

PERSONAL CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is a middle-aged woman with short figure, round face, light brown hair, clean eyes. Neat and pleasant looking, with a youthful appearance and movements. She has a girlish attitude, as an eminent Highschool student, little stiff, little hypocritical, moving along the set moral and other rules of human society, but spotted all over with the outbreaks of her natural instincts. This comes out clearly in her answers; which, at first are sudden and instinctive, - then she starts to think and would like to organize what she said according to the rules she considers more perfect; and at the end, she sort of melts her story into a melancholic philosophy. This dialectical effort of her mind confuses her, and she becomes forgetful, reticent, and complaining continuously that she cannot express herself. In a large part of her interview this struggle of her mind makes her trying to give short, automatic answers and escape the difficulties through hypocrisy.

She is the off-spring of a Smallholder family from her mother's side, and has the pride, individuality and generosity of the well-doing Hungarian peasants. She never liked to be commanded.

The Communists knew well why they separated this "class" - calling them KULAKS.

Her father - who came from a village-teacher's family - seemingly couldn't stand, too, to work under the command of his father-in-law, and left her mother, coming out to the USA 30 years ago.

Respondent grew up in her mother's family and was a worker in the same branch ~~since~~ since she finished public school.

Working as a printer, she became interested in reading and ~~she~~ ^{slowly} she became - a reader." Through this, today, she is somewhere between the workers and the intellectuals, as she herself admits.

She divorced her husband, too, during the war and doesn't like to talk about him at all. She must have had quite a lot of problems with ~~the~~ men, but was shy to touch the question and says that she is afraid of men. ~~She~~ However, she mentions in the next half hour, two men who want to marry her now.

80-F
HLR

I/3

Personal character inventory, cont.

The Communist System together with her childhood experiences - strict mother - made her a sort of cautious, buttoned-up and fearful one. Very often she gives her answers whispering and asks with a worried tone: "But you won't put this down, will you?". Nevertheless, when the answer was put down, she starts laughing and says: "Oh, you did put it down!" - and doesn't seem to care anymore.

She is not inclined toward politics at all; but very interested in psychology, spiritualism, yoga, etc. Her view of life is rather philosophical, tending toward a sort of balance between the eternal forces of "good" and "bad"; therefore she is more disillusioned than idealistic, which tendency is well-fed at the present by her frustration toward her father.

He, and his sisters, gave respondent a very bad reception, and humiliated her completely - as well as the Priest who handled her case. On top of it, she lives under very bad circumstances. Makes \$28 a week at Horn and Hardart, and has a very poor apartment. This makes her bitter against the whole country. However, her basic ambitious character doesn't let her down. She wants to fight and climb up again, and believe in a better future for herself.

F-80
HLR

II/4

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION.

"The most important thing that American people ought to know about events in Hungary in the fall of 1956 is to understand these events. But to understand something, we have to experience it. We have to enter fully into the spirit of it."

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

A. "On October 22, I was at the dentist of the university and when I finished, I stopped at the university library, which I visited very often anyway. I heard there, just talking to the librarian, that the students would have a silent demonstration on the 23rd. In the morning of October 23, I put my apartment in order and had an appointment with the dentist again at 10 o'clock. Around 11, the university students and their professors started a demonstration in front of the university building. I passed the crowd on a bicycle coming from the dentist, stopped and listened to the speeches of the students. They presented their points, but I don't remember them. I only remember that they asked for many things, good things."

"Of course I was very happy when I heard about the demonstration - who wouldn't? However, the aggression was so strong during the last years that I didn't expect too much of it."

"About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening, the demonstration continued. I wasn't there. I only heard about it from my colleagues who came in to work around 10 o'clock for the night shift and carried ammunition with them into the printing office where I worked that day from 2 o'clock to 10 o'clock p.m. They said that the demonstration turned wild. We had quite a ~~panic~~ in the shop, too, everybody wanted to know everything. The people talked excitedly about the events outside. The telephones rang, telling the news. The situation was the following, as our colleagues told us. The students wanted to remove the red stars from the police building and from the ~~the~~ Oti building and one of the boys was shot down together with the star by an AVH man. The AVH broke up the crowd and started firing on the people. The people were frightened and went home. Around 10 o'clock in the evening everything was over. When I left the shop I met two students whom I knew and who lived in the same direction. They took part in the demonstration and said everything was over. But I don't remember about the details they told."

"I wasn't afraid about the events. I have only one life anyway and we were completely indifferent at that time."

"The news of the revolution relieved us and we thought that if such a demonstration could take place then we workers can come out with our claims and maybe have some success. I don't remember exactly how many days after the 23rd we started a sitting strike in the shop. I went every day to my working place but we didn't work, only hung around and chat. The atmosphere was free. We talked about our wishes that the Russians should leave Hungary, etc." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

C.

FOR EXCHANGE

"The Workers Council was formed in the meantime. The Workers Council wanted to occupy the airfield from the Russians. Therefore, the people didn't want to give the Russians the food and gasoline, their regular quota. Whereupon, the commander of the Russians sent a message that he would come out with a tank and get everything from the people by force. At that point the Workers Council broadcasted over the radio what I heard, that the people should give the Russians their quota. 'If we give ~~one~~ the food for 12 years, then we will give it to them as long as they won't withdraw from Hungary.' ~~Also~~ the Russian commander promised the ~~XXXXX~~ Workers Council that he would not take part in any attack against the people without notifying the Workers Council before."

"The details of the negotiations I heard from a colleague of mine who participated in the meetings ~~where~~ ^{when} the Workers Council voted on ~~this~~ ^{the above} subject. He was a very intelligent and educated man. He was a press man. He notified us every day in the shop about the current events."

"The Russians didn't withdraw any troops during the revolution. They only replaced those troops which we had before, among them the commander with whom we made the above mentioned agreement. And they sent entirely new Russians ~~XXXXXX~~ for November 4."

"The every day life was almost the same as always. ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{Maybe ONLY} the ~~change~~ was ~~only~~ between Oct. 23 and Nov. 4, ~~but~~ ^{what} we didn't have to line up for food. We could get anything without any trouble. Because of the strikes, however, after November 4, some other goods could not be supplied. For instance, the dentist couldn't put my false tooth into my mouth because the technician didn't work. I had to leave Hungary without that tooth. The children didn't go to school. The factories didn't work. But that was mostly after the November 4."

F-60
HLR

III/7

"The Communist part secretary told us during the revolution that the revolutionists are Fascists. (He had a big mouth, but actually he didn't harm anybody.) I answered him that those people are not Fascists, but heroes. We had an argument and it could be felt that I was on the workers' side and not on the management's. Because of this, after November 4, I knew that I couldn't keep my job. We haven't worked regularly after ~~November~~ November 4, in spite of the Russian pressure to start working. *THERE WAS A PERIOD WHEN*

F-80
HLR

III/8 (1B)

Nobody knew

.....what was going to happen, who will be fired. This went on for a few weeks. I lived along the Nyiregyhaza-Zehony Day Highway and night the Russian tanks poured into Debrecen and they were I was scared that the same thing would happen to us as in 1945. On the 19th of November, I suddenly had an instinct ~~where~~ I had to leave. I took my bicycle, went to my mother's and told her that I would leave and come out to my father (who lived in the United States for the last 30 years), because I was afraid of the Russian soldiers."

after I

"I left Debrecen on the 20th, and ~~was~~ was captured by the Russians, released again, and went through all kind of adventures, I left Hungary on the 28th of November."

won

D. "Maybe Hungary ~~was~~ something morally, but she lost the war again ~~in~~ at THE "green people". (This is a Hungarian version of the name of the conference table.) I feel the Hungarian blood was poured in vain. If the big nations make their agreements, nothing counts what the small nations do or want."

xxx (As far as respondent had almost no personal experiences between October 23rd and November 4th, interviewer considered that the summary of events are omissible as an unnecessary repetition.)

