

Date of Interview:
June 1- , 1957
Interviewer: Maria
Podhorszky
Place of Interview:
New York City

I. PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. F-55
2. 49
3. Female
4. Widow
5. Roman Catholic
6. Born in Budapest, Hungary
7. Spent most of her time in Budapest.
8. She lived just before the revolution broke out at Budakeszi. This is a small village at the outskirts of Budapest.
9. Before World War II respondent was very often abroad for study and vacations. With the exception of Spain, she visited all over Europe.
- 10.
11. Respondent's education. She is a high school graduate and she attended the Teachers Colleges for Languages, and has a university degree in French, German, and English.
12. Respondent was executive secretary to the Central Press Co. in Budapest until 1945. From 1946 to 1948 she was also executive secretary at the Hungarian General Credit Bank. From 1948 to 1950, she worked for the Export-Import Company in the same capacity. Between 1951 and 1953 she was deported, and spent these three years in different provincial districts. When she was allowed to return to Budapest, from 1954 until January, 1957, she worked as executive secretary and manager for the Dambia Patent Bureau.
- 13.
14. Respondent has two sisters. One is 48 and is in South America with her husband. The other one is 40 and is with her husband in Canada.

65-F

15. Respondent has three children. There are two girls. One, 27, is here with her. The other, 25, remained in Hungary with her husband. She also has a son, age 21, who is living with her in New York.
16. Respondent left Hungary on January 19, 1957.
17. She arrived in the U. S. April 14, 1957.
18. Respondent has stayed in Old Greenwich, Connecticut, and in New York City since her arrival in the U.S.
19. Regarding her immediate plans, she already has started working at a downtown office in New York as a secretary for correspondence in English, German, and French.
20. Respondent has been interviewed only at the American Consulate General in Vienna in connection with her immigration, and then at Camp Kilmer. Both were routine interviews.
21. Respondent speaks, reads, and writes German, French, and English.

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Respondent is the first subject of the mature age group (she is 49) and therefore could give an interesting picture of post-war and Communist-dominated Hungary from quite a different angle than we are receiving from the younger generation.

Respondent comes from the upper social class. Her late father was General Manager of the Southern Hungarian Railroad Co., and subject received the best of everything with regard to education, home, travel, etc.

Due to her late husband's connections (he was Editor-in-Chief of the leading Hungarian Catholic newspaper, Nemzeti Ujsag), subject had extremely good connections with all leading political parties, etc., and was also very extensively informed about politics while in Hungary.

Her son, following in his father's footsteps, took an active part in the spiritual as well as the military leadership of the revolution; and was closely connected with the journalists, actors, and writers who played such an important part in the uprising.

Besides her interesting background, subject is very intelligent, clear-headed, and unbiased. Her attitude is never narrow-minded and her judgment is sound. It was a revealing experience and a pleasure to interview her.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

Respondent's answer to what she thinks Americans should know about the revolution was as follows:

"I hope that by now the American nation and public opinion has realized that the October Revolution in Hungary was the revolution of the entire nation, regardless of social background, race, religion, or age, against the Communist oppression and Soviet domination."

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

A

- A. Respondent gave the following account of her activities during the first days of the revolution:

"On the 22nd I left Budakeszi and went to town to stay with my married daughter who lived at Buda in a residential district. This day we had heard that the students were going to organize a sympathy demonstration at the Polish General Bem statue in Buda.

"On the 23rd, I spent my whole day at my office. This was in the central district of Budapest. I worked there until 5 o'clock in the afternoon. During the day, two of my children came to see me. They were already wearing the red, white and green cockades in their lapels, and told me about the demonstrations. Several of my colleagues left the office to join in the demonstrations; however, I had a terrific amount of work to do; somehow I thought I'd better finish everything I could.

"Since I had a part-time job in a lawyer's office, I went there after my office hours and we discussed at some length with the lawyer what is going to happen. On my way to the lawyer's office I saw the terrific crowd that was streaming back from Buda around 5:30. Everybody was greatly elated, and so was I. It was a tremendous experience to see how happy people were. I myself must admit I cried of happiness. However, I was deathly scared of the reactions of the political police. At the lawyer's office, as I said before, we were talking over the events and decided to remain there until 8 o'clock so as to be able to listen to Gero's speech over the radio. We were convinced that after all that had happened Gero would give in and former Communist Nagy would again take over, and little by little all the problems and the political crisis would be solved. We, the more mature people, were just believing that it would be quite logical that Gero would give in.

"Regarding the age and social class to which the demonstrators belonged, I really couldn't say who was not there ~~th~~ with us in the streets. It was a very orderly, peaceful, and enthusiastic demonstration full with happy expectations and optimism.

"As far as I know, the university students were the only ones

who organized the demonstration to the Bem statue. The rest of the demonstration was completely spontaneous. Everybody just joined in and the crowd swelled at every street corner.

"After we had listened to Gero's speech in the office, we were quite speechless that he could be irresponsible to this extent and lead the nation into a general debacle. We were terribly upset about the way he talked, and we agreed that he was doing everything so as to remain in power.

"I worked until 11 o'clock at night in the lawyer's office - I was in complete lethargy by that time and very downhearted. Then I went home, but had to walk all the way to my daughter's apartment. At that time the Buda streets were very quiet, and at that time I still did not hear anything of what had happened in town and around the radio building.

"When I arrived home, my son was not there, but he rang up from somewhere near the radio building. He told me what was going on there - the fighting, etc. I begged him to return; however, he said, 'Mother, there are some more important things than the family', and he stayed. We stayed up all the night and listened to the radio, Radio Free Europe, that is. We were informed by the RFE broadcasts of what was going on in Budapest. It seems that Radio Free Europe was able to get in touch with the radio stations of the Freedom Fighters. From then on we were constantly listening to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe. I must admit that before this time we never did.

"I'm sure that the bloodshed could have been avoided had the AVH not used their arms against the crowd. As far as I was informed by my son, the revolution and bloodshed started there at the radio building.

"As to where the Freedom Fighters received their arms from, again my son told me that the first arms they received were those the police force has handed over the Hungarian army who joined their ranks.

"As to the outcome of the revolution, I must admit quite frankly that I was deathly scared for all the young people who took part in the fighting because I was fearing reprisals on the part of the government.

"We just simply refused to believe that the government could so vile as to call in the Russians and have the city and its population be fought and shot at by the Russian troops. We were convinced that this was the doing of Gero.

"I heard the word 'Freedom Fighter' as early as the night of the 23rd when my boy phoned me and took such an active part in the revolution.

"It was the young people who fought during the whole uprising - and mostly the young working class. Many of them were what we would call 'tough boys' from the slums of the city..... industrial apprentices, etc. The intellectuals took part more in organizing the revolution. These were the newspapermen, actors, and writers.

"I also remember now that my son told me that a great many of the young people who took part in the fighting received military training - what they called partisan training - from the government. These young boys already had arms, and then later on the military armories were also ransacked. Here the Freedom Fighters found very little resistance on the part of armories.

"Regarding the organization of the revolution, I can only say that it wasn't organized at all - and this was the greatest mistake and cause of many unhappy incidents in the beginning. By the end of our first free three days, however, the young people were ordered to report at every district town hall and were organized somehow, but I don't know more details. I have heard, but forgotten the name, of one of the police captains who was one of the main leaders of the young people. Also I have heard that the Kilian Barracks were defended by General Maleter. It was only through the Radio Free Europe broadcasts that we heard that there were fights going on all over the country.

"The 24th of October was spent by us at home and with my daughter and her family. We were in a great fix regarding food. There wasn't anything at home and, since at that time it was still quite peaceful in that district we tried to get some food and organize the ~~home~~ ~~the~~ household. We did something to shelter and prepared shelter packages, etc. We had only heard that around the Szenater the barricade gates had been erected.

"On the 25th my two daughters with their husbands came to see us. They walked into town from the suburbs of Budapest. My son-in-law and son went off and told us they were going to fight again. It was that day that the shooting had occurred at the Parliament Square. My daughter and I decided that we should go and help wherever we could and went down to one of

the hospitals on the Buda side of the city. There we were told that they were adequately staffed, but asked us to go over to Pest where there is a great shortage in voluntary help at the hospitals. When we arrived at the Margaret Bridge, the Russians were keeping the bridge under fire, so we had to crawl back and take shelter. Later on we walked home. We heard that the Russians had turned their guns against the AVH at the Parliament Square.

- C. "On the 26th and 27th again we spent our time queueing up for food, and I was waiting for my son to return. Later I was informed that he was captured on the 25th, but he managed to escape on the 27th and he came home. From that time on our place became a kind of a home to the Freedom Fighters who came and slept there. We gave them food, etc.

"We were constantly sitting at the radio and listening to the broadcasts of the Western radio stations. It was a pathetic thing to hear and see how hopeful these young people were of receiving help from the West. I had to translate the English broadcasts for them, and really my heart was aching when I had to tell them that nobody was coming to help. They still kept on hoping. I must say that this was not the Radio Free Europe but the American broadcasts, in English, from overseas which we heard on the shortwaves. I believed it to be my duty, being of the older generation, to tell them the truth, and I tried, but they just did not believe me.

"I think it was on the 28th that I started again to go to my office. There I was received with a great hello and so kindly by the staff - and as if they wanted me to be the manager. They were perfectly aware of my former connections with Cardinal Mindszenty and my former political background, and therefore probably they thought it would be a good thing if they had me there. We arranged a meeting. Everybody received the Cader file. We read them together and then burned them all. Everybody was extremely happy and nice to each other and we decided that all ill feeling should be forgotten from then on, and we should all work together in the new world which was forthcoming for Hungary.

"At that time we were convinced that the Russians will retreat from Hungary. On Saturday, November the 3rd, my son came home and told me that the Russians were negotiating regarding their withdrawal. They set four conditions which should be first fulfilled. As far as I remember, one was that all Russian war monuments should be restored, and that we should give them a very flashy and showy goodbye when they withdrew, and that the

government should pledge itself that Hungary was going to be rebuilt in a real Socialist spirit. I do not recall, however, what was the fourth condition.

"I spent the whole day of November 3rd at the office of Cardinal Mindszenty in the Var district of Buda. I also talked several times with him.

"It was very interesting to see and to hear that all bishops of all religions all over the country were willing to cooperate with the Catholic Church. They either came to visit the Cardinal or asked him on the phone for an audience.

"I also recall another incident. The _____ mob was storming all state offices. The Cardinal wanted to save the State Church Office, as it was called, in order to save all files there which might be useful later on. He asked that, if possible, some soldiers be sent to defend the building.

"Later on people from the radio came (I was present at that time) and asked the Cardinal whether they should bring up the tape recorder and record his speech, which then later should be broadcast over the radio. The Cardinal was quite upset by that. He said, 'No, I want to talk directly to the nation over the radio.' He also refused to have a special escort when he went to deliver his speech for the radio.

"I also would like to mention that even the Cardinal was so deeply convinced that the Russians were going to withdraw their troops that before I left he asked me to begin (and he entrusted me with this) to organize and to set up Catholic press organization.

"The first thing we heard about the Russians having broken their word ~~it~~ and that they were returning was on November 4th at dawn when we heard the cannons.

