

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is a fine looking, fragile elderly lady, with youthful features despite her age. A typical member of the pre-war middle european middleclass women. Fine manners, low voice, thoughtfulness toward everybody, a certain fear of life and its problems, especially of public affairs and publicity, however an inborn skill for almost anything she ever started to do, and the diligence of a school-girl, an activity without practice conception, resulting from the lack of education.

Nevertheless, she is not the real Hungarian type of the middleclass mothers, first of all because she lived in Transylvania as a member of the Hungarian minority in Rumania, where democracy had a more advanced stage than in Hungary during the same period, and secondly because she was forced to work for her own living for the last 27 years. Even if she never really got acquainted with workers or even businessmen, or women, but stayed within the ranks of her own class, her way of life differed her from the rest of the upper middle-class, where she belonged basically. Maybe these basic differences together with the effects of communism built up in her the ability of progressive thinking. It is very interesting to notice in general, how strongly almost all of the refugees of the Revolution reject the success of Communism indoctrination, regardless of age or origin. At the same time all of them are witnesses of a significant change, not only in the language and terms they use, but definitely in their way of thinking and view of life, which can be considered as an indirect result, and they themselves usually are not able to judge it objectively, because it grew with them.

Respondent is not interested whatsoever in politics or public affairs. She didn't even know much about her own husband's profession, and does not show any interest toward law, on the contrary, she admits that law is something extremely boring and dry for her. On the other hand she states that since 1945, everybody continuously discussed politics, including herself. She became involved into this chain-reaction through her work. Sitting alone all day long with her sewing, she could listen without brake to the foreign radio broadcasts, and could inform

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II. MAIN SALIENT AIR WAVE CHARACTERISTICS

her family and friends about the events. She was the transmitter of the broadcasts, and her very intelligent daughter explained to her the connections of world events, discussing what her mother told her. However the two generations kept their integrity and the mother has her own convictions. Specifically, do not about their help. We should have never imagined that such talk can be put without any objection, whenever times come for it.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AID WARM UP QUESTION

Regarding what American people ought to know about ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the events in Hungary, in the fall of 1956, respondent said: "I guess the Americans have to know how much we waited on them. We were absolutely definite about their help. We could have never imagined that so much talk can go out without any action, when the time comes for it.

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

A. " On the 22nd of October, everything was abso-~~lute~~lutely quiet. I had not the slightest idea about the coming events. On the 23rd of October, I was at home, when I got a telephone call, a long distance call from my brother, from Salgotarjan, that my mother is in dead agony. I said good bye to my daughter on the phone and put together the most necessary things and left Budapest with the one o'clock train, in the afternoon and reached Salgotarjan at six fifty. On the train I heard people talking about the speech of Gero. People said that they expected very much about from that speech and it had to be listened to. When I arrived to my brother's house I told him what I heard on the train and I asked him to listen to the speech. however, in the rest of the evening I was so busy with my mother that I didn't even inquire whether he heard the speech at all. My mother was at my brother's house so the whole family was together. I was with her all night long, I didn't sleep at all.

At five o'clock in the morning I heard that demonstration were going on all over Budapest. I felt a great en-~~thusiasm~~thusiasm and we embraced each other with my family in an extasy about the possibility of liberation, and we ~~were~~were together.

The radio was on all day long and listening to the events I started to be afraid for my daughter who was in Budapest. We lived near to Szenater which was one of the main nest of the fighting all the time. We heard about fights there and even some shootings over the radio. Our enthusiasm didn't lessen. We thought the Russians will go out and we will have the same life as the independent Austria. It was logical to believe in this, this should have been ~~liberated~~liberated anyway together with Austria. We didn't expect anything back from the old time people didn't

want to take back their properties or anything like that. We just wanted to be free people. During the first two days we didn't sleep more than about two three hours daily and we were on the radio listening and enthusiastic that finally our problems will be solved. I didn't leave the house for a minute because I was continuously with my mother. The only thing I could really follow up there; thence was listening to the radio.

On the 26th of October, I became more and more nervous about my daughter. I wanted to go home to Budapest, and join her. We were very affectionate toward each other, and I knew that she was at least the same anxious to see me, as I was to see her. I went to the railway station but there was no traffic, no train, no bus. I had to return finally to my brothers house without being able to travel to Budapest. On my way back I met some acquaintances of ours, who told me that all the AVH people are terribly anxious to escape and some have already succeeded to flee into Czeckoslovakia and they got there right away in the night of the Czeckoslovak government. I also heard that demonstrations are going on in Salgotarjan too. mines

Our house was right in the middle of the city, on the main square just across the County Hall. I could see the demonstrators waving out from our windows. The main body of the demonstrators were composed of men, women and children, young and old, but mostly workers. Salgotarjan was a mining center and it also has a big steel plant is therefore the population is chiefly composed of miners and workers. The office employees of the mines and factories joined the workers. The demonstrators assembled on the main square across from the County Hall, and sang the national anthem Selyp. After a while, the demonstrators tore down the Red Star from the County Hall, and started to pull down the Russian War Memorial from its site in the middle of the square, using a truck. Finally they succeeded, and broke even the g which surrounded the Memorial.

This was about the only significant event in Salgotarjan that I saw in those days. X The condition of my mother became worse, and I hardly left her bedside, and was with her for some days. On November first, after several unsuccessful attempts to get a train to go to Budapest, I finally found a truck driver who was willing to take me to Budapest. This was a truck from the sugar factory of Selyp. We got on the truck with the seventeen year old boy, and went first to Selyp. However, there was no sugar there to load, therefore we continued with the empty truck to Hatvan. There in the middle of the city I saw a frightening scene, at least a terrible sight for me. There were six large private cars close together in a circle, and all were covered with white ~~xxx~~ sheets and a large Red Cross was painted on them. The cars were surrounded by Freedom Fighters and some soldiers. Just as we arrived, the Freedom Fighters pulled out of one of the cars an AVH man, slapping and kicking him, and putting handcuffs on him. Inquiring of bystanders, we were told that the AVH men had been trying to escape in the six cars, disguised as Red Cross cars, to flee into Czechoslovakia. I was fearful that our truck might be stopped and we accused of being spies. The whole scene was frightful.

We then continued our journey toward Budapest. Darkness had fallen. Suddenly we encountered a long line of trucks ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ filled with soldiers with arms. This great column of trucks, numbering hundreds of vehicles, passed us. We could not identify these soldiers, since the uniforms of the Hungarian army were like those of the Russians. As the trucks passed, we saw that they also had many large and small guns and machine guns. Later on, we heard that this was a Russian force, which was going to the airport of Ferihegy. We noted that although it was only the first of November, the Russians already had sent such powerful forces to the Budapest area.

When we arrived in Budapest, we told the people there what we had seen.

Budapest was a ghastly sight - street cars burnt, tanks, torn down wires, the streets filled with barricades, especially about the Eastern Railway Station. The sight was horifying. Otherwise, the city was quiet. We heard a few shots, but were told that it was only the Freedom Fighters trying out their guns. I arrived home about ten o'clock. During the trip, I had contracted a very bad cold, and I already had a high ~~xxxxx~~ fever, so I stayed in bed on the second and third of November.

At 5 A.M. on November fourth, the telephone rang, waking us up. A friend of us was calling us from Svab: "Listen, Russian troops are coming towards us from Huvosvolgy. The main road from there into Budapest came right into the Szenater ~~xxxxx~~ where we lived. We went to every apartment in the house, telling the people about the advancing Russians. There were about 32 apartments in the house. Everybody took some food and clothing and went down into the ~~cellar~~ BASEMENT a ~~small~~ cellar ~~xxxxxx~~ with coal. We leveled the coal, and put chairs on it, and sat down. The cellar, needless to say, was very crowded. We stayed there for six days, sleeping in the chairs, and having no opportunity to lay down. ~~and~~ We listened to our radios ~~xxxxxx~~ waiting (or listening to news about ~~xxxxxx~~ on ~~x~~ the American election, and ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ and about the help we expected after the election, to liberate us.

