

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM UP QUESTIONS

- said the respondent,
- "I don't blame the Americans/that they didn't know about the conditions in Hungary before the Revolution. In August, 1956, I was in Rumania, w visiting my family, and I couldx see that our closest xi neighbors, the Rumanians, had not the slightest idea about the unrest and dissatisfaction that existed in Hungary. The Rumanian people were not brought by fire and sword into the Communist party. Communist people were much more isolated, in Rumania, than in Hungary. Only the Rumanian Communists had the better jobs held by the aristocracy during the old days in Rumania Hungary, but the Rumanian Communists had no connections with the broad social strata as in Hungary, and therefore the Rumanians didn't have a reason to hate the Communists as much as the Hungarians did.
- "As long as the Communists did not oppress the people, in every small village, the people could steal as freely as they did before the Communists came. Hence, they were sort of grateful for this to the Communists. Because of all this, the Rumanians could not understand, as I said before, the unrest in Hungary, and this is why they didn't follow along the lines of the Revolution.
- "Returning to the Americans, if they did not know the background in Hungary when the Revolution ~~had~~ broke out, there was an American Embassy in Budapest, and it should have ascertained exactly what the situation was, and help the Hungarian people ~~by~~ in all possible ways
- "For years, everybody in Hungary was preparing for a sort of change. We knew well that our own strength was not sufficient, but we were promised so many times by the West help and assistance in case of Revolution, that even if the people were not too optimistic regarding the West, they nevertheless never imagined that making such a strong bid for liberty against the common enemy, by our own efforts, would result in not ~~the slightest~~ ~~encouragement~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~West~~ ~~even~~ getting a slight pat of encouragement from the West."

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

A. "On October 22," said the respondent, "there was already much tense feeling among the people. My husband was at school all day. I read the newspapers, and listened to the radio, which was giving out news of the student demonstrations in ~~the~~ ~~city~~ on the 20th, and stating that such demonstrations might spread to Budapest. I had been thinking of some change, but I did not expect a Revolution, but rather evolution toward a long desired relief from our troubles. I think the students wanted the same when they started their demonstrations.

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TECHNICUM

continued the respondent

"I was home all day of the 23rd, and heard nothing about any demonstrations. Our apartment was way out in Buda in the 11th district. The radio announced that Gero would speak that day, and I excitedly awaited his speech, even listening to a children's program just before this to be sure I wouldn't ~~miss~~ miss the speech. When it came I felt desperate, for evidently there was to be no change." I was so upset, I started to cry, and went to sleep in despair. My husband awakened me at 10 o'clock, and told me ~~excitedly~~ excitedly about the events. He said there were demonstrations throughout the city, but he could not tell me for just what people were demonstrating. I became angry, turned my back to him, and fell asleep again. At 3 o'clock in the morning, I woke up and I found myself alone in the apartment. I was frightened, but finally I again fell asleep. My husband arrived home about 4 o'clock and with enthusiasm told me of what had had happened at the Radio Building. I felt so sorry I had been sleeping instead of being at the scene of the events. I felt right away that what was happening was not evolution, but a basic solution for all of our problems. After Imre Nagy announced ~~MARTIAL LAW~~ ~~that he announced it~~ on the 24th, I fully believed ~~that he announced it~~. I don't still ~~know~~ know what really happened. People said he was in prison in the cellar of the Parliament Buildings and that other people were speaking in his name. It was also said that his name was used by others before he even knew what sort of a role his name played in the Revolution. Even so, he never announced this ~~MARTIAL LAW~~ ~~MARTIAL LAW~~. I couldn't understand the motives ~~(of Imre Nagy, First of all, why didn't he withdraw this MARTIAL LAW during the days that followed? We listened to the radio with the greatest anguish, day by day about the new schedule of this MARTIAL LAW and in the meantime, we heard the shooting outside, trembling for the lives of those young fighters. I myself disagreed with the methods of Imre Nagy in those days, together with those of other Hungarians, who kept demanding more and more, which frightened the Communists, expecting the times of 1940 to again take place.~~

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events

"There were leaflets in the street," the respondent said, "stating Imre Nagy was a traitor, and that he should go back to Russia. I made the same mistake as the rest of the Hungarians did, with demands for a gradual improvement in our condition. We should have done the reverse. If we had presented to the Russians immediately a demand for complete independence, free elections, and withdrawal of Russian troops - that is, our full demands -- the Russians would have been so astonished, that we would have obtained at least some of our wishes. But I was over-enthusiastic and could not control myself.

"I suffered because I had to stay home with my baby" continued the respondent, "and could not go out to take part in the fighting. I could not understand how my husband could stay home, since didn't he feel like I did? Finally, I became hysterical, I told also my husband that if he did not go out to fight, then he should stay home with our boy, and I would go! Didn't he realize that the time had come that we had longed for so much, and then we did nothing? Finally, I persuaded him, and he went out into the street. Later, I felt bad about it, for if anything happened to him, it would be my fault. However, he met his students in the fighting, and enjoyed it all, as he told me when he returned. Then I went to the other tenants--a couple--and tried to get ~~them~~ ^{the man} to go out and join my husband in the fighting. However, I did not succeed, for ~~he~~ had been captured by the Russians in 1945, taken to Russia, and terribly treated. His wife was a teacher and a convinced Communist, but she was just as happy as I was about the Revolution. We felt no fear, but just enthusiasm, and discussed our expectations of a better deal for all of us, such as higher living standards, and financial help that the West might extend to us after the liberation. Everything would become better. The wife was as enthusiastic as I was, not thinking of the possible disadvantage to her in case of a change in government.

"On the 25th of October" continued the respondent, "I had one of the most beautiful experiences ~~at the beginning~~ of the Revolution. I went out next door to do some shopping and saw a group of people approaching, who were shouting to all householders to hang out their Hungarian flags, and to remove the Russian emblems. Almost immediately, I saw a Hungarian flag to up, with the Russian emblem cut out from the center of the flag. I joined the group, and continued down the street with them. I saw flags appearing on every house, and the people came out from the houses, and stood besides their flag proudly. This made a deep impression on me.

WITHOUT FEAR

"The people no longer were afraid, "continued the respondent, " they did not hide any more. They dared to be courageous. We continued on our way, the street being lined on both sides with Hungarian flags. When we reached No. 44, of Bartok Bela, we saw a red star on a wall. People put up a ladder, and after quite a struggle, tore the star down. Then we saw a beautiful sight. Revealed there on the wall, after the star was down, was a statue of the Holy Virgin. It was a beautiful scene how all the women dropped to their knees, while the men quickly removed their hats. Everybody was deeply moved, and the people said to each other that this incident had been caused by God. I myself will never forget this event. Right after this happened, our small group of eight or nine people increased to twenty-five, who all continued down the street, asking the householders to put out their flags and taking down the red stars.

"Walking along the street with the group, I met by chance my husband, who reminded me about my small boy, alone at home, and whom I had completely forgotten about because of the great excitement of the day. We walked home along the Bartok Bela street, and on the way back we saw how fearful the Russian soldiers were. We met some tanks. The street was almost empty. Everybody rushed into their houses, but even then, the Russian soldiers were so afraid that they didn't dare to peek out of their tanks. It was a very strange sight, since usually tank crews sit on top of their tanks when entering a city, and this is true of all nations. This was what our boys did, too."

"During those six days, " continued respondent, "the shops were all closed. We lived on what we had -- potato & pancakes, and some sweet crackers. We didn't see bread for bacon two days. When the shops opened up again, I went to Moricz Zsigmond Circle. There was shooting all across the square. There were a few groups of people on the street. Just in front of me there was a line of people waiting to buy bread. When the people saw the Russian soldiers approaching, ten or twelve *LIFTED THEIR ARMS AND SHOOK THEIR FISTS TOWARD THEM.* A small boy leant over to pick up a stone. The Russians fired into the group. Nobody was hit, and the people, instead of being frightened, showed on their faces the hatred and excitement of the Revolution."

"There were some very sad cases. In our street, next door, lived the party secretary and his family. They had a boy of ten. The mother was very proud of her boy, and many times spoke how smart he was. He knew the Russian language perfectly, and corresponded with Russian children in Moscow. He was a very good boy. The parents were convinced Communists, and constantly praised the Russians.

"The shops opened up one after the other," continued the respondent, "life became normal once more. Even the political parties took up their regular life. Food distribution followed. The Russians had broken into the shops and took whatever they could. After this, the shop managers usually took the money out of the cash registers, and handed it in to the central office. Sometimes, (laughing) I didn't send all the money in to the office. The store managers opened up the shops, and distributed the goods. First, the managers asked for payment. Later on, when the people protested that the managers wanted the money for themselves, the managers consulted, then distributed the food free. Everybody who was in the line got something of everything that was in the shop."

"November first was an unforgettable day" said ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ respondent "this was the day in Hungary when people went to the cemeteries. On this particular day, it was announced that all the heroes of the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Revolution would be buried. The people were asked to place lighted candles in their windows in honor of these heroes. Later in the afternoon, I went to the Moricz Zsigmond Square. Around the statue of St. Imre, thousands of candles were lighted, and choirs sang religious songs continuously. It was ~~XXXX~~ heavenly and beautiful. There was no traffic. We had to walk all the way to the fortress, and we saw the whole city from the Citadel. In every window there were candles. The whole city was brilliantly illuminated and that day would be long remembered."

"On the third of November," continued respondent, "we still didn't dream of any change for the worst. In the morning, we went to the Small Holders Party to declare or register ourselves, because my husband had belonged to this party before the Communists took over. I was very much pleased, for I was given by the party an ~~XXXXXXXX~~ assignment for the next Monday. It was a sort of ~~XXXX~~ newspaper work, and I was supposed to go to the country to ~~XXXX~~ work. In the afternoon, my husband and I visited my uncle, and I told him about my new assignment. However, my uncle, whom I liked ~~XXX~~ very much, told me that my joy was premature. This Revolution was not yet over, said my uncle, and the Russians will not give in so quickly. I became indignant, and told my husband on the way home that ~~the~~ uncle perhaps had become a Communist. My husband agreed with me, and said the Russians didn't have any other way out. They had to ~~take~~ the change. We retired for the night. The next day, accept in the morning, we heard cannon shots, and on the radio ~~and~~ heard Imre Nagy's ~~and~~ S.O.S. ~~and~~ messages. ~~and~~

NEWSPAPER WORK

MAKE REPORTS

"On the fourth of November, " continued respondent, " we no longer believed in victory, but people hoped for at least partial success. I went out to the Moricz Zsigmond Square to buy apples. I saw people picking up stones, and building something. I went there. I found they were building a barricade. I started to help them. During this work, I heard the following story: The people expected that Russian infantry would come into the city, and hence they hoped the barricades they were building would stop the troops from reaching Pest, which was on the other side of the Danube river. While the barricades were being erected, the Revolutionary fighters called all the people out of the houses that were around the Circle (Square). Everybody had to leave the buildings, or go down to the shelters. After the barricade I was working on was finished, I went to one of these shelters nearby. The following events I heard from the Revolutionary soldiers when I came out of the shelter later."

"Guards had been placed on the top of the buildings," respondent continued. "One group of Revolutionaries caught sight of a man on top of the Police Building who suddenly signaled with lights. The Revolutionaries had with them a 14 year old boy who was a ~~mark~~ shooter. The man was pointed out to the boy, who shot him dead. While the man on the building had signaled the Russian troops, now he was a dead and could do no more harm, that is, he could not advise the Russians that it was now dangerous to come there. Soon, the Russian troops arrived, tanks rather than the foot soldiers the people had expected. When the barricade had been finished, a big stovepipe had been put on top of it as a decoration. When the Russians approached, they saw the stovepipe, and became terrified. They turned around in their tanks, and started back, taking a side street to reach the square that way. The Russians finally got into the square. Then the Revolutionaries opened fire on them from the tops of the buildings. About fifty Hungarian fighters were in this battle. They killed some 300 Russians, and burnt all the bodies on the square right after the fighting was over. I saw this myself when leaving to go home. After this event, I was overjoyed and still believed in some sort of success for us."

