

is the Personal Inventory, or "face sheet," to NYR 5-F.

Date of Interview: 2-26&27-57

Interviewer: I. Podhorszky. Y

1. Respondent's name: 5-F
2. Age: 24
3. Sex: female
4. Marital Status: Married
5. Religion: Roman Catholic
6. Where born: Miskolc, ~~Budapest~~ Hungary
7. Spent most of her life in Miskolc. Hungary
8. Lived in Budapest just before the revolution broke out
9. Respondent was never abroad.
10. -----
11. High school graduate, then University of Technical sciences. just before getting her degree when revolution broke out.
12. She had no jobs.
13. Only mother is living, she is 60 years of age, and lives in Miskolc.

Husband of respondent is 26 years of age, born and lived in Győr, Hungary but lived in Budapest shortly before the revolution. Husband held degree of the University of Technical Sciences as an engineer. During his years at the University he served his compulsory military service (3-1-1 months) with the artillery. Got his diploma in 1953 and was placed in his first job with the Electrical Power Works in Bpest. From 1955 until October 1956 he worked for the Budapest Cold Storage Industrial Enterprise.

14. Has no brothers or sisters.

- 15.----- none

Respondent left Hungary ~~October~~ ^{Nov.} 27, 1956

16. Arrived in the United States January 3rd.
17. Stayed in Camp Kilmer, and New York City
18. Would like to receive scholarship so as to complete her studies. Husband received position with Babcock & Wilcox Comp. in New York.
19. Respondent and husband had only the routine interviews in Austria with the Austrian authorities and the IRC agency when registering for immigration. Here in New York they were interviewed by the Cornell University Study Program in Human Ecology 440 E 69th St. N.Y.C.
20. Respondent speaks, reads and writes a fair English. Husband has some German and French.

III.

Events between October 22nd and 24th:

On Oct. 22nd, students of the University of Technical Sciences called a meeting for 2 pm. At first DISZ leaders tried to keep matters in hand. That is they wanted that the 16 "points" be drafted according to their intentions (These for inst. would not have included the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary.)

The 16 points of the students contained more or less the same demands as those of the writers and authors. However, in addition they wanted to have Uranium production under Hungarian and not Russian control, withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary, neither Russian language nor Leninism-Marxism to be taught at schools. Hungarian uniforms for the Hungarian army and the use of the old Hungarian (Kossuth) flag. This meeting at the University lasted until midnight.

On October 23rd, the assembled students waited to receive approval for their planned demonstration. Lieutenant Colonel MARIAN (taught at the University of Tech. Sciences. Held classes for military sciences, and was Dean of same) was their "leader". He sent a messenger to the Ministry of Interior for approval of the demonstration. Students decided to march anyway, approval or no approval. In the meantime the 16 points were sent to Csepel to the "junior workers" asking them to participate in the demonstration. These messengers were students who had some relative or friend at the Csepel plant and thus managed to get through despite resistance on part of the Party Secretary there.

On her way subject went home (they lived at Szervita tér) and joined the demonstrators of the University of Classical Sciences, they marched to the Bem Statue in Buda via Petöfi statue near the Danube, through Bajcsi Zsilinszky ut, Nagykörut and the Margaret Bridge. Arrived at Bem Statue about 2pm. During their march they sang old Hungarian patriotic and army songs, did not sing the Internationale- shouted slogans which they made up on the spur of the moment. Here subject wished to point out that DISZ wanted them to shout ~~x~~ slogans prepared by them on special leaflets (this again proves that they were prepared in advance) but the students refused to do so. All along their way wherever they spotted flags with communist insignia on it, they stopped, and made the janitor or someone else to take the flag down, rip out the hated insignia, which they burned on the spot. On they way as they passed the Ministry of the Interior, they also stopped and insisted that the old Hungarian flag be hoisted. Also they shouted anti-AVO slogans.

At the Bem statue there was much singing, someone recited a well known patriotic poem. There was great enthusiasm, everybody was much elated. Due to the impromptu happenings nothing was very much arranged for inst. there was only one microphone in the whole square. Finally around 4-5 they all marched to the square in front of the Parliament Buildings. Here they wanted to see Imre NAGY. A delegation was sent into the building demanding him to come out to the balcony. Allegedly NAGY was not in the building, and the students were told that he will be sent for.

Subject wanted to point out that never in her life has she seen so many people massed together. (even compared to the compulsory and forced and staged communist demonstrations) Not only the whole large square but all neighboring streets were jam-packed. During their march to the square people in the streets all joined and so the crowd swelled to tremendous dimensions. By this time the "junior workers" from Csepel

Had also joined them. Minister ERDEI wanted to talk to them but when he started "dear comrades" he was booed down, so was Peter VERES.

Again there were no microphones mounted anywhere. As night came, no lights were turned on, and MAGY did not come. The crowd, however, waited patiently shouting slogans, "out with the Russians" "Down with the AVH" "We want our independent Hungarian Government, not Russian stooges" etc. Despite the increasing darkness and late hour, nobody budged. Then someone lit a rolled up newspaper and everybody followed suit. The whole square was lit up with the eerie light of burning paper torches. The students discussed the possibility of ~~GERO~~ GERO making his promised speech over the radio or not.

By 9.30 MAGY finally arrived. One microphone was hastily installed and he began his speech "Dear Comrades" He was instantly booed. Then he switched to "My Dear Friends". "This is better" replied the crowd. Nagy asked to be trusted, promised to restore order and that the Cabinet Council will discuss and consider the peoples demands.

Around 9-10 some "junior workers" arrived with the news that AVH used tear gas against the demonstrators in front of the Radio building. Also that shooting has started there. Some told details of GERO's speech he made over the radio.

Students of the Zrinyi Military Academy and of the Officers Academy who participated in the demonstration in front of the Radio Building, were the first ones being shot at by the AVH. These students also sent word to Parliament Square about the goings on at the Radio. The crowd then marched on to the Radio building via Petöfi and Vaci streets. Subject then went home to find out where her husband is, met him there and exchanged their experiences of the day. They together they joined the crowd again near the Radio building. They could not get much nearer than the Museum. The crowd was very dense. Students stopped all cars and searched them. This because they found out that AVH was smuggling arms and ammunition to the besieged AVH in the Radio Building. Subject and husband went home at 12.30 am. Talked practically through the whole night with husband about events and tried to listen to western radios, but all were jammed.

On October 24th, the Hungarian Communist radio instructed all citizens to stay home. "Fascist gangs stirred up disorder. Lopping up operations successfully carried on, everything will soon be under control. Hungarian police with cooperation of Soviet troops are restoring order" they were told.

This day RFE could be heard clearly and well. Subject and friends listened all day long. The Hungarian communist radio gave only music and inbetween official instructions and special orders. These emissions, however, did no more come from the Radio building, but presumably from the Parliament buildings where the Government allegedly had an other radio station. (Subject isn't sure about this, heard it from hearsay)

The so-called "inner city" was pretty quiet on this day. Some sniping went on. Subject does not know what happened in other parts of the city. They heard that much fighting went on elsewhere. They stayed mostly at home, but went out later in the day in search of food. All shops were closed and they could buy anything else but a few bars of candy in a nearby tobacco store. At the Karolyi Park they saw the body of a 14 year old girl.

On October 25th, the Hungarian communist radio ordered all workers to report for work at 9 am. especially those employed by the food industries. The radio also reported that "major part of fascist gangs are mopped up and order is restored".

Subject queued up for food and saw that people are going again to Parliament square to demonstrate, so she joined them. She was in the middle of the crowd, when AVH started shooting on the unarmed defenseless civilian crowd from the top of the Ministry Building, using tommyguns. Casualties were estimated at about 600. The crowd retreated into the neighboring streets but did not disperse. They slowly seeped back to see about the wounded and dead. Ambulances, stretchers were brought, but the AVH started to shoot at them. Subject saw how nurses and doctors were hit. There were 2 or 3 tanks in the square, these Russian tanks came on following the crowd but did not shoot at them. When they saw the AVH shoot they turned the turrets of the tanks and blasted the AVH on top of the Ministry with fire. Many taking part ~~in~~ in the demonstrations when seeing the massacre went straight to the hospitals to give blood. On their way back at the Nagykörút crossing they saw the Stalin Statue lying on the crossroad, crowds in front of the Nepszava editorial offices and in front of the Writers and Authors Association.

Events from October 25 to November 3.

Subject worked for the Student Revolutionary Committee with headquarters at the former Piarist's Gymnasium (corner Vaci utca and Galamb utca) Here they distributed packages, food, clothing etc. received from the Austrian Red Cross. Delivered them to distribution centers. Her husband went to work.

