

One daughter age 11.

Left Hungary November 25, 1956

Arrived in U.S. August 1, 1957.

Has been only in New York City

Plans to get job as chemist.

Interviewed by other Western agencies in England  
in Camp Middleton.

Speaks English, some German and Italian.

#### CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Very tall, thin, darkhaired middleaged woman with a sharp nose, bony face, large nervous eyes. Very tense, a heavy smoker, carefully dressed with good taste. She is the type whose underwear is, if possible, neater than her outer garments, and who wears all her life made-to-order shoes. She keeps her mind in the same proper clear condition and her answers never tell more or less than what she really wants to say. Very intelligent, reliable, has built herself up from her average middle class family into a scientist with very hard work and significant diligence. A good wife and good mother who always had time besides her full time occupation to care about the problems of her husband and especially of her child, who seems to be the center of her life in spite of respondent's very demanding intellectual ambitions.

Respondent forms her opinions with the same exacting determination as she does her answers, which makes her somewhat dogmatic. It is not easy to convince her--she accepts only what fits into her pattern--but if once accepted, she takes a frank, even daring, stand for her convictions. However, not heroically but sarcastically. This she uses continuously at her working place, and against the Communist regime in different forms of criticism, which sometimes caused her trouble, but usually strengthened her reputation. Her

political views are ~~xxx~~ idealistic and often naive; uses her scientific patterns in politics, but she has very strong convictions about the necessary downfall of Communism which has never lessened by their ~~xxx~~ financial situation in Hungary which was high above the average. This conviction is based mostly on the belief that a system cannot have long life which is built on "proli"=~~s~~ /Proletariat/ without education, manners, etc., in spite of professional aptitude and intelligence.

She considers family life as the most important pillar of society and tells that even Communist officials stated that Communism won't survive ~~xxxxxx~~ because the regime broke up family life with the exaggerated occupation of everybody's spare time.

Have<sup>n</sup>'s very keen sense of justice, respondent keeps repeating how unjust she considers it that the strongest Communists escaping from Hungary can get the best situations and jobs in the free world right away, even here in the United States. The wildest party members sit in good positions denying their party membership. And many others still in Hungary can send out their valuables, etc. the easiest way by having a family member abroad. They seem to be always on the sunny side, she says.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

There are two things that the Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956. First, that the revolution was absolutely clear, and was fought only for the ideal of freedom. There was no sadism in it and if someone was hanged, there was a good reason. Second, there is still not inner peace in Hungary, and there won't be until the situation there is solved. But not Hungary alone should be helped, but the whole Central Europe as a block.

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

A. On the 22 of October I worked in my office and we did not see any signs of the coming revolution. This was a season in our institution of summer vacations. Many people were out of their offices. I was the supervisor of all the research activity, but even I did not see any disorder. There was a ~~an~~ certain easy atmosphere, however. No one seemed to care too much about anything. The regularity at our institute was that we were very much involved in the activities of the Petofi Circle.

On October 23 I had to go in the morning to a medical check-up. Leaving my apartment I saw a group of policemen on horseback, which I hadn't seen for about six or seven years. I even stopped for a minute to stare at them. But I still didn't bother to think more of it.

After I finished at the doctor I went to the bus station of our special office bus. I met a group of my colleagues there who also were waiting for the bus, and they told me that in the afternoon the students ~~planned~~ were planning a demonstration. When we arrived in the institute all of our colleagues there ran to us and asked us excitedly what was going on in the city. They had ~~just~~ got in the morning from the director of the institute that all the employees would go to the city to join the demonstration in the afternoon if we could get ahold of a number of busses. This order was ~~not~~ taken back a few hours later and then given again. But at the end the director couldn't get the necessary number of busses. When we got to the office the situation was that the employees could go because of the above mentioned lack of transportation. We were very far from the city; it would have been almost impossible to walk down.

We were all excited. No one worked, just sat around the tables and ~~ixs~~ discussed the situation. A chemist, another woman, told me that we will see from this restlessness a revolution break out. Her husband told her that the ~~is~~ is so strong among the people that sooner or later something was bound to break out. I told her that under a dictatorship there is no such thing as a revolution. It would be oppressed, anyway, within a very short period. The country would need time to prepare a revolution. Rakosi just left the government and a much softer leadership would be necessary to prepare any real basic change. Gero is a wild Communist. He would order everyone shot who would move against the present government.

All the radios of the institute were on and we listened to the speeches for the announcement of Piros, the Minister of Interior, who finally, at four o'clock said that the students had the okay to start the demonstrations. I called my husband at the Academy and asked him to come home right after work because I had a very bad feeling about the whole situation. I did not tell him anything about it though, first of all because our ~~ixs~~ telephones were checked. But he promised to come home directly. I was afraid something would happen to him, as long as he was in the middle of the city.

When my husband came home at 7 o'clock he told me that after I had called in the afternoon he started to inquire and learned from the Academy that the people of his office would also join the demonstrations, at the Bem statue. Therefore, he joined the group and went to the Bem Square. He told me that many people tried to speak there. For instance, Peter Veres, ~~wzs~~ was the president of the Writers' Association, wanted to talk, too, but the students didn't let him speak, as a Communist. Students took over the platform, one after the other, and spoke of their points and demands: the abolition of the Russian language in education, to have a

chance to travel abroad, to re-establish the Kossuth emblem, and our national flag, etc.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was across the street from the statue, with the red flag on its facade. The crowd demanded to change it into a national flag, which was done right away by the employees of the ministry. It was interesting to notice that the students asked for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Imre Nagy in the government. They were satisfied only with his membership in the government; they didn't ask for his premiership.

When all the flags and emblems were changed in the neighborhood, and about three or four more students gave speeches, the crowd broke up and the people started to go home. Part of the crowd regrouped ~~xxxxx~~ and went over to Pest. There was no incident there. The whole demonstration was enthusiastic but peaceful. My husband said that mostly students took part, but constantly people joined them from the streets, mostly workers of offices and factories coming in groups with national flags. There was a huge crowd there. My husband noticed that there was not one single weapon in the crowd and not one loud voice or brutality.

Our evening was quiet and peaceful. At 8 o'clock the radio said suddenly that Gero was going to speak. We listened to his speech and found it definitely \_\_\_\_\_. We thought it was a direct \_\_\_\_\_ which will be followed by action.

Our home was in a small apartment house owned by the Academy of Sciences. All the tenants were employees from the Academy. Next to us lived two assistant professors. After we listened to the speech we went over to them to talk it over. They said that the whole situation seemed very strange and sort of dangerous. Right away they took their bicycles and went to the university to join the students and to find out something more about the situation. We tried later on to call them at the

university, but there was no connection.

Around 2a.m. we went to ~~sleep~~ sleep finally, but at 3 or 3:30 we were awakened by shooting. We knew right away that the action we were afraid of had started.

When the two assistant professors came home they told us about the ~~sz~~ events at the radio station. They said as they rode their bicycles a police officer told them to go to the radio building ~~because~~ because there was a big scandal there, he said. The students had demanded ~~to~~ to stop Gero's speech for instead they wanted to broadcast their sixteen points. The radio building always had a political police guard. They closed the building in front of the crowd and the ~~sz~~ students couldn't get in. First, they started to negotiate with the AVH men through the window, but later the political policemen closed the windows, too. The crowd became larger and larger, and an officer of the army came to the building and shouted to the AVH people to come to the window; he wanted to talk to them. An AVH man came to the window and the officer told him that the students were without arms, that their demands should be fulfilled peacefully, because this is a legal demonstration. Without any answer the AVH man shot the officer and opened fire on the students. The students tried to hide in the houses across the street, but the crowd was too big. Pretty soon some cars of the army arrived and they gave weapons to the students. At that time all the inhabitants of the neighborhood joined the students, and the fighting broke out. The army joined the demonstrators at different points of the city and gave them weapons. I heard the story of the radio building from other people too, later on, and everyone's opinion was unanimous about the fact that the AVH opened fire on the officer and students who were unarmed, and who hadn't committed any brutality. They got arms and started to fight after this incident.

I had an acquaintance in Csepel in Stalin City who told me later on that the fights there were directed by the people's army.

On October 24 from early morning on the radio continuously repeated the new decrees and orders. Imre Nagy announced the new government. He was the new Minister President and Gero was the Party Secretary. The members of this first parliament were all extreme Communists. We ~~xxx~~ felt that something was very wrong if Gero was still in power and the members of the government were all Communists. However, later on Imre Nagy spoke again and announced continual changes. We could feel that he was pushed toward the wishes of the population and couldn't keep the Communist members within the government. First Imre Nagy condemned the revolution and the revolutionaries. At that time maybe he thought he could stay in power and he didn't want anything else but to stay in power. We all felt that the trend was straight toward an absolutely independent Hungary. The students, when they started to demonstrate, dreamt about something like Tito had in Yugoslavia--a sort of national Communism which would be independent from Moscow. But they didn't think of any sort of revolution. We considered that the basic role ~~wa~~ of the revolution was to reach such a stage that the Communists could still keep their powers, but it would mean an evolution. This was indicated in Imre Nagy's first declaration. If he would have had a strong hand and could have stayed at the head of the revolution, the population could have felt his good intentions and put the power into his hands without conditions. However, according to my opinion, his main point was to keep his own power and the students and the population felt that they could go further with him by forcing him to more concessions. When the country and all the big corporations joined the revolution, Imre Nagy was simply washed away with them. He couldn't stand on his own feet any more; he couldn't resist.

On October 25 the radio announced that Gero was dismissed and Kadar took over the Party Secretariat. A new form of the government was announced, including Tildy and Kethly. Imre Nagy stated that he would demand the neutrality of Hungary, but in the evening the radio talked about new Russian troops entering the country from the north. The Russian troops had already reached the city of Szolnek. When we heard this my husband became very sad and he told me that this was going to be the second war of independence which would be defeated by the Russians.

In these days we didn't go anywhere. Only my husband went to the academy to help the employees who stayed homeless as a result of the fighting. I myself stayed home all day long to listen to the radio together with my neighbors. We formed the opinion that the Russians would not intervene by weapons because the whole free world could clearly see that it was an intervention in our internal affairs.

Considering all the events of the revolution, we felt that the direct cause of the revolution was definitely the speech of Gero. He didn't call for the Russian troops. However, he said that there are Russian troops in the country and they would help to keep order in Hungary. Gero was definitely not a good politician. He should have known as well as everyone that the whole country as a unit was on the side of the students when they started their demonstrations, and after the AVH took the first weapon, the excited and oppressed population necessarily could not be disciplined any more. Everything that happened was unavoidable after these two basic faults on the government's side.

When I talked to the two assistant professors on the 24th they were said that whatever they had seen was not a mob riot or a disorderly revolution, but a definite war of independence.

When after the first two days the Russian troops started to withdraw, we all thought that peace was coming, and the revolution was successful. We didn't believe that even we could stay; we all thought that we would have an independent national government. We imagined that the country would get economic help from the United States and the West, and we would stand on our own feet recovering from the robbery and exploitation which had gone on for 10 years. The Hungarian people are very diligent and very shortly they would reestablish a well based economy and a high living standard. We were sure that Poland would follow our example and this would spread to the rest of the countries one after the other behind the Iron Curtain. We hoped that they would establish a strong middle European unity which would be able to hold off the Russian attacks ~~on~~ based on the policy of the USSR. Only such a united Middle Europe would be able to force the Soviet Union to stay behind her borders.