F-80
HLR

IV/9

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

A. "Everybody hoped that America would help somehow. Would send at least ammunition. We also thought that voluntary troops would arrive. Not regular army, but for instance, the Hungarians who lived in the United States. Unfortunately, nothing happened."

B. "Radio Free Europe promised very much to the people and nothing took place. We had a meeting at the shop every lunch time and we talked over all the possibilities, ~~and~~ foreign broadcasts and local news."

C. "I didn't talk to any foreigners between October 23 and November 28."

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. (Apparently it's difficult for respondent to talk about her family affairs.)

"My parents divorced when I was about 7 years old. My father was a gardener. My grandfather on my mother's side was a small holder. My father lived with my mother's family and worked on my grandfather's farm. My father's three sisters were already in the United States, married, and they asked my father to come out, too. So he did. But my mother didn't want to follow him and they divorced within a few years."

"My mother continued the farming after my father left, together with one of her brothers, and has the house and a third of the land ever since. She makes a very hard living from the small piece of land, about 5 acres."

"My father's father was a teacher who had a family house what the children inherited from him."

"My father and mother, both, had six grades of public school."

B. Regarding social classes, respondent said:

"I don't remember well what classes existed before 1945. After 1945, even if somebody had only 4 grades of elementary school, if he attended the party seminars and became a party member, he belonged to the higher class, to the 'intellectuals.' These were favored and courted by the others. The party was the ~~highest~~ high class, but even within the party, ~~xxxx~~ if somebody was out of line and was not a real active member politically, he couldn't be regarded as a member of the high class. Nevertheless, the different party officials and members were so afraid of each other and especially of those who had something to hide, that they didn't play up the big boss or the smart guy. The upper ten came out strictly from the high party officials who were engaged into politics. The other class was the workers' class, including everybody else in the country."

"Who belonged to the workers' class, I think was of strong character but didn't get well off financially. However, many people better chose the small money for relative inner peace. Those who wanted to progress had to give up their principles. They were in the spotlight and made more money, but had a superficial life and became opportunists. The actual work was done by the former intellectuals as simple workers, but the leading positions were filled by the party members who got the big money for the work what was done by the real intellectuals. This happened at our printing office, too."

Respondent thinks she doesn't belong to any of the classes. She doesn't feel belong to the low classes any more, but she feels that she cannot belong to the intellectuals either because she cannot express herself well and her education is not sufficient. She thinks this is very bad.

To the question 'Which class was hardest hit by Communism?' respondent says:

"The former upper ten was affected the most, the aristocracy, because they lost everything. But basically, the simple worker was exploited. Therefore, practically the whole society was equally affected by Communism."

Respondent doesn't know about the opinion of different social classes about each other.

C. About possible advancement of individuals in Communist Hungary, respondent said:

"On one hand the class origin and on the other hand the political views played a role in getting ahead. But most of the people adjusted their political views according to the financial and job possibilities. For instance, that press man whom I mentioned before, was an artist in his line. But having been an old Social Democrat, he was dismissed from our press shop and had to carry sacks in the flour mill in spite of his *MATURA*. Later on, our office called him back because he was an excellent expert and did a wonderful job. But the superiors were paid for the job he did. He got almost nothing. The director of our company was a carpenter helper before and couldn't even make a nice piece of furniture. Of course, he didn't understand anything about printing. But he became a director because he was an old Communist party member in 1919. Everything what was his duty was done by the old office staff. The old director worked beside him and instead of him as a simple clerk." ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

F-80
HLR

V/12

"The director of the post office in Debrecen was the former cleaning woman of the same post office."

Respondent doesn't think that there were any changes in social mobility from 1945 to the present. Only she remembers that after Rakosi left the unbearable discipline and drive ~~was~~ lessened.

B. Regarding which group got more out than they deserved in Hungary, respondent said:

"The party members involved in politics and those people who had the least education. They were selected by the party as good trustworthy members because it was the easiest to indoctrinate them. They believed everything they were told and became ardent ~~members~~ for a fabulous salary."

SLAVE DRIVERS

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

A. "I have divorced already before the war, in 1941, therefore my family life wasn't affected by Communism. But all the more the others. The typical phenomenon in Hungary during the last 10 years about family life was that Communism broke up the families."

"If a girl married under Communism, usually the new couple didn't have anything. The women had to work, to be a mother, to take care of her household and the Hungarian man didn't like to help around the house. (Laughing). And besides all this, the women had to go to the seminars, too. The husband pretty soon went out with other women who were better dressed and less worn out, and the marriages were finished."

"If it was an old marriage, the man very often became involved in the new political trends. The woman remained conservative, didn't dress modern, etc. Sooner or later, the man didn't take his wife with him any more and wanted to get rid of her. This happened to my sister. My brother-in-law had a high rank in the Communist party, especially because he had a beautiful voice and traveled with a famous troupe. My sister remained a peasant girl and worked at home with her children. My brother-in-law met some other women and wanted to divorce my sister. He reported my sister to the party, that she was a Kulak. (This is the name of the ~~peasants~~ small holders who were declared ~~enemies of the people~~ class enemies by the Communists.) However, my sister could prove with papers at the tax office and at the quota delivery office that she didn't have enough land to be a Kulak. She was exempted and her husband couldn't get a divorce. Years later, he returned to his family and is happy today."

✓ WELL DOING

"Another family, a 27 year old history teacher who lived next door had her husband imprisoned for six years. She had to support her mother and grandmother and because otherwise she would have become unreliable, she was forced to divorce her husband from one day to the other. She wasn't a bad character and turned gray from her problems. After she divorced her husband, she still kept sending him packages into prison. This is how family life looked like under Communism."

VII. RELIGION.

- A. "Seemingly everybody could exercise his religion. They let our priest finish his preaching in the church, but after he left the Communists imprisoned him."

"For instance, a girl wanted to marry in our shop and she told me that the boy's mother wanted them to marry in the church. I told her that for the sake of family peace, she should marry in the church. A colleague of mine who heard me telling that, and whose parents were Communists, informed my bosses about it, and I was declared clerical reactionary. I was cited to the party secretary. He asked me how could I give such an advice to a girl, and said whether I knew it wasn't good what I said. We argued, without convincing each other, because he was an old colleague of mine for many years. They didn't fire me because I was a very good worker, but I couldn't get ahead in my job."

