

15. Respondent has no children.
16. Respondent left Hungary Dec. 26, 1956.
17. Respondent arrived in the U.S. Aug. 2, 1957.
18. In the U.S., respondent has been only in NYC.
19. Subject would like to change her present job to factory work.
20. Subject has been interviewed in Vienna about Radio Free Europe, but doesn't remember by what organization.
21. Subject neither speaks nor reads any foreign language.

#### CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is a 5' 4" tall woman ~~with~~ with a bony but very well shaped figure. Her face, framed with loose dark brown hair has an oriental structure, with high ~~cheek~~ cheek bones, rather big mouth, and almond-shaped, sparkling brown eyes. Almost undoubtedly she is a gypsy. She is only 36 years old, but her face is prematurely worn out, covered with wrinkles and looks at least 45. She is sloppy, wears her dress with a soft negligence and is coquettish. Her movements are slow but always filled with the ~~possibility~~ possibility of a sudden jump. The second day she said irrelevantly: "You know, if I didn't like you I would never have come back today. I wasn't interested in the money a bit. But I know that you won't find such a person as I am very soon."

Her father was a tinsmith in Debrecen and her mother a tobacco factory worker for 40 years. Parents were divorced when respondent was 2 years old and she rarely saw her father when she was a child. Father did well, worked in his own shop with apprentices and later, when respondent grew up, he would stop her on the street offering her money. She always refused it proudly, saying if he hadn't helped her mother for so long she didn't want his money either. She remembers her mother with great tenderness. Her mother and sister, who is ten years older than respondent, worked very hard to assure her an easier life. They always bought her delicate food and fine dresses.

Other wanted her to continue studies but respondent wanted to become ~~ballerina~~ ballet dancer. She was afraid to speak up, but wanted to make money to go to school and buy dresses for her dream. However, she got stuck in the factory as a worker for six years.

The respondent's personality is full of contradictions. In spite of her limited education, she has an interesting structure with a keen inborn intelligence. However, she seems to be very lazy about making use of it. Therefore she has very little personal experience, but much ~~instinctive~~ instinctive value. She picks up everything every quickly. She already speaks a little English, although she has been here for only five days. She wears the signs of her surrounding engraved in her mind and soul, but she is completely untouched by things she didn't hear about from her people. One can discuss Leonardo da Vinci, Tizian or Paganini with her, but she didn't know whether Churchill was an American or an Englishman, and knew no more about Krushchev than that "he was some ~~Russian~~ Russian." Thus, her judgments are usually right from her point of view, but are never based on wide knowledge. She has almost no political opinions, but watches everything in her surroundings carefully. Very ambitious, she could scarcely stand when the young man interviewed next door got ahead of us and said three times excitedly that "this must be a mistake." When the Communist authorities wanted to send her to school she repeatedly refused, because "I hated Communism so much," she said. She has a worker's background, but considers herself "middle class" apparently because of her marriage. She was a cleaning woman and married a gentry-boy who had a mother who was a Polish countess, grew up in luxury, had a negro boy servant, etc. He really looks like it in the picture which the respondent proudly carries with her. He graduated from the

Academy of Music, had a good education in Vienna and is considered by the Communists as a class-enemy.

The marriage seems to be very good, and seemingly they had a real Bohemian life. Respondent has a lot of artistic sense, sings different songs all during the interview whenever she doesn't have to speak. Her capricious nature comes out in everything she does or says.

Respondent is an idealist and a materialist at the same time. She considers every deed which helps someone correct, but in her individual life as well as in world politics she aims only at a better financial situation. She is a royalist because her mother said that under Horthy "who was almost like a king" ~~the~~ life was better and the penny had value too, and because her grandmother said that under Emperor Franz Joseph it was even better, and they had much more money.

From a political angle, respondent is a good example of how a receptive personality with natural intelligence can be completely influenced by her direct surroundings. With her worker's background she lived a much more isolated inner life from Communism than any of the middle class, or any of the aristocratic young men and women who had to become factory workers.

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

A. 1) Not exactly on the 22nd of October, but before the 23rd the people talked about the demonstration. I worked in a large, nationalized beauty-and-barber shop as a cleaning woman and, walking up and down between the man and the woman section, I heard people saying days before that something had to happen. Everybody spoke about ~~politics~~ politics and was very frustrated. They were somehow not as afraid as they had been at first. If someone called another "comrade" the other strongly objected, saying "I am not your comrade at all. You have to remember that." ~~At~~ ~~together~~ Altogether, the tension was so unbearable immediately before the revolution that I think even without the Gero speech the hostility would have broken out as well.

2) On the 23rd of October I heard in the store (I was working from 2 to 10 P.M. that day) that a "silent" demonstration was going to be held that day. My husband came in later on and he also told me about the demonstration saying that he would pick me up that evening because nobody knew what was going to happen. He had the day off. Our shop was on Lenin Avenue, and as we looked out into the street from time to time, we suddenly saw the demonstrators approaching. They marched silently and orderly. Pretty soon we heard that the demonstrators had gone to the radio building and some trouble had started. My husband arrived and we closed <sup>excited</sup> the shop at 8:30 and everybody left feeling ~~and~~. Walking home we had to cross the middle of the city, the fifth district and we saw crowds running in every direction. Everything was upsidown. All kinds of people were on the streets -- young and old, workers and intellectuals, students and ~~soldiers~~ soldiers were all over. When we reached the Madaoh circle we met trucks crowded with youngsters who ~~shouted~~ shouted that everyone should run to the radio building, because the AVH was murdering ~~at~~ the people there. People everywhere said that Gero made a speech and that all the trouble resulted from that. "Doff Gero, doff Gero"! they shouted everywhere.

## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

In my opinion there are two things that the Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the Autumn of 1956:

- 1) The revolution lasted only a few days, because the Russians attacked us. This attack should have been prevented by the Americans. We didn't count on armed forces, but some sort of help could have been given.
- 2) The other nations around us watched the events in Hungary very carefully. If we had had any assistance, they could have started attacks all over against the Communists - - in Rumania, Poland, etc.

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When we heard about the fighting we were also carried away by jubilation. I wanted to join the demonstrators, but my husband wouldn't let me. He was afraid something might happen to us. No doubt, it was rather confusing. Trucks were running around with soldiers, AVH and others, and nobody knew who was a friend and who an enemy. A truck came with Hungarian soldiers and the crowd started to shout at them: "You are traitors! You are traitors!" but the truck stopped, the soldiers started to throw arms to the people and shouted back: "We are far from traitors. We are with you; here are the arms."

At that point, as I said before, we went home because of my husband's fear, and stayed home during the next few days. I was afraid then to let my husband go out, because we heard about the bitter fighting. I went out once to line up for bread, and a man was shot next to me, so I ran home and divided the little food we had and didn't go out the next day at all. We tried to listen to the radio, but couldn't catch the Hungarian broadcasts very well and so heard the news only from the people coming and going in the house where we lived. We heard that all the shops were closed and that Maléter joined the revolution and was fighting in the Millian barracks. We thought that under those circumstances if only the AVH fought against the revolutionists it would all be over in 3 or 4 days and we would be a free country like Austria.

Later on I heard that my cousin's only son, 21 years old and doing military service, had also joined Maléter and was taking part in the fighting. When the revolution started, all the soldiers in his barracks were given their red certificate and were released from the barracks. This was a great pity. That way they couldn't form the necessary troops when the Russians attacked us. The boy, walking on the street, met his comrades and they asked him to go and ~~join~~ join Maléter. He fought with Maléter till the last moment, and then escaped.

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During the four days of quiet time, before the 4th of November, my uncle was chased up to Budapest from debrecen by the family to look after his only son. When he ~~arrived~~ arrived he told us that he came with a truck and the highways were crowded with Russian columns and tanks. They didn't stop them, but marched toward Budapest. He told us: "Children, the Russians pour like chaff. They are digged in around Pest."