We had no food. On the first of November, before we had gone to the ~~xx~~ cellar, my daughter ~~x~~ boiled a big pot of potatoes, and our food for the next week was two or three ~~xxxxxx~~ pieces of potatoes each day. On Tuesday, Nov. ? we went upstairs to our apartment and heard that the city ~~was~~ a little more quiet. We started to make some tea, but a man called to us not to stay upstairs, for it was dangerous to do so. We finished making the tea, and then hurried downstairs. Before we could reach the cellar, ~~xx~~ six mines exploded, and burnt up our apartment almost completely. Our furniture was destroyed, only what ~~was~~ was in the hall being spared. The same day a teacher who lived in our house heard that in the next street a bakery had opened. We went out despite the heavy firing, and returned after two hours in a terrible state. ~~xxxxxx~~. He (the teacher ?) told us that ~~xx~~ there were about 600 people lining up to buy bread. A plane appeared and flew down very low. After the plane had left in five or ten minutes, an extremely heavy mine explosion occurred, and about 45 persons were killed, and ~~xxxxxx~~ 100 or so were wounded. This happened in Kapas Street. People saved their lives only by running quickly into doorways. It was felt that the plane had signaled soldiers nearby about the people lining up for bread, who might have been mistaken for soldiers or Freedom Fighters. Even in this terrible situation, we kept waiting for help to come, and were optimistic. There were a few pessimists among us, but most of us believed in a final satisfactory outcome. Of course, nothing ever happened.

The younger people went in and out of the cellar, and brought the news of the defense of the ~~the~~ FORTRESSES how people smeared the streets with soft soap, and the Russian tanks were not able to approach. They also told us about the ~~if~~ ingenious kind of resistance, how people put out pots and pans, which the Russians took for mines, and how stupid and animal-like the Russians were, how they looked for the Swiss Canal and other things like that. I ~~w~~ went out myself, and saw a moving scene. In the middle of Szenater Square there was a little garden of flowers laid out to spell "Soviet-Hungarian Friendship". The leader of the private nursery nearby came with all her children, with tiny shovels, and the children started to dig out this arrangement of flowers. People assembled, smiled, and petted the children, and were deeply moved. The oldest child there was perhaps four years old. On November 11, Monday, I walked to the Ulloi which was a long way from our home

I went along the B W Boulevard, weeping as I went, for I could not see one undamaged house along the whole ~~way~~ ^{WAY}. The city was a terrible sight. The street was ~~very~~ ^{so} crowded with people it was difficult to walk. The ~~people~~ ^{so} people were all walking, and seemed very sad as they kept looking at the ruins. ~~The~~ The dead ~~were~~ were already ~~placed~~ placed in ~~into~~ churches and schools, and ~~only~~ some flower shops were broken into to ~~get~~ ^{to get} the flowers needed for the burials of Freedom Fighters. When I returned home in the afternoon, I had a high fever, about 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Since all the rooms of our apartment were so damaged, we hung up a curtain in the hall, covering a large hole made by the mine explosion, and without any heat or water, we lived in this hall. I stayed in bed until December 8th. My daughter was always with me. She went out only to get some medicine for me. Besides my fever, I suffered a nervous breakdown, and a great fear for the safety of my daughter. A sixteen year old girl in the house where we lived, went out to buy milk, and she never returned. ~~Therefore~~ The deportations started all over, and picked ~~u~~ the people, and especially the ~~young~~ young people, on their way to work. Some Russians or AVH people appeared on the street, took away their ~~identification~~ identification cards and brought them to the ~~political~~ political police, and since they now could not produce any identification papers, they were deported as loafers and vagrants.

In 1916, I had had to escape, when the Rumanians invaded Transylvania. In 1919 came the Rumanian occupation and the Communist Revolution. In 1944, there was the siege of Budapest. Already in 1943, my daughter's home had been bombed out. We had gone through so much, that finally we just could not bear any more. My daughter and I talked it over, and decided that we would not live under Communism any more, and that we would try to go where we could find no more possibilities of war. Europe was not

safe. A war could break out there in any minute. I telephoned my ~~husband~~ husband, who was in Sopron. We had had to live apart, in two different cities, because he could not get a job in Budapest, and with my profession (as a lawyer) it was almost impossible to locate in a small community. Also, I wanted to stay with my daughter, who also worked in Budapest. My husband told me over the phone that we could not go in safety to Sopron, because the town was full of ~~by~~ AVH men. Despite this, we started ~~to~~ for Sopron, thinking that even with the danger, we would at least have a little recreation and change of atmosphere.

On our way, we were terribly afraid, because people everywhere were being picked up and deported. We arrived in Sopron and met my husband. He didn't ~~us~~ want to leave Hungary. He was 71 years old, and too old and too tired to start a new life elsewhere and to leave his country. He had just ~~about~~ ~~enough~~ ~~to~~ ~~live~~ ~~on~~, and we hope and believe that we can bring him here, after we settle down for a while.

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Our escape was rather dangerous, for the border was mined. Finally, we got into Austria on December 8th.

B.

Regarding what respondent thinks Hungary ~~has~~ has gained from the Revolution, she said: "Nothing; the situation is worse today than it was before. There are more arrests, more deportations, and *DESPERATION*."

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IV. EXPECTATIONS OF AID FROM THE WSST IN THE REVOLUTION.

Regarding what she thought the West would do ~~about~~ about the Revolution, respondent said: "First, we definitely expected armed help, either troops or just weapons, but, anyway, some effective help. As regards Secretary-General HAMMARSKJOLD of the United Nations, people kept shouting to each other, 'He has to come, he has to come!' We based ~~these~~ these expectations, first of all, because of the foreign broadcasts, especially Radio Free Europe, which for years encouraged us. I was always listening to the radio, for as a dressmaker, I worked at home. First, they (Radio Free Europe ?) called upon the workers to commit sabotage. All this was absolutely irresponsible, as it turned out in the end. How could people do such things as they were advised to, if their families do not have anything to eat? During the Revolution, they (Radio Free Europe) ~~did~~ did not continue this ~~encouragement~~ encouragement. They always continued to say that the hour of liberation would come. The hour of liberation did come. We expected their help.

~~Respondent~~ Respondent did not come into contact with any foreigners between Oct. 23 to Dec. 8th.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Talking about her own family background, respondent said: "My father was a municipal chief health officer in Rumania in Barot. We were in very good financial circumstances. We had a house of six rooms in Barot. My mother had a house in Budapest, and I had a very beautiful villa with ample grounds in Szekelyudvarhely, which after I married was occupied by the AVH in 1945. My father died in 1930. When I married in 1922 I moved with xxx in 1922 the xxxxxxxx my husband in Szekelyudvarhely. My husband was a lawyer. In 1940 at the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary, my husband was appointed municipal attorney. We lived in my house under very good financial circumstances, until 1930. Then in the course of the conversion of the money lost 70 per cent of its value, our savings in the bank became worthless. The banks got permission from the government to pay back all the savings within fifteen years, but without interest. That was the time that I started as a dress maker, but even so we had financial difficulties.

My father had a medical degree, and my mother had gone through the eighth grade of public school.

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B. Regarding the social classes in Hungary, respondent said: " I had a very quiet life, stayed at home, and saw chiefly only my customers. Hence I did not know too much about the new structure of society. The class of the workers and the peasants remained. The middle class was oppressed, and the aristocracy destroyed. The Communists wanted to mix all ~~the~~ classes together. For instance, one of the greatest and most elegant halls of the parkballs of the past was the hall of the medical ~~students~~ students. Now, when they held the medical ball, just everybody could walk in from the street, even without any invitation. The cleaning woman in my daughter's office, ~~was~~ ^{was} My daughter, who was an office worker (This was a way of addressing a ~~most~~ close friend in Hungary instead of the formal you-this exists ~~a~~ also in English). My customers were all office workers from the old middle class chiefly. This class was always full of complaints, how they had lost everything, how they were forced into poverty, but how in spite of this they did not become Communists. We discussed politics every day. In the older days, women were not interested in politics.

