

Subject made the impression of a very self-centered young woman. Not interested in anything beyond sports, music and her own precious little self. Thoroughly disinterested in politics (domestic and international alike). Hard to get any information from her. Without herself being aware of it communist indoctrination did affect her. Hard to get a straight answer from her except when the answer was "I wouldn't know". Very slow in grasping salient points. Altogether not very intelligent.

II. WARM-UP QUESTIONS

The most important facts that American people should know and realize are first of all the extent of despair and bitterness accumulated under the communist regime in Hungary, and which eventually led to the outbreak of the revolution.

Further: it should be known that the Hungarian people was counting on US assistance, some way or other, but even more on UN sanctions to be enforced against the Russians. They also hoped that Mrs. Kothly would be accepted as a rightful representative of the NAGY government at the UN.

Finally respondent points out the disappointment everyone felt when UN proved to be powerless against Russian aggression and when they found out that RFA and all other Western radio stations poured out words and propaganda only and no help was forthcoming.

III.

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

- A. Could not remember what she was doing on October 22nd. On October 23rd, a former colleague from her office called up and told her of the students' demands, and asked her whether she knows more. In the afternoon she went out, joining the crowd, which grew at every street-corner and at every block as people leaving offices, factories joined in. Leaflet posters everywhere displaying the students' demands. Everybody was very much elated, shouting, singing, slogans, etc. Nobody thought it would end in fighting and a revolution. They only wanted "freedom". The real leaders were the students from the University of Technical Sciences, who drafted the "Demands". They did not believe the demonstration will have any consequences for anybody as since the 20th Party Congress people talked quite freely, and grumbled, criticized. She joined the demonstration at Parliament Square. Nobody prevented her or told her not to go. On the contrary everybody wanted to partake in the demonstrations. Nobody was afraid either, since everybody was taking part, -they thought- a whole nation, so to say, could not be punished anyway. She was most impressed by the torchlight procession.

The demonstrators were of all ages, but mostly young people, and of all social classes. Completely spontaneous arrangement, no special leaders. Except at the technical University.

The crowd demanded free elections; free Hungarian government, withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary and the end of Rakosi's terror reign. A free democracy in its best sense. Could not have accepted any compromise. In the beginning the students did not want anything else than that their demands be read out on the radio. Respondent believes that had this been permitted, no bloodshed and no revolution would have occurred. The fighting started when the AVH started the shooting.

- B. Those taking part in the fighting were young children, students, workers, a great number of girls, and in the end everybody else joined.

Respondent could not tell who did not take part in the fightings, as everybody was very enthusiastic.

There were no "leaders" in the strict sense of the word. The whole fighting started spontaneously. At the university of Technical Sciences, however, everybody spoke of a Colonel N. RIAN who was a legendary hero. He later on, - it was rumored - fled to the Bakony forests and organized the "partizans" there. Col. NARI K spoke at the Ben statue to the crowd.

Respondent thinks it was a miracle how and where from the fighters got arms. What she saw was that young people got into trucks and returned loaded with arms. Friends told her they just went to the armories and arms ~~factories~~ factories. The first time she heard the word "freedom fighter" was on October 23rd. Age of these ranged from 8 to 25 years, and there were just as many girls as boys. They came of all social classes. Respondent here adds that as a matter of fact in Hungary there were no more "social classes" anymore.

She could not tell of anybody who did not fight, as even those who did not take an active part in the fighting, encouraged the young people. Even the so-called communists. She recalls that the president of ~~her~~ her trade union (a woman) told her to go and fight, and later on to escape and disclosed her admiration (with tears in her eyes) for Hungarian youth who fought against such tremendous odds.

Respondent worked at first-aid centers during the revolution caring for the wounded.

At the beginning of the revolution everybody had high hopes and especially regarding their "demands" which they hoped would be accepted by the regime. However, when KADAR took over and no assistance was forthcoming from the US respectively UN they lost all hope.

They were enraged by the government's action in calling in Russians. First believed it was NAGY, but then found out that he was not responsible.

Period of October 25 to November 3:

Left around in hospitals and first-aid centers visiting the wounded and then going to their relatives giving news about them. There were no lectures to attend at the University.

C. The RE INVASION.

Shortly before the re-invasion respondent observed that the Russians disappeared completely, especially from the countryside. Nobody quite believed that they really did withdraw altogether, but on the other hand nobody expected it either that they will return in such force. She heard about the halted Soviet withdrawal, respectively re-invasion on November 4th. Saw the first new Russian troops on Nov. 4th, stationed at main thoroughfares, along the Rakosi ut, Kilian Barracks, Boráros ter.

From the time of the Red Army's return to the time of her escape respondent continued to visit the wounded and their relatives, but stayed also a great deal at home. Her fiancé (now husband) was missing and she was very upset about it. (They met again here in the States only) She then started to plan her escape on November 21st.

Respondent had no answer to the question whether or not Hungary gained because of the October revolution.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP DURING THE REVOLUTION

What the revolutionaries expected was the best was not money or food. They knew that this would have been seized by the Russians and the communists. They were willing to go hungry only had they received arms. However, when no UN action was forthcoming and time was running short, they lost hope. They knew that they were on their ~~xxxx~~ own now, and did what they could. The Hungarian army, which sided with them ~~xxx~~ was their greatest support.

She thought that maybe the Western powers would appreciate their strong will to break with communism, and their will to fight and sacrifice, and come to their assistance.

She did not have any contact with any foreigner or diplomatic personnel between Oct. 23rd and time of her escape.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A.