On about the 27th of October I was called to go to the town hall, which was nearby on the Erzsebet Square, to help with the food distribution. It was officially organized. I worked there till November 3rd. There was a great deal to do there. We started at 6 A. M. and distributed till 5-6 P.M. Afterward we selected and put in order the newly arrived stuff. We worked especially hard during the few "free" days. The peasants poured in from the villages with every kind of food. They threw it to the people in the streets and gave us everything free to help us keep fighting. The population started to line up at 3 A. M. and stood for hours in a line that extended for several streets. That way we also had food at home because, ~~although~~ although I wasn't paid for my work, I received food. We had a very irregular life in those days, eating and sleeping only when we had a chance. We didn't know too much about what was happening. We heard about the Russian occupation only from other tenants in the house on Sunday.

After the Russians defeated the revolution we were very frightened. I didn't permit my husband to leave our apartment at all. An AVH member lived in our house and we were afraid even to speak loudly, because we didn't know about the result of the situation. During the revolution this AVH man and his family disappeared, but when the Russians returned, they turned up again. I wanted to escape Hungary right away, but my husband ~~said~~ said there was still hope. Nevertheless, he left Hungary on December 6, and I followed him on the 24th of December, on Christmas Eve. We were reunited in Vienna about the 10th of January.

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## SHORT CHRONOLOGY OF ACTIVITIES DURING THE REVOLUTION

23rd of October: "I worked until 8:30 P.M. in the beauty shop; in the meantime I saw the "silent" demonstration. Later in the evening I saw the beginning of the fighting in the middle of the city, then I went home.

24th to 26th of October: "The fight was going on, but we only heard about it because we stayed home except for a short while when I went to buy bread and a man was shot next to me. For the rest of that day and the next two days we expected the freedom fighters, because we heard that they would go from house to house distributing weapons. They didn't come, otherwise we could have gone to fight too. There was no fighting in our neighborhood.

27th of Oct. - 3rd of Nov.: "I worked in the city hall distributing food till Saturday afternoon.

4th of Nov.: "We heard from the others that the Russians were back."

## CONCERNING THE LAST QUESTION ABOUT THE REVOLUTION:

Asked if she thought Hungary gained something from the revolution, respondent answered:

"Maybe only morally, but Hungary gained something. Such a tiny nation, and still she had the strength and courage to try to win her freedom."



IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING  
THE REVOLUTION

A. "We expected during the revolution ~~that~~  
the voluntary troops of the United Nations  
but they were sent to ~~the Suez Canal~~ instead  
of Hungary." THE SUEZ CANAL

B. "Radio Free Europe told us about possible  
help and that we should bear up."

C. "I wanted to talk to foreigners but I  
couldn't succeed."

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V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Concerning her family background, respondent says as follows:

"My father died in 1935. He was a tinsmith in Debrecen. He had his own shop with several apprentices. My parents were divorced when I was two years old and my father didn't give my financial support to my mother. We almost never saw him and considered him as a stranger. I don't know about his education. According to my memory, he didn't own any property.

" My mother had about six grades of elementary school. Her handwriting was nice and she could read well. She worked in a tobacco factory in Debrecen for forty years, and struggled hard together with my sister, who was ten years my senior, and also a factory worker, to assure a decent life for me. My mother gets a pension of 600 Forints at present."

B. Regarding social classes in Hungary, respondent says:

"The society was standardized in Hungary because it was forced upon us. I had to sit at the same table in a restaurant with a swineherd. I don't think it is democratic to be forced to mix with all kinds of people. I believe in the equality of man, but people don't have to be dirty. People are untidy because they are allowed to be; they are lazy. The waiters served them no matter how they looked. This kind of democracy was overdone in Hungary. I guess even more than in Russia."

"On the other hand, the favoritism and bullying was even stronger under Communism than before. The people didn't say "Nagysagos ur". (This is an obsolete, middle-class form of address in Hungary. Interviewer's Note.) They said "Comrade". The class distinction was even stronger than in the Horthy time, but it was a Party class distinction. Always the Party Secretary was right. The entry into this class was assured by the red book, the Communist membership card which was badly misused. The Communists from 1919 were convinced Communists,

TO EVERY BODY, BUT

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but these new Communists were only opportunists. These people said: "Why should I work like a horse when I can sit with the same effort in an office. Come what may, who knows how long it will last. But at least I am having a good time now."

I have no connection with this new middle class because I consider them to be traitors. I have never told anyone "Comrade" but "Good morning" or "Szervusz."

The other class was the workers. Everybody else belonged there. When I was a streetcar conductor, among my colleagues there were former engineers, officers, intellectuals and real streetcar conductors too. The members of the former middle class were gradually fired from their office jobs and if they didn't want to become Communist Party members they could find jobs only at the Streetcar Company or as bricklayers.

To the question "What class does the respondent feel she belongs" she answered: "I belong to the middle class." (To the old middle class. Interviewer's Note.)

To the question "Which class was hardest hit by Communism" she said:

"The worker and especially the lower middle class, the artisans and shopkeepers. The Communists took everything from them. They didn't have any reserves and had to go to work in the factories. The workers had to work much harder than ever. The intellegentsia and aristocrats still had, somehow, protection and influence, and ~~and~~ if they didn't want to compromise, they could still go to ~~the~~ **DO PHYSICAL WORK**."

"I don't think there was any class opinion before the war, and if there was any, nobody ever expressed it. Everybody finds his circle. The white collar worker went to the first class restaurant because there he felt good."

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The tradesman went to the second-rate restaurant but maybe made twice as much money as the intellectual. The people did their own work and the work had its fruit. Only a part of the society had the right to vote, but we voted regularly and had some changes in the system. Now everybody has to ~~vote~~ vote but there is no choice and if someone dares to vote different he is dragged away before he reaches his home.

They saw the changes in the classes under Communism, but the different classes didn't express their opinion in their attitudes.

C. Regarding the chances to advance in Communist Hungary, respondent answers:

"Talent had very little to do with success. There was, for instance, a young actor (the son of a worker) who had no talent whatsoever, but the Communists made the greatest film with him because he was politically suitable.

"Vitaly important was the origin and the political background, and besides these two, opportunism. In some cases four grades of public school and parents from the Proletariat were enough to succeed.

Concerning changes in social mobility from 1953 on, respondent says: "In 1953 Rakosi gave a big speech with self-criticism and listed the abuses and encroachments which should be corrected. Shortly after that Imre Nagy became the Prime Minister. He had good intentions but he was alone in his opinion. The Communists didn't like him and therefore dismissed him. The hourly wages were increased. I was a streetcar conductor at that time, and my salary was raised too, but that ~~was~~ was all that happened to us."

Speaking about herself as a person who can get ahead in Communism, subject explained:

"According to my class origin, I could have become somebody under the Communists, but I felt I couldn't be a double-dealer. When

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NI applied for the streetcar conductor job, I had to take an examination. Mine was the best, and they asked me right away whether I would like to study. They said I would be a streetcar conductor for three weeks and then they would send me to the ~~XXXXXX~~ Party school. I would learn the Marxist-Leninist doctrines and I could be an agitator or later on I could be a supervisor. They said that my origin was all right for that. ~~XXXXXX~~ answered that I had no intention of studying but I would tell them if I changed my mind. After three weeks the station manager asked me again but I answered that I had no desire to study. I didn't attend the Party meetings. I told them I didn't have time. I just didn't want to become a Communist because I couldn't be one from my heart."

"The story of my husband was different. He was a class enemy, a gentry and unreliable for the very reason that he was born in Vienna. Once they announced hirings at the Army Artist Ensemble. He played before the jury and they liked his playing, but he had to present his biography, too. They said that they liked his playing but he is unreliable. He came home crying. Finally he got a job as the conductor of a workers' orchestra, but pretty soon he was fired again. He was jobless, very often for a half a year or longer, and could get only temporary assignments."

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## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Regarding family life in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said she had no children, therefore she didn't have much to say about her own family. She and her husband talked over all their problems together.