"I think the Catholic religion was hardest hit. The Communists dissolved the convents and monasteries, took the youth out of the Church's hand, abolishing the religious schools which were mostly Catholic. The youth was the most important for the Communists. The Catholic church ~~was~~ offered the strongest resistance. The Catholic priests preached publicly, and, in general, I think Catholics were more religious than the others, for instance, the Protestants. The Protestant reverends didn't show such resistance."

"Religion was a bulwerk against Communism as a necessity of the human soul which couldn't be uprooted by Communism. Many of the Communists went to the church and couldn't give up their religion even if they had to do it secretly. I saw in the Protestant church of Debrecen that an AVH ~~xxx~~ member, in his AVH uniform, sneaked into the church on the back door to marry a girl who didn't want to marry him without marrying in the church. I knew that girl very well."

"My brother-in-law, my sister's husband, as I mentioned before, was a party member. He was a ~~personnel director~~ personnel director and was afraid to baptize his newly born son. Once, when he was away, my sister asked me to take the baby to the church and baptize him. He was about two or three weeks old and so I did. Nobody knew whose child he was when I took him for baptism."

~~xxxx~~ About bringing up children, respondent didn't know much because her sister lived quite far from her and she had no friends with children.

B. Concerning marriage, courtship, sex patterns, respondent's view is the following:

"Under Communism, the young people were always on seminars and hadn't got time to court, to be together as before. They had no private life. The morals were much looser than before. The girls were in command of themselves. They went out with several young men and dropped those they didn't like. They didn't have to be virgins any more to be able to marry. The parents' opinion in 80% wasn't taken into consideration."

"Prostitution was abolished during Communism by law. But people continued the same conduct as before."

Concerning sexual morality of convinced Communists, respondent says:

"There were Communists who wanted to stay strictly on the party line. They were careful of every step what they did. A woman could have caused them trouble, but still they had the same moral life only they practiced it cautiously."

C. "There were many examples that friends became alienated because one of them joined the party. About 75% of the friendships were disrupted. Usually both parties could broke the friendship, either the ~~xxxxxx~~ non-Communist, who didn't want to have Communist friends, or the Communist got involved with different people and circles. If a friend was a party member, and the other not, that caused an infinite debate."

"There were people who kept out of politics, and those could be friends undisturbed."

D. Respondent didn't know anything about juvenile delinquency, but she said following about Jampec:

"Jampec was who had a narrow pant and danced the jampec dance. I don't know how to dance it, but I noticed that people danced that way here in America. This dance was a deadly sin, but I don't know what were the consequences if somebody did it."

- B "I consider faith as an important factor and faith plays a big role in my life, but I am not very enthusiastic about the priests. A priest is a priest as long as he preaches in the church, otherwise he is just the same feeble person as we are. (Respondent had very bad experiences in the United States since she has come here with priests.- Interviewer's note.)"

"The average person in Hungary needs spiritual life. The churches were always filled everywhere. But according to my opinion, in Budapest, the people were more religious than, for instance, in Debrecen. In the smaller cities, the people were afraid to go to church because of political reasons. It was much easier to notice if somebody went to the church."

C. Function of churches in society:

"The role of churches is important in education, because the priest teachers can better school the youth in ethics, what is good, nice and honest, than the Communists. The responsibility of churches for setting moral codes depends on the intelligence of its leaders. If they are not one-sided, they can really help society. I think they are right, partly, to censure movies, books, etc. The children need that discipline."

"I think it is not right if the church have an active political role, but I'm not sure about this. This should be tried first."

D. The Jewish minority: - Concerning the problem, respondent says the following:

"I knew many religious Jews who were afraid to go to church after 1945. The Communists let everybody exercise his religion, but they noted him, no matter to what religion he belonged to."

"The Jews considered Communism as a necessary evil. ~~They~~ They were not enthusiastic about it, but they considered it necessary. This was about their opinion during the past 10 years. They were liberated by the Russians and their life was saved by them. The Communists, however, took everything from them, too, but through their connections they could help each other a little better."

F-80
HLR

VII/17

"A great number of the Jews were party members. It was important for them because they wanted to get ahead. But during the revolution, almost all of them escaped."

"Most of the Jews were very correct during the revolution. Others were neutral. They would have been very happy about an independent Hungary, but they knew much more about the events as we did, and they didn't believe in the success of the revolution."

*Concerning the possibility of pogroms, respondent said:

"A 38 year old colleague of mine, who was a Jew, asked me during the revolution whether I would take care of his 5 year old son if something would happen to him and his wife. I promised him. However, he didn't say anything more what he was afraid of. But I didn't hear that the Jews were against the independence of Hungary because of such a fear."

VII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

A. ~~Considering up~~ to what age she would consider the Hungarian youth, respondent said:

"I would call the Hungarian youth from 10 to 20."

B. Concerning what part did the youth play in the revolution, respondent said:

"The newspapers wrote more ~~liberal~~ ^{SINCE} liberal ~~when~~ Rakosi was gone. Writers, books, theater, movies expressed themselves differently. I guess these factors influenced the ~~mass~~ youth to took the lead in the revolution."

"I think the older people ~~were~~ compromise easier than the youth and they submitted themselves more or less to the situation."

Respondent doesn't know about the opinion of ~~old~~ old people about the youth and ~~role~~ ^{role} in the revolution. "Everything was so automatic during the revolution there were no leaders in it. Everybody did it and every age bracket together as a mass."

D. According to respondent, the youth didn't like the political indoctrination. Otherwise she doesn't know much about it.

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

A. Concerning the main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary, in her every-day life, respondent said:

"The most important problem was money. We could never earn so much that we could meet our needs. If we bought food, we couldn't take care of our clothing. It was just like a big carousal."

B. "Apart from the big political things, people complained the most in Communist Hungary about the party seminars," respondent says laughing. "I should have gone to the seminars myself, but I never did. Maybe I was wrong, because it is always good to know about something, and I would be able to tell you something more about them now."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. The Standard of Living.

Concerning this problem, respondent says the following:

"The standard of living was very low in Hungary. I personally made always between seven or eight hundred forints per month."

"As far as food is concerned, two pounds of bread cost 3 forints 60. Our hourly wages went around 2 to 2 forints 50. We couldn't earn in an hour two pounds of bread. The lard was 2 pounds, 35 forints, but it was mixed with margarine. Very often we had to line up even for bread. The clothing was almost impossible. We couldn't afford buying clothes regularly. One pair of shoes cost 3 to 4 hundred forints. A suit was a thousand forints, a coat 8 to 9 hundred forints."

"Housing wasn't such a ^{very} big problem. I had an apartment with an old rent so I paid only 20 forints for one room, kitchen and a wood closet where I kept my firewood. No bathroom. But today, for the same apartment, I could have paid 40 forints with the new rent. In general, the rents were not high, but if someone wanted to get an apartment, had to pay a very high fee as key-money. In Debrecen this fee was regularly from 10 to 15 thousand forints."

Respondent ~~was~~ considered as an unbelievable luxury an automobile.

Food and clothing interchanged caused the most difficulty.

"From 1938 till 1944 there was a boom in Hungary. Everybody earned much money. We had everything and had a high living standard. The difference was very great. The country was ruined after 1945, robbed and destroyed. The whole nation was paralyzed. We had to start life all over again and we missed almost everything."