Events from November 5th onward: They woke up to the sound of guns on Nov. 4th. at dawn. Saw coming in Russian tanks along the Andrássy street. But stayed mostly at home as people were chased back from the streets. Listened to RFE. She then went back to her work with the committee and distribution of food to nearby centers, as did not dare to go too far. Freedom fighters took food etc. to the hospitals and church centers. On Nov. 5th. defenders of the Kilian Barracks where the "Roka" radio of the freedom fighters was operating, surrendered. 25 of the men came out with the white flag but were shot down instantly. So the rest remained inside the building, and escaped through the cellars, sewers, one by one as they could. By the end the Russians were shelling a completely empty building. Subject had many student friends who fought there and heard about happenings there.

From Nov 5th until their escape her husband worked, she went shopping for food, looked up relatives but could not move about much as sniping still went on. Russians often picked up people from the streets. By the 10th of November, however, all sniping stopped.

III A.

- (1.) Up until Nov. 4th they still hoped that the revolution will eventually succeed. After November 4th. everything seemed to be lost. It seemed to them that short of war only an internal upheaval in Russia itself could bring about a change.
- (2.) She only knew when the meeting at the University was called. They heard, however, that DISZ held a secret meeting at which it was decided that DISZ leadership will take matters in hand so as students should not come up with exaggerated demands, and be kept under control. (This she heard from a DISZ official who inadvertently blurted it out)
- (3) This she described already in detail as above.

- (4) Felt terribly happy and elated, cried of sheer happiness, to be able to talk freely at last
- (a) joined demonstrations either alone or with husband. Nobody tried to prevent her from doing so.
 - (b) No, was not afraid.
 - (c) Yes, knew of consequences: she would be expelled from the University and husband dismissed from job, also of possible arrest since they took part in the Revolutionary Committees activities. At those times, however, nothing mattered. Everybody made friends and everybody was just plain happy. Especially the older people were moved to tears.
- (5) They wanted compliance with their 16 "points" which ~~the~~ they wanted to be read out by the Radio. A woman director of the Radio, however, refused them permission to do so. No, they would not have ~~and~~ accepted any compromise. The demands of the students and workers were more or less the same as well as those of the Writers and authors. Free elections were the sine qua non, which would have guaranteed all the rest.
- (6) The demonstrations came about so spontaneously that nobody was thinking about consequences at all. Neither did they care. "we either die, or achieve freedom"
- (7) Age : 16 to 26, boys and girls. All "classes" were represented. Even so-called "communist" party members (workers) took part. Also students of the military academy. Those who did not take part were 80% of civil servants (these had to be "Kader" -s (meaning that their classification regarding communist requirements must be above reproach, and these were the ones the regime trusted most.
- (8) At first, as previously mentioned the DISZ staged the demonstrations. However, as early as at the first meeting of the Students Council at the University, the leadership slipped out of their hands. The rest was completely spontaneous. All students took part, some of the younger assistant professors, but the older ones not. They were present but did not act.

III.B

- (1) Had they been permitted to read their 16 points through the Radio maybe the events could have been slowed up, but not arrested. Only of Government would have given in completely.
- (2) In the course of the revolution.
- (3) In the beginning the young people fought only then later on older ones too. Around 40 to 50 years. She also heard and seen some who returned from Russian POW camps. from
- (4) from the army, and from the barracks. For instance ~~in~~ the Museum of Military History in the Var. Here they shot the commander and took arms stored there.
- (5) There were some organized military units who went over to the

to the Freedom Fighters (not the highest ranking officers, often NCO-s only) Otherwise the freedom fighters chose their own leaders according to abilities. Shortly before November 4th., They attempted to organize their files and ranks but the Russian move prevented them.

(6) Has talked about this already previously.

(7) She had high hopes, as had everybody else. But they were aware of the fact that if the revolution is unsuccessful the Russians will crush them more than ever.

(8) It was known that GERO called the troops in. When she saw the strength of the returning Russian troops, she knew everything was lost.

III.C.

(1) Worked for Student Revolutionary Committee as mentioned above. Helping to distribute food, and leaflets, Helping out with their own press.

(2) Know it must be a trick. (A relative of hers came from the border and told of Russian troop movements.)

(3) November 3rd. 1956

(4) November 4th, 1956 on the Andrassy ut

(5) Queued up for food, worked in household and mainly listened to RFE, Voice of America and BBC

(6) It was a very sudden decision on November 25th, 1956.

IV.

- A. They most decidedly hoped for effective assistance from the West. Not men but arms at least. But were sure that UN sanctions would and could be enforced, and that the Russians would have to leave Hungary.
- B. This expectation was bolstered by Western Radio propaganda. They were convinced that it is in the interest of the western hemisphere to support the first nation which tries to break away from Russian domination and communism, because had they succeeded, other satzallites would surely have followed their example.

Also they believed that Hungarian Uranium resources would make it worth while for the West, - as oil did in the Near East- to make an effort to save the country. Subject stated that according to common knowledge in Hungary the Uranium deposits there are second to those found in the Belgian Congo.

(I tried to find out more concrete data on this and how she knows it for sure. Subject stated that since she had been a student of the University for Technical Sciences, she gathered her knowledge from statements made -sometimes inadvertently- by assistant professors or professors of the University who were sent out when the Uranium prospecting started and before the Russians took the mines over.)

C. No.

Cont'd V.

and thus became intellectuals.

3,

- (1) In a way yes, because wherever and whenever they apply for jobs have to register for schools etc. the first thing they are asked is what their parents have been and to what class do they belong.
- (2) This became stronger since 1948 the year of the "turning point"
- (3) Couldnt tell, personally never was class conscientious.

C. (1)

There was very little friction between the classes. The intellectuals knew that the workers had it bad, so did the workers. And both knew that they were being driven and exploited by the regime. Both classes knew that the peasants had it better though; The working class and the intellectuals were somewhat nearer to each other.

(2)

There was not much change in this in the course of times. However, to bring about the much stressed "workers and peasant union" did not work.

D. (1) Intelligentsia(students), workers(many of these belonged formerly to the intellectual class) and finally the peasantry also by supplying the fighters and city people with food. As a matter of fact they did this without accepting any money for food supplied.

(2) has seen mostly the students and workers in the demonstrations. In Budapest of course were no peasants. But ~~xxxx~~ heard from her mother in Miskolc that the miners took active part in the demonstrations.

(3) As far as she observed it there was no difference. Everyone took part from the beginning with unparalleled enthusiasm.

E. Here subject wishes to state that by no means does she wish to appear as an anti-semite(in fact she lived as a student in Budapest with three old Jewish ladies-boarded at their home) but unfortunately ~~ix~~ the Jews could get ahead much better under the communist rule than anybody else. It is a fact that top communists, AVH men, civil servants, "party secretaries" in factories etc. were 90% of Jewish origin. Subject believes it must have been due to the fact that the communists believed to have more support from them due to their previous persecution by the Nazis, also Jews were more interested in earning good wages. As mentioned before the good "Koder" subjects were paid enormous wages everywhere. Talent ~~xxx~~ had very little to do with career in communist Hungary.

F. See above answers.

VI.

- A. Yes certainly and a very bad one at that. Mainly in the working class and the intellectuals.
- B.(1) Decidedly. and in all sectors. young children-boys and girls alike. Teenagers boys and girls alike, Youth boys and girls alike

(2) There was a very great change. However, she could not tell from own experience as she had been brought up in the "oldfashioned" way still. But the change was felt in every field.

(3) Mostly due to the fact that for economic reasons the mother had to work also, otherwise the family could not make both ends meet. This led to the corruption of family life and discipline. Further children from very tender age on (even nursery-schools) were being indoctrinated. This went on even to a greater degree in the so-called "day-homes" for children in secondary schools.

(3) Very much so and in every social class.

(4) There was much political indoctrination going on in the high-schools. Anti-religious doctrines. sexual corruption.

C.1. (1) & (2)&(3)

It was extremely difficult to obtain divorce. It costs too much money. There was civil marriage only. Those who insisted on religious ceremony too had to do it secretly. Most people did so nevertheless. Compulsory medical examination before marriage was abolished in the last two or three years. On the other hand the State "glamorized" civil marriage by setting up marriage centers with flowers, organ music, "congenial" atmosphere etc. There were several such marriage bureaus in Budapest. Morals sank very low in communist Hungary. "courtship" means that the young people live together. Abortions are prohibited, thus the number of illegitimate children has increased tremendously. There was a time when under special permission doctors were allowed to perform abortion, this, however, has been abolished since last May. Birth control devices were obtainable, but expensive.

