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## CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

This woman comes from the provinces and therefore has very little to say about the revolution. Also being uneducated, coming from a peasant worker's stock, she had practically nothing to say regarding politics. Thus the interview is not very long, nevertheless quite interesting because, despite having had some difficulty in explaining to her the more complicated questions, and having to put everything in plain, simple language, I found that she had a great deal of logical common sense typical of the Hungarian peasant.

Respondent is completely unaffected by Communism. This was reflected in her view as to how to bring up children. She also always addressed me as had been customary in pre-war Hungary when a lower-class person talks to someone who is socially her superior. She used a respectful address (this cannot be translated into English; it involves the way the sentence is formulated).

Respondent is soft-spoken, rather shy, and highly emotional when it comes to patriotic events. She often had tears in her eyes. She ~~was~~ also was very preoccupied with her health as she was expecting the results of a cancer test the next day.

Background.

Father and family were peasant farmers, and respondent led the typical farmer's daughter's life while at home. When she married a waiter she moved to the nearby provincial town.

Her daughter is 17. She tries to and is ~~giving~~ giving her a better education than her own. She said "It is very bad to be as stupid as I am." Looking at her, however, you couldn't say where she comes from. She is very neat, ~~very~~ well-groomed, dresses plainly but in good taste, and makes up not too much but well. She has nice manners. She is very

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enger to learn English and the American way of living. She is also very much enchanted with the high standard of living here. She has adjusted very well so far but is still much worried about her husband who is back in Hungary.

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## II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND ARM-UP QUESTION

"I believe it is very important that the Americans should know that the reason for the Hungarian revolution was that the workers and the working-class in Hungary were against any Communist regime. The wages were frightfully low. We lived in dire poverty and also it was unbearable to live under such oppression as we had. But I think that this is probably already well known here."

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

A. "In our city we did not know anything about the revolution except that it had broken out. As you know this city is very far from Budapest. It was on the 23rd of October which, as far as I can remember, was a Tuesday. I was just doing the weekly wash when my next door neighbor came home and told me that the students of the Debrecen University went around in the various plants in the city telling the workers to stop working and also informing them about the demands which were drawn up in Budapest. So the workers stopped working and that is how my neighbor happened to come home. He also told me that at the beginning there were clashes between the students and the factory guards. However, there was no shooting yet.

"In the afternoon this neighbor of ours, myself and my daughter went and walked into the city to see what was going on. We had heard shooting from the distance and were careful in making our way to the city. I first went to see my husband who was working in one of the restaurants there and told him where we were going.

"At the main square in front of the Red Bull Hotel the crowd was gathering and growing every moment. We saw AVH men tearing around the city on motor bikes shooting now and then, mostly in the air. However, since I saw several ambulances carrying the wounded, they must have shot into the crowd somewhere. We also heard that there were seven fatal casualties. "e then went home."

"My nephew, however, returned at midnight, and he told us about further developments. He told us that the windows of the police barracks were all broken by the demonstrators and the people loudly acclaimed the demands of the students.

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"As far as we knew everybody took part in the demonstrations. There wasn't anybody, regardless of social class, age or sex, who did not take part."

"The next day nobody went to work and all the plants stood idle. It was just like a Sunday. Everybody was milling around the streets. Nobody worked."

"I cannot put into words how happy we all were. We all cried from sheer happiness (here respondent's eyes are filled with tears as she reminisces about those days). Even those who formerly were Communist Party members for some reason or other were crying for sheer joy. My neighbor, for instance, too. After all these people were really slaving and led a most dire existence."

"I saw the soldiers and their officers strip the Russian insignia and wear the red, white and green cockades."

"I do not think that the demonstrations were organized because nobody heard anything beforehand and it came about all of a sudden."

"As to our hopes, we were all fervently hoping that the demands of the students would be met. We saw how at the printing offices the newspapers and leaflets came out one after the other. It was even rumored that the government was willing to accept the demands of the young people."

"Our happiness lasted only as long as Imre Nagy was the head of the government."  
did

"I ~~have~~ not heard of any fighting in our city. I only knew that all workers were out on strike. I heard of one little girl getting killed by the Russians who once used their arms. The strikes and the demonstrations in Debrecen were organized by the workers. I did not hear the expression 'freedom fighter'"

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but I know that before the revolution there was an organization ~~xxx~~ called "The Freedom Fighters."

"I ~~xxxx~~ heard ~~x~~that the students of the high school received arms from the army but they did not use them in the end."

(This was all I could get from the respondent regarding the revolution in Debrecen.)

C. Regarding the reinvasion respondent said "This is something that none of us could understand at that time, because we saw on the 23rd that a large stream of Russian tanks, armed cars and army personnel was pouring towards Budapest. Our house is just about 150 yards off the main street and our house shook for days as the Russian army thundered by ~~xxx~~towards Budapest."

"People who talked to some of those Russians told me that these Russian soldiers said they were going to fight at the Suez Canal. We were of course very much bewildered and at a loss what to think."

"Around the municipal park in Debrecen, which is called the Big Forest, the Russians dug in all around the city. Debrecen was completely surrounded."

"Nevertheless when we heard the negotiations over the radio we sincerely hoped that the Russians would withdraw."

"From this time on I stayed at home caring for my family. We were sitting at the radio day and night listening to the UN sessions and we were hoping that the Secretary-General would finally come to Hungary. We were also scared because the government and the Russians started to round up people and intern them for deportation. I had a very bad record with the authorities anyway because my sister was in America and everybody knew that we were receiving parcels and letters from them. Our neighbors told us

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confidentially that the AVB was trying to get some information on us and snooping on our activities. We also saw young people in five large army trucks being carried away by the Russians. This was a terrifying sight. These were open trucks and at the four corners stood two Russians with crossed machine guns to cover anybody who tried to jump off the trucks. We heard that these students were rounded up in their homes by the Russians and some of them managed to escape by the windows."

"A relative of ours who was serving in the army told us that the barracks at Debrecen were surrounded at night by the Russians and so was the Debrecen main Post Office."

