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CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

— This strikingly red-haired woman comes from a wealthy, easy-going family. Parents were divorced, seemingly through the fault of the mother, because the child stayed with her father. The father and the relatives spoiled the charming child, and presumably fulfilled all her wishes. As a child-actress and dancer, she traveled all over the world, lived abroad for years, learned several languages and became an independent personality eager for continuous change and adventure. This is expressed in her appearance. She is good looking, with her very white skin, red fluffy hair, sharp nose, large eyes and good figure. She loves to talk and especially to tell stories, which often makes her interview unreliable. Because she has an excellent memory for details and a strong imagination, she makes her stories sound logical and realistic. However, my ~~swaking~~ definite feeling is that, though there is always a basic factual element in her stories which is true, the facts are always surrounded by a lot of nonsense.

XThe factual cross-checking, as far as it was possible, worked, and she usually could prove her words, which led to the conclusion that she definitely took part in many of the events she talked about. She is a mixture of a gambler and a heroine. Her patriotism comes from a high pressure in her nature the basic cause of which should be found first in order to understand her character. One of the ingredients of her character is doubtless her eagerness to exercise power, and she is not choosy in her tools.

If somebody is able to discipline her, this woman can be used for good causes. She seems to have much more information, but her statements should be checked for their objectivity.

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## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

"The American people have to know that the Hungarian revolution was not a civil war about racial, religious or class differences. Neither was it a counter-revolution. It was a revolution of clear ideas against an oppressing power."

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

A. "On the 22nd of October the following happened to me: I lived opposite the Technical University in Uri St. in the fortress. At 4 o'clock that afternoon the students, whom I knew very well from the past because I went over to the dining room of the University if I didn't have time to cook for myself, came over to me asking me to contact the Under-Secretary of State living next door. They wanted him to intervene at the Minister of the Interior to allow a demonstration for acceptance of their 16 points. They had everything prepared for the demonstration -- the Hungarian flag and the Sixteen Points which were made up as follows. I don't remember all of them, but some of them, offhand, were:

- Withdrawal of Russian troops.
- Free elections.
- Multi-Party system.
- Establishment of the ~~xxxx~~Workers' Councils.
- Abolition of the Party Secretariat.
- Re-installment of the old University professors.
- Abolition of compulsory delivery.
- Free Press.
- Free religious education.
- Abolition of the compulsory Russian language education.

The boys wanted to broadcast their Sixteen Points over the radio after the demonstration. All that came absolutely spontaneously out of the students, and it was unexpected to me too. However, I am positive about something I had been feeling about that time, and that is that the fundamental cause of the events was due to the burial of Rajk. A wild Communist woman lived next door to me. When she came home from this burial and the celebrations she told me that she was sure some consequences would follow

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this blunder. She said that from the Communist point of view Rajk was a criminal at first, but now the same Communists came to the conclusion that it was a mistake and made a hero out of him. Seeing this, all the people would consider everything the Communists say a lie. "Who else was buried innocently?" was what I heard people at the burial saying. She was right. After this burial the free criticism of the population became frightening for the Communists. I myself felt a sort of relief and a stimulation inside of me from time to time.

"To their great disappointment, I couldn't help the students. The Secretary of State told me that they needed the okay directly from the Minister of the Interior. I had a bad feeling. I was positive that if the boys got the okay something would follow this demonstration. I asked them what their real purpose was. I was definitely afraid of the 500 boys in this University. The oldest was about 20 or 21 and most of them were between 16 and 20. They were just children. Among them there were some students from abroad, from Greece and Korea, in the students' exchange. The boys told me that they wanted only a silent demonstration with the aim of getting the radio leadership to broadcast their points. I heard some stronger voices, too. They added if things didn't go smoothly then of course they would use force, and their voices were filled with dedication. I was aware of the difficulty of the situation. It was not easy to tell them how I felt. I said they should be careful. If the Communists allowed the demonstration, that could be also a provocation. If, God knows, somebody started shooting, it would be a good occasion for the Communists to make a blood bath and to oppress the Hungarians even more. They were very excited and told me that I wasn't a real Hungarian if I felt any fear. They couldn't know really ready to die happily myself. They said

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they knew what they wanted and I should only help them as much as I could and I shouldn't worry about the rest." X

"About 6:30 in the afternoon three boys went down to the Council House in Fo St. to paste their Sixteen Points on the wall of the building. A little later I went down myself to shop for dinner in Fo St. This was the only place I could with shops open at that hour. As I walked on Fo St. I suddenly saw that an AVH man from the Court building across the street shot ~~xxxxxx~~ the boy who pasted the poster on the wall. I ran there and pulled the boy into the next doorway. I saw that he was dead. His name was Beni Horvath. He was a lovely boy; everybody called him by the nickname "Csopi." Pretty soon a lot of people gathered, and I was busy keeping the people away, telling them that nothing had happened, that the boy was only wounded. However, a man forced himself through to the doorway, went to the boy and discovered that he was dead. He took off his clothes and the red, white and green flag that was around his chest. Then he went to call the ambulance. In the meantime a policeman arrived and sent the people away. I told him that I saw that the boy was shot from No. 1 Fo. St., from the Court building, and I wanted to be a witness. ~~xxxx~~The policeman told me that if I really wanted to be a witness I had better go right into the Court building because they wouldn't let me out anyway. In this building there was one of the largest Communist prisons.

"I took a bus home and went ~~in~~ directly to the University, looking for the professors. I learned that they were at a meeting and I had to wait. The boys came, asking me why I was there and what had happened. I told them about their friend. They ran down, excited, but luckily the dead boy had already been taken away, and therefore no further

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trouble occurred. The boys came back and that same evening called an emergency meeting. They asked me to ~~xxxx~~ go too, but I didn't because I was afraid that, ~~k~~ being a convinced patriot, maybe even I would tell or do something that would add fuel to the fire in the atmosphere.

"That evening I was called ~~xy~~ by a few of my relatives from different companies -- the Constructing and Motor Mechanic Co., the Restoring Co., the Ministry of Agriculture. They all told me about the same unrest and ~~xxxx~~ nervousness of the people where they worked. My brother called me and he said that the people were crazy in his office that day. At the end of the day 4 or 5 Communist Party membership books, the famous "Red Books" were found on the Party Secretary's table. It seems their owners put them there to show they didn't care for their Party membership anymore.

"Around 12 o'clock midnight, the students called me to come over, but I said it was too late. They told me then that no matter what happened, they would go ~~into~~ to the Bem statue to demonstrate the following day. I promised them definitely that I would join them there.

"On October 23 at 5:30 in the morning, my husband had to leave Budapest for Győr and Komárom on a commission. When he returned the same evening he told me that on the train the people spoke so strangely about the coming freedom. He couldn't understand what it was. Everybody said there was a demonstration in Budapest and this had to bring some change. "This is the time for change. ~~X~~ We have to do something" they shouted to each other. Both of us were late, so we didn't have time to discuss ~~xxxx~~ anything. We hurried to the theater.

"In the meantime, around 3 o'clock I had

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gone down to the Bem statue with the boys. Different groups of people had to hang around there because permission from the Minister of the Interior still hadn't arrived. It was withdrawn, then given again, then withdrawn again. All this was just oil on the fire. But finally, around 4 o'clock, they got permission. The different groups gathered, partly in Buda, partly in Pest, because they wanted to continue the demonstration at the Petofi statue. The demonstration had a real, patriotic, overheated program. All the students who studied at Budapest were there. We could see faces from all the other Communist countries -- Korean, Greek, Chinese, etc. There was no sign of disorder. Nevertheless, as the program went on, it could be seen that some of the youth were still motionless as in sleep, but the others became more and more excited.

"The Points were provisional and therefore the students were supposed to go back to school after the demonstration to work on their Points. However, nobody left the Circle. More and more civilians joined the students. I left at 6 o'clock in the evening. I had theater tickets and I had to hurry home, but I arranged to meet the boys late that evening in the school. I had not reached my home when I heard shouting from the Square, which was rather close to us. I heard "No, no, never" (an old patriotic slogan -- Interviewer's note). The stores, as if by magic, started to put the national flags and cockades out in their windows. As I walked up the stairs towards Halaszbastya (this was a part of the fortress) I found the first Communist Party membership Red book thrown away. I opened it. It had belonged to a 44-year old man whom I knew from the fortress. He lived in one of the nearby streets. He was the leader of a state-owned real estate office. I picked up the book and went directly to the man. He wasn't at home and I had to hurry, so I left his place and ran home to change for the theater.

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"It was very late as I said before, therefore I didn't talk with my husband too much. We went down to the door where a friend of ours waited for us with an official automobile which he was allowed to use once in a while. Our way was blocked every five minutes. Students of 15 or 16 asked us to take them to the Radio. Everybody wanted to go to the Radio. We had to turn into sideroads but finally we had to stop and take up two boys. We took them to the beginning of Sandor St. where the Radio building was. But the place was so overcrowded at that time that we wouldn't have been able to go anywhere anyway. We put the boys down and continued on our way in a hurry.

"I had a good friend, a woman, who lived across the Studio building in Sandor St. When we arrived at the theater I called her up, asking what the situation was there. She told me that the students banged the Studio, but they should be careful because the AVH had carried a lot of ammunition into the Radio building during the afternoon. The building was packed with AVH men. I called the boys at the University right away, and told them about what I had heard. However, there were only 2 students in the whole building because everybody else had gone to the demonstrations. They told me that they had to stay there as guards. Maybe they would have a chance to run down and talk to the other boys at the Radio, but they were not sure. By the way, I must remark here that the students were tremendous. What they did within 24 hours would have done much credit to a Supreme Command.

"After the first performance, I ran down to a good friend of mine, an actress who was in the play and she told me that the students were being murdered at the radio building. I asked my husband to come with me. We jumped into the car and ran over to the studio. What we found there was horrible. It was a complete



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chaos. Nobody knew who was who. Machine guns rattled here and there. I left the car and ran into the crowd looking for my students. I found one. He was wounded and leaning against a wall. There was so much crowding and congestion that it was not possible to take the boy anywhere. Therefore I brought him up to that friend of mine, into her apartment. We called a doctor for the boy and returned to the theater, because we had promised to take my actress friend, who was very frightened, home. After the performance we took her home but then already on the Buda side we heard machine guns. When I got home, I called my friend to inquire about the wounded boy. She said he was all right and I could come for him pretty soon. About 12 o'clock, midnight, I started back again to pick up the wounded boy. The streets were crowded and I heard people shouting all over that the statue of Stalin was going to be demolished. Therefore I changed my mind and turned towards the great boulevard. There was no traffic on the streets -- no streetcars or busses. I had to leave my car at the Italian school, which was near the radio building, and continue walking.

"The streets were crowded wall to wall. The people on the streets were students, workers, just every sort of person. I walked with them. Walking ~~along~~ were students of every age bracket, streetcar conductors, office workers, rough workers, just all kinds of people. I felt really that I was a Hungarian and it was my duty to take part in these demonstrations. I knew what it meant to be taken by the AVH. I have been beaten by them several times. But I was not afraid at all. I felt we didn't want anything wrong. We would all be happy if we could reach our three main objectives: the withdrawal of troops, free elections and free religious education. These were the most important, at least for me. I considered it wouldn't have been a bad business either for the Russians

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to leave Hungary. According to the Peace Treaty, they were allowed to stay there for six years. It was over a long time ago, and if they would have withdrawn during those days, it wouldn't have been a bad business for them, especially from the propagandist point of view. We really believed in a possible success. The women were perhaps even more enthusiastic than the men. I saw people of every age bracket from 12 to 60 without any class distinction. Everybody simply wanted to be free. Only the Communists didn't take part in the demonstrations.

"On the 25th, the Undersecretary I mentioned before stood in front of his door and nailed his door and his windows. I asked him what on earth he was doing. He said he didn't want to let the mob into his apartment.

"When I arrived at the Stalin statue with the crowd, the two legs of the statue were already sawn off and a huge bulldozer was pulling the statue toward the Great Boulevard. The people stood around the statue and wanted to break pieces from it for souvenirs. When we reached the corner of the Great Boulevard, suddenly we got a very heavy machine-gun fire. Nobody ran away but we all tried to hide ourselves. All the people felt that it was now or never. The Russians had already been notified and they arrived in Budapest from all directions -- from Győr, Esztergom and Rakos, to help the AVH in their fight against the revolutionaries. In every tank they had one Russian and one AVH man because the AVH was afraid the Russians might surrender. If I want to be objective, I really have to say that the Russians were all confused. They didn't know where they were. Some of them thought that the Danube was the Suez Canal and they were much less sadistic and inhuman than the AVH members. It was not the

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Russian people's fault; what they did was really the fault of their leaders. Instead of ceasing, more and more people gathered. They took refuge under the arcade of buildings, in the little shacks for the street-car watchmen, and on different floors of the buildings surrounding the corner. The AVH members shot from the second floor of the Szabad Nep building. A horrible fight started there. The statue, lying across the street from the Szabad Nep building, was empty inside, and two little children ran into it and took refuge there. As I heard later on, they couldn't leave the statue for a day. I stayed there until 3 o'clock in the morning. There was a tremendous slaughter until about the next noon, as I heard. All kinds of people died there in great numbers, revolutionaries as well as AVH members and Russians. From the students there I heard that at the same time ~~the~~ different groups of students went to the different parts of the city to remove the Russian statues and memorials. Another group wanted to approach the Russian Embassy because they wanted to present their memorandum asking for the abolition of the Russian language from the schools. However, they couldn't reach the building because from far away the Russians fired on them. Finally I left the place and went to pick up the wounded boy. I took him up and went to talk to the Director of the University. He was a great Communist and explained to me that he couldn't take the boy into the school because he had received an order not to deal with anybody who took part in the fightings. I placed the boy in my apartment and started to make calls for a place where I could leave him safely. Finally, I found a family across the street whose boy was also wounded. We put the two boys in the same room and I left them. Later on I heard that the Director of the University to whom I had spoken closed up

the building with 500 students inside and prohibited anybody to leave the building for 2 days. Of course the people didn't care too much and they escaped through the windows and back doors and many of them hid in my apartment for a while.

