

24-F
HLR

Date of Interviews:
4/27, 1957
5/28 "

by
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Podhorszky
Maria Podhorszky

1. PERSONAL INVENTORY

1. 24-F
2. 26
3. Female
4. Divorced
5. Protestant
6. Budapest, Hungary
7. Spent most of her life at Dombóvár, Hungary and Budapest
8. Shortly before the revolution she stayed at the St. Stephen Municipal Hospital as a nurse
9. Respondent was abroad in 1938 in Austria on a family visit and in 1944-45 as a displaced person in Munich, Germany wherefrom she returned in 1945 to Hungary.

11.

Respondent is a high school graduate and had two years as a student nurse at the St. László Hospital in Budapest. Respondent worked from 1952-1953 as a bookkeeper with the Hungarian Investment Bank at Szekszárd. From 1954, until 1956, she was the student nurse as mentioned before at the St. László Hospital. *a*

Respondent's parents are living at Dombóvár. The father is 69; the mother is 53. She has one sister who is 23 yrs. old, and she lives at Kaposvár.

Respondent left Hungary Nov. 24, 1956, and arrived in the US on 1/24/57. *1st*

She stayed first at Camp Kilmer, and then in Bard College, *late on* Philadelphia, and now she's staying at Coventry, Conn.

Respondent hopes for a scholarship as she plans to study medicine which she was not allowed to do in Hungary. Respondent has not been interviewed by any Western organization since leaving Hungary except by the Church *WS* in Austria which was a routine investigation connected with her emigration.

Respondent speaks German and has a working and reading knowledge of French.

Personal Background

The background of subject is of the upper middle class. Her father had been the estate manager of Eszterhazy who owned about 40,000 acres in Hungary. Thus her education and surroundings have been extremely good. Respondent is a typical example of a person who is easily regarded as a so-called "class -alien" by the Communist regime. Due to this fact she had many set backs in her life and career. At first, she was not admitted to the University of Medical Sciences and then later she was dismissed from her job, and finally at the nurses' school she had to much to suffer due to her bad cadre file.

She's a very soft spoken and likeable person - a soothing, ~~spit~~ quiet personality. I am sure she was a good nurse and would make a very good doctor.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM -UP QUESTION

"What I consider the most important things that Americans should know about the event in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 is that this revolution was not organized and not master-minded by anybody. It was totally and wholly spontaneous. It was directed against the Stalinist regime and all social sections and classes of the whole nation took part in it, contrary to prepeganda that they were all fascists taking part in the revolution and there were no anti-semitic feelings flare up.

*and former
members*

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

On the 22nd of October, 1956, respondent had been at the St. Laszlo Hospital for Contagious Diseases. She worked at the polio ward and therefore all those who worked there were closed off from everybody else. They lived in the quarantine, so to say. In Hungary they had no anti-polio serums at all, and this was the only precaution they could work out. On the 23rd of Oct. other student nurses from the hospital came over to inform them that the demonstration was planned for the 23 in the afternoon. Some officers of the nearby Kossuth military academy came over and told the nurses this news. When asked for permission to join the demonstration, the headmaster of the nurses' school flatly refused them and told them that if anybody takes part in the demonstration will be immediately dismissed from the school. The headmaster, of course, was a Communist.

Nevertheless, 90% of the student nurses went to see the

It was about 3:30 in the afternoon when she joined the students and marched with them along the Kossuth Street to watch the Bem statue in Buda. Her feelings were that of intense relief, of tremendous joy to be free at last, and so was everyone filled with joy. She was not afraid of anything, and she thought she knew perfectly well what the consequences would be, and that she would be dismissed from the school. Regarding what she wanted the government to do, she pointed out:

"I believe that everybody's purpose was of getting rid of the Stalinist regime. We wanted a government by the people and from the people - to be completely independent of the Soviet influence. Personally, of course, I hoped that by solving this problem, our personal problem would also be solved, and people would know no more be discriminated if they ^{came from a} so-called "class-alien" background.

"While we were at the Bem statue, I think that we still were quite willing to accept one compromise and that if we would have the assurance that Imre Nagy would become the head of the government - a peaceful revolution would come about and little by little the country would proceed on the role of complete change.

"We never thought that the fighting would start at this moment; however, when arriving at the Parliament and seeing the excited crowd I thought that a revolution is inevitable."

"Regarding the age, sex and class of the demonstrators, about 70% youth took part in these demonstrations and as far as I can judge, every social class took part in it. I even saw many soldiers in their uniforms. I really could not tell who did not take part in these demonstrations except, of course, I'm sure that the Party Secretary of our hospital was not there."

"As mentioned before, these demonstrations were completely spontaneous and unorganized. To a certain extent they took the leadership into their hands and they had elected several leaders who led a group of people and who more or less tried, and did, enforce order, but that was all. As we went along in the streets everybody joined us."

"From the Ben statue we went to the Parliament Square. I was with a friend of mine. We arrived before the Parliament around six o'clock, and here the crowd came to see Nagy. As time went ~~very~~ by, and it got darker, everybody started to roll up their newspapers and used them as torches. This was really an unforgettable ~~spectacular~~ sight. In the meantime, Peter Veres tried to calm down people, but did not succeed. The crowd demanded that the real and old Hungarian flag should be hoisted on the Parliament building. This was done. There was a point when the crowd was so impatient that some of them tried to break into the Parliament by the rear entrance."

~~"I left the square in front of the Parliament before Nagy had appeared."~~

"I left the square in front of the Parliament before Nagy had appeared. I went back to my school to see whether or not I could round up more girls to come and join the demonstration. I walked all the way, of course, because at that time the trams, streetcars, were not running. On my way home, I heard that the crowd went to the Radio buildings. When I arrived back at the hospital, the first batch of wounded already had arrived at the Istvan hospital, so I went straight over."

"Arriving here, I found complete disorganization. There were no nurses around. The Chief Medical Officer was absent. They had only one doctor - one of the residents of the hospital, called George Gordon. He was the only one who stayed on all the time during the revolution. He was a wonderful man. Four other student nurses joined me there and later

on, one old nurse turned up also, so that was all. We had to work of course day and night.

"We had only two Russian soldiers who were loaned to our hospital but these were taken away by the Russians immediately - the very same day. All I can say about them was that they were terribly scared. I never saw anybody so scared in my life.

"On October the 25th and 26th, we received many wounded freedom fighters. Some of them were very seriously wounded, and we had also many deaths. All of our wards, and even the corridors were crowded with our patients. We had enough equipment and food. The peasants were really wonderful; they brought in food from the villages and distributed it. There was one thing, however, which we lacked, and that was plasma. Around the Nov. 5th and 6th, we ran out of it. At the same period we had to stay down in the cellars. We took down all our patients because fighting was going on in the vicinity and we had no windows left in the hospital building at all. These windows later on were repaired. We had also another doctor from Szeged who somehow was stuck in the hospital and couldn't go into town any more, so he stayed and helped us. I do not know his name, but the name of the other doctor I remember. It was Dr. Ruff, who also came along and helped us. I cannot give an exact figure of the casualties that we had there but they ran into several hundreds. We had altogether about 30 deaths."

"I heard the word 'freedom fighter' for the first time at the very beginning of the revolution. Considering the age of the wounded we got in our hospital, I believe that around 80% of the fighters must have been around 20 or so, and I also think that they were 50% of the working class, and of the intelligentsia. I really couldn't tell who did not take part in the fighting. As to how the demonstrators got their arms, I only can tell that on the 23rd of October at 11:00 P.M., I saw a big truck going along to the arms factory and these young men told me that they were going to get arms there. Also I knew that the soldiers billeted at the Ben barracks were the first ones who handed over their arms to the freedom fighters. The students of the Kossuth Military Academy at first were rather passive; later on, they also joined the revolution. Here I would like to mention that I

have also seen several students from the University of Medical Sciences - Chinese boys and girls who also joined in the revolution and fought side by side. One Chinese and one Bulgarian medical student were these who walked over to Buda and brought us the so-much needed plasma."

"As I was working all the time at the hospital, I am unable to give further information regarding how the fighting went on, and how the demonstrations turned into fighting. Regarding how they were organized, I believe that the main trouble was that freedom fighters had no efficient leaders. One of my patients told me, who fought on the corner of Ullei Street and Cervin Koz; later on, I heard the name of Maleter mentioned by many of my patients. He was the one who organized the defense of Kilian barracks. All my patients praised him highly.

"Regarding the overall outcome of the revolution, I believe that everybody knew that unless some assistance would be forthcoming, we cannot possibly win. Nevertheless at that time, everybody decided to fight to the bitter end.

"Then we heard that the ~~Russian government~~ government called in the Russian troops. We knew that this was of course on Russian pressure, but we gritted our teeth and somehow we became more bitter and more decisive, and decided to go on with our fight."

C. ~~Mr~~ I spent my time between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion at the hospital working there. When the Red Army had begun its retreat, we believed for a short time that they did this in order to comply with the wishes of the workers, and to show them what good boys they are. We first heard that the Russian troops were returning on Nov. 4, and this was also the day we saw them returning. I had spent all my time at the hospital until the very day when I escaped from Hungary. I started planning my escape, on ~~Nov~~ Nov. 23rd. By that time I found that the cause had been lost and also since I was not allowed to study medicine as I wanted, I

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thought the time had arrived when I must leave my country so as to come over to the West and make my life, and this I wanted it to be."

"Regarding whether or not, on the whole, Hungary has gained because of the October revolution, I believe and sincerely hope that in the eyes of the world, Hungarian has proved her ardent wish to be free and that despite the twelve years of Soviet domination, Hungary never accepted Soviet rule.

"On the other hand, Hungary has lost everything - even what she had gained in the few months prior to the revolution."

EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A." At the very beginning, everybody quite foolishly hoped that the West would come to our help by giving us arms. Later on, however, when the United Nations brought out its resolution we were convinced that the UN sanctions would be carried out. Also, we were certain that Secretary General Hammarskjöld would come as the head of an investigating committee. I believe that we were quite justified to hope this because Russia did everything that was against the UN Charter, and we could not believe that the UN would be so weak that they wouldn't be able to enforce their sanctions against Russia, and of the Court.