The Soviet never halted the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary. They only replaced the old troops with new ones, because the old troops mostly deserted. I heard later on from people who escaped from deportations after November 4 that there were large number of wagons filled ~~with~~ by Russian soldiers ~~as~~ directed to Siberia.

The week before ~~the~~ November 4 was quiet. Order was reestablished. People started to work. We heard from other people that the borders were open and it was easy to cross into Austria. At that time we ~~w~~ thought that this was definitely not the time to escape. Only the Communists left the country who were afraid of the consequences of their deeds. We expected to have a quiet, free life in the future, and we didn't even think of leaving the country.

On November 3 I had a small party. We sat with

my friends in my apartment. I suddenly heard a strange noise. It was around 6p.m. I ran out to the terrace and asked my friends to join me quickly because I saw a flare and I had a feeling it was a sign for the Russian troops. Four or five more flares flew up on different parts of the city. My friends laughed about my pessimism, but I insisted that during the World War II I noticed that after every flare it was followed by a military action. The rest of the evening was peaceful and we went to sleep.

I woke up at 5a.m. to a blunt rumble and our apartment was trembling. I knew right away that the attack against Budapest had been launched. My husband quickly put on the radio. Imre Nagy was speaking. He announced that the Russians were attacking Budapest; he stayed on his post. The independence of Hungary was just going to be taken away by the Russians. After him the Writers' Association read in Hungarian and English the message to the world. And this was practically the end of our dream for freedom.

The rumble of weapons could be heard all day long. We got under fire around 4p.m. and went on until dark. When it quieted down my husband took a walk in the darkness and he said that Széll Kalman Square was occupied by the Russians. The buildings and houses are strongly  
all around.

Late in the evening and during the whole night Freedom Fighters came down from Rozsa Hill. They didn't come into the house, but stood in front. We went out and asked them what could be done. They said they didn't know which house was reliable, which wasn't. Therefore we gave them the exact information that almost every house had sympathizers with two or three exceptions where high Communist officials lived.

We asked the Freedom Fighters if they needed anything and they said they wished they could have warm food and tea. They asked us to organize an sort of feeding for them and any place to sleep for a few hours during the night. We could see that they were not organized and had no food supply whatsoever. They got everything they asked for from us. Next to us lived a manager of a state store who helped to gather a large amount of food for the Freedom Fighters. The superintendent in our house was a policeman. He had to close the doors at 5p.m. We went to him and told him that Freedom Fighters would come between 9 and 10p.m. to pick up some food and he should open the door. He was very pleased and glad to stand-by and let them in.

As I told you before, my husband from the beginning on went from time to time to the ~~military~~ academy and he ~~it~~ told me about the events at the parliament building, which is not my first-hand account, but it may involve some interesting points. Therefore I would like to talk to you about it.

The department where my husband worked was in the Szalay Street which was very close to the Parliament Building. On October 28 around 10a.m. a telephone message reached my husband in the office from the ~~chief~~ chief that everyone should leave the building because a huge crowd is approaching the Parliament Building from Csepel and it may mean some trouble. All the employees left the building. They had hardly reached the street ~~was~~ when they saw that Russian soldiers from the Parliament and troops from the Ministry of Agriculture, which was across the street from the Parliament, opened fire on the crowd which had just arrived. There was a real rain of bullets. His colleague got a bullet in his leg from a Russian soldier and my husband took him quickly, with another colleague, into the building of the Ministry of Agriculture. There was a first-aid station there.

My husband stayed with the wounded man and the other colleague went to the room where the doctors worked. He wanted to help the doctor; there were badly wounded people there and he had worked during the World War II in first-aid. The doctor accepted his help, and he stayed in the room. My husband stayed in the doorway with his wounded colleague. He wasn't able to carry him along and there wasn't anyone to help. The crowd was terrible, they couldn't move. He stayed about a half hour waiting for some chance to get some transportation for the wounded man when he heard a detonation. He ran to the other side of the main floor and saw that the small first-aid where the doctor and his colleague worked had been blown up by a Russian soldier who had thrown in a hand-grenade. Everyone who was in the room was killed. He went back to the other wounded man and finally found someone who helped him to carry his colleague. They brought him to his apartment, which wasn't too far, at the Margit \_\_\_\_\_, and my husband went out to find a doctor. He got caught again in a shower of bullets and couldn't move for a long while. Around 2p.m. he finally found a doctor who took care of the wounded man. My husband came home. He was exhausted and completely depressed.

On November 9 I wanted to go to the city to announce myself at my working place. However, on Széll Kálmán Square a Hungarian soldier stopped me and asked where I was going, and why. I told him, but he said I had better go home, because the Hungarian Freedom Fighters are helpless against the Russian soldiers who \_\_\_\_\_ on the streets. I took his word and went home.

On November 16 I finally had to go to the academy to pick up my salary. I found my colleagues there also, some of them in very bad moods. One of them drew my attention to the fact that he saw my name on the list of the Communists prepared by the institute. According to this

I was one of the unreliable elements. He advised me to leave the country as soon as possible. Otherwise, we would be deported.

When I went home I told this to my husband. Then he confessed to me that two days ago he had already got a friendly notice that he was also on the black list. He told me he sent a telegram right away to my two sisters and asked them to send me a telegram asking me to leave the country. My sisters received our telegram and sent back an answer which I never received.

I was more afraid for my daughter and what would happen to her if we were deported. Therefore, around November 20 we decided to leave the country. At that time all our colleagues who got the same notification as we had left Hungary. We packed a few most necessary things for us and escaped on ~~the~~ the ~~25th~~ 25th.

D. Regarding whether Hungary has gained because of the revolution I think this question has two angles. First, Hungary lost very much in the revolution. The terror is more than before--about the same as it was in 1951-'52, which was the darkest era under Communism. But on the other hand, it helped by setting for foreign lands a ~~xxxxx~~ tremendous example.

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING  
THE REVOLUTION

A. I expected only economic help and that the United Nations ~~would~~ would take a positive side with the revolution, which is what actually happened. The question is only would they carry out ~~the~~ their resolutions.

B. I based my expectations partly on the foreign radio broadcasts and partly on America itself. According ~~to~~ to the constitution of this country America is a freedom loving state which knew our situation clearly. I guess we could have expected rightly that she would act according to her principles.

C. (Respondent did not come in contact with any foreigners between October 23 and November 25.)

## V. CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. My father died in 1932. He was an office worker. He had land and his own house in Szombathely, and brought up his children without any special financial difficulties until 1919. Under Communism he was arrested and beaten up so severely that he could never completely recover. As a result of his arrest he economically destroyed. His land was confiscated by the Communists and never returned. Around 1920-'29 my father was so sick that he was not able to support our family. My sister opened a dressmaking shop and helped to educate me and my brother, who died during World War II. My older sister went to the United States in 1938 and my younger sister in 1947. We had a strict economy in our everyday life and this way I was able to go to the university to continue my studies. My mother was also supported by her children.

I lived in Szombathely until 1936 in our own house-- a five room family house. Then I went to Szeged where I attended the university. In 1941 I started to work in Szombathely.

My father had six grades of high school and my mother eight grades of public school.

B. In comparison to the pre-war social structure of Hungary when we had the peasants, workers, middle class and aristocracy, today's Hungary has only two classes: the class of Party members, and the class of the non-Party members. Today no one has real big money in Hungary, but slowly a new aristocracy grows out of the Party--the aristocracy of former have-nots.

I worked side by side with Communist party members-- the members of the Party class--but I never took part in any of their movements such as the May 1st celebration or Union Day, etc. I had no personal connections with Party members.

I myself was a class enemy. Many of the people made big efforts to become Communist party members and to belong to their class. I considered them with a sort of dismay and ridicule because I saw that the leadership of the Party was formed from the lowest and worthless members of society. I was even offered a raise if I would join the party. But it wasn't a prerequisite for me to join the Party in order to get a job. There were some groups of society who joined the party almost unanimously. This happened with the doctors as well as with textile engineers. However, for instance, the architects definitely made a mockery of the party and those who joined. And the chemists basically did not join the party either.

The class enemies or, better said, the former middle class was divided into two groups. There were the sympathizers and the non-sympathizers of Communism. The non-sympathizers were considered as people who are not able to keep up with the changes of time, who are still and reserved; absolutely useless for the Communist goals. This part of the class was recognizable by the fact that they did not accept and did not use the word "comrade" in addressing each other or the Communists, but they used the expression "colleague" instead. I belonged to the non-sympathizer group. I stuck to my middle class background and put it even on my kader slip.

workers

According to my opinion, the working class was hardest hit by Communism. They had never been so oppressed as during these ten years when on paper they were supposed to exercise the power. They never lied and cheated so much in the name of the working class. They lived under inhuman circumstances. They could not make a living if they did not steal at his working place. Even the streetcar conductor put the fare in his pocket without giving a ticket to the traveler.

It isn't possible to compare the different classes

in Hungary. As I said, there were just two large groups. But if we use the terms of the former class structure, then we can say that the middle class helped the workers and vice versa. The peasants had, in those years, a fairly good situation. No matter how they complained, the cities were defenseless against the peasants as far as food was concerned. The peasants could sell what was above the compulsory delivery and they asked whatever prices they wanted. The real pauper class was the workers and the middle class. I couldn't understand, however, why the peasants did not sabotage the regime as they did in 1919. As long as they did not have their own private property, which is the most important to any peasant in Hungary, they were, of course, extremely dissatisfied with the regime. During the revolution they behaved very well. They really showed a solidarity with the revolution, but ~~why~~ they did not seem to be independent enough to deny work on their own field.

Right after the war the middle class and the workers were more isolated, but on the course of the years, they reconciliated.

C. Advancement in Hungary was based only on the political background. Party membership meant a lot and opened every door. There were persons, however, who, on top of their party membership, were strong opportunists and made different moves and actions in favor of the party. For instance, if somebody wrote a Lenin poem he could get a better job right away. If the best worker and the most outstanding expert was attacked by the smallest party member, this meant his fall.

The advancement in Hungarian society was the same from 1945 to 1956. There was no other way to get ahead than through the party. Workers kaders could advance, but they always had an alter-ego who had the education and worked for a small wage, for and instead of the kader.

Whoever <sup>threw</sup> ~~through~~ himself into party activity without reservation could get ahead as

an individual in the Communist Hungary.

D. All the Party members belong to this group that got more out of society than they deserved in Hungary. They all got more than they deserved than the non-Party members. We selected our society into workers and non-Party members and made an estimation that every real worker sustained about two Party members.

Another group which got more than they deserved maybe were the ranking sportsmen. For instance, the 20 soccer players. They acquired foreign currency for the government. Therefore the government made pets of them.

Some of the scientists also got very high salaries, beautiful apartments or homes, cars and could travel abroad.



care and education for our daughter. We had a kitchen helper woman who cooked for her and took care of her as long as we were in our offices. She came in only during the day and was handled as a member of our family. Besides this, not to be forced to send our child to school, we hired a private teacher who came to our house and taught our daughter on a private basis. It ~~was~~ cost us a lot of money, but we didn't care.