About other families she said the following:

"Next door there lived a family with five children. The mother did some cleaning jobs here and there, the father was a helper in a factory in Csepel and earned about 1500 Florints per month. What they ate was almost dishwater, and the clothing they wore was ragged. Before the Communists took over both parents were peasants and had a little land from the country. But when they had to join the ~~State~~ ~~Tezcs~~ (This word is the abbreviation of the Hungarian name of Farmers' Cooperatives. Interviewer's Note.) the quota was so high that they had to put up their furniture for auction. Their house was soon seized by the Communists. Then the man came to Budapest and got the job in the ~~Kak~~ factory which he holds today. He had a long fight to get the permission for his family to reside in Budapest. Finally after a long time his family could come up to join the father. At that time the family was completely ruined. I had to cry when the mother told me she had to take bread from her children's mouth in order to give it to the authorities." However, respondent couldn't tell any more about the family life of average Hungarians.

She didn't know much either about how children were brought up during the last ten years. Regarding this matter, she told only about her information from others. Another mother in her house was indignant because she had ~~sent~~ her children in a religious class but in spite of that, there was no religious ~~instruction~~ in school. Therefore she herself taught her children about

REGISTERED

INSTRUCTION

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religion and took them to the church. It was up to the parents whether they could save their family life or not. This woman was strongly anti-Communist and complained that her children were strongly alienated from her at school. She didn't allow her children to join the Pioneer Movement because the girls and boys were put into the same camp and she heard that even some camp supervisors lived with young girls. She thought that a terrible moral destruction went on in those camps and under Communism in general.

"The children's respect for their parents vanished completely. They were as impertinent with their parents as they were with their teachers and it was very necessary to discipline them and to be extremely strict with them. Especially, the parents had to punish them because it wasn't allowed at school."

"However, in some cases the child itself took care of ~~the~~<sup>his</sup> problem. My cousin's daughter wanted to become a nun and applied for admittance when she was 12. This was around 1943. After 1945 she was admitted to the teacher's training school where she was boycotted as a nun candidate. She said she would die if she could not become a nun. Her mother begged her to drop the idea for the time being. She could return to it when everything changed again for good. Finally the mother persuaded the girl and she is a teacher today, a very intelligent person. She doesn't want to marry, most likely because she still hasn't given up the hope of becoming a nun."

B. Regarding Marriage, courtship, etc.  
respondent said:

"After 1945 the children attained their majority very early. Therefore they also married early. After a few years, however, they grew tired of each other. Both of them worked, the man very often at night. They hardly saw each other. I myself had ~~no~~ regular correspondence with my husband when he worked. I never saw him. So the parties made new acquaintances in their working places and divorced sooner or later."

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"The moral level dropped down tremendously. At first the Communists were pleased if a 13 or 14 year old girl delivered a child. Later on they realized themselves that something was wrong, and the MNDSZ (abbreviation for Hungarian Democratic Women's Organization. Interviewer's Note.) ~~was~~ set up night observer groups who visited the bars and gathered the girls under 16.

~~During the last two and a half years~~ <sup>V</sup> they asked the pregnant girls whether they wanted to keep the child or not. If the answer was no, the child was taken from the mother. If the pregnant girl wanted to give birth to her child but had no possibility of raising the child afterward, the doctor or the hospital made arrangements about the adoption. The mother left the hospital without her baby."

"In my case, I met my husband in 1946, but we couldn't marry because of his citizenship. We lived together ~~as~~ concubinarians. In 1953 all of a sudden we got a notification from the City Hall that if we still wanted to marry we should go the same day to the City Hall. We hurried there at 10 o'clock in the morning. It took us four hours to go through all the formalities and we had to sign thousands of documents. Finally at 2 o'clock we were married."

"All these changes were due to Communism. I can't grasp what was their real reason for giving the youth such an early sexual freedom and independence, and all the other inventions. What I know is that when they realized what they did it was already too late."

Regarding prostitution, subject answered:

"There was no prostitution under Communism. The Communists sent the girls away. This wasn't too good because these girls, while they were prostitutes had to go to the ~~doctor~~ doctor twice a week and take care of themselves. After this institution was abolished, the young girls were too shy to go to the doctor and a very great percentage of the men and women had venereal disease that way. That disease was far

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ABORTION. THE DOCTORS



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advanced. When I was hired at the beauty salon I had to go through all kinds of medical examinations because everybody was afraid of the sick women. But it was already this way in 1945 with the Russian soldiers; they were mostly diseased."

Concerning the sexual morality of convinced Communists respondent answered that she had never spoken to convinced Communists about that.

B. Regarding juvenile delinquency, subject said:

"The newspapers never wrote about such events. A juvenile delinquent could be the child of a Communist as well as a non-Communist, but usually the parent belonged to the lower classes. I myself knew a boy at Debrecen who was a regular burglar. He was the son of a poor woman. He had no father. Whenever he needed money for entertainment, if he wanted to go to a dance, he held up someone. Among the thirteen, fourteen and fifteen-year old children, juvenile delinquency was widespread, but as far as I know, the Communists punished them. They were tried and sent to reform schools. The Communists let the youth loose sexually but wanted to discipline them in other crimes. I guess, however, the Hungarians caught this habit of robbery from the Russians when, in 1945, they robbed the whole country freely. Ever since we haven't had real public security order. We could never leave the milk bottle before the door or a bicycle on the street. It was gone in a minute. My husband had been held up several times when he came home late at night, but somehow he could always manage to run away."

"The Jamoc type existed in Budapest, mostly young boys who wore rubber-soled shoes and narrow pants, but they were ridiculed. That lowered their number. The Communists made politics out of this too -- anti-American propaganda. They said that the Jamoc is the American type, and prohibited that behavior.

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If the youngsters danced the American way, they had to leave the place. In these things the Communists contradicted themselves because they ruined the moral life of the youth and then they raised objections to ~~their~~ their clothing. This wasn't a very LOGICAL ~~policy~~ policy. Basically the Marxist and Leninist principles were good, but these principles were not at all practiced in Hungary."

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## VII. RELIGION

A. "Religion played a very important role in Hungary. The people always do things which are ~~xxx~~prohibited. I lived near the Bazilika church and there were always more people in it than before 1945, and many men. I am a Protestant, but I went often into the Bazilika and saw myself how many men were there. But anyhow, humanity never lived without a faith. Sometimes man put his faith into trees, lightening, etc., and this was his religion. But he always needed one. How could the children grow up without religion?"

Regarding the question which religion was hardest hit in Hungary, respondent said that Catholicism was because Catholics were in the majority.

Respondent says that religion was a bulwark against Communism "because the people wanted to express through religion that the Communists wouldn't succeed ~~as~~ with their ~~ideology~~ <sup>ideology</sup>. We are Christians and wanted to remain Christians. That was expressed when they went to the churches during the weekdays as well as on Sundays, and when the people insisted upon the processions. The Communists would have ~~liked~~ liked to prevent these things, but against the Catholicism of all Europe they were afraid to."

"It would have been different with us Protestants because we were in the minority. Our bishop, I think, did not submit himself to the Communists by conviction, but maybe he thought he could assure the survival of the Protestant religion. (Laughing.) I heard enough because of this from my husband, who was a Catholic, that Protestantism is a Communist religion."

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B. Regarding the question whether or not religion is an important factor in her life, respondent said the following:

"My mother was very religious. <sup>WHEN I WAS A CHILD</sup> We always went to the church together, <sup>ROBATES</sup> also to the midnight masses and the ~~services~~. (This is the name of the very early morning masses.) Later on I attended Bible classes. Whenever I heard a religious song I was moved. I can never pass an open church without going in. You know it is necessary for a human being. (Here respondent leans back in her chair and dreamily says: "My husband told me that my soul is like a white dove, simple in its simplicity, and he would never give me up for a million women. I forgive everyone, as Jesus did, and finally the people come back to me to beg my pardon.")

"I think the average people were ~~quite~~ religious in Hungary, like myself. I even knew many Communists who went to the church and they said that it is not stated in Communism that religion is prohibited. One can be religious and a Communist at the same time."

C. According to the respondent, the churches had a good result in education. The difference could be seen between children who got ~~with~~ religious instructions and those who did not.

"If the <sup>STATE</sup> ~~church~~ doesn't set up sufficient moral rules, then the churches have to intervene. After all, it cannot be done by the police, because that would be terrorism." "However, it is not right if the church takes part in politics."