Father owned a typewriter repair shop. He died after the war. Then the mother supported the family. She was a dressmaker, and could provide decent living conditions for herself and her only child. Respondent says she does not remember income of father or mother. The family did not own any property. Both parents had high-school education.

B.

In respondent's view there were no social class distinctions in Hungary during the communist regime, and she is of the opinion that this was one of the good things communism brought about. If necessary she would classify people, according to their professions (workers, peasants and intellectuals. The latter are the civil servants, doctors, engineers, etc. Craftsmen and artisans were "class aliens" in the eyes of the regime.

She had contacts with all groups. Believes that there should be no class distinction as the different classes learn to know each other and assimilate better if there are no barriers. She classified herself to be of the intellectual class. Thought that this class was hit most by communism, as communist doctrine was completely alien to them.

C.

She thought that the workers had some sort of "inferiority complex" toward the intellectuals. Could not tell whether there were any changes in this attitude.

D.

In getting ahead in communist Hungary the political views were of primary importance. Talent came last, as class ~~origin~~ was important too. People of ~~xxxxxxx~~ the working class or peasantry had preference everywhere. She could not give details on changes as she was very young at the beginning of communism. There was, however, a change after the 20th Congress, when requirement standards were slackened. An aggressive "big mouthed" worker would always get away with everything and get on best.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A.

Communism had a great and very bad effect on family life in Hungary. The hardest hit were the young couples, due to housing shortage and also because both had to work so as to provide a decent living if possible. The Hungarian housewife worked during the day, then had to attend the household chores in the evening. If there were children ~~xxx~~ her lot was even worse. Crowded housing conditions, bad food, hard work made people jumpy, listless, nervous. This refers to all social classes more or less.

B. Communism brought about a great change in the way how children are brought up in Hungary. They start with the indoctrination of small children in nursery schools, and secondary schools where they belong to the "Uttörő" (Pioneer) movement. Later in high-school and universities there is the "Diákszövetség" which takes them in hand. Thus children of all social classes are being indoctrinated. Of course there is a conflict between parents and children. The latter want to be more "free". However the strictly political indoctrination did not succeed much. The more mature kids soon find out that there is a difference between what they are being taught and the results.

The children are more disobedient as they are more independent. Whether or not they can get away with it depends more or less on the parents' attitude and family ties. Also on the individual. The "modern" trend in youth behavior - according to respondent's views - is not so much communism, but a natural evolution in his field, as youth is always more progressive. She thinks that the change occurred in all social classes. As to conflicts between parents and children, she thinks it depends whether or not the parents are scared of acting against the wishes of the kids, whether there is a chance that those "support" the parents, who on the other hand are scared to lose their job or get a "bad mark".

C. Marriage, courtship and sexual life was certainly more lax and more free. Young people did not consult their parents much about these questions. Young people met at social gatherings, sports. Going steady meant that they lived together, but could not get married due to housing shortage mostly. There were a great number of illegitimate children, as abortion was punished and birth control devices were hard to get and expensive. The illegitimate child, however, did not receive the name of the mother. If the father's name was known, it was registered under his name, if not, then in the name of the grandparents. So as to remove the stigma of being born out of wedlock.

Civil marriage was of course the only requirement. There were several "marriage-houses" providing a more festive atmosphere than a plain registry office would. But many couples got married also in church.

Prostitution was prohibited under communism.

Official government opinion was discussed in the papers.

Respondent believes that communists were less inhibited about sexual matters which she attributes to communist doctrine.

D. Regarding friendship, the pros and cons of communism were always hotly discussed. People were of course cautious with whom they discussed such things and to what an extent. Had no opinion whether politics could be kept out from friendship and whether it could be continued. She was inclined to say yes.

E. There was an increase in major crimes and alcoholism. This was due to bad living conditions, etc. insufficient wages; Authorities tried to hush it up of course. Juvenile delinquency has increased, but she could not tell about crime rate among women. The government tried to control the situation and the police was pretty good in handling it.

The hooligans were out for material gain only, after women and drink. Authorities make no secret about it. The reason of increase in hooliganism can be traced back to the break-up of family life, and is not restricted to any special social class or background. Hooliganism is considered criminal by respondent and she points out that parents usually try to do their best to prevent it.

VII. RELIGION

A.
Religion and religious life was much affected in Hungary under communist rule since communism per se does not recognize religion and is atheistic. It was a bad mark against anybody who attended church for inst. After the 20th Congress, however, reins were slackened somehow, and people became more bold.

Respondent believes that all religions were equally hit

B.
Religion is not such an important factor in her life ~~xxxx~~ as in the life of her parents. But this she attributes not to communism only but to the change of times, as youth is more progressive and does not cling to tradition. However, she goes to church on Sundays and on church holidays.

C.
Churches should—in her opinion—take an active role in education but by no means in politics.

D.
Thinks that Jewish religion was also hurt by communism, but could not give how and why. As far as she can judge the attitude of Jews in Hungary was the same toward communism as of everybody else. Could not tell of any changes during the last ten years. There were many Jews who were communists, and she thinks they became communists for material reasons, not because of conviction. She saw Jews taking part in the revolution and in the fightings also. She lived in a district which had mostly Jewish population. Whether or not the Jews were afraid of an independent Hungary, she could not tell. If so they might fear pogroms, but is not sure.