In general, the children could be influenced at school. The Communists did their utmost to change over the minds and attitudes of the children to Communism. In the ~~gross~~ crowded apartments the children heard whatever the ~~nk~~ parents talked about, and without knowing or meaning harm, they repeated these things at school. It always depended on the teacher whether or not he told of it or not what he heard from the children about their parents. I had a friend who was a strong anti-Communist. Her husband, however, was a Communist official. She had two children, both extremely anti-Communist. Maybe they were influenced by their mother, which, of course, was not a healthy set-up, but anyway one day her 11 year old child told something at school that what the teacher said wasn't true because he heard from his father just the contrary. The teacher asked the father to come in and told him about his son's remark. The parents were shocked because they had never talked about anything ~~like~~ as what the boy mentioned, in front of him. They were absolutely sure they had never said the word that the boy repeated. The child had a lively fantasy and somehow found it out, maybe in a sub-conscious opposition against his father who was a Communist. Once when the father mentioned at the breakfast table that from the next day on the Szabad Nep  
their coffee would be sweet from that day on. When the son slowly ~~was~~ remarked that of course their coffee would be sweet if they would

put the Szabad Nep in it, which showed that the child did not believe in the Communist lies.

The Hungarian children did <sup>not</sup> become Communists in spite of all the efforts of the Party. It was unbelievable how impossible it was to indoctrinate the children. The revolution was the best proof of this fact .

B. At the beginning, around 1950, in every public building there were posters praising the advantages of being a young mother. Discipline and restrictions of morality disappeared under Communism. The youth was ~~xxx~~'liberated' and lived his own life, but it was exercised the most limitless by the extreme Communists. They talked the loudest about immoral slogans and had a complete anarchy in their moral life. The people who came from the better families still had their old discipline and exercised their old habits. However, among the Communists to be immoral was chic.

Whether

~~xxxxxxx~~/marriages were good or not I cannot answer in one word, but according to my ~~is~~ opinion the marriages were empty...there was no inner contentment. ~~xxx~~ Some young people had to share their apartment with their parents and in such cases they could not have a real family life, they could not buy their own furniture. Or they tried to be on their own and in these cases they were so poor and so occupied with their work ~~xxx~~ that they could not have a good marriage because of that. This doesn't mean that there were not any good marriages, but the real moral life based on religion and family life were completely abolished.

There were still engagements as before, but maybe not so formal. The parents in some cases had some influence, especially in the old middle class. Mostly everything was as before in our class.

All the changes in marriage and moral life were caused by the Communist dictatorship which invented the different youth movements and camps, and abolished all kinds of control.

Prostitution was abolished by law under Communism, but it flourished illegally.

Regarding the sexual morality of convinced Communists, I have to say that I have never talked to any convinced Communists. But as much as I could see in our institute, the Communist members were the less restricted and they didn't make any secret out of their private lives and ~~xx~~ acquaintances. This indicated to me that their moral perception had to be different from ours.

C. I had a personal experience concerning how a friend behaved after 1948 if one was to become a Communist party member. We had a friend with whom we worked all the time. He entered the Party and we still had contact with him and he came to our house, but I felt that I invited him mostly because of his anti-Communist wife and children. We talked to him jokingly and told him very ~~often~~ often that he would be hanged and he could come to our home only because he has such a wife. During the revolution he asked what my opinion was of it and he agreed with my happiness. He said he was a pro-revolutionist himself. However, after November 4 he told me that maybe it was good that the Russians came back because he wouldn't be alive maybe if they hadn't. I always felt that we became estranged. Even now if I send a package to them in Hungary I send things for his wife and children and it really doesn't occur to me to send anything for him personally.

If such friendships are broken usually the non-Communist member ~~xx~~ does so.

It was not possible to have a friendship in Hungary without politics. Everyone always discussed political questions and it always had a role in the persons life whatever his opinion was.

D. We didn't know very much about delinquent kids because the newspapers never wrote about them. We only heard here and there some news about such events.

Theoretically the Communists fought against bringing up the children by the street. They made big publicity for their day centers and nurseries, but actually the nurses and the persons in charge of the day care centers did not care too much about the children. They could go there anyway only to a certain age, and above that the children were regularly on the streets. There were just a few exceptions where the mothers did not have to work. The juvenile delinquents were boys of 14 or 15 years old. They committed minor crimes which were against the law. Then they were sent to institutions or reform schools.

In the neighborhood of our institute there was a school for children difficult to manage. After 1945 there were many children with a strong inclination to tramp.

The jampecs were a type of young people always present in every country, but under Communism they were especially produced, in the youth organizations of DISZ and through their moral fixx frivolity. Young people without education got into very well paid jobs and then they threw their money out the window on entertainment and impossible clothing, drinking and smoking. After the Communist society produced them, they then started to deny them and said these youngsters were copying American styles and they are not fit to belong to our society. However, the neckties which were signs of a jampecs were produced by Hungarian factories.

## VII. RELIGION

A. Real religion was prohibited in Hungary, even if the Communists insisted on free religion with peace priests.

All religions were equally hard hit by Communism. But the least they could oppress was the Catholic religion. The harder they hit this religion, the more crowded the churches became.

Individually religion was a bulwark against Communism in Hungary. It gave a certain strength to individuals. People endured their difficulties and sufferings better with a religious background. It gave them the belief that everything would be changed one day.

B. Religion was an important part of my life. We celebrated the ~~religious~~ religious holy days even if they were abolished, and we had regular working days instead. For instance, we took our vacations on important religious holy days. We never went to church in our district because it was dangerous. But I went to church every Sunday.

It was just as important for my parents to live with their religion.

I and my family were more religious than the average people in Hungary. As far as I could judge, but maybe the people just didn't talk about the religious beliefs. For instance, if we went out on Sundays on excursion we always planned it so that we could reach a church on our way and attend a mass outside of the city.

C. Under Communism the church and the state has not a normal relationship. A church should be independent from the state.

I am pro-religious schools very much. ~~It~~ They were

on a high level and very well-educated people came out of the religious schools.

I guess churches should have censorship by setting moral codes and standards.

The churches should take part in politics. For instance, if a government introduces a new decree, the church should have a chance to criticize or give an opinion. The government's policy is wholly intellectual and the policy of the church is more emotional. These two factors should be coordinated.

D. The Jewish religion was hurt and treated the same way in Hungary as every other religion. I have no concrete examples, but the Jewish people were hindered in exercising their religion in  $\neq$  the same way. They could not keep their religious holy days as we couldn't and they had to keep secret their opinions, and when they went to church.

Under Communism it was not a question whether someone was a Jew or not in Hungary. Everyone was hit the same way. The Jewish people were deported by the Communists as everyone else was whom they did not like.

The attitude of Jewish people toward Communism was the same as the attitude of society. Everyone who entered the Communist party did so for individual advantages, no matter what religion he was. In our institution proportionately we had members from all religions. But if I tried to remember the Jewish people maybe I can divide the Communist party members into two branches. One part was the Jewish party members who didn't open their mouths and the other part who scolded Communism if they were anti-Communists as well as they other Party members.

During the revolution their attitude was positive.

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As far as I know, they took part in the demonstrations the same as anyone. Among the students there were the Jewish ones, too, and the two assistant professors I told you about were also Jews. I had a family friend at the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ academy whose son died during the revolution. He was 26 years old.

I have no knowledge about Jews who did not want an independent Hungary. The revolution did not fight for or against religions. The population was united in the fight for general freedom.

### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. I consider the Hungarian youth from 14 to the university students.

B. The youth had a <sup>leading</sup> ~~fixxing~~ role in the revolution. I saw once, before November 4, a group of children about 12 or 13 years old extremely dirty. I asked them where they came from. They said they had been fighting for days on a roof ~~x~~ of a house. Now they had been replaced and could finally go home to change and to eat something. The graves on the streets were the proof of the heroism of the Hungarian children. The cause of their behavior was the oppression and dissatisfaction all over the country. The older generation was broken after the war; they did not organize themselves, they did not take any initiative. The youth looked upon the older people with a melancholy, as those who let themselves be oppressed, and could not understand their behavior. The most revolutionary part of the Hungarian society were the university students. According to my opinion, the present university students were the age group who could not have an independent national life since their birth. In their childhood there was the German and the Russian occupations, which increased the tension in them, because they had heard about the past from their parents. There was a great difference between what they heard from their parents and what they were taught at school with the falsified new history.

Older ~~people~~ people thought during the revolution that the youth fought for a                      war of independence.

C. I had a friend who worked with the state publishing house of textbooks. The most typical of Communist education was how these textbooks always contained a new form of Hungarian history. For instance, after 1945, we had textbooks which

patronized Yugoslavia. Then around 1953 they ~~xxx~~ took out Tito and national Communism. After 1955 again our history changed into a sympathy toward Yugoslavia.

Hungarian literature was set aside. The greatest Hungarian poets and writers were left out of the textbooks. The emphasis was put on Russia, everything was Russia.

As far as vocational choice was concerned, there was not open restrictions, but in fact it was very difficult to choose a profession. To get into a university for study someone had to have ~~xxxx~~ a kader parents. They had to have a suitable origin and very good degrees from the previous schools. A lot of children ~~fxn~~ finished high school and the parents did not know what to do with their children. They did not have a chance to get into any suitable position. They had to become, very often, doormen or brick layers, as the daughter of one of my friends. For example, at the art school, out of 36 applicants, six were accepted.

I think that the quality of the education was much lower than before.

The atmosphere of the schools was not favorable for a ~~xxxx~~ basic, good education. Even if the teachers are competent they cannot do what they want. They are afraid of the students, and the students are afraid of them. But most of the teachers today are kaders. As soon as the regime is able to ~~xxxx~~ replace the old teachers, they expel the good professors. What happened after the revolution, with a very large number of professors and teachers, and some others left the schools out of sheer solidarity with their colleagues. This way the regime made a ~~gx~~ big progress now in the Communization of education.

D. Regarding the reaction to Communist indoctrination, I must say ~~xxx~~ that the youth simply did not want to be indoctrinated. I wouldn't be able

to say when this resistance started and how. At the beginning I was sure that the youth would be won over by the Communists. But, if I take into consideration how low their salaries were after they finished schools and universities. They wore out their clothing, they got low salaries, and could not even buy the most necessary things for themselves. They could not get ahead and their work had no results no matter how hard they tried.

At the universities, as far as I know, the students never accepted indoctrination. They ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ridiculed it. I don't know much about the industrial schools.

## IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. The cost of living caused the main main dissatisfaction in Hungary. I always thought that the Communists considered us as animals or just pieces of rock. We were never treated as human beings, just as slaves.

Besides that, there were a few more things which annoyed us very much. For instance, the least durable was for most of us to work eight hours a day and then, instead of having some free time, we had to take part in the propaganda activities everyday. Another thing, was the subscription to peace loans. The whole shop at our institute once did not subscribe to the peace loan the first day because there was some argument among themselves. The next day the Communist party organ, the Szabad Nep, wrote a long article that the workers of our Institute oversubscribed the peace loan with such and such a percentage. At the same time we knew that they didn't start subscribing. This was the way they wanted to force the people to subscribe. A third thing was the equalization of the population; this awful address of comrade and that everyone talked to everyone else on the same usually brutal manner destroyed all the      and the feeling of the people that they were individuals.

## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. ~~Q~~ As I mentioned before we had a special financial situation. At the ~~ac~~ academy as an architect my husband made 2200 forints and as an expert of geo-physical research he made another 1800 forints. He was almost the only expert in Hungary at that time in the planning of scientific institutes. Besides this, too, in the evening he accepted private assignments--small family houses, etc. which of course he did not talk about in the office. He himself made all together about 4000 forints, ~~in~~ in addition to my salary which was 2000 forints.

In our ~~circle~~ circle of friends there was not another example such as ours. People who did not belong to the people could not do this well. Therefore, we were not oppressed by financial question as were most Hungarians, but with psychological

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We spent on food about 2000-2500 forints on food a month and I ~~had~~ did not have much difficulty in getting the necessary food for us. We paid 85 forints rent for our apartment. We changed our apartment in 1956 and gave our old ~~apartment~~ apartment back to the academy which exchanged it with another one, where we lived ~~at~~ at the time of the revolution. Therefore, our housing problem was partly taken care of by the academy. As far as clothing is concerned, I got packages from America and therefore, I usually had the material for dresses. I paid only for the dress-making. I never bought anything, and I don't even know how and where clothing could be bought.

Beside what I spent for food and clothing, I bought every month minor things for our apartment. And I

had a maid for the child. ~~She~~ Her salary was 700 forints and the teacher got 400 forints. The real luxury for me was the care and good education for my child. Another luxury was to have a real long vacation for four ~~was~~ weeks which I spent on summer resorts. But for us especially the real luxury was freedom, much more than any material things.

I could save ~~xxxxxx~~ around 800 forints a month. Therefore we could have everything that we wanted within a certain limit. What we missed was the culture, the books and entertainment we could have before the war, and the regular good tasting, fresh food. We haven't gained anything during Communism. Our standard of living was much better before the war

Our standard of living was the highest in 1948 and from that time on it continuously went down.

In general, those people were better off who worked as technical intelligentsia. If the man and wife were both technical employees, they could live under much better circumstances. But if only one ~~by~~ member of the family worked on the field, even if he or she made 3500 forints, if they had one or two children they faced financial difficulties.

But those, of course, who were Party officials or AVH members had an entirely different kind of life. For instance, in our laboratory a woman worked as a laboratory technician. She was an AVH informer and her husband was in charge of all the hospitals for political prisoners. This ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ woman told me once that her husband made 3500 forints, but he got all his dress, shoes, etc. from the AVH and not only what he used up but a surplus of everything. He furnished his whole family and relatives with clothing and shoe soles. When the population, and we ourselves, could not get meat

for about six months in Budapest, this family just had to determine what sort of meat they wanted. If they wanted to have calf meat, which was reserved for sick people only, they could get whatever they wished. If they went for vacation the whole family spent three or four weeks in the most elegant resorts or sometimes they sent the children to one place and they went to another. All the money that this woman earned at the institute she spent on clothing. They regularly ate at the officers' casino where a very good dinner cost eight forints. For us to prepare a soup involved a larger expenditure than eight forints.

The responsible factors for the Hungarian standard of living during the last eight years were first of all the Russian exploitation, and the disorganized production of the government. We produced a lot of goods that we didn't need at all and everything was taken to Russia. For instance, at Stalin City there was a foundry which worked with raw material from Russia and then processed and taken back to Russia. But of course the transportation was taken paid also by Hungary. The construction of subway which cost millions of forints was basically nothing else but underground transportation between two railway stations, ~~that~~ the eastern and the southern stations, in case of a war. And also it would have been a shelter against the atomic bomb for the government purposes and maybe military purposes. They finally stopped this construction because, after many years, they realized that the Soviet system of building this tunnel did not suit Hungarian soil. The thing that counted very much in our economy was the harm caused by the people in high positions without professional knowledge.

B. R I earned 2000 forints. 150 forints were deducted for peace loans, 18 for union dues,

and 60 forints for pension. I got extra pay, about 2000-2500 forints a year. My husband and I both worked and I told you about his income.

During the last five years I have had wage increases in the course of a general raise in salaries at the institute. In 1953 my salary was raised from 1650 to 1700, in 1955 from 1700 to 1800, in 1956 from 1800 to 2000.

C. We bought food at the state stores, the kozert, or at the maszek shops. Vegetables, fruits were mostly sold by the maszek stores, but for instance I could never buy there sugar or flour. These fruits and vegetables were much better and nicer than the state store. It was usually more expensive, about 15 to 25 per cent, but at the kozert the things were mostly spoiled. I never bought fruit there, for instance. \_\_\_\_\_ were available sometimes at state \_\_\_\_\_ stores, sometimes at the private shops. I always bought it where it was available. In \_\_\_\_\_ general, the difference in \_\_\_\_\_ price was \_\_\_\_\_

The prices continuously went higher and higher. If once in a while they announced with great fanfare price reductions on the 1st of March, the prices were up to the old level around May.

Just off hand I want to tell you a few prices. Two \_\_\_\_\_ pounds of flour cost 4 forints 60, a quarter pound of butter, \_\_\_\_\_ but not pure butter, it was always mixed with margarine, cost 6 forints 60. Two pounds of potatoes cost 2 forints 20. One egg was usually around 2 forints, two pounds of dry beans cost 5 forints, two pounds of cocoa from the \_\_\_\_\_ packages cost 300 forints, \_\_\_\_\_ two pounds of raw coffee beans cost 300 forints. Two pounds of tea cost 300 forints, a package of sardines cost 20 forints. Bacon for lard cost 40 forints for two pounds. And in comparison with these prices, the average salary of the Hungarian family was 1000 forints per month.

As far as dresses are concerned, as I told you before I never bought any. I don't know much about this market. The only thing we spent money for was to have shoes made to order at maszek shoe makers. I paid 800 forints for a pair of shoes. In 1949 it cost 650, today it would cost 1200 forints.

The retail distribution of goods was disorganized and irregular. I bought food on Szabadsag where most of the AVH members had their homes. Therefore these stores were much better supplied than those on the other part of the city. For instance, I could always get rice, eggs, butter--what was impossible to purchase at other places. These goods were the so-called disappearing goods which disappear from time to time. Either they were exported to East Germany or to the Soviet Union. Our rice was exported to Korea, too.

was always influenced by the policy of the Soviet. In 1955, for instance, I couldn't buy apples and they cost 15 to 16 forints for two pounds. Since 1955 I learned that our apples were not taken to the Soviet anymore, and the price ~~was~~ went down without any seemingly ~~any~~ logical reason, to 4 forints for two pounds.

Regarding spare parts, in ~~general~~ general, the situation was that we could never get what we wanted just right. In the laboratories, to get a piece of rubber hose or rubber plug or anything that was imported from abroad took more than a year to get.

There were several goods which were in especially short supply. Some ~~of~~ of these were toilet ~~and~~ soap, carrots, for instance, we could not get for about two or three weeks, onions for a month, and every August we could not get potatoes for two or three weeks, sugar, flour, eggs, butter always disappeared for months, good cheese and sour cream was impossible to get, even milk didn't exist. What we got under the name of ~~milk~~ milk was white fluid of undeterminable origin.

Black market was widespread in Hungary. The most fashionable form of black market was the tie-in sale. For instance, the shop-keeper told me that if I spent 30 forints I could get a quarter of pound of butter. This blackmarket wasn't organized, of course; it worked through a kind of gossip. We always heard that a butcher had an illegal carving, and then we all went there and bought ~~xxx~~ meat. The state itself had a continuous black market with a surplus which came up from the state farms and was sold by the peasants on an arbitrary price which was rather high. For instance, I bought from the peasants pork for 40 forints for two pounds instead of the regular price of 29 forints at the state stores. Another form of black marketing was, for instance, that the kozert shops started to sell rice. They announced that there was a better quality for 22 forints and a cheaper quality for 16 forints. However, pretty soon the 16 forints rice disappeared. Of course, almost everybody wanted to buy this cheaper rice. Then we couldn't buy cheap rice for a month or a few weeks and suddenly rice returned to the market with the price of 22 forints for two pounds, telling that this was the expensive kind of rice. But, of course, we could see right away that this was the cheap rice with the price raised.

The legal outlets never dared to refuse to sell goods for higher prices, but it happened to me at the maszek stores that the man told me that he didn't have meat, but if I wanted he could acquire meat for me for a black market price of 40 forints.

In general black market was ~~xxxx~~ by the Communist government. Very often they had ~~xxxx~~ razzia on our food supply. If they found hoarding at anyone's they arrested the person or deported him and his picture was put in the windows of the state stores telling that he illegally gathered so much food in his apartment. To avoid this trouble, which was very frequent, we asked for a license from the state to raise pigs in the

country and ~~was~~ in such cases they could not check exactly on our food supply. If we had more flour than allowed, we usually hid it in the apartment, mostly in the casement behind the venetian blinds.

D. In my job my working time was changed every four weeks because of transportation. The institute did not have enough busses for the transportation of employees. In the morning either we started at 7:30 or 8 or 8:30. In order to get to the office I had to start from home at 7:05, 7:35 or 6:05. In the afternoon I finished at 4, 5:30 or  $\frac{3}{4}$  5, with a half hour ~~xxx~~ lunch break. I started to talk about transportation first because it cost us a lot of trouble. We had many women at the institute, and if we finished work at 4, for instance, the bus didn't start until 4:10. In this case we missed the connection with the train which we had to take after the bus. If we missed the train we had to wait another 10 or 15 minutes there and it was usually very crowded. We couldn't even get on very often. It started only every 15 or 30 minutes. When we arrived to ~~xxx~~ our station on this train usually the street car just left and we had to wait again for ~~xx~~ nine or 10 ~~xx~~ minutes. This way our transportation took rather long and we had almost no time for shopping and preparing the dinner. We asked for changing the schedule of the busses for years and finally in 1956 the institute changed the bus schedule. We, the employees, also asked, to turn into five working days a week and abolish the Saturdays. We could work one or two more hours a day. However, they never listened to us. We even said that it would be less expensive because of the bus transportation. That is, they could have lessened the expense of the bus drivers and the operating of the busses.

As far as my own work was concerned, I was a ~~xxxxxxx~~ chemical researcher. When I arrived at the office I had to punch in and then

change into a white laboratory garment and then I started on my research. The professor visited our laboratory or we went to him once a week and told him of our problem's progress. But at the end before we came out we didn't have an expert professor to help us.

From our institute we couldn't go down to the city to use the university libraries. It was very hard to go down as I explained, but once in a while I went down to purchase necessary chemicals because it was much faster than to wait until the purchasing department did it.

We had many meetings of the researchers and also production meetings, but our supervisors usually listened to our problems but never answered them. When I myself became a supervisor of the research department, I did active chemical research myself and from that time on the people came to me with their problems, or I walked around to the different offices and talked over their questions with the people.

I was also in ~~my~~ charge of the patent applications and kept contact with the patent office. Part of my job was the correspondence about research in our department. These were, in general, my duties. I took part in the meeting of directors who always asked my opinions but never seemed to care when practice came into question.

I slept ~~xxx~~ usually six hours a night.

I waited for this particular job for three years before I got it. I wanted to work at the Technical University but it turned out, as a non-Party member, I couldn't get the position.

With my colleagues we had a very good relationship.