B."Our expectations were formed on the radio broadcasts of the United Nations session by which we were informed of all the actions and sanctions issued by the UN. Also we had heard how all nations unanimously were standing up for the Hungarian cause. We also heard through the radio that the UN had ordered the sending out of an investigating committee."

C. Respondent did not ~~maintain~~ contact any foreigners between October 23 and the time of her escape.

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "My father was the estate manager of Eszterhazy, before the war. At that time, I was much too young to care what his income was. All I can say is that we had many good and easy life. After the war, my father became an electrician. Later on, however, he got ~~xxx~~ interned and now I don't even know where he is. I only know that he was freed by the revolution from the ~~xxxxxx~~ internment camp. I do not dare to write to him. As I said I don't know his income before the war, but after the war when he became an electrician on his own he had a degree of electronic engineering from the University of Budapest. He earned about 940 forints per month. My parents owned houses in Budapest, in Debrecen, and also at Lake Balaton. These houses were family houses and they lived in them alternately, week-ending where my father had to stay in connection with his work."

Respondent's father had high school education ~~and was a graduate of~~ ~~xxxxxx~~. He had a degree in electronics ~~from the~~ engineering from the Budapest University as well as another degree from the Agricultural University ~~xxxx~~ at Magyaróvár. Respondent's mother was a high school graduate.

B. Respondent made the following distinctions regarding the social classes in Hungary: The intellectuals - the peasantry and the working class.

However, I believe there were some changes since 1945 in this respect. The intellectual class somehow slipped over to the working class, due to the fact that they were unable to get work in their own field of qualifications. On the other hand, the peasantry and the working class stepped up one class higher into the intellectual class."

"To my mind anybody who has an University degree, or who is studying at the University and further on, all civil servants, and office employees belong to the intellectual class."

Respondent had no direct or constant relationship with any of the other classes than hers. She, of course, regards herself to belong to the intellectual class.

Regarding her attitudes toward the different social classes, she was of the opinion that the intellectuals were the ones who would never give in to the Communist regime, and who ~~xxxxxx~~ fight and will

go on fighting for freedom. The peasantry, as she said, is very much tied down to the land and are rather egotistic. However, during the revolution they behaved wonderfully by supplying food to the city. Concerning the working class, respondent was of the opinion that in the beginning they sort of played toward Communism, and were inclined to accept it, but later on, as it has been proved by the revolution, they switched over completely, due to the fact that they had seen for themselves how Communism in practice works.

"I believe that the hardest hit class is the intellectual class, because they are always considered as class-alien and they were completely ill-informed from the economic and political life of the country. It very often happened that an intellect wasn't even accepted as a factory worker."

C. Respondent ~~also~~ detailed the behaviour of different classes to each other as follows:

"I do not believe that much love was lost between the peasantry and the intellectual class. They never did understand each other. Nevertheless, they needed each other, and I think that the same situation prevails between the workers and the peasants. The intellectuals however were approaching the worker's class little by little, since the intellectuals had also to work to do ~~physically~~ or manually. The workers in the beginning were rather ~~afraid~~ of the intellectual class; somehow, they feared them, and were afraid that they will always remain "gentlemen". But at the time when the whole Hungarian working class emerged from Communism and switched over, then they were beginning to understand them and estimate them. The workers somehow envied the peasantry because they could own some land and other properties.

"As to the peasants, they somehow snubbed the workers as a class which did not own anything. The regime tried to bring about a closer cooperation and understanding between the peasantry and the working class, but never succeeded in doing so. This was an artificial approach because the fundamental characters of the two classes are much too different. The peasantry admitted the superiority of the intelligentsia but on the other hand, they tried to get out of them as much as possible. Nevertheless during the revolution, the Hungarian peasantry behaved extremely well to all social classes.

EF An individual who wants to succeed in Hungary must lack character. He must compromise and he must adjust himself to all the demands of the Communist regime. The class origin is the most important thing in any career. If you are talented, it helps but it cannot counterbalance if you are a class-alien. You must have a good cadre file so as to be able to succeed. Up 'til 1948 these cadre files were kept so scrupulously, and even at that time, the so-called class alien students were accepted at the..... Universities. During the regime of Imre Nagy, the rules weren't kept so strictly but after his government abdicated, they enforced again a very strict rule.

"Altogether I can say that a very political appeasement brought about ~~relaxation~~ relaxation in the economic and other rules."

"As to the type of person who ~~gok~~ could get ahead in Communist Hungary, all I can say is that he must be completely without character or he must be an extremely smart politician - that is, to know how, when and what to say."

FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. " I am absolutely convinced that Communism has had a very bad influence on family life in Hungary on the whole. Of course, this depended entirely on the individual circumstances the family lived in, and whether or not the mother, also, had to work. First of all, the children were very little at home because since the parents had to work, after school they were put into the so-called day schools, and if the teacher there was a Communist, and it was extremely difficult for the parents to counterbalance this influence at home, and especially if a child became intimated at a tender age, it was even more difficult. The changes in the family life during the Communist regime was, of course, in a very bad direction, and it affected mostly the very young generation. ...not only in schools, but even the films, radio, etc. they saw were to indoctrinate the children.

B. "The indoctrination started at the nursery classes where the children were told fairy tales and even these fairy tales were slanted...mostly the Russian heroes were Stalin, and such like. The elder children at school had to learn extremely hard, but during their recreation time they spent mostly the time with the so-called pioneers. Here the regime tried to offer them everything that they could not get at home. They were taken to camps and they were taught to drive cars, etc. Certain subjects, such as history and constitution, for instance were of course slanted. This kind of an education refers also to the adolescents.

"Communist education did its best to make believe to the children that they are independent individuals. That they must cut off the ties of the family. Of course, the parents at home tried to counterbalance the influence of the schools, but did not always succeed. Sometimes, the effect was in the reverse. I knew a family where the parents were very strongly Communistic and yet their son went and fought on the side of the freedom fighters."

"I do not believe that these changes are the same for all social classes. The least influenced were the children of the peasantry. Then the children of the intellectual class, and here because the parents were intelligent and tried to educate their children in their own way, but the greatest change in the family atmosphere has occurred

I believe, in the working class."

"There is a constant conflict between the school and the parent of influence, of course. The teacher, whether or not, he or she is a Communist has to teach what he is told to, so as to keep his job. The teachers who sabotaged most the Communist indoctrination were these who taught in the low-grade schools."

C. Regarding ~~marriage~~ marriage, sex patterns, etc. respondent had the following to say:

"Due to the co-education in a very wide field, I believe the young people were much freer and less inhibited in their relationship to each other. Also they were ~~taught no religion~~ taught no religion which would have given them moral standards to live by. I believe that the increased divorce rate is not entirely to education but mostly due to the impossible and very difficult life everybody had to lead. People are working much too long hours, are very badly paid. They have no time for recreation nor the money, so everybody is jumpy and nervy by the time they come home and have to live in crowded quarters."

Respondent said that she didn't know much about the sex behaviour and changes in the last ten years as she mostly spent her time in the hospital where she studied, or where she was a student nurse. She said, however, that she knew that ~~abortion~~ ^{abortion} was prohibited but later on allowed under certain conditions. About prostitution she couldn't give any information.

As to the official government attitude on sexual matters, she remembers that in '49 they were preaching free love, of course, and even she herself saw at the hospital posters with the following text: "It is a duty for a wife to bear children. It is a glory for a girl." Later on, however, she said, the official attitude was that a high morale standard should be kept up in the family life, and they started to preach about morals and ~~the~~ ethics in the family life.

D. Respondent believed that under no condition would she be able, or could she continue her friendship if she knew that her friends had become Communists, and it would be her who would break off immediately, and therefore she also believed that you cannot continue a friendship keeping politics out of it.

E. Whether or not major crimes have increased under the Communist regime, respondent said that she could not give any information since the daily press tried to keep out such things as much as possible. But she was convinced that the major crimes had certainly increased due to the fact that everybody lived under very bad, material conditions. Also, there was a prevailing attitude that it is not wrong to ~~steal~~ cheat the state- especially not the Communist state. She did not know whether or not the crime rate in women had increased or not, but she was quite sure that it went up among the younger people, and it must have given quite a headache to the authorities. They had set up a new institution for ~~housing~~ juvenile delinquents, and this institution in the outskirts of Budapest was always crowded. Respondent thought that the policing was not very effective in dealing with that crime wave. Regarding alcoholism, she felt that this increased greatly in Hungary.

As to juvenile delinquency, and "heeliganism", respondent said the following:

"I wish to make a distinction between juvenile delinquents and "helligans". A "heeligan" is not necessarily delinquent. A "heeligan" to my mind is maybe a loafer, he is a young worker who earns sometimes some money with honest work, but is not steady in his employment, and he loves to dress in a flashy, silly manner. Usually, he also drinks quite heavily. A juvenile delinquent, on the other hand, is a young person who commits crimes.

I am convinced that since the state is quite concerned about the loafers because they are losing some valuable man-power, they are trying to do something against it. The cause of this above mentioned type of behaviour is probably two-fold - either it is due to the character of the individual or because he feels that even if he works as hard as he can, he doesn't earn enough. "Heeliganism" and loafing, I believe, is not restricted to one social class only. I think that also that the loafers are rather more older people.

"Loafing and "heeliganism" I do not consider to be a crime. I rather consider it to be a crime against the person himself. Parents who live an exemplary life usually can influence their children toward the right direction but, of course, exceptions will always be."

RELIGION

A. "I do believe that Communism has had much of an effect upon the religious life in Hungary. For instance, a person who stuck to his religion became more religious during the Communist regime, and the person who was not religious at all became religious.

"It was the Roman Catholic religion that was hit most under the Communist regime, and because the Catholic church did interfere into politics too much, to my mind. The Protestant religion was hit to a small degree - first of all, because of all the priests compromised and also they tried to cut off themselves and the church from politics. Regarding the Jewish religion, I can't tell anything about it because I never knew any religious Jew."

B. In reference to religion, respondent said that she considers her religion a very important factor in her life. She believes that she is more religious than the average person in Hungary, and she also said that she attends church regularly.

C. Regarding the function of the church in society, respondent said: "Religion must be a very important part in society. It must develop and enforce a high, moral, ethical standard of life. On the other hand, I firmly believe that every religion should be completely independent from the state, and should by no means interfere with politics, nor take part in any politics.