VIII THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A & B

The so-called Hungarian youth consists of the students and young people up to 24, 26 years of age. It was decidedly this age-group which led the October revolution. Not at any time before the revolution, as nobody ever thought there would be one, but during the demonstrations and the fighting they took ~~xxx~~ most active part in it. The reason for their taking the initiative is the fact that, — as in ~~xxx~~ 1848 also, — it is always the young people who have more élan. Also, they dare to criticize more openly. The older people encouraged youth during the revolution.

C.

Education in Hungary on the whole was good, the teachers were capable, but the books were bad, as except with the strictly scientific subjects, all manuals were slanted, and stuffed with politics. The standard was very high—this she sees even more now, as she had occasion to compare it to schools in the US.— There was a "directed vocational choice" on basis of specific shortages in certain vocations. Already in the lowest grades and every year from then on children had to fill in many questionnaires regarding their future plans. But in the end the decision was arbitrary by the authorities. Teachers and professors were competent, and even though they had to teach according to communist doctrine — for fear of losing their jobs — the students soon found out that they were not communists at heart. They were very few among them who were inveterate communists. The teachers and professors could always maintain discipline as classes even to the very end before lectures stopped at universities and schools at the outbreak of the revolution. Respondent was "shocked" to see the difference ~~xxxxxxx~~ in schools and colleges here in the US.

E.

The communists certainly did devote much time and effort to indoctrinate the younger generation. Without very much result, however. After working

hours there were compulsory "seminaries" to attend, political meetings etc. Respondent, however, since she took active parts in sports, (canoe racing) she went to trainings instead.

They failed to indoctrinate youth because conditions in Hungary belied communist doctrine, and the young people could see for themselves that things went wrong, and that "democracy", as carried out in Hungary was a big lie. In the beginning many young people who joined SZIT, and mainly the young workers, were quite enthusiastic about it, but later through the years they were more and more disillusioned.

IX MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

A.

The lack of freedom of speech was the gravest complaint. Then high prices, low wages and therefore low living standard, difficult to make both ends meet. There was never enough money to buy everything you needed. If you wanted clothes, you went hungry. If you had enough to eat you went in rags. It was no good to work more, as the moment production went up, norms were raised and so it went on ad infinitum.

B.

Respondent was mostly annoyed by the fact that their superiors in the office know less of the job than themselves, yet they had to obey their orders. Further the pretexts the regime invented to make them work one or two days more if possible. For instance if there was a holiday the slogan would be: "We celebrate with work" and work they had, holiday or no holiday.

X. ECONOMIC LIFE

A.

The standard of living has dropped to a very low level in Hungary during the last years. Food was to be had, but distribution was sporadic, and there were certain commodities (meat for inst.) where there was a constant shortage. Also prices were high. People did not starve actually, but, as previously mentioned had to spend practically all her earnings on food.

Clothing was of bad quality and also very expensive. There was no choice, and ready to wear clothing was in bad taste, bad quality, and badly made. If there was any possibility, people rather had their clothes made. The same stands for shoes.

Housing conditions were simply awful. Co-tenancy was the solution and it worked badly. People got on each others nerves, there was no privacy.

Anything that was beyond the bare living, was considered a luxury in Hungary. As everybody else, respondent thought that housing shortage was the main concern of everybody. Living standards were highest in 1947 from then on it went down gradually on the whole. She personally cannot explain as her mother as a dressmaker could make comparatively a very good living. On the whole the living standard was the lowest in 1951-52

People who were in the blackmarket business lived well as they made good profits. Also contractors who altered the large apartments into co-tenancies made good money.

The low living standard in Hungary was due to exaggerated exports to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union exploited Hungarian agriculture and industry alike.

B.

In 1956, respondent earned 880 frt. per month as a steno-typist. After deductions she received 800 frt. on hand. Party members, hi her officials etc. had of course more deductions for fees, subscriptions etc. Subject did not receive any bonuses or extra pay, nor raise. She also had no other income. Mother earned well enough.

Cannot give any information regarding prices, quality of goods etc. as she never

did any marketing or shopping, left it to mother or aunt. As far as she heard prices went up very much. There was a difference in prices between the state stores, free market and commission stores (these sold second-hand merchandise only) Mother used to tell that quality of food commodities was better on the open market. Prices changed here according to seasons. Could not tell changes in prices in different years, nor tell anything about price differentials. However situation seemed to be better in 1956, for instance there were better quality shoes, also the choice in ladies clothing was larger. The reason for this change? Couldn't tell.

She also could tell little about retail distribution in Hungary. Spare parts - for instance for her mother's sewing machine - were extremely difficult to get, so were needles for inst., anything made of steel. Then there was a shortage of wood and coal, also lumber for the building industry. Some goods were simply unobtainable, others were scarce and very expensive. Could not give specific examples.

Blackmarketeerin was widely spread and practiced by everybody. It was not organized and was run on individual basis. The prices were high, but goods were of good quality, originating mostly from packages received from abroad, mostly the US. This stands for clothing and also for foodstuffs. Legal outlets could not refuse to sell goods unless paid a higher price. Blackmarketeerin was persecuted, but it was nearly impossible to enforce the rule, because everybody took part in it and also people were very cautious, sold only to people they knew, friends, etc. If found out penalties ranged from fines to imprisonment, loss of jobs, etc.

D.

Respondent was stenotypist, worked straight eight hours. It took her 45 minutes to get to work. After working hours she either went to take part in sports, or attended English classes. These were sponsored by the company. She selected her own job. Was liked by co-workers, as well as by superiors. She refused to take these seriously when they tried to talk too much politics to her. Her immediate superior was a young and very conceited bossy man, who treated the older people very badly. She had several quarrels with him on account of it. This young man was efficient in his job.

