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Dates of Interview:
May 15, 16, 17

by

Maria Podhorsky

PERSONAL INVENTORY

F-50
Age: 29
Female
Single
Roman Catholic

Born in Budapest and respondent spent most of her life in Hungary in Budapest.

Respondent lived also, just before the revolution broke out, at Godollo, County Pest, which is about 25 miles from Budapest.

Respondent never was abroad. She got her education at the Sacre Coeur High School in Budapest. After graduation, she received her degree in bookkeeping. Her local occupation was bookkeeping.

In 1950-52, she worked as a children's nurse for a British family in Budapest. From '52 -'53, she was a book-keepers statistician at the Duna Pentele Iron works. From '54 -'56, she was employed as a bookkeeper with the Iron and Metal State Industry; from Jan. '56 until the outbreak of the revolution, she had two part-time jobs. In the daytime, she was the telephone operator at the Hotel Bristol in Budapest, and also at the same time, at night she worked as a waitress in a coffee shop.

Respondent's parents are both living. The father is 68, and the mother, 57. They live at Godollo, Hungary. Respondent has one sister who is 33 yrs. old, and she is living with them here in New York.

Respondent left Hungary on December 30th, 1956, and arrived in the USA in April, on the 12th, 1957. She only stayed at Camp Kilmer for a short time and then went to live with her sister in New York City.

Her immediate plans are to learn English well. Respondent has only been interviewed at Vienna and at the American Council which was a routine question regarding emigration.

Respondent speaks only German besides her mother tongue.

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CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Class background: Subject's father was a civil servant section chief in the ministry for agriculture. Her mother come's from a land-owners's family. They had 400 acres near Budapest, due to her social background and family (^{her sister} ~~her sister~~ worked for Radio Free Europe in Munich) subject had much to suffer under the Communist regime. She was extremely reticant to tell about experiences at the AVH. She simply bottled up on that subject. Being a very attractive young woman, she might have had experiences whcih she did not like to discuss, which is a striking contrast to F-48. F-48 was emotional, this one is passive to the extreme and rather slow and uncommunicative. She has not very much to say, and is also very vague. I do not think that she is very much interested in anything at all. She is especially disinterested in politics and in fact, she just didn't care for it at all. Maybe she is the introvert type. I relly do not know.

Contrary to all hitherto subjects, she nurses a great resentment against the Hungarian peasantry - the reason of which I could not make out.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM^{UP} QUESTION

When asked what she considered the most important thing that American's should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956, respondent said:

"I beleive that the most important thing is that people in America and the public opinion in America should be informed that the uprising in Hungary in October 1956 ~~was the uprising~~ was the nation against the Communist and Russian terror, and against the rule of the foreign nation.

Respondent then added that she believed that nobody who hasn't been there couldn't possibly imagine - not even an Hungarian - how and what the revolution meant to the Hungarians and that everybody - the whole nation - also unitedly - all social classes - fought for some higher ideal for the independence and freedom of their country.

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

A. Respondent gave the following account of her personal experiences during the days of the revolution:

"At the news that the students of the universities are going to organize a demonstration, ~~the~~ the following day was all over the town on Octo. the 22nd.

"On the 23rd, I went in to town and in the afternoon I saw that the younger people are marching in closed ranks, and in great numbers all along the Rakoczi Street. The walls and trees were covered with the pamphlet containing their demands. With a friend I joined the crowd and we went as far as the eastern station; here, I took the local train to Gellő to get home. The rest of the people went on to pull down the Stalin statue in the nearby municipal park.

"On the 24th, I went into town to visit a friend of mine. That was in the afternoon and the local trains were still running as far as the city. I went as near as I could to the Sander street, and the radio building located there. By that time, I have heard and seen from the distance that the fights were all around the building, and I was told that the AVH was defending the radio bldg. On that day, everybody was terribly happy. It was a wonderful feeling. It was something we couldn't imagine - that it would come again that we are able, and that we are allowed, and that we dared to talk freely. Everybody felt elated, and nobody cared a damn thing about what's going to happen tomorrow. Neither did I. My parents, of course, in the morning when I went to town were scared for me, but only on account of my physical well being, but nevertheless they did not warn me not to go.

"The demands of the university students were those of the entire nation. We wanted a complete change in the government; we wanted the Russians to leave the country; we wanted ~~Communist~~ Prime Minister Nagy to return and have a coalition cabinet; we wanted also free election; the dissolution of the hated AVH. Also, everybody joined in the demands that the Hungarian Army and the police should get back their Hungarian uniform and should be reorganized. We all wanted our human rights of freedom.

"Before the fighting, we were convinced that the government would give in on several of our demands.

"The demonstrators were of all ages and of all sexes, but I think regarding the social class they were mostly the workers, and the students.

"I really do not know who did not take part in the demonstrations; certainly the Communists did not, but also, I think the Jews were rather cautious - even if they felt like us - they didn't like to take risks.

"As to the organization and the leadership of the demonstrations, I do not believe that they were organized except at the very beginning when the university students marched to the Ben statue. To me it looked beautifully and completely spontaneous.

"To go back to 24th at the radio building, I was told that the AVH had used the ambulance cars to smuggle in arms and ammunition to the besieged radio building. We also have seen that policemen and Hungarian soldiers joined into the battle against the AVH. By 10 o'clock, however, I returned home."

B. Regarding the overall outcome of the revolution, respondent said:

"We have only seen that everybody has joined in the freedom fight against the Russians and the hated AVH and we thought that the revolution will certainly win because the Russian troops stationed at that time in Hungary certainly were very unwilling to fight. We fervently hoped also that Prime Minister Nagy will return as the head of the government. We knew that if he becomes the new prime minister, he will give in to all rightful demands of the nation and a new life will start for all of us."

"We were sure that when in the first few days of the revolution the government asked for the assistance of the Russian troops it was Ger who was responsible for this. However, when, around Nov. 4 the Russian troops came back, this was asked by Kadar. At least this is what we knew."

As to how the demonstration turned into fighting, respondent said:

"I am sure that the reason for the outbreak of the fighting was the fact that the AVH started to use their arms against the defenceless crowd at the radio building on the 24th, and this was enough that all the hatred that has been bottled up in us for 12 long years should explode and then there was nobody who could have held back the crowd any more. The revolutionary slogans, as far as I remember, came up around the 25th or the 26th and this was the time also when I first heard the use of the word freedom fighter. As to who fought again, I can say only that children students, boys and girls, old men, ~~also~~ I have seen many women. Regarding the social class, they mostly belonged to the working class, also many of the soldiers of the army who surrendered their arms and also policemen. As to where they got their arms, I cannot tell for sure, but everybody told me that the army and the police force were the first who handed over their arms and their ammunition to the freedom fighters. Later on, during the revolution, more arms were received by the freedom fighters, but I do not know where from."

"The freedom fighters were not organized formally. I believe that they must have had kind of local organizations with somebody who was the leader. Of course, the university students were more closely organized. I know, for instance, at Gedolle where I lived and the university of agrarian sciences is housed, the young people were organized in one group. Also I have heard that different enterprises, factories, offices, had their own little groups. I have only heard one name, that was the name of Colonel Maletar, or maybe he was a general by then, I don't know, who was the one in charge of the defense of the Kilian Barracks. He was the only one the people trusted as a soldier, as a man. He was ~~as~~ idolized by the crowd regardless of age and blindly trusted."

C. "I spent my days between the time of Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion at home at Gedolle. However, I went now and then into the city. At that time I did not work any more, I just went visiting and looking up people. Everybody was happy and the whole town was in a sort of an ecstasy. These were the four free days we had during the whole revolution. All what I saw was that the whole Hungarian nation was welded together - everybody was happy, laughing and smiling. Everybody helped each other and cooperated in everything."

"In the beginning, when the Russian army began its retreat, we thought that they really did do so. However, on the 1st or 2nd of November we have heard through the radio and people who lived at the eastern end of the country that the Russians are coming back again. I first saw them on November the 5th, when they arrived at Gedolle."

"From the time of the Red army's return until the time of my escape, I stayed again at home and I did not go to work. I never wanted to come away from Hungary in the beginning, because I could simply refuse to believe that the terror and scare under which we had to live will be resumed again. Nevertheless, when we have seen that the government of Kadar is getting stronger and stronger backing from the Russians, we know that everything is lost. Around Christmas time, I started to plan my escape. My main reasons for leaving there was that I was unable to continue to live in a web of lies where you never were able to express yourself freely. I think that the most dire poverty can be bearable ~~if you are used to it~~ and you can get used to it, but you never can get used to slavery."

D. "I certainly am convinced that Hungary did win something because of the revolution. First of all, it has shown that the Hungarian nation is against the Communist regime and also it has shown the world that a small nation is able to stand up and to revolt against tyranny. With this fact I hope and I believe that Hungary has merited the admiration and respect of the entire world."