"The standard of living was not always the same bad between 1948 and 1956, but I don't remember when it was higher and when it was lower."

"Everybody who was not a party official had a difficult life and struggled with financial difficulties."

"The party officials went more often for vacations. They dressed more elegant, could buy all food they wanted and get everything cheaper. They took and used the ~~country's~~ ^{country's} goods of Kulaks, etc. They were at the sources and knew about the possibility to get everything. The leftovers were distributed among the other people."

"The standard of living was low during the last eight years because the best food, meat, the production of our heavy industry went to Russia and abroad to ensure foreign currencies. We paid very high taxes."

B. Concerning her income during the past 10 years, respondent answered:

"My salary was 800 forints per month. Deductions: for loans (☺), 50 to 60 forints; union dues, 10 to 12 forints; taxes, 30 to 35 forints. I haven't get any premiums and I hadn't get any other income or part time job."

"There was no salary raise in our printing shop during the last five years. We get raises according to the new decrees and not individually. The new decree was released and then it was applied to the different departments."

C. Regarding prices and quality of goods, respondent said:

"Everything was nationalized. There ~~was~~ ^{were} no private stores, no delicatessen stores or anything in ~~Debrecen~~ Debrecen since about 1948. If a village was behind with compulsory delivery, the farmers of the village were not allowed to bring the goods in question to the city markets and sell on their own. There was a market every day in Debrecen, but there was always lack of something on it. And everything was very expensive. I usually ~~stopped~~ ^{stopped} on the market because everything was of a better quality. In the Kozart shops

CHOPPED

there was only frozen meat. Fresh meat could be bought only on the markets. I cannot compare the prices very well, because what could be bought on the market was usually not available at the Kezert, but, in general, it was much more expensive on the market. We always had a lack of something during the years. For instance, we had to line up for potatoes almost always."

"Clothing we purchased in state-owned stores, but I didn't buy more than one or two dresses in a year. A dress cost about 100 forinths. On one year I bought a winter coat, next year a spring coat and the other next, a suit. I bought one pair of stockings a year, one pair of shoes in every second year. So I didn't have too much trouble with purchasing clothing. I knew a little more about furniture, because this was my hobby. Also, in state-owned stores, we got our furniture. I bought a large combined cabinet --(this kind of furniture is not used here in the United States)-- and it cost 8,800 forinths. A club chair, 1,300 forinths. A small coffee table, 500 forinths. A couch, about 30 hundred forinths. Everything was a good quality and very good looking. A kitchen set cost 30 to 40 ~~forinths~~ hundred forinths. A range cost 800 forinths, but this was, of course, a wood burning range. I spent all my money on furniture. The basis of my life was a nice apartment. This was my only dream. And at the end I left everything behind when I was finally ready furnishing my apartment. I didn't eat to buy a book or a piece of furniture, and made an embroidery for half a year to decorate my apartment. And still, I don't know why, but somehow I don't regret it now, sitting here, that I left behind everything on what I build my whole life, and came out here where I live very poor at present. People say I'm crazy, and still I don't regret it for a minute. I knew that only something worse could follow in Hungary. How could I buy these furnitures you ask me? To save such a ~~big~~ big amount at once I did the following: I always bought a piece of jewel when I had money and when I collected a large sum I sold the jewels and bought the piece of furniture."

"The quality of clothing improved during the last years. There was no difference between the quality of different shops."

As far as retail distribution is concerned in Hungary, respondent said:

"We always had some shortage in something. For long months we couldn't get any eggs, for instance, at the Kozart shops. ~~We~~ We had to buy eggs on the farmers' market, much higher than the legal price. This was, for instance, the situation with fuel. At once we got ~~it~~ at the nationalized stores 1,000 pounds of coal and 200 pounds of firewood. We had to go there several times to cover our necessity for the winter. ~~However,~~ I always ~~had to buy~~ my supply in the summer if I had money. I could get it easier then. However, the people who hadn't got any money in ^{THE SUMMER,} in the winter they couldn't get any fuel any more. They had to line up for it and didn't get more at once than about hundred pound or 200 pounds of coal or wood. The prices were the following: 200 pounds of coal, 18 to 50 forinths; 200 pounds of firewood, 44 60 cents. The firewood was on the black market for 200 pounds 100 forinths. Very often the people had to cover their fuel supply on the black market. I myself needed 4,000 to 5,000 pounds of coal and about a thousand pounds of firewood for a season. With clothing we also had always this difficulty with distribution. I remember one winter, for instance, it was impossible to get winter underwear."

To the question 'What commodities were in especially short supply?' respondent answered:

"For bread and potatoes we had to stand in line almost always. We had great shortage continuously with meat. Sometimes we had the same trouble with sugar or rice and, as I already mentioned, with fuel during the winter."

Concerning black market, respondent says:

"There was black market only in 1946, but not after. It happened once in a while that somebody who had money bought something for someone who needed the good, but didn't have money at that time, and then the farmer sold to the latter the good on a higher price. This was punished very strictly. One of our colleagues in the printing shop lost his job because his superior learned about his deal and fired him."

Concerning her working conditions, respondent told the following:

"My job was ~~was~~ during the last years to put the big sheets of text book pages into the printing machine. It needed a lot of concentration and we worked with a so-called 'taskarendeszer'...the translation of it would be ~~the~~ system. The name of my job cannot be translated into English. I talked already to people in the field and they couldn't give an equivalent to it. My working days looked as follows:

"I got up at 5 o'clock in the morning if I started at 6 in the printing shop. I went to my bicycle to the working place. I had breakfast in the shop, what I had prepared for myself, around 7 o'clock. At 10 o'clock I made some eggs or sausages for myself. This was a privilege and a very pleasant condition at that special printing shop. This couldn't have been done anywhere. At 12 o'clock we had lunch in the shop. The food wasn't bad because the company had its own cook. A lunch ~~for~~ costed 3 forinths 60, a ~~forinths 60~~ left the shop at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. When I went home, I cleaned my apartment and washed myself and went for a bicycle ride for about an hour or so. Then usually I went to the university library and read something until 5 or 6 o'clock. In the evening, I prepared some supper for myself and visited my mother, went to the movies or to the theater, but this happened mostly on Saturdays. When I worked on the morning shift, I went to sleep usually at 8 o'clock in the evening. If I worked in the evening shift, then I slept until 8 o'clock in the morning, then took care of my flowers - I had my own little garden in front of the house - and then went to work, at 2 o'clock."

"I liked my work at the printing office. They wanted me to become a press-woman, but it was too hard of a work physically, so I didn't do it, in spite of the fact that it was better paid."

"The foreman tried to drive us in the shop, but we were just a few real experts so we simply didn't care, didn't listen to the manager. The work was sometimes very complicated and needed such concentration that they couldn't bother us too much without the danger of destroying the work. If they fired someone, they had great difficulties in replac~~ing~~

MENT."