She was quite satisfied in her work, except that she was very often reprimanded for having her fingernails painted, or for being too "dressy" (her mother made all her clothes)

Her fellow workers were good at their jobs. Had to be or could not hold position.

The top superiors had to be party members, but they had to do their best so as to "learn" their jobs. There was at every enterprise the so-called "triangle" consisting of the plant manager who was a Party member, (but had to be efficient) then the Party Secretary, who was a figure head only, and whose task was to see that things are run on the party line. Finally the Trade Union Delegate who usually was one of the workers.

There was a vacation plan for the workers who received either a free vacation that is all expenses paid - if had good marks, or people got vouchers, which could be used at state vacation resorts. These vouchers entitled them to a 50% deduction for board, and transportation ~~xxx~~ expenses. Sick insurance fees were deducted from the salary. Respondent thinks that the health program was the best in the whole communist system. Once you became ill, the state took care of all bills, including medicines, doctors fees, hospitalization, surgery, etc.

Retirement payments were also deducted. Depending on salaries. Women at 55, men at 60 were allowed to retire, but received their pensions only if employed by the same company in the last 10 years or if transferred from one state owned plant to the other. If changed jobs on their own or "voluntarily" all rights were forfeited. So every worker had to see to it that the company

"transfers" him.

E.

Respondent would prefer to live in cities only. "would be bored to death" in the country.

As to food, the agricultural worker was better off. Though it happened that they had to purchase products to surrender if harvest was bad. The farmers had always more money than a city dweller. Living standard, however, was better in the cities. In a small provincial community everybody knew everybody and poked in everybody's affairs, so it was easier to be inconspicuous in a large city.

Regarding collectivization, respondent was too young when it was first introduced, and was never interested in finding out whether it is or was good or not. The well-to-do peasant of course objects most to collectivization. She heard in the first days after the revolution that collectives were being dissolved. General dissatisfaction with the system might have been the reason. Respondent believes that private farms would be the best solution by all means. In an independent Hungary she believes that highly mechanized private farms would be the best system.

XI POLITICAL LIFE

A.

Respondent emphasizes that she never had and does not have any interest in politics. Before 1948 she was much too young to remember anything or have an opinion of her own. And later on she just "couldn't care less". Has never been a member of any party.

B.

She thinks that people mostly joined the Party for material reasons, or for instance the very poor people they were the only ones who in the beginning did get something out of the regime. But even those who were Party members were not out and all communists.

Regarding to party policies she remembers that it eased up in the later years especially after the 20th congress. Regardless of Moscow orders, somehow even the tough communists got tired to be always "tough". But then after Stalin's death the change was obvious. Within the party, however, they tried to maintain discipline. Party members still spied on each other and reported on each other. Also they had to take an active part in party activities.

It is very difficult to judge whether or not the top communists were convinced and dedicated party members. They certainly did everything to seem to be such. It could have been both, conviction and coupled with ambition. The Soviet pressure was very strong, and they had to obey orders. The Moscowite leaders were stooges. Since she never had any contact with party members she could not tell the difference between the motives of the rank and file members and the big-wigs. Altogether she was never interested to find out. In an independent Hungary the former top communists should be made to undergo the same treatment they gave to the Hungarian nation, or even worse.

C.

Before the revolution there was much complaining going on, though not openly, as nobody dared to do anything. It was mostly the workers who complained but many were dismissed or punished if and when found out. She could not tell whether opposition of any kind occurred more often during some period than other.

She heard, however, about the Petöfi K'r. But only on October 23rd. Not before. Their manifesto contained more or less what everybody wanted. They were no forerunners of the revolution, as no revolution was expected at all. The intellectuals were ~~thought~~ held in esteem, and not viewed as dreamers.

The revolt of the intellectuals against the regime ran on a historical pattern in Hungary. Remember 1848, when also the Hungarian poets and writers started the revolution.

XII THE A. PAR TUS OF J. ER

A.

Members of the AVH were the basest creatures on earth, mislead, deceived fanatics. Also perverts, Megalomaniacs. Others did it for the sake of high salaries. Some of her friends had experiences with the AVH. Could not give details. She never heard of any AVH man who suffered remorse or wanted to leave the AVH.

No it is not an exaggeration that people in Communist Hungary lived under constant fear. She would like to see all AVH men hanged, the more so because they all were volunteers. Exceptions were a few who during their compulsory military service were assigned to AVH units.

The regular police was recruited ~~xxxx~~ mostly from the peasantry. They were stupid country louts. The police-women were former servant-girls. They were quite competent in dealing with regular-non political-crimes. Could not give information regarding their integrity.

The regular police fought against the AVH during the revolution, she ~~xxxx~~ heard. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Some AVH put on brand new "blue" police uniforms so as to escape the wrath of the crowd, but were always easily picked out just for the very conspicuously new uniforms.

B.

Regarding Courts and Peoples' Courts respondent could not give any information due to her age.

C.

Regarding the Hungarian army, she volunteered the information that the boys tried not to get any rank, because if they attained a rank then they had to serve an additional year or even more besides the compulsory 26 months.

D.