"I knew Janos Szabo, who became the greatest hero of the revolution under the name of "Szabo Bacsi" which means "Uncle Szabo" in English. I had to rebuild my apartment and I needed carriers for the building material. Uncle Szabo was a teamster. He drove a truck for a contractor company. I asked him once when I saw him driving his truck if he could help me to find somebody who would deliver my material, and from this time ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ we talked almost every day. He mentioned to me before, talking about the situation in Hungary, that if ever anything happened in Hungary he would grab his old gun again. He was an old soldier.

"When I arrived home after attending to the wounded boy, I found Uncle Szabo already waiting for me. He said he felt there had to be an ammunition dump somewhere in the fortress. Meditating about the possibilities, it suddenly occurred to me that about three years ago by chance I had been walking in the fortress and opened an abandoned door in a ruined wall part which was the end of a building plantation. This was close to the old king's palace. This whole place looked abandoned. I got into a dark foyer and suddenly two soldiers came, captured me, and questioned me for hours about what I wanted there. I learned this way that they had something to hide there. I told Uncle Szabo about it and we went to that door right away. I mention it here in connection with this because later on we found a few AVH secret telephone and radio centers, one, the biggest one, was just two houses from my home and for years I had never imagined what was hidden under the ruins of this old, never rebuilt house.

"We found the door very easily and in the

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first foyer which I knew already, we found two guards, two soldiers. Uncle Szabo said that we came from the revolutionists' side. They knew Uncle Szabo personally anyway and they gave their weapons to him right away. However, they couldn't give us any more information. We could very well understand that. "If the situation changed," they said "we would be hanged for spying." Uncle Szabo sent me to the University to fetch four students and bring them back. In the meantime, he spoke about something to the soldiers, but I never found out what it was. On my way back with the students a pharmacy manager caught me on the street and drew my attention to the fact that he had seen a lot of soldiers who were going to be transported that afternoon over to the Gellert hill from the fortress, and it was very likely that these soldiers would attack the fortress. That part where we found the two soldiers was especially undefendable from the Gellert hill side. We had to plan carefully. We had only two small food shops in the fortress. Since World War II the population of this place has dropped very much and only a few people lived up there besides the official buildings. However, nobody had any food supply. Uncle Szabo told me to go and get some food. It was easy to say, but hard to do. Then suddenly something occurred to me. I remembered the Red book I had found on the stairway the day before. I knew that the owner of this book was a very influential man. I called a friend of mine and we went to the home of this man together.

"We found him at home and my friend, who had never seen our host before, took the Red book out of his pocket quickly and said "Comrade, I am a member of the Communist Party. Here is my identification." He then put the book back in his pocket quickly and continued, slowly pulling the book out again, "But you, Comrade, lost your

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identification on the street. You can get it back if you acquire food for us." The man was rather embarrassed but still he said it was very difficult and started to discuss the difficulties from every side. Then my friend forced him to come with us with a revolver. We took him to the main Kozert store. We had a short conversation there with the manager of the state store and gathered all kinds of food, asking him to send it up to us at the fortress. We told the manager that our friend would take care of the financial part of the business. To our great surprise he reached into his pocket and took out 4,000 forints in cash and paid our food bill. We asked him where he stole the money. He tried to explain that this was his company's money that he was supposed to give to the central office that very day. However, I knew that he was a crooked man and as a Communist in a high position was able to engage in all kinds of illegal pursuits. We didn't give him back his book anyway and we let him go. Later on I heard that he had appropriated about a half million ~~forints~~forints.

"I went back to Uncle Szabo and got a new assignment from him. He told me that they needed the definite plans of the different kinds of ammunition storages and he made me the chief of ammunition discovery group. I went out and started to idle around in the fortress. I found all the official offices abandoned, the windows opened. The people were mostly out or ~~didn't~~ didn't come in to work at all. In the State Planning Institution I found a very low window. I climbed in and stole some papers from the table. They included some building plans and gave us some clues. I started my search and found a 4-year old gypsy boy on the street. I started to talk to him about the fighting and weapons and

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the boy told me that he knew about an ammunition magazine. He led me to the brink of the Planning Institution where we found a military depot filled with fur coats and ammunition. I ran back and we distributed those warm coats among the students who mostly didn't have any warm clothing. We found huge quantities of gasoline there, hand grenades, grenades and machine guns. This was the first time I tried to fire with a machine gun. I thought I would die of fear. It was about 9 o'clock in the evening when I found these things and it took us all night to distribute these things.

"Early on the morning of the 25th we went out to collect material for barricades with the students and the inhabitants of the fortress. We wanted to block up the Peci Kapu, which was the main road up to the fortress. We also collected empty bottles for Molotov cocktails. It was three-fourths gasoline; we placed a piece of rag inside the bottle, put a glass stopper in it and pulled the end of the rag through it in a hole. Before we used it we lighted up the end of the rag which had already soaked up the gasoline and threw it on the tanks. We also filled some bottles with nitroglycerin. This was very difficult work. We had to be careful not to shake the bottle or clash the two bottles together. Otherwise they would have blown up. This was used later on only by Uncle Szabo. It was very dangerous to use it.

"In the meantime we heard over the radio that the government asked the help of the Russian troops against the revolutionists. We gathered some boys and went to demonstrate with them to the Parliament. There was already a big crowd there. As the demonstration went on from Alkotmany St. where the chief Party building was, a new demonstrating group arrived. It was about 1 o'clock in the afternoon. We saw

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Russian troops approaching the Square. They came slowly towards us and we saw that they reached out their hands and invited the people to step onto the tanks. More and more people gathered around these tanks. I myself went there and wanted to step on a tank, but another person who had a flag with him pushed me away and he stepped on it instead. These tanks collected 1000 to 1500 people around them this way. When they reached the Parliament the crowd stopped. The tanks waited for a while as all the people joined the crowd and then from the first floor of the Ministry of Agriculture, which was across from the Parliament on the other side of the Square, AVH men started to give very heavy fire on the people. Just as if they had been waiting for that signal, the Russian tanks started to fire also. Then we saw there were AVH men inside the Russian tanks. In no more than 10 minutes 600 dead lay on the ground-- babies, women, men and youngsters, all mixed up. I myself wanted to run up to the Parliament and hide myself behind a pillar. However, the shooting was so heavy that I couldn't reach the top of the stairs. I had to ly down on one stair and press myself strongly against the back of the stair. Later on people told me that I was white as a sheet, so I have to tell you I really didn't feel too fine. In the meantime the tanks turned and surrounded the whole Parliament building. Nobody could get in or come out. This was the first time since the demonstrations started that I could see the people didn't care about each other. The whole scene was a horror, but nobody cared too much about anybody else. Those who stayed alive left the Square staggering.

"I have to tell you hear that instead of asking that Imre Nagy take over the government, the people didn't believe in him in general. First of all he had some persons in his government



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who were Russian citizens, such as Munich and Kadar, everybody was suspicious. When the first number of the Szabad Nép was printed and published, I remember well that it was distributed by armed policemen. I asked the policemen who gave me the first number of the newspaper, which included one page but a list of the new government, why they were fully armed and why they had to distribute the newspaper. He said, waving his hand, "You know the people are very upset. We are afraid to distribute this paper." I believe that Imre Nagy was full of good will and he wanted to remedy his past. But his time was too short and for us the 12 years were too long. Everybody wanted everything at once. Every hour hundreds of delegates went to Imre Nagy's office asking him for all kinds of things. But we knew in the meantime that, for instance, after 1953, after he was dismissed, he wasn't imprisoned but taken by the Russians some place nearby -- Pecs. He was favored by the Russians.

"About Kadar we heard that he went to Godollo first, and then to Roumania and Czechoslovakia. Then at the end, before he took over the government, he was again at Godollo.

"The results of Imre Nagy's return were all right. We could put out the cockades, we could remove all the Russian memorials, the churches rang ~~their~~ their bells again at 12 o'clock every day, the Russian language was abolished in the schools, free religious education was established, and stopped the Kadar system in the schools. However, in the meantime they made a few minor mistakes. For instance, they broadcast over the radio the promise that from that time on they would broadcast only the truth. This was again a bluff to admit that they had lied for 12 years. But when I stayed with my own thought, somehow I had the feeling that maybe this whole thing was

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to select the real Hungarians who were really in opposition, and the Communists wanted to annihilate this part of the population. I couldn't get over how on earth they could allow those demonstrations at the beginning. This whole revolution could have been avoided if they didn't make the Rákúsi burial and if they hadn't introduced the reforms which relieved the people. They had to know that these reforms would have some consequences. Either they shouldn't have given this little more freedom to the people or they should have withdrawn the Russians ~~xxxxxx~~ once. They were there long enough. I couldn't really see any logic in the events. On this day, the 25th of October, the fighting went on on a large scale between the AVH members and the Freedom Fighters. The army already joined the revolutionists. Only those soldiers didn't who were caught some place between AVH troops.

"Uncle Szabos wanted me to go to the AVH building at Maros St. I had to find out whether there were AVH members closed into that building. I went there and idled around the building. Suddenly I saw a guard there who wanted me to identify myself and asked what I wanted. I said I was looking for the hospital, which I knew was 2 buildings away. He came out and showed me the right building but this was enough for me to see that there were still AVH people in the building. They were barricaded all around. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

"In the meantime Uncle Szabo could get hold of a secret AVH radio station and when I came back with the news he made an artificial alert to those AVH people in Maros St. He ordered them to move over right away to another AVH building on the Ulloi Route, which was on the Pest side. We went down to Szel Kalman Square to watch what was going to happen to these AVH people. Pretty soon we saw them loaded on trucks passing through Szel Kalman Square, where some of them got involved with the heavy fighting with the revolutionists. They all

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were regular police uniform and nobody would have recognized them if they didn't start shooting at the revolutionists. Later on these AVH troops gathered at the Ulloi Route had to surrender to the revolutionists who surrounded them. Uncle Szabo was a real military leader. All his commands were dictated by his natural instinct. He always knew what to do and when to do it, and had a more logical brain for commanding than any military leader in history. He was an excellent human being too. For instance, he gave us the strict order that nobody was ever allowed to shoot any prisoner, AVH members or Russian soldiers. They had to be put in prison and tried later on because every individual had to have the opportunity to defend himself, and among a hundred criminals it is always possible to find one innocent man.

"In these days the fortress was always under heavy gunfire from the Gellert hill. These cannon shots ruined the Archives, which was a wonderful work of art, a beautiful building. Therefore our troops were forced down to Szal Kalman Square.

"My husband went to Soroksar, which was about 25 miles south of Budapest, because he heard that his men were still working on some bridge constructions and he wanted to stop there. Therefore I was always on the streets all alone and he didn't even find me when he returned. I did not sleep in my bed for about a week, and for 3 weeks I almost didn't change my dress.

"During the 3 weeks of heavy fighting, students, soldiers, old and young fought all together. We had a slogan: "Freedom or Death." From this slogan, on about the 5th day of the fighting, we got the name of "Freedom Fighters." Before the revolution everybody was so apathetic and hopeless that now during this time we really didn't feel that we had much to lose. Somehow, everybody became brave, even the biggest cowards. I strongly believe that even now in

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Hungary if someone just lit a spark everybody would be ready to fight and prefer to die rather than give up. I thought that the revolution would end in victory. We were courageous and if we had received weapons we could have taken care of our problems. But this way we knew that our energy was limited. When I remember today how we went from the Széll Kálmán Square to the railway station and pulled out the Pullman cars and pushed over the force of women and children for barricades. There was no such thing as "impossible" for us. I myself was everything ~~during~~ during those days. I was a messenger. I monitored the foreign broadcasts and all the other radio stations which came from the different liberated groups and revolutionary groups, and went everywhere that I felt I could help. I was also in charge of food. Lining up for food once on the Linzi stairs, we were shot at by some Russian tanks which passed us. This was my first wounding in my legs. I went back to our shelter on my own legs and got first aid from a doctor, but in the evening I was already out. I felt that after I started there was just no way out. We had to win and I had to be with them. I drove myself and I couldn't stop anymore. However, because of my legs I was sentenced by Uncle Szabo for 3 days of cake-baking and I made about 8000 of such little cakes, which we gave to the ~~fighters~~ fighters.

"In the meantime our ammunition grew less and less. It was natural. We wasted very much of it. We misused it. Most of the fighters were children or women like myself, and we didn't know how to use those weapons. We had to try quite a few times before we knew how to shoot. Therefore we had to find out ways and means to defend ourselves without bullets. At night, on the 1st of November, Uncle Szabo sent us up to the Becsi Kapu Square to strengthen the barricades and to defend the main road. We took soft soap with us and smeared the road all over with it. It was very effective

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against the Russian tanks. On this slippery surface the tanks were not able to go forward. They stood in one place and just rolled and rolled around without moving. In the meantime the tanks made such a lather that we really had to laugh. Finally the Russians had to get out of their tanks and scrub up the road in order to be able to move. We also put down some empty, white-painted milk bottles about 2 yards from each other. The Russians just simply didn't know what they were and they were afraid to cross the road. We worked there together with my husband. I forgot to mention before that around the 26th or 27th I passed the American Embassy on my way and saw that the Russian tanks were so close to the building that the barrels of the cannons were not further than about 12 inches from the windows. On the 4th of November the Embassy was surrounded so strongly by a league of Russian tanks that I think nobody could even breathe in the building.