2. Prostitution was prohibited. Nevertheless it existed.

3. (1) Government was concerned with problem. After the 20th Congress they wanted to establish communist boarding schools (on pattern of the old clerical boarding schools) so as to enforce "decent" communist morals, and keep the young people in hand.

(2) Yes, since they had no religion.

D.1. Under the communist regime people are more cautious with whom they make friends. Friendship therefore, develops much slower.

2. It all depended on why that person joined the Party, for what reason. May be he had to so as to keep his job etc. with those subject continued to be friends.

(1) yes. Couldnt tell.

(2) 50-50

(3) not easily and not in Hungary.

E. 1. Increased enormously, but was given very little publicity

(1) corruption of family life

(2) Bad wages, in consequence low living standard.

Too many people living together crammed in same apartments. Corrupted children.

Cont. VI.

(3) Yes, both. Mostly embezzlements, theft, prostitution

(4) See C.I.(3) Police is pretty efficient.

2. Very much, however, it is interested to note that during the revolution nobody drank. Liquor shops with shattered windows for inst. were not looted.
3. (1) Hooligans are young men who avoid work, loiterers, petty thieves. The way they do it is as follows: Since everybody in communist Hungary has to have an identity card and a so-called "work-file" these young people register for work with a factory, work there for a couple of days and then quit. Since these "work-files" are submitted to the competent ministry once every 6 months, they are more or less safe for this period.
- (2) The government tries to play it down.
- (3) Young people resent to work hard. ~~Reasons~~ The reason is mainly lack of discipline in the homes for above mentioned reasons.
- (4) You can find hooligans among all social classes.
- (5) Any age, from 18 to 40
- (6) Yes.
- (7) Parents generally try to reform their children, but again for above mentioned reasons it is very difficult to achieve results if any. On the other hand parents sometimes are just as bad as their offsprings. Extremely hard living conditions make it nearly impossible for them to provide their families with material and spiritual food.

VXX

VII.

A. Yes since communism excludes religion ab ovo.

- (1) In the Roman Catholic church it caused a split. See the roles of the so-called "peace priests" who to a certain degree cooperate with the regime.
- (3) The communists used religion for political purposes only in the negative sense so to speak, when they accused Mindszenty with espionage, currency frauds, etc.
- (4) The Roman Catholic religion. Having had the largest following in Hungary; further because it had the largest properties (land) many schools, universities etc.
- (5) (a) It was dangerous to attend openly services, to get married in church etc. Young people therefore intimidated. The older generation, however, not. Also the younger generation did no more receive the religious training their parents did.
 (b) the above refers also to the Protestant religions.
 (c) There were very few really religious Jews, thus they did not feel very much the restrictions imposed on religions.

- B. (1) Subject is less religious than her parents, does not mean so much to her.
 (2) Average
 (3) Attends church regularly.

- C. (1) In communist Hungary the church does not play a great or important part in society.
 (2) It most decidedly should. It has been proven that under the communist rule "decent" people were always those who had decent religious training (no matter which one) Therefore the church should have its role especially in the field of education.
 (3) No.

- D. 1. Subject wishes to refer to Par V.E. which she feels gives the answer. As an example she also wants to add that those old Jewish ladies she was living with at that time never had any trouble in getting the "kosher" food ~~they~~ their religion prescribed to consume. As far as she knew they were never prohibited to go to the temple. Also again she points out that Jews were not very religious on the whole.
2. ~~(1)~~ here again subject repeats that since the Jews were persecuted so much by the Nazis and the communists were anti-nazis and anti fascists, also because the Jews have not such a strong national feeling, they did not object so strongly to communism on the whole (of course this does not refer to the rich and well-to do Jewish class) Due to the above in the beginning they were a privileged class in itself and the communist regime tried to get their cooperation as much as possible. Many of the People's Court Prosecutors were Jews, and nearly all top AVH officials. They usually became Party members.
- In Austria there was much talk about the preferential treatment the Jewish refugees ~~xxx~~ were given. ~~xxxx~~ The different Jewish agencies could always process them quicker than the others. This caused much resentment.
- Subject had the impression that the Jews did not actually "like" communism, but could get along with it quite well, mainly for financial reasons, and ~~xxxx~~ material advantages. Also being a very "clannish" nation, they always helped each other in every possible way.

Cont. VII.

- 3.(1) The Jewry played a rather passive part in the revolution. They did not want to commit themselves. In the beginning they said "yes, you have to go on with it by all means" and when the tide turned, they said "didn't we tell you?" Also they rather feared for their positions. For inst. in the same house where subject lived a Jewish Doctor did not go out to help not once. At the same time all old and woman doctors, everybody volunteered.
- (2) Jewish University students took part in the demonstrations. But not in the fighting.
4. In a way yes, because of reasons as stated previously. (too many Jews in the Party, AVH etc.)

VIII.

A. Subject considers "Hungarian Youth" to be between 16 and 26 years of age.

- B. (1) The Hungarian Youth started the revolution indeed. Later on they were joined by the more mature age groups.
(a) The "Petöfi Kör" started the move, then the Petöfi Kör of the students continued it. However, nobody thought of a "revolution"
(b) everybody
(c) 90% young people, boys and girls

(2) over--
The young people were ~~enough~~ stuffed with Soviet doctrines which worked out in the reverse. This, coupled with discontent set ~~the~~ the fire, and then there was no way back. Also those young people who were allowed to go abroad (sports events, athletes etc) saw for themselves the difference between a communist "heaven" and western world, and told their friends, compared conditions.

(3)
The older people admired the youth for what they were doing. The young ones on the other hand did not like that parties were formed too early. They were of the opinion that first fighting should be finished first, and liberty gained, politics should come later.

C. (1) Education in high-schools and universities has undergone a great change during the communist regime in Hungary. First of all schools were too much "classified" (according to specific subjects). Also the only foreign language that could be learned was Russian, and this was compulsory. On the whole they had great ambition to teach a lot but in fact achieved much less. The Soviet system has been followed in educational methods. The standard of schools has gone down terribly.

(2) Two periods characterize the latest 16 years. One from 48 to 52 At this time anyone could pass the "maturity" exam (high-school graduation). However, after this exam, students belonging to the intellectual class had to study very hard to keep his grades. After 53 on the other hand students of all social classes ~~were~~ had to study pretty hard for their grades.

(3) Certainly, ~~much difference~~ Selection was made according to family background. If a student had excellent marks, he was admitted. Even if coming from an unfavorable social background. After 1953 there was a notable change in this and reins were slackened.

(4) There was a restriction on vocational choice. That is ~~university~~ students were "advised" which profession to choose. It all depended on the shortage in certain professions. Subject for inst. wanted to become a chemical engineer. Instead she had to enrol for construction engineering.

(5) Inasmuch as the old professors and assistant professors were allowed to lecture, the standard was good.

(6) The irreplaceable specialists of course were of the "old school" and therefore non communists. The assistant professors, on the other hand were not the choice of the professor but of the Party. Therefore it happened that he was a communist and a not very competent one either. For instance her husband wanted to receive an assistant professorship but was found "politically unreliable"

E. 1. Yes they did their damndest to win over the young people. However they achieved the contrary. ~~They~~ There are too many compulsory lectures on Leninism-Marxism (4 hours per week at the University of Techn. Sciences, more at the Univ. of Classical sciences.)

Cont VIII.

In High-school 3 to 4 hours weekly lectures on Hungarian and Russian constitution.

2.

- (1) In subject's opinion the reason why lies in the still persisting strong family influence. Whenever they could, parents tried to counterbalance the evil influence of communist doctrine within the family circle, by setting a good example. Also facts and results through economic and political life drastically contradicted every propaganda.
- (2) The younger ones -up till 15 years- were at first taken in by DISZ propaganda, but later on when they were able to form their own opinion, -around 20 to 21 they turned against communism.

IX.

- A. High prices, scarcity of commodities. Inadequate salaries and wages. No food for thought either. (no books, periodicals, magazines from the West.) Lack of culture in general, and last but not least constant fear and terror under which people had to live.
- B. Political seminars after working hours. So called "voluntary" party meetings. Lies of the press and the radio (Official Hungarian)
- C. Yes they did. For inst. Abolishing Christmas, August 20th National Holiday (St Stephen's day), Military training at the universities. Russian uniforms for the Hungarian army etc. Use of Russian command in the Hungarian army, salute etc. Promotion of Russian nationalism. Anti-religious tendencies. Oppression of Hungarian nationalism. These are only a few.

X.