"Regarding our escape from Hungary" said respondent, "the following happened. During the days of victory, my husband volunteered for service in the National Guard. This guard worked with the regular police, and everybody had to register in the old police building, where a filing card was made out for his record or information. Meanwhile, the National Guard members were hunting for the AVH men as the Revolution was being fought. I didn't believe in this man hunting, and my husband did not take part in this. However, after November 4th, the Police Building was reoccupied by the Communists, and the filing cards that

had been made out were still in the building. MY husband was afraid that the Communists would look for the members of the National Guard, whose names and cards were there. This was the reason why we finally decided to leave Hungary. At first, I did not want to go with him. I didn't agree with the idea of fleeing. I wanted to stay in Hungary and continue my writing. I started to consider what kind of life I would have staying alone in Hungary. First, I found that I would have to send my boy to a nursery if I wanted to work for a while. I did not have any criticism for the nurseries, which were new and ~~firmly~~ well furnished, well lighted, and had good medical care. However, the very thought of leaving my boy, and realising he would grow up without his parents, was unbearable to me. Finally, I decided to flee with my husband, because of my child."

D. "I think Hungary ^{WON} ~~wasn't~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} respect of the world" said respondent, "and ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ideal cause of her Revolution. But I am convinced that the deaths and terror of the Kadar government afterwards, hundreds in prisons, and the deported people, are too much of a price. Basically, it wasn't worth it."

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF AID FROM THE WEST DURING
THE RKS REVOLUTION.

A. "I expected very much from the West" said respondent, "even armed intervention. Many people ~~sk~~ believed that it would mean a third world war. They thought it was worth it. It was a tremendous frustration for me and for everybody, when finally nothing happened. I couldn't believe at the time of the escape that all those ~~was~~ negotiations and resolutions couldn't force the Russians out of Hungary. I still hoped that during the following week, the Russians would leave the country."

B. "I formed my expectations through word-of-mouth, that is what I heard from ~~sk~~ other people. But I myself thought that for what we gave, we definitely had to get something back from the West. This influenced me more than what I heard over the radios from the West, which definitely promised help, but I never believed those radio stations very much."

C. "I didn't meet any foreigners between Oct. 23rd and the day of our escape", said respondent,

IV. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURES AND ATTITUDES

A. "I was brought up by my grandparents since the age of three" said respondent, "in Szatmarnemeti in Rumania. My mother was ~~a housekeeper~~, and could not take care of me. I was the oldest child in the family. I grew up under good circumstances. My grandfather had 20 acres of land, and the product of this was sufficient for us. In 1940, when Transylvania was re-annexed to Hungary, I went back to my parents in Bihartorda. I had six other sisters and brothers whom at that time I had not seen before. In spite of the many children, my father was financially in good condition. In 1940, he sold all he had in the old Hungary, and after three months we returned ~~to~~ Transylvania, to Szatmarnemeti, where he bought a hundred acres of land. The family lived on this ranch in the outskirts of the city, and I ~~ex~~ went back to live with my grandparents. My father was an excellent farmer, a model scientific one, and could produce as much on the hundred acres as some others could get from 500 acres. His income was equal to the income of the modest doctor or lawyer. However, he had these six children to take care of, and as long as they went to school, he had expenses that were considerable."

"After 1945, Szatmarnemeti was annexed again to Rumania. The land of my father was confiscated, and the family had to live on their savings. They had their house, and some farm machinery, and my father undertook threshing with his own machine. He still had some livestock, but he had to pay very high taxes. Today, his children, ~~who~~ who are all in Szatmarnemeti, support him and my mother."

"My father's education was ~~for~~ fourth grade of highschool ~~including~~ including also 8th grade of public school, and my mother had ~~sixth~~ 6th grade of elementary (public) school."

"I myself, as I said, stayed with my grandparents when my parents went back to Szatmarnemeti, and I went to the Protestant denominational school. The ~~language~~ language used in that school was Hungarian, except that history and the Rumanian language were taught in Rumanian. I was ~~brought~~ brought up as a Chauvinist Hungarian, and I hated the Rumanians only because I was a Hungarian. I never even learned the Rumanian language. We spoke Hungarian in my grandparent's home because of Chauvinism. Of course, this was not very intelligent."

"I had a strange feeling towards my ~~ma~~ parents" continued respondent. "I could never understand how they could leave me alone. I told my mother I could ~~never~~ never forgive her for that. I always quarreled about this with my parents. They were on one side, supported by all the other children. I was alone on the other side, in all these arguments. They always told me that I was flying too high, but I still felt that they were ~~x~~ wrong."

(MARRIED FIRST IN)

"~~On May 2, 1943,~~ 1943," said respondent, "my husband ~~became~~ ^{WAS} a pilot (in the air force) _____ In

1944 he crashed in Russia and became a prisoner of war;

I GOT A PENSION AS A KIND OF WAR WIDOW FROM THE GOVERNMENT, ^{BECAUSE THERE}

^{WAS NO RULE}
^{COVERING MY}
^{CASE.}
This pension was equal to the salary of a filing clerk. However, I had gone back to live with my grandmother, and there I had no expenses for rent and food, hence I could live on this small income. After my husband's crash in Russia, and imprisonment, I began an entirely new and different life. I had a new circle of friends. The friends of my childhood became less important to me. As I said before, ~~m~~ I had been accused of having too much ambition, my family had ~~said~~ said so many times. However, this was not true. Really, I do not know myself. Was it ~~amb~~ ambition ~~when~~ when I left my childhood friends, because I wished to be with intellectual people?, who were ~~amb~~ ~~and~~ ^{STIMULATING}, and because I wanted to be with those ^{14. 27} ~~to~~ whom I could look up to? Perhaps it was ambition, but anyway, it came from the bottom of my soul!

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"Friendship of noble people, this is what I longed for. Real gentlemen, not one, but many. I never thought of titles, or wealth. This was good for people seeking vanity. I was looking for real values - spiritual values. In 1948, I married my second husband, who was a teacher, but who ~~a~~ had a diploma of law and economy ~~as~~ well. I met him in 1947 when he came to Transylvania to teach at the Protestant gymnasium. He told me later on that he wanted to escape to the West, but could not succeed. Therefore, he thought that as long as his family came from Transylvania, he would ~~acquire~~ acquire some papers there, and try to get to Turkey ~~through~~ through Rumania. However, his plans did not work out. After he married me in 1948, we went to Budapest in 1950. My husband had a background of family gentry, and a very high temper. These two things together caused him to lose his job within a year. He changed his jobs, or it is more accurate to say, his ~~course~~ ^{SCHOOL} every year. In this way, his salary was almost always the same. It wasn't high,, but we could make a living on it."

B. Regarding the question of social classes, respondent's eyes kindled. She almost jumped up. "The change in social classes was tremendous before and after 1945. During my youth in Rumania, the social strata was entirely different than in Hungary. I didn't ~~realize~~ appreciate realize the idea of class ~~distinction~~ distinction until I was 16, and went for the first time to Hungary, in 1944. In the village where my father was a ~~justice~~ BAILIFF there was a young aristocrat, an engineer. He serenaded me one night. My father was assistant shocked, seeing him on the street in front of our house. He asked me whether I knew this man. I said no, I only (just) met this young man (and found him very pleasant. Then my father became very angry. He said that the whole village will talk about me, and that I should know that this young aristocrat was interested only in leading me astray. I talked later to the young man, and told him all about what I had been ~~warned~~ warned of. He said he had never had any such intentions, and that wherever I might go he would follow me. Despite this, my father did not let the young man visit us, only because ~~my father was so~~ the still couldn't feel that he and his daughter ~~at~~ the same

3A

ADVANCE

When we returned to Szatmarnemeti, and the Hungarian troops occupied Transylvania, the smaller city clerks looked down on my father, who was much more capable than they were. This was a great shock to me, and a real humiliation. Even if I came from such a plain family, I had become a writer at the early age of 13. I had my own human dignity, and couldn't understand the way the Hungarians acted."

the same good as the aristocrats.

"However, during my second ^{sad} ~~marriage~~ marriage, the ~~same~~ story of discrimination continued. My husband came from a family of the gentry, where every one had good positions. His brother was an undersecretary of state, and married the daughter of a minister. I always felt that they never recognized me, and I was happy that my husband's parents were not alive anymore. I could imagine what would have happened then. Social discrimination was the main quarrel throughout our marriage. It came up again and again. I could never talk to my husband about Communism, because immediately he would ~~knock me down~~ REJECT THE VERY IDEA OF IT. HE PREACHED THE IDEA OF SUPERIOR RACES AND CLASSES, BUT

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"I was very happy because there had been changes in social classes in Hungary after 1945" continued the respondent, "I think it was the great achievement of Communism. First of all, this new system did ~~an~~ away with the marriages of convenience. People married now for love. I talked to many people, who told me about their ~~xxxx~~ problems. I could see how advantageous it was for the people that they could now marry for love and mutual interests, and not have to take into consideration other things such as money, social origin, and such. My observation was that society had become equalized. There were no groups who had special favors. The workers, even if their standard of living remained the same, had more equal rights than before, but the middle class had come down to the level of the workers. Hence, the workers were not ashamed any more of their circumstances, because the former members of the higher classes had now exactly the same ~~xx~~ living conditions. Of course, this change also had disadvantages, because ~~it~~ reduced the ~~standards of living~~ of the people. For example, a very good friend of mine told me her story, as follows: She was a doctor, and she started to study to become one during the Horthy regime. ~~had~~ She was the daughter of a very simple worker, and she had no other ambition but to become a member of the middle class. For years she studied hard, neglecting social life during her youth, and finally became a doctor. Then, at the end she told me: 'You see, I gave up my whole youth. I sacrificed everything for this diploma, and now, after 1945, the Communists lifted up all workers, and today, every one can have this without the struggle I had in order to become a doctor.' The Communist youth took everything for granted, all the advantages which the system had given them."

AMBITION ~~xx~~ Regarding her own social class, ~~xxxxxx~~ respondent I) said: "According to my husband's occupation, ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ would be in the middle class. However, I would quote here the words of a great Hungarian writer: 'I stand on the boundary (dividing line). I am a teacher.'"

"I confess that I wanted to climb up out of my own peasant ~~xxx~~ class, but not because I didn't like the peasants. I ~~xx~~ loved those people, and I would have felt ashamed looking down on them. I will never forget how proud I was when one day at the Kossuth radio, a Communist explained to me that my assignment would be to describe a peasant woman. Then he looked ~~at~~ at me, with dismay. I was made up and had ~~xx~~ on a pretty dress. He said: 'How could you describe a peasant woman, after all! I don't think you would be able to!' How proud I was that I could answer him: 'Of course, I can! Because I come from among them.'"

When asked which class was hardest hit by Communism, respondent answered: "The aristocracy was hurt the most, because everything was taken from them. The middle class people at least could keep their skills and knowledge. This reminds me of a story: about 1952 I had a very good friend of mine who was the daughter of a farmhand. ^{she was} pretty. At that time, conditions were very difficult for everybody, and especially for those in farming. This girl came to Budapest to find ~~work~~ work. Finally, she secured work with a group of people who collected all kinds of handicraft and exported it other countries. Later on, she discovered that this group ~~was~~ was made up of people who had formerly been aristocrats. One day, a young aristocrat came close to her, and she could see that he wanted to kiss her. She did not give him any encouragement. That evening, when she came home and told me about this incident, she added at the end: 'The whole world had to collapse before the condition had come about that a young aristocrat, a count, didn't dare to kiss me!' Then ~~she said~~ ^{she said} 'You see, fifteen years before, he would have kissed you and raped you, ~~and~~ without even asking you, and then would have cast you aside!' This Communism is still beautiful."