With superiors I myself kept the same good relationship as with my colleagues, but I clearly saw what my position was with my supervisors. They needed

me, but even if they very seldom accepted my opinion, officially it was put in the mouth's of one of them. I myself didn't consider them suitable or really professional. In 1956 our old director was replaced by a Communist who was never a scientist, but led a very lively party life. He wasn't very popular. Many people wanted to cause him to tumble down, but because of his party background his job was ~~always~~ always safe for him.

I wasn't satisfied with my job because I knew that I could have been much more successful if left alone, and if I could have done an ~~id~~ individual job.

Some of my colleagues had a thorough education and good professional skill. But the majority was under average. They were mostly Communists and kept there as good kaders.

~~Regarding the Hungarian health and compensation plan~~  
~~plan~~

According to the latest decrees everybody who was a union member for one year got 75 per cent of his salary in case of sickness for a year. If it was tuberculosis, for two years. After this one or two ~~year~~ years, the 75 per cent was lessened ~~per p~~ proportionately.

The vacation plan was good but it was ~~saved~~ for those who had protection, who did Party activity, social activity which was a prerequisite.

According to the latest adjustment the pension plan for women was as follows: After 50 years of age if the person worked for ten years she got 50 per cent of her last salary. If she worked longer than 10 years the percentage was higher. Men could get pensions after they were 55 years old and got the same percentage. Very often the women went on pension because it turned out financially better. They did not have to pay all the dues and deductions, and they could stop the hard work they usually had to do. It wasn't a bad plan.

E. I myself would live only in Budapest. I consider the situation much worse in the country than in Budapest. On the other hand, I could not have got any job in the country. But from any point of view, it was worse in the country. They very often had no bread, had a little more to eat, but politically they were oppressed and as far as Budapest was a "window city" this had some advantages. Everything was concentrated into the capitol.

We knew right away as soon as we heard about collectivization that it would be bad for Hungary. The Hungarian peasants were basically capitalists, and we knew that they would ~~nx~~ never work the same if the land didn't belong to them. But, in general, I guess the statistical institute took unrealistic data as a basis of the collectivization. The whole thing was already \_\_\_\_\_

Collectivization helps in Hungary's even more complete destruction, if that is possible. First, the poor peasants supported the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ collectivization and the land distribution because there was a slogan that the land belongs to the ones who work it. But they, of course, did not think that the state would take everything that they produced on it. I read in the newspapers how the production looked in the state farms and I could see that the earning of the average family wasn't higher, everything included of course, than 25,000-30,000 forints yearly for a family of four members, all of them working for the state farms. This money could be earned by a worker easily. Therefore, the peasants had to steal whatever they could in order to keep going. But in spite of that, my personal opinion is that the Hungarian peasant never lived so well as nowadays. Because the free part of his production can be sold on the free market, or, as I ~~said~~ said, on the black

market at a high price and, on the other hand, they had to eat up their production or the state would take it away. This way they are better fed than every and have much higher pretensions than before. Today the peasant has radio, bicycles, good clothes. For five pengos a peasant can buy an excellent winter coat. They can also build houses much easier because to build a house in a village would not cost more than 40,000 forints, and they get a loan of 30,000-35,000 forints easily, for 20 years and they don't need their own money. They can build their houses on the money of the government. In Budapest if a worker wanted to build a house the smallest and simplest brick house would cost 100,000 forints, ~~xxxx~~ let's say, with two rooms, kitchen and bathroom.

In 1953 when Imre Nagy took over power the farm cooperatives dissolved within hours. But after Nagy's decline they were again somehow drawn together and the peasants went back into the cooperatives. During the revolution almost all of the farm cooperatives scattered and dissolved, but I heard that now in Hungary the patching up goes on again.

I would consider an ideal agricultural system for an independent Hungary individual farms. As long as Hungary has land she has an excellent export and could have foreign currency this way. The owners of the big estates had capital enough to invest and to lead research on better systems and better quality of fruits and ~~vegetables~~ vegetables and animals, etc. Almost all of them created model farms. The Communists destroyed all these beautiful small farms with all the new inventions. As much as I could talk to peasants, they also wished the old times back, and the old system of farming.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. (Regarding the political situation before 1948, respondent says that she is not interested in politics. She was always busy with her studies and has sense for politics at all. She says that, in general, she didn't like before 1948 neither the German nor the Russian occupation.)

~~XXXXXXXX~~ In 1919 I was a small child. I heard the propaganda on the Horthy regime against Communism, and I thought maybe it wasn't true. However, during the last twelve years I saw that it was by far not sufficient what people told us about Communism between the two world wars. I would never have believed that such slavery could exist at all.

B. The Hungarian people generally entered the Communist party because of ~~p p~~ opportunism. Maybe in 1945 there were people who believed in Communism but this was the minor part. But after the people ~~were~~ were in the party they got different assignments, got in positions and even if they became disillusioned, there was no way back any more. They had to stay with the Party.

Before the revolution the Communist party claimed 800,000 members. I don't think that half of this number was convinced of Communist goals.

Regarding the changes of policy in the Communist party, I cannot tell any details. I did not have any close contact with the Party; I just had regular every day chats with my Communist colleagues. For Communist party members the party had to be something super-human, something           . They adored it as a god. All of this was done, of course, out of fear. They were afraid to lose their jobs, and to speak up in front of anyone. If they mentioned Rakosi's name they ~~mixxxx~~ talked of him as            in the Middle Ages. However, they            never talked about real basic political questions,

which were discussed on the membership meetings. As an outsider, spectator, I saw the changes which I tried to formulate a logical picture of. We were convinced that the leaders were not united around Rakosi. Even before Imre Nagy became premier we knew about him and we knew that he represented a softer party line. Zoltan Vass was also for a softer policy. But we considered Gero as the most dangerous, not Rakosi. I guess the Communist party policy in Hungary was nothing else but a ~~xx~~ rivalry among the leaders for power.

As far as party morale is concerned, there was a certain party morale, but it was directed from time to time what had to be propagated. It wasn't based on principle, but on political necessity. In practice, the party morale was ~~xxx~~ nothing more than the party functionaries became sort of small dictators. All the other Communist members were over-powered by them. They were masters of life and death. They got their directions from the center of the party and their policy was to keep each other in fear.

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The leaders of the Hungarian Communist party are scoundrels without exception. They don't care about the interest of the country; they only serve the Soviet Union and help her to exploit our country. This is their collective aim. I don't know about any individual goal which can          and they ~~xxxx~~ themselves know very well that no one can become or stay a leader who is not wanted by Moscow. My personal opinion is that these party leaders could be convinced of anything that's in their own interests. They all had wonderful incomes, and they came from a very low social level. For instance, a few of the ministers as Ronai, who came from Debrecen and had been a brick-layer, or Apro who had been a carpenter, had 30,000-40,000 forints per month incomes. I had an old colleague from the University of Szeged who had a high position in the Ministry of Construction and his salary was around 10,000 forints. But, in spite of their ~~xxx~~ high salaries, almost all of the leaders of the party or government were corrupt. Therefore, sooner or later, they were ~~xxxx~~ replaced.

The motives of the rank and file members and those of the leadership were about the same. Only the simple party member entered the party for small, immediate advantages and the leaders had wider views and bigger appetites.

When Hungary is independent the Communist leaders will not live too long if they don't escape to the Soviet Union in time. I myself would like to put Rakosi and his co-workers in the same position they created for the average people in Hungary during the last 12 years.

C. There were continuous sabotage in Hungary against the government and Communist party. I myself for instance could keep a purchase order in my drawer for days and hinder the production of our institute if I wanted to. I made very good friends with the different factories and I could get everything we needed very fast if I called ~~per~~ personally someone there. If a non-Communist came to me and asked for something I just took the phone and made the call right away. If a Communist asked me for some favor I promised him that I would do the utmost and send the purchase order through right away--I even signed it in front of him. However, I didn't call the factory and therefore the delivery was postponed for weeks, or sometimes for months.

If any such news was launched we always knew that something has happened. Very often, of course, the Communists made sabotage cases out of accidents. Once, for instance, a chemist, a friend of mine, was charged for being on vacation when trouble occurred in his factory. A faucet was broken and some material leaked out. The company sued my friend, who wasn't a party member. It was a long case. The lawyer won his case finally because it drew the attention of the management of the factory to

the fact that all the professionals are inclined to go to non-profit organizations to work because if they work for profit making organizations everything is deducted from their salaries if anything happens. They were always charged innocently with different things and therefore ~~they~~ they were afraid of accepting a position at a business company.

Another time someone was also taken from his vacation right to prison because there was a blow-up in the factory ~~and~~ and he was charged with it. In such cases, of course, no one ever knew if it were a ~~case~~ case of sabotage or just ~~that~~ that the party wanted to use such occasions as a tool to get rid of people.

A well prepared sabotage could be very effective, and could hinder production very much. For instance, once it was impossible to get boots in Hungary for years. The peasants and workers couldn't get any ~~sturdy~~ sturdy shoes. At a shoe factory one cargo of boots had been spoiled by the workers so that they cut off a little corner of every heel. They just set the machine that way. This cargo was supposed to be sent to the Soviet Union. However, it was sent back because of this irregularity. Then the government had to sell those boots on the Hungarian market. Immediately, everyone could buy boots at a low ~~price~~ price.

The frequency of such sabotage cases was changing. If the terror raised, sabotage dropped and vice versa. In 1953, when Imre Nagy came into power, everyone had optimistic expectations. However, he did not last too long ~~and~~ and we knew that a much stronger terror was coming after his downfall. This was lessened again in 1955. The hope of the people started rise again. When Tito visited Moscow and ~~people~~ people started to talk about Rakosi's fall, everyone

became bright again. They didn't expect Gero to stay in power any longer than a few weeks and everyone planned about connections with the West and checked on the Hungarian-Soviet economic relations. According to these changes, the resistance of the people went up or down.

I heard about the Petofi Circle a year ago. Otherwise, I did not know much about the resistance of other intellectual groups. Our institute took a very active part in the work of the Petofi Circle. The meetings usually started at 6 or 7 p.m., but when someone arrived, the place was already so crowded that sometimes it was impossible to get in. Our director, who was also the political department head, became so interested in the activities of the Petofi Circle that he allowed the employees to leave their offices earlier and gave special busses at their disposal in order to get there on time. If the meeting was too long we did not have to be at our offices exactly on time the next morning, and, in general, it seemed as if we were put for the disposal of the Petofi Circle activities just out of his enthusiasm.

We knew that the Petofi Circle was definitely anti-Soviet and they wanted to break off with Moscow. But we were not absolutely definite about their final goal. All the non-Communist members of our institute were pro-Petofi Circle. We thought that basically they wanted national Communism, but whether they considered that as a first step and afterward work toward fighting for an independent Hungary we could not figure out. Of course, we were afraid to ask such questions, not even from those who took an active part in it from our institute. The speeches and remarks at the Circle never clarified this question clearly. They attacked the present regime very strongly, but we did not quite understand whether they asked for

new suitable leaders, attacking Rakosi and the Gero clique, and who they had in mind as new leaders. Finally, we came to the conclusion that these personal problems were not important, and maybe the members of the Petofi Circle were not interested in it more than making a first step and breaking off from Moscow. Anyway, it was a very important move toward the decay of the Communist power.

The Petofi Circle was a prelude of the revolution. The atmosphere was created there and influenced by the members.