"All this finally made us very frightened and we feared for our young daughter. We decided that we had better leave. My husband wanted to stay behind in order to wind up our affairs. We had our apartment, we had some foodstuffs and also some grain and fodder I inherited from my parents which we wanted to sell. We decided that first I and my daughter would leave and he would follow. Unfortunately, however, he was unable to do so and he is still back in Hungary. I am terribly worried about him."

"We went by train to Budapest first and then to Győr. We went to the border by truck and walked over. Here we met some peasants who were extremely kind to us and showed us the way. We walked knee-deep in snow. It was terrible."

D. When asked whether she thought that Hungary or the whole has gained because of the revolution respondent said:

"Of course because now everybody can see that the Hungarian people are unwilling to live under Communism and also because the Hungarians have now called the attention of the world to what the nation really wants."

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IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST  
DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. "We expected that the West would help not only as they did very nicely with food and medicine but also that they would send arms and men."

B. "We held these expectations because after all Hungary is so tiny and how could they leave such a tiny nation in a ditch? Also, we heard the radio all the time. However poor you were, in Hungary everybody had a radio because this was our only hope, so everybody listened to it always."

C. Respondent did not come into contact with foreigners between October 23 and ~~the~~ the time of her escape.



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## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. "Regarding my family, my father was a farmer. We owned 8 acres of land. While this belonged to the whole family nevertheless it gave us a good living. We had everything we needed. During the war, however, and after that, it was enough for our living but not for anything else. For instance, clothing was a problem and we received it mostly from my sister in the U.S.

"My father had only four elementary school grades, and so did my mother. You know in the days when they were young this was enough education for a simple peasant."

B. When asked about the social classes in Hungary, respondent did not at first understand what I meant by social class, so I had to explain it to her in plainer language, but her answer was right:

"I think that the classes consist of the intellectuals, the upper class, then the workers and the peasants but under Communism there was a great mix-up because the intellectuals became workers and we ourselves, for example, were very often invited together with the intellectuals. For instance, whenever the state enterprise for catering arranged a party or some meetings and we attended, my husband and myself, we were always sitting together with the intellectuals. So it seems that the class differences were somehow eliminated.

"Also, very few of the peasants remained real peasants. For instance, in the village where I lived, which was very near the city, the peasants already dressed like city people. Also, people had good furniture and lived rather like a city craftsman would. Real peasants, in the last years, you could only find in the remote villages. This, however, is not ~~merely~~ due merely to Communism. I

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believe, but also because times are changing and everybody tries to improve himself."

"The intellectuals, at least those I had some contact with, and even the Party Secretary, if you talk to him under the COME UNDER THE INTELLECTUALS everybody was against Communism. The workers, too, hated the regime, and it was especially bad for the peasantry. Very often they didn't have even enough to deliver the compulsory contributions. They had to buy them."

"I believe that I somehow belong to a kind of middle class. I really could not classify myself."

As to which class was hardest hit by Communism, I believe it was the upper class because they lost everything, not only their land and assets but those who held jobs were dismissed. Then, ~~next~~ came the craftsmen, the workers and the peasants."

"I really do not know how the different classes felt about each other."

C. Respondent's idea of how an individual might advance himself in Communist Hungary was as follows:

"He certainly must talk and live as if he were a Communist. This I know from experience. My husband never could advance himself because he could not talk big. Talent is of very little value. As to class origin, probably it was very important because on every form and application you always had to tell what class you came from. But even this didn't help ~~much~~ very much in some cases because my husband comes from a very humble family and nevertheless he never got anywhere. He was not a member of the party and he was quite plainly told that he would never get anywhere if he did

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not join the Party. But neither he nor I ever belonged to it."

D. When asked whether or not she knew of groups that got more out of the societies than they deserved respondent said "Of course these were the Communists."

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## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. When asked about family life in Hungary under the Communist regime, respondent said:

"This is a topic on which I cannot say very good things at all. Family life became a mess, especially among our sort of people, the simple low class families. Some of these were selected by the Communist Party and became big shots under the democratic regime. They were taken to Party schools and got an education. When they returned from these courses they found that their wives were not good enough for them. They found them uneducated, unkempt, very crude. They did not clean their teeth, they did not take a daily bath, etc. as these men were taught at the Party schools, so they either divorced these women or if they did not, then they were rude to them, beat them and on the whole family life was just hell."

"Unfortunately our family life suffered too under Communism. My husband, in order to make ends meet, worked himself to death. Of course, when he came home he was jumpy, nervous and dead tired. Even so, he could never earn enough money to have everything for us. But we had quarrels only on this point, the financial. Politically, we of course were always of the same opinion and we always talked freely among ourselves. But I believe that everybody in Hungary was like that. People only dared to talk at home. Even in the streets nobody dared to say a word because there were plainclothes men snooping around everywhere."

"You have no idea what a difference it makes to live here in the U.S. where we don't have such problems, where we can talk freely. Even now I get goose pimples when

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I think back to what times we had to go through."

"I tried also to get a job for myself but it was completely useless. I went from one place to another asking for a job and I never got one because I was not a Party member."

"Children at school were of course educated and indoctrinated in Communism. But you know it was quite interesting to see that our kids knew perfectly well that this is not true. They always believed what we taught them. I personally did enroll my girl for special religious instructions at school and so did most of the parents. Nevertheless, I have very often seen the Communist influence on my little girl. I would say that she was perhaps 50% indoctrinated. I saw it in the way she talked to me or, when we discussed something she held quite different views from ours. In important things, however, she still obeyed us and she is a very good young girl."

"There were some families which ~~xxxx~~ were able to hold on to the old ways materially, at least and these were the ones who belonged to the Party. They earned more and there was less reason to quarrel about the financial status and the bad standard of living."

B. "As I said before, marriage has suffered under the Communist regime and there were many bad marriages and many divorces. As to courting and sex matters, these were very slack. In these new days the girls went out with boys without asking their parents and it wasn't such a terrific shame to bring an illegitimate child into the world. However, this did not happen in the decent families.