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I guess that the middle class, and some of the aristocrats were the hardest hit by Communism. All those people whose wealth was completely ~~ix~~ taken by the Communists

Regarding how an individual may advance in Communist Hungary, respondent stated: "The origin and the political background was the ~~ix~~ most important factor. For ~~ix~~ instance, I could see in my daughter's case that talent counted also. After she graduated as a chief accountant, wherever she worked, ~~ix~~ for a few weeks she was promoted to a better within position. Everybody knew that she ~~ix~~ came from a reactionary family, and also she was not a party member, yet she became a chief accountant ~~ix~~ and the chief of the financial department in her company. As the young generation grew up, the Communists dropped the old experts, but it was a slow procedure to educate the same fine experts as the old ones were.

Between 1945 and 1953, only the strict Communist party members could advance themselves, but after Imre M Nagy was made premier, a marked improvement occurred. The terror lessened in every field, and party membership was no longer a requisite to advancement.

Only those individuals could get ahead under Communism who were pushy or who had a good reputation in the party. But of course there still existed the same system of protection as before. If a person obtained a good position, he took his own family members and his friends in with himself.

In Hungary there were very few groups who got more than they deserved. First, were the sportsmen who received houses and all kinds of luxuries, and ~~ix~~ sports ~~ix~~ was also a ~~ix~~ form of ~~ix~~. The second group were the party officials. Then came the Russian citizens, who even had a separate shop, where everything was very cheap. For example, we bought two pounds of sugar in our state stores for 11 forints, and they bought the same sugar in their store for one forints, 50. The next group were the foreign students, Korean, Chinese, ~~ix~~ they got ~~ix~~ a big selection of different foods, ~~ix~~ for their meals. At the same time, the Hungarian students got SLOPS.

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FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Concerning family life in Hungary in the last ten years, respondent stated: "The Communist system wanted to win over the children, and the parents wanted to resist this. There were children who felt affection for their parents, but others took sides with their teachers. We had no small children in our family, therefore I am not well informed about this subject. I know only generalities, what other people say about this problem. Among the different kinds of families mentioned to me by interviewer, our family is like the second one. We grew closer together under the Communist regime, and talked freely about everything to each other, but not in front of strangers. In many instances, our family motives remained the same as in 1945."

"I only knew members of the middle class, and those families were the same as ours, hence I would place them in the second category, described above."

"Regarding how children grew up under Communism in the last ten years, I can say that they grew up without religion. For example, I had a very religious friend. She was a cousin of a bishop. She wanted to enroll her child into a religious class, but the register's office door was closed half an hour before the people arrived, and before the office officially announced hours. At any rate, she was not able to enroll her child. Later on, she was told confidentially that it was very lucky she could not do this, otherwise her husband and herself would have lost their jobs. Even so, they took care secretly of the religious instruction of their child, and in this way, she as well as the other bureaucrats educated their children at least a little bit as they had before Communism arrived. But it was very difficult and dangerous."

B. Regarding courtship and marriage, respondent said: "The life of the young people changed completely. There were no more opportunities to make friendships and acquaintances. The university students married among and dates students. The factory workers married people from the same factory. The office workers married among each other. They no longer had any opportunities for society events. I know that there were very many divorce cases, but I am not familiar with the details. Nor do I know much about the engagements and weddings."

"The moral level was very bad, generally speaking. Children were taken to camps, and young girls, of 13 or so, were proud to be pregnant. The only way I can explain this is the Communist system of raising children."

"I have no knowledge of prostitution."

"As regards the sexual morality of convinced Communists, it was different, but I won't be able to explain it in detail, I only ~~say~~ this, but OTHERWAYS ^{I WAS TOO AFRAID} of the Communists, because they scolded the old middle class so strongly. I can say only one thing in connection with this subject. The opinion investigators came to my house, (they came every two weeks) and asked questions about ~~different~~ different problems, it was always very dangerous for us, we had to be very careful not to say one word, which they would be able to use against us. I was asked what my opinion was on the Communist society, and I answered that it was just like a tree ^{upside down}, but I couldn't see how such a tree could survive. The same thing exists with the morality under Communism. It is upside down.

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Regarding what would happen to a friendship where one of the friends becomes a party member in Communism, respondent said: "There were many ~~or~~ cases of this kind, and he/was considered by the other as spineless.

who joined the party ~~was~~

Usually, the non-Communist friend broke the friendship. The Communists were anxious to have non-Communist friends, which was a system of insurance for the future."

"No one could continue a friendship under Communism, keeping politics out of it. Politics was the subject every day, during the whole day."

D. Juvenile Delinquency. "The Communists kept this as quiet. ~~The~~ The newspapers never mentioned it. In the People's Democracy, there were no scoundrels. However, I myself have seen minor crimes. All this happened in civilization, before Communism, as well as after it. These young criminals came from the lower ~~and~~ classes -- 18 to 20 year old youngsters - who just wanted to obtain money for their pleasures. As far as I know, it was punished very strictly."

Respondent had no knowledge about ~~the~~ the jampeces.

VII. RELIGION

A. Regarding what part religion played in Hungarian life & under Communism, respondent said: "Most people were afraid to attend mass regularly, except if they were sure the church was not being watched. A religious attitude might cause one to lose one's job. A friend of my daughter lost her position because she was denounced as a clerical (religious) reactionary.

"I think the Catholic religion was hardest hit by Communism, first because Cardinal Mindszenty was a strong ~~leader who was an obstacle to~~ DRIVING FORCE cause the Protestant religion HAD MORE PEACE-PRIESTS WHO BALANCED THE SITUATION OF THE EYE OF I THINK

In general, I ~~think~~ think all faiths suffered about equally under think Communism."

"Religion was a bulwark against Communism, because religious people could not submit to this atheist movement. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Even when one died he ~~was~~ not buried with any priests in attendance, but simply earth was scraped over him, ~~the deceased~~, without any ceremony."

B. In regard to what part religion played in the life of the respondent, she stated: "I was not very religious. We had too many troubles during the last decade. When finally my grandchild died, I told myself it would be a sin to go to church, because ~~xxx~~ I could only scold God instead of ~~xxxx~~ praising him. I did not go to masses, but prayed at home. Once in a while, I stopped in at a deserted or empty church."

"In my parents life, religion played about the same roles as in mine. My father was a Unitarian, and my mother a ~~Catholic~~ Catholic. Therefore, they did not emphasize religious problems."

"I guess that in Hungarian society, I stood about in the middle. Perhaps there were a few more people more religious than I was, but it is hard to judge."

C. In connection with the role that churches should play in society, respondent said: "Religion has to be able to function peacefully and free. Religious ~~schools~~ are necessary."

Continued "The churches should have the responsibility for setting moral codes and standards. It is a help to the parents from an educational point of view."

"The churches should not be active in politics. Cardinal Mindszenty's case was a good example of this."

D. Jewish Minority. Respondent had no knowledge whether the Jewish religion was injured by Communism, or not. She said she had no Jewish friends. Regarding the attitude of Jewish people toward Communism in Hungary, respondent stated: "Many of the wealthy Jewish people left Hungary before, during, and after the war. Those who stayed in Hungary, I guess gave in to Communism, in great numbers, because many legislators and party officials were Jewish. For instance, in the organization where my daughter worked, there were two Christian employees, the rest of them being Jews. They were very nice, very polite, and very good colleagues."

"I think that many Jews joined the party for material advantages, but perhaps there were some convinced Communists among them. During the Revolution, almost all of the Jewish people confessed that they had never believed in Communism, and didn't like it. I don't know whether they took part in the demonstrations and the fighting because I ~~xi~~ didn't take part in these."