According to my opinion, the intellectuals stood up against the regime out of discontent. In the Petofi Circle there were workers and all kinds of people, but mostly the intellectuals argued and gave the speeches. For instance, one time an electrical engineer stood up and went into details on how an engineer lived before ~~the~~ Communism and how he lives now, and is not able to support his family. His wife has to work and still they do not have a human life. It was mentioned many times that the less ~~xxx~~ valuable people change from one good position to another, and in general they claim justice.

## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Our family had no personal trouble with the AVH. In general, the members of the secret police were chosen from the lowest strata in Hungary. The individuals were malevolent persons. The leadership included some more intelligent people, but, in general the older members of the secret police had some sort of trouble in their personalities, I mean in their character. Some surprises we could always expect in connection with the AVH. For instance, in our house the chief of the personnel department of the ~~xxx~~ academy lived. By chance, his apartment was fixed at the same time as ours by the ~~xx~~ academy. As long as I watched the different stages of this fixing job I noticed after ~~ww~~ while that we could not get action on our things, everything took weeks, even a month; he got fixtures and other luxurious things although the academy didn't want to fix the ~~simplest~~ simplest broken thing in our apartment. All together, to get our apartment fixed it cost 40,000 forints and when I asked him, he said his cost 12,000 ~~forinta~~ forints. I went to the academy after this experience and reproached my husband's superior, asking why these two apartments were fixed so differently. The superior told me secretly that the personnel chief is a secret AVH man. Whatever he says must be done immediately. During the revolution this personnel department chief came into our house to listen to the foreign broadcasts. I asked him what his opinion was about the refugees who left Hungary. He answered that all the refugees are fools to go into slavery. This was the only time I had an AVH man in my home and, honestly, I ~~xxx~~ never dreamed that this man could be a member of the AVH.

I don't know an exact case of an AVH man suffering remorse because he was a member of the secret police. I know only about a doctor I knew and who was forced into the Blue AVH. After he served about 1 1/2 years,

I met him on the street in civilian clothes. When he saw my surprise, he told me ~~th~~ very cheerfully that he had succeeded in being kicked out of the AVH. He seemed ~~o~~ to be completely changed and happy.

There were some other strange cases which could happen to AVH members. For instance, I knew the wife of an engineer. He was a brilliant expert. About four years before we left Hungary the man was suddenly taken by the AVH. He completely disappeared. His wife didn't hear any news of him, nor did she get any allowance after her husband left. Nothing was told to her for three years. She took it for granted that her husband was not living. Suddenly the husband came home with a huge amount, seemingly in very good shape, and he was not allowed to say where he had spent the past three years. However, later on I was told very secretly by his wife that he had been taken to Recsk for planning secret underground roads, which was a military ~~xxf~~ secret and he ~~wasn~~ wasn't supposed to mention it to anyone. He had not been allowed ~~o~~ to leave his working place during this time. He got everything. He was promised that after his release, after he finished the designing of the roads, he would get a small ~~xxx~~ fortune and would have no financial worries for the rest of his life.

When Hungary is independent the AVH members won't live long. The public indignation is too strong against them.

The regular police were definitely resistant. Just the opposite of the political police. During the revolution I heard from our superintendent, who was a policeman, that all the policemen were ~~xxx~~ called in at 11p.m. on October 23 to their police barracks. Their weapons were taken from them and the barracks were closed. No one could leave. They didn't quite understand why this happened, whether it was to prevent them from

joining the revolutionaries, or to prevent an attack against the AVH. He told me also that their chief in the district police station was a former AVH officer. The policemen got the order to take him home to his apartment and see that no harm came to him, but they didn't have to care about anything afterward.

The Blue police of course was affected by the system. The whole organization as well as individuals. For instance, I knew another policeman personally who was executed in 1954. He went home one day very excited and asked his wife whether she ever said anything against the regime. The wife was shocked and said no. The man did not even wait for her answer; he ran out. The woman has never seen him since. When she went to inquire from the political police, after awhile she was told it was not necessary to inquire any more because her husband is no longer alive.

Certainly the police were directed by the same Ministry of Interior as the AVH, so it was directed by the Communists. But individually the policemen were entirely different from the AVH members. For instance, if they caught someone on the street, or if they were told to catch people on the street, they let them get away after the second corner and no one could see them anymore.

Coming back to the revolution, the National Guard went around the city always along with policemen, and they understood each other perfectly. There was another moving event with a policeman during the revolution. Across the street from our home there was the English embassy. In front of the embassy there was always a policeman day and night. In the first days of the revolution this guard was not replaced, everyone forgot about him. This policeman stood there day and night for three days. When I finally decided to ask him what he needed, he asked me to bring him food because he couldn't leave his post. He said he was very tired standing there for three days, but he hoped that finally he

could get to the city and not see any Russians anymore. He thought he deserved this for standing ~~without~~ without food for three days.

B. I don't think the courts were absolutely without partiality before 1945. The judiciary was always more or less surrendered to the ruling political regime in every country. But it could not be compared to the Communist courts. I myself have never had any personal experiences, but I heard from other people about a lot of cases.

About the People's Courts within 1945 to '47 I know only that the People's judges were laymen, Party appointees, who had great power in their hands which they misused.

Regarding war criminals, I don't know much about them. I have never been at a trial, I don't know who was sentenced for what, but I'm sure that there were a few cases where ~~people~~ people were actually guilty. But in the majority, they were innocent who were sentenced by the People's Courts.

C. The army joined the Freedom Fighters, fought with them, and helped them during the revolution. According to my knowledge, the army siding with the revolution was uniform. I heard about this from everyone. It was considered a fact at that time in Hungary.

I don't know anything about the construction of the army, but I know that the inhabitants, including myself, regarded the army's behavior as natural.

D. I think that the events in 1848 were only fairy-tales ~~for~~ for today's generations. The great aversion to the Russians developed in 1945.

We didn't expect anything good from the Russian occupation troops; all occupation forces are bad. But we thought that after the German exploitation and the peace treaty, the Russian troops would

leave Hungary, and the big powers would guarantee our independence.

I had no personal experiences with the Russians. In 1945 I lived in the Gellert Hotel, and the first Russian soldier who came into that hotel was very friendly. Later on I learned that this was the propaganda soldier. Right after I went back to my apartment and later I heard that the people who stayed in the Gellert Hotel were annoyed by the Russians. They robbed them and deported many of them, I think, because they thought they were ~~being~~ burzsuj, because this hotel was very elegant.

Pretty soon we left Budapest for east Hungary, where everything was already consolidated and therefore I only heard about the Russians' behavior in Budapest.

My attitude has not changed toward the Russians and neither the population's anti-Party. It grew more, I guess, especially in Budapest. We didn't see very many Russian soldiers in Budapest. Mostly officers we knew were living in unbelievable luxury compared to our standard of living.

Regarding the Russian troops stationed Hungary before the revolution, I only heard about them. For instance, around Szekesfehervar there were huge Russian troops concentrated. I heard that these troops were very cordial to the population, and they did not want to go home, not even from the oppressed Hungary. They had a very low standard of living in comparison to ours. The Russian soldiers somehow settled down, maybe lived well in the country, and the population took some of them in. The simple Russian soldiers were good natured, like children.

About the Russian soldiers behavior during the revolution, I do not have any first-hand experience,

or knowledge. I heard, in Budapest, that the Russians gave over their tanks and weapons to the revolutionaries in some cases. But I didn't see any Russians myself.

I didn't hear either about any individual brutality by the Soviet soldiers toward the Hungarians during the revolution. However, there was one event which I still consider individual brutality. This was the case when the university & student girls formed a chain and they blocked the street and thought that the Russians wouldn't break through this chain of alive people. However, the Russians didn't care and they overran the chain of young girls.

In general, about everything I heard about the Russian army I formed the impression that the Russian army was frightened in Hungary by the revolution.

E. There were cases of government officials who were willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble. These officials could be found among kaders as well as among other Party functionaries who loudly shouted the slogans of the party, but on the other hand, they tried to help as many people as they could. There were also among them some old government officials still in their jobs who, of course, if they were not too afraid, tried to help.

F. There were ways of getting around some of the regulations. For instance, in the customs office I had personal experiences. One of the customs officers told me to come up and see him if I get an IKA package from America. I went to him and paid 300 forints, the first time I got a package. Ever since I got my packages very quickly and without custom. But other people told me too whoever had personal connections could get around the rules very well. The Communist regime couldn't help this at all.

If they fired the officer, the next would do just the same. So this was the solution. I never read in the newspapers that anybody ever was arrested for such briberies.

G. Concerning the competence and the efficiency of the top people in Communist Hungary, I think that none of them are really suitable for their positions. The government itself started a movement with self-criticism to put every person in the right place. But it didn't help too much. Basically, good kaders are in every important position.

Maybe this is not strictly referring to the above subject, but I would like to tell you something I consider important. Since I have been here in America and when I was in England, I saw that the American authorities make a keen distinction between the refugees who were and were not Communist members. In many cases this cannot be a basis of judgement. I was always among the leaders of our institute and knew quite a lot of high Communist officials there, as well as non-Communist chiefs. I must say that many of those who belonged to the Communist Party were the most excellent, helpful people. If I mention my own experience, maybe it will throw a light on the point I want to emphasize.

There was a chief in the personnel department in our institute who was a Party committee member. He helped everyone in our institute. Whenever I opened my mouth, which I did frequently, he always came to me and pointed out different individuals telling me not to talk in front of them. He was the person who told me to leave the country because I had been put on the list of people to be deported or dismissed. I may have him to thank for possibly my life or at least my future. On the other hand, among my friends there was the wife of another official in our institute who was a non-Communist. Once I was in some company with the woman and we talked about the situation in Hungary. I knew that she had two

sons in America, and she suddenly, in connection with the subject, told us, "This is a life we have here in Hungary, isn't it?" I had confidence in her and so I said, "Yes, yes it is." Within a few days I learned that something happened in the institute about me, something was going on against me. I inquired, and heard that our department chief, who was a non-Communist professor, demanded from the directors to have me fired immediately and announced to the Communist party that I had made the above statement. And also he added that I mentioned that he wasn't a real scientist, that he could be grateful for his job only to the Communist regime because he got ahead as a Party member and not as an expert. I had made this statement on the same night to the same woman. I knew right away that everything was true, and this woman was an informer. Within 24 hours I was removed from my department and put into another one and learned that disciplinary procedure was started against me at the Party. Finally the military commander at our institute stopped the disciplinary procedure against me, taking the responsibility for my character, saying he knew me for years and I was a good expert necessary for the institute. This way I was not dismissed from my job completely and I started to work in this other department. Just as a summary of the above problem, I certainly let into America this woman informer who ~~wasn't~~ wasn't a party member and this other professor who wasn't very loyal either who denounced me, who also was not a party member. The people who helped me, the military commander and the other Party member were Communists who were human and good characters. I don't say this because they helped me or harmed me, but objectively, many Party members were good people and many of the non-Party members were either informers or cowards. So I don't think it is a good policy

### XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. We were sure for years about the outbreak of a revolution. But in 1956 we thought that there were factions within the Party, especially after Rakosi was dismissed, which would establish a softening and ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ in the course of such changes, within ~~XXXXXX~~ two or three years, a revolution could break out. The terrible terror which followed the revolution now in Hungary makes us have different considerations about the possible future. But, I myself think that the Russians are looking for a possibility to leave Hungary ~~as~~ as non-losers. If they can find any diplomatic way to do so, then according to my opinion, they will play up the good guy instead, because it is a better propaganda for them. They can easily run down Hungary in case of a war, anyway.