"Until November 7th I did not leave the house. We only listened to Radio Free Europe from Munich. I was especially impressed by the wonderful speech of Mr. Bery. At that time fierce fighting was going on all over the town so we moved our quarters down to the cellars. The Russians were using mines.

"After November 7th I started to go back to my office. We had to receive a special kind of identity card saying that we had started our work, because whenever we were stopped in the streets to identify ourselves we had to show this - otherwise we were charged that we were out on strike. However, I must

mention that all the offices were extremely decent about this, and issued such cards to everybody. Very often - and mostly - people did not even attend the offices. I went to my office twice a week only because we could not work anyway. There was no light, and especially in the beginning no heat. Also we had to walk to the offices, which was extremely hazardous as well as tiring.

"At that time my son was arrested for the second time - this time by the Russians. He was kept prisoner at the Russian Secret Police station where on the top floor a great many Russian officers were arrested and locked up - as he told me. He was released on the condition that he was going to report all the activities of the other Freedom Fighters. Of course he didn't do that, just the contrary. He was one of those who organized the demonstration of the Hungarian women at the Unknown Hero's Monument, and also took part in organizing the big general strike.

"I believed, however, that it would be much safer for him to leave, and he did. After him my daughter and her husband also escaped; and my other daughter promised me that she, too, would try to cross the border with her husband. Finally, I decided also to leave. I had been informed that my connections with Cardinal Mindszenty were recorded by the AVH, so I did not dare to stay behind, and left the country.

- D. "I certainly believe that Hungary did gain, morally, in the eyes of the West and the whole world; otherwise, she is the only loser."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

- A. Respondent's expectations regarding help from the West boiled down to this:

"We were convinced that the United Nations would enforce the sanctions and also that maybe it would allow voluntary forces to come to fight on the side of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. The reason why we believed so firmly in this, especially in the actions of the United Nations, was that we knew that it was in the interests of the whole world, not only in the interest of the Hungarian nation, that an end be put to Russian expansion and Russian terror."

- B. "We also fully aware that this was a unique occasion for the West to put an end to Russian expansion. I am convinced that unfortunately the West has completely missed the boat. At the time of the Hungarian Revolution all Europe could have been cleaned of the Russians because all other satellites would have joined in the revolution."

- C. Respondent did not come into contact with any foreigners between October 23rd and the time of her escape from Hungary.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDE

A. Respondent gave the following information on her social and class background:

Her father died in 1928. He was the General Manager of the Southern Hungarian Railroad Company and had a very high income. Respondent could not give any figures, but she disclosed that she had the best of everything regarding education, travels, home, etc. The family had a large household, many servants - had their own personal maids, etc. Her father also had an automobile, and a large apartment. They had governesses and so on. However, he had no private assets.

Regarding the education of her parents, she told me that her father had a degree from the Hungarian University of Technical Sciences in Engineering. Her mother had a high school education.

B. When asked about the different social classes in Hungary respondent said:

"Well, I believe that first of all there is what I would say are the former intellectuals, then the new intellectuals, then we have the working class, then the peasantry. As to what I termed 'former intellectuals', I would say belong the Hungarian aristocracy - those who remained at home, the people who have a university degree, people who had top jobs at the different state offices, doctors, engineers, and state employees. To the same 'former intellectuals' belong also (to my mind) the bourgeoisie, and the different craftsmen, merchants, banking circles, bankers, industrialists, etc. The 'new intellectuals' are coming mostly from the lower social classes and were educated by the regime. These are mostly newspapermen, actors, teachers, writers, etc. This is quite a new generation which grew up during the Communist regime. I, myself, of course belong to the old intellectual class which, however, under the Communist regime was degraded to the real proletarian class.

"I was in quite close contact with the Hungarian peasants as I spent two years among them when I was deported. All I can say about them is that are decidedly anti-Communist. It was interesting to see that there was a strictly observed caste system among the peasants. They were divided into small, middle, and large peasantry; and, for instance, they did not even marry between these classes. All Hungarian peasants

hated the regime because they were terribly exploited by the regime and also they had to submit so much of their products. Also, I would like to point out that the Hungarian peasants were extremely decent with all the deportees for whom they cared, and they respected them.

"I did not have many contacts with the Hungarian working class, only my children who worked with them. I can say, however, that during the revolution they behaved extremely well and very decently. Of course, they can do more than any other class because they are such a forceful group.

"Unfortunately, due to my heavy working schedule, I had very little opportunity to get in touch with my own class - that is, the intellectual class. However, what I have seen was that generally the women could hold their ground much better than the men during the Communist regime. We always tried to keep our living standard at a level as high as possible. We kept our chin up. We were hopeful and we were defiant. It was always the Hungarian woman who did not let the family lapse into tired proletarian standard.

"It was, of course, the class of the former intellectuals to which I also belong, that was hardest hit by Communism. Not only had they been forced to change their concrete living standard and life, but also they were deprived of their homes, they were persecuted because of their social origins, etc.

As to the attitudes of the different classes toward each other, respondent said:

"For a while the Hungarian peasants rather envied the workers, and many of the young peasant boys went to work in factories. However, it was interesting to see how the Hungarian peasants hated the new intellectual class which was a product of the Communist regime. They pitied the old intellectual class, and this was the attitude of the workers also.

"As I said before, I do not know very much about the workers in Hungary, and I do not know much about their attitudes toward the peasants either. I know that in the beginning the workers were very much against the old intellectual class, and they were taken in by the slogans of the Communist regime. However, little by little, when they saw how the old intellectual class was being treated their hate or prejudice turned into sympathy. I was told that the leading engineers in the factories, for instance, were idolized, and the priests, the doctors, etc. in the countryside were also greatly beloved, and the simple people did everything for them.

- C. As to how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary, respondent gave the following information:

"The most important thing, of course, is your political view, then comes your class origin, and only last, your talent.

"However, I must mention that in the last year or so anybody who had a specific knowledge and who was very good in his job could succeed slowly, even if he was of the what we would call 'wrong' class. The whole trend of tolerance started in 1953, after Prime Minister Nagy took over.

"The individual who could get ahead in Communist Hungary must have very, very little demands on life, he or she must possess a great deal of will, be an optimist, and have physical and spiritual force, besides being tops in his profession.

- D. "The group that got, perhaps, more out of the regime than they deserved were the sportsmen, of course because the government pampered them for propaganda purposes to a very great extent.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

- A. "My main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was the complete uprooting of my life, and that even working eight hours a day in an office was not sufficient to support myself.

"Apart from other things the greatest annoyance was caused by insecurity. We never knew when we were going to be dismissed, when we were going to be arrested, why and what for."

our family when my husband was imprisoned and later died, was something that tied us more closely together. So we were able - not, perhaps, materially, but spiritually - to keep the old ways and the old spiritual standard.

B. On marriage, courtship, sex problem, etc., respondent said:

"Due to the living standard, the marriage, courtship, and sexual behavior has greatly changed in the young people during the Communist regime in Hungary. It was extremely difficult to get married because of the housing shortage, so people just lived together. There was no more of the old-fashioned courtship going on, and many of the young people had love affairs.

"The role of the parents in our class, however, remained about the same. Our children accepted our judgment and our word and the old patriarchal family feeling still pretty much prevailed. This patriarchal feeling remained especially, as I referred before, among the peasants where the father usually told his children whom they ought to marry, and did not let them marry outside their class. I have no idea, however, how the marital relation, etc. was formed among the working class during the Communist regime.

"The reasons for all changes in Hungary are economic, rather than being due to Communist doctrines. The doctrines might have affected the more primitive classes - maybe -, on the other hand, there wasn't a very high sexual morality among those people anyway, not even before the Communist regime.

"To my knowledge, prostitution was strictly prohibited under Communism. Nevertheless, it flourished.

Respondent's answer to whether or not the sexual morality under the Communists was different was as follows:

"First of all, let me tell you that during these twelve years I have never met a convinced Communist, that is, one who had some brains. I would have liked to meet and talk to one like that, but I was unable to do so. Therefore, I really cannot tell you what the sexual morality of the convinced Communists is.

C. "I never have heard of anyone among our friends who became a party member. I would like to stress that a person whom I choose to be my friend certainly never would have turned to Communism.

- D. On juvenile delinquency, respondent's reactions were as follows:

"I do not believe that juvenile delinquency is being played down by the Communists because it simply does not exist to such an extent as it does here in the United States. As a matter of fact, however, the official attitude toward juvenile delinquency is that they are under reactionary influences at home, and this is the reason why they become delinquent. On the whole, I do not believe that juvenile delinquency has increased in Hungary. We do not have any loafers, for instance, because the people are being checked all the time, and those who do not work are being locked up. I do not believe that the behavior of juveniles is any worse in Hungary than anywhere else in Europe.

"The Jampec is just a youngster who is aping the worst, and the movie actors and actresses, by wearing flashy clothes and hairdos. It is purely a put-on attitude, and I do not think it is very serious."

VII. RELIGION

"As to how the Jews were affected by the Communist rule in Hungary, I can say that in the beginning the Jews were favor-

- A. "Religion did play an enormous part, in fact the largest part in life, in Hungary during the Communist regime - larger than ever before. Maybe it was because of politics, but also people tried to find relief in religion.

"The religion most hard hit is the Catholic religion in Hungary because the Catholic clergy has put up the greatest resistance - headed by Cardinal Mindszenty - against the regime. Also the minor clergy was the militant enemy of the Communists.

"Religion, of course, is a bulwark against Communism in Hungary; mostly because the Roman Catholics, especially, in the Confessional, at church meetings, etc. were always able to discuss what could be done in a form of passive resistance.

- B. "Religion does play an important role in my life, and I believe a more important one than in the life of my parents. I believe that I am more or less as religious as the average person in Hungary is. I also follow the rules of my church and attend the church as much as possible and when and if time permits.

- C. "Regarding the function of the churches in society, I believe that the role of churches in education is extremely important. In an independent country the church should certainly play a major role in education. On the other hand, I do not believe that the churches should interfere in setting moral codes, in things as movies, plays, books, etc., and also I am decidedly against any church taking an active part in politics in an independent Hungary. The church and state should be independent of each other, but they ought to cooperate."

- D. On the Jewish minority, respondent said:

"The Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism. I can say this very emphatically. The Jews lost their schools as did the other religious groups. In the beginning, however, they were treated with less strictness. I also have seen many Jews attend their services on Friday evenings in Budapest, which was more or less a demonstration against the regime.

"As to how the Jews were affected by the Communist rule in Hungary, I can say that in the beginning the Jews were favorably inclined toward accepting Communism. I find two reasons for that: one, vengeance against the regime under which they had so much to suffer; and the second reason, I believe, was that the Jews did not believe that the Communist regime would ruin them economically and they would not be affected by Communism this way. However, later on the Hungarian Communist regime started to clamp down their rules on the Jews also - then they became sort of disappointed. Nonetheless, from the beginning, when the Communists took over in Hungary, the Jews joined the Communist Party in great numbers; there always was some member of every Jewish family who became a big shot in the Communist Party. These, however, were not the 'top class' Jews (as we called them), the bankers, the industrialists, etc., but the 'small' and lower class Jews.