IV. EXPECTATION OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

A. Regarding the expectations from the west, respondent said:

"Everybody was hoping that the West will come, in fact will rush to the assistance of our country. We knew perfectly well that the West will not start, say, a third world war on behalf or on account of Hungary, but we thought that we have given the West a wonderful opportunity to throw back the Russians from Europe."

B. "The basis of our ~~expectations~~ expectations were, first of all, the fact that we thought that it is in the interest of the United States also and not only of Hungary that the Soviet domination in eastern Europe should be discontinued and an end put to the Soviet expansion. In fact, we thought that the Hungarian revolution, regarding the propaganda value, has been something of a very great value to the western world also. The young people of Hungary have shown with their example that they gave away and sacrificed their lives for an ideal and for the freedom of a nation."

"I did not come into contact with any foreigners between October 23rd and the time of my escape."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. On her family background, respondent gave the following information:

"My father was section chief, what they called counselor, at the Ministry of Agriculture. He made about 1,200 paenge before the war and during the war. ~~But~~ Before the end of the war, however, he was pensioned off and he received 900 paenges. The family, nevertheless, lived quite well. We lived in our own house. However, after the war, in 1947, my father was deprived of his pension and my mother, who had 400 acres of land, was left with 100 acres. Later on, however, even these 100 acres were taken away from us. This was in 1949. Our land was at Dunapentele and after this we had to move to Gedelle, where my mother owned a small house. My parents eked out their living by selling little by little everything they had. My father got a job as a night watchman in 1952, and he was quite lucky to get this job due to his social background. He receives now 800 forint a month. My father is a high school graduate and he has his degree as a doctor of law. My mother had high school education."

B. In reference to the social classes in Hungary, respondent said:

"To my opinion, there are three classes in Hungary at present. These are the intellectuals, the workers and the peasants."

"However, I wish to point out that I do not consider the so-called new intellectuals to belong to the real intellectual class. This intellectual class, to my mind, consists of the employees of the different ministries, lawyers, doctors and so-called professionals, anybody who had some education."

"I did have contact with people of the different classes, of course, since I worked in 1952. I worked together with the working class and also the peasants, and until 1949, while we had our land, I also ~~was~~ was in frequent contact with the Hungarian peasantry."

"As I said before, the intellectual class can be divided into two parts: one, the so-called 'old intellectuals,' and then the 'new intellectual' class. I think that the old intellectual class is composed of intelligent, deeply honest and very valuable people. On the other hand, the new intellectuals are ~~mostly~~ mostly people who want to get ahead and make a career and besides, these people are the ones who would compromise with the regime because it is the Communist regime which has selected them for promotion from the lower classes into the intellectual class. The Hungarian working class I would term the backbone of the nation. They are extremely decent, honest, straight forward and altogether, a very valuable group regarding their national values."

"The peasants, on the other hand, I despise them. They are all Kulaks, at least mentally. They are only looking after their own interests, they are out only for profit, they are mean and they are cowards. During the revolution, even with very few exceptions, they all the time tried to make as much money as possible. I am also sure that the peasants are not against the Communist regime, not because they hate ~~Communist~~ Communism, but because Communism deprives them of their lands and they have to surrender many of their products. I'm sure that the peasants have no convictions whatsoever and they are always out for their own little interests."

"I consider myself to belong to the intellectual class, and this is the class also which was hardest hit by Communism, ~~then~~ not only because they have lost all their jobs and all their assets, but also they were persecuted for being class aliens."

"The attitudes of the different classes to each other were somewhat a complex problem. The old intellectuals, as I term them, and the working class were always on good terms. However, the new intellectuals and the workers not, and the reason for this was that the workers were not Communists, and the new intellectuals were. Many of the old intellectual class respected the Hungarian peasants for not having become Communists, but these people didn't know them as I knew them."

"The attitude of the workers to the intellectual class, as I said just before, was very friendly. However, the fraternization with the peasant class, as promoted by the Communist regime, didn't work out at all, and this situation worked both ways. There wasn't much love lost between the peasants and the workers, either, they didn't like to mix. I believe that the peasants do not like to mix at all with anybody else except their own class. Regarding the peasants' attitudes towards the old intellectuals was a kind of a respect which still prevailed from old times but also there was a great deal of malice because the intellectuals had to go down so terrifically in their standard of living during the Communist regime."

C. As to how an individual might have advanced himself in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"Under the Communist regime in Hungary, the most important factor in your career was the political views, then came ~~origin~~ class origin, and then only, talent. After 1953, some minor state jobs were easier to be filled by people who were not favorably looked upon by the Communists. But, as I said, this stands only for very minor jobs. A person who could get ahead in Communist Hungary must be a person who at least says openly and loudly and very often that he is a Communist. And he furthermore must be a man who is able to elbow his way upwards and who also is willing to tell on other people in the office."

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D. "These are the kind of people and groups who get more out of life than they deserve. Of course these people mostly are in the AVH and work on political lines. They are party functionaries who really work very little and receive high salaries but are willing to spy on people and report them."

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

A. About the life of her only family, respondent disclosed the following:

"I cannot say that Communism changed our family life. Of course our living standard has extremely gone down, however our family became more closely knit and everything went on as before. Regarding the other families, my generation led a very unhappy family life because, as a rule, husband and wife both had to go out to work. They had very little time for themselves and their home and somehow they grew apart."

When asked to which kind of family respondent feels her family belongs, she thought that her family is the type of a family that grew closer together under the Communist regime and they felt safe within the family. Regarding which comes closest to the typical Hungarian family, respondent said she believes it is the type of families are typical in Hungary where family life remained pretty much the same as had been before, or maybe they were drawn even much more closer to each other.

Of the circumstances how children were brought up in Hungary during the last 10 years, respondent said:

"I think that every family ~~where~~ which was not a Communist family, tried to educate the children and everything stayed as it was before. In general, children understood their parents and they accepted the authority of their parents against what they were taught at school. Certainly there were families that were more affected by others, and these were the families where the parents, both of the parents, had to work and there wasn't any relative who could take care of the children. It did not happen, as I said before, to our family, because we were all grownups."

"The majority of the Hungarian families were able to hold on to the old ways and these belonged mainly to the intellectual class. However, many families were corrupted and family life deteriorated under the Communist regime. And the reason for this was, first of all, the awfully low standard of living, then people were too weak and too exhausted by the time they came home, physically and mentally, and were unable to enforce their authority on their children. Also, many people were scared of losing their jobs if they are talking too openly against the Communist regime."

B. "As I said before, the reason that the members of the family and both parents had to go to work was deteriorating cause in the family life and was also the reason for many broken up marriages and divorces. The engagements were kept ~~for~~ very short, people didn't have the chance to get to know each other. Also, people married much too young."

"Sexual morality became extremely low and this was due mostly to the awfully low living standard. The role of parents in courtship and engagement depended entirely on the family life and on the parents. Sometimes the parents were consulted, sometimes not at all. The reason for all ~~for~~ these changes, as mentioned above, is to my mind, due to the bad living conditions and the feeling of insecurity everybody had in job and private life as well. As far as I knew the prostitution in Hungary was officially abolished, nevertheless it was going on."

"I believe that the sexual morality of the convinced Communists is extremely low and, for instance, they didn't think anything about it if someone had an affair with a girl or vice versa. Altogether the Communist ideology on the whole has a very bad effect on morality."

C. Regarding how Communism has affected friendship, respondent said:

"I can give a very good example of this because an extremely good friend of mine became a spy for the Communists. Immediately I broke off with her. Nevertheless, in our social class, this happened very seldom. I am sure that it is the other side who break off if such a thing happens. Also, I am convinced that friendship cannot be continued by keeping politics out of it."

D. On juvenile delinquency, respondent gave the following information:

"I believe that officially juvenile delinquency is ~~known~~ used for stealing, robbery, vandalism. The cause of this type of behavior, I ~~believe~~ believe, is the broken home and lack of family life. The hoodlums by social class are mostly coming from the working class and are usually around 14 to 15 years old. I think that the actions of these hoodlums and juvenile delinquents are criminal in a way, but I do not blame these children. It is the regime that can be held responsible, that these conditions are prevailing in Hungary. The Communist regime, however, plays it down and very little is mentioned of it, if ever, in the newspapers. Therefore, I have no idea to what an extent it has grown or not."