"I blame the Communist regime and the education at school for the bad standard of morality during the Communist regime. The

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reason for all these changes was that young people were educated and indoctrinated."

When asked whether there was any prostitution under Communism, respondent had to have the meaning of this word explained. At first she did not understand.

"I don't know whether prostitution was prohibited under Communism and whether the houses with the red lights were closed, but I know that there were many prostitutes frequenting all hotels and restaurants. For instance, at the place ~~xxxx~~ where my husband worked there were many and my husband never let me and my daughter go to eat at this restaurant because of these women who were swarming around.

"I cannot give any opinion regarding the sexual morality of the Communists because I simply never met one and I do not think that there is a Communist at all in HUNGARY. Also, I really could not answer this question."

C. Respondent could not give any opinion on what would have happened to her friendship if a good friend of hers joined the Communist Party. She said that she had no such friend.

D. According to respondent, juvenile delinquency has increased in Hungary, and especially among the poor class as she put it. She gave as an example her neighbor's son, who was only eight years old and broke into the church, looting the money from the collection box. She was of the opinion that juvenile delinquency prevailed mostly among the teenagers.

(By the way, I had to explain to the respondent what juvenile delinquency is. Here again she did not understand the word.) When asked about the Jambec she described them as being teenager boys who dressed and danced in what they thought to be the American way.

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## VII. RELIGION

A. "Religion was very important to every Hungarian and I have even seen army officers who went to church, but of course people ran the risk of losing their jobs if they were seen. This, however, did not deter them, and I have seen more people go to church than before Communism. We too frequented church very often, and my husband was sometime quite angry with us if for some reason we didn't go to church.

"As far as I can judge, it was the Roman Catholic church that was hardest hit by Communism. However, I am sure that other religions were hit in a way because after all every religion admits the existence of God except the Communists. But the Roman Catholic priests dared to preach openly against Communism in the churches and that is probably why the Communists were out to oppress the Catholic religion most."

B. "Religion is a very important factor in my life and I am very religious but I must admit that I am less religious now than I was before. However, I go to church regularly. I think I am about as religious as the average person in Hungary."

C. "I think that the role of the church in education is extremely important because the churches must give religious instructions to the kids. I also think that the church ought to exercise censorship over books, movies and plays because this is only good for society."

"I would not mind if churches were to take an active part in politics in Hungary if Hungary were independent. But I think that the state should go further and support the churches. Because of Communism all churches have become extremely poor and they ~~xxx~~ will need it."

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D. "I do not think the Jewish religion has been hurt by Communism to the same extent as the other religions. I knew an old Jewish couple with whom I was on very friendly terms and whom I loved very much. These two were always able to get their Kosher food and attend their churches. I think that the Jewish religion was less affected by Communism than the others because these people were deported during the Nazi regime and maybe the Communists didn't want to be too strict with them.

"As far as I have seen, the Jews were mostly in favor of Communism, even though they too were deprived of their assets. However, the formerly mentioned old couple said, for instance, "We are for Communism because after all the Russians have liberated us.

"I have, however, known Jews who were dead against Communism.

"As to the Party memberships of the Jews, I have only one experience I can quote. At the place where my husband worked all Jews were Party members but after all this was for their material interest."

When asked what the attitudes and actions of the Jews were during the Revolution, respondent said:

"During the Revolution the Jews were scared because they were afraid that public feelings would turn against them. The Jews I knew always told me that it was absolutely unnecessary to start a revolution and tried to persuade people and the workers to go back to work. They were afraid of anti-Semitism. I know that. However, this was never proved during the revolution and nobody ever intended to harm the Jews at all."



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## VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. "When I speak of the Hungarian youth I am thinking of the students of all ages and of both sexes, those who started the Hungarian revolution."

B. "The Hungarian youth played a great, very important part in the revolution. The reason for that, I think, is that throughout history it was always the young people who started something. They were somehow more enterprising and they have more ambition than the grownup people.

"During the revolution the older people admired the youngsters. I have seen it myself. When we were riding a street car there was a nice old peasant couple who came to the city because, as they said, "we want to go to kiss and embrace these young boys who have fought for us all during the Revolution." People in the streetcar were all crying, we were so touched."

C. When asked about schools and educational system in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent said:

"I do not think that the system of teaching was good under the Communist regime because they tried to use new-fangled methods and these were not good. On the other hand, the kids had to learn a tremendous amount and they had very difficult subjects to take.

"The teachers were partly the old ones and partly the newly-trained ones but I have known of many who had nervous breakdowns because they had too many responsibilities and had to work too much, far beyond their capacities. The old teachers were far better than the young ones of course. But on the other hand, again, only those who belonged to the Party and were young could become head-  
masters. As to the convictions of the different teachers, I really could not tell. However, I

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saw that the children knew and could tell which of their teachers were perfectly reliable, so to speak, and which were not.

D. "Young people in Hungary have not accepted Communism ever. Maybe later on, after some years of indoctrination, something stuck. This is possible because I have seen it with my daughter, but they certainly have not accepted Communism on the whole. Also, after all, they have seen ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ how many contradictions and controversies there are in their own textbooks.

"Young people also have rejected indoctrination because they very soon found out the Communists only told them lies."

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IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN  
EVERYDAY LIFE

A. When asked for the main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary as they showed up in her everyday life, respondent said:

"The most important and greatest cause of dissatisfaction in our lives was the dire poverty first of all, then the high prices and, of course, the low wages."

B. "Apart from big political things we resented most that we had to pay lip-service to a Party that we were forced to applaud, meetings that we had to attend. We had to take part in demonstrations, singing Communist songs, etc."

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## X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. "As I told you already before, our standard of living was the lowest possible during the last ten years. Food was available but expensive. Clothing was so expensive that we could never afford it. We only had what we received from packages from the U.S. Housing was also a problem for people who did not have their own apartments. Of the above three, I considered it a great luxury to buy something for myself. Also, of the above three, food, housing and clothing, it was clothing that caused us the most difficulty. Our standard of living was at its best in 1948 when the purchase value of the money was still good. Ever since, it has only gone down.