" I do not know whether the Jewish people were afraid of programs during the Revolution. I heard of single cases after Imre Nagy took over in 1953, that they (the Jews) were afraid of consew consequences because they carried out many sentences (punishments *IN THE PEOPLES COURTS* after 1945, and they were afraid of the reaction to this. Maybe this still could have been in ~~kwaa~~ their minds."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "I understand that when Hungarian youth are discussed, people mean those from 18 to 30 years old." respondent said.

B. In regard to the part that youth played in the Revolution, respondent stated: "The youth had a heavy role in the Revolution. I think they acted as they did because they got tired of the terror and overwork-- the system as a whole. The Revolution was not premeditated as I heard here in the United States."

"It's true that the youth took the lead in the Revolution from every angle. This was the result of the education and influence of the older generation. The older people thought that the youth in the Revolution were real heroes. However, I do not know what the youths' opinion of the older people was."

C. Concerning the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent had no knowledge. She had no children of school age then, and had no acquaintance with families who had."

D. Concerning the respondent's views on the subject of Communist indoctrination of youth: "The youths hated the Communist indoctrination because if they failed in this subject, they could not continue their general studies. They just had to leave school."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE.

A. Regarding what respondent's main complaint in every day life in Communist Hungary was, she said: " I ~~think~~ think that for all of the housewives the biggest torture was to stand in line for everything. When I ~~had~~ had to do some important or extensive shopping, I left around seven o'clock in the morning, and got home around two o'clock in the afternoon. There were just a few Kozert shops, and if one wanted meat, this meant four or five hours every time."

B. "Apart from big political matters, people complained the most about the insecurity of jobs, said respondent. The whole system was one of continuous complaints."

"I guess our standard of living was about the same level all the time.

"From our circles from among people I knew, nobody was better off than the others so I can't answer that question.

"I guess there is responsible factors for our very ~~ix~~ low standard of living, but considered were the construction of the subway and the government spent millions on it and that our food was exported to Russia and partly to ~~xxx~~ East Germany which was ~~xxxxxx~~ stuffed with everything good to keep with West Germany. Once a sportsman told us that they brought back from East Germany - butter, cheese, etc., in the Hungarian wrapping and with the Hungarian script on the wrapping paper. So we had to buy back our own food in ~~xxx~~ East Germany."

B . Regarding her income in Hungary the last 10 years, respondent says, "I made about five to seven hundred franks and nothing was deducted, but I paid 120 for in taxes. I was a Maszek. I was a private contractor. My daughter worked too. She made twelve to fourteen hundred franks a month as an office worker. Sometimes she got premiums, around a thousand franks because she was an excellent expert."

REGARDING C. Regarding the prices and quality of goods one could buy in Hungary, respondent says:

"We bought food at State Stores mainly at ~~xxxx~~Kozerk and sometimes on the free market at Szentor which was a famous marketing place already before the war.

"On the free market I bought ~~xxx~~ chicken and ~~x~~ vegetables which could be gotten at the ~~Kozerk~~. Therefore, it would be

hard to compare the two. I don't remember about differences in different years. I bought two pounds of sugar for 11 forints, two pounds of flour for \$4.50, eggs for a dollar fifty. During the revolution we paid on the free market - ~~gk~~ five to ten dollars for an egg. Two pounds of lemon cost 40 forints. A ~~xxx~~ chicken was 45 forints. A ham was 50 to 60 forints. three forints for two pounds, \$4.35. Apples from 8 to 12 forints, so you can imagine we didn't eat too many apples. C lothing we bought at State Stores.E everyone was quite worried about quality. Woolen materials were very bad. In the last two or three years only the quality of the textile went up a little bit.

"Distribution of retail goods was quite alright, but it was ~~xxx~~ uniformed. In the most elegant sections of the city, the same goods were sold and for the same price as in the smaller sections."

Regarding what commodities were in especially short supply, respondent says:

"I had trouble with basting thread. Whenever I went to the shop, I gave ~~\$10~~ 10 forints to the shopkeeper or brought some cakes or a little coffee and this way I could get basting thread once in a while. This was around 1953-54. I remember that for years, we couldn't buy a dust pan or a frying pan. Nobody could understand what happened and after years, finally they discovered that these two had been ~~xxxx~~ left out of the production plan. They were not on the production list and this why they were not produced at all. Iron and metalware was ~~xxxx~~ absolutely missing. SKINNE R we couldn't find and visiting the industrial fair once, I found ~~SKINNE R~~. I ran home and called all my friends asking

them to go and get it in the fair.

"There was not an organized black market. The peasants sold their goods on a higher price would have been considered a black market. Eggs, F^{OWL}, pig, veal. Veal we could never get in the state stores - only for sick people for instance. But even this way the price difference wasn't too big. The only thing was that we couldn't get at all was goods regularly. The only time I remember flourishing black market was in 1946 under the inflation. I never met with any shopkeeper who didn't want higher price than he was authorize to.

"Black marketing was dangerous and it was very strictly punished."

D. Regarding her working day, respondent said:

"I got up regularly at 6:30. After breakfast I started to sew until 9 o'clock and it wasn't the big shopping I came home around 10 o'clock and I worked until 7. Then I cooked one dish as our dinner - something simple, some potatoes or very, very seldom a chicken and then I continue to sew again until 11 or 12 o'clock at night. ~~and~~ When my daughter came home, she helped me with the dressmaking. Then I went to sleep. My only amusement was that I listened to the radio all day long.

"On Sundays I didn't cook at home, but we went to a restaurant. This was our greatest luxury and eat a menu. This cost us 11 to 12 forint and we considered it as to do. We almost never went to the movies because we didn't like the Russian films.

"I sew everything - French and English style, dresses, coats and suits. To middle class people highly remember I made an evening gown. This is the only one

I made during the 12 years for a woman who worked on the Russian Embassy and she went to Moscow for two years. She took such huge suit cases with her as a couch. I, myself, made her six dresses and in the meantime I knew that several of the salons in the middle of the city worked for her. She got six fur coats from the State and needed another one.

"My main work, however, was the alterations. For sewing a dress, I charged 150 forints. For a coat, 350, for a small suit, ~~250~~ 220.

"I was a union member. In every two weeks somebody came from the guild to spy on me. They were Communist party members and checked whether I had apprentices or helpers. Once my friend came over in the late afternoon to chat and brought her own sewing with her. Unluckily the guild representative just arrived at that time and saw her sewing with me. It was terrible difficult for me and took a long time to clarify the situation and to make them believe that she wasn't my helper.

"Vacation and health compensations didn't affect me because I was a Maszek and a Szek. This way I didn't get any advantages.

"However, maybe it's interesting to mention here that my brother who was a municipal ~~health~~ health officer had quite a lot of trouble in connection with the house program. At the different factories and companies there was a set quota of people defining what percentage of the employees were allowed to be sick. No matter how sick a person was, if she was above the quota, my brother couldn't qualify her ~~xxx~~ as sick, but he had to put down that she was healthy. Of course, the people got extremely angry at him because they didn't know that he had to

do it; otherwise, he would have gotten disciplinary punishment. Once a Communist worker was qualified healthy by my brother, and the next day he threw a stone into the window of my brother's office. My brother saw who he was, and next time he met the worker asked him why he did it. The worker explained and my brother asked "Are you a Communist?" When the worker said yes, my brother answered "You can thank ~~what~~ ~~your~~ your own system for what happened to you, and you really shouldn't throw stones at my window." The worker was amazed and also a little bit ashamed.

E. Regarding her opinions on country life and agriculture in Hungary, respondent says "I couldn't prefer to live in the country while I was in Hungary because of my profession, but in my opinion, the food supply was generally better in the country. However, there were times when even the peasants came up to Budapest to buy bread.