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C. Regarding the feelings of different social classes towards each other, respondent said: "The peasants and the workers hated ~~each~~ each other very much. It was very strange. The Communists wanted to bring these two classes to a common denominator (equality?) ^{something in common?} I was never afraid of anything. But I remember being horrified seeing the drunken workers in the 13th district, where I went occasionally to a swimming pool. I guess the reason for this was that the peasants were ~~physically~~ ^{physically} ~~moral~~ ^{moral}, and when the children went to the city to work, and started to learn to steal, and to go out with women of low morals, the old peasant ~~fathers~~ ^{PARENTS} at home became desperate. However, when the young people went home week-ends, to the country, they didn't like the old fashioned ways of their parents. However, I do not know ~~whether~~ whether this was the real reason or not (why the workers and peasants didn't like each other.). Anyway, the situation is still the same, despite all the efforts of the Communists."

D. In regard to the chances of an individual in Communist Hungary getting ahead, respondent gave this opinion: "To advance one's self in Communist Hungary, the most important thing was one's political views, and the second most important thing was the class origin. Talent counted only if one used it for Communist purposes. In this connection, in the case of a Writers' Association, as an example, the Communist theory was that there is no such thing as an inborn talent. Everything can be learned; it is only a question of will power. However, learning had to be done under Communist auspices, that is, this received ~~such greater recognition than education from other sources~~ ^{PEOPLE WITH EDUCATION FROM THE OLD TIMES DIDN'T COUNT}. For instance, my husband wanted to register for a foreign-economy class. He was asked for any diplomas he might have. He gave only one of them, and even on that basis, the university officials said that if a person already has a diploma on some occupation, he can earn his living, hence he does not need another---therefore the university turned him down."

In connection with people who got into different jobs ^{MY HUSBAND} ~~they~~ had an entirely different opinion. ~~My husband~~ ^{of course} always said that people adopted a political point of view that would be useful to them under Communism. The Communists cheated the people, but the people also cheated the Communists. As an example, the party secretary was a former Nazi, and that most of the Communists were people who adjusted themselves to circumstances. Once he went into a restaurant with his superior, and some colleagues. When they were conversing, and a young Communist ardently praised some Communist invention to the superior, the latter rebuffed the young man, and said 'Look, Comrade, we are not in a place now where we have to continue ~~lying~~ lying!' In my circles, nobody ever denounced Communism, and the people expressed or showed their satisfaction at being Communists. Sometimes people accuse each other of being compromisers, and argue about it, and say that those who compromise are bad Communists, and a good Communist could never do that. In the long run, I do not think we can compromise. If a person keeps saying what he does not really believe in, finally it will be known. ~~Of course~~ I feel that the Hungarian Revolution came about because the people for so long suppressed their real feelings."

"Until 1950, I myself was in Szatmarnemeti, but I heard from people in Hungary that in 1948 everybody ~~was~~ was forced into the party. When we arrived in 1950, my husband could get a job as a teacher without joining the party, but he could not get a higher position. He could not become a director or other fine positions. Party membership was not necessary to get ahead, especially not after 1953. I was never ~~asked~~ asked between 1950 and 1954 at the writer's association ~~or not~~. It was required ^{over} that one should be regarded by the Communists as sympathetic to their ~~program~~ aims. I could seem myself that some very ambitious individuals, and the ~~in~~ informers of the AVH could get ahead, but this is found in every society."

whether I was
a Communist

D. Concerning the undeserved advantages of certain groups, under Communism, respondent said: "I guess the Communist leaders did not have the learning to equip them for the high positions and pay they got, and what they had was due ~~more~~ more to their positions and influence rather than to their ability."

"The other group (with undeserved advantages) was made up of the young people just coming out of school. They got much more than they deserved. A 20 year old mechanic, for instance, could make 2500 forints. At the same time, an experienced teacher with 20 years of ~~a~~ work behind her made ~~only~~ only 1200 forints. Another group consisted of actors, writers, ~~artists~~ artists, and athletes, who got very high salaries. But they deserved it."

* I would have joined the party, but nobody ever asked me to do so.

VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. "I cannot tell much about my own family life, because it was not affected by Communism. When my son was born, I was always with him, because I did not want to ~~leave~~ leave him in the nursery. I did not dislike the ~~n~~ nurseries, as stated before; they were modern, clean, and had very good medical care. However, I was terrified even at the thought of leaving my son there. I believe they took good care of the children in the nurseries; for instance, if a child couldn't stand the change (from home to nursery) and got sick, then the mother could get a sick leave from her work, on the authority of the doctor at the nursery ~~was given~~ ~~the~~ ~~mother~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~effect~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~child~~ ~~needed~~ ~~his~~ ~~mother~~. Basically, under Communism, child rearing was left to the nurseries, day care centers, and later on, to the teachers at school. Parents ~~did~~ did not have time for their children, and the ~~Communists~~ Communists expected from the teachers to be ~~a~~ VIRTUAL GUARDIANS. I thought that the teachers would take care of the children in their free time, and they often did where they saw the need for it. But the teachers had their own families to consider. What Communism had not realized, was that that the teachers had to go home to their own wives and children. Hence, the children were left alone (after school) by everybody, ~~by~~ by parents and by teachers."

"Among the three types of families mentioned, mine was the third type (not much influenced by Communism), and the average Hungarian family was the first type. Both parents worked, and did not have much time for each other. They found things at their workplace that they didn't find at home. They were estranged, and found satisfaction in some one else, who wasn't always tired and who didn't argue all the time. Often it was not possible to get a divorce, for the Communist authorities asked why the couple wanted a divorce. They would not grant one on the grounds that one of the two had fallen in love with somebody else. Also, a divorce might result in loss of one's job. Hence, what happened was that people had secret love affairs. If this was found out by the authorities, the one who as a worker was less valued, was dismissed from his job. All this was due to the Communists trying to induce people to live up to high principles. Most of my friends were young couples who ~~made~~ married under Communism. However, I knew about cases where one of the ~~couple~~ became a Communist, and in such ~~cases~~ ~~the~~ ~~Party~~ ~~expected~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Communist~~ ~~one~~, to convert the mate to the Party. If this was not successful,

both working

PARTIES

MARRIAGES

he was regarded as a bad Communist. In other cases, Communists left their ~~xxxxx~~ husbands or wives, who were not Communists, in a rude and unjust way, just because they were not Communists, and divorced them. I had a couple, very good friends of mine. Both of them were Communists, but the girl was a convinced, blind faith Communist. She justified everything, even killing her mother as an extreme case, by their logic of Marxism and Communistic ideas. She preached to me ^{about} ^{human} dignity, and when she heard that I called my husband my master, which was an old Hungarian custom, she said I should ~~xxxxxxx~~ never do that. Husbands and wives are equal in the marriage, and the wives should not call the husband master, for, anyway, this has a bad effect on the other party. My husband, hearing of this, said that if this woman came to our house again, he would throw her out. This put ~~an~~ an end to our friendship."

B. "The young people found it much easier to marry" said respondent, "than had been the case in former days. Right after they left school, they got very good jobs at high salaries, often better than the older and more experienced people, as I said before. Before the Communist regime, this could not be done, because the young people had no financial basis for marriage. Communism therefore made an improvement here. Even more youthful marriages would have taken place, had the housing shortage been less acute."

"These marriages" said the respondent, "were ~~city~~ ^{CIVIL} marriages mostly (by a municipal official?) as people didn't go to church much, only seldom and secretly. Long engagements went out of fashion, and there were many marriages on but short acquaintance, some just as soon as they could get the required legal permission papers. Parents had much less influence than before. The young people were much more independent, and decided for themselves who they would marry and how."

"Regarding the moral life of the Communist youth, I have to say that when older people continuously keep saying that in their times the girls were better, ^{I FEEL THAT} (more moral?) Maybe I ~~was~~ ^{was} the same way. At any rate, the Communists gave more freedom to the young people, and the youths lived up to ~~my~~ it, which I do not consider as a great crime at all."

Prostitution was abolished under Communism, only secret prostitution existed. I myself was always against prostitution because I felt it was lowering human dignity (of the girls). The Communists took the girls from ~~the houses~~ ^{the houses}, and put them to work. Most of these girls and women became very good workers, and they liked it. I ~~was~~ was told a very good story about this by the doorman at the Press Technical where I often went in connection with my writing. The doorman was a former chief counsellor of the police. One day a young ~~girl~~ relative of his came up from the country, and asked him about girls, how could she meet some girls. him He told ~~her~~ her to forget about it, he would take care of it. The next day the doorman told the boy to stand with him in the doorway and wait. Pretty soon, he saw a girl ~~approaching~~ ^{approaching}, who had been formerly a prostitute. ~~approaching~~ and whom the doorman knew because of his old police job. The doorman beckoned to her to come to talk with him. The girl did so. The doorman introduced her to the boy, his relative, asking her how she liked him. Aranka, this was the name of the girl, looked the boy over, and then asked of the doorman, "What do you want from me? What do you think? I am a street car conductor, and have a good income. If I want a man, I pay him, but I would never give a ~~penny~~ for such a weakling. I am an independent penny worker today. The old days are over.", and she left.

Regarding the Communist morality, respondent gave this opinion: "The morality of a convinced Communist was exactly the same as the ~~principles~~ principles of a religious man. He had his desires, but he disciplined them. I knew a Communist teacher, with such principles. He had the highest morality I have ever seen. I have not heard about crime, or alcoholism, or any of such things. These are never published in the newspapers. Once, in the writers' association, there was a discussion about such matters.-why didn't the newspapers report news of crime? People should know of dangerous places. But the others replied, emphasizing that according to Party instructions, it was forbidden to write about crime because this would be a weapon in the hands of the West against Communism."

"Concerning juvenile delinquency, I was asked by the radio to write a script about this type of youth. When I went about the city looking for such youngsters, I was very sorry to find out, that instead of burning all their dime a novels, these youths could imitate gangsters ~~maxy~~ very well. Most of them were about 10 years old. I found that these children became juvenile delinquents mostly because they were left alone too much by their mothers, ~~sometimes~~ all day long in fact. They usually came from the lower classes. The children started to beg money, and ~~was~~ when they got used to this easy money, the habit developed into stealing. However, I have never heard about ~~2~~ JAMPe-c-es. The solution for this problem is ~~all~~ nothing less than to send them to reform schools."

VII. RELIGION

"In Rumania," said respondent, "I did not notice any change in religious life under Communism. I went to church every Sunday, and continued my religious life as before. When we moved to Hungary in 1950, on the train we travelled together with a Communist group. They discussed religion, and especially the subject of Atheism. I was disgusted, and when we arrived at Diosgyor, to the new trade school where my husband was already a teacher - I was to join him there - I saw a beautiful big church across the street. It was a Catholic Church, and I was a Protestant, but as I often went into Catholic churches, I told my husband how lovely the church was, and wanted to go in. My husband answered me by saying that there were only a few old women who went to the church, because it was in the center of the city, and he told me right away that he would not go there, otherwise he would lose his job. Later on, I saw for myself that the church was mostly deserted. I learned step by step about the religious life of Hungary, from different tales. A very good friend of ours was in the Air Force Ministry. He had a high position there, and was ousted (all the time) from his job by his colleagues. One day at a meeting with high party officials, one of the party members said to our friend 'We experience strange things in these days. Would anybody think that our colleagues went to church last Sunday?' However, our friend with rare presence of mind answered right away: 'Oh, Uncle John, I really didn't think that you would tell me that. Even you, who asked me to go to the church with you!' All the people in the room were confused, and nobody knew who said the truth, and who didn't, so the danger was over. In general, the people always picked on each other in matters of religion. Another time, a girl came into the office of this friend of ours. She said that she had seen on the neck of a girl a golden cross, and that she should be dismissed from her job for that. It took quite some effort for our friend to convince the girl visitor that for this he wouldn't dismiss anyone from her or his job."

"In spite of all this, the churches were crowded, more than ever. I could never get into the Calvin Circle Church on Sundays. But everybody who went, for instance, to this church, were either very good friends of long standing, or absolute strangers. I think the people took their religion much more seriously now, than before."