- A. 1. (1) The standard of living has been very low during the last years in Hungary regardless of social class.
- (a) food was scarce and very expensive.
 - (b) clothing scarce and of extremely low quality. Sometimes "seconds" left over from exports was put on the domestic market. This was of better quality but equally very expensive.
 - (c) The housing shortage was very acute, and apartment ~~rents~~ rents were high.
 - (d) cameras, good furniture for inst. couch, radio.
- (3) housing and clothing
- (4) Very much indeed (a) mainly housing, (b) living standards sank only!
- (5) (a) in 1948
(b) in 1956
2. (1) A farmer friend of hers a so-called "kulak" who had 8 acres orchard and worked in it himself and his family, could make quite a good living as they were growing fruit for export. However, this property was on the name of 4 members of the family.
3. In subjects opinion the only answer to this question is:
communism.
- B. 1. She did not work herself. Husband earned 1,700 frt. per months
2. Received after deductions: 1,340 frts.
3. No family allowance, but if the company where he was employed did exhaust the salary fund allotted to them, then the employees received "premiums" if the scheduled "plan" was fulfilled by the company. Family allowances were paid only after the second child. As a matter of fact as they did not have children 3% of the salary was deducted
- 4. no
 - 5. no
 - 6. no
- C. 1. (1) There was a difference. State stores sold at the same prices, but the quality was the lowest here. Markets were more expensive, but on the other hand quality was better. The so-called commission stores sold second-hand merchandise and were 20-25% lower in price.
- (2.) Depended on the merchandise. Potatoes for instance were expensive and scarce.
- (3.) Could not tell, could not remember.
2. (1) Quality of all merchandises was best in the years of 1947 & 48
(2) Communist methods were not yet enforced.
3. (1) Yes, mainly food commodities. There was a black-market, which was called rather "free market" and was more or less under control of the authorities.
(2) yes but there was always a shortage.
(3) No.
4. Greatest shortage was in meat, then flour, clothing, better materials, sewing needles, medicines, fuel (wood and coal) building materials, insulating materials, stoves furniture.

5. (1) Motorbikes for inst. could be purchased with special permits only, automobiles ditto. Prices were exorbitant.
(2) There was always a shortage.
6. (1) Black market flourished mainly before 1946 during the inflation
(2) It was unorganized, everybody was buying and selling exchanging food and clothing for gold.
(3) There were no prices actually as it was done on a barter basis
(4) Later there was a so-called "linked" commerce (had to buy other articles also so as to receive the needed ones) Also of course there was the "under counter" market. Stores where people were steady customers served those first of course.
(5) Loss of job and penalties.

- D. 1. (1) She did not work, as she studied. Husband worked from 7.30 am to 4 pm. But had to remain for "party" lectures, "production conferences and suchlike. Was never home before 6 pm. but very often much later, even midnight. Husband was employed in the food industry (cold storage)
(2) Own choice
(3) Co-workers liked him, he was on good terms with them.
(4) Was on bad terms with the "Party Secretary" (This was of course put down in his "Kader File")
(a), (b) (X), (y)
He was on good terms with other superiors who were not communist party members. He was not afraid of them. The chief engineer of the plant was a competent and qualified man.
(6) Was happy in his work. However, he did not get premiums as these were mainly "reserved" for persons who had a good "Kader".
2. The qualified personnel was competent, the top leadership, assigned by the Party, was of course not.
3. They had 2 weeks paid vacation per year. Had OTI insurance (this was deducted from pay) If sick longer than 3 days sick-pay was only 60% of regular pay. Pensions depended entirely on period of service with the company and salary received last. Anybody was allowed to work when in pension, provided global income did not ~~exceed~~ exceed 1,300 ftrs.

- E. 1. Subject preferred to live in Budapest for reasons of better job opportunities, and cultural facilities (theater, concerts, libraries etc)
- (1) Agricultural workers
 - (2) About the same
 - (3) In Budapest; it was a large city and people did not know each other so much as in a small community. On the other hand if a person was employed by a large plant or enterprise his "Kader" file showed everything.
2. (1) Since collectivization and soviet methods were well known in Hungary nobody expected any good results.
(2) As above
(3) Everybody whose land was collectivized, "kulaks" and small peasantry alike.
(4) Yes. Reasons: members of the collective farms were constantly bickering. Could never pay taxes, management was bad, and finally members quit.
3. Would choose private farm. Its hard work but you are on your own.
4. Highly mechanized, intensive private small farms (not over 100 acres)

XI. A. 1. Before 1948 she was a very young girl, but enthusiastic follower of the Hungarian Smallholders Party.

- (1) Always very keen interest in politics. But later on took no active part in party politics.
- (2) Was not member of any party. Had sympathy for Smallholders
- (3) Relatives had ~~land~~, land, vineyards. Themselves too. Father-in law was Social Democrat.
- (4) Before 1948 the Smallholders Party was the strongest. The working class was mainly affiliated with the Social Democratic Party.

2. Always had a very bad opinion of the communist party. Never heard anything good about it in the family. Have learned about Bela Kun and the 1918-19 communism in school. Opinion has not changed ever. Subject read Somogyváry's books about this period.

(2) Her opinion has changed in the way that it has become worse.

B.1.(1) There are different types of people who joined the communist party. First they were a few ~~in~~ out and out communists. Then some of the very poor peasants and unskilled workers who pinned their hopes on communism believing that it will improve their lot. Then there were many Jews who joined out of sheer opportunism and material gain. Then finally those who had to join or else they lost their jobs. These were very sorry later on, but could no more get out of it.

(2) ~~Knew~~ Knew a few party members.

(3)&(4) See above.

2. (1), (2) & (3) At first everything ran on the Stalinist line then came the "soft pedal" period, and finally now the switch back to the rigid party line again. The Party was always right, said the communists, but cases like the Rajk case, belied this. The big-wigs always fought each other spied on each other and mistrusted each other. No wonder, says subject as the whole communist doctrine, and therefore the party too is built on a big lie. (4) Yes. there were the Stalinists, and their adversaries. These however, were in minority. The controversies exploded after Stalin's death.

3. (1), (2), & (3) The anti-Stalinists of course were displeased with the Party (see Rajk and Kadar). Could not tell.

4. (3) as above. The party leaders were only soviet stooges. Had to obey implicitly what they were told. Directives came from Moscow and everything was subordinated to the Kremlin. A ~~wholesale~~ wholesale sovietization was the aim. Complete economical ~~exploitation~~ exploitation of Hungary in favor of the soviet union. Since the top communists in Hungary were ~~not~~ all Moscowites, and soviet trained, they probably had no remorse at all. They had no will of their own and if they had (Rajk) were quickly eliminated. (4) These top leaders are not even normal human beings. They are fanatics, have no sense of humor. Can no more think in an unbiased way.

(6) The rank and file party members are ~~mostly~~ mostly terrorized animals who once trapped by the party are unable to escape. Once caught in the big mill, he must go on because should he want to leave the party he is done in.

- C. 1. Yes, there was but no publicity was given to this opposition.
- (1) For instance at Csepel there was once a strike for several hours. but it had terrible consequences. The ringleaders were deported put in prison, tortured etc.
 - (2) Did not hear of any organized sabotage. but heard of slow-downs.
 - (a) Also for inst. New inventions, improvements were not put forward. There was rather a passive resistance.
 - (b) First of all the workers, then the intellectuals, and also the peasantry, (compulsory surrender of crops etc)
 - (c) hearsay
 - (d) Not very much effective.
2. Could not tell.
3. (1) Yes heard of such activities.
- (2) The Petofi Kör was a serious movement, however, members of this movement were scared at first to do anything serious, and some ~~mf~~ even wrote pro communist poems etc(Zelk Zoltán Song of Loyalty and Greatfulness; poems by Illyés Gyula, and Aczél Tamás for inst. were very much for the regime. On the other hand Tamásy Áron, who was also a member never wrote or published anything. Writers could not be forced to write. Subject has a very bad opinion of Aczél Tamás.
 - (a) & (b) Heard of the Petofi Kör for the first time in July or August after their meeting.
 - (3) Yes, there were frequent articles in the literary magazines, but only after the 20th party congress.
 - (4) The importance of these articles was mainly in the public opposition of the regime. Criticism of communist methods, economic situation, oppression of intellectual and cultural life.
 - (5) They were only a spearhead of the revolution. The young people in Hungary did not think very much of the Petofi Kör as some of their members and leaders were decidedly for the regime (for instance they despised Zelk Zoltán.
 - (6) The intellectual class on the whole is held in esteem.
4. On the whole the intellectuals stood up against the regime because of oppression. The writers could not publish their works. There was no opportunity to study (especially unbiased western literature etc.) They were not allowed to study abroad, Etc.