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~~"The Chinese, according to the Communist regime, are a young nation
and are very modern in their dress, music and dances. They are very
delinquent and are very modern in their dress, music and dances."~~

"Janpec is a youngster who, according to Communist regime, wears the exaggerated modern dresses of the American teenager, like the American modern music and dances. Altogether who is aping the West. The Communist regime considers these teenagers as delinquents, but, to my mind, these are the typical symptoms of a teenager and it's mostly innocent aping of something they haven't seen and they wish to attain. ~~But~~ And also the regime hates them, because instead of accepting the Communist doctrine they rather prefer to ape the Western world."

VII. RELIGION.

A. On the picture of religion and religious life in Hungary during the last 10 years, respondent gave the following information:

A. "Religion plays an important role in Hungarian life and especially now under the oppression. Never have the churches been so crowded as nowadays. Even so, at times, the AVH police had their photographers posted at every church and took pictures of people coming and going to church. Nevertheless, people did attend the religious services and were not deterred. For instance, while I was working at Dunapentele, I went to church with my section chief who was a woman, despite that she was a member of the Communist party. This was in 1952."

"The religion that was hardest hit in Communist Hungary was the Roman Catholic religion and mainly for the reason because this church was the strongest in Hungary and had the greatest number of followers. Besides being the most popular religion at home, the Communist regime wanted to kill the love toward God in everybody at home; especially hard hit were all the convents and monasteries when the religious orders were dissolved in Hungary."

"To my belief, religion is a very strong bulwark against Communism in Hungary because anybody who has some sort of religious life cannot become morally depraved."

B. "On religion playing part in my own life, I certainly can answer in the affirmative. I believe in God sincerely and I love my own religion. Religion to me is about the same factor in my life as in the life of my parents and I believe that I am about as much religious than the average person in Hungary is. I attend regularly the services of my church."

C. "As to which part the churches should play a role in society, in my opinion the churches and the state should cooperate, but they should be completely independent of each other. The religions, however, ought to be allowed to be exercised freely. On the other hand, the role of churches in education is extremely important. We have seen that during the Communist regime that anybody who did

receive a religious instruction was immune to Communism. I also believe that the churches ought to have something to say regarding the moral codes and standards in such things as movies, plays, books and so on. I also think that the churches in Hungary should take an active political role, because I believe that the role of churches and the influence of them can only be beneficial."

D. "On the Jewish minority, I can say the following: The Jewish religion, that is the orthodox Jewish religion, has also been hurt by Communism to some extent. Nevertheless, the Jews have been always judged by different standards by the Communist regime. They were not so much opposed by them. Somehow the Communists looked down upon the Jews or the Jewish religion. Altogether, a Jew in Hungary was somehow differently conditioned toward Communism than a Hungarian man. The Jews served the regime even though, or even when, they had to suffer. But, Communism, after all, has saved their lives after the Nazi regime has collapsed, and therefore this might have been the reason why they joined the party in such large numbers. Anyway, ~~they~~ all the good jobs and all important key positions were occupied by Jews in Hungary."

"The attitudes of the Jews toward Communism was not fanatic approval but they served the regime out of sheer materialism. I'm sure that they have been expecting more from the Communists in the beginning and later on, when the rich Jews became also victims of the Communist regime, they probably turned against it in their own ways. However, in the office where I worked, for instance, I have seen that the Jewish girls who had less qualifications than the others held the better paid jobs nevertheless."

"During the revolution, the Jews were rather scared, ~~and~~ for their lives mostly, and also they believed that if the revolution is going to win maybe anti-Semitic feeling will come to the surface. Regarding whether or not they were involved in demonstrations and fighting, I cannot say anything about this as I have not seen any Jews taking part myself. On the other hand, I'm willing to give them the benefit of the doubt."

"I think that some people are right when they say that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary because they are afraid, not of a pogrom, but that they would no more hold all these important government posts as they do at present. And they certainly would be kicked out of these prominent and well-paid jobs."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

A. "When people say the Hungarian youth, I consider anybody and of all social classes from 18 years up until 35 years of age."

B. "The Hungarian youth did not play a part in the revolution. In fact, it was the Hungarian youth who started the whole revolution. Why they acted as they did, I'm sure there is only one answer to this. Because they were fed up with the oppression and slavery. Young people who took the lead were not scared. They had much less to lose and they weren't fearful of any consequences. Also, young people have much more elan than the older generation has. The older people held the young ones in high esteem and surrounded them with all their love they could during the revolution. I believe that this was reciprocal, at least as I have experienced it in my family and my friends'."

C. When asked on education under the Communist regime, respondent said:

"As far as I have seen, the emphasis at school, and especially at the university, was put on teaching Communist doctrine and ideology. This, too, had the disadvantage of the academic subjects. Though I have not attended university, I had many friends who did, and I was told it was always the most important thing to get good marks in Communist doctrine and ideology subjects, and the less important that you learn something of your academic subjects. The standard of teaching and what the young student had to learn was extremely high. I knew that the young boys and girls had to study a great deal and we had them at the Gedelle University for Agricultural Sciences, two boys who suffered a nervous breakdown from their strain in studies. ~~Their knowledge of the various subjects, however, were~~ The lectures on the various subjects, however, were extremely slanted. The young boys and girls heard mostly what was happening in Russia and about Russian history and geography, and much less about their own homeland. As to the teachers and I mean professors on the university, they were two different kinds lecturing. One part was the old professors who were retained because they were irreplaceable, and these were extremely efficient, competent, and very well liked by the students. The others, who delivered lectures on political sciences, were the new young people who belonged, of course, to the Communist party and who were put there by the different trade unions. The students did not like these young professors."

D. "As to how the young people reacted to Communism and Communist indoctrination in Hungary, I do not think I have anything else to add than to refer to the revolution, which was proof how the young people reacted to all they have been taught during the past 12 years. The indoctrination failed because, after all, our young children and boys and girls are not complete idiots. And as soon as a child can think for himself, it sees the difference between the doctrine and how it works out in practice. I do not think that the Hungarian youth was ever sympathetic to Communism, except maybe in the very beginning, and these must have been very negligible in number."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE.

A. "Our main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary were against the oppression of the foreign rulers, the lack of freedom and that we had all the time to act a role, to lie about our selves and our convictions. Otherwise we would have lost our jobs."

B. "Apart from big political things, the people most complained about the injustices that occurred during the Communist regime, especially in connection with jobs. Then, people were mostly annoyed very much with the seminars they had to attend after office hours."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. "I can only say that the standard of living of our family in the last years went only down and down and down. The food situation was not so bad. Everything could be bought if you had the money, because the prices were terrific. For instance, eggs and meat. Also, there were certain commodities which run out of supply for weeks and weeks, such as beans, potatoes and fruit. Clothing was a little bit better maybe in the last two years, but still it was awfully expensive and we could hardly afford to buy something new. The so-called 'standard clothiers' were quite decently priced, but, on the other hand, were of extremely bad material. The housing shortage, on the other hand, was terrific. Good apartments, were, of course, only allotted by party channels or AVH channels. I personally cannot complain about problems regarding housing because we lived in our own house, small though it was, it was our own. ~~Extremely~~ Of the above-mentioned three items, it was the food that caused us the most difficulty. Our standard of living was quite well in 1945. At that time we still owned a house with 12 rooms at Dunapentele. But from this time on our living standard went gradually down. As ~~I~~ I said already once, we did not mind very much poverty, because this is a thing you can get used to. The loss of your freedom, however, is something that is beyond endurance. The standard of living of my family was at its highest in 1948 and at its lowest in 1952 as far as I can remember."

"However, there were quite a few families among these I knew personally who were better off than any others. These were mostly people who were participating in sports, that is, who were selected members of the Olympic team or other sports teams. Also the actors and artists lived well. They got high salaries and the regime was pampering them even if they did not belong to the Communist party. This was a good propaganda, of course, for them, I mean for the Communist regime."

"As to which accounts for the Hungarian standard of living during the last 8 years, I can give you only one explanation, and this is: The Communist doctrine is based on the idea of degrading people and taking away gradually everything they own. So the Hungarian standard of living was forcibly and gradually lowered. Furthermore, the economic exploitation of the country by the Soviet ~~Union~~ Union had much to do about the low Hungarian standard of living. Also, the regime's policy in the economic field exploited the country. The heavy industries were built up, the raw material for which we didn't

have enough and had to be imported, etc."

B. "On my income in Hungary during the last years, I can say the following: My wages were 650 forinths per month in 1956. Of this 3 per cent was deducted for sick insurance and 4 per cent a special tax because I was childless." Here I asked the respondent how come, since she is unmarried, and she explained that in Hungary during the Communist regime, every single girl who was over 18 up to 45, and every male who was 21 and up till the age of 55 had to pay a tax if the person had no children, regardless whether he or she was married or not. If they had one child then no deductions were made, but the couple didn't get a family allowance either. And the deductions for being childless were made on the husband's and the wife's salaries, so really they had two deductions, that is paid the taxes twice.