D. The Jewish Minority

"The Jewish religion hasn't been affected by Communism. They could go to church undisturbed and celebrated their religious holidays, while the Christian holidays were changed over to political celebrations. They didn't have to make any special effort to keep their religion. I think the reason that the Communists didn't interfere with

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the Jewish religion is that this religion has nothing to do with politics. The ~~also~~ The Catholic church was strong and rich, had big lands and the Vatican was always engaged in politics."

To the question whether the Communist rule affected the Jews in Hungary, respondent said:

"Generally the Jewish people never discussed politics with others, only among themselves. They are interested in politics only insofar as it affects their own interests. Therefore they usually don't lose. After 1945 many of them became Party members, occupied the office jobs and succeeded in reaching the higher positions. The Party secretaries, directors and managers were usually Jews. For those jobs the Party membership was a prerequisite. I always liked the Jewish people; they were talented and diligent and I cried when they were ~~seized~~ seized by the Nazis, but Hungary never had a Jewish head of state before. All the Communist leaders were Jewish. There is nothing wrong in this of course, but they like to use these positions just for their own benefit. I think that Communism brought about their bad change."

Regarding the attitudes of Jews during the Revolution, subject ~~stated~~ said:

"I knew a Jewish couple whose son took part in the fighting. Many of them didn't like Communism either. I talked to a shopkeeper whose shop was confiscated, and he could hardly wait for the victory of the revolutionists and an independent Hungary. I haven't heard from anybody that the Jews would have been afraid of pogroms."

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## VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "We considered the Hungarian youth to be the youngsters from 13 to 17 years of age. The 19-year old were already of military age."

B. "The youth were charming and heroic during the Revolution. The youth upheld the Revolution at first. Maybe the parents had some part in their heroism, or maybe the children enjoyed the fight. There was a film for instance, "The Little Partisan," about a little Russian boy who destroyed the tanks one after another. My godson begged me to go with him again to see the picture. The children enjoyed it tremendously. They fired up the adults and the adults admired the youth."

C. (Subject has no children and is over thirty. This sub-section is not applicable.)

D. [Concerning youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination, respondent says:

"Our youth didn't like the political indoctrination. They said they ~~couldn't~~ couldn't spend ~~enough~~ enough time with the subjects they were interested in because of the political hours and activities. How could they become good professionals that way? They wanted to go abroad to visit the museums, libraries and institutions, but everything was prohibited. This was why they fought in the Revolution."

"They didn't sympathize with Communism because they were overdriven by politics and they were insecure about their future. They couldn't choose their occupations ~~xxxxxxx~~ freely. I heard from a woman teacher in our house that her 16-year old daughter was desperate to be a doctor, but she was already forced at school to become a gymnastic instructor instead. The radio broadcast every year before high school graduation advice about job openings. These jobs were usually in different trades. Sometimes there were a few teachers' jobs."

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## IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

"We were mostly dissatisfied because of the high cost of living."

"In the market of Hold Street we had to line up for hours for everything. I spent all my free hours shopping, standing in lines. Once a reporter asked me whether I was satisfied with the beautiful merchandise and the prices. I told him "Go to hell!" Couldn't he see that we had to stand in line for everything? He left me but I was scared and left the market in a hurry. It was prohibited to criticize the money, to say that it had no purchase value."

"The other thing was the lack of freedom. We couldn't talk freely and criticize anything, because the people were taken from the streets to prison. What has Communism to do with democracy? I really don't understand what the Communists mean by "freedom." The prisons were filled with political prisoners. The former Swedish ambassador who lived in the same house as I ~~was~~ imprisoned for two years only because the Communists wanted to squeeze some information out of him about the old times. A delicatessen shop owner was deported from our street, ~~because~~ they pronounced him an exploiter because he worked with some helpers. We were also always afraid of deportation because of my husband."

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## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. On the standard of living of her family, subject said:

"It was very difficult. The food was very expensive but clothing was even worse. My salary was 650 Forints and my husband made 1200 to 1400 Forints if he worked. We spent my husband's salary on food and mine on clothing. However, my whole salary was hardly enough for a pair of good shoes. A custom-made shoe cost 500 to 800 Forints."

"Housing wasn't expensive. We paid 45 Forints for a room, foyer, bathroom and kitchen."

"The streetcar ticket wasn't expensive. For instance, a street fare was 20 Filler. A transfer was 15 Filler. (A Filler is the equivalent of a cent.) But the train fare was very expensive. If I wanted to go home to Debrecen to visit my mother, a third-class one-way local train cost fifty Forints. Express cost eighty-five Forints. The same by airplane was 110 Forints."

"We considered clothing a luxury."

"Entertainment was almost impossible. The bars and nightclubs where my husband worked were not crowded at all. They served doctored wines for very high prices."

"Our life was much better before 1945 in every respect. The standard of living decreased continuously from 1948 on. The salaries went up, but the prices went up even higher. During the last 2 years the quality of some goods improved -- leather, woolen material, shoe soles, etc., but these things were relatively more expensive too."

"The families of the Party officials had a good life. They had parties, the family was always picked up by large luxury cars, and they had summer and winter vacations. Their children were dressed nicely. These people and the members of the AVH (This is the abbreviation of the



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Hungarian political police.) were highly overpaid, and they were the only ones who could get beautiful 2 and 3 room apartments."

B. Regarding specific questions about her income, respondent answered:

"I mentioned before that as a cleaning woman in the beauty salon I made 650 Forints per month."

"Fifty Forints were deducted for tax because I haven't any children, and another fifty Forints for everything else. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Altogether, a hundred Forints were deducted."

"I have never received any premium and never had any other income ~~xxxxxx~~ part-time job."

"I was promised a 200 Forint increase just before the Revolution started. Otherwise I haven't had any raise in this job."

"There wasn't much choice. We bought almost every food at the state-owned Kozert. We bought only the vegetables from the market or at the Maszek stores (this is the name of one of the few private enterprises still existing). It was more expensive at the Maszek but better and fresher ~~than~~ than at the Kozert. For instance, 2 pounds of potatoes cost 1 Forint at the Kozert store, and at the Maszek the same cost 1 Forint, 20 Filler."

"Clothing could be bought only at state stores. There was no ~~possibility~~ possibility of making comparisons in quality or price."

"I didn't notice any difficulty in the ~~availability~~ availability of clothing because I bought very seldom. The only change I notice, for instance, was that we could only get artificial shoe soles before but now in the last 2 years we got leather soles."

"There was no black market to my knowledge, except during the inflation in 1946."

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Sometimes I heard about the dollar black market."

"The supply of meat and fuel was regularly short. We haven't had one winter without fuel shortages."

B. Working Conditions

"I was, as I said before, a cleaning woman in a state-owned beauty shop. My working hours ran from 6 in the morning to 2 o'clock in the afternoon one week, and in alternate weeks from 2 P.M. to 10 P.M. When I arrived at the shop in the morning, first I made the fire in a big stove. I had to carry four or five bucketsful of coal from the basement and keep the fire going. Then I scrubbed the floor on my knees from a pail and cleaned all the tables, putting the little tools in order. Later on, when the customers began arriving I helped around them with little things and continuously removed hair from the floor, etc. Ours was a first-class store with high prices. Washing and setting of the hair cost from 18 to 20 Forints. A tin was 1 to 2 Forints. Sometimes they sent me to the central office with the money from the cash register. This was considered a position of trust (she said laughing).

"I regularly slept 7 or 8 hours a day. My working place was not far from my home. I had to take the subway and travel 2 stations. It wasn't very pleasant. The rush hour started at 5 o'clock in the morning and went till 8 o'clock in the morning. In the afternoon, it lasted from 2:30 to 3 o'clock, and in the evening from 5 to 6:30. During these hours the ~~man~~people were brutal; they shouted and pushed each other."

Regarding her reasons for holding that job, respondent said:

"I didn't have a choice. I wanted to be a manicurist. Somebody with a job like that was safe till her old age and she was a state employee. But I wasn't reliable enough for that job."