Whether or no events of 1848 did prejudice the Hungarian people against the Russians, respondent could not tell, however the 1945 "liberation" certainly did ~~xxx~~ even though she was a small kid when it happened she recalls the terror of it. For inst. she remembers that Russian soldiers wanted to rape her 15 year old ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{cousin}, and her mother offered herself instead. In the end they could bribe the Russian with a bike, in order to leave them ~~xxxxxxx~~ unharmed. Later on the Soviet army was also hated because they were living off the land, and people knew that the country was exploited by the Soviet. Respondent's attitude toward the Russian army worsened in the course of time. The more she got to know them the more she hated them and so did everybody else. Neither she nor her family had any closer contacts with Russian occupation troops, enlisted men or officers. Troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution absorbed a great deal of Hungarian culture and civilization, and liked it too. They quite liked the Hungarians and some troops even fought with them. These troops were then called back as being "unreliable". They did not want to go back to Russia. There was not much fraternization with the Russian troops, their children had their own Russian schools. She does not know of marriages. Though prostitution associated often with Russian soldiers.

As to the attitude of Russian soldiers toward patriotism, Russia etc. Hungary and the Hungarian people, she can only say that they did not talk about these questions, however, they were amazed to find that living standard in Hungary was very much higher; also they found that the Hungarian communists wanted to outdo the Russian communists by their fanaticism. The above opinions she overheard once.

As mentioned before the Russians who were in Hungary before the revolution were favorably disposed toward the Hungarians. Men and officers alike, gave them arms, tanks, and even fought on their side. Those troops that came later, were very young men, Mongols, mostly, and were scared. They did not know where they are and for what purpose. Some thought they have to fight the Nazis, others thought they are at the Suez Canal. A friend of hers told that he saw for himself when one of these soldiers was told where he is and whom he has to fight, he started cursing his own masters and wept like a child. He heard from reliable sources that Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, refused to obey orders, deserted, fought on the side of Hungarians, fought against the AVH (at the Parliament when they turned their tanks against them) and also due to the above, fought each other. She has not heard of any brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution.

E.

While in Hungary respondent thought that there is too much red tape. But since she is here she thinks otherwise. She had experience only with the Labor Office. Here the top official is of course a party member. Could not tell of competency. She had not much trouble with them as she used a casual fraternizing manner.

Laziness on the job was strictly punished, (deductions, reprimands and dismissal). Could be easily controlled as everybody had to punch in on arrival. Output of work was also strictly controlled, and any lag in "norms" had its consequences. First of all earnings were insufficient, the workman or woman was shifted to another job, reprimanded, and finally dismissed. There were always compulsory meetings to be attended. Respondent never did, she always was excused as she went to sports trainings. Every employee had a "Kader" file whereon the smallest details were dutifully noted by the party secretary and the personnel manager. Respondent had many fights with the secretary to the Plant Manager who was constantly picking on her, just sheer cattyness she believes. In her office there was one of her superiors who dared to speak up for his employees. He was smart enough to do it in a way so that not to attract attention. Openly nobody could do it. She knew him also socially and found him a "decent guy". His wife was a friend of hers.

F.

"Getting around" and "pulling ropes" was generally practiced and if you knew the how how you could achieve a great deal. It was mostly done ~~not~~ on the friendship line, less with bribery, as this was severely punished. You could get away with bribery for instance at the AVH or police, with prison-wards and suchlike.

Respondent was very vague in her answers pertaining to the competence of AVH, Police, Army leadership, Russian Army Leadership etc. In fact she could not give any positive answers. "believed" they must have some smart men among them after all.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

Due to what happened in Hungary, (return of the Russians, inactiveness of UN) she really has not the foggiest idea what to think. Also what can the West do with a government (Kadar) which is not accepted by them? She does not believe that normal life will return to Hungary unless the people will be allowed to vote freely and elect their own government by the people. She does not think that since so much losses occurred (every family has at least one dead) people in Hungary will let it be all in vain. After having been let down by the West, she has no expectations. Does not see a chance that Russia would change her attitude, short of war, and this nobody wants.

To her mind the only acceptable solution would be complete independence and

complete neutrality. World not accept any compromise, which Russia would not keep anyway.
Respondent has no idea how and whereby these hopes may be realized but emphasizes that nobody in Hungary would like to see a 3rd world war, - which would follow an outbreak of hostilities between the US and Russia. People of Hungary had enough in 44-45 and in 56. Has no idea whether or not an US-Russian conflict would or could occur. On the other hand since UN resolutions were without any effect and could not be enforced, she is at loss what to think about the whole matter. Maybe if the representatives of the satellite nations were not Moscovites, but at least national communists, some progress toward a peaceful solution could be found. She does not believe that changes could occur within the Soviet Union as the Russian people are primitive, indoctrinated, subjugated and have no guts to fight. And the top communists would not dare to deviate from the party line as former purges have shown where to it would lead.

B.

Hopes were high in Hungary after the 20th Congress as a general slackening of the reins was felt in every respect. It was hoped that this would continue gradually. The revolution came quite unexpected. In fact people were rather expecting something to happen when times were worse and oppression more strictly enforced.

XIV SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A.

Were Hungary independent, respondent was very quick and firm in this, - she wants Peoples Democracy as political system. Would like to see friendly relations with all states, complete neutrality

B.

Emphasis in an independent Hungary should be on agriculture and not on industry, since the country always was an agricultural country and only during communism, under Russian pressure was it so over-industrialized. She cannot tell which production of which goods should be abandoned, and which ones continued. In an independent non-communist Hungary the heavy industry, mining industry etc. should remain under state control. As well as transportation/railways, shipping / Commerce should be free shops and small crafts de-nationalized, let everybody get ahead in trade. Houses should be given back to owners, and so should be the land. Government should not set a maximum as to what any person or family may own.