"We liked each other with my colleagues very much. With my superiors I had also ~~xxx~~ quite a friendly relation. I have known most of them in my childhood. I talked to the party secretary once: 'Look, Laci, if you can convince me that Communism is any good in any respect, I will become a Communist,' but even so, the general atmosphere was tense, and our nerves were strained. We never knew what was going to happen in the next minute, for instance, one day the following happened to me: Somebody, out of absent-mindedness, I think, put the large key of the office door on the book in my machine. I didn't notice it, put new sheets on the top, and the key got with the book in the case. As I mentioned before, we had the case system - which meant that the whole material to print a textbook was ~~ix~~ put in a case. The case got a number and every information concerning the preparation of this work was put on that case. Who did it, for how long did every person work with it, etc. That way it was very easy to check the whole procedure, and the workers as well. If the key would get under the machine, it could have burst up the whole expensive machine which the company imported from abroad. The case got to the party secretary and he pretty soon called me and said: 'You should remember that you have relatives in America. I personally doesn't think that you wanted to sabotage, but it would take only a telephone call to hand you over to the AVH. You know that many things can be told about you. Here is your key.' I begged his pardon and promised that it would never happen again and disappeared, but never was sure about my tomorrow."

"My superiors were experts. Only the director wasn't an expert, as I mentioned before, he was a carpenter before he became the director of the company."

6 0 0 0 E X P E R T S

"My fellow workers were also ~~6000 experts~~. This line had to be learned at least for one or one and a ~~xxxx~~ half years. They couldn't bring in someone from the streets. Experience was necessary."

"Our superiors had never praised us."

Concerning the Hungarian vacation, health and compensation program, ~~respondent~~, respondent says:

"The vacation program was very good. I enjoyed it. I had two weeks vacation every year and could go wherever I wanted to. I was ~~xxxx~~ ^{AT THE} Balaton, Matrahaza, Kákes, Havis, etc. (These are the names of famous resorts in Hungary: Interviewer's NOTE.) I got half fare ticket for my vacation and the whole two weeks costed me 120 forints. Sometimes the food was good, sometimes it was bad. Entertainment was additional, about 240 forints each time. We lived in beautiful rooms at beautiful places."

"The health program was sufficient, too. The OTI (Workers' Insurance Company) included dentists, hospitalization, X-rays, etc. We had to fight for it a little, but we always could get our expenses."

"If we were sick, even for one day, we didn't get any salary, but the OTI paid the 60% of our salary. If I was in ~~hospital~~ the hospital, then, if I remember well, I got 40% of my salary during my sickness. From this amount I could pay my rent, etc. It was very good."

E. To the question 'What is her opinion about country life and city life,' respondent answered:

"I could never live in the country because my profession bound me to the city."

"I don't know where it was easier to live, because I never lived in the country....."

(4a)

".....but I think it was relative according ^{to} occupations. Politically, it was just the same. During the last few years, the standard of living of the peasants was raised by the government. We could see when they came into the city that they bought everything and were ~~xxxx~~ ^{living} much better than before."

Concerning collectivization, respondent had no knowledge about it; she cannot answer on the agricultural system in independent Hungary either.

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Concerning political life before and during ~~the Communist rule in Hungary,~~
~~the Communist rule in Hungary,~~ respondent says:

"I was a member of the Social Democratic Party from about 1930. I became a member of this party automatically when I started working as a printer and joined the printers' union. But I never was interested in politics and didn't take part in the party's political life."

"The printers' union was very strong and protected us in any respect. We didn't have to fight for our interests individually, therefore everything was a sort of automatic. When I didn't work for a half a year, I got the half of my salary from the union. That way, if I didn't work, I got even more money than others who ~~worked~~ worked on other fields."

"I didn't like anything particular in the Social Democratic Party."

"At the time when the Social Democratic Party merged into the Communist Party, I was sick for three months. I had arthritis. During this period, somehow I didn't have enough money, ~~and~~ I was too busy with my sickness and didn't pay the dues of the Social Democratic Party for three months. I was lucky that the merger of the two parties happened during my sickness because the Communist Party automatically took everybody from the Social Democratic Party on its ranks. But those who were owing the membership dues were left out, especially if they didn't settle their debts later either. If I was taken over by the Communist Party as a member at that time, it would have been difficult to resign or refuse the Party membership. I must say, it was Providence and I was very glad everything happened the way it did."

"Concerning my own family, only one of my brother-in-laws was a member of the Communist Party, as I mentioned before."

"In Debrecen I knew well two Communists who became mayors of Debrecen. Both were printers before and I worked with them. They were, of course, Communist Party members."

Regarding her feelings about the Communist Party before 1948, respondent says:

didn't
"I ~~didn't~~ know anything about the Communist Party in 1918 and 19, I was too young. But I never liked this party. In the Social Democratic Party, I heard very often how bad they thought the Communist Party was. They said a system which applies dictatorship and force cannot be good. Maybe, in theory, it is beautiful, but in practice it was very bad. The Social Democrats thought anyway that the Social Democratic trend is the real solution for the world's social problems."

B. Concerning her views of the Communist Party from 1948, respondent says:

"I didn't know the inner structure of the Communist Party after 1948, and don't know anything about the party members either. Even a Party functionary didn't know more about the Party than his own sector."

Respondent didn't know about changes in the Party or anything else.

Concerning the satisfaction of Party members, respondent says:

"I didn't discuss Party problems with my brother-in-law. I know only that he became frustrated with the Party because he saw that the Party was hypocritical and didn't distinguish the people on the Cadre Report as they really were, but from the Party's point of view. He was also a Social Democrat before and was taken over by the Communist Party, but he was intelligent and a very good singer -- therefore the Party lifted him into a high position. He was the personnel director of a big factory."

Concerning what should be done with the top Hungarian Communist leaders after Hungary is liberated, respondent said:

"I never wanted anything bad to anybody, but I think Kadar should be hung and the others punished properly, because they didn't do what they did for anything else but their own good."

C. Concerning the opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, respondent said:

"It cannot be called opposition that we were always dissatisfied and ~~always~~ discussed it, not only among each other, but also with the manager and director. There were loud discussions about the norms. The printers turned over the chase which had to be reset for days. The person who did it was punished to 50 forinths."

"The people always sabotaged, but nobody ever admitted. Somehow, we always find the ways and means to manage to hinder production. It costed quite a lot of money to the company. People were desperate because some of them could never make more in the norms than 100%, because simply the company never gave him the chance to work on something where it was easy to pass somebody's norm. And if they made the smallest mistake, it was deducted from their norms, but never anything was deducted from the Party members' norms. Logically, the oppressed old workers did whatever they could against the company."

"In the last few years, the opposition continuously strengthened. People became more and more daring, and they didn't care. But the Party became much also wilder. For instance, one day a young girl in the shop answered when she was called to go to the Party meeting; 'Hell with the Party,' and she was immediately dismissed from her job."

Concerning the activities of intellectuals, respondent said:

"In Debrecen, the Kossuth Circle was the equivalent of the Petöfi Circle. As far as I remember, the Kossuth Circle was started its existence a few months before the revolution broke out. They had only two meetings at the City Hall, where it was formed. The professors and other intellectuals spoke out very freely for the benefit of the people."

"The Kossuth Circle had important role in the preparation of the revolution. The people started to regain their inner freedom."