- XII. A. 1.(1) The AVH men were sadists, sick in soul and body. Perverted individuals. Would do anything to get ahead, to earn more money. (salaries ranged from 18,000 to 20,000 frts. per month) They were mostly Jews full of vengeance, stupid peasant boys who were indoctrinated. Also there were many Jewish women among them.
- (2) She had several friends who were tortured by the AVH; who were interned at Kistarcsa.
- (3) No.
- (6) Did not know anybody of the AVH, therefore cannot answer this question, but does not believe that AVH men had ever any remorse. They were too well selected.
- 2.(1) Everybody knew what the AVH did in Hungary as everybody had some relatives or friends who were tortured by them. The hate that flared up against the AVH so violently during the revolution was due to this fact.
3. It is very difficult to give an estimate, as many persons just disappeared, and were never heard of again.
4. This is the gospel truth. Nobody knew why and when the authorities did something. Who is an agent, etc. Even after the "new" look.
5. There were agents everywhere. Offices, universities, schools, theaters, in all professions. These agents were of all social classes. The main reason to inform on people was first of all money. Conviction played ^{small} part in it. This system was generally prevalent. Subject despises these people.
6. Even if someone knew how to keep his mouth shut, it was not sure he could avoid trouble. Then the charge would be that he is "passive" and has no political conviction.
7. No, as far as she knew certainly not.
8. Should be imprisoned, solitary confinement, or sent down to the mines. So ~~that~~ as to have time and opportunity to meditate on their wrong-doings. Though, she admits that during the revolution she would have liked to have them tortured and killed as many of their victims were, "eye for eye."
- 9.(1) The regular police is run also on AVH lines, but of course they are not political police. Since the "blue" police are armed also, the party could not afford ~~to~~ them to be less reliable than the AVH. They too were very much indoctrinated.
- (2) Since they were enforcing the communist rules, they were just as bad. However, they were less cruel. According to the communist party the ~~army and~~ AVH and the regular police must be ~~in~~ kept under same jurisdiction.
- (3) Could not tell.
- (4) Took off their uniforms, because they were scared. Displayed a passive behavior. Of course this can only be said of the file and rank, as the leaders were well trained AVH men. As far as she knows they did not fight on either side. This she ~~has not experienced~~ knows of personal experience, as she took an active part in the students revolt and ~~has~~ was in contact with the freedom fighters.

B.1. Justice was impartially administered in non-political cases, however, there was much leniency shown for communist party members. You could file a suit against communists, but the outcome was very questionable. Subject does not know whether there was any change between 1948 and 56.

2. Subject was too young at that time, cannot tell.

- D. 2. The Russians were always very unpopular in Hungary. The Hungarian nation remembered the events in 1948 and did not forget. Also in 1945 the behavior of the Russian Army when "liberating" Hungary (a) and during the occupation ever since caused hatred only. Even in 1944 the Hungarians believed what German propaganda told them about the Russian troops, and facts and events proved ~~this~~ this propaganda to be right.
- (b) Russian soldiers lived in their house for three years. This tells volumes!
- (c) Opinion did not change, that is, worsened.

3.

- (1) See above.
- (2) Uncultured louts. Even the officers. Very dirty, drink a lot. Rough and rude. Terrible thieves, even the women. Much rape and looting going on in her home-town.
- (3) The Russians tried to be nice, but the Hungarians kept away from them. It is not true that the Russians were nice to children. They had no scruples to rape girls of 12. However, the older generation among the file and rank soldiers was much better. These remembered times before the Russian revolution.
- (a) Russian children did not attend Hungarian schools, they had their own. Russian soldiers could only get Hungarian prostitutes, no decent Hungarian girl would associate herself with a Russian. Subject was told by a friend who returned from Russian POW camp that a few Russian soldiers married Hungarian sluts (pretended at least that they married them) but these were imprisoned by the Russians the moment they crossed the border into "Russia with their" husbands"
- (b) No social contacts with officers either. These were sometimes worse than the enlisted men.
- (c) Decent Hungarians despised those who had social contacts with the Russians.
- (4) Could not tell. Officers and men alike were very secretive, did not talk much. The older generation, however, liked to be in Hungary and was reluctant to go back to Russia. On the whole they were amazed to see the relatively good food situation in Hungary. They quite liked the Hungarians, or at least did not hate them as they did the Germans.
- (5) Subject knew Russian and understood what they were talking, also as they were billeted in their house she had to clean and wash for them.
- (6) No there was not much difference. An even had there been any they would not have dared to speak frankly. One was spying on the other always.

4.(1) None

(2) There was not much difference.

(a) & (b) There were all young.

(c) The Ukrainian troops which were stationed in Hungary for several years, and liked being there did not want to fight. They were scared too.

- (d) The new troops brought in in November were Mongolians Asiatic barbarians, who had not the foggiest notion where and why they are fighting for. Some thought that the Danube is the Suez Canal, others were looking for the American soldiers. Others again were searching for German fascist. But even these were scared, especially of the small kids who were up to all sorts of tricks.
5. (a) The above data she mainly heard from the freedom-fighters. She heard that small units went over to the Hungarian freedom fighters. Specifically at Unapentele. These units then left together with the Hungarians for the Bakony forest where they continued the guerilla warfare.
- (b) Did not hear of such cases.
- (c) Yes, heard of such cases.
- (d) See under (a)
- (e) See events of October 24th, when subject was witness what happened at Parliament Square.
- (f) Does not know.
6. Did not hear.
- E. 1. (1) Subjects experience is in connection with the Apartment Alotting Office (Lakáshivatal) which was run on a very corrupt basis. If you had money, you got an apartment. Bribery was common, also "Kader" (that is good Kader) people received the best and (3) quickest treatment. Often the officials acted on order from the higher echelons. Communist party member employees were rude beyond description. Their efficiency rate was zero. They were good party members. That was all.
- (4) In offices in general tardiness was severely punished. Deductions were made from salary, was publicly reprimanded at plant meetings (not that anybody cared very much about this specially) Premium payments were withdrawn. And last but not least dismissal was final punishment. Of course the behavior of everybody was dutifully marked down on the Kader File.
- (5) Since she did not work, she can only speak of the experiences of her husband. In his office the party secretary terrorized everybody.
- (6) Had anybody tried, he could not have remained at his post for another 24 hours.
- F. (1) With good connections (party line) or money everything was possible. This she can say from own experience and of her friends.
- (2) Everywhere.
- Could not tell.
- (3) Above mentioned methods were used widely.
- (4) Dismissal.
- G. In general the top officials who were party members were very inefficient. However, the second in rank was usually an expert in that field, who was efficient. These were not party members.
- (1) Implicit obedience toward the Russian masters that was what counted with the AVH. Brutality and no heart. Efficiency was unimportant.
- (2) The secretary of war for inst. was a former shepherd. However, his "brain" was an officer of the old Hungarian army. On the whole the younger officers were very inefficient, stupid and untrained.

XII Cont.

- (3) Does not know about Soviet leadership(military)
- (4) As with the army, there was a figure-head, one with an excellent Kader and a party member, then subordinated to him the man who had the qualifications and the brain to run the show.
- (5) The same method goes for all plants, enterprises, commercial business, etc.

- XIII. A, Subject is of the opinion that it is different what she thinks and what she hopes in assessing Hungary's future.
- (1) Subject apologizes for being very frank about this problem and for her severe criticism.
 "if America continues with her shortsighted foreign policy, then Russia will subjugate more and more nations, in fact continents. Therefore situation in Hungary can only become worse than ever." She sincerely hopes, however, that America will come to her senses before it is too late. She admits that at present the near East is important because of the oil, but maybe it will be realized sooner or later that the Hungarian Uranium with its immense richness will be important too, and therefore if not for political reasons, at least for economic reasons something will be done." "America ought to realize at last that the Russians are not gentlemen. They cannot be treated such, and cannot be checked or put into place by gentlemanlike methods."
- (2) The above opinion is generally voiced by everybody in Hungary
- (a) Premier Kadar is on the Stalin line already. Even though further resistance is sheer suicide, and even though the Hungarian nation is under wholesale terror, it might happen that they will rise again.
- (b) They don't believe the West anymore, and Western policy will no more influence them. Would the West give arms, everybody would go back to fight the Russians out from Hungary. A change could only be brought about if Russia were to collapse internally, due to top party fights and rivalry.
- (3) No compromise would be accepted. The Russians do not keep any treaty or agreement ever, so how could anybody believe them? Had they been satisfied with a Poland like solution, there would have been no revolution. The Polish example showed what to expect from the Russians.
- (4) See (2) (b) as mentioned only if Russia collapses that is the top party leadership, or else short of war nothing else can bring about a change. But "if America continues to follow her methods and showing weakness, and by giving away military secrets so easily (she meant that there is always too much discussed in the newspapers etc.) atomic weapons or no atomic weapons they will not be able to win against Russia."
- (a) outcome very doubtful due to above mentioned facts.
- x) During the revolution they hoped for it
- y) America will not start it anyway. What Russia will do nobody knows. Maybe they will provoke war. May be in connection with the near East. They will not be afraid of war with America. The only nation they fear and respect are the Germans. They know that these ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ will fight them to the last man.
- (b)x) The Russians don't care a damn about international pressure, sanctions, arbitration and suchlike. The US ought to realize this now!
- y) Here is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ where she sees a chance; due to fight for power among the top Stalinists. There won't be a revolution ~~xxxxxxxx~~ coming from the people. They are kept in check and under terror too much. Only the party could break up.