Within Hungary the people still hope that the West will help to withdraw Russian troops, and to create a free Hungary either through economic ways or with military help. But, if nothing happens from the side of the West, the Hungarian people are ~~■~~ ready to do just anything so as not to see Russians anymore in Hungary.

As far as the situation is concerned outside of Hungary, in Russia the percentage of those who keep the population under terror is insignificant. A friend of mine was in the Soviet Union for four years in Syberia. She said that there ~~was~~ were regular and continuous partisan fights and the people were extremely dissatisfied. During the revolution we heard that the students in Moscow also demonstrated without any definite success at that time, but still they also tried to stand up against the ~~■~~ regime.

In connection with Poland, I can say that we envied the Poles very much. Even Yugoslavia. But today, after the revolution, Hungary wouldn't stop on such a scale. Hungary already overstepped

the line which the Polish policy drew, and they cannot be forced back behind it anymore. I guess the whole Hungarian nation feels that way. I hope for the independence of Hungary and I hope it will not have to be done through war. I guess this is valid to the whole Hungarian nation.

I don't know if a war will break out between the USSR and the U.S. It could happen any minute. Right now the situation is the Middle East can be continued in a war any time. No one ever desires a war, but I guess everyone, including me, always counts on the possibility. In Hungary the people wouldn't mind an atom bomb if there is no other solution. The Hungarians know that the Soviet doesn't want peace, that the Soviet is provoking a war with every deed. I really don't think it is up to us to decide whether or not we want war. The Soviet Union will have her own view on that matter, too.

B. Regarding future prospects before the revolution, I told you already that we believed always in a coming revolution, only we didn't know when.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. I would like to have a democratic system in an independent Hungary.

B. The emphasis should be placed on agriculture because we have no raw material for heavy industry. We have no real good coal or iron. Besides agriculture, light industry, textile, fine mechanics, etc. can be emphasized.

In case the Communist regime were overthrown, the nationalized enterprises should be back to the private ownership. The same should happen to the kolkhozes and state farms.

Maybe some \_\_\_\_\_ companies and the railroad or the post office could stay in the hands of the state. But the abolishing of the private industries was entirely false.

The state shouldn't set maximum limits to the amount of land owned by a person or family because this would kill the initiative of the people, and would only cause trouble. If a person is sure that he can take care of the land, I don't see any reason why he shouldn't have more land.

Among the two possible governments mentioned to me, I would choose the first one with personal rights.

The Communist party in an independent Hungary should be outlawed. I lived ten years under their rule. It exists on the work done by other people. I wouldn't permit the Communist party anywhere in the world. I guess the fellow travelling organizations should be outlawed as well.

C. I would consider ideal an alliance with the West and a so-called independent country as Austria can always be run down by the Russians. I would not

like any ~~we~~ relations with the USSR for Hungary. As far as Eastern European states are concerned, we can have relations with them if they change their regimes, but not military. Only economical and cultural. For the rest of Europe, every kind of relation is desirable and also the United States.

A federation of the Danubian states is necessary. This should be established. These countries can exist only if they help each other. For instance, Hungary is an agricultural state. She shouldn't emphasize industrial production, which can be done by Czechoslovakia. The first thing is to have an economic coordination among those nations, not as competitors, but forming a family to ~~make~~ make business with the West. In general, people think it is possible to make a Danubian federation. Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania should be ~~and~~ included. In Hungary many people are for the federation.

I think in terms of a confederation, which would abolish the question of Hungary's present borders. Borders would have an unimportant role. Minority problems should be abolished through agreement. A bad ~~re-annexation~~ re-annexation is worse from an economic view than nothing. But, as I mentioned before, in case of a confederation this problem gets an entirely different light.

#### XIV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. (Respondent has no knowledge of Khrushchev's secret speech.)

We thought in Hungary that Senator McCarthy was a smart man who knew what he was fighting for. He wanted to paralyse the Communists. Therefore, he was scolded by the Hungarian newspapers very severely. What I knew about him was only what I read in the newspapers, but from the negative manner in which the Communists handled him I could deduce that he was a smart man.

I know who Peron was, the dictator of Argentine, but I have no knowledge of his activities.

About Rakos's private life I don't know anything. I know one thing, that at Balaton, which was the summer resort of the Communist party at Aliga, that when train stopped there no one was allowed to leave the stairs of the train.

B. I got my information on what was happening from the different broadcasts, from word of mouth, from Communist literature and from some Western literature.

The radio broadcasts were the most important for me. The next would have been word of mouth, but if I talked about news and politics with other people we usually discussed the foreign news broadcasts.

C. I discussed the above mentioned broadcasts with my colleagues mostly, and some of my friends. The news I got from different sources were just as reliable as far as the different radios are concerned. We could check on their reliability if they dealt with Hungarian problems, I mean what happened in Hungary.

D. Before and during the second world war I read world literature. After the war we were narrowed

down to some Hungarian classics, as Jokai or Mikszath. I read one or two hours daily. I always regularly read the newspapers before and during the war as well as after the war.

Before the war I bought and read only good books. After the war I did not buy one single book and read only a few. Before the Communists took over, I read ~~many~~ novels ~~like~~ of Thomas Mann or Stefan Zweig or different histories or world literature. After the war such reading habits had to be dropped. We could read a few good books only if somebody loaned them to us from their private libraries.

Regarding newspapers and magazines I read ~~only~~ the Szabad Nep ~~and~~ which was the official party organ. I knew that usually just the opposite was true, what this newspaper wrote. I read the whole newspaper everyday, but I knew that more or less everything was false. However, reading between the lines we could get an idea about the real situation, what was behind the news.

I never read any publications from the Soviet Union or the other satellite countries. Neither I nor my family read anything from the West.

As far as illegal books and publications are concerned, we read our own old books which we did not keep on our bookshelves, but in boxes hidden in different places of the apartment, or sometimes our friends loaned us books which were put on the index and afterwards we would discuss them with our friends. we ourselves also loaned books to others if they asked.

## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. According to my judgement, a revolution within Russia is possible. During World War II too many Russian soldiers saw that there was a better life outside Russia. Ever since there has not been a complete quiet inside the Soviet Union.

If Russia had a free election the Communist regime would fail. But, I don't know what kind of government they would establish.

The Russian topleaders have no other motives than their endeavor for power. Every leader in Russia wants to become an individual dictator. I don't believe that they have any common goal or aspiration. The difference between the Hungarian and the Russian Communist leadership is that the Hungarian leaders get their orders from the Russian leaders. There are no individual ~~xxx~~ decisions in any of those countries.

B. In Hungary the most liked among the Eastern European countries is Poland because we have a common history and somehow we ~~w~~ always have the same freedom movements and therefore the Hungarians like the Polish people. I don't think the Hungarians favor the Polish government. The second is Czechoslovakia, which is not so much liked as envied because of its economic standard. The least liked is East Germany. The people and the government as well. I guess they served Communism too opportunistically. I had contacts with students from East Germany and from other countries, and from these students we learned in which country the standard of living was highest and lowest. According to their opinion the highest standard of living was in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the lowest in Romania and Bulgaria.

C. Right now Gomulka and his government look just like any other puppet government in the subjugated countries, but with national aspirations. However, we were convinced that Gomulka would fight step by step and finally he could get the independence of Poland, more or less. In the present situation in Middle Europe, I think this is the only thing that anyone can do, short of war. If he can be stern enough, he can force the Russians out of Poland slowly.

I think Gomulka won't stay in power for long. He is just a ~~forerunner~~ forerunner of the revolutionary process, and maybe some sort of free elections will follow. I simply don't believe that in any country in Middle Europe Communist persons can stay in power if the country regains its independence.

The Polish events set an example for the Hungarians and it definitely and directly influenced Hungary. From the spring of 1956 people all over whispered about Poland and asked of each other when and how will we follow the Polish example. From the Poznan events on it was ~~the~~ stronger and stronger. During the revolution Poland helped the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. They sent food and first-aid into Hungary and their behavior drew even a stronger contrast between the policies of Poland and Yugoslavia.

As long as the Hungarian revolution did not break out, my only dream and wish was to follow the Polish example. But after the second day of the Hungarian revolution, I was convinced that we were much more ahead and Hungary could reach a situation free from Communists.

D. I don't know much about Tito and his regime. I could never understand him, personally. We considered him a smart man, but we could never figure out, in case of a serious decision, if he would choose the Soviet Union, the West or independence. I don't consider Tito as the originator of national Communism. He ~~isn't~~

himself doesn't know whether he wants national Communism or if he wants to be a double-dealer to both sides in order to obtain economic advantages for himself and his country. But he couldn't figure out how many of these advantages supported his own power and how much went to help the nation. I don't know how popular he is in his country. In Hungary they didn't consider Rajk as a national Communist either. He was just the same kind of Communist as Rakosi. There was no sign of a softening or a better economic or political life for the country under Rajk's regime. If I'm not wrong, he was the one who started the purge against ~~Mr. Mindszenty~~ Mr. Mindszenty. This whole trend of national Communism wasn't anything else but a shifting of the balance of power into Tito's hands. We saw it very well under the Hungarian revolution that for him an independent Hungary wasn't a favorable change. On the other hand, he was afraid a revolution would flare up in Yugoslavia, too. He didn't give any help to Hungary during ~~this~~ this time when the whole free world wanted to support Hungary as much as they could. His speech was very anti- and after a few days, when Kadar was reestablished, he said that he knew that Kadar was an excellent man and he supported his regime. All this showed us that a big game was played by those dictators and leaders, and not a real honest wish ~~to~~ to help Hungary.

E. We couldn't get much news on the ~~Suez~~ Suez situation. Everything happened at the time of our revolution and, first of all, we didn't have any regular news service and secondly ~~the~~ the Communists wouldn't have given a clear picture anyway. In general, I guess the Suez situation didn't influence the Hungarian revolution.

F. The living standard in West Germany is very high. A friend of ours lived there for ten months. When he came back he told us detailed information about life in Germany. The question of a new war started by the Germans wasn't raised in our society at all. We did not know

too much about German rearmament, but what our propaganda said and reading behind the lines we thought that the German rearmament was just a fair defense against the Soviet.

If we want to compare the German and the Russian occupation forces, I guess maybe the German was a little better, if we can choose between two bad things. The Germans were more disciplined, but both of the armies were unpopular.

G. We didn't know exactly what NATO was, we heard only our own propaganda about it. But even not knowing much we thought it was an excellent establishment and we drew the conclusion from the formation of NATO that the United States considered the situation of our countries, and wants to put the brake on the Russians which would be advantageous to us.

I can't compare NATO to the Warsaw Pact because I don't know their details. But I guess the Warsaw Pact is not an actual agreement, because the Russians broke it themselves.

I have no knowledge about the British Labor party.

Regarding the living standards of the different countries, I guess that the highest is in East Germany and the second highest in Britain. In Italy we thought the living standard was sufficient and in the Soviet Union it is higher than in Hungary. I don't know anything about Greece and Egypt.