"On the 2nd of November we were short of food and I was sent out with some students to buy or to look for bread. Going on Zichy Jenő Street we saw a bakery. It was closed. We went in with the boys through the building looking for a back door. We found it. It was open and we went in. We called out loud but nobody answered. The boys went to the back of the shop and then suddenly we ~~were~~ all grew stiff. It was a crematorium exactly the same as the places for the incineration of the dead. We went to the superintendent asking what he knew about that place. He had never been in it before because it was an office of the AVH and they rebuilt the place recently. At that time Uncle Szabo had already heard over the radio from Győr that the revolutionists found a vitriolic acid bath and also a crematorium of the AVH under the City Hall. From that time on Uncle Szabo gave us the order never to move around alone, and we were not allowed to go into any building without heavy

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weapons. We might have met some AVH men some place who would have annihilated us without any trace. Here I want to mention another thing.

"On the 3rd of November our boys captured an AVH man at the Tisza Kalman Square, which was the central Party building. Therefore we ran back on the 4th of November to try to get the list of the AVH members from the building. All kinds of people and constructors had made the greatest effort for twelve days to dig under the building because a steady, dull noise could be heard continuously from under the ground. People pretty soon realized that there had to be some prisoners locked in some place who couldn't come out and they tried to give signs. They did their best to dig down and find those people without any result. However on the 4th of November a group of engineers (my husband also helped them) found a stairway in the back of the old city theater, and through that stairway, which was breaking up, they could find the way into this underground fortress. They found there a fantastic room which had removable floors and, by just pushing buttons, the floor opened up and the person who stood in the room fell automatically into a huge man-grinder which ground up the person alive. His remains would fall into a narrow channel ~~which~~ which was washed down continuously with water and led directly into the chief channel of the city. They also found 70 people there, prisoners already dead, maybe from the tortures and excitement. Those were the people who made the noise before. In another wing of this underground building they found about 15 or 20 AVH members alive. They had food supplies with them. They were taken by the revolutionists.

The sadism of the people during the revolution was about 50-50. Whenever an AVH member was killed everybody could be sure that some revolutionists or some innocent ~~xxxxxxx~~

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people had been murdered before. But to shoot the AVH people was really merciful when I think of the torture and sadism they inflicted upon the people all those years.

"On the 3rd of November we heard over the English broadcasts that at Zahony new Russian troops entered the country. At the same time our radio station assured the population that these troops entered the country to assure the peaceful withdrawal of the Russian troops. We heard also over the radio, our own radio, the free radio of Dunapentele, that the Russians got some strengthening force in Dunafoldvar. Uncle Szabo called General Malter and asked him what that all meant. However, Malter told him to calm down and assured him that everything was all right. Uncle Szabo insisted on having an assurance from the Russians that they wouldn't attack us but Malter answered quite indignantly that it was a very natural move that the Russians made, that they had to look after their own safety and be sure that the Hungarian population wouldn't attack them. Uncle Szabo asked him why the Russians came with heavy panzers and tanks. Malter said that the new modern armies don't walk around anymore. They use this heavy machinery. "They cannot come with bicycles" he said.

However, Uncle Szabo couldn't quiet down. We had a meeting at which we agreed that we wouldn't sleep that night. Uncle Szabo divided us into groups. He had about 2000 or 2200 people with him and he sent us out to defend different important buildings. These were the Archives, the Military Historical Museum, the Fortress Planning Office, the church, ~~Kindergarten~~ "Indsenty's" home, and so on. We didn't agree with Uncle Szabo. We told him he started a war after the war was already finished. However, I myself had a heavy feeling in my heart too. Around

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3 o'clock in the morning I went over to the Military Hospital for medicine. On my way up I heard some cannons from very far away. At the same time Dunasentele, Dunafoldvar, Gyor signaled on our radio receivers that they had some trouble and they had to remove their stations. We didn't get any answer anymore from those stations and in general the broadcasts stopped. It was about 4:30 and the Hungarian radio program gave a broadcast with advice to mothers. Then the program was suddenly stopped and they started to play the Szozat, which was our second national anthemxxxxxxat 4:45. After that Imre Nagy announced that General Maister should return from the negotiations where he went at 10:00 o'clock the previous evening. He announced that the government was at his place and he told the Hungarian population that the Russians attacked Budapest. Then he denounced the Warsaw Pact, sent his message to Secretary Hammersjold and to President Eisenhower for help. After the Writer's Association said goodbye in five languages to the world and promised that the writers wouldn't take pen in hand and write until they could write the truth again. Then the Hungarian News Agency sent a message to the world for help and the radio ~~xxxx~~finished its broadcast with the SOS sign of Imre Nagy.

"On the 3rd of November 140 students from all groups went down to the bridge to defend the fortress from that side. On the 4th of November around noon I heard over the ~~xxxx~~radio that this group was asked to surrender and put out the white flag. I ran to the part of the fortress from where I could look down on the bridge and saw that already some fighting was going on in the middle of the bridge. I ran down the stairs and met a boy, the only one who could escape out of the 140, but he himself was badly wounded and he told me that it made no sense to go down because everybody else was dead.



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The boys wanted to cross the bridge and in the meantime, from the other side of the Danube, the AVH groups started to approach the revolutionists. Our group put out a white flag but the AVH didn't care. They started to kill the boys and murdered all of them. Before I escaped my last telephone call was to find out how this boy felt.

"In the fortress there followed mad fighting. In the meantime the first Russians arrived and went from building to building looking for weapons. They went into a worker's home ~~before the revolution~~ where some boys who couldn't get home to the country ~~before the revolution~~ started moved in and lived during the revolution. The Russians singled out those boys and some other young ones and said they had weapons. Later on I heard that 20 of these boys were murdered, but I couldn't check on that event to find out if it was true or not. What I definitely know is that they went into the Technical University and searched all over the building, took many youngsters, charged them with hiding weapons, and shot two of them -- Attila Benyi, who was an instructor at the Air Force and Gyula Horvath, who was a doctor. The weapons of these boys were just by chance in my apartment, so the Russians couldn't charge them with hiding weapons. The Russians rumbled all over the fortress and ruined everything they could. They put out or destroyed all the medicine we had in the hospital. They also came to my house and I was terribly frightened because in the basement I had many weapons. When my maid saw them approaching, we put a sheet in gasoline and lit it up. When they entered the courtyard of the house we threw the burning sheet out the window. The Russians were shocked from that side and

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ran inside. In the meantime, we ran downstairs and when they asked what the fire in the courtyard was, we said we didn't know anything and we were terribly frightened ourselves.

"All the beautiful old public buildings were ruined by the Russians. They also ran into the Archive building just when we wanted to put the old folios and tremendously valuable documents and papers in the basement. It was wet down there, and we hoped the papers wouldn't burn there. In the meantime the Russians surrounded the building and found us there. They started to identify the people in the next room, and when I heard that, I climbed out of the window which had a very wide window panel because I was afraid. At that time everybody knew me already and the people knew about my activities. Before I could move completely out of sight a Russian entered the room and saw my leg in the window. He shot me through the window in the leg. But he didn't come after me. I saw how the Russians dragged away the people there, together with a 14-year old girl who was deported and never came back. The Russians didn't understand what the people wanted and what they were doing in that building. When they asked the people next to us what they wanted there, they said that it was a museum and they wanted to save the treasures. The Russians said laughing that if they wanted to see a museum they should go to Moscow. Then the Russian soldiers added "Anyway, the Hungarians won't exist for very long. X Hungary belongs to Russia and the Hungarians will be sent to Russia to the far ~~away~~ territories and Russians will come here who won't make such revolutions."

"The deportations started from our street around the 12th of November. In

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the meantime we heard that from all over the city people were rounded up by the Russians and that at the Western railway stations there were wagons filled with people ready for deportation.

"Uncle Szabo was still active, now in saving the lives of those people who were imprisoned or about to be sent to Russia. He went to the Court in Fo. St. and succeeded in having 25 of our students released, but we were sure that there was still many more in those prisons. I heard also that Uncle Szabo went to the Western railway station once and with some maneuver he succeeded in opening some wagons and released quite a few deportees who ran away. As you know, he was hanged by the ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Communists in January. By the way, I received letters from my relatives in Hungary which informed me that the ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Communists were sharpening a few sticks to point to me too. They would be very happy to catch me.

"The Russians didn't allow us to bury our boys. They lay all over the streets. ~~XXXX~~ They said that the revolutionists should just remain there and the rats should eat them up. We stold a few bodies of our close friends and buried them in our gardens.

"Around the 15th I got a few telephone calls from my colleagues of my husband telling me that I really should do something because my name was beginning to be well known. Everybody was talking about "Aunt Mrika from Orszagas St., Uncle Szabo's only fighter.

"In the meantime my husband was told by his Company that he sabotaged their construction works. He answered that he was sure he knew what they meant, but he was sure the Company would need him more than he would need the Company. He took part in the construction of all the new bridges, and built about fifty bridges during the

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last twenty years.

"Within a few days, during the daytime when my husband wasn't at home, two men came to us from the political police. They said they didn't want anything in particular, they only wanted to talk to him. They left and I called my husband, asking him not to come home. He didn't come home for a few days and I saw AVH men again coming to the superintendent, inquiring about my husband's whereabouts. The second day he came home for a few hours, changed his clothes, took all his papers, and told me to wait for him because he definitely would come back to me. We both had a very bad feeling when we parted. About an hour passed when I received a mysterious telephone call from a man who didn't tell his name. However, I recognized his voice. He was one of my husband's colleague at the Company. He told me that I should pack right away and leave the house because the AVH was coming to pick up my husband. I contacted my husband with much difficulty and we made an appointment to meet at 6:00 o'clock at the Western railway station. A truck driver, an old acquaintance of ours, promised to take us to the border.

"In the course of our escape we ran into the AVH at Komarom. They asked all the people to get off the truck and started to beat us with gunstocks. We were all in blood. I still have the mark on my face and on my arms. There were about 15 AVH men who stood in a ring and pushed the people from one to the other and every single one of them beat us. When I was facing the AVH building for a few minutes I saw a sign there in huge letters "Officer on Duty - Palfy." Then it occurred to me that this was the name I heard over Radio Free Europe calling the attention of the inhabitants of Komarom to this wild, sadistic beast of a Communist -- Palfy. I lost consciousness and I fell down so much that

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they threw me back on the truck. We were all in a terrible condition, and finally the AVH men let us continue. Of course, they couldn't find out clearly that we wanted to escape. We said we were going to Gyor to our relatives and they said that they would notify the AVH station in Gyor to check on us. However, we got into an extremely heavy thunder storm and when we passed Gyor the rain was so heavy they could hardly see. Therefore the AVH people didn't stop us and maybe didn't see us at all."

B. Regarding the question whether Hungary has gained because of the revolution, respondent says:

"The whole world gained by the Hungarian revolution. It was not a revolution only for the Hungarians.

" 's ideology was unveiled and the people of the world disillusioned in Communism.

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IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. Regarding what respondent thought the West would do about the revolution, respondent said:

"I definitely expected the West to help. We were aware that Hungary was only a ~~skiz~~ step on the scale for the Russians towards occupying the whole world. The heaven for them where they want to come is America."

B. "We based our expectations first on the American broadcasts. We heard different encouragements over the radio. I remember three days before the Presidential election I listened to a broadcast which said that the Americans hoped Eisenhower would remain the President of the U.S. He had great chances. They said he was a great friend of the Hungarians and right after his inauguration he would be in a position to give all the help we had asked for. After the people listened to such a broadcast they were sure of an armed intervention. The second thing that we believed in was that America itself was the symbol of freedom."

C. "Between October 23 and November 22, 1956 I spoke several times to foreigners. I spoke with American TV men who came to make a TV show about 'Indszenty'. We talked German. They asked me for information but I said I went through so much that I was just afraid to give any information. The war was still going on, and therefore I wasn't able to speak."

"I also spoke to Italian newspaper men. I speak Italian very well. They also asked for information, even more than the Americans. They asked for military information. Of course I couldn't know what sort of people they were and I was even more afraid to give them any sort of information as strangers."

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"I went also with Mrs. Fish, the English Consul's wife, to the Embassy to bring papers for one of the EdschatzEdelsheim girls who were relatives of Horthy. She worked at " the Embassy and needed some identification.

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V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Regarding her family background, respondent says:

"My father was the director of the Engineering and Law Department of the Hydrogen Factory before the war. He earned about 1500 pengo per month, which was a very high salary, and in general we were in a very good financial situation. In 1943 he was drafted and he became a war prisoner in Russia at the end of 1944. He returned in September of 1948, and the first thing he said when he entered Hungary was that he had the dirty Communists to thank for all this war imprisonment. This was overheard by the guard, and he was taken back to Russia until March of 1949. We had a beautiful home at Budafok which was confiscated after his second wife left for the West in 1944.

"My parents were divorced when I was 5 years old and I was with my father from the age of 11. My father always loved my mother but my mother didn't want to hear about him. After 1949, when he returned to Hungary, he was paid 80,000 forints for compensation by the factory and dismissed. He had many troubles with the AVH because of my mother's family, who owned 1200 acres around Godollo and he was always questioned whether he wished to have this land back, and so on. The land was confiscated during the time he was in Russia.

"After six months he was called back by the factory into the Accounting Department with 600 forints salary but because he didn't want to join the Party he was dismissed again. Then they asked him back again and it went on like that. Once he raised his voice at a production meeting and he was put in prison for two months by the AVH. He had a very difficult life after 1945."



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"My mother came from a very wealthy family. She had a great cement factory in Roumania at Des and different houses in different cities. They were all confiscated. In 1947 she escaped to Belgium and came to the U.S. in 1951. I myself had quite a lot of real estate. First of all, the factory and some of her houses were joint property between my mother and me. Besides that I had two cooperative apartments which were confiscated by the Communists who moved in forcefully in my absence. I also had a double apartment house lot at the South railway station which was taken from me in 1946. Step by step, they confiscated everything. Referring to my social background, I was unreliable, clerical, reactionary and a class enemy. Beside that they said I had too much education and spoke too many languages, which made me a spy suspect.