"The intellectuals are very necessary in a country's life. They are also, usually, children of simple people, but they know what they do. A country always should be headed with educated people."

Concerning the intellectuals stand-up against the regime, respondent says:

"The intellectuals were dissatisfied because they were oppressed and couldn't make their living."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

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

"The AVH members were usually villainous individuals chosen from the lower classes. They had to attend a few seminars, and the better ones were selected as officers. They tortured the people because they wanted to take their gold, their apartments, or else, one way or another. Usually they had a very good salary and got many things free."

"My sister-in-law and her husband had a family. Everything was taken from him by the AVH, even his house, where he lived in and just one room was left for them. Both of them were at the AVH under arrest for a few days, but they never told us about what happened to them there. When I asked, my sister-in-law, she said: 'Please don't ask me. It was terrible, but I can't speak.'"

"I saw myself once, passing the AVH building, where ^N a woman jumped out of the window and lay on the street until the ambulance took her."

"Along the years, many AVH member got a nervous breakdown, because of their inner conflicts. But this happened to many other high Party officers, especially to those who came from a simple family and couldn't bear the burden of their own conscience."

"When Hungary is free, difference must be done between the convinced sadist AVH members and, for instance, the soldiers who were delegated there and did only their duty."

"According ^{to} my opinion, the regular police was fine, but there were ~~PERSONS~~ ^{PERSONS} ~~among them~~ among them ~~who~~ who were mean. I don't know much about the Police, I have never had anything to do with them, but during the revolution I know that the police didn't ~~help~~ ^{HELPING} the AVH to turn down the demonstrations."

B. THE COURTS:

Concerning the courts before 1945 and after 1945, respondent says: "I know that the courts were not always fair before 1945, but much more than after 1945."

"The people's courts were ~~formed~~ formed from delegated Party members and their activity was biased and unjust. I don't know any details, but most of the people were innocent who were sentenced by the People's Courts."

"In many cases these ^{WAR} ~~were~~ criminals were guilty. In these cases, it was right to punish them."

C. Concerning the Hungarian Army's activity during the Revolution, respondent says:

"In Debrecen the Army had no ammunition and according ^{to} my knowledge they didn't have any activities in either direction."

D. Concerning the Russian Army troops in Hungary, respondent says:

"Everybody hated the Russians. But because of their activities in 1945, and not because of 1848, I have never expected anything good from the Russians. But the old Communists from 1919 waited on them very much. However, when they met with the real Communists they became frustrated. An old 1919 Communist told me: 'We wanted the Communists to come here. We waited on the Russians for ten years, and we won't forget them for hundred years.'"

Concerning her actual experiences with the Russian Army in 1945, respondent doesn't seem to be willing to go into any details. She only keeps repeating that she left Hungary in 1956, after the Revolution, because she was afraid of the Russian Army and because she remembered her experiences back from 1945. She only says that much.

"My opinion was always bad about the Russian Army and still is."

"There were people who became rich with the help of the Russian Army, and I'm sure that they favored them. But I didn't know such people, I only heard about them."

"I know only one first hand information about the Russian soldiers, and this was the following. I knew a Russian woman who married during the first World War a Hungarian man. But her husband, during the second World War, went back to Russia and never returned to his wife. This woman wanted to return to Russia in 1945, to join her family. However, the Russian officers talked her out of her intentions. She explained it to me that the officers told her that the situation was too bad in Russia. ~~Very probably~~ very probably ^{IT IS} that she would have been interned, returning to Russia."

"The relation between the Hungarians and the Russian Army was bad. If a woman became the girl friend of a Russian soldier, she was isolated and boycotted by the population. ~~Overnight~~"

"The Russian children never went to Hungarian schools."

"I have not much knowledge about the Russian troops stationed in Hungary before and during the Revolution. I mentioned already about the Russian Army commander and his agreement with the Workers' Council. We had the feeling that this commander was more on the people's side than on the Russian Army side, but maybe even therefore he was relieved of his office. Many of the soldiers who had to return to Russia were desperate and wanted to stay in Hungary, if not else, then at least as the servants of Hungarians."

E. Concerning local government officials who would be willing to forget the rules and help people, respondent says:

"There were government officials who helped the people. I knew a woman who was the head of the State organ for delivery of agricultural products. She always went around the rules skillfully and used them for the people. Her mother was very interested in spiritual life, maybe she influenced her. Nevertheless, from a political point of view, she had to be very reliable in the Party and played up as a good Communist."

F. Concerning the possibilities of getting around the regulations, respondent says:

"I don't know anything closer about this problem, only I had myself an experience with the housing board and there was quite a wide-spread corruption there. Somebody gave quite a high amount to a lawyer in order to get my apartment, to take it away from me. But, thanks God, ~~it~~ couldn't succeed."

F-80
HLR

XII/33

G. About the competence and efficiency of various groups in Communist Hungary, respondent says:

"In general, the competence of the people in power in the Communist Hungary was not very sufficient. The standard of intelligence was low, but of course there were exceptions."

Max (no particular knowledge) Respondent shows about details more than already mentioned.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. Concerning the future of Hungary, respondent says:

"The future of Hungary depends on the international agreements. I have not much hope that Hungary will be independent. The Russians won't let Hungary out easily of their hand, especially now that the uranium has been discovered."

"Budapest is in ruins and I think there is again a great terror ~~state~~ at home. The people are deported. ~~Everything~~ Every system has its end, however: the Kadar regime will have its end, too. But how long it will take we don't know. The Hitler regime also reached its peak and then declined, but I don't know when this terror will reach its highest point."

"I don't think America would intervene without ^{ARMED} force. She won't fight for a strange nation and won't help us. For the time being, I have no hope whatsoever anything else but that this period will have its natural end as everything did before."

"I don't want war. Neither do the Hungarians at home. The atom bomb - eeh! - it only means quick death."

Respondent doesn't think that a war would break out between the USA and the USSR. However, she doesn't know about other possibilities, how the situation could be solved.

B. About the prospects of Hungary during the last 8 or 10 years, respondent says:

"Everything was hopeless. I don't know what other people hoped for. I was in a treadmill and didn't think much."

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY.

A. Concerning the question 'What an independent Hungary should be like,' respondent says:

"I guess I want a democratic republic, similar as in the United States. However, I don't know yet what the democracy really means: I have to be acquainted with it first."

B. Concerning the desired economic system in Hungary, respondent answers:

"Both agriculture and industry should be emphasized. Hungary is rich in agriculture and can produce her own goods. A strong agriculture gives power for the long run. On the other hand, industry is important for a higher living standard. We can import them and have foreign currencies."

Respondent is seemingly not very familiar with these problems, therefore we didn't put to her any more questions.

Regarding the nationalized enterprises, respondent says:

"I do not have much knowledge about nationalization. I know only that I don't like the big landowners. They should be abolished. But the small holders should get back their land. There were always many companies owned by the state, but the small people should get back their private property."

Choosing between the two possible kinds of government for an independent Hungary, respondent says:

"I would prefer the first form, personal freedom with less financial possibilities much more than the terror. I can't stand anyway if somebody speaks into my business, and I do not like to take orders."