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"My relations with my colleagues were very good. Most of them were reactionaries. Everybody liked me."

"The manager was a correct man. He was in the shop very seldom because he was in charge of 2 or 3 other shops too. He escaped during the Revolution. My superiors never made me feel that I was only a cleaning woman and they treated me very well."

"As far as I could judge they were good executives, but for instance, in the catering trade, where my husband worked, there were people who didn't know anything about their business."

"The people in our store held together, the chiefs as well as the workers. But it wasn't that good everywhere. When I was a streetcar conductor, the situation was entirely different."

"This was the hardest period in my life. It was a very hard job. We were driven unto death. They demanded too much from us. To be on the streetcar for 9½ hours was too much in itself, but the arrangement of our working hours was impossible. I had to work in different shifts. Sometimes I had to get up at 2:30 in the morning. My car started at 4:15. I was on the car with a short lunch break for 9 to 10 hours. Then I had a few hours until my next shift started. I went home at 1:00 clock in the morning, and I had to leave at 3:00 o'clock to be in my car on time. I took some food with me and had a hot meal only when I got home. I had a wood-burning range and it took a long time to make a fire in it. Therefore I usually used only a small electric plate which I bought for 65 Forints and made coffee or tea for myself. That was all. My husband got some food at his working place but it was usually very bad. If my shift started in the afternoon, I cooked ahead for a few days, cleaned the apartment, did the laundry and ironed."

"But even this wasn't enough slave-driving. We always had to be cautious and alert because the Company put civilian supervisors, "Spiclis," (fan informer. Interviewer's note.) on the cars to watch how we worked. They got on the streetcar

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with false tickets, and if we were tired it was very easy to be misled. Once I took off my cap and a civilian man asked me where it was. I knew right away that he was an informer but I was very angry and I told him if he didn't like me without the cap he could go and report right away. Then I was afraid he really would, but nothing happened."

"At the end I got sick, and that is how I was able to leave that job. It was not possible to leave a job voluntarily. If somebody did that he lost his right to a vacation, organized holidays, etc., for half a year or even longer. It was a good thing that it was written on my certificate that I left my job with the doctor's approval. There were many ~~kxxxxxxxx~~tuberculars among the workers because of the hard work."

"But my supervisors were usually competent and excellent people, even at the streetcar company. The Minister of Transportation, Lajos Berbics was a lovable man. He himself was a surface man before, but he was an outstanding person, even though he was a Party member. He was the only one who kept his position because he was so competent."

To the question whether the superiors praised the workers, respondent answered:

"I didn't attend the production conferences when the official praises were publicized. My supervisors were very polite but they didn't praise us."

About Hungarian vacation plans, etc., Respondent's views are as follows:

"I could have used the vacation program, but I didn't want to. The food was usually so bad that I should have taken more than 1000 or 1200 forints with me to buy food besides what they gave and have some entertainment. Basically it was trickery with these plans. The room was nice but the people starved. I was better off going to my mother at Debrecen where I

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had decent meals."

"The health programs were good at the OTI (workers' health insurance company in Hungary. Interviewer's note.). It included dentistry, X-rays, etc. It worked well, but for the OTI insurance, about 7 per cent of our salary was deducted."

E. To the question whether respondent would have preferred to live in the country, she answered:

"The people in the country could grow their own vegetables, raise their own pigs, chickens, etc. But we who were used to the city, as I definitely was, could never have lived in the country. From the point of view of food, the standard of living was higher in the country but the salaries were much lower than in the city."

"From a political point of view, it was much better in Budapest. The ~~xxxx~~people in the country were forced to be Party members more than we were. They had to call each other "Comrade." It was much easier for the Communists to seize the people in the country."

Concerning collectivization, respondent doesn't know much about it.

To the question "What kind of ~~xxxx~~agricultural system would respondent like to see in ~~xxxx~~independent Hungary, she says very explicitly:

"Private ~~xxxx~~ownership in agriculture."

"Our agriculture is ruined because of the forced mechanization. The main emphasis should be put onto the regular food distribution to stop the ~~xxxx~~need to line up for everything."

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## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Respondent didn't care too much about politics. She said she wasn't interested in Communist politics but anyway for the women their politics was the high prices.

She has never been a member of any party.

The members of her family have never been Communists either. The whole family hates the Communists. Before 1948 the respondent says:

"The ideas of the Communists in 1919 were quite good. They thought that the standard of living would rise gradually but after 1945 they were all disappointed. Today they all regret the time they spent in prison for Communism ~~during~~ the two wars, <sup>BETWEEN</sup> and slowly they are deserting the Party.

B. About her views on the Communist Party since 1948, subject says:

"The Party members were not all the same. There were opportunists in the Party, and some others who believed in Communism. I myself, however, never liked the Communist Party. I disliked it at all times. They were too aggressive. From 1951 to 1953 they sent agitators to our homes day and night. They even woke me up in the middle of the night and asked me what my opinion was of the elections. I had to throw them out."

In general, respondent hadn't any contact with Communism or with the Communist Party and cannot tell very much about their activities, their morale, or anything else.

To the question "What are the Communist Party leaders like, what are their aims, their motives?" respondent answers:

"(Excited) I think the Communist leaders are a gang of robbers who robbed the Hungarian people of their health with forced labor. The

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whole country has been bluffed. They look after their own benefit only.

"Their aim is to terrorize. They themselves don't believe in what they do. How could the leaders believe in anything after they dismissed Rakosi. They are under Russian control. They do what the Russians dictate. Within the Communist Party ~~there~~ <sup>THERE</sup> is the same upper ten thousand as there were around 1940 but at that time a worker could make money too and an engineer had to study long years to get a higher position. The worker could respect his superior. If he didn't like something, he walked out, he had a strike. The Communist Party's tactics cannot go on for long, because the Hungarian people love freedom. The end isn't here yet. I want to go home too. I cried when ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Germans ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> I was on the ocean. I cried just as I did when the Germans invaded Hungary. The Russians followed in Hitler's footsteps."

Regarding what should be done with the Hungarian Communists when Hungary is independent, the respondent says:

"If Hungary is liberated, the Communist leaders should be imprisoned and executed because they ruined their own people. They are vicious."

C. Regarding opposition activities to the Communist government, respondent says:

"People grumbled over the ~~sxxx~~situation but they were afraid to do anything because they would have been seized immediately."

Respondent didn't know about any definite activity.

She didn't know anything about the Petofi Circle or the intellectuals.

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## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Concerning the Hungarian Secret Police respondent said she didn't know any AVH members personally and had no personal experience with them. She heard many evil things about them:

"Whoever joined this organization had to expose even his whole family if it turned out so." Respondent added that she didn't hear about any of them who suffered remorse.

"When Hungary is independent" respondent continued "the AVH members should be skinned alive, if not for anything else, for what they did during the Revolution. They shot their own compatriots. I have a good heart, but I am telling you (excited) I myself would ~~xxxx~~ look on while they were being tortured. I didn't want to believe what happened, but everything was true. They put on the regular policeman's outfit and so went to fight. No wonder that when the people caught them they killed them on the spot."

Speaking about her feeling towards the regular police, respondent said:

"The regular police cannot be compared with the AVH at all. The Police was an excellent organization. There was strict moral discipline in their ranks and no politics involved. I could have become a policewoman if I wanted to. Party membership wasn't necessary. There was no corruption there or anything like that. They were just the same as before the war. During the Revolution the ~~xxxx~~ Police opened its buildings and let the policemen go home or join the revolutionists if they wanted to. I didn't hear about one policeman joining the AVH in the fighting, but I had no personal experiences."

B. The Courts

Respondent thinks that before 1945 people received fair treatment from the courts no



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matter whether they were poor or rich. For the same crime they got the same punishment.

About the people's courts she said:

"The people's courts were no good. They had just and unjust decisions as well. For instance, with the war criminals, Szalasi deserved his fate. He didn't have to seize the power. But Beregffy (Minister of War in the Szalasi government) was a soldier by profession. He only did his duty when he sent his soldiers to fight. The people's court executed many men with excellent minds. This was a mistake and the country missed them afterward. It was the same with those who were sentenced to lose their jobs and property. They would be needed now as experts."