Respondent then disclosed that she had to pay 65 forinths, that is 10 per cent of one month's wages for peace loan. Then there were also the trade union dues for those who did belong to a trade union. Respondent, however, did not. They also received a luncheon for 3 forinths 50 to 4 forinths at the place where they worked, at the mess, but this was, ~~amongst~~ according to respondent, 'very bad feed.' She told me that there were so-called feed fair factories in the city where they cooked for 40,000 people and this feed was then carried to the different messes of the various factories, plants and offices.

Respondent never received any premium or extra pay. Respondent had in the last month of 1956 two part-time jobs, one, as ~~mentioned~~ mentioned in the personal inventory, she was handling the telephone exchange at the Hotel Bristol from 3 until 11 and then she went over as a waitress to a nightclub. She worked from 12 until 5 in the morning. As a rule it was prohibited to hold two jobs, but her second job in the nightclub was said to be that of an "apprentice" and she received only 250 forinths per month. She was there every other night. Her father and herself were the only two who worked in the family. Respondent disclosed that she never got any increases in her regular jobs over the last 5 years because every time she was told quite bluntly that she's not entitled to any wage increase because her sister is working for Radio Free Europe in Munich. For the same reason she was also under police surveillance and she had to report to the police regularly. She also had to have a special permit in order to be allowed to work in Budapest, because she lived in another town. She was not

allowed to leave the boundaries of Budapest, and, as I said, she had to report every week to the police. Now this constituted a "criminal record," and therefore she was not entitled to get any raise.

C. In reference to prices and quality of goods in Hungary, respondent told that her family mostly bought the food at the state stores but also on the free markets. However, here the goods were extremely expensive, and they could therefore very seldom afford it. Respondent disclosed that it was mostly the mother who did the shopping and that, therefore, she doesn't know the different prices and the quality of goods. As much as she knew she said that the fruits that they were requisitioned from the peasants and which the peasants had to surrender under the certain quota were usually sold at the state stores. But these state stores very often didn't have, for instance, eggs, onions, potatoes, and so they had to go to the free market for that. Here the free market, everything was available, even meat, which was very scarce. The prices in the state stores went very much up in the last few years. That is all respondent could recall because, as I said before, the mother did the household shopping.

Regarding clothing and other necessities, respondent said:

"Our family simply did not have the means to buy any clothing or other necessities. We simply wore what we had and or what we received in packages. However, I knew that the quality of clothing that you had made by the small artisans or craftsmen was always much better, but, of course the prices were terrific. Besides, the available materials were usually distributed to the state stores and it was very hard for a private tailor, small tailor, for instance, or a seamstress to buy material. Also they had to pay very high taxes. Usually these people purchased their materials on the black market. Spare parts were extremely difficult to get and sometimes you had to have permits for certain goods or spare parts. For instance, if you wanted to buy a tire for an automobile you had to surrender, give up, the old tire and you had to apply for a special permit."

Respondent also disclosed that there was a great shortage of certain commodities in '54. For instance they didn't have any soap. There was also a shortage in different kinds of medicines. Another item that was extremely short for the long time, was the electric plugs for lamps. This was unavailable for several years.

Regarding the black market, respondent said:

"The black market was in full swing after 1945 and mostly for food. Later on, however, it dwindled down and as far as I know, in the last years, when there was a so-called 'free market' the black marketeering stopped more or less, especially in food. The penalties for black marketing in the beginning were quite severe and people were locked up for these offenses. The prices, of course, in the food black market were about the double of the regular prices.

D. Regarding the working conditions, respondent gave her working schedule when she still was employed at the Iron and Metal Industry in Budapest. She started to work at 7:30 and worked until 4 o'clock. If anybody was late for one minute, the deduction of the wages was for half an hour. They had half an hour lunch break. It very often happened, however, that instead of working until 4 o'clock, they worked until 7:30. For this extra work they only received 8 hours paid overtime. Her work consisted of bookkeeping, especially at the half year, balancing of the books, and also she was sent out to control the branch offices in the provinces.

Respondent took the local train for Budapest and it took her one hour and a half to get there. This particular job was held by respondent on the recommendation of a friend of hers. Respondent's missions, however, are to become a cameraman, or rather a camerawoman for movies. At home she had no opportunity to achieve her life's ambition.

The relations with her co-workers were generally good, she said, and also with her superiors. She said that she was extremely lucky in that way because her immediate superior was a very decent man who was not a Communist party member, and who only required good work. He was the section chief and chief bookkeeper.

When asked about job satisfactions and dissatisfactions, respondent said:

"I would have been very happy in my job had I been left alone politically. Due to my class background and family relations, I was constantly knuckled down politically. I was always left out whenever there was a distribution of premium. I worked for two and all the others got the credit for it, I never received any wage increase or premium. It was always the manager of the enterprise, or the personnel manager, who ~~always~~ cut me off from receiving any bonuses and they quite ~~often said it was due to my 'bad cadre' background~~ but openly said it was due to my 'bad cadre'."

"My fellow workers, especially the older ones, were very efficient. The others, the younger ones on the other hand, not. My superiors did praise my work and he was often very nice about it. But after all what can you do with praise alone if you never get a raise."

"The Hungarian vacation, health and compensation programs were mostly run on the party line or on the trade union line. One had to apply already in January for a ~~hukki~~ holiday and you had to be satisfied with what you got and at the time you got it. However, the vacation program was not sufficient for all the workers because usually you had to wait a couple of years until you were allowed to go once for a kind of half paid vacation. However, if you were a party member or had good connections with the trade union, then you were able to be sent on that vacation. It was usually 8 forinth per day plus 50 per cent of the transportation fees only you had to pay. The spas you were sent ~~to~~ were beautifully located. They were either in the mountains or along the lake and the food was extremely good."

"Regarding the health program, this worked like that. For instance, you had to be a trade union member for ~~xxxxxx~~ a year already and you had to be employed two years by the same company. Then if you felt sick you received 75 per cent of your salary for an indefinite period. However, if you were not a member of the trade union, ~~xx~~ but were employed for two years by the same company, then you received 60 per cent of your salary while you were sick. This sick insurance was completely free, and no deductions were made from our salaries. The sick insurance consisted of hospitalization and medical care, operations, etc."

"As to the pensions or compensation program, this was extremely bad. Very few people received pensions and even if they did it was extremely low."

E. When asked where she would have preferred to live in Hungary, in the country or in the city, respondent said:

"I would have preferred both. To live in the country, but to go into work in the city. But of course all this not under the circumstances I had to do it under the Communist regime. I love the life in the country altogether, but, on the other hand, life in the city is more interesting and more lively."

"I think that the agricultural workers on the whole had a better diet in Communist Hungary because they grew the food themselves. On the other hand, the general standard of living was higher in the cities, because a Hungarian peasant has no demands on a standard of living at all. However, again, in the countryside you had a much easier time politically. There were no political seminars, no trade unions. On the other hand, in the cities it was much easier to get lost or go into hiding."

"When the collectivization was first introduced into Hungary, I never expected anything good. Also it was ~~amplified~~ badly practiced in Hungary and resulted in a complete mess. I believe it was the mere will to do peasants who objected more to the collectivization because they were scared that sooner or later their lands will also be taken for collective farming. I did hear of the collectives being dissolved. That was in 1953 as far as I remember, under the first Nagy government. Of course the reason for this was that they didn't work, that is, they always worked with a deficit."

"Ideally, I would like to see an agricultural system in Hungary that allowed the ownership of a middle-sized properties. I do not know of any innovations that I would like to keep which the regime has introduced since 1945 in connection with agriculture."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE.

A. "I got interested in politics only since 1945 because politics after all have affected greatly the whole course of our lives. We did not belong to any party, nor did my parents, but everybody sympathized with the smallholders party at that time. The Communist party was hated thoroughly even since 1945, however I knew very little about the first Communist regime in Hungary in 1918-19, so I cannot give any opinion. My attitude towards the Communist party has only become worse since 1948. They didn't do anything in order to improve my opinion of ~~many~~ them."

B. "Regarding the Communist party, especially in the beginning, I quite admit that there must have been people who were taken in by the beautiful words and by the doctrine as preached by the Communists. Nevertheless, after the forceable merger of the Social Democrat and Communist party, everybody could see that the doctrine was not practiced as it was preached."

"I think that one can speak of different types of Communists. There is first of all the idealist. Then there's another one who has been forced to join the party or else lose his job. Then there are several party members who talk and make a big noise about being a party member but are extremely inactive on the other hand. Then there is another category which joined the party only for material reasons and by his own decision. I had no contact with party members except at my office. Many of them were Jews and these all joined the party because of material gains. Regarding the attitudes of the Communist party members, I believe that even an idealist Communist sooner or later found out, but these were always saying that this is only a transition, and the Communist party will come out of this fight and out of the controversies and emerge as something wonderful and beautiful. The others who were disgusted with the Communist party and who were fearing for their jobs, of course did not dare to leave the party. Some who were expelled from the party I think were quite glad that they got rid of such a nightmare in the end."