As to the kind of government she would like to see in an independent Hungary, she prefers the kind that would give complete personal freedom, without assurance of a job, because if everybody is allowed to work and to live freely, its up to the individual to shape his own life. The second solution would not work, as life without personal freedom is not worth while living. Therefore no party, not even the communist party should be outlawed in an independent Hungary.

C.

As mentioned before, the ideal position for an independent Hungary is strict neutrality, like Austria. Relations with the Soviet Union only in case if Russia "behaves" With all other nations East European or Western powers, as well as US on a friendly neutral basis. As such trade relations as possible with all, and cultural relations also. No military alliances.

Respondent heard about the possibility of a Danubian federation, but has no idea whatsoever what this would mean and which countries would participate. Also is not interested. "I really had other things to do than to think about such matters" Cannot tell about general feeling in Hungary regarding this problem.

The present boundaries of Hungary are unacceptable to her. She feels that the 1000 ~~years~~ years old frontiers of the country should be re-established or at least the parts where Hungarian nationals live. She is mainly concerned about Transylvania. Repatriation of Hungarian nationals would be not the solution, the only acceptable solution would be to return to Hungary those territories where Hungarian nationals are living. The whole questions is very important to her.

IV. FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A.

Respondent heard of course about the 20th Party Congress, and that Khrushchev held a speech but doesn't know anything about it. "I just wasn't interested" Never heard about Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee. Neither about Peron. About Rakosi's private life she "heard" during the revolution when the revolutionaries seized the villa where he was living, and found all underground passages, shelters, and the whole place to be equipped and furnished with greatest and unimaginable luxury.

B.

Respondent never bothered to read the Hungarian newspapers, first of all she was not interested in politics, and then "all they told were lies anyway". She read sports-magazines, movie magazines and musical magazines. Books: translations of western authors mostly English and American. Also Russian classics and modern. She read also the Hungarian classics, and some moderns. Lots of poetry. Naturally also German literature in translations. Western literature, magazines etc. was handed down from friend to friend ~~xxx~~ At school and in the offices there were of course the "compulsory" books and magazines to read, the regime tried to stuff it down their throats. She mentioned mainly the newspapers to which people had to subscribe. Szabad Nép was the worst as far as she knew, An evening paper, Isti Budapest was slightly better. Then there was Népszava, Magyar Nemzet. Altogether people disliked reading papers, which were slanted, full of propaganda and reported mostly events in Russia and the other satellites. Regarding the reading habits of the people in general she could not give any information. Books were not too expensive and the quality of the books was not too bad either.

She and her family read Western publication whenever they could get hold of any. She mentioned the Vogue, Esquire, Life Magazine and an American Music Magazine, /could not give name/ that everybody

enjoyed most, was that these publications were free from politics. Also they were greatly impressed by the superior quality of the paper, pictures, advertizing etc. These Western publications were of course not sold in public. Some people got it from abroad, came in packages, got it through legation personnel etc. Respondent does not know about any illegal publications having been printed in Hungary. Nor about people reading them.

C.

"Grapewine" had all foreign news, and of course she too heard it. However, she was not interested in any political news, only sports and music. Reliable friends told each other in always everything, and the news was pretty much reliable. Respondent also passed on information, but only regarding music or sports. Usually at friendly gatherings.

F.

Respondent liked to go to the theatre and movies, but had not too much time as after office she usually went for sports trainings. She mainly saw classics, French, lots of Shakespeare, no Russian plays. Very few Hungarians. In the movies there were of course no American pictures at all. She saw many French, Italian, Hungarian and also Russian pictures. Her favorite plays were Iphigenia and Cyrano, and the picture she liked best was a picture on the life of a doctor, /could not give title/

VIEW WHEN CONSIDERING BY

About chances of changes in Russia she has already talked, and says that she cannot do anything. As to free elections in Russia? Could not tell. She does not think that real "free" and completely "secret" elections could be held, unless a complete change occurs there.

Top leaders in Russia preach "equality" for everyone but act differently. They are out for world communism and Russian imperialism. She thinks that no Hungarian communist has a will of his own, they all are Russian stooges. The Russian communists on the other hand fear their own superior and comrades.

D.

Popularity of other Western European countries ranked as follows in Hungary:

- Poland,
- Western Germany
- Czechoslovakia
- Bulgaria
- Rumania

Respondent based this classification on the peoples. She never had any contact with people of above mentioned countries.

She believes that Western Germany would surely denounce communism, and reject ties with the Soviet Union. Also in her opinion none of these countries are basically communistic.

As to the living standards in the satellite countries she ranked them as follows:

- Western Germany,
- Czechoslovakia,
- Hungary
- Poland
- Bulgaria
- Rumania

C.

She does not feel that the Gomułka government is the final solution for Poland. His step, however, was in the right direction. Had no idea about future outlook for Poland.

The events in Poland certainly affected events in Hungary, the Polish "thaw" encouraged people ~~xxx~~ during the revolution. Regarding freedom of expression in Poland prior to Gomułka's rise to power: she could not remember having heard about the Polish problem before the revolution. She ~~xxx~~ heard about the Poznań riots and trials but could not give any details. News from Poland was carried by the Hungarian newspapers, also people "heard" from friends.

Respondent is of the opinion that had ~~the Hungarians~~ Polish pattern been acceptable to the Hungarians, the revolution would not have occurred. Hungary wanted more than Poland got.