"Churches, regardless which church, should educate children in their religious life; however, without the accentuated bigotry of ~~that~~ some of the religious schools. I am thinking of schools where they are run by monks, or nuns.

"I think that the church should have a word to say about the censorship of movies, but not in the censorship of books, and as I previously said, the church should never interfere in, or play an active political role in an independent Hungary."

D. Respondent could not say to what extent the Jewish religion had been hurt by Communism; nevertheless she was of the opinion, to a much smaller extent than the other religions. When asked why she thought this to be the case, she gave two reasons. (1) Because the Jews were more cautious in exercising their religion publicly; they were much smarter, and (2) because a great.....of the Communist bigwigs were Jews, and so it is very probably they wouldn't prosecute their own race.

"Regarding the Jewish attitude toward Communism, I think that in the beginning, the Jews were very grateful to the Communists that they had been liberated from the Hitler terror, but later on, I also believe that they saw that the so-called liberation isn't exactly that; also, I believe, that especially the rich Jews couldn't accept the Communist doctrine. They felt to a certain extent secure but on the whole I don't think they would have been too happy. As to why so many Jews joined the Communist Party, I think what I said before explains it to a certain extent. Whether or not, the Jews took part in the revolution or demonstrations or fightings, I really cannot tell because at that time, as I said before, I was in the hospital and I hadn't met anybody nor had I taken part in the fighting. I do not think, however, that the Jews would be afraid of an independent Hungary except in the case if the German influence would be too strong ~~and the German influence~~ in an independent and new Eastern Europe."

THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Respondent's opinion of the Hungarian youth was between the ages of 14 and 25.

B. Respondent was of the opinion that the Hungarian youth played a decisive role in the revolution. Also, before the revolution has heard a ferment amongst the young people - especially the University students. These young people were educated ~~under~~ under the Communist regime to go out into the world with open eyes; on the other hand, this worked in reverse too, because they saw the difference of what the Communist talked-preached- and how they enforced it- They saw the lies. Respondent also repeated that the young generation took part in the demonstrations and the fighting to a very large percentage.

The reasons why young people took part in the revolution, or rather who took the lead, were according to respondent that the young people had more courage than the old; they are less cautious, and they have much ~~more~~ less to lose. They have no family, or other ties, as a rule. Also they were dissatisfied on the whole with the way they could get on under the Communist regime. During the revolution, the older people inspired and respected the young people very much. The whole situation was reversed. It was the old who looked up to the young ones. The young people, on the other hand, thought that the older people were much slower in making decisions or taking part in the revolution. When they did it, they were a hundred percent behind them and were not left behind.

C. About the schools and the educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said the following:
"The educational program in the high schools under the Communist regime was extremely heavy. We had to work very much and the standard was very high. We also had, usually, afternoon classes or other recreational classes so as to wean, so to say, the children from their parents to a greater extent. On paper we had only one hour per week indoctrination, but in effect, since politics were thrown into every subject, especially history, geography and even mathematics, biology, etc, the whole material we were taught was rather.....and always on a Russian pattern. The quality of teaching did not change

because the old teachers had to be retained; the younger generation did not choose teaching as a profession voluntarily. Also, it was too much of a great problem to coordinate the two ideologies - the one the young people believed firmly and the Communist ~~Marxist-Leninist~~ doctrine that nobody believed in. The vocational choice was restricted only in the last few years of high school you had to fill out questionnaires regarding your professional choice but it never happened that thewere never chosen for the special courses at the University where they wanted to be.....? I knew, for instance, of a friend of mine who wanted to attend the Agricultural University and was sent to attend adrama and theatre. The only thing that counted was your cadre file. After you received your degree in one of the Universities and the good jobs were always held out for these who had a good cadre file, and never by people who were so-called class-aliens. I myself, also, wanted to enrol for the University of Medical Sciences and this despite that I always had good marks in ~~my~~ schools, ~~it~~ when it came to my application I was told that the ~~number of places~~ quota was filled. This was the reason why I chose later on to attend a nursing school because I was told this way ~~and~~ could in due time achieve and I would be accepted in the ~~University~~ University of Medical Sciences. I also would like to mention that, for instance, at school always those girls who had the best marks were so-called class aliens."

Regarding the teachers and professors, at the time she attended high school in '48, they had only one Communist among all the teachers and respondent didn'tabout these things now. These teachers or professors who had the political classes were not on the staff of the school.

As mentioned before, respondent repeated that the teachers were extremely competent and were qualified for their jobs.

E. Respondent was of the opinion that the Communists spent much time and effort to the indoctrination of the younger generation. They started at the nursery schools; later on, in the day-schools, and even on sports arenas and so-called cultural clubs. After one went through school and took up some jobs, after office hours, there were the political seminars to attend.

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The indoctrination of youth failed in Hungary said respondent: "Because the children were taught to think for themselves. They have seen the difference between the doctrine and how it worked out in reality, and how it was enforced by the Communist regime. Also, they were given a great number of Russian partisan hero books, and so in the whole it worked against themselves. The children just employed during the revolution what they had learned from these books.

when

"In the very beginning ~~during~~ the Communist regime took over in Hungary and at the time when the Social Democratic Party was and so as long as there was some semblance of implementation of the good side of Communist ideology, I am pretty sure that quite a number of young people would have willingly have accepted Communism, but not later on."

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IX / 21 (3A)
~~III/21 (2A)~~

MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. "Our main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary were the very difficult living conditions and the bad economic situation. What annoyed us most was the ridiculous lies by which the Communists tried to convince us that everything is going wonderfully - we never had it so good, and by our own experience we knew it that we never had it so bad.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "During the last years in Hungary my family got on extremely badly. There was always enough food if you had enough money, but, of course we never had enough of that. The same holds for clothing. The housing shortage, on the other hand, was extremely acute and this was even admitted by the Communist regime. We considered it the greatest luxury to go to an opera performance, or to a theatre, or to have, for instance, a second coat besides the one that we were wearing constantly. Everybody, including my own family, had the greatest difficulty in finding adequate housing.

Regarding the living standard of 1945 and the last years - these simply cannot be compared. Our living standard has dropped so much. In particular we missed the decent apartment and also that we have been so completely closed and sealed off from the Western world. Our standard of living was the highest in 1948 and 1949; at the end of '49, my father was arrested and put into an internment camp where he stayed until 1956, and freed by the revolutionaries in 1956 in the fall. All the years from 1949 on, our standard of living was steadily going down.

"People who could live better than any other and who had a higher standard of living were mostly the doctors, for instance - even if they weren't Communists because they had a very large private clientele. Due to the fact that the regular sickness insurance plan was very inefficient and the doctors who participated in that plan were also badly paid and didn't look so well after their patients, everybody who could afford it went to his own private physician. Others who got on quite well financially under the Communist regime, were the so-called MASZEKS. These were the small, independent craftsmen - such as tailors etc. who worked in time on their own with their families and didn't have any employees.

"Facts that account for the Hungarian standard of living going down in the last eight years are: ^{over}first of all, the complete failure of the Russian economic plan; the industrial organization of Hungary and mainly the over-expansion of heavy industry and thirdly - last but not least - the exploitation by the Soviet Union of the rich program everything went out from Hungary to Russia."

B. Regarding her income in Hungary during the last years, respondent said the following:

"I think that I would rather inform you about my income when I was

working with the Hungarian Investment bank because as a student nurse in 1956, I earned much too little. First of all, my salary at the bank was 900 forinths per month - after reductions I received on hand 830. I had to pay 2% for trade union fees - then so-called voluntary peace loan, I paid 50 forinths per month - old age pension reductions were 2%, and then I had to pay 3% of special tax because I had no children. During the last three years, I worked for this company I had twice received 200 forinths - a so-called premium. My salary was extremely low because they said I don't have a special classification to be a bookkeeper; nevertheless, I did the bookkeeping job. Later on, I attended classes and I got my qualification as a bookkeeper and I was entitled to a monthly ~~xxx~~ salary of ~~xxx~~ 1100 forinths, but at the very ~~SAME~~ time that I finished with my special studies, they should of given me the raise - I was dismissed."

"As a student nurse in 1956, I worked at the police ward of the St. Laszlo hospital. Here I received 120 forinths salary; I had also food and board there. No deductions were made on this 120 forinths. I did not have any other income besides this. In our family only my father worked. My mother did not. I received no increase in pay."

C. Regarding the retail prices in Hungary before the revolution, respondent disclosed that the prices of the state stores was always much lower but the quality also was lower. The smaller Maszek shops carried better quality - feedstuffs, for instance. Also the quality was much better on the open farm markets; the prices, however, were higher here. ~~xxxx~~ The commission stores carried only used goods. The prices were pretty high but so was the quality. Some of these commission stores specialized in certain commodities such as silver, glassware, furs, etc. The prices also underwent a great change. The changes were seasonal or not. The price reductions, or price increases, were always linked with some political events, but it always was the customer who had to pay through his nose. The quality of the consumer goods was the lowest in 1952 as far as I can remember. They became a little bit better in the last year or so, and I believe that this was mainly due to the political thaw in Hungary in the last year and also because

all foreigners were allowed to visit Hungary so this probably served propaganda purposes. The government also alleged that since the reparation payments to Russia have been decreasing all the time, the country could afford to raise the quality of commodities."

"As to retail distribution in Hungary, this was pretty bad, and they were constantly hitches. This was however not always due to the misadministration of the large state stores, but very often due to the retail traders who were badly organized. Also, people who were not qualified to certain jobs were assigned as retail traders - for instance, a goldsmith was told to run a grocery store. This happened in the course of the nationalization of the private stores.

"It was extremely difficult to get standard spare parts for anything. I also believe that there was quite a great deal of spoilage of food. For instance, in the canned goods. These canned goods were very expensive so people who didn't buy them, and they got spoiled in the course of time. Commodities that were in especially short supply were meat - sometimes feedstuffs and mostly clothing. For instance, we had to buy our summer clothes in the winter, and vice versa. This only showed the failure of the so-called planned economy. There was also a great shortage of household fuel. In 1956, however, the situation and distribution of commodities was somewhat better.