"I have known families that were better off than any others. These were families of Party members because they had good incomes and good jobs.

"There is no doubt about what has caused the Hungarian standard of living to go down and down in the last eight years. There was only one reason for it, and this was the exploitation by the Soviet Union. Everything was shipped out to Russia."

B. Since respondent did not herself work in 1956, the below-mentioned data refer to her husband's income:

"My husband's basic salary was 600 forints per month. In addition he received a per cent of the consumption. This was 2.4%. I could not itemize the deductions, but I know it was about 200 forints every month. My husband never made more than 1200 even in the best months.

"No other member of the household worked. As I mentioned to you already, I tried in vain to get a job. My husband also didn't receive a wage increase in the last five years.

C. My family bought food, clothing and other necessities mostly at the state stores because these were the least expensive. We sometimes got food from the country. It was, of course, always fresher and better than in the state stores. I do not know very much about the change of prices but I can recall that three years ago prices went up terrifically.

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especially for foodstuffs. At that time we had to pay 5 forints for 2 pounds of potatoes and 2.50 or 3 forints for one egg.

"The distribution of commodities must have been pretty bad in Hungary because very often the staple foodstuffs and consumer commodities were short. For instance, flour, potatoes, even bread, meat of course. We always had to queue up for our foodstuffs.

"Commodities that were especially short in supply were, for instance, soap and all detergents. It was nearly impossible to get any standard spare parts. For instance, I remember what an awful time we had trying to get some  $V_1$  for our bikes.  $V$  SPOKES

"The Black Market was always on in Hungary, especially in foodstuffs, and whenever some of the main foodstuffs were short in supply. I remember once we had to pay 46 forints for 2 pounds of rice.

"As far as I know Black Marketing was punished, but I don't know any details."

D. Details of working conditions again refer to husband.

"My husband was a waiter as I told you already, and he worked more than the eight hours, of course. It was usually ten to twelve hours because he wanted to earn ~~xx~~ more money but he was never paid for his overtime. He did it only for the tips he received. It took him about 18 to 20 minutes to get by streetcar to his working place. He had this job because this was his chosen profession and he has always been a waiter.

"His relations with his co-workers were pretty good except with one who was a Communist and who was always out to do some harm to my husband. Others were not Party members and were decent.

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"His immediate superior was a former horsecab driver who of course didn't know a thing about catering. Even though he was a Party member, however, he was quite decent. As my husband was afraid of losing his job, he was always scared of everyone and never at ease with anyone in his job. I do not know how long they will keep him now that we have left. He wrote that the Police were already ordered to look for us three times.

"According to my husband his superiors were not qualified people and not even in the state office for catering were there expert people.

"He was very dissatisfied in his job because in the last years the waiters were exploited. One waiter had to do the work of four. Not only that, besides being a waiter in the restaurant he also had to do the dishwashing and washing of the cutlery very often.

"I do not know how the Hungarian vacation program worked. I only know that I tried quite in vain to get my husband a vacation through the program. It was only on the party line and trade union line that you could succeed. The health program on the other hand was good ~~because~~ because we were taken care of medically under this program. I do not know any details on the compensation and pensions. I only know it depended on the time you had spent working and your age."

E. "I would always have preferred to live in the city in Hungary because I had it better there than in the country with my parents. I believe that people in the cities have a better diet and also that the standard of living is higher in the cities. However, politically people had it easier in the country because they were not bothered so much with all sorts of meetings, etc., as they were in the town.

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"When collectivization was introduced into Hungary, everybody knew that it wouldn't work because the Hungarian peasant likes to work for himself only. But people were forced to enter the collectives. The collectivization as practiced in Hungary wasn't worth a damn and didn't succeed at all. I know that all ~~persons~~ PEASANTS, also ~~THE~~ <sup>THE</sup> ~~PEASANTS~~ <sup>PEASANTS</sup> were against it.

"As far as I can remember, some of the collectives were dissolved some time before the revolution but I could not say which year."

"I think in Hungary everybody ought to be allowed to work on his own land."

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## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

(As mentioned in the character description, subject was always thoroughly disinterested in politics, so she could not give any opinion regarding this paragraph.)

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

"Before the Communists took over in Hungary we heard of only two Communists in the village. We despised them thoroughly. One of them was a carpenter, the other was a bricklayer. Later on one of those left the Party and the other one, who became a prisoner of war in Russia and returned, left also. Regarding my opinion of the Communist Party, I really don't know what to say because I don't have ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a good opinion at all. Who has?"

B. "People joined the Communist Party for different reasons. First of all, there were people who were forced to join the Party. These were mostly workers and peasants. Then second came those very poor people who had not a penny of their own and who thought that the Party would give them an opportunity to get ahead. These people, of course, had no idea of what Communism really means. Lastly, I think there were some people who believed in Communism but even these, like those two men from our village, were disillusioned later on.

XRegarding the changes in the Communist Party policies, again I had to explain to the respondent what the Party policy means. Her answer was as follows:

"The Party did change its policy because I heard that there were many quarrels going on among themselves. Whenever there was a Party meeting of course people talked about it in the village. As far as we knew, the Party always received its instructions



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from Moscow but you know I know very little about politics, and I have no idea about anything else."

Party morale was again a word that respondent didn't understand. After explanations she said:

"People in the Party or when present at Party meetings didn't dare to open their mouths but they did, of course, when they were at home and among themselves. Then they openly criticized the Party. After all, they always admitted that they didn't believe a word the Party told them. I think they used the Party only for their material benefit."

Regarding the aims and motives of the top leaders of the Communist Party respondent said "I think they want to dominate the world and rule by Communism. Individually I think that they only look after their own interests."