"The attitude of the Jews during the revolution was suddenly anti-Communist, and I heard from my son that many of the young Jewish intellectuals were fighting side by side with the other Freedom Fighters. Also, the majority of the newspapermen, authors, etc. who took part in the spiritual leadership of the revolution were Jews.

"I couldn't put it this way: that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary. I would say that the Jews want to be independent, but not necessarily independent Hungarians. A Jew is never a patriot. He wants freedom, personal freedom, and doesn't care whether this personal freedom he can achieve is in Hungary or elsewhere in the big world. However, I was informed that at the beginning of November last year there was a certain scare within the Communist Party whether an anti-Communist feeling will arise if Hungary should gain her independence.

"On the whole, I find this anti-Semitic feeling (if it exists) quite justified because, after all, the top leaders of the whole Communist Party were Jews. On the other hand, in all fairness, we must admit that no intelligent Gentile joined the Party - it was only the misled, primitive people among the Gentiles who joined the Party; while there were very many intelligent Jews who became Party members. Because of this, of course, they achieved much more spectacular careers within the Party and this is how it came about that the top Communist leaders and the people who had responsible jobs within the Party were Jews."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

- A. "I would say that the Hungarian youth, as we think of them, are between the ages of 14 and 24 years."
- B. "The Hungarian youth played a major part in the revolution by reason of its enthusiasm and courage, because of which they took the initiative.

"To my mind they stood up against the regime because they were bewildered by the different doctrines they tried to indoctrinate them and, due to what they had heard at home, they didn't believe completely. Also, young people are less fearful of consequences and less cautious. There is so much more elan in a young person, too.

"During the revolution I can say that we were terribly proud of our children. The youngsters, on the other hand, always told us, 'Now, you'd better stay home, because you are in our way - and don't bother us.'"

- C. On the schools and educational systems in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said:

"I think that the education in Hungary - that is, in the schools - put a very great stress on ideology and Russian language. This was the situation not only in the high schools, but in the universities as well. Further more, a child could never learn what he wanted because he or she was admitted to the schools and to the universities only after careful checking of the family background. However, the situation improved greatly in the last two years. The quality of the teaching has also improved, as I was told; but on the whole, it is amazing to see how much stronger was the discipline in Hungarian schools (even under the Communists) than here in the United States, for instance.

"The restriction of vocational choice was of course practiced by the government. In fact, in the second year of high school the child was directed to the so-called vocational high schools. When 14 years old, a child had to decide and state what he wanted to become. The applications were already filed by that age. Usually, however, the child was never glad to go on to study what he had wanted. At the university, again, the children were directed to those certain professions in which there was a shortage at the time. The Hungarian statistical bureaus have carefully

figured out in which professions and how many are needed.

"The quality of the education was good, especially in the last years, because the universities and schools simply had to call back their old teachers. They did not have enough trained people of their own. The professors of the universities had a very hard time because sometimes the students believed them to be Communist, which they certainly weren't. Then, on the other hand, they, in order to keep their jobs, had to make concessions to the government also. I can say that I was very sorry for anybody who had to teach in Hungary.

"The professors and teachers at the universities were extremely competent and were qualified. I am quite sure that even if there were a few among them who were Communist Party members, they were not members because they were Communists, but because they wanted to keep their jobs. After all, a man must live - especially if he has a family."

- D. In respondent's opinion, the Hungarian youth, on the whole, rejected Communist above, and also because they were convinced that it was no good. There was reality versus theory, and they could see it for themselves.

"I do not believe that the Hungarian youth was ever sympathetic to Communism, on the whole. However, in the beginning of the regime, there were some young people (and these mainly of the Jewish religion and the working class) sympathizing with Communism. Gradually, as young people of these two groups saw that what the regime had promised was not coming into being, and how the regime was turning against the Jews and workers, they were disillusioned, in a way, and they stopped sympathizing altogether."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

- A. "Our family got along financially somehow, but only due to the fact that after regular office hours I had an extra job, and I worked as a rule 14 hours a day and sometimes more.

"Regarding food, we had a substantial meal at lunch time in our office which was quite good. As a result, in the evening we only had cold cuts, tea, or a hot soup. The food situation had improved in the last years and the food supply in the city was much better. On the whole food commodities were expensive as compared to what you were earning. For instance, the hourly wage in Hungary was from 1 forint 60 to 2 forint 40; whereas two pounds of bread (one kilogram) were 3 forints - so you see, you had to work more than one hour in order to be able to buy two pounds of bread.

"The clothing situation was extremely bad, at least with our family. We could not afford to buy any clothes, and what we had came from abroad - from the packages our friends sent. I must admit, however, that in the last years the quality of the clothing goods became better.

"The worst thing was the housing situation. Usually six to seven people lived in one room. There were three families in one apartment who had to share the kitchen and bathroom, etc.

"The greatest luxury for me was, for instance, a new dress, a new pair of nylons, or to go to a hairdresser, once in a blue moon.

"Of the above three - food, clothing, and housing - it was the housing situation that caused us the greatest difficulty. The living standard of our family was at its worst between 1950 and 1953, of course - at the time we were deported, and from 1953 on it started to climb slightly. On the whole, I can say that our living standard, which had been at the highest level possible, went down to the rock bottom. I really cannot say what I have missed because you somehow lose your judgment living in dire poverty.

"Among the families I knew, the families of the physicians, for instance, were much better off than others because they made more money. Also the specially trained or qualified engineer or actor or musician were always living much better and far above the average.

"I think that the approaching economic debacle in all satellite states and Soviet Russia accounts for the low living standard in Hungary during the last eight years."

- B. On her own income in Hungary during the past ten years, respondent gave the following information:

"In 1956 I earned 1800 forint per month, which was an extremely high salary for a woman. On this I had to pay 180 forints for Peace Loan, and 6%, I believe for retirement and compensation. The above mentioned 1800 forints includes all the premiums which I received, usually every three months, - these were 40% of my salary and were what they called 'language premiums' since I spoke three foreign languages. I had to have a secondary source of income, and after office hours I worked until late at night in a lawyer's office. There I received ten ft. per hour. No deductions were taken from what I earned there because I simply did not report this income for tax purposes.

"All members of my family worked in order to supplement the family income. Two of my daughters worked in offices. My son was an unskilled laborer, as he was called. Both of my sons-in-law worked also.

"I did not get any wage increases over the last five years because every time I was due for a raise I was dismissed from my job."

- C. "As to where our family bought our food, we bought wherever we were able to get hold of it. We bought in cooperative stores, free markets, or the state stores. The market stores, which really were cooperative markets, were pretty good - the quality of the commodities was good. The fruits, vegetables, etc. were very fresh and pleasing to the eye. The prices, of course, were very much higher.

"On the whole, I can tell you that everything in Hungary was classified into three different types. There was the standard type, the quality type, and the export type for all commodities whether it was for fruit or for industrial products. They went so far that even the funeral, for instance, had three different classes - standard, quality, and export. When my mother died I couldn't have her buried at a certain cemetery where we had our family vault because that was what they called a quality cemetery, and I just couldn't afford it.

"On the whole, I can say that everything was available, more or less, in the state stores.

"In the beginning we (our friends and ~~was~~ our class) never bought at the state stores as a kind of passive resistance, and tried to patronize the so-called maszek stores. These were the small, individual enterprises of the Hungarian craftsmen. However, in the long run we couldn't keep pace with the increasing prices because the maszek storekeepers had to pay such high taxes that his prices were simply beyond our budget. The difference in price, of course, was very much worthwhile; however, state stores were all over the city and you didn't have time to go out - sometimes quite a distance - to get to your little private tailor, and so on. On the other hand, you had to do your purchasing day by day. We had no money, and there were no ice-boxes, refrigerators, etc. in Hungary. I cannot remember whether or not the differences in prices were greater in some years than in the others. The difference in quality in shoes, for instance, and food during the last year (I am thinking of 1956) was quite remarkable.

"On the availability of other commodities - dresses, clothing, for instance - I can say very little because we simply did not buy clothes. All we had - I mean the women in our family - were two skirts and two blouses for the office, and in the summer two summer dresses, one of them being laundered while we wore the other. Then we had a good or not so good winter coat. That was all.

"How the retail distribution in Hungary worked, I really cannot say. I had very little time to spend on shopping. I do know that there were commodities that were simply unobtainable sometimes - for example, bathroom paper, mending wool, shirt buttons, needles, etc.

"The black market was flourishing in the beginning of the Communist regime up until 1953, and it was mostly for food commodities especially fats, sugar, coffee, etc. Later on, when the food supply became somewhat better and we were able to buy things on the free market, the black market disappeared. However, there was still a black market in Hungary for nylons, wool, and cosmetics. Last year there was a black market for apartments. At the time there still was a black market in food commodities, the fats, for instance, were extremely good, but of course the price was about double that in the state stores. Of course there was under-the-counter sale, mostly in commodities that were very seldom available - such as lemons, cocoa, rice, etc. It also happened at that time that if you wanted to buy some other commodity that was very scarce in supply, you had to purchase something else in order to receive it. The changes in the availability and prices were always according to the shortage or the supply of goods. At that time black market purchasing was dangerous and was punished by prison. However, a great deal depended on who the purchaser was, because the purchaser and the

and the seller both were punished if found guilty. On the other hand, since the Communists had the best salaries and consequently more funds, they bought mostly on the black market."

D. On the working conditions at the office where respondent worked, she gave the following information:

"As I previously said, I was working in a patent office. I was the administrative secretary and leader of the section. I did the correspondence both for abroad and domestic. I had eight hours to work, and we had besides that half an hour off for lunch. On Saturdays I worked five hours only. My office was about 85 to 90 minutes from the place where I lived by bus.

"It was purely through a friend that I obtained this job. This friend told me there was a vacancy and I applied for it.

"My relations with my co-workers were extremely good, in fact they were wonderful. My immediate boss was an old family friend, and altogether I can say that this office was an exceptionally good one. Since patents were our specialty, all people who worked there - I mean the section leaders, etc. - had to be extremely well qualified and therefore were all of the old regime. The secretaries also had to know at least two or three languages, so again these girls and women had the same social background. The general manager of the office was a Communist Party member, a Jew who was extremely disgusting with everybody and therefore thoroughly hated by everyone, including myself. He was the brother-in-law of a top Communist called Friss, Steven Friss, and he threw his weight about a great deal. He, of course, had little knowledge of the whole business and he was put there by the government to be the political leader of the office.

"The Party secretary and chief of personnel was one and the same person. She was a woman who, despite being a member of the Communist Party, was an extremely religious woman; so I believe she must have been one of what I call those 'idiot Communists' because she was all out for Communism, and on the other hand, she went to church and communion every day. She was quite a fanatic. She treated all employees extremely well, she was very nice, and kind to everybody. In fact, she practiced 'love thy neighbor'. I was extremely satisfied in my job and I liked it also. As I said before, all my fellow workers were well qualified for their jobs, except of course the manager, and I was always praised for my work by my other superiors.

"The Hungarian vacation program was extremely good on paper and in theory, because every worker was entitled to two weeks paid vacation and you received an allotment for a very nice hotel.