"My husband was an engineer in the Ganz shipyard before 1945 and had about the same salary as my father at that time. After 1945, during the big inflation, his allowance was paid in one amount in the inflation pengos and he was out in pension. After he was dismissed he became an engineer in a private enterprise but the constructor couldn't get too much work because he was a "maszek. In 1947 the Bridge Constructing Department of the Ministry of Post and Transportation called him in and gave him the job where he stayed until we escaped. In 1948 he received 4000 forints per week. Then a decree brought in new rules for the salary categories and his salary was cut from one day to another to 840 forints per month. He asked for his release. For that the Ministry raised his salary to 1000 forints per month and later on to 1250 forints, which he got until 1956.

"My mother had her high school diploma and my father graduated from the Military Academy and then studied for a Bachelor of Law degree."

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B. Regarding the social classes, respondent said:

"Today the middle class doesn't exist anymore. It was deported. Those people who were the lowest in our society before, lower than the workers, I may say the society of loafers, became the middle class.

"The Communist Party gave ~~rise~~ rise to a strange type of man which formed another class in the new society, what we called "the cocktail society." It included, of Party members, half-cultured people, opportunists, ideal Communists, and so on. In Hungary the workers worked for the cocktail society to enable them to travel and enjoy life.

"The Communists wanted to break up the old workers' class but the revolution proved that they couldn't succeed, no matter how hard they tried.

"Those peasants who still stayed within the peasant class ranks had the most inhuman circumstances.

"If you ask me about my own class, I can only put myself among the class enemies as the Communists did.

"According to my opinion the middle class was hardest hit by Communism because it was very little that the middle class could gather during a lifetime and it was all taken away by the Communists. The aristocrats still had some wealth abroad. They could escape and continue their lives more or less in foreign countries.

"There was a lack of understanding and a continuous hostility between the Communist class and the other classes. This attitude showed an increasing tendency as more Kadar got into the higher classes and the workers and the peasants sank lower. The middle class was absolutely nowhere. Sometimes at the building constructions a few members

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could be seen carrying water. In the restaurants there were only young people, no middle aged people. They drew back absolutely. I guess the real reason for this hostility was that, for instance, in a village near Pecs I worked for a few weeks and I saw that the brigade leader on a state farm of 800 acres was a loafer who got up at 11 o'clock in the morning and was hated by everybody as a drunkard. The state farm produced almost nothing. In another village the president of the council was the most stupid woman in the whole village. She could do nothing but recite the Stalinist-Leninist dogmas. Of course all the other peasants disliked her.

"As far as the workers are concerned, the young workers went to the technical school and after they finished school they were put into the best jobs, pushing down the good old experts."

C. "In Communist Hungary, the most important thing for an individual to get ahead was a political background based on ~~his~~ class origin, plus a flexible character -- the ability to turn fast in new directions. Talent counted only in the most extreme cases.

"For instance, I took part in the opening of a new bridge at Kunszentmarton. The president had to ~~deliver~~ deliver a speech. He started by saying we couldn't expect a beautiful speech from him because he had had only 4 public school grades and he had no education. After he finished his speech he forgot to cut the ribbon to open the bridge, giving it over to the public. He turned away and started to leave. My husband ran after him and brought him back, and asked him to open the bridge. He came back, slightly embarrassed, and said "Didn't I tell you that the 4 public school stands out of a person"? This man was honest at least. The rest were just the same without his honesty.

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"At a picnic of the Bridge Constructing Company, the Party Secretary stood up and said the following: 'Look, comrades, I was a loafer all my life. I have never worked, but once, when I was in a desperate financial situation, I stole a hat. I sold the hat because I was afraid to take it home because my wife was better than I was; she wasn't such a gangster. I went into the bar and with the price of the hat won 600 pengos playing cards. Then I went into a shop the next day and bought a hat for myself. From that day on everybody called me "Minister." The second day I went and bought new furniture and new clothes and from that time on I was honored by everyone. You should remember that story and follow my example.' Then my husband told him that maybe it was necessary, too, to learn something once in a while, he answered laughing, 'You, sir, may know how much is 1 by 1, but you don't know how to steal a hat.'"

"Once I needed a license for my apartment and I had to go to the Ministry of Housing and Construction. I had to talk to the Minister himself. His name was Szijarto. I lost my temper and was rather fresh with him. He asked me whether I knew who I was talking to. I said that of course I was talking to a Communist minister. When he asked what I meant by Communist minister I said 'A velvet chair without knowledge.' He started to laugh and told me that nobody ever talked to him with such a big and used the most excommon expression, and gave me the license. This style was common and normal in all the offices and the highest ministerial places.

D. Regarding the groups which get more out of the Communist society than they deserve to get, respondent said:

"The first group is the newly produced Kaders who are supposed to be the foundation of the new Communist society. They are selected from among the cheapest type of men.

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The second group is the officers of the army. Until lately, for instance, the army officers didn't have to have a high school degree. Lately the government made it in connection with this new decree, and half the officers left the army. The third group is the AVH members. I saw it myself, for instance, in the ~~nitro~~nitro-chemical plantation of Almasfuzito. This company had a beautiful dining room which had two long rows of tables next to each other. One table was for the AVH members and the other was for the workers of the factory. Because it handled war materials, this plantation was under the special guard of the AVH. Those people usually didn't do anything all day long but hang around and chat. The workers, in the meantime, had one of the most dangerous and difficult jobs of handling nitroglycerin. The AVH members got a salary of 6000 forints per month. For breakfast they had a choice of coffee, cocoa, tea, ~~and~~butter, jelly, bacon, eggs and honey. At the other table the workers got a ready-made portion of caffeine-free coffee and a piece of bread."

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## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Concerning how the children are brought up under Communism, respondent said:

"Communism turned the children against their parents. A child had to tell at school what his parents said to each other at home. My brother's children argued with their parents all the time. For instance, they said once that the teacher told them that they shouldn't say "I kiss your hand" to their mothers, which was a regular greeting in Hungary, because they do not have to be thankful to their mothers for giving them birth, and this greeting was the expression of servilism.

"I was the witness of a very sad story. A Communist couple in our street had an 8 or 9 year old girl. She was a wild, really bad child. One day she played on the street. A crippled man in a carriage came along. She stared at the man and I told her not to look at him because she would dream about the man, who looked terrible. She answered me in a fresh manner that she would be able to sleep even if she saw a man cut into pieces. In a few minutes I saw her father approaching us, and when the crippled man saw the father he started to talk to him very excitedly. I didn't hear what it was all about. When we came near we heard that the crippled man charged her father with being a Nazi and having done something to him during the war. The girl heard the whole conversation. A few weeks after that I heard that the father was in prison, and later on he was executed because the girl was looking and searching for his papers for days in the ~~xxx~~ apartment whenever she was left alone. Finally she found some document and announced to the police that her father was an SS man. I talked to the mother later on and she said the girl was right. This is what a Communist family looks like.

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"Our family belongs to the second group which grew closer together under Communism. Fear usually brings people together, and I suppose that the second type is the most usual type of family.

"The superintendent used to check the garbage for what people ate. I had to burn the chicken bones if we ate chicken once in a while, because it was considered a luxury.

"The house warden checked on our furniture and on the apartment on the whole and every two months the sanitary commissar came in to check whether our linen and dresses were all right according to the sanitary code, and how our food was kept. Of course it was nothing but checking up on our supplies. The block warden was in charge of putting together the references of the three others. At the block warden meetings people discussed who bought what during the last month or so and how could this or that tenant do whatever he had done. Whenever they found something irregular they announced it at the Party.

"Concerning how children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent said:

"Those of the parents who were more courageous tried to discipline their children. The others, however, just simply were afraid of them. For instance, a 10-year-old girl ran to the police and asked for the protection of her life because her mother was a Fascist.

"The AVH men and the police had a strict order that they had to be very polite and soft with the children.

"The old middle class, the serious worker's class and the peasant families could save their family life and bring up their children to a large extent the way it was in the past."

B. Concerning marriage, sex patterns, courtship,

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respondent says:

"They felt that for a girl to have a child was an honor, and for a mother it was a duty.

"There were no more illegal children in Hungary. The marriages were no good. The women worked very hard and came home late at night when they had to line up for food and cook dinner at 11 at night and serve it with a smiling face. Of course, this just simply didn't work.

"There was a moral decay all over Hungary. It started with the Pioneer Movement and spread all over among the youth. Twelve-year old girls drank in the bars and the women drank more than the men, which was very unusual. Before Communism, ordinarily the women didn't touch alcohol.

"Parents had no more connection with the marriages of their children, except in the good, serious families. But this was more the modern trend than the Communist influence.

"In general we can say that Communism dissolved family life.

"There was not an official prostitution in Hungary but it was maybe more widespread than before. The women were mostly the children of workers. They said the work was too difficult for them and it was still less difficult physically to have five friends than to do this hard work.

"The Communist morality was something very different from ours. They thought it was perfectly all right to take off somebody's clothes on the street because it was a natural desire. I saw Russian soldiers with a woman in a park once. The other people looked at them and laughed.



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C. Concerning friendship between Communist and non-Communist people, respondent said the following:

"In general non-Party members had no friendships with anybody who was a functionary in the Communist Party. They only talked to those people in business or for their own interest. There were some other Party members who only paid their membership fee and with these of course the non-Communists had some friendships. Nevertheless, many friendships were broken because one of the friends became a Party member. My husband broke one of his friendships because his friend became a Party functionary. Usually the non-Communist broke it. The Communists wanted to carry the person along with them.

"During the past years people politicized so much in Hungary that everybody talked about politics. For instance, my husband and I never talked about politics before 1945 and always did after. These people wanted to be sure when they met someone that the other one really had the same opinion from the bottom of his heart. Those people who became friends this way were isolated from the rest of the society.

D. "The percentage of juvenile delinquents was not high in Hungary. The juvenile delinquents came from the group of youngsters up to 24 years who had a bad education or a yearning for life. The usually stole or committed some robbery. There were no cases of murder. The youth didn't have any inhibitions because according to Communist teachings God didn't exist. The juvenile delinquents came out of every class, even from the old aristocracy. The Communists punished it very severely and if they were drunk when they committed any crime they got double punishment.

"If they could give a political character to the case, then the Communists exaggerated

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the juvenile delinquency. But if the person was a good Kardar, they covered it up.

Concerning the Jamboe, respondent x said:

"Those youngsters saw the magazine ads and dressed up according to the latest fashion. They usually looked like scare-crows. They mostly came out of the debased middle class. The Jamboes usually had a mixed-up moral life. Many of them became homosexuals."

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VII. RELIGION

A. Regarding religion in Hungary, respondent said:

"Religion plays the biggest role in Hungary. The Roman Catholic religion was hardest hit under Communism because it was a majority.

"Religion would have been a bulwark against Communism if the priests didn't take part in politics. The only way to stop people from going toward Communism is to lead them back to God. It is impossible to believe in two Gods at the same time."

B. "Religion was important for me. I believed in God and I couldn't be frightened going to church but I won't get back my land because of that. Something was necessary for us to keep up our souls.

"I was as religious as my parents. I went to church every Sunday to the church in the fortress, which was rather a dangerous church from the AVH spies point of view."

C. Regarding the function of churches in society, respondent said:

"According to my opinion, the old educational system was exaggerated, but religion should take its proper place in education.

"I guess censorship belongs to the Ministry of Culture. A church should take care of extreme cases only, or if religion is subjected to mockery.

"Regarding the political role of churches, I think that the church should assure the freedom

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of religion but the church should prohibit her priests to deal with politics."

D. About the Jewish minority, respondent said:

"The Jewish religion was expressed the same way as the other religions, especially lately.

"The Jewish people did not have a good opinion of Communism. When they came back from the German concentration camps they were in a very bad condition and, on top of it, everything was taken from them. They entered the Communist Party mostly because, at the beginning, ~~xxxx~~ they wanted to remain free and independent businessmen, and couldn't get any goods without Party membership, ~~xxxxxx~~ They usually had the same treatment as everybody else under Communism. For instance, at my husband's company the night watchman was the former owner of the biggest stationery store in Hungary. When my husband recognized him he helped him to get a low job in an office instead. But even the Communist Jews changed their opinions during the revolution. Ninety-nine per cent of the Jews I spoke with were enthusiastic about the revolution. A Jewish man wanted to give us money for the purposes of the revolution, and he said he never wanted it back. He had a jewelry store. I saw myself a lot of Jewish boys in the demonstrations and fighting. They asked me whether it was sure there wouldn't be any persecution of Jews under the revolution. I told them "Why should there be? Don't you see that we are all together here and nobody ever asks anybody who is who?"

"The Jewish people wanted an independent Hungary very much. Whoever says the contrary is an anti-Semite or a Nazi. They were not afraid of pogroms. However I discovered that

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the Russian soldiers were anti-Semitic. They explained to me once that Hitler and Stalin were the same; they both wanted the same thing."

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## VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. We consider under youth, in Hungary, from about 16 to 28.

B. The youth played the chief role in the revolution. They were fed up with the distress under Communism. They saw the senseless struggle of their parents for survival.

The youth took the lead in the revolution because they are always more hot-blooded. They fought for their future but they were not instigated by anybody.

The older people supported the youth in the revolution and the youth honored the old people in 70 per cent. But in Hungary as well as all over the world the general view started to spread that in natural evolution the old people are not needed anymore.

C. Regarding the educational system in Hungary, respondent said:

"The education in Hungary under Communism was changed over from a professional education to a political education.

"The youth could progress at school only according to their Kadar report. There was no possibility of getting a good degree with a bad class origin.

"The choice of professions was restricted. The state determined how many students should study in different branches.

"The quality of education was high only in mathematics. This was taught on a very high level. Everything else was judged on the scale of politics and had a very low professional value. The teachers or professors were chosen from a political point of view too. They could never deviate from

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the textbooks by one word. In the case of the elementary and high school teachers, it was enough to have eight grades of public school and then one year of professional teachers' college. If somebody had a better political background, he became a high school teacher with this education. If not, he became only an elementary school teacher."