C. To the question about the Hungarian Army, respondent answered:

"According to my knowledge, the Hungarian Army fought only on the side of the Revolutionaries. ~~It~~ was a bad mistake, as I mentioned before in connection with my cousin's son, ~~that~~ some formations of the Army sent the soldiers home and so only relatively few soldiers took part in the fight. The only organized group was the Malster group.

"The people were happy and enthusiastic when the Army joined the revolutionists."

D. Regarding the Russian Army, respondent said:

"In 1848 there was Czarism in Russia and the Russians themselves were under subjugation. It wasn't the 1848 Revolution which caused the hatred, but the events in 1945. Five or six Russian soldiers raped the same 12-year old girl or pregnant woman. I heard that the Russians were good and pious but not these Russians.

"We were afraid of them even before they arrived in 1945. I was hidden in advance. The newspapers wrote about their barbarism.

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They told us when they occupied Debrecen "You are Burzsuj (it means "rich people"- Interviewer's Note) because your clothing has a separate house (they meant the closets).

"They were just the same from the time they set foot on Hungarian soil."

To the question how much she could learn about the Russian soldiers during the Revolution, respondent answered:

"I heard only from my apartment that they fired cruelly on Budapest. I had no personal experience with Russian soldiers."

"About the Russian troops stationed in Hungary I didn't know much directly. I heard that they married Hungarians but their children went to separate schools. They had separate shops. We had practically no contact with them. I know that the natives of Hungary didn't like them. They were always brawling."

E. About the local government officials who would be willing to help people in trouble, respondent said:

"I have never heard about such helpful government officials. They usually told us to go to work if we were in trouble. There was enough work."

F. Respondent says according to her knowledge there was no possibility of getting around the rules by any method.

G. Concerning the intelligence of the top people of the Communist power system, respondent said: "I don't think anyone in such a position could be unintelligent."

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## XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Regarding the near future of Hungary and her own hopes, respondent said:

"I hope that the situation will ~~xxx~~ change in Hungary in the near future. If not, it will be due only to the Russian oppression. The change may be brought about by another revolution, and the West cannot let the Russians expand anymore. America is in danger too. From Alaska it isn't difficult for the Russians to attack her. Europe has no choice either."

"The KHR regime will continue its strictness."

"I believe in the west" respondent continues. "I know they won't let the Russians loose because they already played too many tricks on the West. Or, if the West is afraid of the Russians that is all the more reason for ~~ndoing~~ doing something about it. The Hungarian revolution bound the hands of Russia. She is not so free anymore to act as she once was. She is not on the easy side but the West has to take advantage of it."

"I would like to have a solution without war. In my opinion, the only solution would be a revolution within Russia because that would be a really great one. In Hungary we all expected this Russian revolution because we heard about the restlessness of its students."

"The Polish situation is not a solution. Basically there is the same terror in Poland. Nothing has been changed."

"The people in Hungary don't want war in general. I don't even want to hear about the atom bomb. It shouldn't be used for war purposes. If the Russian revolution doesn't break out some agreement has to be reached to force Russia out of Europe behind her

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own border. But I am not a politician. I don't know how this can be done."

B. To the question about the prospects of Hungary before the Revolution, respondent said:

"If life had continued unchanged before the Revolution, we would not have expected anything but the 'Csajka rendszer' (the *MESS-TIN* system) -- a complete conformism with uniform clothing and thinking. The upper ten thousand held the leadership and the rest of the people were slaves. We had no hope whatsoever for any change. We couldn't put faith in Budapest anymore, because the big powers had millions of meetings but could never reach any agreement."

"In 1945 we didn't think that we would ever have Communism in Hungary. We thought that the Russians would withdraw and we would get loans from the West to rebuild the country. Then from year to year nothing happened. The terror grew bigger all the time and our hopes vanished."

"In 1949-51 we hoped for war because all the men were mobilized in a six-week training but this passed too and we gave up all hope."

"I have to tell you how much it hurt us that all the countries criticized America and the UN after the Revolution. They really could have done something for us."

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## XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Regarding the sort of system respondent would like in Hungary, she answered:

"A kingdom. Hungary was always a kingdom and we were prosperous. About 5 or 6 years ago we hoped that Otto would take over the leadership. The Hungarian liked the idea. My husband talked to many people about it (her husband's and mother's influence can clearly be seen in her opinion--Interviewer's Note)."

"As long as I lived with my mother we had Horthy in our hearts. They were not swanky. They were informal. They went to the same church the people did and helped the people. He wasn't a bad governor at all. We had a peaceful life. The wife of his son Istvan (who died and who was supposed to follow his father in power -- Interviewer's Note) was the godmother of many children and she helped them to marry and start their lives. That was moving. I don't know what you think, but at that time my mother alone supported our family and still I was brought up nicely. The money had ~~its~~ its value."

B. Concerning whether Hungary should emphasize agriculture or industry, respondent says:

"Hungary should be an agricultural state. We have good soil and livestock."

"Nationalized companies don't have to be given back completely to their former owners but everybody should get back enough to start a decent life. Everybody should get back what he worked for. By what right can anybody's property be confiscated? I have never had any property, but this is the truth."

"The government should not interfere in private property other than to collect taxes."

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To the question which one of the two possible given government would she choose, respondent answered:

"What a funny question! Look, there is not one country where there is no chance to work. If nothing else, a man can be a bricklayer. I don't want either of the two governments you told me about."

"The Communist Party can exist in an independent Hungary if it behaves and isn't impertinent. However, I won't let them be engaged in politics and make trouble."

C. Concerning the ideal future position of Hungary, respondent states:

"Hungary should have the same neutrality and independence as Austria."

Concerning relations with the different countries she said:

"Not even from an economic point of view is ~~any~~any connection with the USSR desirable. We can get everything we would get from Russia from the West, and in much better quality."

"No relations with the Eastern European states."

"We should have all kinds of economic contacts with the rest of Europe as we had before."

"If the United States helped Hungary to become independent it would be better for both parties. I read an article many years ago in the Tolnai Világlap (a Hungarian weekly magazine) about how America might rebuild Budapest. It was a wonderful article."

"I only realized how brutal the Hungarians became under the influence of the East when I

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left Hungary. The other Eastern states are not much different. I don't think any relations with them would be advantageous for our country, but we should have all kinds of connections with the United States."

The respondent knew no more about the Danubian Federation than its name.

She would like to have the 1914 boundaries for Hungary but she admits that it is a dream only.

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## XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Respondent doesn't know anything about the problems under this point. The only thing she said was about Rakosi's private life:

"He couldn't move around freely even when he was in power. A colleague of my husband, a musician, took a walk around the place where Rakosi's home was and suddenly he was captured by some secret police. They asked him whether he knew that walking was prohibited in that area. They didn't believe his denial, took him and gave him a sound drubbing for spying."

B. In response to the question from what sources she drew most of her information respondent answered:

"Word of mouth, newspapers, radio. The radio was the most important to me. I listened to all the foreign broadcasts. Second in importance were word of mouth reports. I got all kinds of news by word of mouth, both political and otherwise. But mostly we discussed the radio broadcasts."

"I talked about this news to my husband's friends who came to our house -- a violinist, an architect, musicians, a high school teacher, etc. Since I married I have not moved in the tradesmen's circle."

"Both seem to me to be reliable. We all usually agreed, and if somebody opposed us I immediately drove him out of my apartment as Communist-hearted. We hated them so much."

D. Regarding her reading habits respondent said:

"I didn't read the newspapers regularly. I read some magazines and books, mostly novels, modern and classic (she talked about Shakespeare, Victor Hugo, Jokai, etc.). Those books **LEGALLY** I couldn't buy in a bookshop. They were prescribed. If sometimes I got such a book in



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Book  
 as SHOP "Black" (this means illegally)  
 it was very expensive. Once I saw the  
 liquidation of an old library at the corner  
 of Sas Street and Erzsebet Square. The  
 beautiful books with expensive bindings, the  
 children's books, Walt Disney's among them,  
 were thrown on the street and carried away  
 to the paper mill over a three-day period.  
 I asked the man to sell me some secretly but  
 I was chased away. They were guarded. I was  
 a book maniac when I was a girl."