"On collectivization when first introduced in Hungary I always had a bad opinion because, knowing the Hungarian peasantry, I knew they would not work if they were not allowed to work for themselves. Besides, the collectivization as introduced and practiced in Hungary was completely wrong. It was done by sheer force and was used by _____. I have seen it when I was deported and living with the peasants in the country. The government went about collectivization like this: they imposed a terrific tax and compulsory surrender of grain and produce on the middle and large peasants to such an extent that finally they couldn't comply with these orders anymore. Little by little they got in debt to the state regarding their taxes, and they had to buy the commodities in order to be able to surrender them. When they were at rock bottom, the authorities

said, 'All right, we are going to forget about everything provided you join the cooperative.' I believe that all peasants in Hungary objected to collectivization. First the well-to-do peasant objected, then the less well-to-do, and finally the poorest peasant even.

"I have heard of collectives being dissolved - first in 1953 when Prime Minister Nagy took over, and then in 1956 in the fall when they were dissolved. The reasons for the dissolution were simply that the peasants were happy that at last they had an opportunity to get out of these collective farms.

"I really do not know what kind of agricultural system I would like to see ideally in an independent Hungary. I certainly do not want to see a system where there are huge big estates in one hand. I would prefer, however, that the land should go back into private ownership. On the other hand, I think that the co-operatives as practiced in the Western countries - Denmark, etc. - is good. This should not be forced and it should not be misused as it was during the Communist regime in Hungary. Also a state farm can be a very workable enterprise if they pay good wages.

"I believe that the mechanization of agriculture and the introduction of tractor stations all over the country was quite good. Livestock breeding on a scientific basis, etc. can also be conducted to a much more profitable extent on big state farms. I do not approve, however, in the exploitation of personnel and the soil or that it is healthy, as they did it under the Communist regime in Hungary within the large state farms."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. On her interest in politics before 1948, respondent said:

"Considering that my husband was the editor of one of the leading dailies in Budapest, and due to my anti-Nazi attitude, I was of course greatly interested in politics before 1948. However, we had no affiliation with any political party. My overall political views at that time were toward a sound Socialism patterned on that of the Scandinavian states, and ideal democracy.

"My feelings about the Communist Party before 1948 were about the same as now. I ~~thought~~ thoroughly hated and mistrusted them. However, I must mention that during the last two years of the German domination in Hungary the Communist Party worked together with a resistance group in which we also participated. This group was formed by all the leading Catholic clergy and also the Communist Party leaders. The aim of the association was to destroy Nazism. At that time, when we were working together with these people toward the destruction of Nazism in Europe, nobody thought that Russia would be rewarded with Eastern Europe for her part in World War II. After all, Russia did not win the war against Germany alone, because it was with Western help that she did."

B. "On the Communist Party from 1948, I can only say that the Party was led by imported Communists who were trained by Moscow and who held Hungarian as well as Russian citizenship. These men were sent to Hungary with the intention of rebuilding a Communist Party. Of those who joined the Communist Party, more than half were the proletarians who didn't have the slightest idea about political matters and who only expected that the Communist regime would help them economically. The other portion of the people who joined the Communist Party were, as I mentioned before, the Jews. The percentage of Jews in the Communist Party was very high because the Jews were seeking material gains, and not because they were so completely convinced of the benefits of Communism.

"I always wanted to meet an intelligent Communist Party member because it would have been interesting to discuss with him quite a number of questions. However, I never succeeded in doing so.

"The attitudes of the Party members toward the Party have undergone great changes - always according to the times and the political trends. In the beginning, the majority of Communist Party members were expecting something from the Party. In the course

of time, however, when they saw for themselves that the Party was not fulfilling its promises, they turned against the Party.

"There were also a number of Communist Party members - and these were the really valuable members of the Party - who were the former Social Democrats. They were by no means Communist, but at the time when the Communist regime simply merged the Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party, they became Communist Party members. *Molóns volens*.

"I would like to point out, however, that I do not accept that there was a compulsion to become a Communist Party member. If you decided that you would not get ahead under the Communist regime and you have to work, whatever work you received, you were not obliged to join the Communist Party. Of course, many people did so because they wanted to keep their jobs, they tried to make some sort of compromise - that sort of compulsion, I admit, did exist. But that you were threatened to become a Communist Party member - that never existed in Hungary. If you had an ideal, and if you wanted to live up to that ideal, and if you had a strong enough character - then you were certainly not obliged to become a Party member.

"The policies of the Communist Party were undergoing change all the time. It always depended on what orders Moscow had issued, and these orders came in compliance with the foreign, political, and economic situations in the satellite nations and the entire world.

"I am sure that there were differences within the Party. I have heard of these quite by chance. At first there was the Rajk case, and then there was 1955 when Prime Minister Nagy took over. There always has been a rift between national Communism and Moscow-dictated Communism, and this rift still persists. Also, I have heard of a growing anti-Semitic feeling within the Communist Party. These facts, of course, are never publicized very much, but I have heard these facts through one of my sons-in-law who was friendly with a Communist Party secretary. Also it happened sometimes that you got some grapevine information at the hairdresser's, who did the hair of the wife of one of the top Communists. This wife was extremely stupid and slipped up a couple of times and gave out information.

"I do not know anything about Party morale, but I have heard that during the last years many members of the Party dared to criticize it quite strongly. From 1945 to 1948 the Party hadn't yet been so well organized.

In respondent's opinion, the aims and motives of the top leaders of the Communist Party can be summed up like this:

"It is very difficult to figure out what the aims and motives of the top Communist Party leaders are because they are dependent entirely on Moscow. Not only are they dependent, but they are ~~amazed~~ scared, too. Also, I believe that once a person has gained a position and is in power he is very reluctant to give it up. Of one thing I am quite sure, however; that is that the top Communist leaders in Hungary are not interested in the well-being of the country. I believe that their main motives are megalomania and fear. The overall aim of the Communist leadership as a body is, of course, is the establishment of world Communism, and this under the orders of Moscow. However, I don't think that they will do personally anything toward that aim, and this is only a beautiful slogan..... which they repeat like parrots. Altogether I do not believe that there is a convinced Communist among them. As I said before, I never met one during those 12 years.

"Their personality is that of a maniac - a thoroughly wild and evil people, and I do not think that there is one idealist among them. Also there is some difference in their characters. For instance I believe that Reval is a diabolically evil man. The main reason for acting as they do is fear. I believe that they are more scared of the Communist regime than I am. After all, the purges which are carried out in the Communist Party are a very strong lesson to each of them. It was generally said, and believed, that Rakosi was the only one among the Communist leaders in Hungary who tried to promote Hungarian interests and stood up for the Hungarian people. Also, he was the only one who did succeed in enforcing Communism in Hungary, and the moment he was dismissed the whole political structure collapsed. Even he was purged from the scene. Therefore, I believe, as I have repeatedly said, that the top leaders are scared to death and fear their own lives.

"I am not quite clear to what extent Rajk was trying to imitate Tito's methods, but after all, he was a Communist too.

"There is certainly a great difference between the motives of the rank and file membership and that of the leadership, because a rank and file member is looking after only his own little petty interests and he wants to prove his value to the next one above him; this in turn to the next one again, and so on it goes til the very top. The top people, on the other hand, have to prove their own value to Moscow.

"When Hungary is independent, if ever, I would send the top Hungarian Communists to a forced labor camp. I believe that even

working in the sugar beet fields or the rice paddies would be too good for them.

C. "The opposition to the Communist government before the revolution was passive resistance almost entirely. We couldn't do anything else because of the extremely heavy penalties and terrific oppression. However, the feeling and the spirit of passive resistance prevailed in all social classes, especially among the workers and the peasantry. I have heard of many slow-downs in factories and also of wilful damage, for instance, of machinery. The peasants sabotaged the surrender of their goods, and also people often did not report correctly how much they were growing and how much the harvest was, etc. Nobody could talk of such opposition behavior because immediately the government clamped down on anything of which they were aware. It was not effective, of course, (the resistance) but people were glad to show even that much of their spite toward the regime. Opposition behavior of any kind was kind of contagious, because if it was known that some slow-down happened in one of the plants, then immediately three or four others took place."

On the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said:

"I had already heard about the Petofi Circle at that very important and famous meeting in the fall. The next day the whole city was talking about it, and I know that this meeting was attended by several Communist Party bigwigs, and also by some Russian representatives. The Literary Magazine also started to publish very courageous articles and, due to this, the paper was always sold out on black market and handed down from hand to hand. There was also another newspaper edited by Boldizsar. This was a Monday paper, a weekly called Hetfoihirlap. I would like to mention that on October 21 in the evening there was such a crowd on the Szenater that it was hardly possible to get across the square. These people were all waiting where the paper came off the press.

"The intellectual ferment was going on even before the Petofi meetings because we heard such things as: an article appeared in one of the papers, that one of the university professors talked more freely to the students and let them hold meetings, that every office usually they held some kind of meeting after the meetings of the Petofi Circle. An order was issued to the Communist Party delegate in the offices through the general manager that all that had happened at the Petofi meetings should be commended on _____. Now here I would like to mention something which I have heard and I believe it does make some sense. I have heard that the Communist Party instigated the revolution, but they, of course, didn't believe

that it would get out of hand. The Soviet Union wanted to strengthen its European military force, and they tried to find a reason for which they could send their troops to Europe. They wanted to deal effectively with the Near East without interference from the Western world. Therefore, they were putting what we call a horse under the intellectuals and the writers and the authors who were all Communist Party members, and they encouraged them to criticize the system and the whole Communist ideology. Whether or not this is really true, I am afraid only history will discover, and this may be only a hundred years hence.

"Returning to the intellectuals, I do not think that they had anything new to say, it was more or less the ideas of everybody that they tried to put on paper. On the other hand, I am convinced that without the meetings of the Petofi Circle the Hungarian revolution would never have started. I am also really at a loss as to what to think of these intellectuals who started the revolution because in general they were the pet children of the regime and they had no reason whatsoever to revolt against it. Then too, these people had no reason to wish back the past either. Therefore, the only reason why they turned against the Communist regime in Hungary must be that ~~they~~ they wanted a kind of national Communism."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. When asked about the Hungarian Secret Police, the AVH, respondent said:

"As far as I know, we could divide the AVH force into three different categories - first of all there were the leaders, then there were the plainclothesmen, and finally, the uniformed police or militia.

"The uniformed militia part of the AVH was the only section that I would say was innocent, in a way, because they were the young boys who were drafted for military service and were just assigned to the AVH militia force. These people were not worse than any of the regular police.

"The plainclothesmen, on the other hand, were the extremely dangerous section of the AVH. They were 'built-in' into every office and every ministry, and unfortunately there were even a couple of them in the social societies. I really cannot tell how the AVH kept these people under their thumb - probably they feared reprisals against their families or they had some other hold on them. Decidedly these people must have worked under terrific moral terror, I believe.

"The top leaders of the AVH were _____ and the majority of the top officials were also Jews. Some of the former Party people, in order to 'be on the safe side' have also joined the AVH, but only for the purpose of saving their skins.