"In 1951," continued respondent, "I fell into a sort of religious enthusiasm. One day I went to the Kalvin Circle Church, and suddenly a woman about 30 years old approached me and asked me without any introduction, whether I wanted to attend their prayer hour. It flashed through my mind immediately that to invite some one to a religious gathering was punishable by imprisonment, according to Communist laws. I was surprised for two reasons: first, how this woman had had the courage to approach a stranger and ask such a question; not knowing whether I was a Communist or not; secondly, why did this person think that I would join a religious group? I had make-up on me, and I was not dressed as a pious, religious woman might be. Not long ago, I heard in the same church, a priest talking about God who asks everybody for a while to seek him, he asks asks again and again, but not forever. Suddenly I thought that this was one of his calls, and it was God who arranged this whole thing. He sent the woman to ask me to join the group, to save me. As a child I had had a religious education, and had gone to church regularly all of my life. I thanked this whole event as opportunity to take much better care of my religious duties. I joined the group and made very good friends in it. I heard speeches there, and was very active in religious life from that time on. I even went for a vacation to their resort center, which had not been confiscated by the Communists. The Protestant religion was somewhat less persecuted by the Communists than were others. I guess this was due chiefly because their priests and bishops, for instance, Janos Peter, the Lutheran Bishop would inform the AVH of the names of the people who had attended his own services ~~and as far as I know Bereczki did the same.~~ The people were afraid to go to their churches."

I became disappointed
 "Later on," continued respondent, "as time passed, with this religious group and their members. The people, even my best friends, who said that when they became religious, their worldly ambitions faded away, they became more virtuous, had higher morals --but being with them in their actual lives, I could see that they quarreled with each other, and they gave up their ambitions because they were not able to fulfill them."

and that they had given

THROUGH I FALL
 INTO THAT
 RELIGIOUS
 CRAZE TOO.

"It is very interesting, when I think about it, ^{now} continued rds respondent, " ~~that~~ talking to you about ~~my~~ religious life, that at exactly the same time, ~~my~~ ^{WHEN} I became more and more a Communist, Whatever I experienced among ~~my~~ my Communist friends in the Writers' Association, in spite of lessening my religious enthusiasm, all this made me more religious. For instance, the following happened to me:

"At the Writers' Association, the young writers had to attend a school. It was a sort of seminar where they told us about the new line that we had to consider in our writing. One of our lecturers at the Seminar was a very energetic young woman. The only thing about her I didn't like very much was that she said in every one of her speeches, each of which took half an hour, that religion was bad and Atheism was the only intelligent belief that a scientific person should have. She showed dismay regarding ~~religious~~ religious people. I was very religious at that time, and of ~~course~~ course this ~~made~~ made me feel uneasy. One day this young teacher, whose name was Marianne, invited me to her home, together with some ~~other~~ other colleagues. She was a self-conscious Communist who was proud of her party membership. Entering her apartment from the terrace, I passed through the door and went into the room. Marianne jumped up quickly and opened the ~~door~~ door. However, I had a glimpse behind the door and saw a cross on the wall. Marianne was terribly embarrassed, but she didn't say a word. After a few minutes, she started to show us some old photographs on the wall of her apartment saying in an embarrassed voice how difficult it was with the old parents. They always had some old fashioned ideas, for instance, she takes down the pictures and puts them away, because they are so old fashioned, but her mother comes all the time and hangs the pictures up again.

At that ~~time~~ time, I believed her story, and thought it must be her mother who had insisted that the cross should be on the wall of her apartment. On another occasion, however, when I had known her for a year or so, I went by chance with my husband to the Catholic Church across the street from the school where my husband taught. It was afternoon, and the church was deserted, and when we entered the church unexpectedly some one greeted us. It was a very elegant woman, dressed beautifully, and having much make-up on her. I did not immediately recognize her - and then I saw that it was Marianne! She came to our Seminar class in shabby clothing, and without make-up.

In her lectures, she spoke against make-up, in fact, I smiled and greeted her, then left the church with my husband. The next day, when she entered the class, she immediately turned to me, saying: 'I saw that you went to the same class that I did yesterday.' -And her eyes twinkled -- After class, she came to me and asked: 'This church, do you go to it because it is so far away?' 'No,' I replied, 'because my husband teaches near there.' She was a little embarrassed, and asked whether I belonged to the religious group of that church. I said No, but I ~~was~~ ~~there~~ ~~LEAVES FROM THAT QUESTION~~ ~~THAT~~ she belonged to that group. I was shocked and disappointed. I thought that Marianne played a very low trick on ~~at~~ our class, because if she was really religious and believed in God, how ~~can~~ could she try to prove at her lectures that there was no God? She was there only for the job and the money. I knew she was not a very talented girl, and it was a requirement of her job that she had to be an ardent Communist. She ~~was~~ ~~paid~~ ~~was~~ ~~paid~~ ~~and~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~special~~ ~~abilities~~. She could ~~hold~~ ~~her~~ ~~job~~ ~~only~~ ~~because~~ ~~of~~ ~~her~~ ~~loyalty~~ ~~to~~ ~~Communism~~. This had a profound effect on me, and ~~it~~ strengthened my religious beliefs, seeing that even an ardent Communist like Marianne, could ~~not~~ believe what it preached about religion. On the other hand, this incident affected my own belief in Communism, since ~~I~~ I could see that many of the members didn't believe in their own Communist ideas."

was very well paid →

Regarding whether any particular religious faith was the hardest hit by Communism, the respondent stated: " I guess that the Catholic religion was the most affected, but I would not be able to discuss this intelligently. I myself often went to Catholic services, and I saw that the churches were always filled. Nevertheless, I must add here that the churches, in spite of the oppression by Communism, enjoyed a substantial support and income from their members. "

"As to whether the churches were bulwarks against Communism in Hungary, respondent said: "Even being so religious, I cannot say Yes to this question. For example, the priests and religious groups were not allowed to talk against Communism. Hence, what was said in the churches and religious groups was restrained, and this did not give real strength to the people. Hence, religion did not have enough influence on the young, and the schools had no religious instruction. The priests could not enter the schools .

There was a sort of religious class, but the Communists did not want people to send their children there. This would have been the most important to teach the youth religion, ~~which was against Communism.~~

B. Regarding the question whether respondent was more religious than her family, respondent said:

end 4B

"I was definitely more religious than my parents. However, one of my sisters was almost as pious as I was. She wanted to become a Diaconist, and it was interesting that she became full of religious enthusiasm as I did, but somewhat later than I. We often discussed this, that we were so religious but our ~~parents~~ parents had never been so. For my parents and grandparents, the most important thing was that I should put on my new dress first to go to the church, and after that I could wear it everywhere. Everything was only formality. With me, it was different. I was ten years old when I went to the Sunday School, and ~~it~~ I liked it very much when once I had a chance to substitute for an older girl, and make a speech. My parents went to church only if one of the children was confirmed.

"But I must tell you the interesting story of my sister. After my sister had failed in her ambition to become a Diaconist ~~she~~, ~~she~~ ~~she~~ ~~she~~ she began to study to become a teacher. After finishing school, she got a very good position at the University of Kolozsvar. Unfortunately, she fell in love with the rector there, the rector of all of the faculties there. The man was 40 years old. When my sister secured the position, she did not tell the university officials that my father's land had been confiscated by the Communists, in 1945. However, this was rather dangerous, she knew, and the Party could find this out any time. Placing all her confidence into the hands of her ~~friend~~ friend, the Rector, one day she asked ~~him~~ him what his advice would be in this case. Should she buy some forged papers to show she had the right to a teacher's job, which she loved and which was her whole future? The Rector answered ~~me~~ without hesitation, that ~~she should be the~~ ~~one~~ ~~to~~ ~~tell~~ ~~the~~ ~~Communist~~ ~~Party~~ ~~about~~ ~~this~~, because it was against his Communist conscience to ~~hide~~ hide this after he learned about it. He added that after this ~~confession~~ confession by her, he ~~would~~ would not be allowed to see any more of ~~my~~ her, a such a girl, who comes from such a family. My sister was ~~dismissed~~ dismissed from her ~~job~~ job, and went to another city where she became a simple office worker. To my

HE HIMSELF WILL
BE THE ONE

greatest surprise, when I went back to visit my family in 1956, I found my sister completely disappointed in her religion and with a very strong inclination toward Communism. It was the Communists who had hurt her and her ~~career~~ career so cruelly, but in spite of that --after we had listened together to the radio, and had to discuss a program--she praised Communism highly I thought this was because my sister was still in love with the Rector. However, I had to visit my other sister, who was an assistant doctor, and who had a boy friend, who was a Communist, and became the director of the state hospital only because he was a Communist. Otherwise, he was not very talented. I found the same situation as regards my father. He was completely ruined by Communism in 1945. --And when I had left my family five years ago, they were terribly anti-Communist. Now, when I visited them, I found in them, a sort of slow, progressive change toward Communism. It was much easier for them to accept Communism, because in Rumania it was not so strong there, whereas by this time I myself had become somewhat disappointed with Communism.

and did not have so many atrocities against the individual as in Hungary.

However, they did not seem to believe that I was ~~so~~ so dissatisfied with Communism, and asked me why, and what was wrong with me, ~~and why?~~ They rebuffed me even when I reminded them how Communism had hurt them, not to ~~mention~~ mention the atrocities it had committed in Hungary, against our relatives and other people. This did not convince them."

C. Quoting the respondent, "The church should be independent from the state, because the state should not force the church to do various things, one example, to hold celebrations for members of the government. Of course, from the viewpoint of the state, it is advantageous to have control of the churches, because the priests can influence the people very much."

"I would send my child only to a religious school, even if it costs me more. ~~But~~ I feel safer, if my child is under the control of a religious institution."

"The churches by all means should set moral codes regarding books, movies, and such. It is in these fields that the Communists want control, for they know how they can influence people and their children through these things. I myself remember for weeks a good book or movie."

"Churches should not be involved in politics, but the priests should teach the church members the principles of good judgment so they can themselves choose high-minded politics and politicians," said respondent.

D. "I never discussed religion with my Jewish friends," said the respondent. "Somehow, they were always shy and reserved about their religion. Therefore, I do not know how they felt about Communism, and how it affected them, and their religion."

"It was natural that in 1945 the Jewish people sympathized with the Communists, who liberated them from the Nazis, and gave them back their human dignity and positions. However, I feel they did not take very seriously Communism and its ideology, except for a few very idealistic Communists. I had a few friends among such idealists."

"There was no anti-Semitism during the Revolution. After this period I took part in a discussion with five Jewish people, and had an argument about this matter. Four of the five stated that there had been no anti-Semitism during the Revolution, and one said there had been."

"The Jewish people I knew," said respondent, "were almost without exception on the side of the Revolution, and they were as enthusiastic as we were for a possible victory. I never heard from any of my Jewish friends that they would be afraid of an independent Hungary."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Under this subject, I understand" said respondent, "that youth includes people from 14 to 24 years of age.

B. Respondent said, "Youth had the chief role in the Revolution. Young people are usually ~~xxx~~ rebellious. In 1848 it was also youths that revolted. A doctor who cared for the wounded in a hospital during the Revolution said that the Revolution was created by those under 25 and those from 65 years old and over. I myself did not know what the middle aged people did. Young people had been ~~xxx~~ spoiled by Communism. However, if we want to be just, we must say that all age groups took part in the Revolution, regardless of class or origin.

As regards the older people who did not take part in the Revolution, respondent said that some of these thought the revolt had been started by unreliable elements, but others of this group were enthusiastic about the youth, and said if one thinks too much, the great affairs usually fail to take place.

Could this be possible, that this had happened to America, ~~that~~ failed to help us? (THAT SHE THOUGHT TOO MUCH)
WHEN SHE

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According to what I know, all the reactionary elements ~~who~~ were active in the Revolution, even those officers from the old Horthy regime, as Maleter and Bela Kiraly were biased more toward Communism than to the old ways, according to public opinion. Nevertheless, we heard about some troops in Austria who wanted to come into Hungary to fight on the side of the Revolution, despite the fact they were reactionary groups. There was no trace of sadism during the Revolution, other than what I TOLD ALREADY ABOUT THE ~~old~~ members of the THE RUSSIAN ARMY

C. Regarding education, respondent stated: "Communism ~~con-~~ ~~xxx~~ trolled the different occupations and job openings. In line with this, they assigned students to various branches of learning or subjects. For instance, if some one wished to become a doctor, but that field was filled, then the applicant would be assigned to engineering ~~xxxx~~ instead. About one PERCENT OF THE YOUTH could follow ~~the~~ ^{THEIR} own choice. This was the situation in both the industrial ~~xxx~~ schools and the universities. A person who was not accepted at the universities could ~~xxx~~ still go to the industrial schools, but any one who had a C grade was not accepted at any higher school. He could become only an unskilled laborer.

continued respondent," "Education in Hungary had high standards," "To enter high school was very difficult, but there were many fine students coming out of high school, but they could not continue their studies because of the limited capacity of the universities. The quality of teaching at the universities was high and strict. For instance, if a law student missed class twice during each semester, he was dismissed from the school."