- B. (1) People in Hungary were confident that the Western Powers will sooner or later impose their will on the Russians which would lead to a consolidation of Central Europe and normal conditions. (As it had been the case in Austria) Opinions were divided in

XIII Cont.

this regard. Some believed that it could be done in the above mentioned manner. Others again were of the opinion that nothing can be achieved without war.

3 (3)

People lost hope more and more due to developments.
(a) because of Western policy. and ineffectiveness of Western support. RFE and other radios "talked too much" and nothing was done.

XIV.

- A. Would like to have "Democracy" in its real sense for an independent neutral Hungary. (Like Austria) with good connections and relations with the Western hemisphere. Free trade. Mines and heavy industry under state control. Estates not larger than 100 acres. The less ties with the Soviet Union the better.
- B. (1) Agriculture and light industries should not be state controlled. Bauxite and Uranium should be rented out to the US. Oil too. Hungary should put the emphasis on these two (agriculture and the light industries.)
- (2) The iron works at Dunapentele for inst. Because the imported Russian ore is of very low quality.
- (3) Forcibly collectivized small enterprises and industries, small crafts be returned to owners. Heavy industry—as mentioned before—and mining
- a) industry to remain under state control and management.
- b) Large state farms should be kept up ~~xxx~~ for experiments, seed growing and other purposes. Land should be given back to owners, but not more than 100 acres.

Respondent believes that views expressed above correspond to the majority of people in Hungary. She also believes that there would not be any sense in it to re-establish feudo-capitalism in its bad sense, and therefore the State should set a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own.

2. a. Of the two supposed governments she would choose the first. Everybody had enough, in fact more than enough of restricted and oppressed freedom.
- c.
- (1) There would be no need to outlaw a communist party, since there would be no one to be outlawed. Communism is a lost cause in Hungary
- C. (1) Would like to see a neutral independent Hungary similar to Austria
- (2) Has already given answers to this question previously.
- (3) No military alliance whatsoever. Strict neutrality. Economic and trade agreements with everybody. Cultural ties ditto, except with Russia.
3. (1) Respondent heard a great deal about it. It was a commonly discussed subject and regarded as one of the means to break ties with communism.
- (2) It could work, provided the Czechs gave up panslavism altogether. And it would be desirable. The Federation should consist of Austria Hungary, Moravia (under above mentioned conditions) Slovakia as separate state, Yugoslavia. Romania but here Transylvania as a separate member-state.
- (3) Was considered to be a sound idea.
4. (1) No. They are unacceptable. Hungarian inhabited parts of Transylvania and Slovakia as well as Yugoslavia should be returned to Hungary. The main concern, however, has and always is Transylvania.
- (2) Answered ~~in~~ above. Would also accept if Transylvania would become a separate state with the three nationalities having equal rights. Also if Slovakia could become an independent state.
- (3) First of all communism should be liquidated everywhere, and then all these problems come afterwards.

- XV. 2. The 20th Party Congress was a special history subject at school and they learned all about it as well as about Krushchev's speech. She does not know whether or not this was the so-called "secret" speech or not. It was the one in which K. denounced Stalinism.
3. Yes she knew about it as the communist press on the whole made much ado about it, and attacked Sen. Mc. Carthy for his activities.
8. Did not know very much about Rakosi's private life. Heard only about the house where he lived, which allegedly is atom-proof and furnished with top luxuries. Radio, television, record player built-in bar (only western liquors!)

- B. 1. Subject read widely and as much as possible. Hungarian classics (learned to read when she was 4 years old) Lots of poetry classics and modern. Hungarian and English. Learned English from friend of her mother who was American by birth. Also read German authors in translations. Technical magazines and publications in connection with her profession (mainly Italian, which, according to her were excellent.) She also read regularly the Readers Digest - in secret of course, handed down from friend to friend. She never read Hungarian newspapers, because did not believe them and hated the slanted way they presented everything.

Books to be obtained in stores or lending libraries were in great number Russian. Classics and modern alike. Translations and originals. Also available were the modern Hungarian writers (communist) and communist French authors' books. The modern Russian authors were compulsory at high-school.

Before the war and during the war some good books were still obtainable. Later on the books were less expensive but of low standard. The Eastern German technical books and publications were excellent too.

3. (1) See above.
 (2) Dttto
 (3) Did not believe nor trust them, as they were slanted.
 (4) She rather listened to the radio instead (Foreign) Newspapers did not carry world events, only domestic and Russian.
 (5) To read Russian books etc. was compulsory at school. Otherwise nobody bothered to read Russian.
 (a) what she told about her own reading habits refers also to others.
 (b) All were slanted.
 (c) easily obtainable.
 (6) Everybody did as much as possible, even though it was illegal.
 (a) The "Austrian Abend was much read. The Daily Worker was obtainable but not liked and not read.
 (b) Did not know of any.

4. The answer is no.

6. (1) Yes, did get news by word of mouth.
 (2) Political
 (3) Friends
 (4) Were more reliable than the newspapers since sources were the foreign radio-emissions, which people used to listen at night and in secret. Also some did get hold of foreign newspapers.
 (a) not always reliable
 (b) She always believed serious-minded and trustworthy people.

- (5) Of course.
 - (a) Political news
 - (b) To friends of course
 - (c) At friendly gatherings.

F. Mainly went to the Opera if and when possible.

XVI. A. 1. This question has been answered already in connection with the Hungarian revolution.

2. Free elections could only be held in Russia after communism had been eliminated, then the outcome is evident.
5. Probably they too have quite a few smart men. Their ultimate aim now is world communism as taught by them. (Marxism-Leninism) The difference between the Russian and the Hungarian communists is that the Russians are nationalists, while the Hungarians are Moscowites and not primarily Hungarians.

B.1.A.1) Most popular was Poland, then Eastern Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia was equally unpopular.

The dislikes were solely against their respective governments.
(2) Reasons can be traced back to historical ties (as for inst with Poland)

- (3) Respondent shares the same feelings.
- (4) Had none with any of these countries.

2. East Germany would be united with West Germany there is no doubt about this. Regarding the other countries, she does not know. She does not know how much for inst. the Chechs are fed up with communism. Besides they as well as the Bulgarians are slaves. The Rumanians on the other hand are fence sitters.

3. Eastern Germany
Czechoslovakia
Hungary and Poland about the same
Bulgaria and Rumania also about the same.

C. 1.(1) There has certainly been a change there, but to what extent that could only become evident when and if the Russians leave the country.

(2) Gomulka is what we call a Titoist, that is he wants a national communism. ~~xxxx~~ It is a temporary solution, and the best he could do at present. It is however not the way to break with communism.

(3) Nobody knows. He will succeed for a while anyway, the more so since Russia wants to show what a "good ~~political~~ boys" they are

(4) She did not change her opinion these last 5-6 months.

2. events in Poland certainly had an effect on events in Hungary.

(1) Yes. Newspapers wrote more freely, dared to voice criticism. Then Petofi Kör started activities too.

(2) The demonstrations on October 23rd. were also in sympathy with the Poles.

4. (1) Doesn't know. She heard about the Poznan riots as these were given much publicity in the press and radio.

5. Looking back now on events, maybe it was a pity that so many lives were sacrificed in vain. But at the time of the revolution back home she did not think. She believed that a revolution was needed so as to bring about a complete change. The more so as communism remains communism, whether it is a so-called "national communism or an international one.

Cmt. XVI.