"The party policies did change during the last eight years. There were many concessions, especially under the first prime ministry of Imre Nagy, and also in 1956 after the 20th Party Congress. Of course, the reasons for these changes were primarily and mainly due to the winds which were blowing from Moscow. Everything, whatever the Hungarian Communist party did was ordered by Moscow. I have heard about a great many ~~difficult~~ differences within the ~~party~~ Communist party in Hungary, especially at the time that in 1953 Prime Minister Nagy was at the head of the government."

"Regarding the party morale, I knew that they did not dare to criticise the party. Party discipline was extremely strict between 1945 and 1948. Then came the new course in '53, when it became a little bit more slack."

In referring to the top leaders of the Communist party, respondent said:

"I do not believe that the Hungarian top Communists have any personal aims. They are the puppets of Moscow and therefore their aims are the same as the ones of the Soviet regime and that is to progress steadily towards world domination on the road of Socialism, as they say. All of the top Communist leaders in Hungary, being Moscovites, they have been thoroughly trained and indoctrinated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to believe that these intelligent men, because they are intelligent, do not see the contradictions between the Communists doctrine and how it works out. I do not think that they are daring to achieve some individual motives because ~~in~~ the moment they try to put these ideas into practice, they are being purged. The example of Rajk might be a warning for them. I am convinced that they are evil and diabolic, bad, thoroughly bad people."

"I certainly am convinced that there must be differences ~~between~~ between the rank and file members and these in the higher party echelons. After all, the top party functionaries must achieve something and show results. On the other hand, rank and file member, goodense knows for what reason he became a member and he just may keep quiet and be happy that he can keep his job by remaining a party member."

"When Hungary is independent, I would simply do the same to the top Hungarian Communists what they did to the other innocent people and Hungarians." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

C. "I do not knew of any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, except a smoldering hate. It was impossible to do anything effective against the regime. The oppression was too strong."

"The activities of the intellectuals were openly discussed in 1956, in the spring. The ~~Rakosi~~ Petefi Circle met openly and there were public meetings which anybody could attend. The feelings against the regime were growing and everybody talked about these meetings."

"The intellectuals, on the whole, didn't bring anything new. They merely put down on paper what everybody else was thinking and desiring. I believe that these intellectuals who belonged to the Petefi Circle were good Hungarians who were turned against Communism and hated it. The reason for their revolt against the regime was that they were not allowed to express themselves freely. The Hungarian literature was also greatly slanted, and, I think that no writer or poet or author can work under ~~such~~ such conditions."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

A. In reference to the AVH, respondent said the following:

"I hope that you know that there were among the AVH also boys who were drafted for military service and simply assigned to the AVH. These, of course, couldn't help serving with this notorious police unit. Among the officers, I met one who in 1954 joined the AVH as a detective because he liked to be a detective. Later on, however, he has seen what is going on in the AVH and has seen all the injustice and sadism the AVH officers exercise. He was not a party member and wanted to leave the AVH force, but was not allowed. I believe they would have locked him up as a traitor. Nevertheless, this is, I am sure, very sporadic case, because the majority of the AVH officers were all and out Communists. They were also very highly paid, and for money they willingly undertook everything. Of course, there were many of them with sadistic inclinations, and on the whole I believe that they were evil people."

When asked whether respondent's family or herself had any personal experience with the AVH men, she disclosed that her sister was imprisoned by the AVH in 1949. In 1950, respondent herself was also called in by the AVH for interrogation. At that time she was serving as a governess for some British family in Budapest. When asked for more details about her sister's and her own experiences with the AVH, respondent only said that we were physically insulted, beaten up, but she did not disclose any further details and I had the impression that she was very reluctant to do so. Therefore I didn't press the question further. In 1955 she again was called in. At that time she was under police control and then was asked about her sister and brother-in-law who both were working for the Radio Free Europe. At that time, however, respondent said they did not beat her and treated her quite decently, and it was only an interrogation.

When asked what respondent thought should be done with the AVH members when and if Hungary is independent, respondent said: "I hope they all will be hanged."

In reference to the regular police force as compared with the AVH, respondent said that the regular police was not so cruel like the AVH because the tough boys were selected by the AVH and not left to serve with the regular police. She also said that she didn't believe that they were very competent because ~~that~~ the ones who were willing were immediately taken over by the AVH. Respondent mentioned that at the time when she was under police surveillance in 1955 and had to report to the police every week, the regular police officers were extremely nice and decent with her, even they gave her different

advice how to go about the whole thing and they even showed her the minutes that were taken when she was questioned by the AVH. There was only one field in which the regular police was competent said ~~xxx~~ respondent, and that was the enforcing of traffic regulations. Otherwise they weren't very well trained.

Regarding the role of the regular police during the revolution, respondent disclosed that the majority of the regular police handed over their weapons or fought with the freedom fighters. The more cautious ones went into hiding, but they certainly did not fight against the freedom fighters. "I myself have seen them fighting at the radio and also at the Baresater when they were fighting the AVH.

B. In reference to the Hungarian courts before 1945, respondent said:

"As far as I have always heard, and it was generally known, the Hungarian courts before 1945 were extremely just and everybody received a fair treatment from the courts."

"Regarding the people's courts of 1945-47, respondent said:

"I knew that these people's courts were set up to deal exclusively with so-called political cases. It was also well known about these people's courts that they doled out the sentences on the instructions of the party. These sentences were mostly very unjust and the people tried by the so-called people's courts did not get fair treatment. I do not believe that all so-called war criminals were guilty."

D. When asked whether or not Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1948, respondent said:

"This is not true. Their unpopularity is due only because they behaved so terribly in 1945, and that's all. And I do not know of any other reason why the Russians would have been unpopular. I think this is enough."

"Before the Russians came in in 1945, we have heard enough about them and that was only bad. After all, it was the army of the Communist regime. Many Hungarians and German soldiers also, who fought on the Russian front in 1944 and came back from there, have told us enough about the Russians. Our actual experiences in '45 were also the worst because they were billeted in our house, they were stealing whatever they could, they robbed the people, murdered, raped, and many of our friends were killed at Dunaszentelene where ~~they were~~ ~~My opinion of the Russian army in Hungary~~

raped, and many of our friends were killed at Dunapentelena, where at that time we lived. My opinion of the Russian army in Hungary has only worsened ever since, and I believe everybody else's has also."

In reference to Russian soldiers before, during or after the revolution, respondent said that she only heard from different friends who talked to these Russians that the Russian troops stationed for a long time in Hungary loved to be there and they would have preferred to stay on as long as possible. This was also the reason why new troops were brought into the country, because those who were stationed for several years in Hungary were found unreliable by the Soviet regime. Respondent also said that on the whole she had very little opportunity to be in touch with Russian soldiers or occupation troops. The Hungarian people altogether kept away from them, but the Russians were not allowed to talk to the population or to fraternize very much either.

Respondent couldn't give any information of the attitudes and actions of Russian soldiers during the revolution either. On the other hand, she said that the troops which had been brought in about Nov. 14th, were the only ones who really fought against the Hungarians and who quelled the Hungarian revolution. The troops brought in at that time were very young boys who were scared to death, especially they feared the young kids who were up to all sorts of tricks against them, and the Russians really never knew when and where from they are going to be attacked by them.

Whether or not local government officials would be willing to forget rules and help the people in trouble, respondent said that certainly some people would be kind to people in trouble, but this would never happen in a government office. It is mostly the private offices and smaller offices where the higher officials are kind to people. On the whole, if you wanted to achieve something in a ministry or state office, you had to use money to bribe them or you had to pull a couple of ~~xxx~~ ropes via party or trade union.

F. The best way and mean to achieve something altogether around some of the regulations to a certain extent was the party line, of course, and personal connections also on the same line. Respondent said that the government office where the apartments were assigned was the place where most of the bribery went on. Respondent also voiced the opinion that even the AVH people accepted bribes. Of course, whether something did happen to officials caught doing this depended entirely who was the one who accepted the bribe and at which office it was. Usually the official court was dismissed

and if it happened in some more important ministries, he was put to trial.

G. On the competence, efficiency of various groups and people who held power in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"Well, the members of the AVH were specially trained for their jobs and therefore I believe they did quite well these dirty jobs. The top officials in the AVH must have been very smart people in a way, but I believe you have to be born to that sort of a job."