D. Regarding the Communists indoctrination, respondent said:

"Ten per cent of the youth, those who grew up on the street, came under the influence of indoctrination, but all those who came from family circles couldn't be affected.

"The Communists wanted to annihilate our generation above 25 and they put the children under state control from 2 years on and of course in all the schools.

"But the youth never accepted indoctrination. They saw that the science proved a fiasco, and after they studied for years, they couldn't add three figures correctly.

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IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN  
EVERYDAY LIFEA. Regarding the main dissatisfaction  
in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"Everybody was most dissatisfied with the standard of living. There was a slogan in Budapest which said that our standard of living was so high that we walked on it. It was 100% lower than the minimum. No matter how much people worked, they didn't get anywhere. If somebody had money, he couldn't buy anything with it. There was no food, no shoes, no selection of clothing, etc. There was just no such thing as a salary that was enough for a decent life."

B. "Apart from the big political things, what got most on our nerves was the lack of time. The main weapon in the Communists' hands was the division of the population's time. Every minute of everybody was economized."



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## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The Standard of Living

"I could get along financially in Hungary only with the help of my mother from the U.S.

"The food condition was better during the last 6 or 7 months. Otherwise it was horrible. Usually for months we didn't have flour, sugar. We couldn't get more than half a pound of sugar or two pounds of ~~flour~~ flour. There was no meat, no lard, no bacon for the workers. Bacon had been one of their main foods. For 2 eggs we had to line up for 3 or 4 hours."

"Everybody solved the problem of clothing with used clothing. The new clothing had a very bad quality. People were very badly dressed in general in Hungary. Those who received packages from America sent ~~the~~ (sold) the clothing to commission shops. I myself purchased my dresses usually at such stores."

"As far as housing is concerned, after the war the ruined houses hadn't been rebuilt. It was impossible for anyone other than the Communist functionaries to get an apartment. The regime built some Pont houses (model houses). Ninety-nine per cent of these were given to Communist Party members. Many people lived in basement and store spaces for years.

"I considered it a luxury to dress up properly, buy a good book, or go to a concert. A concert ticket cost 25 or 30 forints but with the hairdresser, taxi and everything together, it always went up to over 100 dollars an evening, which was about a person's four-day earnings.

"Our standard of living changed for the worse only from 1945 on. I missed most the theater, books -- inaxwa word, culture. Besides that, I missed being able to sit down

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with our friends and talk freely about our problems. Nothing has been changed for us since the Communists took over. Our standard of living was lowest in 1952-53 and the highest in 1948-49.

"The families of the raised Kaders have never had such a life before. They were much better off than any other people. In the fortress there lived a Communist family, the wife of a village barber who got from the government the former palace of the Csaky family. The woman put a wooden wash tub in the middle of the court and the dirty children played around. The once beautiful garden was ruined, full of weeds. The house was never repaired. She got 3000 forints plus premiums as her salary, and was fetched, together with her children, by the Party automobile all the time.

"I guess what accounted for the Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years was that Hungary stuffed Russia. We produced only for the Russians and nothing remained for our population. If a person wanted to get a pot for a newly born child, he had to get a certificate from the Council House. He could only get it by showing the birth certificate of the child.

XRegarding their income in Hungary during the past ten years, respondent said:

"My husband's salary was 1850 forints. The deductions were the following: we had to pay 84 forints in taxes because we had no children, 186 forints for peace loan, 30 forints for union fees, and about 20 forints for subscription to compulsory magazines.

"At the beginning and around 1950, every company paid premiums to its employees. Then they lessened it to every 3 months and at the end they proved that the company worked

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with , and therefore they stopped paying out premiums. During the revolution my husband got, together with everybody else in the company, 3000 forints in premiums.

"We didn't have any secondary source of income. It was prohibited.

"I worked at the Surface Construction Company as a technician for 920 forints in 1951 from June to October. Deductions were 54 forints because I had no children, 92 forints for peace loan, and about 3 forints union fees. When I worked at the American Embassy from 1952 to 1955, I ~~gained~~ received 900 forints per month. My husband never received a raise. His salary was lessened from 2000 forints to 1850."

C. Regarding the price and quality of goods, respondent said:

"We bought food only at the state stores -- the Kozert. Maszek stores were altogether about 8 to 10 in number in the whole city. For vegetables we went to the state market which was very expensive. The market prices were higher than the Kozert prices by about 100%. The quality of the food at the Kozert was impossible but once in a while, for example, we paid \$1.30 for an egg at the Kozert and \$5.00 at the market. However, the Kozert eggs were almost always not fresh. At the Kozert stores everything could be gotten if the manager was an old acquaintance. The foods which were mostly missing from the market were meat, rice, farina. Sometimes for years we couldn't get those goods. The bread was unbesrable. It was black, usually not baked, and we found shoelaces and such things in it very often. The public food supply was the worst that can be imagined. I once bought, for instance, a small can of goose liver. When I went home I realized there was a French stamp on the box which said "Not taken over because of quality." I went back immediately to the shop and asked

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for the complaint book. Most of the people didn't know French and therefore they couldn't realize that this was an uneatable transport of goose liver that Hungary exported to France but the French sent back because of the quality. I told it to the manager and he said they knew it was bad but if they paid attention to such minor things their nervous systems couldn't stand it. I couldn't listen to such unscrupulous talk and put ~~xxxxx~~everything into the complaint book. That same afternoon the director of the Kozert ran up to my house and asked me to give back the box of goose liver. I refused and said I had to send it out for examination. I got it back later on with the remark that it was unfit to eat.

"In 1954 the prices went up. Pretty soon the government announced some price cuts, just for propaganda, but only the price of a very cheap sort of eating chocolate, some soaps and soap flakes, toothpaste and rolls went down by a few cents.

"The clothing, as I said before, we bought in the second-hand stores, but usually people bought them at state stores. The quality became worse and worse. The ~~xxxxxx~~government didn't dare to raise the prices, therefore they lessened the quality.

"Very often the retail outlets were unable to supply the consumers. In 1952 for 2 months we couldn't get any flour, sugar or lard. For instance, we got half a pound of lard for a week. Usually in the Fall we knew in advance we wouldn't have any supplies because that was the time when everything was delivered to Russia and the goods disappeared from the market.

"To get standard spare parts was sometimes impossible. No motorcycle parts were available. We might get a new part if we brought back the old, but this also happened seldom only. Not even the factories or the companies could get

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spare parts. For instance, my husband had to send down divers to take the wire ropes off the sunken ships because they couldn't get wire rope at all on the market.

"The Black Market started in 1951, in food and later on in woolen materials, for instance. The goods we couldn't get in Hungary were usually smuggled from abroad and the prices were twice as high. I think it was done by individuals. It was not an organized market. It was punished, in the case of food, by 5 to 10 years, but of course it was a good excuse to put innocent people in prison."

B. About her working day, respondent said:

"As a draftsman I worked either at the plant or I had to travel. Sometimes I traveled 300 miles a week with the motorcycle. I had to collect the Building Journals and check on the labor schedule. If I worked at the plant I got up at 4 o'clock in the morning, my bus started at 5:45 and I reached my working place at 6:15 with a short walk at Dunapentele. The work didn't start until 7 o'clock but I had no other bus contact. From 12 o'clock to 12:30 we had lunchtime. The canteen of the plant was dangerous. Very often food poisoning occurred. Therefore, I preferred to take my own sandwich, which was generally the same that the heavy workers took with them -- bread with lard, if lard was available. We worked until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, but if we didn't finish we had to stay until 10 or 12 at night without paid overtime. Only if a person was in a certain salary category would he be paid ~~xxx~~overtime. I regularly slept six hours daily, generally got home at 7 or 7:30 at night. Then I went shopping. Some Kozert shops were open until 9 o'clock, but then I had to go to a certain place. On such a day we were free at 1:00 A.M.

"They kept me at this job because they tolerated my experience."

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"My colleagues were very pleasant but worked to death. Our supervisors were not of the first degree. I was usually very fresh with them, but somehow they could stand it. Our chief Building Manager was the main figure at our place. He was a former mason's assistant, without any technical knowledge. Sandor, Minister of Building and Construction, was down at the plant every second day. He could see that the chief Building Manager was his tool, his puppet."

"I liked my work very much."

"Twenty per cent of my colleagues were experts, the rest were amateurs full of good will. I was in charge of the placement of personnel. The Party would tell me that so and so was coming and I had to find such and such a place for him. Many of these people were informers whom the Party wanted to pay for their services. The average was 5 out of 10 people were informers."

"My supervisors never praised me but if I left my desk open it was reason enough to be fired immediately. If anybody misplaced one of the drawings I was in charge of I was fined 200 forints."

Regarding the Vacation Plan, respondent said:

"The Vacation Plan was according to Party membership, Stahanovists' first. In a company where 5000 employees worked, about ten got the Plan. I don't know much about the other programs because I never used them."

E. Regarding agriculture in Hungary, respondent said:

"The standard of living was better in the country, especially from the point of view of food. But politically, it was very narrow. There was no possibility of hiding if somebody was in danger."

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Regarding the farmers' Cooperatives, respondent said:

"When I thought about the farmers' cooperatives at first, my idea was that our peasants were no good for collective work. They are too individualistic. And this is what actually happened.

"In the farmers' cooperatives the loss was tremendous. For instance, I was in Pincehely, Tolna County, in a farmers' cooperative. The agricultural machines lay all over, rusted, because they were Russian machines and the Hungarians didn't know how to use them and they didn't even want to work them. I saw a harvest with a combine. The stubble it left behind was half a yard high, and the machine skipped large patches of wheat.

"At many places the farmers' cooperatives automatically dissolved because the cost of administration was very high and the production was very low. I took part in a meeting once at Zengovarkony in Baranya County. There was a bitter fight at the meeting about the settling of accounts. The cooperative was not able to distribute the wheat they sowed, nor the seed for next year. The state didn't give support because there was too much loss. The result was a fight. The peasants took their personal property and started to divide the land of the cooperatives among themselves."

Regarding the agricultural system she would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent said "No large estates in one hand. Large lands should be kept together in one piece for those who want to continue farming collectively, but with a good loan and agricultural system. The private land of five to ten acres shouldn't be touched, but in general I guess the peasants should decide what system they want."

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## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Talking about the situation before 1948 and her interest in politics, respondent said "I have been interested in politics since [redacted]'s death. I went into opposition already before the war when the German influence started in Hungary. I was against dictatorships. My opinion was the same during the war.

"After 1945 I joined the Szabadsag Party. I saw a new lead in it. I saw that Sulyok drew the sympathy of most intellectuals. His brave stand opposing the Communists affected me. I saw the future more secure in the hands of the intellectuals.

"My brother was a member of the Party but he also joined the Szabadsag Party, and my husband did the same.

Regarding her feelings about the Communist Party before 1948, respondent said:

"Regarding the Communist Party in 1919, I heard only about the terrors. Even the Social Democrats didn't like the Communists.

"During the war I became more definite about the bluff of Communism. The first Communism I ever saw in my life came into our basement after the Russians occupied Budapest. He had a pad on which he took down all our wishes and he made all kinds of promises to supply us with food, clothing, baby stuff and so on, and he never returned. I remember well how bad I felt about that.

"After 1948 I only feared Communism as an unknown danger, but later on I saw in reality what evil ~~xxxxx~~it meant.



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B. Concerning the Communist Party from 1948, respondent said:

"There are Party members who are open, self-assured. They are educated by the Party and get favors and protection from the Soviet Union. This I would call the Gero type. They are very often Russian citizens and usually don't talk Hungarian very well.

"The other type are those who are Party members because of fear, or did something they have to hide. They can be directed well with intimidation.

"The people enter the Party mostly for jobs and for fear of losing their jobs.

"The Party members criticize the Party, only the well-paid members don't do so publicly. A Party Secretary who worked in the Ministerium told me that the Party was bound to fail because of the one-party system. The idealist Communists saw in general that the dissolution within the Party was unavoidable mostly because of the low standard of living and the dictatorship of Moscow. The real, ideal Communism cannot be realized."

Regarding the Party policies, respondent said:

"Within the Party there were great changes. The fusion with the Social Democrats was followed by the class order. The Party classified its own members from the top ten thousand down to the gray Party members. About 1950 there was a great change when the lower classes in the Party asked for the change of the top leaders because the standard of living had gone down. This was followed by mass arrests.

"During the Rajk times the Party was divided within itself and mostly the idealist Communists fell out of the Party. They were charged with sabotage mostly.

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"During 1953 Imre Nagy had a policy. Nobody really knew what he wanted. He was an educated Communist who studied in Moscow and this was enough for the people to hate him. In our eyes basically he served Moscow too. However, his bending toward Titoism caused a softening in every field. The freedom of speech became 20% better. The Party talked about the abolition of the farmers' cooperatives. They dropped the number of the seminars and the compulsory reading of the Szabad Nep. There was a general lessening of the nervous pressure. After the Nagy regime, the Party came to the present setup. The people showed an extreme dislike toward Rakosi, Gero, Piro and similar Party leaders. It was more and more difficult to organize, for instance, a May 1st demonstration. Finally the people were forced to go; otherwise they would have lost their jobs. But even so, it happened that the demonstration broke up right in front of the Main Tribune.

"The economic changes were only technical. Whenever they distributed bread or any other goods they made a demonstration and the Russians filmed the scene. I am sure that many of the Western countries showed these films in their movies as pro-Russian propaganda.

"I judged the Party morals by the behavior of Party members. They were like seismographs. They had definitely a special sense of where and how to apply their system, where and how to talk about politics, and where not. It is a perfectly trained column, the Communist Party. To gain this knowledge they keep informers and spies in every layer of society. There were, for instance, lots of old aristocrats in their spy ring.