- D. 1. (1) On the whole people admired Tito how smart he is and how well he can get away with his bi-partisan policy.
- (2) No, Tito did not invent national communism. He is a sly, smart man, but a communist nevertheless. He is first of all a nationalist and only then a communist. Everybody know of the controversies between Tito and the Soviet. He was smart enough to accept everything he could ~~not~~ but goes his own way politically and economically. His speech at the time of the Hungarian revolution was a masterpiece of his ~~insidious~~ what we call "turncoat" policy.
- (3) Rajk too was primarily a Hungarian, this is what had to be admitted, but he was a communist too. Having opposed the Moscowite gang, he was doomed of course. Respondent does not know anything about Slansky.

As far as she knew, Tito was extremely popular in Yugoslavia, because the Serbs are fierce nationalists. A Moscowite would never be accepted there.

Conditions in Yugoslavia, living standard etc. subject only knows by hearsay. Living standards are not very high, she was told. But on the other hand there is more personal freedom.

- E. Believes that the extremely low living standard in China has much to do with the spreading of communism there. Also the communists can achieve more among the more primitive people, as the Chinese peasants are. She believes China is less dependent of Moscow since the country is enormous, and cannot be occupied so easily as a small country. She also believes that the Chinese are smart, and when they have obtained everything they wanted from Russia, they finally will turn their back on them.

Respondent does not know anything in particular about the relations between England and India.

6. (1) Regarding events in Suez, she thinks that the nationalization of the Canal was done on Russian instigation, and that the British and French should not have withdrawn once they started the war there. Nasser is bolstered -and very much at that- with Russian help. Israel on the other hand attacked on Western incitement.
- (4) Events in Egypt had a decidedly bad effect on developments in Hungary.

- F. 1. Living standard in West Germany is very high. There is a terrific boom there. The Western world pours in everything possible. (Just as Russia does with Eastern Germany) Prosperity in Western Germany is on the increase.

3. "I wish they would" she said. The Germans are the only ones the Russians fear. They might want to unite Eastern and Western Germany. If this leads to war, then ~~not~~ Germany certainly would go ahead with it.

4. It was a very good thing to allow Germany to rearm. Should have been done earlier, or rather, they should have never been made to disarm. Again: they are the only ones the Russians fear.

Does not know much about the military strength of Western Germany. But as individuals the German people are a better material than the French for inst.

XVI Cont.

5. Not only personally but on the whole the Russian occupation army was the most distasteful to Hungarians. The German army was very disciplined. The Russian not at all.

Respondent wishes to emphasize that since she is not Jewish, she naturally had no troubles with the Germans.

- G.2. Regarding the British Labor Party, it cannot be compared to any communist party. They play with the fire, but only in theory, since they cannot possibly know from experience what communism really is.

3. According to respondent's opinion the rank of countries regarding their living standards is the following: West Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Soviet Union. Has no idea about living standards in Greece and Egypt.

- H.1. She was most impressed by the terrific difference between the living standard in Europe and the United States. Then the amazing amount of automobiles. Television everywhere.

2. The US should more effectively help the Eastern European states in their fight against communism. In the long run this would only benefit the US anyway.

(1)

Believes US foreign policy to be extremely shortsighted. They still do not know Russia, and her methods. What is the use of making treaties and agreements with the Soviet Union if they don't keep them.

(a)

Should give aid to the government of Poland, so as to win them over, Government and people alike.

(b)

It is different with Hungary. Here Kadar not being a nationalist aid given to Hungary would not reach the people. However, if something could be worked out then certainly it would be good.

(c) No, her opinion has not changed.

3. In view of above mentioned facts she really does not see how and what could be done.

4. People in Hungary would certainly like to see more Western visitors. They hate to be isolated from the West where to as everybody feels - Hungary belongs.

(1) Journalists, tourists and politicians.

(2) They should be told in advance not to fall for Potemkin shows and for what they are shown by authorities. She thinks it would be a good idea if for inst. a workmen would go and visit Hungarian workers, farmers the farmers, intellectuals the intellectuals etc.

The best individuals to "brief" these foreign visitors would be the escapees who could tell them for what to look and where and how.

5. Certainly, and very much so. They are famished for Western literature and science. Technical publications, scientific magazines, political pamphlets, everything in connection with arts, literature, fiction and non fiction. Everything would be most welcome. These publications should go to Universities, Schools, Technical and scientific institutes Public Libraries and also to private persons if possible.

XVI Cont.

6. As mentioned above these new Hungarian exiles could tell best what is needed in Hungary.
 7. The main purpose of the Marshall Plan was to help the underprivileged countries economically, and to help their economy, to tide them over the period during which war damages and the after-effects of war were mended.
 - (1) The above is her own opinion, because the people in Hungary were informed about the Marshall Plan only via communist press, which of course was biased.
 - (2) She believes it was a very sound and workable idea
 - (3) Not purely humanistic reasons, also ~~for~~ the US wanted to gain more and new markets.
 8. Could not tell reasons why the US became involved in the Korean war.
- J. The United Nations certainly could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last months of 1956.
- (1) Since the UN was unable to enforce its resolutions, the UN Charter must be wrong, and the UN therefore ineffective. There is too much talk and too little action altogether
 - (2) Sanctions against all member nations should be equally enforced, and the Russians should have been made to obey and withdraw their troops.
 - (3) Since UN showed itself to be powerless, she does not believe that effective UN actions will be forthcoming in the near future.

VII.

- A. The greatest living Hungarian, who is respected by everybody in Hungary is Bela KOVACS, who dared to stand up against Soviet pressure and accepted no compromise. He did not give in to the demands of Hungarian communist puppets. He is a man of integrity and strong character. Russian prison and tortures did not break his spirit.
- B.1.
- a. Imre NAGY, poor man, had to accept the part he played. Fundamentally he is an honest chap who wanted to be of help to the nation. However, his qualities are not such that had the Hungarian revolution succeeded, he could have remained in office later on.
 - b. Cardinal N. N. SZENTY a greatly respected person in Hungary. Everybody admires him. A great man. Intransigent. Primarily a cleric of course. Should never be mixed up or take part in politics.
 - c. Laszlo RAJK Even though he was a nationalist, he was a communist nevertheless.
 - d. Prno OTLO, is one of the worst, not a Hungarian but a devoted Moscowite.
 - e. János KADAR is a pathological case. Due to tortures endured by his own fellow communists (If rumors are true that he even was castrated among other things, this would explain a great deal.) He has no will of his own. On the other hand he does everything to please his masters so as to remain in power.
2. a.
- President HISHMOFF is a man full of honest goodwill and integrity. But is not strong enough. He should be more of a dictator so as to fight the Soviet with equal weapons.
- b. UN Sec. Gen. HAMMERSKJOLD is too much of a gentleman too. Also unable to deal with the Russians.
 - c. Foreign Secretary DULLES seems to make one blunder after the other.
 - d. Former Prime Minister EDEN has also overshot the mark.
 - e. Former President TRUMAN: subject believes that he would have interfered in the Hungarian Soviet conflict like he did in the Korean had he been in office now.
 - f.
- 3.
- a. MIKOJAN is a puppet
 - b. NEKHU cannot make up his mind whether to side with the Western or the Eastern hemisphere.
 - c. General SANG KAI SHIK is leader of Nationalist China
 - d. Ferenc NAGY former Hungarian Prime Minister. -ack in Hungary everybody has a pretty bad opinion of him. He left the country at times when it was cowardice to flee. If ever Hungary becomes free again, he certainly will not be allowed to play a part in Hungarian ~~politics again.~~
 - e. Former President of the United States ROOSEVELT sold Europe at Yalta to the Russians.
 - f. German Chancellor ADENAUER is the greatest living statesman a wise politician.
 - g. STALIN. How can you ask such a question from anybody who comes from behind the Iron Curtain? Words fail me to express my opinion about him.

VII Cont.

- h. MALENKOV was just a transition between the Stalinist era and the new trend.
- i. FRANCO: does not know anything about him, except that he is the dictator of Spain.
- j. BEVAN: does not even know who he is.
- k. KRUSHCHEV is a puppet in hands of Zhukov and Molotov
- l. of TITO ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ subject has spoken in great length already
- m. PERON: she does not know who he is.
- n. MOLOTOV is a smart and clever man, though a crook, and base, vile character. He is quite well educated.
- o. Never heard of OLLENAUER
- p. CHURCHILL former British Prime Minister. While in office he was the greatest living statesman. It is a pity that he is too old now and has no more ~~to~~ say in world affairs.