"The Communist controlled educational system had a very difficult point, and this was the Worker Kaders. In connection with history and literature, the party realized that if they used the old teachers ~~they~~ they couldn't help being influenced by their studies in the days of the old system. For instance, my husband was a teacher of Hungarian literature for a while. When he had his second or third class an inspector visited his class. My husband talked on that day about Attila Jozsef, who was the ~~first~~ leading poet of the Communists. Afterward, my husband was immediately transferred from this position and ~~became~~ became a professor of mathematics in a high school. But even there, he was advised that he had to ~~select~~ select his examples from politics, for example, if he said that this and this was so and so large, he had to add "this and this ~~building~~ building of Moscow" - this was a political example. But returning to literature, the Communists realized that the old teachers would never be able to teach history and literature according to Communist principles. Therefore, they would take absolutely uncultured workers, who had no ~~knowledge~~ knowledge of literature and history, and would train them ~~to~~ to teach these two subjects according to the party line. They selected some persons from among the workers and peasants, and placed them in a sort of brief high school training, where they had to take specialized courses after their studies, but they did not go to any university. This speeded up education didn't take more than one and a half or two years, and these poor people had little more than they could get in public school. In the academies, however, they were taught by university professors, who were instructed to be patient with these worker Kaders. Some of the professors, for instance Vilagi, were courageous and did not allow these worker Kaders to pass the examinations without a very good knowledge of the ~~subject~~ subjects, but other professors were not so ~~brave~~ brave, and let the students pass the examinations with less knowledge. Naturally, when these ~~new~~ new teachers started to teach at the schools, the students being taught usually laughed at them, because the students knew more about the subject than the teacher. These new types of teachers had a hard time of it, realizing the difference between their knowledge, and that of the older, more experienced teachers.

However, the new teachers wanted to be as good as the older teachers, and this led to complicated problems. The new teachers felt themselves to be sort of outcasts. --ON the other hand, the Communist system created something very good, the new trade schools, which had a ~~much~~ better level of quality than before. The system here was strict, and ~~the~~ workers graduating from these new schools obtained better jobs at higher salaries than ~~before~~. Visiting a ~~factory~~, we heard about one of these graduates. The manager told us how much better these new young workers were than what he had before, and ~~the~~ described them as "little engineers"/

~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~factory~~ ~~workers~~
 ✓ THE OLD SKILLED WORKERS.

"These trade schools usually had beautiful ~~homes~~ (dormitories) for their students --confiscated palaces of the old aristocracy -- which had been altered for their new purpose. They were clean, elegantly furnished, and members of the faculty were in charge of the general advancement of the students as TUTORs.

SUCH ~~AS~~ TRADE SCHOOLS

The students in these fine places had all kinds of entertainment of a high type. For example, ~~when I~~ ~~was~~ ~~a~~ ~~member~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Frigeys~~ ~~Karinthy~~ ~~Writers~~ ~~Circle~~, ~~and~~ ~~asked~~ ~~if~~ ~~we~~ ~~could~~ ~~furnish~~ ~~them~~ ~~with~~ ~~poems~~ ~~and~~ ~~little~~ ~~plays~~ ~~for~~ ~~their~~ ~~theatre~~. We kept in touch with them, and provided them with much material. The homes of the girls, and of the boys, exchanged programs with each other. Despite a complicated procedure, ~~the~~ ~~in~~ ~~programs~~. ~~because~~ ~~the~~ ~~party~~ ~~watched~~ ~~the~~ ~~proceedings~~ ~~closely~~ ~~so~~ ~~as~~ ~~to~~ ~~have~~ ~~the~~ ~~official~~ ~~party~~ ~~line~~ ~~followed~~. Before a cultural program or presentation could be given or played before the public, the school had to present it ~~before~~ the District Council of the Ministry of Culture. Experts representing the Council then decided whether the ~~program~~ should be performed. I was sent out, ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~occasion~~, as a program supervisor, from the Writers Circle, to the District Council. As a preliminary step, a party representative instructed me how to judge the program according to the official party line. But ~~that~~ ~~this~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~sufficient~~ ~~assurance~~. In addition to the above, there were some Council members, who also had the duty to see that we were properly instructed for the above purpose of following the party line. I knew one of these Council members very well, who, like the others, was a convinced Communist.

developing the

who were not paid

~~These~~ ~~Council~~ ~~Members~~ ~~were~~ ~~all~~ ~~Communisty~~ ~~Party~~ ~~members~~, and in my opinion, they were all convinced Communists

A respondent continued talking about the indoctrination of the young people under Communism, in Hungary, she said " The Communist Youth Organizations did (End 3B) a lot of good for the young people as well as for the trade schools. For example, at DISZ, girls and boys ~~could use~~ libraries and sports clubs.

~~could use~~ Communism was much better in its internal workings, than what many people outside of it realized. When I saw 16 year old girls, under Communism, ~~was~~ playing tennis or dancing, I couldn't help thinking of how ~~in~~ in my time girls of that age worked and didn't have these advantages. I could not help thinking of how beautiful it was to be a youngster under Communism. When I was young, my social position was somewhere between the middle class and the peasants, and I had no opportunity to have recreation. ~~As~~ A milliner's apprentice 15 years before, I had no other recreation than to go to dances ~~for men's classes?~~ WITH A YOUNG MAN and she was very proud if a young man of the higher classes took her out, and very often left her ~~with a child~~. In Communist society, the 16 year old girls are taught to swim, to play ping pong, tennis, basketball, skiing--in short, all the activities which were once the recreation of the privileged classes only. The Communist party provides the equipment for these rather expensive sports. It was so good to see the girls going up to the mountains of Buda on Sundays, in their simple training dresses, side by side with some ~~elegant women~~ FASHIONABLE LADIES I became especially impressed with the ballet corps. When I was young, how I had longed to learn to dance? For all these sports and pleasures, the young people are not obligated to the party--they do not have to render any service."

"As for myself, when I joined the Writers ~~Association~~ ASSOCIATION or other groups, no one ever asked me if I was a party member or not." continued respondent."

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE.
and also that

A. "The main dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary" said respondent " was the poverty, /We were not allowed to say that we were poor and hungry. The store managers, if some product was not available, had to say that it would be here tomorrow, ~~xxxxxxx~~ although he knew very well that he wouldn't have it for months. People had forgotten that there could be such a thing as a good living standard or better living. There was a joke about this in Budapest, in connection with Zoltan Kodaly, great Hungarian composer. One day he was walking along the street, and crossed against the red traffic light. The policeman stopped him, and asked him to pay a fine of ten forints. Kodaly did not have the money with him. The policeman patiently asked him how much his salary was, since he had but little money with him. The composer, who was a shy man, with some embarrassment said that he had 30,000 forints per month. The policeman became angry, and shouted at him, 'O.K., old fool, keep going.' "

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Regarding the standard of living, respondent stated: "Our family situation was very bad. My husband made 1200 to 1500 forints between 1954 and 1956. During this time I was pregnant, and we lived in a servant's room. We were not able to leave this, because another apartment would have cost 30,000 forints. If I worked, I made very little money, which any way came in irregularly. We ate up our salary, and we did not buy any ~~xxx~~clothing."

"For me, continued respondent, "an apartment was the ~~xxx~~ greatest luxury, but in general a car was everybody's dream. I had only a bicycle, and even that was stolen, but I could have obtained a license for a car, which was very rare. Only doctors, ~~xxx~~ engineers, actors, artists in general, sportsmen (athletes) and Stachanovists could get a license. The Stachanovists obtained confiscated cars from the government. The party officials, company directors, and higher party members used official cars, and they were strictly checked up on this. According to public opinion, a car was ~~xxx~~ advantage--for example, a man with a car could a great pick up almost any woman."

"For me, housing was the greatest problem" continued respondent,"

"The standard of living for us became much worse after we left Rumania," continued respondent, "and came to Hungary. At Szatmarnemeti, we had a three room apartment in a beautiful house. I also could afford clothing, something which I missed in Hungary. Between 1948 and 1956, our highest prosperity was in 1949 and our lowest in 1955-1956."

"People who were better off" continued the respondent, "were the high officials, not the small ~~xx~~ party members, not even the party secretaries. They had the same difficulties as we did. Artists were usually better off than the rest of the people. We had a friend who was a ~~xxx~~ in the People's Army. His salary was around violinist 3000 forints. He paid 40 forints for his apartment, which belonged to the People's Army. The house had belonged formerly to an aristocrat, and the apartment was beautiful. He made another 3000 forints by playing at night in different restaurants. This was not allowed, but he managed to get ~~xxx~~ around the rules. He also played on the radio, and elsewhere. Altogether, he always made at least 7000 forints a month. They (violinist and wife) boarded at the officer's club for 5 forints. They ~~get~~ get a very good dinner. The place was extremely elegant, and the drinks cost ~~xxx~~ ^{FOR THIS LOW PRICE} ~~xxx~~ ^{THEY} ~~xxx~~ ^{HOW MUCH LESS} ~~xxx~~ ^{THEY} ~~xxx~~ ^{had} There as anywhere in town, but only for members. ~~xxx~~ had

to show membership cards on entering. The violinist and his wife were of course much better clothed than we were, and they could afford more pleasures. "

"The very low living standard" continued respondent, "of the Hungarians during the last few years was due to the government's policies. Salaries went down continuously and prices went up, because the government took so much for what it called 'investments'. I worked for the Ministry of Culture, as I said before, and I could see there, for example, that lack of money prevented them from setting up the libraries they had planned for, for they could not afford to buy books. The Communist party explained that construction work for the subway and other projects had used up available funds. However, we could see that the economic policy of the ~~gaxaxkax~~ government was impossible. That the government was in real trouble could be seen in minor things; for instance, at the beginning, the party had a free ~~public, ~~was~~ ballet~~ school for the children. Later on, a charge was made for this school, and for other enterprises as well, that had been free ~~BEFORE~~. Of course, the money went to Russia, because in Hungary there was not anywhere the luxuries which would have accounted for the vast amount of money which had somehow disappeared, after the government had collected it."

B. "In regard to our income" continued respondent, "my husband made from 1200 to 1500 forints. Deductions were 10 per cent for land loans, 3 per cent for union fees, and 4 per cent because he had no children. Later on, when my son was born, this 4 per cent was no longer paid, but we did not ~~xxxx~~ receive any family allowance. This ~~xx~~ was payable only after the second child came. ~~& PRIVATE LESSONS~~ would have given my husband an additional opportunity to make more money, but it was given usually only to Communist teachers. Teachers were not allowed to take any part-time job. However, in the summer, my husband went to the country with a friend of his, and worked on extracting stumps. It was hard, but he had good health. I ~~xxxxxxx~~/between 1951 and 1954 as a free lance writer worked for the Writer's Association, and made about 400 forints per month. But this was not a regular income. I received for a 50 minute radio script, 2800 forints, but for a small magazine article, only 150 -200 ~~fx~~ forints. Many times, scripts and articles were requested from me which ~~xxx~~ were never ~~taken over~~ ~~BOUGHT~~ by the radio or the Writer's Association."

"My husband did not get any raise in his salary" continued respondent, "there were no individual raises, only a collective one for all the teachers at once."