"The Hungarian army leaderships," said respondent, "behaved well during the revolution because ~~the army officers~~ most of the officers have joined the Hungarian freedom fighters. These were young and new officers, but I do not know how, to what an extent and how well they were trained. Of course, I do not know ~~any~~ anything about the efficiency of the Russian army leadership. The public administration officials, on the other hand, were on a very low level and the higher they were in jobs the more stupider and more primitive they were. Of course, the job ~~and the efficiency~~ was done by the efficient old employees who served in minor and small, badly-paid jobs. These were the experts and the others were put there to boss them by the party."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. Respondent's opinion about what will probably happen in Hungary in the future was as follows:

"I believe that the situation will not change in Hungary for the time being, but I sincerely hope that since the over-all power of Communism has been broken, or at least the big building has started to crack, I will hope that sooner or later the United States and the Western world will come to the conclusion that something simply must be done. People at home hope the same. But I am afraid that they ~~are not going to~~ hope the solution will come much sooner than it will."

"I'm also very sure that there will be a further resistance in Hungary if nothing else than a passive resistance. Because everything is still very much at the boiling point. Therefore, I believe that Kadar will have to make concessions so as he'll be able to ensure his position and his career. Outside Hungary I do not believe that the West will do anything, only at the very last moment when the knife will ~~be~~ put at their throat. Whether or not the Russian policy will change is very difficult to say. All we can see is that since Stalin's death, the Russian top Communists are not so sure what to do and they are in a kind of jitter."

Respondent's hopes regarding anything short of independence would be acceptable as a compromise or not, she said, for the beginning even a compromise would be better than nothing. There is only one means whereby Hungary and Eastern Europe could regain freedom and this is war between the USSR and the USA. "I wish it would come, the sooner the better, even if this means a possibility of atomic bombs, and I'm quite sure that war between the USSR and the USA will eventually break out, maybe sooner, but I'm sure within the next 10 years."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY.

A. The system correspondent would like to see in an independent Hungary is that of true democracy - not in the Russian style; meaning a complete independence for the country.

B. Regarding the economic systems, respondent was of the opinion that Hungary should emphasize agricultural because Hungary has been always an agriculturist state. Then, second, the emphasis would be put on the light industries, and only that part of the heavy industry which is needed to cover domestic needs. If the Communist regime were overthrown, respondent thought that any such national enterprise which has no right of existence should be discontinued, and the kolkhozes, for instance, should by all means be ~~im~~ dissolved and partly the state farms, also.

The government of an independent Hungary, however, should have the control over the heavy industry that remains - over the mining; of the transportations and the power-stations. Of course, the light industry should go back into private ownership.

Respondent was of the opinion that five hundred Hungarian acres should be set as a limit by the government, but no limit should be put if somebody by his own work is able to buy some more - for himself. I believe that 500 acres is about the best size of land on which the owner could profitably produce the agricultural products....also, to breed cattle, etc.

When asked which kind of government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary of the two one's she could choose, she chose the first kind of government because she said without personal freedoms life is not worth while living, and "I rather live in insecurity materially, but free".

Respondent was of the opinion that the Communist Party in an independent Hungary should not be outlawed because the Party would go to the dogs anyway. Nobody would join it.

C. The international position respondent desires for an independent Hungary ideally, is that of a neutral-like Austria. The reasons why she said this, were; the nature of the Hungarian people and also the geographical situation of the country justifies this desire. It is much better, also, she said, to be completely neutral and

independent. "We had enough of being ruled by somebody"
Respondent's ideas about relations with other countries were that she would like to see military relations with the Western European States and the USA and none whatsoever with the USSR and the Eastern European states. Respondent also desires not to have any connections with an economic or cultural connections with these two parts of the world, but only with the Western European states and the ~~USSR~~ USA. The reasons she gave that the Germans are very good soldiers, and they've an economic life on a very high level, and also so is their culture. On the other hand, the stronger ties with the United States can effectively assist in the reconstruction of the Hungarian country -; also, respondent said: "We have a great deal to learn from America, economically."

Regarding the Danubian federation, respondent never heard of this idea and she didn't think of it, and therefore she didn't volunteer to give any opinion.

The present boundaries of Hungary are not acceptable to respondent. She would like to see a territorial adjustment by an international arbitration committee, but she would like to see that Hungary regains her old - thousand years old- borders. She also said that the problem of the Hungarian minorities is quite an important one to every good Hungarian; however, she was of the opinion that at present nothing effective can be done on behalf of all minorities living outside Hungary. In case of international settlement and restoration of Hungarian boundaries, these problems would be solved...of course, immediately.

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent's knowledge of events inside and outside of Hungary can be summed up as follows:

"I have heard about the Twentieth Party Congress and about Khrushchev's speech he made there, but I do not recall what he actually said. His speech was discussed over the Western radio as well as by the Hungarian press."

? On Senator McCarthy, or on the un-America's Committee, respondent also only heard but could not give any details. The same was the case regarding the fall of Peron.

With reference to Rakosi's private life, respondent said:

"It was generally known that he slept every day at a different place; he was heavily guarded by the secret police. He also lived in great luxury."

B. Respondent received most of her information during the last ten years via radio, and also by bulletins the Hungarian legation put out. She simply went to the building and picked up herself these. She was perfectly aware that everybody was under observation who did so. The sources most important to her were the radios...

C. Respondent disclosed that she got news by word of mouth regularly and these were always news of political character. Her co-workers in the offices, friends, and relatives were the ones who gave her the news. Respondent also said that these news stories were less reliable than the news from the radio; for instance, because everybody either added a great deal of wishful dreams to the news, or people had distorted the news. However, there were few among those who were reliable sources.

D. On subject's reading habits, I was able to find out that she very seldom read any newspapers during the war, and listened mostly to the radio. As to magazines, she mostly read those which talked about theater, movies, and social life. Books she read were mostly those they had to read at school and which were compulsory and were literary courses. These were mostly Hungarian classics- some foreign classics also, in translation. The reading available, according to respondent was at a very high level and most of these books were proscribed by the Communist regime later on. The Hungarian books were at an extremely high level, so far as she knew. During, and after the war, the standard of Hungarian literature gradually went down.

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During the last eight or ten years in Hungary, respondent did not read any newspapers, nor magazines. She only read books that were perscribed and ~~for~~ which she loaned from different friends or relatives. People did not surrender these books and did not burn them ; they kept them hidden in their apartments and elsewhere, and handed them from hand to hand to be read. Neither respondent, nor her family, read any communications from the USSR , or other satellites, nor from the USA, for that matter. On the whole respondent seemed to be very indifferent regarding literature and reading. She did not seem to have much interest besides her work, or social activities.

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. When asked what respondent thinks are the chances of changes inside Russia, respondent said that she believes there is a good possibility of a change within Russia, but only by means of a revolution.

She was of the opinion that the feelings of the Russian people must also be anti-communist to such an extent - the more so since during the Hungarian revolution it was already heard that these students had started a movement, and also those soldiers who served as occupation troops in the West must have seen that there is another side of the coin also. Respondent also thought that if Russia had free elections, the Communist regime would topple.

In respondent's opinion, the top leaders of Russia have no over-all aims; they only have personal aims. They don't care a hoot about their country. They care only about their own precious selves. In respondent's view, the difference between a Russian leader and a Hungarian Communist leaders is that the Hungarian communists are doing what they are told to do by the Russian top Communists.

B. Regarding the relative popularity in Hungary of the other nations of Eastern Europe, respondent said that as far as she knows Eastern Germany is most popular in Hungary - then Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia; Bulgaria and Romania are about on the same level. She also was of the opinion that the Hungarian preferences and dislikes are based on the behaviour of the government, because they are hated and they obey the communist regime. Therefore, people themselves are the ones that can be more liked by the Hungarian people also. The Eastern German nation, for instance, hates very strongly the Communists and the Russians, and so do the Poles, also. If free elections were held in these countries, respondent believes that a hundred percent of the German population would reject communism, and very many in Yugoslavia; however, she voiced the opinion that maybe in Czechoslovakia and Romania the Communist Party still would have a couple of members.

As to the standard of living, respondent gave the following list: the highest standard of living is in Eastern Germany and followed by Czechoslovakia, Poland and then comes Hungary. Bulgaria and Romania are the last.

Gomulka

C. Whether or not the government is a definite change, or whether he is just a pawn in the Russian's hand, respondent could not give any opinion, ~~and she did not know~~ In her opinion, however, the events in Poland did have effect on the events in Hungary. They heard about the trials in Poznan and the light sentences that were imposed, and the Hungarian papers and radio gave wide publicity to the Poznan riots.

When asked she would have preferred the Hungarian to take the path of Polish lines, respondent emphatically said yes, because as she said, then the casualties wouldn't have been so terribly high, and the population would not have been decimated so much by the emigration of her best patriots. Also, ever since the quelling of the revolution, terror has increased so terrifically in Hungary that the people must live now under terrible conditions.