"The black market⁶ing flourished mainly after the war, and mostly in food stuffs. I do not believe that there is a black market nowadays except for certain commodities that came in Western food parcels, such as from America. For instance, coffee, tea, chocolate. These were always sought on the black market. The black market was not organized since everybody indulged in it. The prices were pretty high but qualities were good.

"I do not know of any legal outlet refusing to sell goods unless the customer paid a higher price, but of course there was quite a lot of "under counter" selling going on. The salesman, or saleswoman, even in the state stores were more willing to sell goods to people they knew, or who were steady customers of that certain store. Black-market⁶ing was prohibited and punishable, but it always depended

on what you sought on the black market. They were extremely strict regarding the gold and if you sold something - for instance, your wedding ring, because you wanted some money to buy feed and not because you just wanted black marketeering - if you were caught the penalties were extremely strict - usually, it meant to prison. The same stood if you carried on black market activities in food stuffs on a large scale. For instance, in 1954 if they searched the houses of the Kulacs and found more than a hundred pounds of flour which was very small supply indeed, then these people were arrested and sentenced for hoarding. "

D. On working conditions, respondent disclosed the following:
"As previously mentioned, I was a student nurse at the police ward of the St. Laszlo Hospital for contagious diseases in Budapest. I lived in the hospital and I received board and a small salary. My working hours were from six in the morning - eight straight hours without any lunch break. At two o'clock I left my work, and I was allowed to take my lunch. Every other week, we switched over to the afternoon duties. So I worked from two in the afternoon until ten o'clock at night. In principle, we had not to work during the night, but it very often happened that we had to replace someone. For instance, we had to work the hand pumps of the iron lungs. This, of course, meant that we had to work through the night. Due to cold shortage, it very often happened that the electric current was shut off during the night, so this was the reason why we had to work those iron lungs by hand.

"I held this particular job because I chose it myself. I have mentioned already that I was not allowed to study medicine so I chose a job which was the next best to it with the hope that in time I could be enrolled to the University after all. My co-workers were extremely nice. I liked them very much, and I was liked by them. Our superiors also were extremely able doctors who were qualified and who were decent to the nurses. Nobody was afraid of them, and they were never forced doing things they didn't want."

"Not only were my superiors well-qualified doctors, but they were also good men - good people. The more so because they must have been dedicated persons. We had no serum in the hospital and it also meant a great risk to themselves to work there. In 1955, I remember, America has offered us

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the anti-polio serum, but the Hungarian Communist government refused to accept it, saying: "That this serum is no good. It will only spread contamination, and the Americans are out to poison -in effect- the people's democracy with polio." This allegation was, of course, ridiculous."

MEMORANDUM
The nurses, at least the majority of them, also very well qualified in the nursing profession and the nuns were released from their convents to hospitals and had to return to work and they continued to be nurses. These were the elder nurses. Later on, we got young ones like myself, and these again were ~~often~~ of the intellectual class who were not allowed to go to Universities, so they were the so-called girls with a bad cadre, and usually of a very good family background. All of us were intelligent and industrious, decent, hard-working girls.

I was satisfied with my work and I liked it because this was the nearest to the medical profession I could get at as I was not allowed to study medicine under the Communist regime. My superiors did always praise my work if it was well-done, but this was, of course, only encouragement. I never got any material reward.

"The Hungarian vacation program under the Communist regime was quite good. You could go and have your vacation at an extremely low cost on ~~many~~ beautiful health resorts. The sick insurance on the other hand was good on paper only. The personnel - doctors, nurses, etc. were extremely badly paid so they never bothered to put on a good performance in their work. Also the hospitals and offices of these people were overcrowded. They did not have time to attend properly to a patient. Therefore everyone who could afford it went to his own private doctor.

"Pensions were extremely low. They were about 340 forinth per month, but very often people were deprived even of that. Those people who served also under the old regime were never credited with these years.

E. "While I was in Hungary, I would have preferred to live in a small provincial town but not too far from Budapest. The reason for this is because you lead a more quiet life in a small town than in the city. On the other hand, I do need to have the possibility to satisfy my cultural needs and this I could only get in a big city. In Communist

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Hungary, the agricultural workers had a better diet. The living standard also was higher in the country for the single reason that the living standard nowadays means only food and clothing. Politically, on the other hand, one had a fair time in the city because in a small country community everybody was known and in the big city, you could disappear.

"When the collective farm system was introduced in Hungary, I expected a resistance - of course a passive resistance only - for several reasons: (1) it was done by force, by the fact that the regime liked it to seem to be done voluntarily; (2) it was implemented quite wrongly. The regime should have known that you cannot take away the land from Hungarian peasants. I believe it was the so-called Kulacs who objected most to collectivization in Hungary. I have heard that last year some of the collectives were ^{dissolved} ~~abolished~~ because the regime had to admit that production after all ~~was~~ suffering under the system.

"As an agricultural worker in Communist Hungary, I would prefer to work on a private farm. Here anybody can grow things - what they want and how they want - not like on a state farm where they had to grow for instance, cotton in a cold climate. Particularly I would like to see the small-farm system in an independent Hungary. I am meaning five to six acres per person, like in Finland - except of course the great Hungarian plain where at least 15 - 20 acres would be needed for successful wheat growing systems. Of the innovations introduced in the agricultural system in Hungary since 1948, I would keep the mechanization of the agriculture; however, I would simply not use the Russian combine. This is a very badly made and unpractical machine."

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. "I was much too young before 1948 so as to be interested in politics; therefore, I cannot give any information on this time, nor on the Communist Party before 1948.

B. "I would like to make a distinction between the Communist Party members and classify them as follows: to my mind there are three different kinds of Communist Party members. (A) There are the old Communists who are more or less idealists and what I would call drawing-room Communists. (B) There are the former army cross members who would like to hide their pasts by joining the Communist Party, and (C) are those people who for their own personal and material reasons would do anything.

"I knew only two Communist Party members - one was the Party Secretary of the hospital where I worked, and the other was the Headmistress of the nurses' school there. Regarding the attitudes of the Communist members to the Party, I do not believe that in the rank and file Communists, anybody would be really dedicated.

"As to the Party policy changes during the last eight years, I do not think that the whole Hungarian Communist Party changed its policy of its own free will. All changes came from the orders of Moscow. After the death of Stalin, it was really ridiculous to see how the Hungarian Communist Party tried to explain away what they had been preaching until now. I couldn't tell of any difference within the Party as I had so very little contact with the Party Members and no contact whatsoever with the Party; therefore, I can not give any information on the Party morale.

"The overall aims of the Hungarian Communists and the Communist Party in Hungary is the same as that of the Russian Communist Party - and that is world Communism - a combination of East and West alike. Regarding the personal attitude of the Hungarian Communist, I believe that they are dedicated fanatics and blindly believe in the Communist ideology. Even if now, in the course of time, they would have realized that the whole system doesn't work as it is in the books, there is no going back now for them anymore. They have to go along and follow the

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Party line for their own personal security. I certainly believe that they must be very intelligent people, and great fanatics but also they are thoroughly evil, diabolic people. If anybody wanted or tried to deviate from the Moscow line that was the end and I'm thinking now of ~~him~~ Rajk. I think that I have already mentioned that rank and file members of the Communist Party probably have joined the party for quite some other reasons than the top Communists.

"When and if Hungarian would be independent, I would send all the top Hungarian Communists into Russia.

C. "I have heard of opposition to the Communist government before the revolution. I am referring now to the sabotage actions which occurred mainly in the mining industry. This was even admitted by the Communist press and therefore I believe that it was quite effective. These sabotages, however, were not organized and they occurred now and then - sporadically in different places.

Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said:
"The intellectual ferment was bound to come since the literature was also slanted and directed by Moscow. No writer nor author can work under such conditions for a long time. I heard of the Petefi Circle shortly before the revolution in 1956. Several of my friends took part in their meetings and they told me about it. I do not think that the intellectuals had anything new to say and I believe that they just expressed what everybody else was thinking. It was quite interesting to see that some of the authors - for instance like Julius Illyes, who in the beginning was serving the regime - later on joined the Petefi Circle. Another prominent young Hungarian author who played a great role in the Petefi Ker was Peter Kucka.

"The Petefi Ker and the authors who took part in it were to my mind the spearhead of the revolution. The reason why the intellectuals stood up against the regime were, first of all, there was a good opportunity since after Stalin's death, the Russian grip somehow slackened. Also, as I said before, an author must have freedom of thought and expression also, even if for a while they had to make merry so as to live. So the Hungarian writers wrote something different for the public and something different for their But this situation could not go on for an infinite time. The intellectuals are dreamers. They are very reliable and during the revolution they showed their real values.

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THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "Since the majority of the AVH police force were physically and mentally handicapped people, I think this explains their behaviour. They had an inferiority complex and therefore they did everything for money and for power. This explains ~~how~~ the cruelties and evil deed.

"My father was taken by the AVH and later on in prison, interned. I never met him since and I only knew that he has been freed by the revolution in the fall of 1956.a friend of mine who was a member of the AVH wanted to leave but was not allowed to do so. I would like to mention that there were two different kinds of AVH formations. One was what we call "green" AVH; the other were the "blue"

It is certainly not an exaggeration that life in Communist Hungary was one of constant fear and anxiety. You never knew when and why you were taken away. For instance, if you were Maszek - a small craftsman who worked on his own - and your business was flourishing after a year or two, they trumped up some charges against you and took you away to intern and took away the business.

"When and if Hungary is independent, I would like to send the members of the AVH to Russias as I would do with all the Communists.

Concerning the regular police, I do not think that they liked the AVH very much since they were subordinated to them. This police force was certainly affected by the Communist regime, and also this was the reason why the regime had to set up the AVH because they couldn't trust the regular police anymore. This opinion was justified during the revolution because the police turned against them. Of course, the regular police, too, had a set department of political police but this department was run entirely by the AVH. The spirit of this police force certainly deteriorated very much under the Communist regime - the more so, since any of the old police were remaining in the new police force. I do not think that theyas also I heard they did accept bribes.

"During the demonstrations, I saw, myself, several policemen still wearing their uniforms but without the red star on their caps, joining the demonstrators. Also, in the hospital I attended to a wounded policeman. It was generally believed that in Budapest about mainly 100% of the police force joined the freedom fighters.