"I think that the top Communists in Hungary are convinced Communists but I also believe that if they are decently and really convinced Communists, then I am sure they have imagined the Communist rule to be something different from that carried out in Hungary."

"I really cannot tell you what I think of their personalities."

"When Hungary is independent I would not kill these top Communists. ~~Maybe~~ Maybe it is very silly of me, but I think these Communists should get the treatment they have given to the people of Hungary."

C. Regarding opposition to the Communist government before the Revolution, respondent gave the following information:

"I have heard that at every factory the workers tried to slow down. We had some

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railroad car factories and some ballbearing factories near Debrecen, and also plants that manufactured medical supplies. The workers were always grumbling about the regime but did not dare to do it quite openly because they would be dismissed. I have heard of one sabotage in the railroad car factory. A man was arrested for it and nobody has heard of him since."

When asked about the activities of the intellectuals, whether she heard about them, respondent said "I cannot speak about this topic. I know too little about it. I only heard that during the revolution there was a Petofi Circle in Budapest formed by the Hungarian authors, writers, poets."

"I believe that these intellectuals did not like the regime and that is why they stood up against it. After all everybody wanted freedom."

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## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. "The AVH in our village and city was only called 'the scum of the earth' by everybody. We had one of those gangsters who attended a Party school and then divorced his wife when he returned to the village. His mother was a washing-woman. He was an illegitimate child, the son of a Jew. His wife was a simple peasant girl and when he returned from the Party school he thought that she was just a country bumpkin.

"There were many members of the AVH who were regular drafted soldiers. These people of course couldn't help having been drafted to that unit. I have heard that many members of the AVH were Jews. However, the officers of the AVH were volunteers.

"I had no personal experiences with the AVH. I only witnessed once, in the foyer of a hotel, and AVH officer beat up a young man because he wanted to find out how the young man had the money to eat a decent lunch in that restaurant. His behavior was beyond description.

"My cousin was also arrested by the AVH. He was a clerk in the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ county land office. His "crime" was that at Stalin's death he jokingly asked the girls in the office ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "Don't you have any black silk ~~SLIP~~ SLIP OF YOURS to hang out to mourn that rascal"? Of course he was denounced by one of the AVH spies and they went to pick him up in the middle of the night and he was imprisoned for three years.

"However he never talked about his experiences at the AVH. I believed that nobody dares. They are always scared to death. I have seen him since his release and he is a nervous wreck. That's all I know about him."

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away everything we had."

When asked about her attitude toward the Russian army, respondent said it certainly had not changed. She just hates them perhaps even more.

Respondent was unable to learn anything in detail about the Russian soldiers before, during or after the Revolution. She pointed out, however, that she has heard that many Russian soldiers went over to the Freedom Fighters. She also said that the newspapers and radio carried this news. On one occasion, she remembered, they were told over the radio to be nice and friendly to the families of those Russians who had joined the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

Respondent also pointed out that it was common knowledge that the troops that were stationed in Hungary for a long time liked living there and were extremely unhappy about ~~returning~~ returning to the Soviet Union when they had to do so.

Respondent had no further knowledge regarding how the Russian soldiers behaved during the revolution, whether they helped the Hungarians, deserted, or fought on the side of the Hungarians beside what she has told already.

She remembered, however, that once she went to see a young Hungarian Freedom Fighter who was wounded. She went to the hospital with the boy's father and her daughter. They found a Russian colonel interviewing the boy and they learned that they wanted to take him away. The Russian colonel talked to ~~an~~ an interpreter who was a young boy from the northern part of Hungary and spoke Hungarian. (Note: This is a part of Hungary which is now occupied by Russia and which formerly belonged to Hungary. The population was Hungarian.) According to the respondent this young interpreter changed the report

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"When Hungary is independent, I hope the AVH members who ill-treated and tortured people receive the same kind of treatment they gave their innocent victims."

Respondent's feelings about the regular police compared with the AVH were as follows:

"I know very little about the regular police, but we never heard of any tortures or ill-treatments committed by them as compared to the AVH people. I know that the police were strict but they were not such brutes. On the whole, as far as I knew, the police force was subordinated to the AVH."

"The regular police in Debrecen went over to the revolutionaries during the revolution. I saw myself how they took the Communist insignia off their uniforms."

B. Of how the courts were before 1945, respondent said:

"Of course, the Hungarian courts were always very just."

Respondent has heard about the people's courts that were set up in 1945 and 1947. She however had no idea whether the sentences passed by the people's court were just or not. She knew, however, that the people's courts dealt with the so-called "war criminals." — 541 P

C. When asked what the others expected of the Russians before they actually entered Hungary, respondent said:

"I really cannot tell anymore, it was such a long time ago but I do not think that we ever believed that the Russians were going to stay in Hungary so long."

"When the Russians came in we went back to my home village. Our apartment in the city was taken by the Russians. They took

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of the intern doctor to the effect that he told his colonel that the boy was far too sick to be moved and thus he was not taken away by the Russian soldiers and he was left in the hospital. The father was then able to take his son home and hide him.

Respondent also heard that some of the new Russian troops, "the Mongolian types" as Mashe said, had killed their own commander. The people in the village found the soldiers hiding out in the  
 NB-1-STACKS and answered asked by the soldiers not to report them because they wanted to desert.

E. Respondent was unable to tell about any local official who would be willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble.  
 To the question

F. Whether or not people in the public offices were accepting bribes, respondent heard that bribes were very useful but also the Party line was maybe even better. According to the respondent the person who was caught accepting bribes was immediately dismissed but if he was a Party member then he was just put aside for a while, so to speak.

G. Respondent could not give any opinion of the competence, efficiency, talent, intelligence, etc. of the different branches of the bureaucracy.

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XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. When asked what she thought will probably happen in Hungary in the future respondent said:

"I think that maybe the UN will find a way to force the Russians to withdraw from Hungary."

Within Hungary, she was of the opinion that as long as the Russians are occupying the country any Hungarian government, therefore the Kardar government also, will obey the Russian rulers ~~implicitly~~ implicitly.