Concerning outlawing the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"I think the Communist Party is un-needed. It was never good. There is nothing beautiful or good in it."

C. Respondent wants an independent free Hungary as an international position, as neutral as possible. Respondent's idea on relations with the different countries is the following:

With the Soviet Union: "I answer with an old Hungarian saying; 'I honor him, I appreciate him, but I keep out of the way whenever I see him.' No connections whatsoever with Russia."

With the East European States: "They don't like each other with Hungary very much, but they ~~know each other~~ should try to be friends."

"With the rest of Europe, Hungary should be in a friendly relation, from the economic and cultural point of view as well, but no cultural relations or connections forced upon Hungary. I don't know much about military connections and its advantages."

"With the United States, the same as with the rest of Europe. All kind of relations which are advantageous for Hungary."

Respondent has no knowledge about the Danubian Federation.

Concerning the question whether the present boundaries of Hungary are acceptable, respondent says:

"I would like to have the old border. I don't know how to solve minority problems, because the evacuation was terrible, but still my dream is the old Hungary."

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

A. Respondent is not able to answer any of the points under point A.

B. To the question "From what sources did she draw most of her information, respondent says:

"I drew most of my information from listening to the radio. I don't know the names of the different stations, but I listened to all of the foreign broadcasts. The second important was the word of mouth, and the third, the newspapers."

^{talked}
"My colleagues in the printing shop/~~talked~~ to each other about everything, the radio ~~news~~ broadcasts and all the events in Hungary. I considered these sources as reliable. I think that the radio broadcasts were about 50% true."

(5b)

D. Regarding her reading habits, respondent says:

"I didn't read newspapers regularly. About twice a week. I read an average of one or two hours a day at home and in the university library. Mostly magazines and books of all sort of fictions. I got every book at this library what I wanted. Those books, too, which were prohibited."

"I didn't like to read books about politics."

"Among newspapers, I read the Debrecen. It was more liberal than the Neplap. But I read the newspapers only very superficially. I never remembered the next day what I read yesterday. They were extremely boring."

"The news was unreliable since 1945. I felt sick if I read the Neplap, which was the official Communist Party organ."

"I never read any publications from Russia or other satellite countries."

F-80
HLR

XV/38

"At the university library, all the foreign magazines and newspapers were available, but I couldn't read them. However, if somebody took them out for reading, he had to verify the purpose for what he needed it."

Respondent has no knowledge about illegal publications or books more than what she mentioned before.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY.

A. Regarding Russia, respondent says she doesn't know anything. She doesn't know the Russian people, the Russian character. (She begs me, with apparent embarrassment: "Please, don't ask me about the Russians, neither the Russian leaders. For me they are non-existent.")

B. Concerning the popularity of Eastern European nations in Hungary, respondent says:

"I knew only that the Poles were the most popular because of our common history."

"Nevertheless, no matter what nation we talk about, the individuals are who can be sympathetic or not. The people of these countries are usually good, but their governments are not favored by the Hungarians."

Respondent doesn't know what would happen if these countries would hold free elections.

She has no knowledge, either, about living standards in these countries more than what she heard from her colleagues who were abroad. They said that Czechoslovakia has higher and Rumania has lower standard of living than Hungary.

C. Respondent has no opinion about Poland. She read about the Polish events in the newspapers, but doesn't know whether the new political regime proved good or not.

According to her opinion, Hungary became bled from the Polish demonstrations.

D. To the questions about Tito and Yugoslavia, respondent answered:

"I don't know anything about Yugoslavia and Tito. I wasn't there and I am able to form an opinion about things only which I experienced."

National Communism was an unknown term for respondent. She knew Mrs. Palffyesszterreicher and her 12 year old daughter, but they never discussed politics. (Palffyesszterreicher was executed in connection with the Rajk trial. - Interviewer's note.)

E. About Suez, respondent thinks that Suez drew off the attention of the world from Hungary and it was more important for America than the Hungarian problem.

F. Concerning West Germany, she said:

"I heard that the standard of living was high and there was more opportunity to work in West Germany."

"Every country is usually afraid of the Germans, and people talked about the possibility that Germany may start another war."

Respondent had no knowledge about the German army.

Comparing the German and the Russian occupation forces during World War II, respondent says:

"Both occupation forces were bad. The Germans as well as the Russians. The Germans took away everything that was valuable in an intelligent way and I think they could be more cruel with people than the Russians. The Russians were more brutal, but very primitive. They destroyed everything and realized only later what had value."

"The Germans were more disciplined and, in general, more popular than the Russians. But the people don't want any of the two as occupation force."

G. About her impression of living standards in various countries, respondent says:

"The highest living standard is in Germany or in England, I'm not sure in which country. I don't know about the rest of these countries quoted here."

H. To the question 'What surprised her most about America,' respondent answered:

WAS NOT EXCITED "I read so much about America, good and bad as well, that I wasn't surprised about anything. I guess this is why my relatives get angry of me because I was ~~was~~ ~~was~~ enough. The only thing was the mechanization and the practical household appliances which outde my imagination."

"America has very good laws, as much as I knew about them."

"It was interesting that the priests are higher esteemed here than in Hungary, but, on the other hand, they are more occupied with business than with religion."

Respondent doesn't know the foreign policy of the United States.

She thinks it is not always good when America gives money. "There are problems which cannot be settled with money."

Respondent says, "If Kadar accepts the American conditions, then America can have relations with Hungary."

Concerning Western visitors, respondent says:

"Yes, it is always good to have Western visitors in these countries. Hungarians like Western visitors. But these visitors have to be careful and bring enough Hungarian money with them, because if they spend much dollars, they will be questioned where did they get their dollars? On the black market? Everybody's under control in Hungary. The government doesn't want the foreigners to sell their dollars on the black market for more than the regular currency. The authorities may take the foreigner to the police, and they won't be very polite. The AVH man will stand there with the 'havaigitar', (This means Hawaiian guitar, which is the nickname of a machine gun in Hungary. - ~~Interviewer's note.~~) respondent added laughing."

"Foreign magazines are always useful, all kinds, but now it is not allowed to send it legally. Maybe the best thing to do is to send all the popular scientific magazines to the different libraries of Hungary."

"Western visitors who brought messages from emigrants were always welcome."

F-80
HLR

XVI/42

Respondent heard the name of the Marshall Plan, but doesn't know more about it.

Concerning the Korean war, she says:

"The Communists collected 200 forinths from me for the Korean refugees and to help Korea, but I don't know why and I don't know why America fought in Korea."

J. Respondent has no knowledge of the United Nations and its role.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. To the question, 'Who is in her opinion the greatest living Hungarian,' respondent answers:

"I don't know any great living Hungarian."

B. Respondent's reactions to the different personalities are:

"IMRE NAGY: His behavior was wonderful, in spite of being a Communist, he had a Hungarian heart and he wanted to help the people. This was a very beautiful characteristic in him. Even in the last minute he could have been able to die for the people. He was brought up abroad in a foreign country and still he was a real patriot."