Regarding the leadership of the Communist Party, respondent says:

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"The leaders of the Communist Party followed the Moscow line without individual opinion. Since the fusion ~~with~~ with the Social Democratic Party no leaders or ministers have been in power who have Hungarian will or individual conceptions.

"Collectively, the Communist leaders were a herd of sheep who obeyed Moscow. Individually, partly uncultured small dictators or the other type the pleasant yes-man who promised everything but never did anything.

"The small Party members were afraid only for their jobs. The leadership had higher economic interests.

"When Hungary is independent the Communist leaders should go home to Russia or, as an old peasant said when I was in the country: 'The Communist leaders should be walled in and then jack-knives should be given to each of them and he who comes out alive will win.'"

C. Regarding the opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, respondent said:

"There were continuous so-called sabotages against the regime in 1945. During the first three years maybe mainly workers dismantled parts from important machines and they produced waste on purpose. But, for instance, at the Ganz shipyard even a ship was blown up. They could never find out how it really happened. ~~XXXXXX~~

"In 1948 in the cloth factory of Baja, on those machines which made material for military uniforms, somebody cut all the threads in every hour. Nobody could ever find out how it happened. Just miraculously all the threads were cut. Two managers were dismissed. Another time at Csepel all the machines were ~~filled~~ filled with sugar. This

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was followed by an arrest on a large scale. That happened in 1950.

"In 1951 during the wave of price increase, there were complications of provision. In the different plants the workers demanded that the factory take care of their feeding. They didn't get a favorable answer at first, and many of the workers stayed home. But then the factories promised food to those who would return to work. Around that time, even the newspapers wrote about the sabotages of workers.

"In 1952 in Pecs, the miners didn't want to go to work because of the low wages. They were forced to go finally and got a small raise.

"In 1953 the workers refused to take part in production meetings about norm raises. Many got disciplinary punishment and their hourly wages were decreased. Also in 1953 the students had a silent demonstration. There was an agreement that all the students in the high schools in Budapest would stand up and keep standing for an hour, or not go to class at all as a demonstration against the compulsory Russian language education.

"In the last period the opposition was more frequent. For instance, I myself during the last election took my voting paper with me and put an empty paper into the ballot box."

Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said:

"As a group, the intellectuals were isolated but practically, with the mixing of the population, a lot of old intellectuals were mixed with the workers as doormen or law clerks and this way the intellectuals and workers talked together all the time and the intellectuals enlightened the workers. In 1954, the mixing of the population reached its peak.

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The whole nation was completely mixed -- aristocracy with peasants in deportation, middle class alongside workers. I guess this situation caused the fermentation unconsciously.

"From the old group of writers, when the new Writer's Association was established, a lot of writers were dismissed. These writers started to write at home and mimeograph their books. I myself read a book like that which was typewritten. The title was "The Real Face of Communism" and it talked about the background of the Communist Party leaders, their education, origin. It proved that they all came from Russia. This book listed the greatest enemies of Hungary among the leaders, and talked about the lives of Stalin and Lenin. I had heard about those things before, but in this book everything was proved. Of course, these books were given from hand to hand by the most intimate friends.

"In 1953-54 the Communists put a lot of books on the Index -- foreign books, Steinbeck, Cronin, Zilahy, Warai. These two latter were refugees. They asked for space in the newspapers and they asked questions of the public. They wanted to know why things were happening as they were, and I guess this led finally to the establishment of the Petofi Circle. It was planned already in 1952 as a group of young writers. Then I heard about its establishment in 1955. I guess, however, in the Petofi Circle the Communists played a big role. Their purpose was, of course, free writing and expression of opinion. But two contrasts, in my opinion, met in the Petofi Circle -- the big Communists and the anti-Communists.

"I guess the intellectuals stand up against the regime because their glass was filled faster by Communism. They were more suppressed than the workers."

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## VII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Regarding the AVH, the Hungarian secret police, respondent said:

"The members of the secret police were chosen under a well-planned system modeled on the Soviet example. They came from the worst type of people, quarrelsome drunkards who were not afraid of anything and had nothing to lose. In my opinion, 60% of the AVH members were former Nazis.

"Regarding my personal experiences with the AVH, I and my family were taken to the police in a long series of incidents. The sequence was about as follows. First, my husband's brother was taken in in 1946. He was beaten terribly because his store was painted green. Then he was released but within a few weeks they took him back three times. In March of 1946 my husband was called in and they asked him about my mother. They didn't touch him, only put down his address. In the Fall of 1946 I was taken finally. They started with big slaps on my face, asking about my parents. I was there for 4 days, questioned all the time about where I put my ~~money~~ money and where my mother was. After 4 days I lost consciousness and they took me to the clinic. However, as soon as I recovered they took me back again and then they started to ask what party I belonged to, what connections with the Germans, did I say for the Germans, what did they pay me, and if I had business contacts with the Germans. Finally my husband was able to get hold of papers to prove that I had never had any contact with Germans. But my mother had business contacts with them in the cement factory. Finally, they released me.

"The next was my uncle. The AVH brought him in, although he was absolutely innocent, because he was a University professor. In

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connection with his case I was taken in again for a day. They said they would deport me. I was thrown in a cell together with 400 people. I was lucky because I lay near the door and could get a little air from under the door. We couldn't move at all in that place.

"In 1947 my brother was arrested and taken to the AVH because he was a teacher and they said he agitated against Communism. His legs were torn into shreds and he was kept in for one and a half months. I wanted to help my brother and in connection with this I was taken again. They kept me there for two weeks, questioning me continuously whether I was a spy or not.

"In the same year another uncle of mine was taken. He was the Director of the Weiss Manfred factory. He was sentenced to six months of forced labor. After this, my sister-in-law was taken and some other family members. It would really take too long to list them. I myself was questioned once more in 1955 and they told me not to return to work for the U.S. Embassy.

"It was terrible for me, what I went through. The AVH was a workshop for destroying people. I can't recall ~~xxxxxxx~~ without irony, that after the 60 Andrassy St., the famous AVH building was torn down, the Communists built there a state store which wore proudly on its facade "Kozert," which would mean in English something like "for the public," or "for the community."

"I read once in the newspaper about an AVH man who left the AVH and wanted to commit suicide but didn't die. When he was transferred to the regular police. I was interested in the case and I inquired a little bit and learned that he tried to commit suicide because he was completely horrified by the things he himself had to do there.

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"I heard about another story which happened at the AVH Dunafoldvar where I worked. I even know his name. He was so shocked, too, because of the things that he saw at the AVH, that he wanted to get out of this organization somehow. However he knew it wasn't very easy. Finally he decided that he would steal something. Through this he might be able to leave the AVH. This is what he did. He broke into a depot of the AVH and stole some clothing. This was very well planned. He was put in prison and released after one year and then he was fired from the AVH. He went back to his old village and his old friends at the police there hired him.

"When Hungary is independent, the members of the AVH should be tried. The leaders should be tried as war criminals."

Regarding the regular police and its behavior, respondent said:

"The regular police was a good organization. Of course there were some AVH members built into the regular police too. The policemen were simple people. Their training was not sufficient and their chiefs were Party members and sometimes former criminals. During the last 2 or 3 years the police were improving. Many old policemen were taken back. Corruption in the ranks of the police was about 50%.

"During the revolution the police behaved excellently. They gave all their weapons to the revolutionists and they helped from the first minute the revolution broke out. For instance, the police department of Pauler St. and also the police department of Zichy Jenő St. ~~xxxxxxx~~ gave all their equipment to the revolutionists. Some policemen went to the border with trucks for medicine and brought it back for us.

B. "Before 1945 the courts were fair. Judges were not corrupt.



"After 1945, every case was changed over to a political case in the ~~XXXXX~~ people's courts and their work was not objective at all. But I don't know much about them.

"Treatment of war criminals was about 50% just but the convicts didn't have a chance to defend themselves."

C. Concerning the Hungarian army and the part it played during the revolution, respondent said:

"The Hungarian army hesitated in the first 48 hours. I experienced fighting with them personally when they were sent, on the 25th and 26th, to the fortress to fight against us. Within an hour, however, they were fighting with us.

"The honest, sincere manifestation came from the simple soldiers. The officers didn't know what turn the revolution would take and they were cautious. But at the radio building it was an officer who died first asking the AVH not to shoot at the students. After the revolution took a definite line, the armed cores of Retsag were ready to join right away. Kecskemet sent out airplanes which threw leaflets telling us that they were ready to come and join us. From all over the country the different army groups sent messages that they were on our side.

"The peasant boys were braver during the first few days. They got under way first but later on everybody mingled.

"Those who didn't join were officers who wanted to make careers as political officers or some others who considered the whole thing from the point of view of their promotions.

"I was surprised about the army's action. Even so I wanted, in my heart, for them to join us in everything. I was happy to see that the country couldn't be divided. The most amazing

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thing was, however, "Alster's coming over. We brought the first weapons, by the way, to the Millian barracks from Szabo Bacsi."

D. Regarding the Russian army troops in Hungary, respondent said:

"The feeling against the Russians in Hungary was due to 1945. They didn't behave like an occupational force that wants to withdraw, but they came as enemies and remained enemies.

"In 1945 I preferred to die than to meet the Russians. The propaganda against Russia was too strong in Hungary.

"My personal experience in 1945 wasn't very pleasant. They took five of us from our homes, together with a 14-year old girl and they raped everybody. The girl died later on in the hospital from bleeding.

"Everything was taken from my apartment by the Russians. They have a rough soul. Their system is wild. However, they themselves are always afraid. They hate everybody in Europe and everybody in America. Voroshiloff told me once at a feast that the Russians want to crush the whole world. "It is very good if the Americans work and build their beautiful cities. They build for us," he said. "The Russians will go to New York."

"In general the Russian soldiers scoured the Soviet system terribly. They said that they would prefer to commit suicide than to go home. They also told us that they had no freedom of movement in Russia. Every soldier who fought in Europe was out in a la to forget about things after they returned. They always said that everything was very primitive in Russia. My husband had conferences very often with Russians and he said that every Russian he knew was very primitive but polite and willing. But the Russians ordered the

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Hungarians to build all their bridges, even the smallest ones, to the Russian T-74 tanks, which indicated for my husband that the Russians were preparing themselves for a war.

"These Russian troops stationed in Hungary were friendly. They changed among the Hungarians. They said very often that ~~xxx~~ their fate and the fate of the Hungarian people is just the same and it is up to ~~gm~~ God. But they said we all have to be free some day. The Russians were always oppressed but they would like to be free.

"The Russians couldn't be very well acquainted with the Hungarians. For instance Hungarian girls didn't go out with Russian soldiers, mostly because Russians couldn't marry Hungarian girls because of Moscow's order. Some of the soldiers were away from their homeland for 14 years, and those especially were against their leaders in Moscow.

"During the revolution, especially in the first few days before the troops were replaced, many Russian groups joined the revolutionists. In Ercsi and Vecses, all the Russian tanks which were sent there surrendered to the revolutionists. In Budapest, at the ~~xxxxxx~~ Liberty Bridge, Russians joined the youth and surrendered. Because of that, as I heard from a man who was of Russian origin (he worked in the hospital at Alkotás Street), in the court of the hospital ten Russian officers were executed by the Russians. ~~xxxxx~~ At that time it would have been very easy to settle the revolution between the Hungarian demonstrators and the Russian army, but the new replacement troops were all young Mongolians around 22 years old, and very wild.

"The food supply of the Russians was extremely bad during the revolution. Their main food was barley cooked in water. I remember when I brought food for this wounded boy whom I placed with the family

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together with the other wounded boy, I saw a Russian soldier in the doorway eating this barley. When I went into the boys I told them that even if they were wounded they should be happy because they got chicken from me while the Russian soldier was eating bare barley in front of the door. I remember that my boy stood up in the bed; he was excited and said "Oh, but then I really should give him some of my chicken because he is also only a poor man who is fighting in war."

"Many Russians helped the people to cross the border. At Wallen there was a rescue squad of Russian soldiers. They took all the people to the border and showed them their way in return for a little alcohol or some money.

"During the revolution it happened that Russian soldiers fought against the AVH because the Hungarians put ~~Russian~~ Hungarian flags on the Russian tanks and the AVH started to shoot at them.

"Some Russian soldiers attacked each other also by mistake. South of Budapest on a foggy ~~morning~~ morning two groups of Russian troops shot at each other for hours because they didn't recognize each other.

"About the Russian atrocities, I have already discussed them in connection with my personal experiences in the revolution."

B. Regarding government officials who would be willing to help people in trouble against the rules, respondent said:

"There were people who joined the Communist Party in order to help others. I don't know about government officials, but I know about two Party secretaries. One was with a Restoring Company. If a man was dismissed from the Company, he out

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the person back in his job and told the Party that he wanted to watch the person politically, and this was why he kept him. The other was at the Ministry of Transportation. If a punishment was released, he obliterated it as the Party ~~secretary~~ secretary. However, in all the government offices it was possible to get around rules by giving money to the officials. There were many cases of getting around the rules. We called these people toll collectors or the collecting badmen. This was practiced only by Communist members in really serious positions. It was punished strictly. Some of them were even hanged.

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## XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. " . . . Kadar will be dismissed and Munich will follow him in power. The people hate Kadar too much. This is why the Russians will dismiss him.

"The Russians will fail against the West preaching peaceful means. However, they can only be influenced by force and intimidation.

"I hope that there will be a revolution in Russia. Too many soldiers went back from the West who saw the circumstances there and the people are terribly dissatisfied.

"I don't want war between the U.S. and Russia. The people will consider war as a final solution if nothing else works, but if war came, the people wouldn't mind it anyway. They even said they wouldn't mind if the atom bomb fell on them. They are ready to pay whatever price they must and those who remain alive will have a better life. I myself think a war is possible and if it is going to happen, it will happen pretty soon. It will be due to the Russians.