"As to our personal experiences with the AVH, I could tell you books about it. My husband was imprisoned in connection with the Mindszenty trial and he died in prison due to ill-treatment. I myself was interrogated in 1949 in connection with the same Mindszenty trial and then I was again at the AVH in 1955. At that time I was accused of taking part in industrial spying. This was strictly an interrogation. I was not ill-treated or tortured, but they just tried to tire me out by a ceaseless interrogation, day and night, without any sleep. Also there was a very strong floodlight that acted against me which they always use when interrogating people.

"We also were deported for two years into the provinces - my whole family, probably for this very same reason.

"I do not know of any AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH or suffered

remorse; anyway I'm sure it would have been impossible. Such a person might have died accidentally, for that matter, before he was able to leave the AVH.

"If and when Hungary is independent, I would give the top AVH people and the others who took part in torturing people the same treatment they gave to their victims, but I would not hesitate to give them a death sentence at all.

Comparing the regular police to the AVH, respondent said:

"The regular police were quite decent in a way, but they were scared of each other, so they had to be decent with the people when they were alone and individually. Of course, they had what they had what they called a political section and this was headed by a political officer who was a member of the AVH.

"The regular police force was, of course, extremely badly trained during the Communist regime.

"Also, there was a great difference in the regular police force as compared to the prewar police force. They never had in Hungary any policewomen. Now they have taken them on, and they are trained like men. They had to go to target-shooting practice, etc. Of course the regime tried to indoctrinate them with the Communist doctrine, and therefore these people who fundamentally rejected the Communist doctrines were serving only sort of half-heartedly. They were also very badly paid, so I do not know of any cases, but I could imagine that they could easily be corrupted with bribes.

"The Communist regime kept silent about the major crimes so that we were never informed if any such thing happened and therefore, I cannot tell whether they are competent or not.

"During the revolution, I heard from my son and my two sons-in-law, all three of whom took an active part in the revolution, the police submitted their arms to the Hungarian youth. Unfortunately these arms were not very good. They hadn't been issued any better. The fact that the AVH police changed into the regular police's clothes ~~XXXXX~~ during the revolution shows that they knew that the Hungarian Freedom Fighters wouldn't hurt the regular police because of their pro-revolutionary attitude. However, luckily some of those AVH people forgot to change their shoes, and since the AVH uniform was equipped with tan boots the Freedom Fighters immediately knew what man had changed into the garb of the regular police by looking at these boots.

On the Hungarian courts before 1945, Respondent said:

"The Hungarian courts were always known for their integrity and for giving sentences which were absolutely just, and everybody before a Hungarian court got fair treatment.

"I cannot say this, of course, about the People's Courts that were active between 1945 and 1947. My husband was tried by a People's Court. There the judges were unqualified and uneducated people who had no idea about legal matters at all. Also, they were filled with hatred and revenge against our class. The People's Courts tried only political cases, but they made a political case out of even simple economic cases.

"Regarding the so-called war criminals, I do not believe that all of them were actually guilty. There is no reason to put a man to death because his country has lost a war, and surely the People's Courts could not pass sentence on cases like that. The Allied courts in Germany, of course, were quite different - these were fair. Therefore, I believe that the People's Court sentences of war criminals were not just because a completely unqualified person cannot pass sentence - or at least should not be allowed to do so. Besides it's very difficult to specify of what an alleged war criminal is guilty because, after all, an officer of any army (for instance) has to obey orders, and it is not easy to draw a line as to where he ought to stop."

D. When asked whether or not Hungarian feelings about the Russian Army are due to the events of 1848, respondent said:

"Well, this is just damn stupid. It was only due to the 1944-45 behavior of the Russian troops. They behaved at that time like uncivilized-not even people but-animals, raping and drinking, etc.

"Before the Russians came into Hungary, we were expecting them to leave as soon as the peace treaty was signed, that is as soon as the Germans were chased out of the country. The experiences we had with the Russian Army, thank you, were pretty bad. They were billeted at our summer home at Leanyfalu. We worked for them, we waited on them, and they were robbing us of everything we had.

"My attitude toward the Russian Army has changed in a way, because during the revolution I realized that they are just animals and they cannot help being that uneducated and uncultured as they are. They are just animals, that's all.

"Before the revolution we could not learn very much about the Russian occupation troops because they were not allowed to fraternize,

and besides, the Hungarians did not like to be in touch with them either. They were all billeted in separate villas, etc. They had their own PX for shopping, and so nobody had much opportunity to get in touch with them.

"I can, however, say that those Russian troops that were stationed in Hungary for a longer time refused to fight against the Freedom Fighters, and I have heard of many who even fought with the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. These, of course, were considered unreliable and were exchanged for new troops which were Mongolians mostly. My son told me that some of the wounded Russian soldiers were imploring the nurses and doctors in the hospitals not to tell on them because they were scared of their own officers.

"On the other hand, I have heard of several cases where the Russian troops, of course the new ones, fired on civilians who were queued up in front of food stores."

E. "There certainly were some people who were willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble. These, however, were mostly minor government officials and they could only help in very small ways. These people were Communist Party members, but only for the sake of their jobs, and were willing to help people ~~wherever~~ wherever and whenever they could. I'm sure that those minor officials were open to bribes because they were so poorly paid."

F. "Connections through the Communist Party lines were of course impossible for people of our kind because we had none. As far as I heard, you could, however, bribe people at the housing committee and the what they called 'councils', which were a kind of town halls (as compared to the civic organizations here), and where the non-political administrative cases were held. It was, however, impossible to bribe anybody at the AVH -- at least I never heard of it."

G. When asked about the efficiency and competence of the various groups and people who hold power in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"Regarding the efficiency of the secret police, I think that this has improved because they were training their people. I do not know anything, however, on the Hungarian army leadership, nor on the Russian army leadership. Regarding the bureaucracy, public administrations, etc. - here again they tried to train the younger people and those people who were willing to cooperate, but they did not have a large enough staff yet."

A. "What probably will happen in Hungary in the future, and also in Eastern Europe as well, will always depend on world policy and the Russian attitude. I am hoping that every 'ism' sooner or later will pass its culmination and is on the downgrade.

"Kadar's actions do not reflect his own attitude either. He doesn't do anything of his own will, and he is a puppet of Moscow only.

"Regarding the attitude of the West, I do not believe that the Allied powers will do anything by force. The only way they could do something, and probably they will try, is on the diplomatic level or with active economic help. Maybe the situation will arise that the Russians will need something badly and then maybe they will let Hungary have a Poland-like solution. This is the most I am hoping for now.

"Regarding the means whereby the satellite nations' problems could be solved, I really am at a loss. Everybody is afraid of war, and besides the Russians achieve everything without war -- at least they have so far. Also, since during the Hungarian revolution, when there was an opportunity to do something --without a war (I must stress this because it wouldn't have come to a war) -- nothing was done, and why should the West do something now after this opportunity has passed. Also, like everybody else, I am convinced that since the United Nations' sanctions were ineffective last fall, there are no such means by which Russia could be forced to obey. I do not imagine, either, that any internal changes could occur in Russia which would lead to a settlement in Eastern Europe."

B. "During the last eight or ten years while in Hungary we just couldn't think anything about the possible prospects of our country. We only had the hope that at some time it must end because we were convinced that the whole economic system in the satellite countries and Russia itself must crumble. This was our only hope during the long 12 years."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "I would like to see in Hungary a true and real democratic system along the lines of, for example, the Scandinavian democracies."

B. Regarding the desired economic system, respondent said:

"I firmly believe that Hungary must put an emphasis on agriculture. After all, Hungary has always been and geographically is an agricultural country. I believe that some emphasis can also be put on light industry, but not heavy industry which has been boosted forcibly. Hungary does not have any raw materials that justify large-scale heavy industry. I believe that in the field of light industry consumers' goods should be emphasized, for instance shoes, clothing, etc. These could also be produced for export because the Hungarian shoes, dresses, etc. were always well-known before the war. Also, there is one very important item at which Hungary was extremely good in producing, and this should be emphasized too; that is the production of precision instruments."

When asked what should be done with the national enterprises if the Communist regime were overthrown in Hungary, respondent said:

"This is an extremely tricky problem, and we shall need a couple of very smart economists who can figure out ~~and~~ how and by what means people can be compensated and the whole system reverted to a private economy.

"I believe that the state farms should be kept up under a very sound and competent management. The only thing of importance, to my mind, is that the people should be better paid on those state farms - then there won't be any trouble. The caucases should be, on the other hand, dissolved; however, some of them could be kept up on a completely voluntary basis."

"As to the role of the government in the economic system of an independent Hungary, I believe that the heavy industry should remain in state hands, as well as the railways, electrical works, water works, telephone, etc. which should be given to city management as it was before the war. The power stations again are another question because they should be dependent on the problem of what is going to happen to the heavy industry, and which part of them is going to be handed back to private persons and which remains in the hands of the state. I do not think that it would be easy to give back the ~~heavy~~ heavy industry to private ownership, and

that's why I believe it should remain in the hands of the state. However, private enterprise should also be given a chance in this field.

"The government's role in agriculture should mainly consist in keeping up the tractor stations and the stations for agricultural machinery so as to assist the small farmers. The state should also keep up experiment stations in the agricultural field as well as livestock breeding. On the whole, the state should always play a guiding and directing role in agriculture.

"I believe that the government should put a limit on the amount of land any private person may own, and I think that a small estate of 100 to 200 acres would be the ideal size. I do not think that the huge estates of several tens of thousands acres should be returned to private ownership because then the differences would again be too big.

When asked which kind of government she would like to see in an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"I would like to see the first one because in a politically free country everybody can get a job and so would I."

"Regarding the outlawing of the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, God forbid. Why should they be made martyrs? They ought to try to keep up their membership and their party because they would not succeed anyway. Besides, an underground movement is always very pleasing and is much too dangerous.

C. Respondent's answer to the position she would want Hungary to have ideally was as follows:

"My dream has always been a United States of Europe and within this, an independent Hungary.

"I would be willing, maybe, to have Hungary have cultural relations with the Soviet Union, but only in the scientific field and also for music and theater. I would not want to have Hungary have any military alliances with anybody. I would prefer her to have economic connections, and strong ones, with all the rest of the world except Russia; and the same stands for cultural relations which should be fostered.

"Of course I have heard a great deal about the federation of Danubia states and this was a much discussed topic in Hungary. Nevertheless, I still prefer the United States of Europe solution because in a federation of the Danubia states Hungary would meet

with too much antagonism. Besides, the United States of Europe would have more backing. Within the Danubian federation too many nations of Slav origin would take part, and that is to the disadvantage of Hungary. Therefore, I do not believe that a Danubian federation is very likely and I still prefer the United States of Europe to any other solution.

"Hungary's present boundaries are unacceptable to me because too many Hungarians are living outside the Hungarian border. Within a United States of Europe this problem could also be solved by an international settlement so that those territories that are populated mostly by Hungarians should be returned to Hungary. Also I believe that the idea of a plebescite is good. I do not advocate any exchange of population. We have already seen in the past how poorly this works. This problem on the whole is very important for me and I have always been worried about the fate of Hungarian minorities outside the mother country.