D.

Respondent has no answer to the question whether or not Tito was the originator of "national communism". She thinks him to be independent from Moscow, and refusing to take orders from the Soviet. In Hungary one day everybody was singing his praises, the next day people were ordered to condemn him, "this was very confusing" and ridiculous. She sees him as a very smart man who cares mainly for the independence of his people. He sits on the fence, and would do everything to remain in favor of both sides: the West and Russia. Tito's attitude toward the Hungarian revolution was the best example. He did not want to stick out his neck.

About other "Titoists" respondent can say nothing, she says she was a small child at the time of the Rajk process, and has not heard of Mensky or other Titoists ever. She believes from what she heard, that Tito is very popular in Yugoslavia. For above mentioned reasons. Living standard on the whole is very much the same as in Hungary. Couldn't tell about labor conditions, freedom of expression etc.

E.

In her opinion the communists gained control of China due to the fact that the country is very undeveloped, its people /majority/ primitive. In last but not least lack of leadership. Has no views as to China's independence or dependence of Russia. Does not know anything about Indo-British relations. Respondent has no opinion whatsoever concerning the invasion of the Suez Canal, Israeli invasion of Egypt etc.

F.

Living standard in Western Germany is high and on the rise. She does not believe that the Germans would start another war. She believes that the German army is technically superior to other Western armies, if not numerically. Has not heard about the term of service in the Western German army.

Respondent preferred the Russian occupation as "the Russians did not differentiate between religious beliefs as did the Germans. Regarding discipline she ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ thought the Germans were better. She thought that on the whole Hungarians preferred the German occupation troops to the Russians.

G.

Respondent ranked the listed countries according to the standard of living as follows:

Great Britain,
Western Germany
Italy
Egypt
Greece
Soviet Union

H.

The first thing that struck her in the US was the terrific traffic, the number of automobiles, the supermarkets and department stores, automatic gadgets, the subway.

The United States ought to give more moral and economic assistance to the Eastern European nations. Also arms. The present policy of the US is not too bad but ineffective, and it certainly was so during the Hungarian revolution. All aid to present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia etc. should only be given if it can be controlled that it is being used to the purpose asked for. But she thinks that no aid should be given to the Kadar government. Her attitude on what the US should do has not changed since she came to this country.

The American government should not acknowledge the present Hungarian government, ~~it is not representing~~ since this government does not represent the nation.

People in Hungary would certainly like to see more Western visitors, but could not tell what kind of visitors they would prefer. Believes that recent refugees who know the situation in Hungary should tell the truth about Hungary.

Hungarians would certainly be delighted in receiving Western books and periodicals, and a large selection too. She thinks if free distribution were allowed there would not be any problem how people could get the. She thinks it would impress people favorably if Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities.

Respondent does not know anything about the Marshall Plan, neither has she any idea why America fought in Korea.

She firmly believes that the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary had they wanted to do so, in the last months of 1956. However, she thinks that the methods of UN are too slow especially in time of emergency, the charter must be wrong. Since the UN could not do anything, "how can she have any better or more effective ideas?" She hopes nevertheless that something might be obtained in the not too far future.

VII REACTIONS OF RESPONDENT TO IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES

A. Respondent could not name anyone who in her opinion is the greatest living Hungarian.

B.

As to reactions to persons of importance in world affairs:

I've MAGY was the first who deviated from Stalinism, and during the revolution everybody had high hopes that he will be able to achieve something. After the defeat, however, he had no free will of his own.
 Cardinal HILBERT: respondent shrugged her shoulders, & could not give any answer except "I really don't know much about him"
 Leslie H. J.: had no opinion.
 Mrs GARD: was hated by everyone.
 James H. R.: everybody despised him, he has a base character and besides he is a puppet only.

As to President H. H. C. W. R.: "we were expecting more of him"
 Respondent could not say anything about H. H. C. W. R., GUILLES TOM nor E. H. H. A. H.

OF H. H. C. W. R. she did not know anything.
 Considered H. H. C. W. R. as one of the best "leaders".
 CHUNG H. I. H. H.: is the leader of the nation list China
 Ferenc H. G. Y. no opinion,
 ROSE H. V. L. T. " " "
 Chancellor DENNER "I don't like politicians"
 TALIN "hate him"
 MIL H. H. C. V. "just as bad as Stalin"
 Generalissimo FRANCO: didn't know a thing about him
 Never even heard the name of Aneurin BEVAN
 Dislikes H. H. C. W. R.
 CH. T. H. O. she has the same opinion as disclosed before. Nothing to add
 Never heard of H. H. C. W. R.
 CH. H. I. O. T. C. V. she thinks he has lots of brain but would do better using it for better purposes.
 "Who is OLLINGER?"
 Couldn't say a thing about CHURCHILL.

VIII. HUNGARIAN PEOPLE WHO WENT TO THE WEST AND WERE INVITED

Hungarian people escaped from Hungary because they could no more endure the communist oppression. It was mainly the younger generation that escaped, regardless of social class, and mostly from the western part of the country. Those who took part in the revolution this way or the other had to flee of course. Then of course many came who had relatives in the free world, and for whom this was the last opportunity to join them.