Respondent also voiced the hope that the situation in Russia would change because after all many Russians have seen the West and can compare it to their country.

When asked whether or not she would be willing to accept Poland's type ~~xxx~~ solution respondent said:

"I do not know the situation in Poland. I have no idea about anything that is happening there. However, I believe that Hungary ought to be completely independent and that would be the only and the best solution for us.

"I do not think that anybody ~~ought~~ ought to start a war for us but I think that ~~the~~ the Western world ought to break off all ties with the Soviet Union. This would be the most effective Russian against Russia."

She again said that if the UN could employ and enforce most rigorous measures against Soviet Russia in the economic field, then maybe the Russians would finally leave eastern Europe.

B. Respondent's idea about the prospects for Hungary during the 1 st 8 or 10 years

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were as follows:

"We were always hoping for a change for the very reason that we were convinced that Hungary ~~maximally~~ couldn't be occupied forever by the Russians. Also, we knew that the Western world knows that nobody in Hungary, at least 90%, does not like the Russian rule and does not want to be ~~under~~ Russian oppression."



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## XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. When asked what she would want independent Hungary to be like, respondent said:

"My goodness, I am too stupid to answer this question but the only thing I can say is that Hungary ought to be as it was in the old times under Horthy. When he was the ruler, everybody had it good in Hungary."

B. When asked to outline the desired economic system and emphasis, respondent said: "I believe that Hungary should emphasize both agriculture and industry but the heavy industry, only the light one."

Respondent was of the view that Hungary ought to go back to the same kind of agricultural system that was pursued before the war. Concerning light industry she was of the opinion that the textile industry and garment industry and those branches of industry that manufactured consumers' goods should be stressed.

Respondent was also of the opinion that if the Communist regime were overthrown the land should go back to its rightful owners and the ~~state~~ and state farms be dissolved. She would also like to see the national enterprises returned to the owners. "After all," she said, "nobody has stolen these enterprises. They belonged to people and they are the rightful owners."

Respondent's ideas of what role the government should play in the economic system of an independent Hungary were as follows:

"I think that the transportation system and everything that was managed by the state before the war should again be state property. The light industry, on the other hand, must

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be returned to the owners."

Respondent was of the opinion that the government should not set any maximum to the amount of land any person or family may own.

Respondent thought that a governorship like the one before the war would be the right sort of government for Hungary.

Respondent preferred most the kind of government that would give her personal freedom and all the rights of freedom.

When asked whether she would be in favor of outlawing ~~the~~ the Communist Party in independent Hungary respondent said:

"Of course I would not like to see them active anymore."

C. "I do not think that a neutrality, like Austria's, would give complete security to Hungary and therefore I think that an alliance with the West like West Germany's would be preferable."

Respondent would not like to see any economic or cultural relations with the Soviet Union but would welcome all with the east European states, the rest of Europe and the U.S.

I have not found respondent competent enough to answer the question on the Federation of Danubian States.

The present boundaries of Hungary are unacceptable to the respondent. She said: "This is a most important question to all Hungarians and therefore to me also. We would like to see all Hungarians come back to the fold. I think that an international

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court as well as a plebiscite would be the best way to decide which parts should return to Hungary. After all, they were the property of Hungary for a thousand years.

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XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. I drew a complete blank regarding questions contained in this paragraph. Respondent had never heard about the 20th Party Congress, about Senator McCarthy, the Un-American Activities Committee, about Peron or even about Bakosi.

B. During the last ten years in Hungary respondent drew most of her information about what was happening from the radio. She said "The moment my husband returned from work he sat on the radio. It was Radio Free Europe he listened to most. Of course we were always afraid that someone would denounce us.

C. News travelled mostly by word of mouth in the village and city where I lived. Everybody was always discussing the news as we got it from the foreign radios.

D. Respondent read newspapers before and during the war. However, she added, "I do not even remember the names of those newspapers. I never read about politics anyway.

Respondent did not read any newspapers during the last 8 to 10 years in Hungary.

"In those days the newspapers didn't report about anything but work and the plans and the Communist regime. I just wasn't interested.

"I have read, however, some translations of old books. These I bought second-hand."

This was about all I could get from the respondent on this subject.

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## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the situation within Russia respondent said "A change in Russia can only come about by a revolution. A gradual change is impossible because then the Russians would have time to arrest the people. Therefore I believe that only a quick and unexpected revolution could make a change within Russia. I am sure that the Russian people themselves do not like the Soviet regime. I am also convinced that 90% of the Russian population would reject Communism if Russia had free elections."

"In my opinion the top leaders of Russia would like to impose their power upon the whole world. Personally they are out for power also."

"Regarding the difference between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian Communist leadership, I think this is very simple. The top Russian Communists are the ones who give out the orders and the Hungarian Communists obey."

B. Regarding the relative popularity in Hungary of the other nations in eastern Europe, respondent said "I have no idea whatsoever. All I can say is that we always used to talk about the Germans with the greatest respect and admiration."

"I do not think that any of these eastern European countries would remain Communists if free elections were held there."

"To the best of my knowledge, the standard of living is highest in ~~Germany~~ east Germany at present, but I have no idea whatsoever about the standard of living in the other countries. I don't know anything about these countries."

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C. When asked about the Polish situation respondent said:

"I am terribly sorry but I have no idea about Poland and the Polish situation."

D. Respondent couldn't say very much about Yugoslavia either:

"All I can say is that Tito is a turn-coat but I have heard from people who came from Yugoslavia that the situation there is much better than in Hungary in many respects. This is all I know."

E. "I am unable to give any opinion about the situation in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ Middle East or in Suez. I remember only that during the revolution people used to say the Western world would have time for Hungary only when the Suez situation was solved."

F. "My impression of the living standard in Western Germany is that it is very high there,

"I have never heard that the Germans might be dangerous and start another war.

"I do not know anything about the west German rearmament."