I got from the newspaper man was mostly reliable. The other, of course, was infiltrated with a lot of wishful dreaming. I also was able to figure out a great deal of news by plain deduction -- whatever happened in the other satellite nations sooner or later would happen in Hungary also.

D. Respondent's reading habits.

"Before and during the war, of course, I read all the leading Hungarian dailies; and before the war and during the war even, I was able receive always the Neue Züricher Zeitung. Among the magazines, the Geographical Magazine which I liked best; and among books I can say that I have read the literature of all civilized nations, more or less, and mostly in the original language. In Hungarian I read almost only political books, I read very little fiction.

"During the war the Hungarian press was more or less under the influence of the Germans, with the exceptions of the Nemzeti Ujsag, Magyar Nemzet, and Nyolcrai Ujsag.

"As to what I have read during the last eight to ten years in Hungary, the only paper I read was the Magyar Nemzet. I have also read the Szabad Nep, however, and this for information purposes. I was able to read between the lines always. I also read the official Hungarian Gazette, and this was important because I worked in the patent office, and I had to know about the new official decrees.

"On the whole I can say that I did not place any trust in the newspapers because everything, even the news about theater, etc. was always slanted. For me, however, it was easy to read between the lines -- after all I have spent my whole life among newspaper people. There is one thing I would like to point out. Even the uneducated class in Hungary did not believe what the Hungarian newspapers said.

"Neither myself nor my family ever read any publications coming from the USSR or any satellite nations. Of the Western publications, it was the Reader's Digest that I was able to get hold of sometimes, but it was very difficult to get a copy. Of the other magazines, I sometimes got Vogue from friends. I have not read any illegal publications; however, of the so-called proscribed books I was able to get now and then a copy from friends. These were mostly American and British authors which we read in the original. In general the proscribed books that were in private ownership did not have to be given up to the authorities. Only the public libraries were purged. We only had to submit our political

books; however our whole private library was taken by the Communist regime at the time when my husband was taken prisoner. I do not know what other people did with their books, but as I said, they were not compelled to give up fiction in private possession - that was proscribed that is.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. "I do not believe that there are any chances of a change inside Russia. The Russian people are too politically immature, and they don't have anything good to remember from old times. Only an economic collapse could bring about a change inside Russia. The Russian Communist regime might see that sooner or later they must do something in order to appease the people, mostly due to the fact that many of the Russians have been in Europe and seen that life is different there. For the above reasons, I believe that a change in Russia can only be brought about gradually.

"I do not believe that anything good would be the outcome of free elections in Russia. The people there do not even know for whom to vote. They have no idea whatsoever that anything can exist other than the previous regime. First of all I believe that the Russian people must be educated politically and only then be allowed to vote.

"As to the aims and motives of the top Russian leaders, I believe their motives are not only Bolshevik ideology but also pan-Russian. Their collective aim, of course, is world Communism, but besides that, Russian domination of the world and especially of Asia. I believe that the Russian leaders are good Russian patriots, contrary to our Hungarian and other satellite Communist leaders. The Russian Communists want Russia to become the leader and ruler of the whole world. I do not believe that the top Russian Communists have any individual aims because we have seen how anyone who starts on his own little road has been purged.

"I believe what I have said above explains also the difference between the Russian and the Hungarian top leaders. The Russians are the rulers and the Hungarians are the servile servants of Russia.

B. "Regarding the relative popularity in Hungary of the other nations in Eastern Europe, Poland is most popular, because they also have the guts to stand up to the Russian regime. Then follows Yugoslavia, which is quite popular also because they too dared to break off from the Russians. For Eastern Germany the people in Hungary are mostly sorry because they have to live under Russian domination. I cannot define the popularity of the others, Bulgaria, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, I only know that the Czechs are heartily disliked in Hungary. The likes and dislikes toward these countries are always based on the people because, after all, the governments are identical with ours, and not elected by the people.

"If free elections were held in these countries, I believe that all of them would break away from the Soviet Union and they would prefer to have a free democracy.

"Regarding the living standards in the satellite countries, as far as I was told, Czechoslovakia has the highest standard of living, followed by Eastern Germany. I think the living standards are about the same in the other satellite nations - Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

C. On the Polish situation, respondent said:

"I believe that the Gomulka government is a genuine change, but what he will be able to achieve is again another question. I think that his policy was right, and the policy of gradualism has proved to be workable. We have seen in Hungary that the other method did not work. ~~in Hungary~~. As to whether or not he will stay depends entirely upon what he can achieve economically in his country and so maintain his popularity.

"The events in Poland, of course, did affect events in Hungary, but not before October.

"We heard about the riots and the trials in Poznan from the foreign radio. Also the Hungarian press commented on it - that is, gave out the news, but refrained from commenting because they were not sure what attitude they would be allowed to take at that time.

"Gomulka's attitude was justified by events in Hungary. He achieved something for his country and we did not. Therefore I would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to have taken place along the Polish lines.

D. On Tito, respondent said:

"I do not believe that Tito always regarded his country's interests to be the most important ones. I think that he was annoyed primarily that Stalin was the master, and so he wanted also to be on the top. In what Rajk failed, Tito has succeeded because he could free his people and break off from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, national Communism to me is just as distasteful as international Communism.

"Tito's relations with the other satellite nations, Russia, and the western hemisphere are always geared to the situation. He is a very dubious character and a fence sitter. He fully showed his character during the Hungarian Revolution when he at first approved of it, and then in the second half of his speech he condemned it.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. "The Twentieth Party Congress and Krushev's speech at this Congress was widely discussed by the foreign radio, and it was from these broadcasts that I took my information. The Twentieth Party Congress was intended to declare the loosening of the grip of the Soviet Union over the satellite nations in many ways.

"The Hungarian press also discuss the Twentieth Party Congress and this speck at length. In fact, every office had to call a kind of a meeting on this event, and people were encouraged to debate on the addenda of this congress. On the whole, even at that time, we thought that from the Russian point of view it would not lead anywhere, because the moment they do lose their grip the oppressed people will always want more and they will not be able to be stopped. Of course, we were very pleased at that time because we were hoping for a little bit more freedom.

"Of Senator McCarthy and his activities and of the Un-American Activities Committee I have heard, and we were pleased that finally in America they have realized the Communist danger.

"I have heard of the fall of Peron on the foreign broadcasts. I know he was the dictator of Argentina, and his fall was due to an economic collapse in Argentina.

"About Rakosi's private life, on the other hand, nobody knew anything -- at least not until the revolution. This was a topic that was not discussed. We didn't even know whether he was married to that woman who always posed as his wife. It was rumored that this woman was a spy planted on him by Moscow. We only knew after the revolution that he lived in unbelievable luxury. On the whole I can say that the private lives of the top Communists was never discussed publicly. We didn't even know whether they were married, were family men, had children or not, etc.

B. "The source from which I took most of my information regarding what was happening in the rest of the world was mainly the radio, and the foreign radio at that. I have always and regularly listened to the foreign language broadcasts of Western Germany and the BBC and Vienna, and always in German and English.

C. "Of course I have received news by word of mouth from friends and reliable people; also I had many friends among the journalists. Then, one of my sons-in-law was friendly with a Communist Party man, and his wife sometimes inadvertently gave us some news. The news

"I believe that Tito is very popular in Yugoslavia, ever since he fought against the Germans, and now that he has rejected Soviet domination of his country too. As far as I was told, the living standard in Yugoslavia is much better than in Hungary, and this refers also to labor conditions, freedom of expression, etc."

E. Respondent's views about the Middle East, and specifically on the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, boiled down to this:

"In my opinion the Anglo-French invasion in Egypt, despite the fact that it did have a most disastrous effect on events in Hungary, was right because we felt that an end must be put at all costs to the Russian expansion in the Near East. Regarding the Israeli invasion of Egypt at that time, we thought that it was the British who incited Israel to do so. Now, since I have been in the United States, I really cannot form any opinion since I have heard so many interpretations of the situation.

"Unfortunately, as I said before, the invasion of Egypt by the French and British did have an effect on events in Hungary. The timing was wrong, however, because it diverted attention from our cause.

"The whole situation in the Middle and Near East was provoked by the Russians - of this I am certain. It was beautifully timed by the Soviet Union. I am perfectly convinced of this - that the Russians had their fingers in this pie, and I am confident ~~and~~ that in the course of history it will be proved. It was a pre-meditated action and extremely well carried out by the Russians."

F. On Western Germany, respondent said:

"As far as I was informed, the living standard in Western Germany is the highest possible one in all Europe.

"I do not believe that the Germans are dangerous because they might start a new war. The only war the Germans would start is war against the Russians, but I'm sure that even in this case it wouldn't be the Germans who would start it. They certainly will not attack -- at least as long as Adenauer lives surely not.

"German rearmament is extremely necessary, and must go on as much as possible, because even now the only power the Russians respect and fear is German military might. They are not afraid of America but they certainly are scared by the Germans. Regarding the length of service in the West German army, I haven't got any idea how long it is."

When I asked respondent to compare the occupation of Hungary by the German army during World War II with the occupation of the Russian army, she said:

"The only difference I can point out is that the German occupation was short-lived, and the Russian occupation lasted and is still lasting. Also, the German troops were after all Europeans, the Russians were barbaric Asians. To me personally, the occupation armies of both countries were equally distasteful. On the other hand, the German army was the better disciplined by all means, officers and enlisted men alike. The most unpopular occupation force in Hungary was, of course, the Russian one."

G. When asked about NATO, respondent said:

"Yes, I know about NATO, and I know its purpose. It is a very important defense alliance against communism. If I were to compare it to the Warsaw Pact, I would say that the Warsaw Pact was not set up for any defense purposes. The Russians have forced the satellite nations to join the Warsaw agreement because after the Austrian Peace Treaty they had to withdraw their forces from Austria, so they wanted to find some pretext to keep troops in Eastern Europe. Therefore, they made all satellite nations join the Warsaw agreement."

"To my mind the British Labor Party is not favorable to Communism. Nevertheless, I still prefer the good old Tories."

"Regarding the living standards in the Western Hemisphere, I believe that Western Germany has the highest living standard at present. Second is Great Britain, followed by Italy. About the others, I really do not know."

H. Respondent gave the following answer to the question, what surprised her particularly about America during her first few months here:

"It was the terrific dimensions of everything here in the United States which struck me most. Then I found this city to be extremely dirty and terribly noisy."

Regarding what the U.S. should do now for the people and nations of Eastern Europe, respondent had the following answer:

"I believe that as many subversive people as possible should be sent to the satellite nations so as to keep up in the people there their spirit of resistance. I do not think that the U.S."

Government should give any economic assistance to Hungary. The present policy of the United States is altogether too naive and too cautious. They still don't realize the danger of Russian domination and expansion. They always negotiate with the Russians and deal with them as if they were members of the same club and gentlemen. However, I would not break off diplomatic relations with the Kadar government; if I were the United States Government I would procrastinate and try to keep up the present situation. I would not break off the relationship, but not accept ~~xx~~ or acknowledge the Hungarian Kadar Government.