B. When asked on the ~~xxxxxx~~ activities of the Hungarian courts, respondent said that except for divorces or company law suits the courts were not quite fair in dealing with regular criminal - ordinary criminal cases, etc. because every time they tried to emphasize that the defendant ~~belonged to the class~~ was a class-alien, or was connected with a class-alien. As to how the courts were in 1945 and 1947--the people's courts -- I was much too young at that time and therefore cannot give any information on this subject.

D. "I do not believe that the Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848. The antipathy stands from the fact that many Hungarians have been in Russia either as prisoners of war or on the Russian front in World War II, and were convinced and told ~~me~~ by everybody that if the Russians come to Europe they will use the same methods in achieving world communism as they did in 1917-1919 - during the Russian revolution in Russia. The events of 1944 and '45 have completely justified this opinion. It was the occupation of the Russian Army in 1945 and 1944 which made them so unpopular in Hungary. The behaviour of the Russian occupation army at that time is now well-known to everybody. They were cruel. They were raping. They looted and in general displayed a behaviour which was not justified even though they were the occupation troops, ~~in~~ and Hungary was the country that lost the war. Before this the Russians came into Hungary we were prepared that they will behave as they did.

"Since we were in Germany between 1944- and 1955, I had no experiences not actually experiences with the Russian army in 1945. By the time, we came back to Hungary, the Russian occupational army tried to behave a little bit better and I had the impression that after having stayed a long time in Hungary, the Russians got quickly used to the higher standard of living than that of their own country. At first, they were sent into Europe to free and to liberate backward country, and arriving here they could have seen for themselves that life is so much better here than back in Russia. The Russian occupation groups were on the whole extremely privative, but later on, at least in appearances they tried to conform with the customs and life in Hungary.

"I cannot say anything about the Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the revolution because at that time, I was working in the St. Laszlo Hospital for Contagious Diseases and we were not allowed to go out of town.

As I mentioned previously we had two Russian wounded soldiers in our hospital but they were taken away very quickly, and besides they were terribly scared. They never talked of anything. After Nov. the 4th, we had Russian soldier who mended a tank and who stood in front of our hospital defending it. I wonder what has become of him. On the whole, we had the impression that the Russian officers could not discipline their men. All I can say about the troops which had been called in after Nov. the 4th into Hungary, is that they were just the same. ~~MONGOLIANS~~ herds who came first to the country. Many of them were Mongolians and they were extremely cruel. On the other hand, it was interesting to see how cowardly and scared they behaved. They were looking for arms, for instance, at the hospital, but never dared to go down to the cellars.

"Our Soviet soldier who guarded our hospital with his tank was an example that Soviet soldiers did help sometimes and disobeyed their superiors. I also heard that several Russian soldiers crossed over to Austria. We also heard from visitors who came to see our patients in the hospital that they were quite a few Russian soldiers who fought with the freedom fighters and ~~against~~ against the AVH. Two nurses who lived near the Western Railroad Station have seen for themselves the fight that was going on between an AVH and some freedom fighters who were joined by Russians in the fight. I do not know personally of, and have not heard of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers except for the fact that if it came a hand-to-hand battle, the Soviet soldiers always shot theirthe Russian soldiers always aimed at the brows as these shots were the most cruel way to kill a person with a slow death. Also at a nearby Square where people ^{queued} up for bread, Russian drove straight into them. We had six casualties from this attack in the hospital.

E. Respondent could give the following information regarding bureaucracy in her own field of work. "As a student nurse I was ~~subordinated to the doctor who was the~~ subordinated to the doctor who was the ~~chief~~ section chief. He, in turn, came under the authority of the Chief Medical Officer. The Party Secretary, on the other hand, was reigning over everybody. At the nurses' school, on the other hand, I came under the section Sister, or nurse rather. Then we had the doctor who was the head of the section; then we had the Chief Medical Officer of the nurse's school, and of course the Party Secretary. First, I think I ought to

tell how the nurses' school was run. The head nurse of the section was extremely well-qualified person. As far as we knew she was formerly a nun. She was middle-aged; her Deputy was a young nurse, but also extremely well-qualified. Both were violently anti-Communist. They were very decent to all of us; they were very helpful - taught us well and also always placed us evenly if we did our work well. The doctor who was in charge of the ward we seldom saw. He usually came only for the daily visits. We had two other young doctors - one was a woman, and both were extremely well-qualified people. They were known anti-Communists, and I heard later on that the doctor served voluntarily for first-aid service during the revolution. The Chief Medical Officer of the hospital was also an anti-Communist. He was a middle-aged man and extremely well-qualified and who also wrote several medical works which were well-known even abroad. The regime wanted to replace him several times, but since he was such an expert in his field, they couldn't do so. In addition to the hospital, we had the nurses' school. The nurses' school had a head mistress. She was a former nurse - a middle-aged person who was a dedicated Communist. She was awfully sweet and all levey-devey with you but behind your back she always talked and told to the Party Secretary whatever bad things she could tell about anybody. Then we had one teacher; she was the so-called supervisor. She lived in with us; she was a former nurse. We had two other teachers, also former nurses, and then we had the different doctors who gave the lectures. One of them was the Chief Medical Officer, and then we had a Jewish doctor who taught anatomy and he was a Communist. During the revolution, he always told the young people that the revolution has not an earthly chance to win, and tried to tell them not to take part. Other doctors who came to give lectures, came from the different medical Universities, and were extremely well-qualified people. Of our teachers - I mean the women teachers who were former nurses, the one who lived with us was extremely nice - but rather a weak woman. The two others were intelligent but served the regime, but not because of their convictions, but only because they wanted to keep their jobs. They always were extremely decent with us. We had a Colonel who always came in civilian clothes from the nearby Kessuth Military Academy. He was teaching political science. He was about 25 years old, and a graduate of the.....Political Academy of Budapest. Of course, he was a Communist.

The school-mistress in the nurses' schools was the one who was always out to find fault with the so-called class aliens, and therefore with me, also. In the course of the different examinations, whenever she saw that I was getting on very well, she always had oral exams, she always interrupted with some impossible question so as to grade me down in my

grades. We were about ten to fifteen of us whom she thoroughly disliked. The aforementioned referred to the St. Laszlo Hospital for Contagious Diseases. At the outbreak of the revolution when I went over to the St. Istvan Hospital and where we attended to the casualties of the revolution, there was the chief medical officer whom again we saw very seldom, and we had very little to do with him except if there was something particular we had to ask. He was an elderly man - an extremely well-qualified surgeon. He was not a Communist, and he left for the West and escaped from Hungary. During the revolution, he burned all the cadre files and he just ignored all instructions of the Party Secretary. His name was Dr. Kovacs. The doctor in charge of the ward never talked about politics; he was an excellent surgeon also, and everybody knew that he was not a Communist. His name was Dr. Gordon. Of course, we had the Party Secretary even here, but during the revolution this man went into hiding and went into his own apartment and never even came out. His son went to fight with the freedom fighters. He was the one who tore down the Red Russian's star from the top of the hospital building.

Going back to the nurses' school at the St. Laszlo hospital, we were kept under a very strict discipline and every tardiness was punished by depriving us of our free days. In the St. Istvan hospital, on the other hand, of course, we worked round the clock and nobody minded how much work we had to do. This was something different.

F. "Of course there were certain ways and means how to get around some of the regulations. This was mostly done through private connections and mutual service. However, I also knew of cases where you could get around these regulations by bribing. One such place was the office for housing, and this was generally practiced. The other example I can give happened to me when I tried to register at the University of Medical Sciences, and submitted my application, I was told whether I have a thousand forints. So I asked - I certainly have not - then I was told if you don't, I'm sorry, you cannot be admitted to the University.

"All graft and bribery, of course, was done extremely cautiously and was not to be caught red-handed. I didn't hear of any cases, if and when people were caught and what happened to them.

G. "As to the competency and efficiency of various people and groups in power in Communist Hungary, I'm afraid I cannot tell very much. I don't know anything about the leadership of the AVH. Regarding Army leadership, I only knew one Army man. He was the commander of the Debrecen district. I knew that he was an officer of the old regime. On the whole, I knew that the leadership in the Army was pretty bad immediately after the war, because they admitted even enlisted men to

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the officer's corps; however, in the last two years a new decree came out saying that officers ~~must be high school~~ have to be high school graduates and had to attend the Officers Academy. Of course, I do not know anything about the Russian Army leadership. The public administration officers, on the other hand, with the exception of the manager and the Party Secretary were usually well-qualified people

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. "I cannot make very good guesses about what's going to happen in the next few years in Hungary, but I believe that if the foreign political situation does not change, and the Russian troops do not leave Hungary, then everything remains as it is now, or even it will be worse and worse. Within Hungary itself, I'm sure that there will be resistance if not, more passive resistance. But Kadar will certainly tighten the reigns even more and approach more and more the Stalinist ideology. As to what the Russian policy will be, I think this nobody can say, but I believe that something might be brewing there. I have heard that the foreign students who had scholarships in Russia were all of a sudden sent home because, as they said, they were fermenting discontent there. Something is brewing in Eastern Germany also, and this will only increase with time, because I do not think that Western Germany will sit back very much longer and to see the country divided for a longer time. As a matter of fact a division of Germany would easily be the cause of a flare-up.

"As to what I hope, I must emphasize that I do not believe in a solution like the one in Poland. ~~It~~ A change inside Russia would of course solve all the problems, and could bring about a neutral and independent Hungary. Regarding the means whereby my hopes could be realized - unless, as I said, something happens inside Russia, I do not see any other means save war, by which the Russians could be chased out of Europe - Russia certainly will not leave Europe by its own will. I think that a war between Russia and Germany could and if the satellite nations take part in it, would also bring a change in Eastern Europe. On the other hand, Germany will by that time have received a great deal of American arms and assistance.

B. "Regarding the prospects for Hungary during the last eight or ten years, I must confess that nobody did see any solution. The country was terrorized and no underground movement could have survived. Nobody believed that Hungary could do something without the assistance of the West. The revolution came about, in October, just like a miracle, and how right we were about knowing that we cannot do anything without the West. That was proved by events that followed.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. "I would like to see an independent Hungary to be a democratic, neutral republic."