"CARDINAL MINDSZENTY: He is said to be looked upon as a saint. However, during the revolution, he asked for too much. He is an intelligent man and had enough time in the prison to think. Still he asked the land back for the aristocracy and the Hungarian people do not want any more 'urimagyarsag' - (gentry Hungary.)"

"IASZLO RAJK: No knowledge about him."

"ERNO GERO: He should be hung. He was a villain."

"JANOS KADAR: What on earth did he ever give to the Hungarians what was good? We called the tanks 'Kadar-taxi' (laughing) because we heard that he went to the ministerial in a tank, he was so afraid."

About GENERAL BELA KIRALY, respondent had no knowledge.

"ANNA KETHLY: She was liked in the old times, but I heard, I guess in the foreign broadcasts that she is a little biased toward Communism. But maybe my information is not sufficient."

Concerning President Eisenhower, respondent knows who he is, but not anything more.

Respondent knows the same about Truman, but nothing about the rest of the personalities, not even their names.

F-80
HLR

XVII/44

Regarding the third list, respondent has knowledge only of the following names and nationalities:

"Ferenc Nagy, Hungarian;

Roosevelt, American;

Stalin, Russian: (Here respondent had the following: "He did the right thing when he died. He should have done it 20 years ago.")

Khrushchev, Russian;

Tito, Yuga Yugoslav;

Molotov, Russian."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. To the question, 'Generally speaking, who left Hungary and why?' respondent answers:

BA D

"(Smiling) These who were afraid and ~~these~~ patriots as myself. But, to be serious, mostly young people left Hungary, from every class. The greatest part came from Budapest and west Hungary. They escaped because they were in danger of imprisonment or deportation, or they had relatives abroad. But many youngsters came out because of thirst for adventure."

"Those who stayed behind had mostly big families or a small house and piece of land."

"I don't know how I feel about those who stayed behind."

"There were people who had the opportunity to come out but decided to stay here because of fear or comfort. But I don't remember a specific story."

"The people in Hungary knew that those who came out had to leave because of the danger."

"If they had a chance, most of the Hungarians would come out because they don't know how difficult it is abroad."

B. Respondent has no knowledge of exile organizations or individuals' activity. Filling out the attached list, her few remarks are the following:

QUESTION 4

"Otto Hapsburg; that's out of ~~order~~."

"Nicholas Herthy; Do you know that the Hungarian people liked him? As far as I myself am concerned it is a very difficult question. I have no comments."

Regarding activities of exile politicians, respondent says:

"I think these politicians wanted to do something for Hungary, but I don't know about their activities. I have no idea what they should have done, or could have done."

Answering the question whether she met any Hungarian who escaped after 1945, but returned later on, respondent says:

"Antal Pager did. But I didn't meet him, only I heard about him."

"The redefection campaign was made by the Communists only for propaganda. After somebody returned, first the Communists left them alone, but later on they declared them class enemies or sent them to concentration camps. The general opinion was that the Communists were double dealers. What was it good for, to ~~lure~~ lure these people home and then to deport them?"

D. Concerning what people in Hungary would like to know about exiles, respondent answers:

"Everything. But it won't be good for them to know under what bad circumstances we are here. At least our relatives should think that we have an easier life."

Regarding what exiles should do, she says:

"What could we do? No matter how united we are, our number is very small comparing to the huge Russian empire."

Respondent doesn't wish to join exile organizations.

Respondent doesn't know about politics.

E. Concerning future plans, respondent says:

"As long as the Russians are in Hungary, I don't want to go back. I guess I will be able to make a living here as well. Maybe one day I will be crazy enough to make up my mind and will go home - what will cost very much money and will have a very little advantage."

If she had children, respondent would want them to learn Hungarian. She thinks it's always good to know a language.

F-80
HLR

XIX/47

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. Radio.

Respondent's remarks are the following:

"I listened to Radio Free Europe, BBC and Voice of America."

"They were all jammed the same, but at night it was better. During the revolution, all the stations were terribly jammed with a rattle."

"I listened only to the Hungarian broadcasts because I don't speak any foreign languages."

"I listened to all of them, one after the other, and compared them. I told about these broadcasts to selected persons who were reliable. We talked about it every day, either in my family or at my working place. I listened only to my own radio, always alone. I didn't trust others. Earlier I listened mostly at night, at 11 or 12 o'clock, very secretly. I closed the windows and put the radio on a very low voice. I cared that nobody should know about it. The Communists disapproved it, but during the last year it was not so dangerous any more. We could listen to the broadcasts more frequently but it was still not without risk."

"After 1948, people were imprisoned for listening to the foreign broadcasts. It was a great sin. I don't remember well, maybe around 1951-52, but lately I didn't hear about punishment concerning listening to radios."

"Listening to the different stations, I think Radio Free Europe promised too much before the revolution, as well as during the revolution. There was too much propaganda in it. I myself didn't believe in everything they said because I knew that in America not everything was good either, but the people who escaped usually thought that there's a wonderful life here—they can live without working and the money lays on the street. They thought this because of the radio broadcasts. I heard a program speaking about \$5 hourly wages. They also promised that America will take care of the families of those who lost their lives in the revolution."

"Otherwise, the programs of Radio Free Europe were very interesting and colorfully mixed. They could instigate very well against the Communists and the Russians. People became braver and did more during the revolution because of these broadcasts. This can be partly good, but the empty promises are bad. The hopes of 80% of the people who ~~were~~ believed in them were not fulfilled."

"The news was reliable in every foreign broadcast. We could see it later on in the actual events."

"I think Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast. Every program was necessary and was good in general. I like very much the character descriptions and the musical programs."

B. Respondent doesn't know about RFE leaflets. However, she says that she heard about the 12 points. She thinks over Radio Free Europe, but she doesn't remember what they were, only she recalls that they were good and had a good effect on her.

C. Respondent has no knowledge of leaflets.

D. Regarding the goals of Western broadcasts, respondent says:

The
"Their aim was the propaganda. Western countries don't like the Russian expansion. They know that Communism wants to gain ground in America, too, and wants world domination."

Respondent doesn't think that the ~~different~~ different organizations had different objectives.

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

1. About her views how children should be brought up, respondent says:

"Children should be handled gently, by persuasion, without beating. But it always depends on the child's character."

"They should be taught to love and respect their parents, to be straight-forward, honest and religious."

2. "Not having any children, I am not able to go into details concerning this question."

3. Concerning how she was disciplined, she adds:

"I was beaten by my mother when I was a child, but she couldn't change me with it. I became introvert and butted up. Even when I was 20 years old I got a slap on my face once in a while. However, I must admit, that my mother was just. She never punished me for something I didn't do. My father was the opposite. He wanted me to honor him even when he was not honorable."

4. "The children were usually punished in our family by the mother. It was the same in my sister's family."

5. Respondent doesn't know when punishment was generally stepped in the Hungarian families.

6. "Children were much less disciplined under Communism than before, and the teachers had a much harder time with the children. But I have no further knowledge about the system of punishment."

7. Answering what characteristics she values the most in a friend, respondent says:

"There is an old Hungarian saying about friendship; 'Be a friend in trouble, too, not only in wine' - I had only one friend who was always on my side, if in difficult times, too, my sister-in-law."

"I don't think that there were any changes in real friendships during Communism."