"I knew about Goethe but I have never  
 read any German literature. My husband some-  
 times bought a German newspaper from east  
 Germany."

"Once in a while I got some illegal  
 American magazines from my friends, but I  
 couldn't read them. I only looked at the  
 pictures and saw the prices. That was very  
 interesting and that is why the Communists  
 are afraid of those magazines. That reminds  
 me that we went regularly to the English  
 Embassy to see the newsreels. It was quite  
 dangerous to go there. Very often the AVH  
 would watch the movie and gather the people  
 after the performance."

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## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Concerning the changes inside Russia, respondent said:

"During the Revolution I heard and also read in the newspapers that the Russian students were ~~studying~~ stirring too. The paper said that they tried to demonstrate but they were reactionaries and the authorities caught them."

"I don't know how the Russians feel. I would have had to live with them to find out but my opinion is that a revolution in Russia could prevent a war. Conferences will never help. The parties can never reach agreements."

"In case of reelections in Russia, the Communist government would fall, but I don't know what would follow. It is not likely that ~~tsarism~~ Czarism would come back."

"The top leaders in Russia are driven by a thirst for power. They want to conquer the world as Hitler wanted to do. The glory went to their heads because the Western powers helped them out of their greatest trouble during the second World War."

B. Respondent thinks that East Germany and Poland are the most liked in Hungary, and Yugoslavia least. Next to Yugoslavia, they dislike Czechoslovakia and Roumania. In East Germany the people are liked, not the government. In Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Roumania the government and people are both disliked. The Yugoslav people are time-serving, the Czechs are sly, and the Hungarians can't even stand the music of the Roumanians.

"I don't know what would happen in this country if reelections were held."

She thinks the standard of living is the highest in East Germany and on the same low level in the rest of the countries mentioned.

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C. About the Polish events, the respondent didn't know anything in particular. She didn't even hear Gromulka's name. She heard about the changes in Poland and sympathizes with the Poles because they want to throw off the Communist yoke.

Respondent thinks the Polish events influenced the Hungarian revolution.

D. Respondent has no knowledge of national Communism or Titoism. Her view of Tito is that his policy is two-faced with Russia and the West, but he will pay for that some time in the future. "He will swallow the bait. Maybe he wants his own people to benefit but during the Revolution he was a fraud when he didn't declare himself on any side. His feelings are with the Russians and in case of a war he would support the Russians. I think the West should never trust him. I do not. In Hungary he is not popular."

E. To the question about the Middle East, respondent said:

"I don't know much about the Suez situation either but I think that the West couldn't help us because their attention was engaged in Suez. The Russians were cunning in connection with that event too. They surely influenced Egypt in the nationalization of the Canal."

F. Concerning West Germany, she says:

"We heard that West Germany was very prosperous. The prices were low and we experienced that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ourselves now when we came out of Hungary. If we had not succeeded in coming out here, we would have gone there. Although the Hungarians call Germany a "Firetrap" it is likely that they would take part in starting another war, especially because of the divided Germany."

Comparing the occupation of Hungary by the German army and the Russian army during World War II, the respondent said:

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"The German army occupied Hungary without shooting. They marched in under discipline and didn't cause any particular harm to the inhabitants then. The Russian army, however, came fighting, which is entirely different. But it still doesn't explain why they had to rape 12-year old girls. But basically neither of the occupational forces were liked by the Hungarian people."

G. The respondent never heard about NATO and the British Labor Party.

Concerning the living standard in different countries, her guess was that the living standard is the highest in England and second in Germany. She doesn't know about the rest of the countries.

H. Respondent answered the question "What surprised you most in the U. S.?" as follows:

"I was mostly surprised by the large number of Negroes and how well dressed they are in spite of holding low positions-- door men, chauffeurs, cleaning women, etc. They are a sort of cringe to others but, for instance, much more elegant than I am."

Respondent doesn't know much about the present policy of the U.S. towards Eastern Europe, but she adds:

"If the U.S. thinks it pays for her to give aid to these countries go ahead and do it, but nobody can meddle in someone else's business. If she does, I am sure it is within her interest. I am sure we would have received some help from here, but those "famous" (in a mocking fashion) Communists refused it. I was bursting with anger about it. Such a beggar country has nothing at all, and then on top of it our government shows off refusing the dollars they would go mad about on the other hand. Hungary deserved the help, at least financially, if the U. S. can't do anything else, and can't force the Russians out of the country. But don't deal with the Kardar government. Kardar is a rotten man. He destroyed us

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and the country. We can't go home because of him."

"The Hungarian people would like to see as many Western visitors as possible from every field and occupation."

"The main ~~xxxxxx~~problem if a visitor arrives in Hungary is that the people receive him with gallantry but cannot talk to him. The visitors should learn as much Hungarian as possible. A reporter should learn to speak at least a little Hungarian. Otherwise, we admire him, but neither we nor he can tell what we have to say."

"The Hungarians ~~xxxxxx~~would like to get magazines, newspapers, films, etc., very, very much but everything is ~~xxxxxx~~prohibited. The government should do something about that officially. People miss those things and, as I said before, even if we don't understand the language the prices and pictures give us an idea of the form and standard of living in the West."

"If a Western ~~xxxxxx~~visitor refers to an emigrant, ~~xxxxxx~~it makes his information more reliable."

Respondent had no knowledge about the Marshall Plan or the Korean War.

G. With respect to the UN she said:

"The United Nations could have affected the Revolution. We expected the UN to intervene, but the volunteers had been taken to Suez instead of Hungary, although we expected them so much that we thought they would fall from the sky in parachutes any day."

"I don't know much about the activities of the UN, but I would like it if they could ~~xxxxxx~~ solve the Hungarian problem through negotiations short of war."

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## XVII. SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Respondent cannot name any great living Hungarian, neither politicians, artists, scientists or anything else.

About the important personalities she said the following:

"When Imra Nagy was minister-president he wanted to help the country, but he was dismissed for that. During the revolution we wanted him again, but he was again dragged away. We would like to have him very much as the leader. The Hungarian people sympathized with him."

"What Cardinal Mindszenty did and suffered was all very beautiful. But as a priest in cassock it was ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> duty he involved himself in politics."

"Rajk was a Leftist but not a Communist. It was a great mistake to execute him. The Communists made fools out of themselves with Rajk. First they executed him then begged his pardon and disinterred him. This alone would be enough, under ordinary circumstances, to overthrow a government. His widow got many thousands of forints from the government but she offered the whole amount to the students for educational purposes. The Revolution started, I think, with these events."

"Erno Gero is a smart, intelligent man. He could have stayed at the top but he was disliked by the Hungarians. He infuriated the people by urging the Communist solidarity and cooperation."

"Janos Kadar is a fraud, a traitor. It is a waste even to utter his name. I would be very surprised if the Western powers would sit down with him at the same conference table."

"I don't know Bela Kiraly."

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"About Anna Kethly I only know that she was a Social Democrat. She tried to do something for the students during the Revolution but I don't think she is ~~xxx~~ strong ~~enough~~ enough to influence the great powers. It was wonderful that she stood on our side during the Revolution, but she didn't weigh enough and last but not least, she escaped with us just to save her own skin."

"About President Eisenhower, I know that the fate of the world depends partly on him and I heard that he had conferences with the Russians, but I don't know about his policy, what kind of politician he is."

"Among the other personalities, the respondent knew only about Stalin (with great disgust) and heard the names and knew the nationalities as follows: Roosevelt, United States, Adenauer, German, Khrushchev, Russia, Tito, Yugoslav, Molotov, Russia, Churchill. She thought Churchill was an American. At the end she admitted "These things are not for women."

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XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE  
ACTIVITIES

A. Speaking about people who escaped from Hungary, respondent says:

"People of every social class escaped from Hungary, workers as well as intellectuals, but mostly from Budapest and west Hungary. It was much more difficult to escape from, for instance, Debrecen. The reason was simply that they were fed up with everything."