V MARKET

C. "Concerning the retail situation in Hungary" said respondent, " I shopped in the Kozert state stores, or very seldom, at the farmers' market, but there only for vegetables. This was also a state ~~system~~. I liked the Kozert stores because I found the food to be good, and that I was not cheated on prices, ~~as was the case~~. Everything there was checked many times. I went to Maszek stores only if I could not find what I wanted anywhere else. These stores were usually three times as expensive as the Kozert ones, and I always found that the Maszek stores cheated me. What the Maszek stores sold looked good, but nobody knew what was inside."

"As regards other kinds of stores, not for foods" said respondent, "I always patronized the state stores, even if I had to walk five blocks, I trusted them much more than others."

"I am not well informed on the price differences between the Kozert and the Maszek stores, for as I said I did not shop much in the latter ones. But I do know that at ~~in~~ the Maszek fruit stand next door to us, the prices were so high they astounded me."

V PRICES

"As regards clothing," said respondent, "the little that I did buy was obtained from the state stores. I do not know of any other stores having clothing. I have no knowledge of any big changes in ~~shopping~~ during the past years. I heard people ~~com~~ complaining that the factories did not have enough raw materials, and that parts were missing here and there. I remember that once I could not get elastic ribbons, and also I had some ~~difficulty~~ obtaining kitchen ware. I bought a pot ~~with~~ difficulty but it had no cover. Also, my husband could not get shoe laces on one occasion."

"Regarding food," continued respondent, " we usually had to stand in line for meat, and very often for milk and bread, and sometimes rice and oranges were missing, and lemons I could obtain only ~~by~~ tickets" ~~by~~ by official

C ONCERNING SPARE PARTS,

Z DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS WAS VERY IRREGULAR.

"I do not know ~~what~~ about any black market" said respondent, "the people who got packages from the U.S.A. sold their cocoa, chocolate, and other things, but not in any organized way--only we heard about it, and could go to the people who had these things. In the shops, it happened occasionally, that the shop owner or manager put aside a lemon or some rice for somebody who was an old customer. When the Ex borders were opened to the public in 1954, leading into Rumania and Czechoslovakia, ~~then~~ a black market opened ~~in~~ those countries. ~~but~~ I do not think that ~~it~~ has been ~~ever~~ BLACKMARKETING punished in these ~~xxxxxx~~ last few years."

xxxxxx

articles

D. In regard to working conditions, respondent gave the following information, "I was sent first to the Writer's Association in 1951 ~~xxxxxx~~ by a lecturer of the Association who read one of my ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~. The Association made had ~~some~~ severe criticisms of my writing. It was said my stories were petty, bourgeois ones, and that romanticism was not in fashion any ~~more~~ more. I was advised to study the lives of the technical school students, and try to write about them. At the same time, the Association sent me to the Radio where I was instructed in the political viewpoints I was expected to consider when ~~xxxxxx~~ writing anything, and that the main emphasis must always be on the political angle. ~~the only book published in the Republic and other government press is being subjected to a process of censorship to determine if it is in accordance with the Party line. Once, when the ~~xxxxxx~~ government was concerned with the problem of women in Hungary not wanting to work I was asked to ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~, for instance, ~~the~~ The heroine in my stories ~~is~~ a woman who does not want to work, and her husband also does not want her to work. But by some chance she does get ~~xxxx~~ work, and becomes enthusiastic about it. Then came the happy ending, showing the woman refusing to leave her beloved job. I wrote such scripts for the Radio."~~

write a story

"I rose late, usually, " continued respondent, " about 9 or 10 o'clock, and retired to bed late, around 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning. I could write best at night. In the morning, I cleaned the apartment, ~~and~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ started writing ~~xxxxxx~~ I would continue almost all the waking hours for three days, resenting interruptions even from my husband attempting to make some conversation. When I finished writing, I went from one place to another, and sold what I wrote."

IF ONE I

Every material what was printed or used, was supposed to teach the youth or the public in general.

Usually I spent the whole day ^{WAITING} in ~~the office~~ ^{THE RADIO OR OTHER PLACES,} including chats with people I knew. If there was a demand for writing, I rushed home excited, and started to write. If things were slow, I hung around town in a dejected mood. Just as an example, one day I went to the ~~Radio~~ ^{FAIRY TALES} Radio station, where some one yelled, 'Hello, how are you? You can start working right away, because ~~the~~ ^{FAIRIES} are allowed again by the government. All the ~~same~~ ^{FAIRIES} came back, you can write again about good, little girls, ~~witches and dwarfs~~ ^{DWARFS}. The trend is favorable for you!' - On another day, everybody is gloomy, and one hears: 'Oh, the government has trouble. The party blew up (got mad?) Everything is halted.' - and we have to stay very strictly on the party line.

"The regular meeting place of the writers" continued respondent, " was the Hungaria coffee house. It was a very expensive place, visited only by the rich, but for us young writers, this was our second home. We could sit there for hours, with one black coffee. Some members of our group could be found there, at any hour, during the whole day. We did not mention politics, ~~was~~ ^{was} party members. There was not any high level talk on literature or the Communist man, or the inner balance and its prerequisites. We spoke about writing possibilities and how to make money. It was the business talk of writers, and of gossiping. We called it "Szaglaszas" (sniffing).

"Here in this place a new kind of writing was born. This was "collective writing" which was not in fashion before-Communism was born. Some one wrote something, then had it criticized by the group at the Hungaria. Then all started to re-write it. Others came in, and finally, there were ten writers working on the same piece. We put down all suggestions, and later edited and compressed it.. A radio script we wrote that way became a big hit. Often, a man and a woman started to write something, together; departing at the end of the day, each continued with the story at home. The next day, both met, and compared the two parts, ~~xxx~~ representing the viewpoints of a man and of a woman respectively. Then they condensed the piece, edited it, and had a good story. All this was the basis of "collective writing". Older writers were against this, but the younger writers were for it."

NOBODY ASKED
WHO WAS A

"When I worked in the 5th district Council as program supervisor, besides the job I did for the industrial school checking the programs, I also was in charge of village propaganda. All my supervisors were Communists, ~~and~~ I got along well with them. These people had a difficult job, dealing with the party line and political problems. They were always ~~xxxxxx~~worrying just how far to go or not to go, and never could do their job well. Every three months, the present set of supervisors would give way to the next set- nevertheless I got along with them all most of the time.

"In connection with the above mentioned village propaganda, our duty was to distribute literature throughout the area. We made up a program, which included a political lecture, and then entertainment ~~with~~ artists (singers, actors), and poems, or short plays, etc. This was called "Falujaras," which meant a visit to the villages. Our conferences were called Ankets. The lecturer in our group was always a strict Communist. Two of ~~xxxxxx~~ these were Sarolta Lanyi, or Judith Mariassi. Both of them were great Communists; however, during the Revolution, they ~~xxxxxx~~ the Revolutionary side. The peasants listened joined to the political lecture patiently enough, for they knew that the entertainment coming later usually was good. It was beautiful to see how, often for the first time, the peasants and their sons and daughters heard about our great poets; and the cultural ~~xxxxxx~~ thoughts and entertainment presented were part of the program's purpose to bring to all cultural matters, and first of all, Hungarian literature. "

"My superiors in the district council " continued respondent, "were not expert in culture. Their role was to give us political instructions. However, in the Workers' Association, and at the Radio, all the superiors were professionals, many of them on a very high level." I loved my work.

~~xxxxxx~~ counsellor
 "My ideal purpose would have been to become a ~~xxxxxx~~ at the Szabad Nep, the official Communist party organ. This newspaper had a department, which was a sort of social section, offering advice on personal problems of all kinds of people asking help. People wrote, or came in, and described their troubles and injustices and complaints. I applied for the job, but was told that only real old ~~xxxxxx~~ Communists were accepted."

Regarding health and compensation programs in Hungary, respondent said: "I heard about the workers' vacation plan, which was very good and an innovation for the ~~wor~~ workers, who previously seldom had any ~~vacations~~ vacations. Now they could go to beautiful places for small charges, and it was very easy to become eligible for such vacations. However, I myself was never there, because I was not on any payroll. My husband changed his job every year, because of his political views, therefore we never got any vacations, for his job either. Somebody had to do some ~~social~~ social work for such vacations, and my husband never wanted to do it.

E. When asked ~~whether~~ whether she would like to live in the country or the city, respondent said: "I love the country, but I prefer Budapest, ~~because~~ because everything is sent to Budapest, even bread, and in general the living ~~standard~~ standard is higher there. From the political point of view, it is also better there. We can ~~get~~ get more thorough information there, ^{note} its sources, and judge accordingly."

Concerning collectivization, respondent stated: "I was very glad about the farmers' cooperatives, because this assured for us the cheap produce and provisions in Budapest. Otherwise, we would have been at the mercy of the peasants as it was in 1945 and 1946, and we couldn't have been able to pay the ~~high~~ high prices. But this organization and rationalization of the farmers put them into worse circumstances than before. The peasants were forced into the farmers' cooperatives, and they had to stay in them. The government enacted regulations to the effect that if any farmer did leave, his property in the ~~cooperative~~ cooperative stayed with the organization, not with him."

In general, the atmosphere was ~~very~~ bad, because of the different types of people in these cooperatives. The members always ~~criticized~~ criticized each other, and finally nobody did anything. They pushed the work from one to the other. If some one was in charge of the cows, the woman milked the cows in the morning, and then ~~loafed~~ loafed the whole day. Then the supervisor came, and told her to peel the ~~potatoes~~ potatoes, whereupon she said loftily, 'No, sir, I am in charge of the cows, I am ~~not~~ not going to do anything else!'"

"At the beginning, in the course of the village propaganda work, our group had to praise the farmers' cooperatives. In 1951, the peasant writers had to deal with this problem. Sandor Nagy wrote their first novel about the farmers' cooperatives, and he got the Stalin prize for it. The other writers were urged to follow his example. All the libraries had to popularize those books; and the subject of the political lectures in our Anquets was the advantages of the farmers' cooperatives.

DISILLUSIONNEMENT

THE COOPERATIVES

"My first ~~disillusionment~~ in connection with ~~the~~ happened when ONE day I entered the house of a peasant, guided in by him. His wife came to greet me, and then I saw that the peasant looked at his wife in such a way that I ~~could~~ see he didn't want her to speak ~~in front of me~~. I was hurt, and couldn't understand at all why they were ~~so~~ afraid of me, who was also a peasant girl and loved those people. From then on, I watched the peasants more carefully. We went out to visit the farmers' cooperatives more often."

"Once, ~~when~~ when we arrived at a village" continued respondent, "the leaders there made several speeches in our honor. After the main speaker finished it, and left the platform, I saw him with other peasants, having a good laugh. I sensed that they were laughing on now how well they were cheating or evading us, (the representatives of the government) talking about all the political slogans, but in their minds having something entirely different."

"I went to one of my colleagues, and told him about this" continued the respondent. After our program was finished, he sat down at a table with the peasants, and started to talk to them. He was a very lovable man. He talked to the leader of the peasants, and told him frankly to present his problems. Eventually, after some hesitations, the peasants poured out their troubles and complaints. This conversation opened my eyes, that in reality things were much different than I had thought. We repeated these frank talks with peasant leaders, from time to time. The peasants became more and more desperate and finally, around 1953 they complained and said they had nothing more to lose. The writers, seeing the dissatisfaction of the peasants, asked themselves, why doesn't the government write about these things? Really, why don't we try to straighten out these troubles?"

^{we}
"I discussed these problems with the party's leadership ~~xxxx~~ continued the respondent, "who first denied everything that we writers had said, and added that the peasants thought different than we did. The leaders had been to the farms and had not found any of these troubles. But the writers argued that the peasants would not talk frankly in front of high party leaders, but had been frank with us because we were also from peasant and country stock. The discussion of this problem went on for months."

"At the annual convention of the Writers' Association" the respondent went on, "this problem was discussed for days, whether the Farmers' ~~Cooperatives~~ Cooperatives should be dissolved or not. The politicians said that the writers should go to the country and teach the peasants to work together as well as they did on their own lands, and then the Farmers' Cooperatives would become a success. The discussion went on, but the problem was not solved."