"From a political point of view, it depended upon the personality of the Party Secretary where it was easier, but in general it was of course easier to check the people in the country than in the big cities."

Regarding collectivization, respondent says "I guess collectivization was introduced in Hungary around 1948-49. I didn't know the Hungarian peasant so well, but I knew the small peasants in Transylvania, and that their little house and land meant their whole life, and if it was taken from them, life wasn't worth living anymore. I am of the opinion that collectivization is a bad system.

"About a year ago I heard about the dissolution of Farmers' Cooperatives. Many people left them after the new decree concerning this problem.

Regarding the ideal agricultural system in an independent Hungary, respondent says:

"The land reform should be kept. The great lands shouldn't be given back, but a balanced distribution would be necessary, and the owners should get some compensation."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Regarding the situation before 1948, respondent says:

"Before the war I lived in Transylvania with my husband as a member of the Hungarian minority, and we both had a strong propaganda role against Romanianization. The Romanians very often just put a "u" at the end of a Hungarian name, and declared the person a Romanian, or said the "debts of peasants, and then asked them to become Romanian citizens for it.

"After the war I & didn't take any part in politics, and I don't even know much about it."

Regarding her feelings about the Communist Party before 1948, respondent says: "We looked upon the Communist Party in 1919 with the greatest disgust, and this stayed with us against the Communism of today. Or, maybe it is only strengthened by the experiences we have today.

B. Regarding her views on the Communist Party from 1948 on, respondent says: "The Party was built up from members of the peasants and workers ranks, and I didn't know these people. I had no connection with Party members and therefore I have no ~~xxxx~~ knowledge at all about the activities and motives in the Party."

Regarding what should be done to the Hungarian top Communists in an independent Hungary, respondent says: "I guess they should be executed. They never felt any mercy toward other people."

C. Regarding whether there was any opposition against the Communist government before the revolution, respondent says:

"I have no knowledge of such opposition. I guess people were too afraid to do anything like that against the Terror."

Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, respondent says:

"I heard about the Petofi Circle. Everybody was enthusiastic about it. This was the place where the first free word was uttered that something should be done against the regime. It influenced the revolution by all means. However, I have never been at the meetings of the Petofi Circle. I first heard about it about half a year before the revolution.

"I heard also about the Writers' Association, but I didn't know about their activities.

"I guess the intellectuals believed in a liberation and they continuously had faith in a final freedom. The writers

had the pen in their hands and therefore they could most effectively reach the people. Writers were mediums of ideas throughout human history. "

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Regarding what people the secret police were, respondent says:

"In 1952 we had a terrible case in my family. My brother had just returned from war prison in Russia, and his son was going to the high school. One day the director of the school arranged a youth panel among the students. The students didn't know that there were AVH people among them, and had a free discussion. My nephew made some reactionary statements. After 3 days he was taken to the political police and was beaten for 5 days by 3, 4 and 5 AVH men at the same time. When he was finally released, there was not one untouched spot on his body. He had to write a curriculum vitae and every time he put down a new statement he was beaten for it. After a few days, my brother was taken in for 3 days and was beaten hard. He was prohibited to talk about it though, and the AVH men told him to tell the people regarding the ~~wound~~ wound on his face that he had a bicycle accident. From this time on the whole family lived in continuous fear and the boy had no chance to progress at school. My husband was also taken to the AVH in 1946, and they told him that they knew about his deeds in Transylvania, but he wouldn't be hurt if he became a spy for the AVH. He was too weak to defend himself and to escape offhand, so he said that he had to make up his mind. After 5 ~~hr~~ hours of questioning, they let him go and told him to put a letterbox on his door and he would find a letter from time to time in this box which would include a person's name, and they wanted to have information on that person. They explained to him their system of code writing, and they told him that he had to use this type of writing. He should follow the instructions he got exactly, answering the questions about the person, and should put the letter into a letterbox of another man who was named for him. After 2 days he got the first letter with a name he had never heard of. Then he put it in an envelope, wrote on a piece of paper that he didn't care what was going to happen to him, he wouldn't do the job, and put the letter in the letterbox of the AVH. At the same time he asked his friends to watch his apartment, and if the Venetian blinds were let down half way, this would mean that he was taken by the political police, and in this case they should let us know in Budapest. In the meantime however, luckily the AVH man who questioned him was transferred from Sopron to Szombathely.

"My brother was a prisoner of war as I said already, and my brother-in-law was deported. He was a lawyer.

These were the connections of my family with the AVH. I ~~have~~

"I have no knowledge about AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH because of remorse.

"When Hungary is independent, I would bring to trial all the AVH men." K

Regarding the regular police as compared with the AVH, respondent says:

"The regular police was entirely different. It was the same as before the war, and the policemen were all ordinary honest men. They were far less well paid than the AVH members, and therefore they helped themselves with a little "get-around." My friend's son, a 9 or 10 year old boy, told me that the policeman asked him to stand with him once in a while on the corner and help him to catch people who crossed the street against the rules. The boy stood with him and whenever he saw somebody, he just yelled that here and here somebody was crossing the street incorrectly. The reason for this was that every policeman got a set of premiums and percentage after every case of traffic violation, and this way they raised their income -- they gave it out into sublet to the children to make more money.

"Otherwise I have no knowledge about the police and their participation in the revolution."

B. The Courts

Regarding how the courts worked before 1945, respondent says "The courts were objective before 1945."

Regarding the people's courts after 1945, respondent says "I know about the people's courts only that the sentences were determined in advance by the Party, and the judges didn't have a free hand; they were just puppets.

"I think that what the people's courts did to the war criminals was mostly terrible. So many valuable people should never have been executed. Politically they could have been charged, but should not have been treated as they were. Of course I don't feel pity for Szalasi, but most of the people didn't deserve their fates."

C. Regarding the Hungarian army, respondent says "I know only that many groups of the army joined the revolutionists, but I didn't see them, I only heard about this. I have no further knowledge about the army whatsoever."

Regarding her feelings and the Hungarians' feelings about the Russian army due to the events of 1948, respondent says:

"It is very true that we have never liked the Russians, but even if we had liked them, we hated them after 1948.

"I myself had continuous discussions with my family

before the Russians occupied Hungary. I told the people that the stories we heard must be only some horror stories, and due to propaganda, because the Russians are also human beings. They could not be so different from us. Ever since I have had my nose rubbed in it by my family. One of my actual experiences was so horrible that I have to talk about it now. We stayed in a bunker when the Russians entered our city; it was in Sopron. The Russians arrived early in the morning, around 5 o'clock. Some soldiers ran into the bunker and dragged away my 17-year-old maid, who was a charming young Transylvania girl. She came back after a day in terrible shape. But what I really want to talk about is that after she was dragged away, an officer ran into the bunker. He looked around and seized the 13-year-old girl of a prison guard. A soldier who stood at the door and faced us with a machine gun came with the officer. There were about 14 adults and a lot of small children, 5 and 6 years old, in the bunker. The officer blew out the only candle, which stood ~~xxxxxxx~~ on a small table in the middle of the bunker, and the whole place became dark. We could only see each other's contours. Then he grasped the 13-year-old girl and raped her right there on the spot, among us. We heard the little girl screaming and asking her mother to help her, and she shouted at everything the officer did to her, telling her mother "This is happening to me" and "That is happening to me" and "Please help mother." All the men and women had to stay there facing the machine gun, and we couldn't help the child, not even her mother who just tried to calm her down. We all had to bear the terrible shame and the terrible humiliation for all of us, that we had to be witnesses of this horrible, inhuman brutality. My husband's hands were bloody when the officer left, just from grasping the arm of his chair in his impotent rage. Neither I nor anybody who was there ever forgot this experience."

"I didn't know too much about the Russian soldiers. The only thing I heard was that they didn't want to go home to Russia, and that they were robbed of everything they had on the Russian border, before they returned to their homes.