B. "As to the kind of economy of an independent Hungary, I believe that Hungary should go back to the previous.....system. That is, a great stress should be put on the agricultural production and should grow, for instance, what in a large scale. I believe that the heavy industry should be deflated. We do not have raw material for this purpose enough and it's too expensive. On the other hand, the light industry should be developed. I'm thinking especially of precision instruments, for instance, and the industries which produce consumer's commodities. Also, there is another field in which Hungary excels, before the war, and this is the pharmaceutical field. This industry, too, should be developed. Further more, all industries which are connected with aluminum and.....and of course the uranium mines of Hungary should be developed and mining in these mines stepped up. In the agricultural field, besides growing wheat, I think that Hungary ~~xxx~~ should also put a great emphasis on growing vegetables and fruit for the export market.

"If the Communist regime were overthrown, I believe that the national enterprises ought to be de-nationalized. I believe that all public works and transportations remain in the hands of the state - the rest I would return to private ownership. ~~.....~~ The state farms inasmuch as they were net part of large estates should be dissolved and the land distributed to private owners; the kolkhozes, too, should be discontinued. Mining and the light industries should be in private hands, but I believe that it would be practical to leave the forestry in the hands of the state. As to the maximum limit to the amount of land a personal family may own, I think that the government should set it at 100 acres per person, and no limit should be put to any other realistic assets.

"I certainly would like to see the first kind of a government in Hungary - that is, the one that guarantees personal freedom to the individual. The second kind of government you told me here is about the same ~~xxx~~ as under the Communist regime, because the Communists also assure you

the minimum you need for your living, but personal freedom is zero. This kind of a government we have already tried out, and I don't think anybody in Hungary would welcome it a gain.

"I would not outlaw the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, as long as it does not advocate the overthrow of the prevailing free democratic and neutral Hungarian government. If somebody is such a fool that they still believe in Communism, let them be."

C. "Speaking ideally, I certainly would like to have Hungary to have the same kind of neutrality like Austria. Therefore, I would not like to see any military alliances with any country - USSR, East European States, Western Europe or the USA - however, I would like to have economic and trade relations with the Western European countries and the US only. On the other hand, cultural relations should be fostered with all countries. "

Respondent has not heard of the Federation of the Nubian States. When asked what she thinks of such a federation, she believed that it wouldn't serve the purpose. She thought that it also wouldn't be possible that states who in the course of history have such controversies, and were so completely different in their ideology could live together in peace. The only state respondent thought she would like to be included in the Danubian federation was Austria, but here also, she voiced her fears that this federation with Austria might be similar to what has been before the Austria-Hungarian Empire, and if it be based on such dependence, it wouldn't work either. Respondent believed that the general feeling about the Nubian Federation was unfavorable in Hungary.

"No, I don't find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable, and I believe that a territorial adjustment should be made according to the arbitration of an international court. These territories should be those on which the population is primarily Hungarian, and had been for the last years or so in the course of history. Of course, I do not believe ~~that the~~ on the whole that the thousand year-old borders, former border of Hungary can be reestablished again. I am very much concerned over the problem of the Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary, but I think that the territorial adjustment would solve this problem, but certainly at present nothing can be done. The whole question is important to me."

THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent said that they were lectured at great length on the 20th Party Congress in the course of their different political lectures at the nurses' school. Of Khrushchev's secret speech, they have heard only excerpts. Respondent was of the opinion that probably the big shots in the Communist Party had the speech in full, but it was somehow ridiculous to see that the commentaries on this speech were sometimes quite different.

Respondent did not hear anything about Senator McCarthy, nor the un-American activities Committee. Neither did she know anything about Peron. Regarding Rakosi's private life, respondent said that this was a topic that was never discussed in public. She only heard that his alleged wife was really a Soviet spy who was planted there to keep an eye on him. She thought Rakosi to be a very intelligent and highly educated man. It was known, however, that he liked to live a life that was not exactly according to the Communist ideology. He lived in great luxury. He also liked to see foreigners around him. He spoke many languages.

B. Respondent did not read newspapers. She only read one magazine - the ladies' magazine, but on the other hand, she read books as much as possible - mainly the oldclassics, also books on history, and the Hungarian. The books available at the time for instance books on art or the Hungarian classics were of good quality but there were very expensive. ~~There were~~ There were also beautiful editions available on the life of Stalin, Rakosi, etc. but of course no body bought these. At the nurses' school they had a compulsory reading hour when they read Szabad Nep, but that was all regarding newspapers, and respondent was of the opinion that it really wasn't worthwhile to read all the lies that the Hungarian newspapers contained. She never put any trust in the papers, and disclosed that all areas - foreign affairs, economics, statistics, etc were generally distrusted by everybody and herself. Her means of a way to find out the approximate news was that she listened to the radio broadcasts of foreign stations, and then to that of the Hungarian radio, and somehow the middle of the road was what approximately was true. Neither did respondent know whether her family read publications from the USSR, or other satellite nations. As to

the availability of other publications than Hungarian, respondent said that there were a couple of bookshops in Budapest where you could buy some Western technical books, for instance medicine, etc. These were mostly in translation and of German origin. As to publications from the West, in some of the private libraries you could get hold of a couple of foreign books which were handed down from friend to friend. Officially, and in bookstores, of course, you could only get the classics, such as Shakespeare, for instance. Respondent did not know of any illegal publications. "Any of these books which were on the illegal list were burned by the owners, or hidden. There was one library in Budapest, according to respondent, that was called SZABOLORINC Library, and in this library you could find now and then books by Hungarian authors that were put on the illegal list.

C. Respondent said that as everybody, and she also, got news by word of mouth from different friends or acquaintances; however, she considered this news more or less not reliable, because it contained a lot of wishful dreaming and it was always exaggerated. Respondent said that she did pass on information by word of mouth but always with an "I did not hear it myself".

F. Due to her rather heavy duties at the hospital, respondent had little opportunity to go to the theatre or movies, so she only went when she heard of a movie that was very very good. Her main pleasure was to attend the opera. Unfortunately, this was very expensive. The two movies she mentioned which she liked best in the last few years were - one Italian picture "Infidel Women" and the other was a color film - Russian ballet on the Swan Lake. The theatre she liked best were plays by two Hungarians authors - Imre Kalman, and by Eugene Heltai.

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. "Regarding the possibility of change within Russia, I believe that I have talked about this already. Regarding the feeling of the people in Russia, I have heard of a man who came back from Russian prison-of-war camp, that the people on the whole are dissatisfied with the conditions in Russia, but due to the terror prevailing there they do not dare to revolt. He also told me that it was quite amazing to see how many young people were really deeply religious. As to how changes are more likely to occur in Russia, I do not believe that a gradual liberation would be the way. It could be done only by a revolution; therefore, I believe that had Russia a free election, the majority of the people would vote against the present regime, but what kind of a government they would like to have is a thing I really do not know, because if you think of the times the Russian people really had, they were never completely independent. They were kept under the rule of the Czars, and then afterwards under the rule of the Communists.

"In my opinion, the aims of the top leaders of Russia are what every dedicated Communist would be world communism. Individually, I think they would like to play as great a role as possible in the course of events, and implement Communism regardless to any ways and means. As to the difference between the Russian and Hungarian top Communists, I can only say that the Hungarian Communists are the puppets and the Russian ones are the dictators."

B. Respondent named Poland as the country which is the most liked in Hungary, followed by Eastern Germany; then, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania. Respondent was of the opinion that the sympathy towards the Polish and the Eastern German people lie mostly in the common lot they have now. The antipathy against the Czechs, Bulgarians and Romanians is directed against the people. Respondent knew a few Czechs and Bulgarians. Respondent believed that if free elections were held in the above mentioned countries, she was sure that all of them would reject Communism.

On the level of the standard of living, respondent had the following to say: she believed that East Germany had the highest living standard, followed by Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

C. Respondent was of the opinion that Gomulka's government was a puppet government. Also she thought that the policy of gradualism doesn't work, and will not work - at least not in a Communist state. In her opinion, the

future of Poland is not so good, because the future policies will be directed by the Soviet Union again. Respondent said that her views on these matters have not changed during the last five or six months.

Respondent was of the opinion that the events in Poland did have some effect on the events in Hungary. She referred to the movement of the young people in Poland which came about as a result of the Polish "thaw". The Polish example did show them the way at the student's meetings on the 23rd of October, but it was not enough because the Hungarian students were not satisfied with what the Polish people achieved, and this was the reason why the Hungarian movement developed into a revolution. As to the freedom of expression in Poland, a year before Gomulka's rise to power in 1955, respondent thought that this freedom of expression and this "thaw" occurred in every other satellite nation. Also, since 1955, not only in Poland she referred for instance to the fact that travelling between the satellite nations was permitted in the last year.

Respondent did hear about the Poznan riots to the effect that the workers of Poland had revolted against the Soviet oppression. The Hungarian newspapers, of course, carried only the slanted version of the events in Poland, and talked of immediate retorts. Respondent did not read anything of the Poznan trials in the newspaper. The events in Poznan were mostly carried in the newspapers, but of course, anybody who listened to the foreign radios knew about it also.

Respondent would not have been satisfied had the Hungarian revolution taken part along the Polish lines, because in her opinion, the aim wouldn't have been achieved as well. Even though the Hungarian revolution had been crushed, at least Hungary has shown the world that it never accepted, and never will accept, the Soviet rule and it has never served, and will never serve the Soviet.

Dr. On Tite respondent believed that all the other satellites were more or less a little bit envious of Yugoslavia..that Tite was able to achieve to break off from the Soviet Union. How he did that is still to be explained. Respondent also believes that Tite was the father of the national communism. Respondent's attitude toward national communism was as follows:

"I do not believe that Rajk wanted what Tito did! Also she said that she did not believe that the Hungarians would have trusted Rajk ever because he was much too wrong; she was of the opinion that it was entirely in the interest of his own career that Rajk did what he did.

Respondent believed that Tito must be popular in Yugoslavia if not for anything else that he was able to break away his country from the Soviet domination. Respondent's knowledge of internatl conditions in Yugeslavia were as follows: as far as she knew, the living standard was higher than in Hungary; on the other hand, freedom of expression was pretty much oppressed, but personal freedom was better than in Hungary. People were allowed at least to travel to the West; labor conditions were better and there was no unemployment in Yugoslavia.

