between 15 and 16.

"The changes were great during the last ten years in the way children were disciplined during their first eight years in school. Before the Communists

the teachers sometimes gave slaps to the children, put them into the corner and gave them slaps on their finger nails or palms. Now during the Communist regime physical punishment has been abolished by the communists and only the report cards were left as a means of discipline.

"The characteristics I value most in friend are sincerity and honesty. I do not care to which social class she belongs.

"Changes in friendship under Communism did occur. It so happened that friendships were broken off but on the other hand it also happened that a friendship became even better if people had complete and utter confidence in each other. New friendships, of course, were made less frequently because people did not care to talk so ~~any~~ openly, so the new friendships were rather on the superficial side.