When asked to compare the German ~~an~~ occupation army during the World War with the occupation by the Russian Army respondent said "The difference is like that between heaven and earth. Everybody in our village and our city loved the Germans. They were nice. We all hated the Russians.

"The German army was the better disciplined one of course. What a question! Both the officers and the enlisted men were well disciplined. In my opinion, the Russian army was the most unpopular in Hungary."

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G. Respondent did not know what NATO was. Neither did she know anything about the British Labor Party. As to the living standard of the western countries, respondent was of the opinion that Western Germany might be on top, or England.

H. Respondent was most impressed by the abundance of food during her first few months here. Also, the choice of clothing and the tremendously high standard of living has impressed her greatly. She added "I believe that the living standard must be the highest here in the U.S. It is so wonderful that we are able to buy whatever we want."

Respondent's answer to the question concerning what the United States should do now for the people and nations of eastern Europe was as follows:

"As I said before, if the United States and the whole western world would withdraw its support from the Soviet Union and break off all ~~relations~~ with them, the Soviet economic system would completely collapse and the Russians would be forced out of eastern Europe."

When asked what she thinks of the present foreign policy of the U.S. respondent said "What does foreign policy mean? I do not know."

Respondent was very emphatic in stating that the U.S. government should not recognize the present Kadar government.

"I think that people in Hungary would like very much to see more western visitors. These visitors at least ought to see the situation in Hungary for themselves. I believe that we, the recent escapees, ought to tell these visitors that they should go out among the people and see everything that

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is going on in Hungary. They should not be satisfied with what the ~~gaxaxax~~Government or official authorities are willing to show to them. They ought to go and visit working class families and see the poverty in which they live."

"People back home would like very much to receive western books and periodicals. I do not think it is important where they should be sent. The most important thing is that they should be available for everybody.

"People back home would greatly appreciate it if they knew that we participate in such activities as sending Western visitors and publications."

Respondent has never heard about the Marshall Plan. She ~~has~~ also had no idea why America became involved in the Korean war.

I. When asked whether or not the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last month of 1956 respondent said:

"Of course. This was what we were expecting from the UN. You know we regarded the UN as a guardian angel.

"The UN is a very effective organization ~~xxxx~~except against the Soviet Union. Here, they are up against a wall and cannot make them do as they desire. We were expecting the UN to force the Russians to withdraw from Hungary. I hope sincerely that the UN will effectively intervene for Hungary in the ~~the~~ foreseeable future."



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XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. When asked who, in her opinion, is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent said "I do not know anybody of whom I could say this."

B. "Everybody wanted Imre Nagy to be the Prime Minister of Hungary. We would have been very glad if he had remained.

"I am frightfully sorry for Cardinal Mindszenty and would be glad if he would be left in peace.

"Rajk was executed despite the fact that he was innocent.

"Csero was the man who first had our bridges rebuilt but I do not know a thing about him. I was never interested in politics.

"Kadar and his government were hated by everybody.

"I never heard the name of General Kiraly.

"I heard that Miss Kethly came out during the revolution and wanted to participate in the UN sessions. She was strongly in favor of the Hungarian people."

When asked what she thought of President Eisenhower respondent said "He must be a very good man. I cannot say anything else about him. He thoroughly deserves to be the president of the United States."

"I think of Secretary-General Hammerfold with great respect. I believe that he too is on our side."

Respondent never heard of Dulles, Eden or Truman.

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The respondent displayed a complete ignorance of all other names of selected personalities as listed on p. 3 of Section XVII. I drew a complete blank here. The only name she knew was Stalin. She said he was a Russian dictator and of Molotov she said that she had heard lately that he committed suicide.

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## XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Of the escapees respondent had the following to say:

"Generally speaking, ~~mainly~~ mainly workers have left, and next intellectuals, but very few of the peasants. The reason for leaving was mainly because they had taken part in the fighting and revolution.

"Then there were also those, like ourselves, who left because they were fed up with life under the Communist regime and wanted to lead a better life. Also, people were afraid of the deportations.

"Regarding the age of the escapees, they were mostly in the younger age group but there were also middle-aged people.

"They came mostly from Budapest and ~~the~~ <sup>THE</sup> DISTRICT OF ~~TRANS-DANUBIA~~ but like ourselves a few came from the eastern ~~orders~~ of Hungary. Those who stayed behind did so for some family reason or they wanted to settle their finances, like my husband. Furthermore, some people just didn't dare to face the future.

"I am extremely sorry for them and anxious for them also.

"I knew for certain what people in Hungary think about those who left because I get letters all the time from my people and acquaintances. They all say that we should be glad and call ourselves lucky that we escaped.

"I think that if the Communist regime is still in power in Hungary and people had a chance to come to the west, maybe 10 per cent of the population would remain. These are the Communists."

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B. Respondent has never heard of Hungarian exile organizations and individuals who have been active during the last 10 years in the West. When I handed the list of selected personalities over to her she knew only about ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Nagy, that he was Prime Minister before the war. She had heard the name of Eckhardt as having been a former politician. She knew that Mr. Kallay was the Prime Minister of Hungary shortly before the war and she has heard the name of General Farkas. That was all. But of former Hungarian governor Horthy she spoke very warmly:

"I was extremely sorry to hear that he has died in exile. He was a good governor. Where I lived, in my home town and village, everybody spoke of him with the greatest admiration. We liked him very much."

Respondent had no idea whether or not people who escaped before 1956 have tried or did accomplish anything for Hungary.

C. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Respondent does not know anybody who returned to Hungary after escaping to the West after 1945. She however has heard of the redefection campaign after the revolution and added "Unfortunately there were some people who returned to Hungary. As far as I have heard they were terribly homesick and this was the reason. Some ~~xxx~~ people had family reasons-- a sick mother, wife or child. A friend of mine wrote me that a mutual acquaintance of ours also went home. He was taken by the AVH the evening of the very day he arrived home and nobody has heard of him since."

D. When asked what people who have left Hungary should do now, respondent said "I do not think that we escapees could do anything very effective for our country. All I can do is take part in the demonstrations and this is what all Hungarians ought to do."