"I have no knowledge about the Russian soldiers' attitudes and activities during the revolution.

"I heard that Russian soldiers joined the revolutionists, but I can't prove it because I didn't see. Supposedly they were replaced because of that.

"I have no knowledge of personal sadism of the Russian soldiers during the revolution."

E. Respondent has no knowledge of government officials who would be willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble.

F. It is the same as point E.

G. Regarding the competence and efficiency of different groups who hold power in Communist Hungary, respondent says:

"All the leaders in every field who exercised power in Hungary didn't fit into their positions. They lacked the necessary training and were only puppets and mouthpieces of Moscow."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Regarding her future prospects and hopes for the next few years in Hungary, respondent says:

"I can't believe that the Russians will leave the country either willingly or by other means, because our geographical position is too important for them. The Russians want world power and cannot afford a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ loop in the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ chain in the middle of the Iron Curtain. As the present situation gives evidence, the Russians are ~~xxxxxx~~ strengthening their terror in Hungary. As I heard, it was worse than during the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Rakosi regime.

"What will happen in Hungary doesn't depend on the Kadar regime, but it depends on Moscow.

"Outside Hungary, from the side of the western powers, I actually see the greatest indifference toward Hungary.

"Not only I, but the whole country wants to be independent and completely free, not as Poland is.

"The people of Hungary expected the diplomatic steps from the UN to bring about our well deserved independence, which was due already two years ago.

"I don't desire a war; neither does the Hungarian public. The people are sick and tired of wars.

"The atom is a fearful tool. Everybody is afraid of it.

"I don't think a war is likely to occur. The west doesn't care that much about Hungary.

"Neither do I believe anymore in a diplomatic settlement. There are no possibilities of making agreements with the Russians other than those which have already been tried. If the Russians don't want to settle the problem, then it is hopeless. If I did believe that, I wouldn't be here.

"Neither do I believe in a revolution within Russia. The terror is too strong."

B. Regarding what respondent hoped for before the revolution, she says:

"We thought we would be liberated sooner or later in the course of diplomacy in the same way that Austria regained its independence. This hope kept up our spirits. All of our friends thought the same, that it was an impossible situation which couldn't go on forever."

Regarding the military, economic and cultural relations respondent says:

"I don't wish to have any connections with the Soviet Union.

"If the East European states are liberated, then of course every connection with them is favorable, and it is the same for the rest of Europe and the USA."

"I don't know anything about the Danubian Federation."

Regarding Hungary's present boundaries, respondent says:

"I don't find the present boundaries of Hungary acceptable.

"I guess Hungary's thousand years of history are a good basis for territorial adjustment. However, all the minorities should get self-determination."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Regarding what sort of system ~~xxxx~~ respondent would like to see in a free Hungary, respondent says:

"I would like to have an independent and free republic as in Austria; no kingdom, by all means."

B. Regarding the economic system she would emphasize in a free Hungary, respondent says "Hungary should emphasize more agriculture. We heard too many times that industrialization ruined our country."

"I won't be able to tell how extensively Hungary should emphasize light or heavy industry."

Regarding the national enterprises and the Kolchozes, respondent says:

"Nationalized organizations should stay in the hands of the state. Otherwise the production will be frittered away. Besides that, I don't even think it would be possible to turn back the wheel of evolution. It would cause a lot of new dissatisfactions and troubles to try to change the system backward."

"The Farmers' Cooperatives should be dissolved. The peasants should have their private property, otherwise they will lose their ambition and interest in their work. The big lands should be divided and a certain amount of land, decided upon by the state, can go back to the former owners. The rest should be distributed by the state among farmers."

Regarding what kind of government she would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent says:

"I would prefer the second type of government -- to have a decent standard of living. If it is assured, it is by itself already a personal freedom, but if I know that it can't be taken away from me, I don't think ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ the lack of personal freedom would hurt me too much."

Regarding the outlawing of the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, respondent says "Yes, the Communist Party should be prohibited in Hungary. Everybody who is a convinced Communist should go to Moscow and enjoy the system he chose there."

"I am in favor of outlawing the fellow-traveling organizations too, but I guess they would automatically ~~xxxxxxxx~~ disappear anyway."

C. Regarding what would be ideal for Hungary as a system, respondent chooses a neutrality like Austria.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Regarding Krushchev's secret speech, respondent says:

"I heard about it from my daughter, but I don't remember what was in it."

"Senator McCarthy was very sympathetic for me and for the other Hungarians whom I knew."

"I know only Peron's name, but I don't know anything about him."

About Rakosi's private life, respondent says the following:

"I know just a few things that I heard from other people. First of all, whenever he left his home, 3 huge luxury cars always started off. All three were curtained with a black curtain and two machine guns stuck out on either side of the car. Nobody ever knew which one Rakosi was in. I also heard that in general he lived in fantastic luxury. All his brothers and sisters had the best positions in the government, but under different names. I also heard that in the garden of his villa on Rozsadomb, there was a big trunk of an old tree as a decoration. But under this piece of wood there was a secret door which led to an air raid shelter which was furnished luxuriously. It had a transmitter and receiver radio, and the means to keep food for weeks. Everybody said it was built for an atomic attack."

B. During the last ten years, respondent drew most of her information from radio, newspaper and word of mouth. Radio and word of mouth were the most important for her.

C. Through word of mouth, respondent received political news from her friends in her own class. She regarded this news as more reliable than that from other sources.

D. Regarding her reading habits, respondent says: "I read newspapers and books, novels, historical, scientific and biographical books. I read about two hours daily before I fell asleep."

"After 1945, we read only the newspapers and listened to the radio. We had no time to read books anymore."

"We read some magazines, like the Elet es Tudomány, Tolnai Világlap, and the magazine of the theater and movies. Everything was propaganda in them."

"Before the war I wasn't interested in political reading. I read only the classics, or scientific books. After the war, real literature was paralyzed and changed over to sheer political writings."

"The newspaper I read was the Szabad Nep. It was compulsory to prescribe to that newspaper, but I only glanced through it every day. It was extremely boring. The newspapers were not reliable. It was basically always the same and we couldn't trust it. All the sections of the newspapers were unreliable.

"It was possible to read between the lines in the newspapers, but of course I wasn't so well prepared in politics.

"I read one single publication from the U.S.S.R. but it was also in the Hungarian language. It was a book about Russian literature that my daughter brought from the office. It was a collection of short stories from all the Russian writers. I didn't like the book. In every story the Party Secretary and the Combine girl had a happy end, or it was about the heroism of the Russian people.

"I didn't read any publications from the West.

"I read illegal books which were on the Index. They were by such writers as Nyiro, Zilahi, Rahmanova, or, for instance, Nonocska. Our enthusiasm was greater if a book was on the Index. We got those books from our friends. It was dangerous to read them. We hid them, and the people also kept such books hidden some place in case of a search by the AVH. Until 1949, we read also an illegal Western publication we got from the American Embassy. It was about the political situation, and was available through prescription at the Embassy. But after 1949 we were afraid to continue. We dropped the prescription and I destroyed all the old issues after the deportations started.

"We talked over with our family and friends whatever we read."

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the chances of changes within Russia, respondent says:

"People in Hungary always hoped for the collapse of the Russian Empire, but I myself cannot say in what way.

"I don't know what percentage of the Russian population are convinced Communists, therefore I don't know what a free election would bring about.

"I don't know anything about the leaders in Russia."

B. Regarding the relative popularity of Eastern European people in Hungary, respondent says:

"In Hungary, the most liked among the Eastern European countries were the people of East Germany and the people of Poland, not the governments. The least popular were Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, the governments as well as the people.

"I guess the Hungarians liked East Germany most because the living standard was the highest there, and we wished to have the same. The Hungarians and the Poles were always in a sort of brotherhood.