H. I was mostly surprised by the behavior of the children in the United States and that they grow up on the streets.

The United States' conception of foreign policy didn't reach us in Hungary. Therefore, I won't be able to comment on the present policy of the U.S. In general, I guess that she has to give mostly financial help to the Eastern European countries if they get rid of Communism, because without this aid those countries won't be able

to establish a regular life. This is valid, of course, first of all for Hungary. My attitude on what the United States ~~should~~ should do didn't change since I came here. By no means should she accept the Kadar government.

The people in Hungary would like to see Western visitors, tourists, newspaper men, all kinds. These visitors should know that the Communists will show them only certain parts of the country and will hinder them in mingling with the crowd. Therefore, if they want to learn basic things about the population, they have to go to the people themselves.

The people in Hungary would like to receive Western books and periodicals, but it isn't possible at present.

If the Hungarian people could meet with Americans who were in contact with exiles or such activities, I guess they would receive those people with a certain reservation because of fear mixing themselves into dangerous politics.

(Respondent knows only the name of the Marshall Plan but nothing more about it.)

(On the Korean War she says she knows that the Americans fought in Korea against the Communists.)

J. The United Nations should have carried out their resolutions more energetically. However, we knew it was very difficult because the Soviet Union did not want to negotiate in this question, I mean on the Hungarian question. I myself certainly don't know what could have been done during the Hungarian revolution, nor have I knowledge of effective action by the U.N. for Hungary.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED  
PERSONALITIES

A. (Respondent doesn't know any great living  
Hungarian.)

B. Imre Nagy would have been a good leader for  
Hungary for a transitory period.

Cardinal Mindzenty hasn't any decisive power and  
he couldn't keep up with the changes in the world  
situation. The affect of his speech on me was ex-  
tremely dull.

Laszlo Rajk I consider a Communist, as I said before.

Erno Gero was the most fearful figure in the Hun-  
garian Communist circles.

Janos Kadar is a puppet without any character.

Bela Kiraly I don't know. I heard his name only  
during the revolution, but I don't remember what  
I heard.

Anna Kethly, I don't know too much about her  
activities. I know that she was in the opposition  
of the Communists during the revolution.

President Eisenhower we knew from the second world  
war as a hero.

Secretary General Hammarskjold I don't know except  
that he is Secretary General of the United Nations.

Dulles is the Secretary of State of the U.S., but I  
don't know anything about his policy line.

Eden wasn't very sympathetic. I always had the  
feeling that he wanted someone else to work in-  
stead of him and just to harvest.

I don't know anything about Truman except that he  
was the former president before Eisenhower.

Mikoyan I didn't know much about, but he was the chief figure in the Russian Communist party. I read a long article about him first in West Germany when we were there.

We knew that Nehru wasn't on the side of the Hungarian revolution, but we couldn't figure out exactly if he was a double-dealer or he just wanted to be a real \_\_\_\_\_ negotiator.

Generalissimo Chiang kei Shek I have no knowledge of, other than that he is the leader of Nationalist China.

Roosevelt we liked very much before the war.

Adenauer is a strong brave man, the only one who told his frank opinion to the Soviet.

Stalin was the greatest murderer in the world. I don't know if Hitler learned from Stalin or the reverse.  
Malenkov was the representative of the softer line.

Franco is the dictator of Spain. I don't know more about him.

~~Bevan~~ Bevan is the English leftist politician of the Labor party. I don't know anything about his ~~xxx~~ activities.

Khrushchev is a wild animal filled with ambition for power.

Tito...before the revolution we wished we could have a Tito, but after we didn't want him anymore.

Peron was an Argentine dictator, but I don't know more about him.

Molotov was the convinced follower of Stalin.

Ollenaer is the leader of the West Germany Social Democratic party. I don't know more about him.

Churchill is the greatest English statesman.

XVIII.

A. The first group of the escapees were Communists. The second who came out in the last part of November and the first part of December were the Hungarians who had to leave because they took part in fightings or because they sympathized with the revolution. They were mostly from the younger generation from the west part of Hungary, but generally from every part of the country came all kinds of people. They escaped because of the political situation in Hungary.

The people who stayed behind were either Communists who felt secure after November 4 or old people who did not want to start a new life abroad. However, many young people had to stay because they had to support their families.

I feel sorry for those who were left behind. ~~Maybe~~ Maybe they are the real heroes. I knew about people who decided to remain despite the possibility to escape. Some of them were afraid of the dangers of escape, some had difficult family circumstances. I guess the people who stayed in Hungary think that we who escaped are lucky people. If the Hungarian borders could be open, very small percentage of the people would stay in the country.

B. I had no knowledge in Hungary of exile organizations or individuals.

I heard the name of Monseigneur Varga and Ferenc Nagy.

Admiral Horthy's policy was bad. He concentrated all his energies to keep his power and he could do it for quite long.

I do not have any knowledge of the accomplishments of the people who left before 1956, but I am sure that they tried their best. My opinion of what they should have done and what can be done is to keep

the Hungarian problem on the surface and to call the attention of the free world continuously to the dangers of Communism.

During the revolution we didn't think of the exile politicians.

C. I have never met Hungarians who escaped after 1945 and returned to Hungary later on. The redefection campaign was quite widespread and everyone knew about it. It was a tremendous propaganda drive. For instance, in connection with Pager, I heard that it cost the Hungarian government 250,000 forints to bring him home. Right now he is the busiest movie actor, he works day and night. In general, the population received him with dismay. The Communists forced different declarations out of him. In general he was a good catch for the Communists as he was a famous actor.

D. First of all, the people who stayed in Hungary would like to know about the lives of those who left Hungary, how we fit into the new circumstances and what is our fate. They definitely should know about the living standards in the free world. For instance, how much we have to work and how much salary we get which would be the best propaganda toward Hungary. The exiles should unite and be occupied with the Hungary case, bringing it again and again to the attention of the free world. Individually, the best we can do is work as well and as honestly as possible.

I myself cannot do much right now, but as soon as I have a job I want to inform the Hungarians at home of my working conditions and my salary, etc. I wouldn't like to join an exile organization. I have no knowledge of various Hungarian political parties, nor activities. I was not very interested in politics. There were too many parties revived in Hungary during the revolution in the first few days, but there was not one among them which could unite all of them and could give definite useful aid. I don't think the exile groups should take

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part in Hungarian politics if they return.

E. I would like to go ~~bxk~~ back to Hungary if it were free and independent again.

I don't want my daughter to learn Hungarian in the United States because I would like her to assimilate and to become an American.

XIX.

A. I listened to the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and B.B.C.

We couldn't receive the foreign broadcasts very well. After 1951 we couldn't listen to anything but B.B.C. for awhile. All the other stations were extremely jammed. Our receiver was only a 3 + 1 tube radio, not too powerful, and maybe this was part of the trouble. We listened to the Hungarian and English broadcasts everyday, ~~xxx~~ mostly to the Voice of America if we could hear it clearly. Sometimes this station was jammed the most. We discussed the foreign broadcasts with our colleagues and friends, but we listened to these broadcasts only our on own radio with my husband. We closed the windows and had to carefully watch if someone notices ~~xxx~~ that we are listening to these broadcasts for in our house we had some Communist tenants, too.

It was dangerous to listen to the foreign broadcasts. People were interned or deported as a result. We had to listen ~~s~~ secretly. From 1951 on the government ~~xxxx~~ tied a rope around the necks of those who listened to these stations inspite of the fact that they never prohibited listening to these programs. The situation remained about the same until the end.

According to my opinion these broadcasts were rather accurate. We could check the reliability of such information if it dealt with the inner Hungarian situation. The stations were all about the same, but maybe the Voice of America was the most objective.

Before the revolution these foreign broadcasts shook up the population from complete despair. During the revolution we expected a much stronger support from the West and the free world than

just radio broadcasts.

Radio Free Europe we could not receive very well. We had much difficulty all the time with this station, but I don't think we lost too much because, according to general opinion, Radio Free Europe told many things which were not true or reliable. This fact was used by the Communist government as an effective ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ counter-propaganda.

I have no knowledge of incitations of Radio Free Europe during the revolution. I guess the Hungarians didn't need it anyway.

Radio Free Europe can continue its programs to Hungary, but more realistically with real examples from every day life and with actual practical facts.

Regarding the particular programs, I guess that over-all news with commentaries are necessary, anti-Communist propaganda should be use--maybe on a larger scale, but more realistically; programs about life in Western Europe add in the United States are very necessary. In ~~xxxx~~ general, I guess that the radio should give an absolutely clear picture to the Hungarian population about their inner problems, inside Hungary. It would also be necessary, for instance, to give a very practical, clear view of how ~~xxxx~~ people live in the West--what children eat, talk about a 40 hour work week, that a working woman can take care of her house on Saturday and Sunday is a real day of relaxation for her. This doesn't exist in Hungary. But the most interesting to the Hungarians is what we earn, what we can now afford. They have no idea that on ~~xxxx~~ weeks salary a family can live here for a month.

B. I have never heard about NEM nor the Twelve Demands.

C. I have not seen any Free Europe leaflets, I only

read about them in the <sup>Hungarian</sup> newspapers.

D. I think that all the Western ~~gmx~~ groups who broadcasted or sent leaflets to Hungary or to the other countries behind the Iron Curtain wanted just to ~~x~~ make propoganda...this was their goal. They wanted to strengthen those nations ~~wixx~~ by telling them that the West knows of their circumstances and hasn't forgotten them. All these different organizations-- Voice of America, B.B.C., Radio Free Europe, etc. had more or less the same objective. They formed a sort of unit making their propoganda more effective, raising the same problems from different sides.

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

A. The most important things a child should be taught are religion, discipline, freedom inside and outside, and obedience of their parents.

B. As far as discipline is concerned, I guess a child should be handled with peaceful means. The boys, of course, need a stronger hand because they are more lively. But, in general, the children should be treated as friends. As they grow older the friendship should grow deeper.

C. I was a very good, I may say a simple child, maybe because I was sick so much. I was absolutely never punished in my life. The only thing my parents always told me was to put down the book which I was reading. I am extremely against ~~phx~~ physical punishment. This way the child will stay honest and frank.

D. Other families the children were mostly punished by the fathers and mothers as well. But it was, of course, individual in every case. In general, the boys were punished by the father if the trouble was more serious. But the mothers took care of the smaller problems and ~~thx~~ tried to affect the child by peaceful means. Therefore the children often felt much closer to their mothers. I don't think that punishment differed in different social classes, at least I have no knowledge about it.

During the last ten years under Communism, in general, the treatment of the children changed. Communism changed the relationship between the parents and the child. The opinion of the parent was not important according to Communist teaching.

I can't tell you too much about ~~phx~~ physical punishment of the children because my friends or the people I knew did not beat their children.

But in general I guess the punishment was abandoned when the boys or ~~girls~~ girls became independent. As long as they were at school they were under discipline. When they started to work on their own, punishment mechanically ceased. Communism brought about some changes concerning physical punishment because the parents were very nervous and usually this nervousness was turned against the child. But this part of society punished their children more strictly with slaps. I don't think they did it either after the child was 13 or 14 years old. During Communism the discipline of children almost disappeared. At school the teachers were afraid of the children and physical punishment by the parents didn't help to discipline the ~~child~~ child; it only made them wilder and rougher.

A friend should be honest, trustworthy and should help me if I am in need or in ~~any~~ danger.

Communism changed friendships very much. Before the Communist regime we did not have to consider if our friend would denounce us to the political police or not. Under Communism we never knew who was an

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