E. On China and how the Communists did gain control of it, respondent believed that it was easy to make appear that Communist was the saviour of the poor masses in China. "I also believe that by teaching Communism to the Chinese, the Soviet Union did make a mistake, because China as I see it, has the same dreams as the Soviet Union, and they probably will try to do their best to fester the expansion of the yellow race all over the world. Whether or not, ~~Soviet~~ Communist China is more independent of Moscow than other Communist country, I do not think this

is so because the leaders in Communist China are just as fanatical Communists as in other satellite nations."

Respondent says that she knows too little about England and India to give any opinion about relations between these two countries.

Respondent's opinion on the Suez situation was the following:
"To my mind the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was justified because these nations wanted to preserve and maintain their rights to the Suez canal under the international agreement. After all, international agreements are made to be kept, isn't that so? and therefore, I think that Egypt had no right to nationalize the canal. On the other hand, I do not think that Israeli had any right to invade Egypt.

"I also feel quite sure about that the ~~the~~ events in Egypt did have a bad effect on the developments in Hungary during the revolution. Had the invasion of the Suez canal had not happened at the time of the Hungarian revolution, then I feel as everybody else did, the Hungarian question would have been given much more consideration in the UN."

F. According to respondent's opinion, the living standard in West Germany is very high and is on the rise.

"While in Germany, I have heard several times that the Germans were voicing the opinion that it would be the best idea to quit the UN so as to be able to attack the Russians in order to unite the two Germanys."

"Western Germany is rearming at a great speed with American assistance, and it is evident that the military strength will once again be used against Russia. It is my belief that the West German Army is stronger than the British or the French. I do not however, the term of service is in the West German army."

As to the difference between the two occupation armies - the Russian and the German, respondent said that the Russian occupation force was the more distasteful to her personally, and this was the general opinion also. The German army was much better disciplined as to both officers and enlisted men, and in consequence the most unpopular force in Hungary was the Russian one. Respondent said this was due to the fact that the

Germans are after all, Western and a cultured nation and this, of course, ~~may~~ can be seen in the Army also. The Russian Army, on the other hand, was more undisciplined, uncultured and brutal people, who were looting and raping all the time. The German Army was always disciplined; however, when they were retreating from Hungary, they did take away a couple of things with them, but never did accesses occur. Of course, said respondent, "when saying this I am disregarding the Jewish problem which is a thing completely apart."

G. Respondent couldn't say anything about the British Labor Party. She admitted that anything they had heard of this Party was slanted and she said the Russians opinion was that the British Labor Party does not represent the working class of Britain at all.

On the living standards of the various countries, respondent said that the highest living standard to her mind is at present to be found in Western Germany, followed by Great Britain, Italy. She said that she doesn't know anything about the living standard in Greece and Egypt so she couldn't say anything about that, but she put the Soviet Union at the bottom of the list.

H. "What's surprised me most about America during my first few months here was the extremely high living standard and this made a very favorable impression on me. However, I must also admit that I had an unfavorable impression in the US, too, and this is that the people of this nation who have lived for such a long time in peace and led such a sheltered life during both world wars, cannot understand the situation in Europe and in particular, the Hungarian situation in full."

"There is only one thing and I believe this is the most important one - the US should do, not only for the people and nations of Eastern Europe, but in its own interests by some ways and means to put an end to Russian expansion to make Russia withdraw from Europe."

"Regarding the present foreign policy of the US, I believe that this is very weak, especially against the Russians. The US does not show any strength especially not since the end of the war."

"As to what the US policy should be, I sincerely believe that there are two ways open to be followed by the US. A. Either to follow

complete isolationism and hands-off Europe, and or, B. if the US interfering in European foreign policy, then the US should not only regard the business side of the problem; they ought to live up to their historical ideals which they are putting very highly - the historical ideals of the individual countries should be given more consideration. There is also one thing which I should like to add here. For goodness sake, the US should not be taken in by "co-existence." Such a thing simply does not exist, and the US should realize at last."

"As to US foreign aid to the present governments in Eastern Europe, I think that this is the most difficult question - hard to administer it so the Russians cannot get hold of it, and so as the countries receiving it should not be in debt up to their necks. This opinion of mine refers also to Hungary in particular. My attitude toward this problem has not changed since I am in the US.

"I believe that the US should not have any diplomatic relations with the present Kadar government of Hungary.

"Whether or not people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors, may I ask a question here: do you mean under the present conditions or if Hungary were liberated? This is a different problem, of course. If you think of the present situation, then I believe that politicians and newspapermen would be the most welcome visitors in Hungary, and in case of a complete change if Hungary were free then, of course, people in Hungary would like to see tourists and the large scale exchange of ~~CURRENCY~~ ^{from} *currency*

If such visitors are going to Hungary now, then of course, I would tell them that they shouldn't believe what they are being shown. They ought to go out and see for themselves. The people who ought to tell them about the present situation in Hungary should be, of course, the mostly, the new immigrants who could give very good overall picture of the situation prevailing in Hungary. I'm thinking now in particular of General Kiraly and other members of the Strasburg Conference - such as Alexander Kiss, a former member of the Parliament and member of the peasant party who escaped ^{from} prison during the October revolution."

"Of course, everyone in Hungary would like to receive Western books

and periodicals. At present it is impossible as the Hungarian Communist government would not let them in anyway, but even in an ideal situation that the best distribution would be through the different universities."

Respondent also was of the opinion that the people in Hungary would be favorably impressed by the fact that the Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications. However, only in case this could be done legally - that is, not in the presently prevailing situation because it would only harm them.

Respondent heard very little about the Marshall plan in 1948, and what she has heard she admitted was very slanted and according to the Soviet ideology. They were told at school that the countries which had received the Marshall aid are going to be colonized by the Western powers. She, personally, was convinced that the plan was conceived so as to give assistance to the countries in need.

America's entry into the war in 1950 was also misinterpreted by the Hungarian Communist press, said respondent. People in Hungary, on the other hand, were hoping that the Korean war was the beginning of a war against Communism, and America, by starting the war in Korea was also starting to put an end to Communistic expansion. I do not believe that otherwise America would have spent so much money and lives on a cause which had no purpose; on the other hand, I really don't quite understand why they did not go through with it to the end.

J. "I am quite convinced that the United Nations could have affected the situation in Hungary had it acted most humbly and swiftly. I was terribly disappointed ~~about it~~ in the UN because it did not live up to our expectations. As far as I know, it ~~was~~ is within the charter of the UN to help and assist the member nations if they were attacked by some other nation. What I expected the UN to do was to send the investigating committee immediately after it was voted to do so, and after that, Russia should have been called to order and sent out from Hungary. Since the UN didn't act on behalf of Hungary, I do not expect any chances of an effective UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future."

KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked in her opinion is the greatest living Hungarian and why, respondent very quickly and without hesitation answered: "Paul Maléter, if he is still alive, and this because, he quite unselfishly stood up for the country and for the Hungarian nation."

B. "Of Imre Nagy we didn't think very highly at the beginning, until we found out that the calling back of the Russian troops into Hungary was not his doing. Neither were the different dictates which were issued in his name."

Respondent disapproved Cardinal Mindszenty's role because she thought that a priest, and especially in such a high rank, should never interfere in politics.

Of Laszlo Rajk, respondent has talked already before. She only repeated her previous opinion.

Erno Gere, she said: "He is the cruellest of all Soviet agents."

Of Janos Kadar, respondent said: "He is nothing but a puppet."

On President Eisenhower, respondent had the following to say: "When he was first elected to be the President of the United States, everybody hoped that America's foreign policy would be now changed and that they would get tougher with the Russians. When this change did not happen, President Eisenhower lost greatly his popularity in Hungary.his duty is to see first of all to see to the welfare of the American people and I can't understand that he doesn't want to be instrumental in starting a third world war."

As to Secretary-General Hammarstrand, I think that he was much too weak regarding his attitude toward the Russians during the UN session.

I cannot give any opinion about Secretary Dulles, former Prime Minister Eden, nor about the former President of the US, Truman.

"When talking of Mikoyan, in Hungary we always called him one of the seven brigades. He was in close cooperation with.....and....."

Of India's leader Nehru, I know too little and I cannot say anything.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's activities were presented to us in Hungary in a much too slanted way which I know couldn't have been true.

The former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy was thoroughly disliked in Hungary. At the time of the revolution, when he tried to come back, he certainly wouldn't have been welcome. On the other hand, we heard, later on, when we were in Germany that he brought out several very valuable and anti-Soviet arguments. Well, if that's true maybe he did something for the Hungarian cause.

Concerning former US President Roosevelt, since the Russians always call d him the greatest benefactor of America, and this because of the role he played in the Yalta Agreement, certainly no Hungarian liked him.

I believe that Chancellor Adenauer's main aim is the unification of the two Germanies.

Joe Stalin was the greatest and most cruel dictator the world ever carried.

I believe that Malenkov trying to establish world communism according to his own ideas.

Generalissimo France behaved extremely decently during the Hungarian revolution. ~~if~~ We heard his statements which were in full sympathy with our cause. Also we heard that there were Spanish volunteers who wanted to come and join in our freedom fighting. I have never heard the name of Bevan.

Khrushchev is another member of the seven -brigand gang.

Of Tito, I have talked at length already.

As I said before I don't know anything about Peron.

Molotov is an extremely smart politician. His methods may not be as drastic as some of the other Russian politicians but nevertheless, he is sly enough, and his aims are the same.

I never heard the name of Ollenhauer, and don't know who he is. Of Churchill I can only say that he was the greatest statesman of our times.

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. When characterizing the escapees, respondent said:

"I would like to make a distinction between people who left at the beginning of the revolution and those who left after the revolution had been quelled. At the beginning of the revolution there were two kind of people who left. First of all, a great number of Communists fled to the West because they were scared of reprisals on the side of the revolutionaries. Then others who were taking the chance of what they thought to be the last one, to escape the Communist rule. These people probably had relatives in the West and they were fed up with the Communist regime. After the revolution/ had been crushed, of course, the refugees were mostly those freedom fighters who took part in the fighting and who fled because they fearing Communist reprisals. They consisted mostly of students and workers,-- there were very few peasants among them-- they were about 80 % young people. Most of the refugees came of the Western part of Hungary and from Budapest.