Behind stayed the Communists, who of course had nothing to fear. Then the elderly people who did not want to leave their homes, too many ties, and who did not dare to venture out into the unknown to start new in alien surroundings. Respondent is sorry for them and admires them also for their courage to have stayed, knowing that life under the communists now will even be worse than ever.
 She had a friend who was recently married, they and others just had furnished their small apartment. These people did not want to leave their home. Another one she knew did not want to leave her old mother alone.
 Respondent is sure that all those who stayed behind are glad that at least a part of the Hungarian nation escaped from, as she termed it "the red haze". However, she believes that more than the half of the Hungarians would stay behind even if given the opportunity to come to the West.

D. Respondent has not seen any of the people mentioned, and has heard

of very few -if at all- of individuals on attached list. Regarding people who left Hungary before 1956 she knows even less, as she was too young at that time to be interested, or to hear about them.

C.

She met one person who came back to Hungary in 1949, driven by homesickness but he always regretted it.

The communists launched the reeducation campaign mainly because due to the fact that most young people left the country, there is a great labor shortage. Also a great number of "professionals" such as doctors, engineers, etc. left. The program, of course was a failure.

Respondent thinks that people who came to the US should assimilate and become part of the American life as soon as possible.

People in Hungary want to know how the exiles are getting on in their new homeland, they want to know about their lives, how they are being treated here. They are interested in working conditions in the US, the standard of living. Whether they have or will have the same rights later on as a born citizen of the US. Whether or not all jobs are open for them or there is discrimination against foreigners.

D.

The exiles on their part should inform the American public about that Hungarians cherish freedom above everything else, and that they will fight for freedom and be willing to sacrifice everything for it, and yet not feel that it is a sacrifice.

She decidedly does not want to join any exile organization. Respondent was too young in 1956 times before 1949 and can therefore not tell her of her feelings about the different Hungarian political parties, neither about parties in exile. She heard of parties being revived during the revolution, such as the Smallholders Party and the Peasants Party, but was not in favor of such revivals. They should have waited while fighting was going on, it was much too soon to have taken up activities. Previous exile groups should not have returned to Hungary. They wouldnt have been welcomed either.

E.

Herself she would not want to return to Hungary for good circumstances permitting, but she would certainly go back for a visit. If she had children, she would teach them to speak Hungarian in the US.

III. HUNGARIAN REACTIONS TO THE US SURRENDER

While in Hungary respondent always listened to foreign radio stations: RFE VOA and the American Forces program. The reception was more or less the same, that is they were all jammed, but RFE was jammed most. Sometimes, however, they could get quite good reception. She usually listened in to the Hungarian broadcasts, sometimes to the English but had difficulty in understanding American English. She wouldnt have missed a day, and listened mostly to VOA. As everybody else, she also told always to reliable

friends what she heard on the foreign radio. She and her family owned two radios and had always some friends who came to listen with them. She also heard of Western broadcasts at second hand, also from friends.

There certainly was a risk involved in listening if found out especially that one listened regularly to such foreign broadcasts. It was a bad mark against you. Even if the regime did not expressly arrest people for listening to foreign broadcasts, they always could and did find some other excuse. Despite all restrictions, however, everybody always listened, and did not deter anybody. Could not tell about changes during the last years, if there were, she did not realize.

People on the whole thought, as did she, - that RAI was the least accurate regarding news. During the revolution, however, not. Therefore she preferred VOA. Also on this station she could get the best music. She judged the accuracy of the stations by her own experience. During the revolution the foreign radios as well as RAI kept their hopes alive. Day and night people were sitting in shifts at the radio and following the UI sessions, hoping, always hoping that something will be done. She did not have the impression that RAI incited the Hungarian people. But what they were saying and how they said it gave the impression that help would come forth eventually.

RAI should continue to broadcast into Hungary, as at least they can compare the news with the Russian and Hungarian official communist propaganda, and find out the truth for themselves.

The radio program of RAI should consist of political news but no anti communist propaganda. Further, much and good music /this because the Hungarian communist radio is very dull too much propaganda, politics, no "light" programs.

B. Respondent did not hear ever of H. J. She has heard about the Twelve Demands, but could not tell of what they consist.

C.

Has heard about Free Europe leaflets, but does not know any more details. Also nothing about being dangerous in picking them up or talking about them to anyone etc.

In a way they might have been effective, inasmuch as the communists saw that the West is keeping anti-communist propaganda alive. Nevertheless she does not see much good in continuing to drop leaflets. The radio is more effective.

D. The purposes of dropping leaflets into Hungary might have been to shake up Hungarian public opinion against communism. She believes that different organizations had, basically, the same objectives.

II. CHILD TRAINING AND EDUCATION

The main things respondent would teach to her children would be first of all decent behavior, body hygiene, study comes first then play. Conscientiousness toward duties. Should learn languages literature, history, arts, music.

Discipline is very important in education, however, she disapproves of physical punishment. Treatment of boys and girls should be the same, and conform to age.

Respondent could not remember of having been punished as a child as she was on "friendly" relations with her parents, who always reasoned out things with her but did not punish her.

She cert inly knew of families where children over 6 regardless of their sex, were punished. There was more physical punishment in the "lower" classes. There were changes during the last 10 years, since the whole educational system underwent a change after under communist rule. Physical punishment was abandoned when children were about 11 years of age, she thinks, but could not tell whether or not this varies by social class.

Communism brought about changes in this respect, inasmuch as physical punishment was more or less abandoned. The young people were more "independent" and more self-conscious. Maybe the relationship between parent and child was more levelled.

Respondent could not give any examples regarding the difference in disciplining children under age 6 before and after the communist.

The main requirement of friendship should be honesty, straightforwardness. Whether or not there had been any changes in friendship during communism, respondent could not tell.