"There were people who lived under better circumstances in Hungary and therefore they didn't want to escape, or some others who just missed the opportunity or who made it their minds too late."

"I feel sorry for everybody who stayed in Hungary."

"I didn't talk to anybody who had the opportunity to escape and decided to remain. Maybe some old people did it."

"Those who stayed home have no resentment toward the escapees. My family wrote me that it was very wise to escape. The terror grew and many people were deported. Everything is worse than be ore and, for goodness sake, we should by no means think of returning. They don't expect any help from us, but it is our duty to help them, at least financially. They don't presume that we could give them any political help."

"If there <sup>would be</sup> ~~were~~ a chance to come to the West (laughing) many Hungarians would leave. Only the old people, those who have a small house or land, would not leave."

B. Respondent has no knowledge of exile political activities.

C. Concerning the Communists' defection



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campaign, respondent says:

"I didn't know there was such an official campaign. I heard about refugees returning to Hungary only after the Revolution. They went back from Austria because, for instance, they wanted to go to the USA, but couldn't because of spots on the lungs, etc., or they went home to their wives who couldn't follow them."

"Once after the Revolution I heard a broadcast over the radio. A man spoke to the emigrants in a pathetic voice: "Why did you leave you motherland? Did you think that you would ever be able to forget Hungarian soil? It hurt us that you left." At the end of the program they played that record which was a bestseller in Hungary. "Where My Mother Is, There Is My Homeland". They sang it beautifully. I liked it, but I thought "You can say whatever you want. I will follow my husband." (Her husband was already abroad - Interviewer's Note.)

D. Regarding what people who are still in Hungary and those who have left should know, respondent says:

"The people who stayed home are interested first in how the refugees are, whether it is better abroad ~~or~~ financially. They are most eager to know how the Americans received the refugees and what kind of living conditions prevail here, and this is what they should know."

"I don't think the exiles, including myself, could do more than not be a disgrace to Hungary and do as much credit to her ~~and~~ ~~do so much credit to her~~ as we can."

"I don't know about the exile organizations, and I am not interested in joining them."

Respondent was never engaged ~~in~~ or interested in politics, and doesn't know anything about the various Hungarian political parties.

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L. Concerning her future plans, respondent answered:

"I want to go back to Hungary only if the political situation changes and Hungary is independent, but maybe even then just as a visitor."

"If I had children I would of course have liked them to learn Hungarian in the United States."

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## XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. About her habits and experiences listening to foreign broadcasts, respondent said:

"I listened to the English station (she cannot tell its name), to the Voice of America, to the French station, and to Radio Free Europe."

"The English station was the clearest, the 'Voice' was jammed, but the worst was Radio Free Europe. I listened to Radio Free Europe after my husband escaped because we had an agreement that he would send a message through Radio Free Europe, but it was always jammed terribly."

"I listened to all the stations equally frequently because, for instance, from 8 to 9 there was the English broadcast, from 9 to 10 the 'Voice' and Radio Free Europe had continuous programs. They all broadcast in Hungarian."

"I listened to the foreign broadcasts every day behind closed doors. If somebody came, I quickly shut the radio off. But they knew that everybody was listening to them, particularly after the Revolution. Sometimes we went to our friends or they came to us and we listened to the radio together. We discussed the programs with our friends 2 or 3 times a week."

"I heard that people had been imprisoned for listening to the foreign broadcasts. However, during the last few years the public opinion changed and everybody somehow understood that we could listen to the radios, but possibly not in groups, only within the family."

"My favorite station was the 'Voice' because they always had good American jazz."

"We usually believed what these stations said, and I still think they were fairly reliable. The broadcasts were good because we

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could draw a conclusion from them about the world situation. We ~~liked~~ liked very much how these stations reproached the Communists with their deeds. We were very pleased when we heard from these stations our own prices, the fact that we had to stand in line for food, how much a worker earned, etc. They talked about the elections and the frauds (deeply impressed). They knew everything, and we were very happy about it."

"During the Revolution, the English and the American broadcasts influenced us ~~exactly~~ just the same, so we insisted all the more on our opinions, and it was vain to tell us the opposite."

"Radio Free Europe encouraged the youth to fight. I heard when they said at the battle of Stalin-varos: 'Boys, hold out. Help is going to come. Don't give up fighting.' I liked their broadcasts when they gave first aid advice and told the youth how to handle the weapons during the fights. This was nice of them."

According to the respondent's opinion, it is not necessary to continue Radio Free Europe broadcasts because they told much rubbish. The English station and the "Voice" are enough. (According to the interviewer's impressions respondent cannot distinguish quite well between the different stations.)

B. Respondent has no knowledge about NEM or the Twelve Points.

C. Respondent hasn't heard about the Free Europe leaflets.

D. Concerning the goal and motives of the Western ~~radio~~ broadcasts, respondent said:

"I guess the West wanted to tell us to open our eyes and warn us in some cases."

"I didn't notice different objectives by different radios. I think they were all about the same."

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## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Concerning children and how they should be brought up, respondent admitted that not having any children she could not be of real, first-hand help. However, she loves children and spent much of her time with them. She was usually very well liked by children. Therefore she tries to tell about her experiences with other people's children. She says the following:

1. "Equal treatment is the most important thing for children. Favoritism is very bad. The child should not be treated like an adult, should be properly disciplined but not deprived of the things he considers good. Respect for the parents, good physical and moral principles are of major importance. Religion should be emphasized. A child who doesn't have religion has a corrupt soul."

2. "I would never send a child to a boarding school. Children need parental love. They should never be beaten. There are other means of disciplining a child."

"For boys the father's influence is more important, but usually there is not much difference between boys and girls."

"As the child grows, treatment of him should be adjusted. Teen-agers of about 13 or 14, at puberty, need much care. The parents should talk ~~to~~ to them, encouraging them to occupy their minds with science, nature, literature, etc. They need some moral instruction too, but not too much."

3. "I was beaten up only once in my life, but soundly, with a wooden spoon. I was in the 2nd grade of public school at that time, and our examination was approaching. I had beautiful curly hair and my mother made me a beautiful dress. She was very proud of me. One day I went to play next door and the other children, maybe out of sheer envy, told me that we should play "hairdressers."

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They gave me a big pair of scissors and told me to make my own hairdo, so I did, cutting out a large piece of hair down to my skin. I was terribly frightened and went home late in the evening. Nevertheless, my mother discovered my sin and drubbed me mercilessly, but more for the examination than for my behavior, ~~otherwise~~. Otherwise, I was never beaten and I loved my mother deeply."

4. "In other families, mostly from the lower classes, the children were beaten up regularly. When she was 7 or 8 years old, my girl friend was beaten with a belt. Mostly the fathers punished the children, and if the mother ever punished them they remembered it profoundly. In my opinion the parents were too busy working and didn't have ~~time~~ time for the children. Instead of asking someone else or sending the children to an institution, a day care center or the like, they beat the children. In the middle class the children were treated differently. If they did something wrong the parents didn't talk to them until the children begged their pardon. Or the children were deprived of something they wanted very much."

5. "It was a shame to beat children over 14 or 15, boys or girls. They were serious enough to understand their deeds but I don't know exactly when families usually abandoned physical punishment."

6. "Under Communism, for about 5 or 6 years, physical punishment was prohibited but afterward the Communists realized that if a child was not sufficiently disciplined, neither at home or at school, that conduced to degeneration. For instance, I was in the superintendent's apartment one day when her son's teacher arrived from the high school. He said he visited all the parents whose children were undisciplined, asking the parents to punish or even beat up the children severely because the teachers were not allowed to do so and the situation was impossible at school."

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7. Respondent's answer to the question what characteristics she values most in a friend was:

"We can have real friendship with someone only if we never hurt each other's feelings. But I would never have a very close friendship, because it always hurts the parties one way or the other."

"A friendship ~~now~~ where self-seeking is involved is not worth a penny."

"We didn't have any particular changes in friendship during Communism. I adopted my husband's friends who were old playmates of his, but I heard many times that friendships were broken up because one of the friends became a Communist Party member."

THE END