"Those who stayed behind I would put in three different classes again. First of all, the really good Hungarian patriots stayed behind and I do admire them for this; second, those stayed behind who did not dare to face an absolutely unknown and unsafe 'future, and thirdly, of course, all the Communists stayed behind.

"The reason why so few peasants left Hungary lies in their nature. The Hungarian peasant is terribly fond of his land, and is always unwilling to quit it. To my mind, I believe, that the people, excepting the Communists, who stayed behind have chosen the much more difficult lot, and I do admire them for this.

"I am sure that people in Hungary who stayed behind expect us who are here in the free West to keep the Hungarian cause alive and also as long as we emigrants here do not try to give them advice - to those who stayed behind- of how to behave now, and what to do now, there won't be any ill-feeling between the two different lives.

"Assumming that everyone in Hungary had a chance to come the West, I am sure that excepting the old and sick, very few would stay behind, if the country would remain under a Communist rule, of course, and not because they wouldn't dare to stay behind but just would want to show the world and the Soviet Union how they feel about ~~staying~~ being under Russian rule."

B. Regarding Hungarian exile organizations and individuals, she heard very little about them while back in Hungary. Respondent mentioned only Ferenc Nagy and Admiral Horthy. Of Otto of Hapsburg respondent said that he is not popular in Hungary and none wishes to have the kingdom of Hungary reestablished under his rule. Of Admiral Horthy, respondent said that although he made a couple of mistakes, political mistakes, during his rule, his deeds during the first Communist in 1919 in Hungary were very laudable.

When asked about her opinion of people who left Hungary before 1956, respondent said that she is convinced tried to accomplish something for Hungary, but on the other hand, they had their hands full with their own problems, and could not deal effectively enough with the authorities here to the effect could have kept the Hungarian cause more on the agenda and more in the public eye. Further, they really should have explained and informed the Western world more about the fact that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian problem is not primarily an Hungarian problem, or European one. In fact, it affects the whole world, and therefore the United States also."

During the revolution, we were hoping that the exile politicians here in the US could do something in the interest of our country, and especially at the time when Imre Nagy was our Prime Minister, and that the delegate to the UN would be barred and they would accept our real delegate."

C. "I had a friend who was in France and he got terribly homesick, came home to Hungary later on, but after six months he returned again to France as he couldn't stand being under the Communist regime. As a matter of fact, he escaped from an interment camp. I think that the whole redefection campaign as started by the Communists had only one purpose-propaganda purpose directed towards the West."

D. "Regarding what the people who escaped to the US should do now, I can only repeat what I said before, that we must keep the Hungarian cause on the agenda and always in the public eye so that if there is any uprising in any satellite nations, the US should be prepared to act immediately."

"The people in Hungary would like to know everything possible about the exiles. . . how they are faring, how they are getting along in this new life, about their job, how they live and so on, etc. What I believe they ought to be told is that we shall be doing everything in our power that the Hungarian cause should not peter out, and though we cannot expect any assistance with arms, we might hope that the

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free world would give political assistance, at least. I personally would do my utmost as soon as I have mastered English to inform everybody about the situation in Hungary and about the Hungarian cause."

"I would certainly like to join an exile organization which should primarily should be a political one, but only if this organization is something serious and effective. The aim of this organization should consist in giving assistance to the Hungarian in every way and means I think it would be a good idea to have the old exiles join this organization."

"About the various Hungarian Parties and their activities before 1948, as well as the parties in exile, I cannot say very much. I was much too young at that time."

"As to the parties revived during the revolution, I wholeheartedly disapproved of the action. There was no need to indulge in politics when there was so much more important things to do first, and therefore I wouldn't have approved either of the groups who went into exile return to Hungary to participate in the revised parties."

E. I certainly would go back to Hungary if and when Hungary becomes independent and free again, after I have finished my studies here, and I certainly want my children, if I ever have them, to learn Hungarian as well as English in the US."

AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

EMISSIO. A. I did not listen regularly to foreign radio broadcasts because I did not have a radio of my own. I mostly listened to the BBC, to Radio Free Europe and very seldom to the VOA. All of the three stations were very much jammed. I listened always to the Hungarian ~~language~~ broadcasts because I found ~~them to be the most reliable and accurate~~ that this station was the least biased and also it was a station which gave the news always in the most matter-of-fact way. I listened to the foreign broadcasts on the radios of other people and usually with others. I also heard broadcasts second-hand, and I also told others what I had heard.

"Of course, there was always a risk in listening to these broadcasts, especially in the beginning of the Communist regime, or talking about them to others, but nobody really cared very much. I do not know what penalties were doled out - if anybody was caught in listening to foreign broadcasts."

"Everybody was of the opinion that before and during the revolution, the effects of the foreign broadcasts were not too favorable because people thought that they were promising too much. During the revolution, on the other hand, the news service was good and accurate, especially that of RFE. However, in the long run, people lost confidence in the foreign radio broadcasts and especially in those of RFE because they found out in the end when the revolution was over that they have talked too much and promised too much."

"I must, however, mention that it was amazing how Radio Free Europe could ... of absolutely correct and accurate information regarding the AVH, and the AVH agents. Their names and their deeds were always itemized on the radio - RFE - programs, and this data absolutely correct."

"I do not think that on the whole did incite the Hungarian people to revolt against the Russians' regime. Events would have happened anyway, but I believe that RFE did exercise psychological effect on their audience. RFE nevertheless should continue by all means to broadcast into Hungary and this for the very reason that there is no free Hungarian radio,

the people in Hungary are unable to receive any news from abroad, but I wish that the RFE and other Western broadcasting stations would stick to the truth and remain absolutely matter-of-fact. Straight political or economical news would be always welcome. There is no need, however, for any anti-Communist propaganda. On the other hand, I'm sure that everybody would like to get news from behind the Russian curtain - I mean events of Russia - what is going on, etc. On the whole all programs are welcome in Hungary if they are matter-of fact and interesting."

B. Respondent had not heard about the N.E.M. initials, but heard of the Twelve Demands.

C. Respondent found RFE leaflets herself out in the countryside near Szekszard and this she did several times. She always showed them at home to her family, and then later on, they burned it. These leaflets mostly made fun of Rabsi and criticized his methods. They also openly discussed the situation in Hungary which however was not necessary because everybody knew what was going on inside Hungary. On the other hand, people at least had the feeling that the West knew about them and hadn't forgotten.

Despite the risks involved in picking up Free Europe leaflets, nobody cared very much about it. Respondent knew that the penalty for picking up Free Europe leaflets or to hand them on to other people, usually was prison.

Regarding the usefulness of the Free Europe leaflets, respondent said: "I believe that in a way they are quite useful, as I said before, at least the Hungarian people were assured that the Western world is informed about the situation at home, but on the other hand, I think that these leaflets should not be of an inciting nature. I did not hear any role of these leaflets during the ~~xxx~~ revolution. I really don't know whether or not the RFE Committee should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary. I believe only in a case if they do not incite and do not promise anything and that the facts were printed on the leaflets stick to the truth and nothing but the ~~war~~ truth. There is one thing that should be stressed by all means in the leaflets, and that is that the Western world is keeping the Hungarian problem on the agenda, and also it should be told to the Hungarian people ways and means of how the Western world thinks that the assistance of Hungary could be carried out.

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D." There is one thing that I never understood-why the Western group broadcasts and leaflets were inciting to a revolution. First of all, when the Hungarians did not need to be incited against the Russians - they were dissatisfied with the rule anyway - and secondly, when the Western powers knew perfectly well that they are not going to give any assistance to Hungary. I feel however that the different organizations - BBC, VOA, RFE, etc. had all the same objectives.

CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

On this topic, respondent had the following to say:

"In my opinion, a child should be taught first of all religion, secondly it should be taught to respect its elders- parents and teachers, and thirdly, a child should always be disciplined. ~~As to what~~ As to what a child should learn, I believe that most important thing is that by no means should develop an egocentric attitude.

"All subjects that widen the general knowledge of a child should be taught to him.

"As I mentioned before, a child must be brought up in strict discipline. This discipline however should never be physical. The deep psychological construction of a boy and a girl are different. The treatment should of course also differ. Anybody who is bringing up a child must have an influence to an effect that the child should obey without physical punishment. An educator must try to show an example and also use reason when educating a child and enforcing discipline. Respondent recalled an episode in her life when she was about six years old, she just decided she would go out into the world and when her mother caught up with her, she got an awful big slap in her face. This was the only time she can remember that she was ever disciplined physically. Usually in the family it was enough when the mother looked sternly at them to obey implicitly.

Among people I knew, they did not punish their children physically. As a rule people did discipline their children by depriving them of something they really cared for. The way of punishment of course differed greatly in the social classes. The least educated classes used more physical punishment, of course, than the intellectual class would. The peasants for instance were rather tough on their children regarding physical punishment, and so were the workers, too.

"During the last ten years under the Communist regime, there was a change in the way children were disciplined - especially at school. Physical punishment was abolished. The techniques of discipline before Communism usually consisted of a written warning the teacher sent to the parents concerning bad marks, behaviour and finally expulsion from the school. In the country schools the peasant punishment was used quite often. This consisted of several slaps for the boys and to stand

in the corner for the girls, or having their knuckles rapped with the ruler. These physical punishments, as I said before, were all abolished under the Communist regime, and only the written warnings remained - further on the bad marks in behaviour and finally, expulsion from the schools.

Respondent believes that the greatest values in a friend would be first of all, a very strong character; second, sincerity - helpful if needed - religious and also a friend should always be interested in the same things as the other party. Also, of course, a friend should be well-educated person.

"Many people were greatly disappointed in the so-called friends under the Communist regime and not-too-strong friendship could not stand up to the circumstance we had to live under in Communist rule. The moment someone get into some political trouble, very often it happened that his friendship failed. Under the Communist regime, people made friends not so easily as before. Everybody was more cautious, but on the other hand, if you made a friend in those difficult times, then this friendship was reliable and more lasting."