"Concerning the agricultural system in a free Hungary, respondent said: "Something sound needs to be done for the peasants, although I have never thought what it ~~xxxx~~ should be."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A, Regarding politics, respondent said: "I was never interested in politics, and am not now."

"I first heard about the Communist party from my grandparents, who mentioned it always with a sort of horror. I heard only bad stories about the Communists in 1919, as well. I heard my husband talking about politics occasionally. He studied during the Horthy regime, which I did not like. He studied that ~~old~~ philosophy, which didn't want to change anything, nor to accept anything that was new. In my opinion, he was a real reactionary. When he talked about the people of the former regime and praised them, I was not sure at all that these people were as good as it sounded. Perhaps it was just the contrary. I had no chance to prove the accuracy of what he told me.

"When I first went to the w Writers' Association, I was excited about I saw and heard there, but when I went home my husband scolded and ~~derided~~ derided those people, and I felt he did it because he was envious of them. I felt he was definitely unjust. I didn't realize, however, that I was among Communists in the Writers' Association and that if my work was read ~~by~~ and broadcast over the radio, then Communist actors read it ~~and~~ and it would be broadcast over the Communist radio. I just didn't think of all these factors at that ~~time~~ time. I didn't have any conflict, either, between my religion and my work. I saw Communists going to church, and I didn't know that somebody had to be an ~~atheist~~ ATHEIST in order to be a Communist. I visualized the future Communist man as somebody who will be free to worship his own God. The Communists didn't want to keep the people away from God, but only from the priests. I could understand this to some extent. I did not like, for instance, the formalities and ~~ostentatious display~~ OSTENTATIOUS DISPLAY in the Catholic religion. The Protestant religion had some of these ~~formalities~~ formalities, and was perhaps more heartfelt, but still I felt that the Communists were against the ~~superstition~~ SUPERSTITION of the priests in all religions, and they wanted the enlightened man to come who would believe in a superior existence. I thought whenever I prayed that it couldn't be like God if one person disdained the other, who can not help being born as he was. For this, nobody can curse you. I thought that the future Communist would be above all these problems, would be ~~perfect~~ perfect without prejudices."

"A great number of party members ~~were~~^{joined} the party for bread, for jobs. However, when I heard Kadar saying, on the 26th of October, that it didn't matter if people leave the party, because the garbage falls out, I myself had in mind to join the party, but my husband wouldn't let me. I thought that those who stayed in the party at this time were real idealists, when it wasn't fashionable any more to belong to the party.-and this made me enthusiastic.

"There ~~were~~ were many people who were party members and convinced Communists and later on became frustrated mostly ~~because~~ because of the lies. I also lost my faith in Communism because of those lies, because the reality of Communism was different than what was spoken for it. These people left the party because they felt that, since they could no longer believe in it, they would be dismissed by it anyway. I knew only about such ~~individual~~ individual cases, I did not know about factions."

"Regarding the party leaders" continued respondent, "I do not know anything in detail, nor of the party life. All these problems have been discussed confidentially among party members."

"If Hungary could be liberated," said respondent, "I would have no mercy toward those party leaders who were traitors, and helped the Russians to stay in Hungary. I was against force all my life. However, after the Revolution, I could have gone against some people with my barehands."

C. "I do not know much about sabotage during the Communist regime," said respondent, "I heard of some ~~or~~ cases. A friend of my husband, who was a party secretary, and a frustrated Communist, ~~he~~ said that he ~~stayed~~ stayed within the party because he wanted to ~~drive~~ drive out all the bolsheviks from the party. His aim was to build up a party of Socialists, good people. He said he was a national Communist."

~~Regarding~~ Regarding the activities of the intellectuals, respondent said: "At the time when the Petofi Circle was ~~established~~ established, I already had my baby, and I ~~was~~ was with him most of the time. But I heard that there was a group of lecturers, a sort of cultural center, where ~~people~~ people gathered who were interested in literature and art. Somebody said I should go there, and I went one after

noon, and listened to a lecture on art. It was on a high cultural level, but I had ~~had~~ heard a similar one in the Writers' Association before, in fact, many times. I wasn't especially impressed at that time."

People generally thought that it was a ~~writer's~~ writer's group, but it was not. People went there for cultural enjoyment and inspiration. The meetings were always crowded."

The organizers and heads of the Petofi Circle were mostly Communists. However, the atmosphere was "right wing," which might be defined as the opposition to the government. People said ~~it~~ the ~~Circle~~ Circle was a sort of paradise for those who were tired of the deviations of Communism. All the leaders of the Ministry of Culture visited the Circle. The general opinion ~~was~~ was that it was a necessity, which in previous years would have not been allowed."

"Before the 20th Party Congress, the Communist Party did not give the intellectuals a chance to speak ~~to~~ the ^{ONLY} workers. But after that Congress, the intellectuals were more free to speak out, and criticize if need be. Before, only teachers, speaking to their students, had been able to do this, but it was extremely dangerous. Aside from these, the worker was the only one who could criticize, usually in the seminars or in production meetings. In the ~~various~~ various cultural centers, ~~by~~ Parraghy and Boldizsar, lectures were given, but no one made any remarks. -except once in a while, some workers ~~who~~ who said, of course stupid things, which usually did not have anything to do with the subject."

"This situation ~~was~~ was changed by the Petofi Circle" continued respondent. "The real strength of this group was that it was the first forum under Communism where intellectuals could express their opinions. This is why more and more people attended. The discussion after the lectures was usually much more interesting than the speeches. This led gradually to such occasions as the ~~Deri-Tardos~~ Deri-Tardos meetings, which were held at the Petofi Circle. I was not fortunate enough to be there, but I read a commentary on the speeches and personalities."

"This whole process, which culminated finally in the Petofi Circle, " said respondent, " was started originally in the Writers' Association, which was the seed of the intellectual fermentation in Hungary."

"The discontent of intellectuals developed first among the writers" continued respondent, "who felt a sympathy with the people as against the regime."

"I was a member of the Young Writers' Cooperative" said respondent, "from 1951 on. This was a group which included all the new writers. Later on, this cooperative was dissolved by the party, because, according to Communist principles, the writer is judged by what he writes, rather than how long and how much he writes. I didn't want to give the impression that the Writers' Association was an aristocracy of old writers, along with another group of new ones. Most of the cooperative were young people and 80 per cent of the whole were Communists."

"At the Writers' Association, the Communist members did not discriminate against those of us who were not Communists," remarked respondent, "but the more secret matters were discussed at Communist party meetings at which we were not allowed to be present. But after the meeting, the Communist members discussed with us the party instructions concerning our writings." We had excellent ~~members~~ at the Writers' Association, and these people leaders guided the younger members. Peter Veres was considered the most ~~valuable~~ writer, and Paul Szabo was the leader of the young ~~new~~ members. He ~~was always~~ ^{always} helpful if we had any problems."

✓ EDUCATED

"Some writers who were not members came to the Association meetings," said respondent, "for instance, Jozsef Erdei. He had been in prison for eight years, hence could not ~~be admitted to the Association as a member.~~ However, he was usually the central figure in many of our discussions. Some of us said that since he was such a good writer, he should be admitted, and that it did not matter that he had been in prison. Others said it was not possible because of his past."

The writers in the Association," said respondent, "more and more kept saying that if Hungary belongs to the people, then the opinions of the people should be given more consideration. I told my husband about this form of resistance, but he replied that it was very easy for the writers to protest, because they were not employees, hence would not be dismissed from their jobs"

Continued paragraph - "...Maybe this was a factor, but anyway, the writers became more and more daring. Under the ministerial presidency of Imre Nagy, a young Communist writer, Istvan Orsi, who was then only 22, wrote a poem about a factory worker who is ~~punished~~ punished for stealing a spoon, but meanwhile the government continues to take the people's money, to spend on construction projects which somehow are never finished, and so on and so forth. This poem had a sensational success. ~~It~~ It was shown to ZOLTAN VASS for approval. He stated that it was impossible to have it published. However, the writers demanded that the poem be shown to Imre Nagy (for the final decision). We found out that the poem laid on his desk for months, which gave us hope that the poem finally would be approved. However, Imre Nagy did not dare to do so.

the leaders
 "The writers then wrote about what was in the minds and hearts of the public, and gave examples from all fields; what workers said in the factories; what peasants said in the country. The writers were the advocates, the attorneys, for the people. I would not say that they were ~~the~~ ~~organizers~~ of the Revolution. First, the Revolution did not have leaders. It was a real people's spontaneous ~~movement~~ movement. ~~Second, the writers never~~ Second, the writers never thought of starting a Revolution. They were the forerunners, the harbingers of a transformation. Every one thought that this would happen anytime. They discussed this ~~evolutionary~~ evolutionary process, in the gatherings of the Writers Association. Those people who leaned toward National Communism stressed the necessity of first changing the leadership and that Imre Nagy should take over the government. Through such gradual changes, it was hoped that the goal of a nation of ideal Communism could be reached."

"In Hungary we considered ourselves to be ahead of the Soviet Union by at least one step, and also ahead of all the other satellite countries, including Yugoslavia. We ~~thought~~ thought that all the nations would make some concessions or changes, and that finally Russia would follow on the path we were blazing. We felt we were the first to start that process of reformation and progress, which would eventually influence the Communist leaders who had succeeded Stalin; we believed we could become the leaders of this new ~~transformation~~ transformation. We didn't want to liberate only ourselves, but rather freedom for all countries under Russian subjugation, but we believed that we were the originators of this movement, and had time rather than power on our side. We felt the forces in the other countries (satellites) were more compromisers than we were. We felt braver and more independent than we thought ~~they~~ they were. more individualistic, but we were not trying to get into positions of power-only to see our goal reached!"

"All this was the subject of general discussions in the Writers' Association" continued respondent. In one of these meetings, an old convinced Communist, "Vonalas," stood up and said he would not be present at such a desecration of the party, and left us."

"After lively, inspiring meetings such as ours" remarked respondent, "I felt unhappy and frustrated when, on a visit to Rumania in August, 1956, I found the people there apparently not interested in freedom as we were, and even my family leaned toward Communism than to freedom."

"The liberal discussions in the Writers Association," continued respondent, "then became the type of meetings held by the Petofi Circle. For example, one discussion there was on the question, why did the Russians take our uranium? The Russians could help us develop these mines and production, but they should ~~not~~ not take the output all for themselves. We should put the uranium on the free market. We could ~~we~~ get more for it from the West. Whoever was the highest bidder, would get it. Our borders should be free ~~for~~ for our trading.

"In the course of our discussions in the Writers Association," continued respondent, "we never mentioned America. We always used the term, the West, but it meant chiefly, the United States. I myself never felt any special attraction for ~~the~~ America. Generally speaking, America was not a subject of discussion in 1951-1952 in our Association. On those occasions when that country was mentioned, the general remarks ~~were~~ were that it was a land of exploitation, the weaker were oppressed by the stronger, everyone has to keep pushing (striving, toiling,) and there is more drudgery and competing than in Russia. The successful results of technical progress were admitted, but it was said that people of the worst kind became rich from the sweat of other people's toil. The Communist makers of policy told us to read Jack London's novels. We listened to these attacks on America, and felt no desire to go to America, no matter how much it might be the land of opportunity. We felt that the fortunes made in that country could not be really earned ~~we~~ with the efforts of one's head or hands, hence the money was not honestly made. In Hungary, a party chief received 40,000 forints. This ~~was~~ ^{is} ~~was~~ was not so much different than our own ~~own~~ writer's income, and we compared this with millionaires with such luxuries as private planes that were used only once a year or so, or with boats of their own."
yachts

"We saw that the top leaders in our country had no such luxurious life, as those in America, not even the former aristocrats here. This built up in us a sort of resentment against the ~~millionaires~~ millionaires. As a whole, the writers did not like America. We were much more occupied with our own problems, which we thought we could take care of by ourselves through evolution."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Regarding the AVH members, respondent said: "I did not know much about this group and had not met their members. I considered the whole political police as a sadistic group, a deformity of the regime. At the Karinthy Circle, ~~xxxxxx~~ a former AVH man, now on pension. I have not talked to him since. The AVH men were a different sort of people-- sadists --with their own restricted circles."