"People in Hungary will certainly see Western visitors with great pleasure - all kinds of them for that matter, but of course in the present situation over there nobody would dare to get in touch with them, so I don't know whether they could get very valuable information. What I would tell those visitors is that they should try to get in touch with private people because that's the only way to find out the real situation. But, as I said before, it is extremely unlikely that they would find anybody right now who would be willing to risk his life.

"The situation is the same with regard to literature to be sent to Hungary - it would be much too dangerous now. Therefore, my idea is to send all sorts of Western publications to large offices, for instance, because after all they cannot lock up the whole office. It is ~~xx~~ their headache to figure out what to do with those publication once they are there. It may be that a few will seep through and get into the hands of the others. Certainly I would not have anything sent to individuals because it would be too dangerous, and therefore I think it would greatly matter to people whether or not emigres here are involved in these activities. It would certainly not be to their advantage.

On the Marshall Plan and its purposes, respondent said;

"Yes, I know the Marshall Plan was launched to give economic aid to the war-damaged European countries, and it had wonderful, wonderful results, in fact. Hungary's government was told by the Soviet Union not to accept this Marshall Plan aid, and it was quite good, because it would then have delayed the economic crisis in Hungary which is the only hope for us to get another chance to become free. The aims of the United States were, of course, very far-reaching. It was partly to help those Western and Eastern European nations, but of course it was also in the interest of the American state. They had their own political purposes, of course, but basically and in the beginning it was really ~~for economic reasons~~ for economic reasons they have ."

But, after all, an economically sound country is always the best bulward against Communism.

"Regarding why America became involved in the Korean War in 1950, I really cannot say; because at that time we never understood the reasons. I believe it might have been that the United States might have wanted to try out war and the new weapons, and also how World Communism reacts to war. All I can say is that we were never quite sure in Hungary at that time who was the aggressor and why, and also why America, in the end, did not use the H-bomb.

I. On the United Nations, respondent said the following:

"Of course, the United Nations could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last month of 1956 by having our beloved friend, Secretary Hammerskjold, board a plane and go to Hungary. He, however, is really a cowardly swine (I must use this strong word). The United Nations Charter somehow, on the other hand, is completely outdated. The United Nations was primarily formed to be a bulwark against the Germans, and the charter therefore is now completely outdated. The main enemy now is Russia, and under the presently prevailing charter - due to the veto ~~right~~ right - the United Nations cannot achieve anything. Therefore, I am dead certain that this United Nations with the present charter will and with the use of the veto rights as they are now will never be able to do anything effective for Hungary.

XVII.

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

"Unfortunately, I cannot name anyone who could be called politically the greatest living Hungarian. I do not think you are interested in persons in any other fields.

B. On important personalities, respondent said:

Imre Nagy - "I am not prejudiced by the opinion of his followers who swore by him, but I do believe that at that time he was the only possible person who could have taken over."

Cardinal Mindszenty - "He is a martyr, and he should remain one. But he should by no means be mixed up in politics. As a man and a priest, I think he is wonderful, but he is absolutely apolitical and not a diplomat; and I am sure that if he would assume a political role he would lose his popularity. I am referring to his speech on Nov. 3 which did him a great deal of harm."

Vaszlo Rajk - "To my mind, he is a Communist, whether a nationalist or an internationalist."

M. Gero - "He is a beast. He is a shrewd Jew and pro-Russian. Besides, I have heard that he has an incurable illness, probably cancer."

Janos Kadar - "This man has been so much tortured by the Communists and the Russians that he has no willpower at all, and he has no character either. He is a coward. I do not think that he is an all-out Communist. He just is a puppet in the hands of the Soviets. I would really like to know with what they are terrorizing him. Therefore, I would not pass judgment on him before I _____. We are not sure what is behind all this. The other puppets around him, Munich, Marosan, and Revai, etc. are much _____ than Kadar."

General Bela Kiraly - "I do not know anything. I had only second-hand gossip. This man is an enigma to me."

Anna Kethaly - "She was a very popular person while in Hungary. She was a very honest and decent politician - a Social Democrat. Were Charles Peyer alive, these two would make a wonderful team. Unfortunately, Miss Kethaly is neither young enough nor intelligent enough to carry on alone."

Eisenhower - "I believe that President Eisenhower was absolutely justified in his budget. This we know much better than the American people here, and we sincerely hope that he will be able to stay in office for the whole term."

Hammerskjold - "I can only repeat what I said because I thoroughly despise him for having been such a coward and not having gone to Hungary during the Hungarian Revolution. I also believe that he is what we call a 'drawing-room Communist.' I only wish he would have to live in a Communist dominated country - I am sure he would feel differently then."

Dulles - "I think he is an old fool."

Eden - "I am terribly sorry for him."

Truman - "I simply have no opinion ~~about~~ about him."

Mikoyan - "I simply hold no opinion about him. On the whole, these Russian statesmen (if you wish to call them that), or rather politicians, play only epigons and are small, little cog-wheels in a huge machine."

Nehru - "He is a very shrewd politician. He would like to be ruler of the whole of Asia. He likes to use these slogans about all freedoms, but in the question of Kashmir, for instance, he still doesn't dare to put his foot down. He is afraid of the Russians."

Chiang Kai-Shek - "He is only a figure-head who has to be kept, by all means, for political purposes."

Ferenc Nagy - "I would rather not talk of him. I despise him."

Roosevelt - "He sold out the whole of Eastern Europe, together with Hungary, to the Russians, and therefore we certainly hate him."

Adenauer - "He is the greatest living statesman of this century."

- Stalin - "Of course, we cannot find enough words to describe his methods and his vileness. On the other hand, in all fairness, from the point of view of the Russian country (not even people) he is the greatest. After he died the whole big machinery seems to have collapsed. It is, of course, quite another thing to discuss the means he used to achieve today's Russia; but he certainly made the Soviet Union the greatest power at present. Everybody here in the United States, even President Eisenhower, is afraid of Russia."
- Malenkov - "To me he is just another Russian."
- Franco - "I can only say that I am not interested at all in dictators, therefore I am not interested in him."
- Aneurin Bevan - "He is a big man in the British Labor Party. I have heard about him and also I heard his speech over the radio once."
- Khrushchev - "He is the same sort of epigon as all other Russian statesmen."
- Tito and Peron - "I have said all that I could before."
- Molotov - "He is the best qualified diplomat of the Soviet Union. He is the most dangerous one because he has brains and is extremely smart."
- Ollenhauer - "The German Socialist bigwig. In my opinion he will surely back Adenauer in general and big questions. Ollenhauer is mainly and first of all a true German, and only after that a Social Democrat, which, to my mind, is a very good combination."
- Churchill - "He is one of the greatest living statesmen of this century. He always thinks in long terms, and ahead about ten years. I believe he should be consulted and listened to more often."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. When asked to specify people who fled Hungary during the October revolution, respondent said:

"First of all I believe the majority of people who left Hungary were from the border counties, then the others came mainly from Budapest. They had different reasons for leaving. The Jews were afraid that anti-Semitism would break out. The Communists were scared because they thought in the beginning was lost for them - that the revolutionaries had won. Then there were a few adventurers who thought this was a good occasion to escape. Then also there were quite a few who, for some time, would have liked to leave Hungary, but were unable to do so. Only at the very end did those go out who fought and who feared for their lives and feared the reprisals the Communist government would bring against them. These were mostly young people who took an active part in the revolution. I think that they belong to all social classes, but the biggest number among them was of the intellectual class. However, I have seen during the last 12 years that all social classes were equally affected and persecuted by the Communists the moment the individual was against the regime. I think, therefore, that the refugees were of all different social classes - except maybe the peasantry. Very few peasants came out of Hungary.

"Those who stayed behind did so mainly for family reasons. Also there were quite a number who were afraid to start a new life under unknown circumstances; but the majority of those who stayed behind felt it was their duty to remain at home. This I have seen in my own family. A cousin of mine who was an engineer chose to remain with the workers who idolized him, and he said it was his duty to remain with them. I can tell you that I do admire and respect these people highly for having remained in Hungary. I am perfectly sure that people at home who have left Hungary except those who fled their homeland because they had to in order to save their lives. Assuming that people had a chance now to come to the West, I do not know that many more than have already come would come out.

B. When asked about Hungarian exile groups and individuals who were active in the West during the last ten years, respondent said:

"Of course I have heard and know of almost all the leading

Hungarian politicians who were here in the West. Of organizations I have heard of the Hungarian National Council. I knew that they came out for political reasons and they were active here in the hope of being helpful regarding the Hungarian cause. We have heard about their activities mainly from the Western radio broadcasts. I think that all people who came out before the revolution were acting in absolute good faith herein trying to do whatever was possible for Hungary, but they were, of course, rather ineffective.

"Since I came out of Hungary, here in the U. S. and also in Austria, I was in contact with many of those leading Hungarian politicians."

When handed the list of organizations and individuals, respondent made the following remarks on the different organizations and politicians:

Hungarian National Council - "It is full of good will, but not very effective in its activities.

"I have heard that the American Hungarian Foundation also is doing its best, but they do not have enough people who are skilled enough in that kind of work.

"The Literary magazine, Lathatar, was well-known to me. My son especially praised it highly. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ From a literary point of view it had a high standard.

"Of the Hungarian high schools I heard that there were many in Germany. However, I heard only the Innsbruck one specifically praised."

On the political individuals, respondent said:

"I think Monseignor Bela Varga to be an extremely good-willed man, but of not very great caliber.

"Of Ferenc Nagy I have expressed my opinion. I do not like him and I do not trust him.

"Tibor Eckhardt, on the other hand, is a politician of very great caliber. He tries to do too many things at the same time, however, and also I think he has lost contact with the Hungarians because he left Hungary in 1941. Nevertheless, he is the only Hungarian politician who has good possibilities in achieving something for Hungary.

"Paul Auer, as far as I know and as long as he was at home, was always a decent man.

"Of Imre Kovacs, I do not know anything special. The same is true of Imre Selig.

"Of Charles Peyer, on the other hand, I can say that it is a pity that he died. He was an extremely decent, good Hungarian Social Democrat.

"Former Prime Minister Miklos Kallay is an extremely good man, but he is a little bit outdated already.

"Zoltan Pfeiffer is a talented man, but I would not vouch for his reliability.

"Istvan Barankovics I always disliked thoroughly while in Hungary. I haven't met him yet here and I do not know any of his activities which would change my mind about him.

"On the whole, all I can say about these politicians is, and why I disliked them at home, they always at home and even here in exile tried to break up Hungarian unity by forming some new parties. Of course, these people wanted to be the new leaders.

"Monseignor Josef Kozi-Horvath I knew in Hungary, and at that time he was an extremely courageous and decent politician. I do not know anything about him at present. Also, he was the author of very good short stories which were written in a kind of popular Hungarian style.

"Bela Fabian. ~~xxxx~~ I must admit I thoroughly admire this little man. He is extremely active and he does the maximum amount of work he can on behalf of Hungary. I really do admire him. ~~xxxx~~ The only thing about him is that ~~ix~~ it is a pity that he is not more talented.

"Of General Zako I have never heard anything.

"Of General Farkas we expected more than he did.

"Of Otto of Hapsburg I can only say that I heard he ~~x~~ is extremely well educated, very able, and a talented man.