"Yugoslavia has not been liked in Hungary since 1914, and it ~~was~~ became even worse after 1938.

"The Czechs were too Communistic for us. They really subdued themselves to Communism. I haven't had any personal contact with those four nations. I only had contacts with Romanians, where my relatives lived.

"I guess if free elections were held in these countries, Communism would fail in all of them."

Regarding the living standards, respondent says: "The standard of living is the highest in East Germany and the lowest in Romania."

C. Concerning the Polish situation and the Gomulka government, respondent says:

"Gomulka is pretty strong handed. The change in the situation is an improvement for Poland by all means. When the Gomulka government took over, it was a great help to the country, but I don't know whether it will be long lasting.

"I guess the events in Poland didn't have a direct effect on the events in Hungary. The Hungarian revolution came by itself.

"Whether the Polish solution or the Hungarian revolution is better will be answered only by the future of the two countries."

D. Regarding Tito and Yugoslavia, respondent says: "I consider Tito to be the originator of National Communism, but I don't think he will ever realize National Communism."

Regarding the general view of Tito, respondent says: "At the present, Tito is again on friendly terms with the Russians. He changes tactics for material advantages all the time, therefore nobody can ever know what he will be in from moment to moment, as long as we don't know what is advantageous for him materialistically. I have no knowledge about his position with regard to Hungary and the Hungarian revolution."

"I guess he is popular in Yugoslavia; otherwise, the people could have tried to overthrow him."

E. "I don't know details about the Suez situation, I only know that Nasser was despised very much by the Hungarians because of his servility toward Russia."

F. Regarding West Germany, respondent says:

"The standard of living is very high in West Germany, and we saw it ourselves when we travelled through there."

"Many people in Hungary thought that Germany was prepared for a new war, and it was calculated that it could start a new war with the help of the West. But I don't know any details about the German rearmament. We only heard that they were armed pretty well."

Talking about the German army and the Russian army during World War II as occupational forces in Hungary, respondent says:

"Neither of the two armies was sympathetic to the Hungarians."

"But I won't be able to give details of why and how."

G. Respondent has no knowledge of NATO or the British Labor Party.

Regarding the living standard in the different countries listed, respondent says: "I don't know the situation in these countries, or the standard of living of the people in them." (Respondent wasn't even willing to guess.)

H. On the subject of what surprised her most when she

arrived in America, respondent says: "I was amazed by the large number of black people in this country. And the second thing that amazed me was the standard of living. When I write home to Hungary, people still will not believe me when I inform them that everything can always be purchased."

Regarding the present policy of the U.S. toward the Eastern European nations, respondent says:

"It is better that I not make any comment. I don't have a very good opinion.

"The U.S. should give aid to the present governments of Eastern European countries wherever she can. It helps the cause.

"The only thing the U.S. could do for Hungary would be to liberate her from the Russians.

"My attitude toward the duty of the U.S. in the Hungarian case remains the same.

"The American government should not accept the Kadar government.

"The Hungarians like Western visitors and it is desirable to have as many Westerners as possible in Hungary. They should try to get in touch with the population as much as possible. The Communists usually isolate the foreigners from the rest of the population. The Communists ~~usually~~ often have microphones built into the hotel rooms where foreigners stay. A large hotel got a complaint once from a foreign group because they found a microphone in their room, and the hotel manager begged their pardon, and told them ~~that~~ there were other diplomats in the room before them and they had needed the microphone, and the management forgot to remove it after they left.

"The Hungarians would like very much to receive western books and periodicals, but there is no possibility of sending in anything else but Vogue and Harper's Bazaar, only those magazines which have no politics.

"People would receive Western visitors who are sent by Hungarian exiles with pleasure, but they have to do it secretly. If they have foreign visitors, it is dangerous for them.

XRespondent has no knowledge about the Marshall Plan.

Regarding the Korean war in 1950, respondent says: "America became involved in the Korean War because the Russians wanted to overrun Korea."

J. Regarding the UN, respondent says: "The UN could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last months of 1956 if they had used a stronger and more effective policy.

"I don't expect anything from the UN which would be effective for Hungary; at least not for the time being. Anyway, we will see what is going to happen during the sessions of the UN going on right now."

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Regarding her opinion of who the greatest living Hungarian is, respondent says: "I don't know anybody. Either they perished or escaped from the country and we didn't know about them."

B. Regarding her reactions to a number of persons of importance in world affairs, respondent says:

FIRST GROUP

Imre Nagy - "He is an intelligent and able man, but I don't agree with his policy in everything, because he is a little bit bent toward Communism."

Cardinal Mindszenty - "He is not a 100 percent human being any more. He was destroyed by tortures."

Laszlo Rajk: "I knew his family in Transylvania. He was the son of a bootmaker at Szekelyudvarhely. He was an intelligent and smart man, but we didn't know exactly what he wanted."

Erno Gero: "He is a ~~wretched~~ wretched person, inside and out."

Janos Kadar: "I can't even talk about him because I lose my breath from rage if I think of him."

General Bela Kiraly: "I don't know him."

Anna Kethly: "What I knew of her I heard here in the free world. What I heard wasn't every good, but I don't know how much of this hearsay I should believe."

SECOND GROUP

President Eisenhower: "We lost faith in him. We expected much more from his elections."

Secretary General Hammarskjold: "He should have been much more brave and come into Hungary during the revolution, not only knock on the door and wait on a "Yes." He lost every favorable psychological moment with his overcautiousness."

Dulles: "He is a wonderful man as far as I know."

Eden: "I only know that he is a good looking man."

Truman: "I don't know anything about him except that he was a president of the U.S."

THIRD GROUP

Respondent knows all the names, and the occupations and titles of the people listed in the third group, however she has only the following comments:

Roosevelt: "It is his fault that the Hungarians are in their present situation, and his wife is still challenging the world's antithetical opinion ~~xxxxxx~~ visiting Russia."

Chancellor Adenauer: "He is one of the greatest politicians of today."

Stalin: "He was a real robber of the post. At the end, however, he was only a puppet. ~~xxxxxx~~ There was a rumor that one of two or three different men were laid up as Stalin and appeared before the public. It is certain that he didn't die a natural death."

No comment on the rest of the people.

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Respondent's views on escapees are the following:

"The first group who escaped from Hungary were the AVH members. At the beginning of the revolution every honest Hungarian still hoped for the coming freedom, so everybody who left the country at that time left because they were Communists and they wanted to escape from the revolution. The next group was the political prisoners who got out of prison and didn't want to risk another arrest. The next group was the youth who took part in the fights, and another part of the youth who left just for adventure.

"Only a very few middle class people escaped. Some escaped from political fear, and some others to join their relatives abroad.

"Many Jewish people escaped for economic reasons. The people came mostly from the border area and from Budapest.

"Regarding those who stayed behind, I guess all of them are heroes. The people who stayed home either had families or didn't want to live abroad, or wanted to fight Communism right on the spot.

"I knew some people who could have escaped but decided to remain. For instance, my own daughter didn't want to leave with me because she was afraid of starting a new life without the knowledge of the language, and she had no international profession that she might practice. Some other people stayed because they wanted to help at home."

Assuming they had a chance to come to the West, respondent says that people usually don't like to leave their homes if they are not in immediate danger. She doesn't think many people would leave.

B. Regarding Hungarian exile organizations and individuals, respondent says: "We heard about the ~~xxxxxxx~~ activity of organizations and individuals in exile, but we didn't feel any result. It was just like water off a duck's back."

Respondent has no comment on exiles. She didn't meet any one of them, and ~~xxx~~ neither does she have comments in connection with the individuals and organizations listed on the attached sheets. The only remark she made, in connection with Otto of Habsburg, ~~xx~~ is that she doesn't believe that Hungary will ever be a kingdom again, and that Horthy was very charming when he was in Transylvania in 1914.

Respondent has no knowledge about what the exile politicians wanted to accomplish for Hungary.