"It would be possible to reach international agreements through the United Nations if the UN troops would occupy Hungary.

B. Regarding the prospects in Hungary during the last eight years, respondent said:

"I saw the situation as hopeless. I thought we just had to understand that step by step we would be deported to Russia. The Russians brought more and more Russian families into Hungary."

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XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Regarding the system in an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"I would like to have an independent Hungary with a socialistic structure. I don't understand under socialistic the Communist system, but a democratic order where there is no discrimination among the people, where they are equal and honored and evaluated by their inner characteristics.

B. Regarding the desired economic system, respondent said:

"Hungary is an agricultural state. It cannot be industrialized completely. The country should have about the same economic system as in 1938. Hungary should emphasize light industry but of course we have to keep, for instance, the Ganz Company, which made all the ships and locomotives and busses.

"If the Communist regime were overthrown, nationalized enterprises should be abolished in their present form and changed over to enterprises owned by the workers.

"The farmers' cooperatives and state farms should be abolished. Nobody wants them. People went into them only because they were forced.

Regarding government ownership, respondent said:

"Coal, steel, tobacco, sugar, alcohol, salt, etc. should be in the hands of the state, as ~~was~~ it was before. Light industry should stay in private ownership.

"The large lands cannot be given back in practice to their former owners. It would be impossible to take the land back again from the peasants. But the former land owners should get rehabilitation.

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"The state should set the maximum limit to the amount of land an individual may own, but the social circumstances of the person should be considered.

"However, personally I myself am not so worried about these problems as people usually are. Just to give you two brief examples, I myself definitely don't care about my real estate which was taken from me. I am not concerned to get it back if rehabilitation were offered me. The other thing is that I talked many times to Countess Csaky. She was asked just recently whether she wanted to buy back her house for 36,000 forints. She said not at all, she was much, much happier without private property. To collect such huge lands and even to collect huge amounts of money and houses was an old system. I feel it is all over."

Regarding the kind of government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, she chooses the first possibility. She said:

"I choose the human rights. If I can work I can make my living, but freedom is more than bread."

Regarding the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"I desire the outlawing of the Communist Party. The Party was only a scud on the body of the people.

"I am also in favor of outlawing the fellow-traveling organizations because finally they would only lead again to the unbuilding of the Party."

C. Regarding the international position desired for an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"Ideally I would like to have Hungary



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in the same situation as Austria or Switzerland -- an independent, neutral country."

Regarding relations with the Soviet Union respondent said "No, no kind of relations. With the rest of Eastern Europe and the U.S. all the three relations are fine. I would like to see it mostly as it was before."

Regarding some federation of the Danubian states, respondent said:

"In the case of Hungary, it is not very easy. We have been cheated many times by different countries surrounding Hungary. Therefore we would need some time to see which countries we really can trust. But I would think a Danubian federation possible in a peaceful atmosphere."

"I think better of a united Europe including all the European countries."

Regarding Hungary's present boundaries, respondent said:

"For the time being, I would keep the present boundaries because there are much bigger world problems. It should be the next problem. Objective people all know that if Hungary is liberated or regains her freedom, this problem will be discussed anyway in some fashion."

"The problem of minorities is important to me, but not right away. I guess we have to take a much closer look at the Rumanians and Czechs of today. We don't even know what sort of people grew up there."

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## XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Concerning Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress, respondent said:

"I didn't read that speech. I heard about it from a Communist woman who told me that there was such a speech about the future plans of the Party and about Stalin's desecration.

"Mr. McCarthy was a great friend of the Hungarians. We thought he was an very honest, fair man who worked for the subjugated nations. I heard from the U.S. Embassy that he was a wonderful man.

"About Peron, I know only that he was an Argentine dictator."

Regarding Rakosi's private life, respondent said:

"I only know that his wife was not his real wife, she was only a spy at his side. I knew someone who was the wife of an AVH man who was Rakosi's personal guard. She always told me about the tremendous luxury that was in Rakosi's house -- a built-in TV screen, for example. Concerning his friends from the theater, she mentioned some names but I don't want to gossip. However, he was closed hermetically from all other people and he couldn't even talk as he wanted to.

"He personally was usually in a bad mood and quarreled a great deal with other people."

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## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Talking about the possible changes inside of Russia, respondent said:

"As I mentioned before, the Russians complained about their own system all the time and I think a revolution would be possible. The Russians are today the same way we were in 1955. They hate the Soviet system.

"A gradual change I cannot imagine. This could come about only if such people got into power who were entirely different. This is impossible.

"Free elections would wipe out Communism in Russia.

"I guess Russia is at the crossroads. Everybody who was educated either escaped, was annihilated, or was too old. Maybe a temporary dictatorship or change would help to prevent inner troubles. They might prevent them from robbing each other, as they learned to do so well for years. This would give the Russians time to choose their leaders.

"As far as I could see, Soviet leadership was formed by a dictator's method. The Russian leaders were never elected. They are second Hitlers with the same goal of overcoming the whole world.

"Individually the Russian leaders are rough people. Their deeds are not influenced by the needs of the people but they fear each other. Slowly, this general fear is instilled into the whole population.

"The present Russian and Hungarian leaderships are different from each other only in that the Hungarians are probably still a little bit more cultured."

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B. Regarding the popularity of the different East European countries in Hungary, respondent said the following:

"Poland is the most popular. The government is all right and the Polish people were always considered as our brothers in Hungary.

"The second in popularity in Bulgaria. They are very small and we have never had any trouble with them.

"The less popular are I guess the Rumanians, the people as well as the government. The Rumanians are very different from the Hungarians in character. Maybe this is why they are not sympathetic. The next less popular is Yugoslavia, but mostly the government.

"If there were free elections in the above-mentioned countries, I guess Communism would fail in Czechoslovakia, Germany, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. I don't know enough about Bulgaria; I can't tell."

Regarding the countries listed ~~xxxx~~ and their standard of living, respondent said:

"The standard of living is highest in Germany and Czechoslovakia, and lowest in ~~xxxx~~ Poland and Rumania."

C. Talking about Poland, respondent said:

"The Polish people like Gromulka. A Polish engineer told us that the Polish people were terribly suppressed and prices were even higher than in Hungary. What happened is a definite ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ evolution for Poland. Gromulka is regarded as having a good character and as being a good patriot. He won't lose the sympathy and trust of the people because they know that everything that happens is not his fault. Some Polish people went back from abroad, for instance, from the West, when they heard that Gromulka got into power.

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"It is a present danger that the Russians won't go out of Poland and the Polish people's endurance isn't endless either. They won't go against Gromulka, but maybe they will go with Gromulka against the Russians."

Whether ~~the~~ the Hungarian events were influenced by Poland, respondent said:

"The ~~X~~ events influenced the Hungarian revolution. However, we heard over the foreign broadcast that there was not a real softening in Poland."

Whether she would like the Hungarian revolution to take a path along ~~x~~ Polish lines, respondent said:

"Maybe now, with my present knowledge, I would say yes ~~because~~ because ~~bloodshed~~ bloodshed could have been avoided. Everything would have been fine in Hungary if the revolution could have taken its path after Imre Nagy took over. But Nov. 4 caused the real trouble.

D. Regarding Tito and Yugoslavia, respondent said "Tito had a great influence in Hungarian politics.

"By the way, according to my knowledge, Tito is of Hungarian origin. He is the son of a farmer from Baeska in south Hungary. Tito had a great influence in Russia and he also used his influence in connection with Hungary before the revolution.

"I consider Tito to be the originator of national Communism. He ~~was~~ alone first attacked the Russians.

"National Communism is only a half-solution; Communism is not necessary in any form.

"Tito's connections with anybody else always depend on Moscow's policy, or on how

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and what he wants to get from Russia in his two-fold politics.

"With the Russians he wants to keep friendship for economic reasons but maybe he is not exactly a puppet of Moscow.

"He has the same slavery in his country as in Russia and he knows very well that Western influence would mean the end of his rule.

"He behaved very badly towards the Hungarians during the revolution. Tito was very careful not to lose anything with Russia. His real attitude could be seen in connection with the refugees who went to Yugoslavia.

"Tito's popularity is built on bayonets. The living standards and general conditions in Yugoslavia are worse than those in Hungary. For instance, they always took medicine from us. They have only ammunition, nothing else."

E. Regarding Suez, respondent said "I guess that the whole Suez case was provoked by the Russians. The Russians wanted a war there."

Regarding the French and Anglo-Saxon invasions, respondent said "When the Hungarian revolution was in full effect ~~we~~ we couldn't understand why the English and French had to start in Suez.

"Israel was maybe forced into this invasion somehow. The Russians want to annihilate Israel. They hate the Jews.

"Egypt had no right to nationalize the Canal. However, the contract would have ~~been~~ expired within two years anyway, so actually it was not a great change.

"I guess the events in Egypt had an affect on the developments in Hungary because the diplomacy couldn't be concentrated

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on the Hungarian case. This is why the West didn't give us any help."

F. Regarding West Germany, respondent said "I heard that the living standard in West Germany could compete even with the American standard of living."

"I guess West Germany would be a bulwark in case of a war. She is the only one which can be taken into consideration. Poland, and especially Hungary, has no weapons or military strength at all. We had no military equipment. The Russians lent us tanks and 15 planes ~~xxxx~~together."

Comparing the German and Russian occupational forces, respondent said:

"The Germans were not much better than the Russians. In view of the fact that they were more cultured, they can be considered more guilty. Both armies did about the same against Hungary."

G. Regarding NATO, respondent said:

"I have a good opinion of NATO but I would like to meet with its results in Hungary. As long as everything is only on paper it doesn't count too much."

"I guess the British Labor Party is a well-balanced old party. In the western European Socialist parties more individuals are bending towards Communism than the parties."

Regarding the living standards of various countries, respondent said:

"The highest is in West Germany, then comes England, Italy, Greece and Egypt are about the same, then comes Russia."

H. Talking about the U.S., respondent said:

"During the first few months here I was

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particularly surprised by the food situation, how everything can be purchased without lining up and everything is fresh. The second thing was the low prices of clothing."

"The foreign policy of the U.S. is good, I think. Right now, they don't seem to be concentrating on the Russians. America has to help the countries behind the Iron Curtain as soon as possible. If they don't help the people will lose all of their faith in the symbol of freedom."

"In connection with Hungary, the U.S. should definitely obtain free elections under independent NATO forces or UN forces.

"Since I have been here, I have seen what unlimited possibilities the U.S. has to help, morally and economically as well. She has all the possibilities and the people want it. Only the government has to make up its mind."

"The United States shouldn't accept the Kadar government."

"The Hungarian people would like to see more western visitors -- all kinds of people -- experts, scientists. They would like to exchange experiences and opinions.

"Before the visitors go to Hungary they should talk to the new Hungarian refugees for information concerning what they can speak about, etc. There are for instances, a lot of places which are not allowed to be photographed and can cause trouble to these visitors who might want to photograph them. There is one thing I would like to emphasize here. The women who visit Hungary should not be elegant, because the Hungarians are too shabby to endure it. Even when the members of the Embassy went out in the evening I heard the people say that this was what the Americans were like, just fancy puppets. They said this was why America didn't help us."



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"Magazines should be sent to Hungary. At the Consulates people can read them at least."

"It counts if family members from the free world send messages with visitors. The people at home trust the visitors more this way."

Respondent has no knowledge of the Marshall Plan.

Regarding the Korean War, respondent said "The Korean War was provoked by the Russians in my opinion. America wanted to help the weaker side. She didn't have any interest in being involved in that war, and she definitely didn't want to start a war."

J. Regarding the United Nations, respondent said "The United Nations could have been an influence in the revolution by forcing out the Russians. The volunteers could have come in. It was the near-sightedness of many nations who couldn't see that Russia could have been defeated at that time."

"I hope that within the shortest time the UN will force out the Russians, ~~xxx~~ taking into consideration that the six years of occupation are long past and in general the Russians are in Hungary absolutely against any kind of law."

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XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD  
SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Regarding the greatest living Hungarian, respondent said "On the surface there are no great people in Hungary today and those who are in exile go downward. Mindszenty could be great if he wouldn't involve himself in politics. He would be just a great priest. I would consider maybe Bela Kovacs as the biggest personality right now in Hungary."

B. In connection with what he thinks about the persons listed, respondent said:

ix Imre Nagy - "His introversion was fine during the revolution. However, he needed to be reviled by 9 million people."

Cardinal Mindszenty - "He went through too much. I liked him personally. When he came back from prison during the revolution I waited for him with flowers. However, I think if he had stayed on a pedestal and not involved himself in politics, he would have been a much greater personality."

Laslo Rajk - "He was a many-folded man. He opposed the government and wanted a much softer trend. I don't know what his real role was, but I know that I was in south Hungary before he was arrested, and the inhabitants of the villages got the order to pack and be ready to flee because the ~~Serbs~~ Serbs were coming we were told. The army was on guard. This means that Rajk had to be involved in something and maybe he wanted to work with Tito against the government of Hungary."

Gero - "He was liked as long as he was in the bridge business. He was very good at his profession but like is a terrible man and he committed more mean actions than anybody I have ever known."

Janos Kadar - "He was an engine fitter

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and he changed his name as well as all the Muscovites. He once lost the trust of the Russians during the Rajk regime. I don't believe the Russians can put any faith in him again. He is a puppet of "unich in my opinion. He will move in on the scene when the troubles disappear and kakutake over the power. I happened to be in his room for a few minutes with a delegation of students in connection with a memorandum, and my ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ observed some very strange things. He, first of all, told us he wasn't in charge of answering questions, and he had to meet first with the people who are in charge. Besides that, his eyes looked like those of somebody who lives on ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ morphine or opium and he was white as a sheet. During the 5 or 6 minutes we were in the room he almost fainted a few times, ~~XXXXXX~~ grasping the arm of his chair and sighing. He definitely looked like somebody who was just forced to be there. He was surrounded by 3 or 4 AVH men.