D. On Yugoslavia, respondent had the following views:

"I think that Tito and his policy has been very influential in Eastern Europe. Most people in these countries were rather envying Yugoslavia that they could break away from Communism. I do not know whether he really is the originator of national communism, but anyway he established it in his country. The other East European nations I believe, fear a little bit Tito, and so does Russia, in a way, because they are trying to keep good relationship between the two countries. Tito's relations with the West are good, but not since.....he is a very smart man who wants to take advantage of both sides, and wants to be ready for all events; however, we were terribly mad at him when during the Hungarian revolution, he all of a sudden took the other side; and also in the UN has refrained from the vote. The other Tito-ists like Rajk are the same sort of communists like Tito is."

"I think that Tito must be quite popular in Yugoslavia for the sole reason that the living standard is higher than anywhere else in a satellite nation. I do not know ~~whether~~ very much about the internal conditions in Yugoslavia but I think that people there must have more freedom because so many people came out from Yugoslavia and from other satellite nations were allowed to travel into Yugoslavia.

E. When asked about the Middle East and the Suez situation, etc. respondent said: "Well you know this is a thing I never bothered to think about very much. I only know that the events in Egypt affected developments in Hungary because at that time, due to the events in the Suez zone, the Western powers were more interested in those events than those of Hungary."

F. "As far as I know the living standard in West Germany is high. As a matter of fact, it is the highest in Europe. I do not believe that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war, because they had enough war and now they have built up their country again. I believe that if they achieve the unification of the country without a war, they would never dream of starting one again. I certainly have heard of the German rearmament and this is very good because the Germans are very good soldiers, and if ever a war breaks out between the Soviet Union and Europe, it will be the German army who will fight and who will defend Europe. I do not know anything about the West Germany military strength numerically, but I am convinced that the German army is certainly much better - of much better quality than of Britain or France for that matter. I have no idea how long the term of service is in the West German army."

When asked to compare the German Army with the Russian occupation, she said: "Well it is impossible to compare these two armies because they are so different. Of course it was the Russian occupation force that was more distasteful. The German Army - both officers and enlisted men - was disciplined."

G. When asked about NATO respondent said she never gave a thought to this organization and she doesn't know anything about it. On the British Labor Party, however, she held the opinion that this was really and truly a party of the working class and not like the other parties - worker's parties. She believed that the British Labor Party is not favorable to Communism; Contrary to the French and Italian Parties.

Respondent's impressions regarding the living standards of various countries were as follows: She rated the countries with West Germany heading the list, followed by England, then Italy and Greece. Of Egypt, respondent said she had no idea at all, but Soviet Russia must be at the bottom of the list.

H. On the United States - that is, her general impressions when she first came to America - were, as follows:
"Honestly, I wasn't amazed at anything at all - not even at the sky scrapers. However the tallness and the hugeness of these buildings were quite impressive. Also I was amazed to see so many colored people in NY."

"The air of freedom had struck me. This, on the other hand, I have already felt in Austria, so you see I really cannot tell you anything that made a very deep impression on me here."

Respondent's opinion on what the US should do now for the nations and people of Eastern Europe were as follows:

"It seems to me that the United States' foreign policy is not very much concerned with Eastern Europe and the satellite nations. However, I am amazed that they don't see that this is not only our interests, but their own interest also. Somebody must put an end to the Soviet expansion; otherwise, the world will go down. The US can try to press Russia to make concessions, however, since up till now everything was ineffective. I am afraid that short of war, no results will be achieved. I do believe that the US should give material aid in the form of loans to the present government of Poland, etc. and even in Hungary. However, I don't know whether it wouldn't be better not to acknowledge the present Hungarian regime.

"Hungarian people would be very happy to see more Western visitors and mainly politicians and newspapermen. However, these people must be informed in advance that they will be kept under strict control in Hungary wherever they go, and therefore they will be shown only what the government wants them to see, and therefore, they must be encouraged to go out and try to find out the facts for themselves. Western books and periodicals would also be very welcome at home, and mostly those dealing with politics and also of culture. However, I do not believe that the government would let these printed matters into the country openly, or to be sold openly in shops. Maybe they could be sent to the legations. On the other hand, people wouldn't dare to go to pick them up there. Altogether I think this problem is too involved and could not be worked out at present. I believe that it would make a very good impression if the Hungarians at home would know that the Hungarian exiles are associated with such activities as sending visitors and publications to Hungary, etc."

Respondent had no idea whatsoever of the Marshall plan and why this plan was launched by the United States. ~~She~~ The same stands for why America became involved in the Korean war.

I. On the United Nations. Respondent's attitude toward the UN was very hostile. She said "I think we better not talk at all about this organization. They just have discredited the United Nations by what they have not done. The minimum that everybody expected was that Secretary General Hammarskjöld would at least dare to board a plane and come to Hungary in the fall of 1956. So far nothing has been

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done by the UN and I am afraid there is no hope whatsoever that the UN will interfere effectively for Hungary in the foreseeable future.

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked who, in her opinion, is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent said: Cardinal Mindszenty

B. On other personalities her opinion was as follows:

Imre Nagy: "He wanted to do something for the benefit of the nation; I am sure that he is an honest Hungarian."

Cardinal Mindszenty: "He is a hero and a saint."

Laszlo Rajk: "Had he been able to carry out his plan that Hungary detach herself from the Soviet bloc, it would have been wonderful, but even so I wouldn't have liked him to rule in Hungary because he was a Communist, nevertheless."

Erno Gero: "This man should be hanged."

Janos Kadar: "On the next gallows, Kadar should be put."

General Bela Kiraly: "This man he is just a nobody."

Anna Kethly: "I think that she is a decent girl."

When asked what she thought of President Eisenhower, respondent said: "I personally like him very much, even though some people believe him to be too weak, but I think that he wouldn't have been elected twice if he weren't so popular. In ~~the~~ connection with the Hungarian refugees, he really did something wonderful."

Secretary-General Hammarskjold, respondent had a very bad opinion. She thought him a coward and that he lacked all energy. She said: "I believe somebody else would be more right for this job."

Secretary Dulles, former Prime Minister Eden and former President Truman she did not give any opinion. "I know too little about these people."

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On the other Personalities, respondent's opinion was as follows:

"Of Mikoyan, I have a very bad opinion."

"Of Nehru and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek - they behaved ~~stupidly~~ ^{decently} towards us and thought decently about the Hungarian cause."

Ferenc Nagy: "This man has cut all his ties with Hungary when he wanted to return to Hungary during the revolution. He wanted to take over and head a movement which entirely was initiated by the Hungarian nation, and this role would have - could have only been assumed by a man who was there during the revolution."

O former President Roosevelt : she just shrugged her shoulders.

On Chancellor Adenauer: she thought that he is an extremely good politician.

Of Stalin, respondent said: "It is a pity that he died in bed. He should have been hanged."

Malenkov, Khrushchev and Molotov: "They are all Russian statesmen that every good Hungarian hates."

"Generalissimo Franco, I believe, is a good statesman."

"Tito is a very smart politician but he is a double-crossing communist. In Hungary he was quite liked but only because he was able to detach his country from Moscow."

Respondent didn't know who Peron or Ollenhauer were. She also had no idea who Bevan was.

Of former Prime Minister Churchill, she only said that this one was a very decent man.

On the whole, subject seemed to be very bored with these questions, and didn't show any interest in giving her views which were rather short and in monosyllables.

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Respondent gave the following answer to the sort of people who escaped from Hungary:

"Mainly they were of the working and intellectual classes. Mostly the people who came out from Hungary were young and middle-aged, but I have seen quite a few old ones, too. Of course, most of the people came from Budapest and then from the Western borders of the country. Their reasons for leaving were first of all, because they wanted to save their lives. These were the ones who fought during the revolution and they feared reprisals. Then there were many who were freed from ~~prison~~ prison- the political prisoners, I mean, who had to come out or otherwise they would have been locked up again. Then there was a small percentage of those who came out because they wanted to live better and then of course there is always a few who come out seeking adventure.

"In my mind those who stayed behind are the real heroes. First of all, because they did not leave their homeland and they chose the more difficult and more unhappy part of life. Some people remained at home for family reasons; I personally admire them very much and I am very very anxious for them. I have also known many people - good friends of mine - who could have come out from Hungary and did not do so because they have to stay behind and help the country whenever they are needed at home. I do not believe that people in Hungary judged those who left, or resent their leaving, because they must be aware, and mostly are, that people had to come out to save their lives.