C. Respondent never met any Hungarians who escaped to the West after 1945 and returned to Hungary later on, but she heard about the return of Antal Páger, the famous actor, and she heard him broadcasting over the radio that he came home to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ throw out feelers. Respondent thought it was very courageous to say something like that in Hungary.

Communist

Respondent's views on the defection campaign are the following:

"The Communists used this campaign just for propaganda purposes. The people were of the opinion that everybody who came home was a big ass. ~~It is~~ A few people who returned had to write articles in the Szabad Nép about how badly they were treated abroad."

D. "The people in Hungary would like to know about us exiles, first of all, whether we have a safe job.

"They should know everything about us, all the details. I guess the exiles should send home everything they can, and that is what I am doing."

Respondent doesn't want to join any exile organization, and she is not acquainted with any Hungarian political parties. She doesn't know anything about this problem.

Regarding her future plans, respondent says: "If Hungary is liberated, I will be the first one to go home, but not before."

"Yes, I would want my child to learn Hungarian in the U.S. by all means first of all."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Regarding her habits in listening to foreign radio stations, respondent says: "I listened to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and the BBC.

"Radio Free Europe was clear at night only. During the day it was very bad. Maybe the BBC was the clearest among the three. I listened only to Hungarian broadcasts, but every day without a break, because I was always sewing at home. Sometimes I listened to the radio for 14 or 15 hours, but mostly Radio Free Europe. When my daughter came back in the evening we discussed all the foreign broadcasts first of all. I had to tell her about everything that I heard, and we discussed these broadcasts with other friends and relatives also. I was usually the main informer.

"I listened on my own receiver. I closed the windows and the double door, and usually the radio was out on ~~an~~ very quietly. Other people also told me about these broadcasts that they listened to. As long as I myself and my friends belonged to a reactionary group, it was twice as dangerous for us to listen to or to discuss these radio stations together in a company. It could have happened at any time that somebody would enter and catch us. If the Communists or the political police caught somebody listening to the foreign broadcasts, it always meant a few months in prison. But in spite of that, everybody was listening to the foreign broadcasts. After 1953, the danger lessened a little bit. In general when we talked about foreign broadcast reception, we always talked about the years before Imre Nagy and after Imre Nagy. It was rather different after Imre Nagy; nothing was so dangerous any more.

"My reactions to these broadcasts were positive. I believed in them. I believed that the free world tells only the truth. However, since I escaped I saw here in the free world that most of these talks were irresponsible.

"I preferred Radio Free Europe because they had the most programs. I could listen to it all day long even if it wasn't always clear. But if I caught one station I usually stayed with it, and of course Radio Free Europe was the easiest to catch, because they broadcast continuously. The variety of the programs was good. I liked the messages, which were favored by almost everybody in Hungary, and I liked even the sports news.

"We hoped very much that all these broadcasts were reliable. We were biased in favor of these broadcasts and believed in them. In general, the result of these broadcasts was that the entire population felt encouraged.

"During the revolution, Radio Free Europe told the

Freedom Fighters not to put down their weapons; they should continue fighting. There was a period when after every single program there was a little break, and just like the ads on the American station, a man's voice repeated fiercely "Freedom Fighters, don't put down your weapons; keep on fighting." However, Radio Free Europe didn't tell us that the West would help, so they didn't encourage us from that point of view."

Regarding the programs of Radio Free Europe, respondent says: "Radio Free Europe should definitely continue to broadcast into Hungary. In general, I liked the programs because they opened up the Iron Curtain for us. It was very interesting to hear about the films, books in the West, what positions Hungarians could reach, and in general it gave us a very good over-all picture. I heard, for instance, about Nyiro's death from Free Europe. Nyiro had been a very good friend of mine. There was, for instance, a good program during the revolution, Colonel Bell, who gave good and practical advice to the different revolutionary nests. He was a sort of liason between the different fighting groups. ~~THE~~

The "Black Voice" was very useful once in a while. For instance, we heard that in a family circle the people were listening to Radio Free Europe, when suddenly the Black Voice named the aunt of the family, who sat among them listening to the radio. It said that she was a dangerous AVH spy. The woman was terribly embarrassed and wanted to wash herself clean, saying that surely it wasn't a ~~mistake~~ mistake, that it wasn't her name, and so on and so forth. The family didn't know anything about it, but finally it turned out that the radio was right.

"The quick service with the news was also sometimes unbelievable. For instance, a friend of ours took part once in a competition laying restaurant tables. Before the jury announced the result, he heard over Radio Free Europe that he was the second in the competition.

"Radio Free Europe was also very useful in helping the refugees over the border. Before the revolution they told the people exactly where the border was undermined and where they could get out. All these things balanced the harmful propaganda they spread on the other side."

Regarding what programs should be broadcast in particular, respondent says: "The messages were the most popular. Straight news is necessary, but with commentaries. Anti-Communist propaganda on a small scale without any encouragement except, of course, if it has a basis.

"~~Reg~~" programs about life in the Western Europe and the U.S. are very good."

B. Regarding FEP leaflets, respondent says:

"Those leaflets were the worst thing in the world. If anybody had a leaflet and it was found in his possession, it meant definite imprisonment. Once I got such a leaflet from a reactionary superintendent woman. I had it for a day but I was under the strongest fear during this day that somebody would find it at my place. It was a small sort of booklet. On the first page there was a prayer with a picture of the Holy Virgin. Inside there were twelve points. These must be the Twelve Demands you just asked for. I heard that the leaflet was found some place on the outskirts of Budapest. I read it in fear and could hardly wait to give it back to the woman. The next day she came and I gave it back to her. It was a little piece of ~~wax~~ paper, torn; I could see that many people had had it in their hands. I was so afraid I couldn't even remember very well what was in it. I told my family later on about it, and we thought that it wasn't a smart thing to send those leaflets, because wherever it was found it meant danger for the people. It only made our lot more difficult, without helping in any way.

"I don't think Free Europe should continue those leaflets."

D. Regarding what the goals and motives of the Western groups were with the broadcasts and leaflets, respondent says:

"The West wanted to help us to keep going, and it was an injection to keep our courage up. They wanted to show that they hadn't forgotten about us.

"The various broadcasts were somehow different. For instance, BBC never encouraged us. They just gave an objective political survey. On the other hand, Radio Free Europe was mostly only propaganda."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

1. Regarding how children should be brought up, respondent says: "The most important things a child should be taught are patriotism, religion and good morals."

2. Regarding discipline, respondent says: "A child definitely should be disciplined very strictly. I wouldn't even recoil from physical punishment if it is necessary."

"Treatment should be the same for boys and girls, but there are individual differences in how a child should be treated.

"Discipline is most important at every age. For instance, I would take guns and weapons out of the hands of all children.

"I myself was very often beaten in advance by mother, to encourage me to be good afterward. I was a very lively child. I was punished physically most strongly once, when I was six years old, and put a live frog on top of a hot stove and watched until it was swollen. I was beaten terribly by my mother. My father never touched me. He beat my brother when he didn't behave."

Regarding who usually punished the children of 6 or over, respondent says: "Generally the mother ~~thundered~~ threatened the children with the father, but when he came home he was tired and didn't punish the children, but it ~~was~~ was mostly the father's duty to punish, and especially to punish physically, the children."

"Parents stopped punishing their children physically usually when they were around 12 years old. I don't know when punishment was generally abandoned because, as I told you, I didn't have children in this generation, and neither did my relatives."

"During Communism in the last ten years the discipline was changed. There was a difference in punishment under Communism. The teachers were not allowed to use physical punishment, and they were afraid the pupils would report them. But I am sorry to say I don't know any more about this matter."

Regarding what characteristics respondent values most in a friend, she says:

"A friend should be honest. This is the most important.

"I don't know whether there was any change in friendship under Communism. I had only my old friends, and they all remained the same under Communism as they had been before it."