"Of Admiral Horthy I can only answer with a Latin proverb:
De mortuis nil nisi bene.

"During the revolution we certainly did think of the exiles here in the United States, and we were hoping that they would try to influence public opinion in favor of Hungary and present our cause to the proper authorities effectively."

C. Respondent did not meet any Hungarian who escaped to the West after 1945 and who returned to Hungary later.

Regarding the redefection campaign, respondent said this was ineffective before the revolution and she volunteered the information that she knew personally of several cases where the Communist government used coercion in order to make people return to Hungary. The government also tried to bribe them if they couldn't coerce them. However, as far as respondent knew this redefection campaign was ineffective. Respondent said that after the revolution, however, unfortunately a great number of disillusioned escapees went back from Austria.

"Both redefection campaigns on the part of the Communist government, of course, had only one purpose, and this was propaganda.... directed against the West and also domestically."

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

"I am quite sure that they are most interested in how we are getting on and how our lives have been changed since we left Hungary. On the other hand, what they should know is that we really do succeed in our new surroundings. Also, I think it is very important to inform them of the purchase value of the wages we receive here, and how high the living standard is. There is, however, another and very important thing of which they ought to be informed -- that is that people back in Hungary should not hope for any help from the West.

"I believe that the exiles here should get together and form a united front. All those petty quarrels should be set aside, no separate parties should be formed, and nobody should try to assume leadership over different groups. I believe that a united sort of association of the exiles ought to exercise a control over the refugees so that they should not disgrace the Hungarian cause. This organization should keep a record of every Hungarian escapee and refugee and kind of check on them. I think that if all exile organizations would merge for that purpose it would be extremely beneficial. This same organization ought to hold lectures and explain to them and try to talk sense to them that there is only one common cause and they shouldn't have too many

newspapers, parties, organizations, etc. I myself would really work in such an association and do anything I could do. Of course this same organization should have as members all Hungarians, old emigres and new ones as well.

"Regarding my personal opinion about the different Hungarian political parties, I believe that the _____ Party was the best before 1948. I do not have any knowledge about parties in exile. As to political parties revived in Hungary during the revolution, I must say that we did not have any time - that these parties did not have time to start or display effective activity. The trouble was that at that time they started to form too many parties, which I always disapproved of.

"I and everybody else in Hungary would have thoroughly disapproved people who left or groups who went into exile having returned to Hungary _____.

E. "Regarding my own plans for the future, I would like to return to Hungary, but only if she is completely free.

"In view of the fact that I have grown-up children, I do not think I have to answer whether or not I want my children to learn Hungarian also. I only hope they will not forget it here. Besides, I know them, and they are such fierce patriots that I'm sure they will continue to speak Hungarian among themselves."

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

"We always listened to foreign radio stations while in Hungary.

I usually and quite regularly listened to the broadcasts of Vienna, Western Germany, and the London BBC. I very rarely heard the others - Radio Free Europe and Voice of America before the revolution. All of the above-mentioned stations were jammed, the Vienna station, however, the least. Also this station broadcast on the _____ length waves and they were the best. I always listened to the original German or English broadcasts and very regularly at that - every day, that is, whenever I had time.

"We always discussed what we had heard on the radio with others - my family and even in the office with some of my co-workers. We had our own radio. As a rule, when we had guests, for instance, the main item was always listening to the foreign broadcasts.

"Of course I always heard about Western broadcasts second-hand, just as I also passed them on.

"There was no risk involved in listening to foreign broadcasts, however, and no official reprisals. Nonetheless, the moment you passed on the news to someone else and you were overheard or reported, then they could say that you were disseminating dangerous propaganda. Also, despite the fact that listening to foreign broadcasts was not a crime per se, it was usually used against you ~~if~~ and it was an additional charge if they wanted to arrest you for some reason. Nevertheless, people were not deterred by this fact from listening to foreign broadcasts.

"As I mentioned before, I listened to the Vienna, Western German, and BBC broadcasts because they were absolutely objective and they used very little propaganda methods. I preferred the BBC broadcasts because they were absolutely factual and without commentaries.

"Radio Free Europe was not accurate enough for my liking and also, they used too much propaganda stuff - and bad propaganda for that matter. However, during the Revolution, I must admit in all fairness, that they were extremely valuable and important for us. They served as a connecting link between the different revolutionary groups. I do not know how they managed it, but they seemed to know everything that was happening in the different parts of the city.

"The Voice of America was better than Radio Free Europe and, as I said, BBC was the best.

"Radio Free Europe was always inciting people and giving them encouragement.

"I think anybody who says that Radio Free Europe helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help is quite right. They did it. Every Western radio station did it, and even sometimes the BBC. It was not a promise of actual help, nevertheless, it was always worded in a way that people could understand it this way. We were told that we had to hold out because everything would be all right. That was the meaning of everything.

"Nevertheless, I think it very important that Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast to Hungary and the Eastern European nations - however, they ought to revise their program very carefully. I think that straight news, political or ~~news~~ economic, and technical improvements, for instance, or events should be stressed more. Then they ought to have, maybe a women's hour. The only thing I would omit from the broadcasts is the anti-Communist ~~news~~ propaganda. In Hungary people really do not need that. It just angers people in Hungary (as it did myself) to hear about Communism and the situation under Communist domination mentioned and discussed by people who really do not know a thing about it. We have been living under it, so we know. Why should we be told about it.

B. When asked about initials NEM and the 12 Demands, respondent said she had no knowledge of these whatsoever.

C. Regarding the Free Europe Press and the leaflets, respondent said she had not only heard of them but seen herself several of those leaflets that were sent into Hungary by balloons. Respondent was of the opinion that they were ridiculously primitive and that they were very badly edited. It was extremely dangerous ~~news~~ also to people, because if anybody saw them pick them up they were immediately arrested by the AVH. It had a very bad psychological effect too, in respondents opinion, because people were rather resentful that Radio Free Europe didn't pick people who could do it so much better. It was a very primitive and stupid affair. It only gave rise to bad feeling.

Respondent was of the opinion that Radio Free Europe should send not send any more leaflets because they are too dangerous and also too much risk is involved regarding people back in Hungary.

D. When asked about the motives and goals of Western groups who broadcast and send leaflets into Hungary, respondent said:

"I believe they had one common goal. It was to fight Communism. However, it was not necessary to disseminate so much anti-Communist propaganda for the aforementioned reasons". In respondents opinion the stress should be put rather in giving factual information than to feed them political comments and anti-Communist propaganda.

"To my mind a child must be brought up in a way that the moral principles should become its second skin. I also believe that the child must first of all be taught to accept the authority of parents, teachers, and the law. To my mind, what I see here - how juvenile delinquency is spreading - is the proof of the fact that children here do not respect their fathers, their mothers, their parents, and the law enough. The main fault is being made about the children here without the necessary discipline. I believe most sincerely in good discipline, and this discipline can be enforced by physical punishment when the child is small and young if it is necessary. Later on, of course, this must or should be abandoned by the child as he reaches the age when it obeys if you reason with it.

"Certainly I would not make any difference in bringing up a boy or a girl when the child is small. Later on, however, of course the education of a girl differs greatly from that of a boy. I think the girl should be taught to be more feminine and the boy to be more masculine."

When asked about an incident in her life when she was young, respondent disclosed that she was brought up extremely strictly by her parents, and she even recalls that when she was quite young up, sometimes her mother gave her a couple of slaps in the face. However, she said, "We all, the three of us, respected and obeyed our parents." As an incident she recalled that when she was 15 years old and she took the family car without asking permission, she was not allowed to drive the car for three weeks. In another incident she remembers that when she was 16 and had gone to the opera with her parents and she started to make signs to a friend of hers in another box, her father sent her home immediately for undisciplined behavior.

Respondent said also that among families she knew, people usually always punished children who were six years old or even much older. Respondent was of the view that this did not depend on the social class and that it was the same in all social classes.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent explained her views on how children should be brought up as follows:

"To my mind a child must be brought up in a way that the moral principles should become its second ego. I also believe that the child must first of all be taught to accept the authority of parents, teachers, and the law. To my mind, what I see here - how juvenile delinquency is spreading - is the proof of the fact that children here do not respect their elders, their teachers, their parents, and the law enough. Too much fuss is being made about the children here without the necessary discipline. I believe most sincerely in good discipline, and this discipline can be enforced by physical punishment when the child is small and young if it is necessary. Later on, of course, this must or should be abandoned by the child has reached the age when it obeys if you reason with it.

"Certainly I would not make any differences in bringing up a boy a girl when the child is small. Later on, however, of course the education of a girl differs greatly from that of a boy. I think the girl should be taught to be more feminine and the boys to be more masculine."

When asked about an incident in her life when she was young, respondent disclosed that she was brought up extremely strictly by her parents, and she even recalls that when she was quite grown up, sometimes her mother gave her a couple of slaps in the face. However, she said, "We all, the three of us, respected and obeyed our parents." As an incident she recalled that when she was 18 years old and she took the family car without asking permission, she was not allowed to drive the car for three weeks. In another incident she remembers that when she was 16 and had gone to the opera with her parents and she started to make signs to a friend of hers in another box, her father sent her home immediately for undisciplined behavior.

Respondent said also that among families she knew, people usually always punished children who were six years old or even much older. Respondent was of the view that this did not depend on the social class, and that on the whole the ways or system of educating children was about the same in all social classes.

Respondent also believed that the changes brought about within the last ten years did not refer to her own family.

Usually physical punishment, according to respondent, was abandoned for boys when they were 15 to 16, and girls when they were about 14 to 15.

Punishment in general is never abandoned in Hungary as long as the children remain within the family. There they have to obey their parents. The only exception respondent mentioned was that what she has seen here she could compare to the behavior of the Jewish families back in Hungary -- they were always extremely indulgent toward their kids and idolized them, just as they do here.

According to respondent, Communism did not bring about any changes in respect to bringing up children within the families. However, there were changes at school where physical punishment was abandoned.

Regarding the discipline methods within the last ten years for children in their first eight years in school, respondent said:

"The techniques of discipline before Communism consisted of report cards being sent to the parents, then parents were called in to conferences with the teacher. Also, among boys, it was generally accepted that if they were too naughty they were slapped by the teacher, or even caned. The girls got maybe raps on their knuckles with a ruler. Also the younger children were put into the corner or the others kept overtime after hours. Sometimes children had to write down, for instance, a hundred times, 'I should not be disobedient', etc. Or, if they didn't know the right answer in a lesson sometimes, they had ~~to~~ to write it down also a couple of hundred times.

"Under the Communist regime, however, physical punishment - at least on paper - was completely abandoned, and only the report cards to parents remained as disciplinary measures."

Respondent, however, wanted to point out that these programs were only heard by hearsay since her children were out of school already at that time.

On the characteristics respondent values most in a friend, she disclosed that mainly and primarily she values a friend who is absolutely unselfish and has a very strong character. Respondent was of the opinion that it is not necessary that they should

F-55
MA

3/XX

share the same opinion in everything. However, she wants a friend to be very reliable.

Respondent was of the view that changes in friendship under Communism only came about to the benefit of the friendship because friends became only closer friends in mutual suffering.

End