VIII

- A. 1.(a) First of all those fled Hungary who took an active part
 (1) in the revolution. Members of the Revolutionary Committee for inst. Then the intellectuals (University graduates, technical engineers, doctors, chemical engineers etc.) Skilled workers and miners in great number. Very many Jews fled also, and finally of course there were adventurers, and as always some of the scum. AVH men also tried to flee but were soon captured in Austria.
 (b) The younger people fled because of the deportations going on in Hungary as reprisals. The intellectuals because they were not allowed to work in their own profession. The workers because they were exploited.
- (2)(a)
 Those remaining were mostly the elderly people who did not have the will to be uprooted again. Artists, singers, actors, musicians were treated better and had not so much reason to leave. The peasants did not want to leave the land. And finally those who were Party members, or had a good "Kader" had no reason to leave either. Many of the elder generation, however, who stayed behind, sent out their children so that at least they could grow up in freedom.
 (b) She has great respect for those who stayed behind (except the communists of course) as it needs a great deal of courage to face life and to live under conditions that will prevail now in Hungary.
 (c) Had some friends, who after 5 years finally managed to get an apartment of their own, and furnished it. They were reluctant to face the unknown future.
- 2(3) Those remaining behind are glad that at least one part of their families is in safety and lives in freedom. Some of course might say that it was cowardly to flee, but it was wise nevertheless.
- B.1. While in Hungary she did not hear of any Hungarian exile organization. See attached list.
2. See attached list. Re F. NAGY see above voiced opinion. Re Otto of Hapsburg she knew that he is the son of the last Hungarian king and pretender to the Hungarian Throne. Of Admiral Horthy she knew his role in the past decade. Did not know that he died recently.
3. People who left Hungary before 1956 even if they tried to do accomplish anything for Hungary did not seem to succeed in doing so.
- (3) What they really should have done: to make the Western world realize what has happened in Hungary in the past 10 years and to stir up public opinion against communism.
- C.(1) Those who returned to Hungary after having fled regretted having gone back. Their main reasons for redefection were mostly homesickness and family reasons. Also they feared the uncertain future abroad.
- (2) The reasons for the communist redefection campaign are mainly to be found in the acute and extreme shortage of trained professional people. (engineers, doctors etc)
- D.
 All escapees should try to tell the American public, private persons newspapermen, etc. about happenings in Hungary so as to stir up public opinion in favor of the Hungarian cause. The American people must be told what it is to live under communist domination and they must be enlightened about communist methods, and tricks.
1. Hungarians who remained home would mostly like to know how their relatives are faring, how they are getting on in the New World.

VIII cont.

2. They ought to be informed about life in the US. and that the new immigrants will try to do their best to change their life back home, by helping from here as much as possible
 3. The new immigrants must ~~show~~ with their behavior, diligence, work etc. ~~show the American public~~ win over the American public opinion, and thus make Hungarians liked and popular. This is also what she
 4. personally wants to do. It is very important in her opinion that Hungarians impress Americans favorably.
 5. No, she does not want to join any exile organization. However any such organization which keeps the Hungarian national spirit alive-- even if people have become American citizen-- is very useful and commendable. These organizations should also to the greatest extent try to ~~help~~ help materially and spiritually the ones who stayed behind the Iron Curtain. She believes that this task could be best carried out by the new escapees since these are "nearer" somehow to their kin than those who immigrated in 1945 or 1950. They have more in common, and know of course the situation better. The ties with their homeland are stronger.
 6. (1) Could not tell, was too young
(2) Does not know about them
(3) She heard about different parties resuming activity during the revolution, but in her opinion it was a mistake to start forming parties too early. Anyway the oppression of the revolution put soon an end to their activities.
As mentioned before, previous exile groups (Ferenc Nagy and Co.) will never be welcomed and would not have been welcomed either during the revolution.
- E. 1. If it will become possible she would like to return for a visit, to Hungary, not for good.
2. Most certainly and she was very emphatic about this that when she and her husband can afford to have children, they will talk to them in Hungarian at home.

XIX.

- A. 1. (1) Respondents listened always to foreign radio stations. Namely: RFE, Voice of America and BBC.
 (a) The reception for BBC was best
 (b) All stations were constantly jammed, the most RFE
 (c) She listened to the Hungarian emissions and also to the English emissions of the BBC (these she understood better)
 (d) Listened every day, most frequently RFE then the Voice and BBC. In her opinion the BBC emission were the most factual, and unbiased.
 (e) Yes, she did, friends, always--
- (2) (a) They did not have a radio of their own so she listened on the radio of some friend.
 (b) Together with others.
 (c) ?????
- (3) Yes, friends always told each other; always.
2. (1) There was always much risk involved in listening. If reported to authorities or caught in the act of listening people were imprisoned, dismissed from jobs or at least it was marked down on the "Kader" file.
 (2) It did not deter people, only made them more cautious.
 (3) It was a bit better in the last 10 years. It was the worst in 1952
3. (1) Respondents attitude has not changed.
 (2) Had no special preference.
 (3) RFE gave the longest programs, BBC was more accurate, See above. RFE sometimes gave out rumors too, and then people were angry that they knew the news better than RFE.
 (4) In 1948-52-53 everybody believed what the foreign radios said, later on they lost faith, since soon everybody found out that there was too much talk and not much behind it. However, the foreign radio was the only means by which people in Hungary could follow the UN sessions and the events in Suez etc.
4. The above contains the answer.
5. No Western radio did in fact incite the Hungarian people. As a result of the general trend of these foreign radio emissions it was believed and hoped that some sort of help will come forth, such as previously discussed (sanctions, etc. economic blockade of the Soviet etc.)
6. By all means RFE should continue the broadcasts into Hungary. Even though confidence has been shattered in any form of Western help, but people want to hear international and Western news. They got used to it and would miss it terribly. It was a part of their everyday life.
7. (1) More everyday facts about life in the free world. More scientific data, discoveries, news about them etc. More on cultural life and events.
 (2) (a) straight political news (no comments) and economic news.
 (b) No anticommunist propaganda. Hungarians know what communism is, they must not be told by those who have not experienced it and lived under communist rule for 11 years. These people could rather teach the Americans a couple of things about communism.
 (c) This program would be very important.
 (d) Ditto.
 (e) As mentioned above more about science, discoveries and also good music.

Cont XIX.

- B.1. Did not hear about N.E.M. ever.
2. Neither did she hear about the Twelve Demands.
- C.1. Has not seen Free Europe leaflets.
2. Heard that some were found in Western Hungary
3. Yes it was risky to pick them up or to talk about them. Anybody in whose possession leaflets were found was charged with conspiracy, AVH took them immediately. Nevertheless it did not deter people.
4. The whole leaflet campaign was stuff and nonsense. Empty promises talk, talk, talk. It did not help the Hungarian cause at all, and did not play any role during the revolution.
5. Should not continue. It is senseless and innocent people can get in trouble only.
- D. By reporting the Western news, radio broadcasts did a useful work. However, it should not be believed here in the West that without the radio propaganda and the leaflets Hungarians would have accepted communism. Far from it. Nobody has to tell the Hungarians what communism is and with which methods the Soviet is working. Respondent did not see any difference in objectives of RFE, VOA and BBC or FEP.

Respondent wanted to stress again how badly informed American responsible authorities are about the general situation in Hungary and behind the Iron Curtain altogether. She suggested that American politicians and statesmen ask advice from these new escapees regarding this field. She thought that here in America it seems there are no trained politicians for responsible posts. Domestic and mainly foreign. She believes that this is the reason why so many and so often political and foreign political blunders are made.

- XX.1.(a) Children should be brought up in some religion (does not matter which) To love their "neighbours" in the biblical sense. To be good patriots, to be honest and straightforward. The love of science and arts should be encouraged.
- 2.(1) Children must be disciplined. physical punishment has never done any harm and should be used reasonably until certain age at least.
(2) It depends entirely on the child.
(3) According to the development of the child and to the sex.
3. Subject remembers that when she was 5 years old she broke a window in mischief. Her mother gave her a good spanking and put her into the corner for a while.
4. Yes, children were punished when it was necessary whether they were young or older. It did not depend on the sex or age at all. The same methods refer to all social classes. There was a change during the last 10 years inasmuch as at school physical punishment was abolished.
5. Physical punishment was abandoned when it was no more necessary to employ it, regardless of the sex of the child. There was a difference, however, in cases when the child was a wage earner, then it became conscious of its importance and could no more be disciplined. Communism did bring about changes in this respect. It is more difficult to discipline children since morals became so slack, and children are taught a different moral standard at school than what their parents want to teach them.
6. Before communism physical punishment consisted of being hit on the nails by the teacher with a ruler, or with boys being slapped on the face. All this has been abolished during the communist regime.
7. A friend should first of all be straightforward and honest. Should not try to flatter, have criticism; on the whole it should be a "constructive" friendship. But mainly she or he must be intelligent.

Regarding changes in friendship under communism, she cannot tell of own experience as the friends she had remained her friends she took good care when selecting them, and was not disappointed by them.