"Assuming that the borders were open and Hungary would remain a Communist country, I am sure that many would still leave Hungary. "

With regard to exile organizations and individuals, respondent said she heard of exile organizations but could not name them; however individuals she remembered a few, the names of which she heard back in Hungary. These were: Istvan Barankovics, Pfeiffer, Ferenc Nagy and Msgr. Bela Varga. When given the list of different organizations, respondent disclosed that she had heard about the Hungarian National Council which is doing a great deal of good work here in the USA. Of the individuals she mentioned Tibor Eckhardt, ~~Hindt~~ Miklos Kallay,

Bela Fabian, Otto Of Hapsburg, and Admiral Horthy. She said that of all these people as mentioned above she only heard good things and she respects them greatly.

She was also of the opinion that these people who left Hungary before 1956 did indeed try to do their best but unfortunately without very much results; however, she said, they could not be blamed since their hands were rather tied, and also they did not have the means. During the revolution, respondent said, she very often thought of these people who are over her and she believes it would have been a good idea had all the former exiles come to Hungary to work for their country.

C. Respondent did not know any Hungarian who escaped to the West after 1945 but who returned later on. Regarding the Communist redefection campaign, she was of the opinion that it is truly propaganda - the more so, since there is no other reason for the Communist to try to lure back other people as unemployment has increased terribly in Hungary. There were very few only who could convince, and even those who did return would have returned without the Communist propaganda, because as respondent said: "I believe that these people were too homesick to get adjusted anywhere else."

D. On what people in Hungary would like to know about the exiles, respondent said:

"I believe that people back home would be mostly interested in our lives, and how we are getting along. The thing that they should know, however, is that they shouldn't believe that life is easy over here. There are many difficulties and you have to work very hard to succeed.

"In my opinion the exiles should now get together and cooperate and not to be broken up in different factions and fight for any small job or position. I personally would do anything that were possible to do for my country, but I wonder what really ⁺ could do. Nevertheless, in my private life and with my work, I would like to show everybody that the Hungarian people are decent, hard-working, and deserve help.

"I would like to join a political exile organization but only one that is made up by the new immigrants and this organization should be a political one with an aim to keep together and to hold together all the Hungarians. "

When asked why she would only like to work with the new immigrants, her response was: "Because the recently emigrated people are much nearer to those we left home. We know much better what they need over there, and what is good for their benefit."

The feelings about the various Hungarian political ~~parties~~ parties respondent had sums down to this:

"I believe that before '48 there were too many parties, and this has torn apart the nation's unity. I did not hear, or I do not know, how many parties are in exile, but I presume the same trouble has arisen here - there are too many of them, and they are constantly bickering. The same happened during the revolution when the political parties were revived. Every hour a new party sprang up, and had the revolution been victorious, I hope that they would have all parties boiled down to two or three. In my opinion, it was much too early to start forming parties at that time, because ~~with~~ the strength is always in unity and at that time so many more important things were happening than politics. I do not think that groups that went into exile previously should have returned and joined the parties. Only they should have come back to work and as a plain workman of the nation."

E. Regarding respondent's plans for the future. She disclosed that as soon as conditions permit, she will return immediately to an independent and free Hungary. If she had any children, they should learn English as well as Hungarian in the United States.

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AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio: Respondent and family listened to the BEC radio, RFE and VOA. She remembered that BEC was the least jammed and the most was RFE. Respondent listened to the Hungarian language broadcasts, and it was the BEC to which she listened every evening and afternoon regularly. The other stations she listened to more seldom. She favored the BEC because this station was the most factual one, and did not go to extremes and also there wasn't the exaggerated news commentary about it. They just gave out the straight news. Respondent always told friends and relatives in the office or among the family what she had heard.

They listened to the radio broadcasts on their own radio - sometimes alone and very often with others together. Respondent did hear about Western broadcasts second-hand and she also gave it to friends of hers whenever something interesting happened.

In the years of 1950-53, it was very dangerous to listen to the broadcasts; nevertheless, the danger did not deter people. There was not a law against listening to broadcasts but they always used it as a pretext. After 1953, when the reigns were eased politically, it was not so dangerous, but people nevertheless got used to being careful.

Regarding respondent's reactions to the broadcasts, they were as follows:

"As I said before, the BEC was very factual and correct and the information was always good. RFE did bring the newest news items, but the whole trend of the radio transmissions was somewhat unreliable. The spirit of the whole broadcasts was inciting and giving out too much anti-communist propaganda. It was easy for those people sitting in a warm room well-fed to incite against communism. That is all I can say. Even the VOA was a little bit better than RFE.

"Regarding the accuracy of these stations, it was very easy judge them. There were many things I had seen myself and then I heard the news as broadcast by RFE and BEC on the same event, and RFE had always exaggerated the news while BEC never did. Besides there is something

everybody resented very much in Hungary, and that was that for the last 12 years, RFE all the time told us that if the Hungarian starts a rebellion from within and we start to move, help from the West will be forthcoming. When it so happened, this help did not come and we were left in the ditch.

"Before the revolution, everybody listened to the foreign radio broadcasts, because the foreign radio did not emit anything but lies, so people wanted to believe what the Western radio stations had to say, and wanted and tried to get the news. During the revolution, RFE, and VOA have incited whereas BBC did not. RFE and the VOA ought to have realized that there is no need to incite the Hungarian people if they do not bring any help. In conclusion therefore, I do believe that it is very true that Western broadcasts, and RFE in particular, did help to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help.

"Nevertheless, I believe that radio free Europe should continue to broadcast into Hungary, and especially giving out straight news. The only thing is I want them to incite and any anti-communist propaganda. This is no longer necessary in Hungary. I hope everybody here knows by now. We know much better the communist methods and the situation than RFE and at least people back home should not be driven again to do something foolhardy!

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Regarding the ~~RFE~~ leaflets, respondent has not heard about them, nor has she seen them. She has heard about RFE leaflets but she has not seen any. She heard that in the Transvaalian district some of their friends had found some. Nevertheless, it was a very risky to pick up RFE leaflets, because if found out, the AVH simply dragged people away. The Free Europe Committee should drop leaflets into Hungary only if they are not inciting. They ought to give only encouragement and contain only straight data on certain matters if necessary.

D. As to why Western groups sent leaflets into Hungary, respondent had the following to say:

"I believe it was done for the purpose of anti-communist propaganda and in order to disseminate news behind the iron curtain in connection with everything that has happened in the West. I believe that their main goals and motives were the same - only their methods were different.

CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

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

"It is very important that a child should be brought up in a family, and under the supervision of the parents. It is also very important that the parents give a good marital life. Also that they give their children religious instruction, and a child must be disciplined by all means; on the other hand, we also must let them develop their natural talents.

"As I said, discipline is very important, and it should be applied according to the child's nature. Physical if necessary or by good word, and good example. For instance, you can discipline a child by depriving him of something he loves very much or would like to do very much. There must be a difference between the bringing up of the boy and the girl. I mean that a boy must not be a sissy. Both sexes should develop a healthy and normal outlook on life. I believe that sports are very important for girls as well as boys.

"When I was young, it was usually my mother who punished me and I got the most punishment for not studying hard enough. Either I was not allowed to go to a movie, or sometimes I got a couple of slaps in my face from my good mother.

Discipline applied to children varies, as far as I know, according to social classes and it is the working class in Hungary that applies physical punishment and also, the peasants. General punishment is abandoned usually in Hungary when the child is (the girl) is 17, and the the boy is 22. Physical punishment is abandoned usually when the child is 17 years old. This, however, does not refer to the peasants and the workers because as long as a child of a peasant or a worker is at home, the parents feel that it is their right to discipline them even though they are grown up. To what extent Communism brought about changes in this respect, I cannot tell.

"Regarding the changes during the last ten years in the way children are brought up during their first eight years in school, I only can say that in the country schools and among the peasants they are beaten up quite a lot before ~~the~~ before Communism. They were put in the corners, they got a couple of slaps on their fingers, knuckles, etc.

The teachers also sent report cards to the parents now and then if they had something bad to report. In the city schools, children were very seldom punished physically. Here, mostly they were put into corners, kept after hours, and also report cards were sent to parents. During the Communist regime in Hungary, physical punishment was prohibited at schools. The teachers had much to complain against this, especially in the country schools because they couldn't discipline their children at all."

On characteristics, she values most in a friend, respondent said:

"I believe that a good and true friend should be on the same mental level; we must share the same interests, and also she must have the same political views. Furthermore, I believe that a good friend must be of your own generation. A good friend should also be extremely honest, devoted and always be willing to help in need. Communism has brought about many changes in this respect because I think that people got to know each other better. Many ~~friends~~ had quite unpleasant surprises but others, on the hand were pleasantly surprised in their friends; however, good friendship is always improving by the common suffering, oppression and danger.

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