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"People in Hungary always want to know how we are faring here, what kind of jobs we have, and how much we earn. I have no idea what they should know, however."

Respondent was of the opinion that it would be a good thing to join an exile organization which ought to be made up of all the old and new exiles, because, according to her, "the old exiles have far more experience and could inform and guide us better."

Respondent was unable to give any opinions various Hungarian political parties before 1948, in exile or revived in Hungary during the revolution.

E. Regarding her own plans for the future, these were;

"I would return to Hungary only if the country became free and independent. I would like my girl to speak Hungarian as well as English, even though she is here in the U.S. now.

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## XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Respondent did listen to foreign radio stations while in Hungary. The family mostly listened to Radio Free Europe and sometimes also to the Voice of America. According to respondent, reception was pretty bad and both stations were jammed to such an extent that sometimes the foreign radio broadcasts could only be heard on the better radios and not well on the small, cheap ones.

Respondent listened only to the Hungarian language broadcasts. They were usually in the evening. As previously said, whenever her husband returned from work the first thing he did was to turn on the radio.

Respondent always told others what she heard on the radio and also they got news from other people about the Western broadcasts.

Respondent was not sure whether or not listening to foreign radio broadcasts was ~~was~~ prohibited. She said "It must have been so because we always listened in secret and closed our doors and windows. Nevertheless as far as I know everybody always listened to foreign radio broadcasts so it seems people were not too scared."

When asked what she thought of the foreign radio broadcasts respondent said "I really do not know. I liked them."

When asked her opinion regarding the accuracy of these broadcasts she said "Well I believe they must have been accurate. Anyway, we always believed what we were told on the radio. Later on, however, we were losing heart because we saw that the radio always spoke of things and prophesied events which never came true in the end."

~~The~~ Respondent heard of its effect in Hungary because "otherwise how could people have hoped so much for the change. Even during the revolution people were sitting next to the radio day and night, waiting and listening for the news from abroad."

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When asked for her opinion of Radio Free Europe in particular respondent said "We liked Radio Free Europe and we always listened to it. I can't say anything else. This was the only radio broadcast we listened to because the Hungarian radio was unreliable. What we heard on this radio was only a pack of lies."

"I think Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast to Hungary."

Respondent was of the opinion that state news, political and economic, anti-Communist propaganda and programs about life in western Europe and the U.S. are always welcome programs. When asked what she would prefer besides these programs she said:

"I think the program that was for the farmers should be continued. Everybody liked the way the Western broadcast talked to us and how it made fun of the Soviet agricultural system."

B. Respondent has only heard about the different leaflets that were dropped in Hungary. She hasn't seen any.

D. When asked what her idea was about Western broadcasters who sent leaflets to Hungary respondent said:

"I think they must have ~~any~~ aimed one aim only and this was to enlighten the Hungarian people about the dangers of Communism. However, ~~at~~ these we knew perfectly well."

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## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent summed up her ideas on how children should be raised as follows:

"First of all a child should be taught to fear God from a very tender age. The child must be brought up in a religion so that little by little, as he grows up, his faith will be strengthened.

"Children must be taught to love their country as we were taught in our time.

"Further, I think it is very important that children respect their parents, grown-ups and teachers. Last but not least, a child must be brought up to be honest and decent."

Asked about her opinion concerning discipline she said:

"I think physical punishment does not hurt a child. My daughter is 17 but if she is disrespectful I dole out a slap on her face now and then. I was amazed to see how people here do not dare to discipline their children physically.

"Maybe I am not a good mother because children should also be disciplined by other means but I am not intelligent enough to bring up children this way. That is why I gave her physical punishment very often.

"The treatment of boys and girls should differ of course. With boys you might let the reins loose a little but on the other hand boys sometimes deserve heavier punishment.

"When a child is growing up little by little you can discuss the more serious sides of life with him and take him more seriously. I think this should be the change in bringing up the child as he grows older."



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When asked to give a particular episode in her own childhood when she was punished, respondent ~~said~~ said:

"I really could not give you any specific episode. I can only tell you that I ~~was~~ was disciplined pretty often by my mother. She was rather jumpy and ~~impatient~~ impatient and had a very quick hand so I got slapped very often, mostly for talking back to her and being disrespectful."

Respondent said that in families she knew people always punished children of six or over. They usually gave them physical punishment.

When asked whether she thinks the ~~method of~~ ~~physical~~ punishment of children differs in the different social classes respondent said:

"There is a difference in how people discipline their children. The upper class doesn't hit the children so much but of course these children have other ways of ~~bringing~~ <sup>PEOPLE</sup> bringing their children up well. They can give them good educations, they themselves are better educated and are more intelligent than our class is."

"There were however great changes in this during the last ten years because the authority of the parents has been diminished little by little during the Communist regime. ~~six~~. The teachers at school were not allowed to give physical punishment to the students and the result of course was disastrous because the ~~children~~ children became disrespectful not only to the teachers but also to the parents."

Respondent was unable to tell about how old the children usually are when parents stop ~~punishing~~ punishing them. All her answers to the different questions were "I don't know."

As to changes during the last ten years in the way children are disciplined in their

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first eight years at school, respondent said:

"In the times before Communism children were ~~xxxxxx~~ beaten by their teachers. ~~xxx~~ They had to kneel in the corner and get slaps on their palms or fingertips or else there were report cards which were sent home to the parents if they did not progress in their studies or behaved badly.

"Since the Communists took over in Hungary the only disciplinary measure a teacher can use now is the report card."

When asked what characteristics respondent values most in a friend, she said:

"I never had such very good friends. It is very difficult for me to say, but I always wanted a friend to be very sincere and never lie to me. I would say I value honesty and sincerity in a friend most."

Regarding changes in friendship under Communism, respondent said:

"From what I have seen + believe that people ~~do~~ do not make friends with anybody in Hungary under the Communist regime as long as they don't them thoroughly and don't know for sure if they are reliable."

THE END