Bela Kiraly - "I hadn't heard about him in Hungary, only in New York."

Anna Kethly - "She was imprisoned as a Social Democrat and I don't know, but I somehow think she is senile since she came out of prison. I guess she escaped from Hungary to Vienna because she knew there would be some trouble in Hungary and wanted to get out of it."

Coming to the second group respondent says "President Eisenhower is very much liked by the Hungarians. People never prayed for anyone as they did for him during the three days before he was elected. I believe in him.

Secretary General Hammarskjold - "He is too flexible and uses too many tactics. He wanted to come to Hungary when it was impossible,

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and he didn't come when it was possible."

Dulles - "He has a ~~was~~ good brain, but maybe he has his own faults too."

Eden - "He was a good politician."

Truman - "The Hungarians liked him. His policy was very good. He was objective and could handle the Russians. In connection with him I have to tell you a little poem which was used in reference to him. It is the following:

"A well-heated room,  
A good filled-up stomach,  
And a tiny, tiny Truman statue;  
But when?"

"Nikoyan was a two-folded man."

"Nehru is liked in India I guess, but he was too cautious in connection with the Hungarian case."

"Chiang Kie-shek is a foxy man. Nobody really knows what he is."

Roosevelt - "I had better not say anything, especially about his wife. I guess she is definitely base, and plays dirty tricks on the Americans too when she goes to the U.S.S.R. the way she does."

Adenauer - "He knows what he does. He is an honest man. The Germans like him."

Stalin - "He got the fate he deserved. I don't think his death was natural. I heard from Russian soldiers that at his burial, even if it ~~was~~ was covered by flowers, signs of force were seen on his face. And I heard another thing which may not be true, but anyway we were happy to hear it. In spite of the fact that his body was

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embalmed, it is decayed under the balm. Not even the balm can stand him."

Malenkov - "He is a man without conscience. He wanted to be the second Hitler."

Franco - "I speak the Spanish language well, and I know from the Spanish people that they adore him."

Bevan - "I don't know anything about him."

Krushchev - "He is a drunkard -- an uneducated person with a lack of character."

Tito - "First he liberated his people and then he murdered them. He is a real Communist."

Deen - "He is a bad character I guess, and he had a lot of enemies."

Molotov - "He was the only brains among the Russians, but that doesn't mean he was a good man."

Ellenauer - "I don't know him."

Churchill - "He was very smart. We won't forget, however, that he sold the first jet plane to the Russians. I guess even if he was a great man he made a lot of mistakes."

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## XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Regarding the escapees who came out from Hungary during the revolution, respondent said:

"The first group who escaped were the Jews who ~~were~~ were in a hurry because they couldn't forget what happened to them during the last decade. They just couldn't bear anymore. At the same time, with them came those groups who fought near the border. The second group was, before Nov. 4, adventurers. The ~~third~~ third group was the Freedom Fighters. The fourth group was the family members of those who already escaped and those who left for economic reasons.

"Those who stayed behind were mostly old people or large families or many people who didn't want to leave the country at all. Some refugees, even AVH members and others, after they came out and learned in Austria that they couldn't get into the U.S., went back because their ~~only~~ only dream was to come to America.

"I know only about one person who stayed behind and could have left -- a colleague of my husband. He stayed there because of his parents. He is under ~~circumstances~~ circumstances now.

"The people who stayed in Hungary partly think that we who left are traitors, because we left our country in trouble. The more serious people feel that the Hungarian cause should be helped politically abroad and this could be done only by those who fought for the revolution and for freedom. If the people had a chance to leave and come to the West, nobody would stay home. Even the dead would come out of their coffins."

B. Regarding the Hungarian exile organizations

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and individuals, respondent said:

"I heard about emigrant groups over the radios -- for instance, about the Hungarian National Council, but we didn't know about any serious political activity that could be seen in the results of the revolution too.

"I do not as yet have contact with any such organization, but maybe I will."

Regarding the organizations listed on the separate sheet and individuals, respondent had the following remarks to make:

"People abused the Hungarian National Council very much. They never dispatch their business. The cases hang around their desks for weeks and finally they give the papers back without any result. I will never forget that in the name of the Hungarian National Council, I was received by a strolling player, Carl Javor, at Camp Kilmer."

WHBK - "I heard that it was a military group. I don't know what they did, whether or not they were those soldiers who wanted to come home voluntarily during the revolution."

"I heard about the American-Hungarian Federation that they deal only with old Hungarian cases here in America."

"I ~~got~~ got an issue of the "Latohatar" in Hungary from my brother. It was written on a high level and was very interesting."

Magr. Varga - "He is a man who can be influenced very easily and who is not very much interested in the cause of Hungary."

Ferenc Nagy - "He should never go home to Hungary because he might even be hanged."

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Tibor Eckhardt - "He is a great politician. I know him for about 25 years."

Paul Auer - "He would be a valuable man if he would use his ability for good purposes."

Imre Kovacs - "He spent more time in exile than at home as a politician, so I don't know much about him."

Imre Szelig - "He is not a big personality."

Charles Peyer - "He was a serious politician."

Laszlo Taubinger - "He is an intelligent man with a ~~xxxxxx~~ good brain."

Miklos Kallay - "He is a wise man with a good past."

Feiffer - "He was never a serious man. I met him last in Budapest, when he told me he would leave, and so he did, of course."

Barankovics - "My mother knew him for twenty years and had a rather good opinion of him. However, his wife spoke to me like a mangy dog. When I told Barankovics later on, he asked me why I didn't tell her who I was. I said I definitely didn't know that I had to tell the wives of Democratic politicians that I am the relative of Miklos Horthy in order to get human treatment."

Kozi-Horvath - "I don't like him and he is not liked in Hungary either. They think he is not a smart man."

Bela Fabian - "He is all right."

Zako - "No comment. He is a little bit green."

Kisbarnak - "I don't know him."

Otto - "He is a genius."

Horthy - "He drank too much, but he was a good, peaceful Hungarian."



Regarding the ~~people~~ who left Hungary before 1956, whether they wanted to accomplish anything, respondent said:

"I believe that they wanted to do something for Hungary, but the old ~~immigrants~~ are not liked in Hungary more than 50%."

"I don't think they accomplished anything."

"I guess the only important thing would be to unite all the Hungarian forces with love. I was amazed when I saw that the Hungarian nation is the only one which has no television shows.

"We thought of the Hungarian exiles very much during the revolution. We thought that they should go and bang every door for us here to get help."

C. Regarding the escapees who returned to Hungary, respondent said:

"I knew some Hungarians who came back from America because they were dismissed from the U.S. because of Communist activities. But in general about the redefection campaign I think that the Hungarian government merely wanted to lure the rich people home and take their dollars and jewels as soon as they reached the border. They wanted to utilize them as much as they could."

D. On what people who have left Hungary, and especially what the Hungarians would like to know about the exiles, respondent said:

"They would like to know everything about our lives and living standard -- how much money we make, how many hours we have to work, all about the prices, etc."

Regarding what exiles should do now, she said "I guess first of all they should take care of the refugee youngsters mostly. They are not united at all and they should

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be educated and taught. The way they are now they have every chance of gradual demoralization."

"I would like to join an exile organization but only a serious one with cultural goals. I haven't heard yet about any such."

B. "I would like to go back to Hungary if the Russians leave. I would prefer that my children learn Hungarian as another language, but not for the purpose of making them ready to return to Hungary."

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## XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Regarding listening to radio stations, respondent said "I listened to the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, BBC, the Spanish broadcasts and an unknown station which gave Hungarian news.

"As far as jamming is concerned, Radio Free Europe was terribly jammed during the daytime. I could listen to it only at night."

C. "I listened to broadcasts in Hungarian, English, German and Italian.

"Every day I listened to the different stations from 9:30 in the evening until about midnight, one after the other. I talked over with my friends whatever I heard over the radio. I listened to the radio on my own receiver with my husband and his friends."

"It was dangerous to listen to the radios. Everybody closed the windows and let down the Venetian blinds, checking the door to see that nobody was behind it, and ~~xxxx~~turning the radio as soft as possible. There was a good joke about it. A person goes on the street in the evening and asks the police what time it is. The policeman looks up at the house next to them and, seeing all the Venetian blinds going down he says 'It is 9 X o'clock.' Nine o'clock was the time when most of the foreign broadcasts started. However, at the end it wasn't so dangerous anymore., but ~~xxxx~~we knew that the Communists wanted to know who was listening to the radio. Therefore even then they watched us. But in spite of that, everybody listened to the foreign broadcasts.

"I liked Radio Free Europe for the quick news it provided. What happened in Hungary at 8 o'clock was sometimes ~~xxxx~~referred to by RFE by 9 o'clock.

"But the English broadcasts over the BBC

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were more objective.

"The broadcasts were rather accurate. Radio Free Europe very seldom made any mistakes. It was very good that they called attention to different Communist personalities. Whoever was on the list always became a gentle sheep afterward.

"Before the revolution the foreign broadcasts were our real newspaper. They gave us a real picture of the West. During the revolution it was good to know what happened abroad and we were able to follow, for instance, the sessions of the UN and the Russian reactions through these broadcasts. Radio Free Europe even helped us to know about the different groups and different cities during the fighting in the revolution. But as far as the revolution is concerned, they made a few mistakes. They should have told us that we had to take care of our own problems. In this maybe the Voice of America was the most objective."

Regarding Radio Free Europe in particular, respondent said:

"Radio Free Europe gave an impetus during the revolution. Everything they said was enough to stir up the people. Behind Radio Free Europe everybody saw the American army. We were told by G. that we should hold out for three more days."

Concerning whether Free Europe should continue to broadcast to Hungary, respondent said "In general the broadcasts are very useful if they deal with the facts which we definitely should know about the world, without the regular chichi they put around the programs. For instance, as I mentioned to you, it was very good to name those Communists, but it wasn't necessary to do it in such a dreadful voice, and with an introduction that "the mills of God are graining" and so on."

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Regarding what programs in particular should be broadcast, respondent said:

"It would be necessary to have programs on world literature, especially on Saturdays and Sundays, instead of the cabarets. We didn't know anything about world literature. However, Radio Free Europe shouldn't instigate so much. It was very often unnecessary. We need objective, straight political news with commentaries. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~Anti-Communist propaganda is very good but only absolutely short. Everybody knows what it what in Hungary. We don't need much propaganda. Programs about life in Western Europe are necessary and about the U.S. it would be ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ most important to broadcast how the workers live, how much money they make, what they can afford. Everything should be given objectively. If they know about these details in Hungary the workers will ask for the same from their government. The Americans have no idea how much the people are interested in life over here. When I worked at the U.S. Embassy, we had a window downstairs and pictures of new types of autos were out out once. There was such a crowd of people who looked at those automobiles in front of the Embassy that it was unbelievable."

Regarding FEP leaflets, respondent said: At the airport of Ferihegy they caught a balloon which came down there and the Communists said later on that it had photo equipment in it to survey the ground. I don't know how much of this is true. Anyway, I read FEP leaflets myself which asked us in a certain form for sabotage. It was a very long text and I was very angry to see it. I thought it was silly. I saw several leaflets during the summer in September of 1956 but I always thought that it would have been much more helpful to send us some spaghetti, or coffee, or just anything in these balloons instead of papers.

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D. Regarding what she thinks the goals and motives of these broadcasts and leaflets were, respondent said:

"I guess they wanted to inform us about the free world because we saw only the Communist side, but I could never understand when they started to explain their politics from many sides. It was above our ability to understand. We wanted to see action instead. Politicizing is not a subject for a radio station. It should be done at the UN. I guess, however, that the goals of all these stations were the same -- just to inform us.

"I think in general that to stir up the population of a nation over the radio is not the most decent thing. Of course, the people have their own common sense. They said it was very easy to politicize from abroad, and they wouldn't let themselves be bothered by that. I heard from a policeman once that ~~they~~ among themselves they call Radio Free Europe 'Anderson Radio.'"

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## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Regarding her views on how children should be brought up, respondent said:

"A child definitely shouldn't grow up on the street. When a child is very small he should be taught about religion, hygiene -- to eat regularly and to go to sleep early. Later on, about honor toward the older people, discipline and non-interference in adult affairs. When they go to school the boys should be busy with sports and the girls should learn about housework.

"A child definitely should be disciplined. In most cases, if they are never beaten, they won't have any respect for anyone. Even under Communism, the good parents gave a few slaps to their children."

Concerning how she was disciplined as a child, respondent said:

"The biggest crime was not to come home on time. I got slaps in the face even when I was married, but in general, my mother gave me a few slaps until I was 14. On occasion, for instance, if I lit a cigarette, if I got home 5 minutes after 8 o'clock, which was the deadline, sometimes she didn't slap me but she didn't talk to me for a few days.

"In the families I know, generally the father punishes the children. The boys are beaten and the girls get scolded. For instance, my brother was strictly punished, even when he was 16, if he was on the street after 8 o'clock.

"In the lower classes, the parents were more nervous, the children grew up on the streets and were rough. Therefore the parents had to beat the children much more. In general, physical punishment was stopped at about 15 for girls, and 16 for boys. The punishment

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was abandoned in general when the youngsters became independent, that is, when they started to make their own living. Under Communism, the parents were afraid of their children. If they beat them, the children could tell the police about it, and in such cases the parents were very strictly punished.

"For instance, the Communists told my brother's children that they shouldn't say "We kiss your hands", which was a regular Hungarian greeting, to their mother. They were told they shouldn't be obligated to their mother for giving them birth."

About the characteristics that she would value most in a friend, respondent said:

"A friend should have a loyal character. He should help the other even in politics, in spite of the danger it might mean for him. Under Communism, friendships changed. If a friend went too high in position he usually lost his characteristics as a good friend. But honest good friends who trusted each other stayed the same. However, it was not possible to establish a good friendship during Communism if the people hadn't known each other before."

THE END