I WAS TOLD ONCE
ABOUT A MEMBER,
THAT HE WAS

"As regards my family" continued respondent, "they were never seized by the ~~AVH~~ AVH"

"If Hungary is liberated" said respondent, "the AVH should be abolished, its members should be tried, and put in prison, or at least removed from public life. I say this even though I know that some of the AVH may be absolutely innocent. I make this statement on the basis of my personal experience. In 1955, I applied for a worker's job at the prison in Marko Street, ~~xxxxxx~~ because I wanted to meet some of the prisoners, in connection with something I was writing. There was an advertisement in the newspapers for such work, so I went to the given address. A guard at the entrance of the prison, guided me into the building, through three huge doors, two of which were metal. Behind the third door, the guard turned me over to an AVH man- I could tell this from his uniform. There were some other people there, and I was told to wait. Finally, an AVH captain came in. I gave him my name and ~~my~~ identification information. He asked me why I ~~wanted~~ wanted to work here. I talked to him, saying frankly what my purpose was. He seemed quite interested. However, he told me that ~~if~~ if I got the job, I would have to stay there for years, to prove I was absolutely reliable, before ~~then~~ I would be allowed to talk to the prisoners, other than in the course of my work. However, I thought that even just to be in the general atmosphere of the prison would help me in this writing I was doing, so I insisted that I would still like to have the job."

"The AVH man told me that first, I would be a watchman at the door" continued respondent. I would have a big gun rifle, which weighed about ten pounds. Seeing that I was still persistent, he finally offered me a job in the office. But I told him I was not interested in any ~~work~~ work there except that of warder. He then told me ~~job~~ job that if I was accepted, I would be an employee of the Ministry of the Interior, and as such I could be transferred to many ~~of~~ different jobs, sometimes every week to a new assignment, and that some day I might find myself at the political police building as a guard.

I promised the AVH captain that I would send in my papers" continued respondent, "and then I bade him good-bye. Of course, I did not return or follow up this job. I definitely did not want to become a member of the AVH. However,, this experience showed me that people were assigned to the AVH, even against their own will, and that they just had to obey."

Regarding the regular police, respondent remarked: "It was different than the AVH. I became friends with two policemen, and found that both of them were ~~against~~ against the regime. They were anti-Communists. I met the first one when I passed on my bicycle in front of the chief Party building. I did not know that no one was allowed to pass this place. The policeman there explained to me why there was this prohibition, and we fell into a conversation, even though it was ten o'clock in the evening. Although I was a perfect stranger to him, he said he hated Communism, and added that ~~this~~ ^{if} got back to his superiors, he would deny that he had ever seen me. "

"On an other occasion" continued respondent, "a policeman challenged me to identify myself. I asked why this was necessary, since I was not a gangster. He said his request was necessary, so he could save me from the ~~gangs~~ gangsters, and ~~then~~ then we started a conversation that lasted two hours, right in the middle of the street, so to speak. He said that the year previous he was a Stachanovist in the mines. However, the Communist party saw that he was intelligent, ~~so~~ took him from his well-paid and pleasant job, and placed him into the police. He had to go through all the steps necessary to promotion, ~~but~~ but expected in a few weeks to become a lieutenant. Then, he would ~~receive~~ receive 1300 forints. He started to ~~swear~~ swear, and complained about the loss of his good job for this low-salaried work. He had no ambition to climb high in the police, but just wanted a good salary in a pleasant job ~~and~~/peaceful living."
along with

"During the Revolution, most of the police joined the Revolutionaries," said respondent, " they behaved as well as the army did. On the 24th of October, when nobody knew whether the ~~evolution~~ revolution would win or not, I saw a truck loaded with young Revolutionary enthusiasts stopping a policeman, who shouted to them: " 'May God bless you boys! "

Regarding the courts in Hungary before 1945, respondent said she did not know anything about them because in ~~the~~ those years she lived in Rumania. After 1945, she said: "My uncle worked at the office of the Public Prosecutor, but retired on pension at 59 years of age, because he said he could not stand what was going on there. Another man, a young one, a friend of ours, told us that he was happiest when he was transferred from the People's Court. This is about all I know about the people's courts and their activities. I have no knowledge about the war criminals, since I came to Hungary in 1950. I remember only that I wept when I heard ~~that~~ that in 1946 there was a motion before the Hungarian Parliament to abolish the death penalty. In Rumania, the death penalty had been abolished in 1945, and only one general had been executed - nobody else. When I heard about these things, I ~~was~~ was overjoyed, and thought this was the beginning of a better world."

C. Regarding the Hungarian army, respondent said: I have no knowledge ~~about~~ of the Hungarian army, either before or after 1945. One of the ~~my~~ members of my family ~~was~~ was a soldier. I do know that during the Revolution, the army cooperated beautifully by joining the Revolutionaries in some cases, and by helping the people in others. When the people lacked bread, soldiers in trucks went around distributing bread, and when they had no more, they speeded to ~~about~~ ~~515~~ ~~450~~ a hundred and twenty ~~or~~ miles or so from Budapest to get more bread, and the people waited on the same corners as before, for the bread that the soldiers brought back in a short time."

D. Regarding attitude ~~was~~ toward the Russian troops, respondent gave these views: "I had not even thought that Russians were in Hungary in ~~19~~ 1948 as they were in 1945. In the latter year, I was in Rumania, and my experiences with Russian troops were not much different than ~~that~~ from what happened when Russian troops were in Hungary. The Rumanians ~~expected~~ ~~to~~ WERE LOOKING FORWARD TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE RUSSIANS, but ~~and~~ by word of mouth I heard many kinds of stories about these troops. My own sad experience with them was through my family. They killed my uncle and my cousin in Transylvania, because my uncle didn't want to give them wine. However, the soldiers didn't understand what he ~~was~~ was doing, and just ~~it~~ simply shot him and his son. end 8B

in Rumania,

"~~Next door to us, was a girl~~ Next door to us, was a girl who was eagerly looking forward to meeting the Russian troops. She went out into the street to greet them, and of course they took her along for some work needing to be done. Later, they wanted her for some other purposes --but she started to cry. Then the soldiers slapped her in the face, whereupon she started to cry even more. Then the Russians made her put all the pots and pans in order and finally sent her home.

"A Rumanian lawyer" continued respondent, "was also looked forward to seeing the Russian troops. He became quickly disillusioned when he met the first Russian soldier who wanted to force the lawyer's golden tooth out of his mouth with the point of his bayonet."

"During the Russian Revolution, the Russian soldiers in most cases seemed afraid. They didn't feel very much like fighting. I myself saw on the Moricz Zsigmond square how poor soldiers they were. They didn't sit in their tanks. There was a street fight with some Revolutionaries, and not one Russian soldier could shoot well. They all missed their targets. However, for some reason, my own experiences with Russian soldiers during the Revolution were pleasant. I saw a Russian soldier giving bread to a mother. Then, one evening near the Liberty bridge, when nobody else was on the street there, except an old peasant man who was walking a few steps behind me --suddenly a Russian soldier came up from beneath the bridge. He approached me, extended his hands toward me. I felt something very cold on my hands, and cried out loud in fear. He became angry and gave the thing in his hand to the peasant nearby. I saw then that what the Russian soldier was trying to give me was three fish. I felt very angry with myself because that day we had nothing to eat. My husband almost killed me, so to speak, when I told him the story."

In general, the Russian troops were extremely unpopular in Hungary, but I have no other details about them."

E. In connection with the machinery of bureaucracy, respondent could not give any information. She said she remembered some cases, especially with peasants when employees of the government helped the people, but she didn't remember any details.

F. According to respondent, bribing didn't exist in Hungary.

G. Regarding the efficiency and competence of different groups in power, under Communism in Hungary, respondent said: "The offices in Hungary were filled with those who performed some party activity. If somebody was a good Stachanovist, within a year he was taken from his job and put at a desk, and no matter ~~where~~

HE WAS, HE STILL WAS NOT THE — man he was, he couldn't do anything good. FOR THE JOB. HOW SINCERE

We in the Writers Association wrote about this ~~problem~~ problem. If the person was not honest, he exercised power. If he was honest, he was dismissed. If any one wanted to get really reliable information (on anything?) people went to the registrar's offices, ~~the~~ old experts. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ where were the

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. Regarding prospects for Hungary in the next few years, respondent said: " I feel definitely that the policies of Hungary will return to those that existed ~~before~~ AFTER 1945. The Russian occupation retarded our progress for ten years or more. If we do not get some help from the West, then Hungary ~~in the next~~ ten years AFTER will be about the same as what happened ~~before~~ in 1956. We cannot expect much from the Soviet Union, ~~because~~ AFTER SUCH A ~~of the~~ Revolution. No matter how well Kadar serves the Russians, they will take even more from Hungary than before. They will exploit and rob the country. The members of the Writers' Association felt happy during the Revolution, feeling that independence might be possible in Hungary as it is in Austria. But, before the Revolution, the writers wanted National Communism.

"Most people in Hungary would be satisfied with a solution such as that of Gomulka. Many refugees in Vienna ~~it~~ told me that if the situation in Hungary would change to one such as the Gomulka regime, they all would go back to Hungary. The large number of Hungarians who (due to) fled the nation after the Revolution was mostly hysteria. The smallest percentage of them were the Freedom Fighters.

" I myself hoped for complete independence, " said the respondent, "but this can be achieved only with the help of the West. However, if the West liberated ~~Hungary~~ Hungary, it would make ~~a~~ a big difference if the West imposed a policy on Hungary, or not. If Hungary could really be independent, and fully free, then everybody could go back to Hungary, even the old aristocracy, the old politicians, officers, - but nobody would get any positions. The people of Hungary--peasants, workers, and intellectuals - do not want the old times that existed before 1945." If any one grabbed power by force, it would not last except in the first confused period of the new situation.

Regarding possibility of a war between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, respondent said: If there is such a war, I feel it must be now or never. However, the people of Hungary do not want ~~any~~ war. The other war was too ~~recent~~ recent. Only a few want war. I do not want an atomic war, positively not! However, most and possibly all Hungarians believe in the possibility of a revolution within Russia, because the people there are very discontented. Among my friends, those who visited Russia, agreed that ~~this~~ this revolution in Russia was quite possible, and of course it would be a beautiful solution."

Regarding the prospects for Hungary during the last eight years, before the Revolution, respondent said: "I didn't see the future of Hungary as black as others did. They asked me why did I bear my child, how could I give birth to a child in such a world? However, as I said before, I believed in a solution of gradual changes. This hope continued firm during the last six years. I thought that there would be a ~~sharp~~ change in leaders, and this would cause automatically a change in the policies and life of the country."

"No matter how positive I ~~x~~ was, the others around me continued to be pessimistic. At the beginning, about 1950, people expected war; but later on, these expectations ceased. "

XIV. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Concerning the future system in Hungary, respondent said: "I would like to see a republic in Hungary."

Respondent cannot give any more details on this subject.

B. Regarding the desired economic system, respondent said: "I like agriculture better, but it is the most difficult question in Hungary, not because of the economic factors, but rather because of the psychological angles. Nobody wants to remain a peasant. It was regarded with a sort of shame, in Hungary, to ~~work~~ be a peasant. Everybody looked down on them. even now. How a future system can assure the peasants of respect for their ~~human~~ human dignity, I do not know. This attitude is a much more important problem than/the economic phases of agriculture.

are

"In addition to agriculture, emphasis should be placed on light industry," continued respondent, "because we cannot compete with Germany in heavy industry. We should do what we can do best. This also was the Communist idea. Half work is no work. The Hungarian artisans, small scale industries, were always world-famous. We have a special talent for it. For example, emphasis could be put on folk arts and handicrafts - shoe and leather handicrafts- hand painted items and industrial arts- preserved fruits - jewelry --canned foods-etc."

"If the Communist regime," continued respondent, "were overthrown, nationalization of industries should definitely stay, it wasn't bad. Of course, small scale industries and retail stores should be in private ownership, but only up to four or five employees. I like nationalization; with the exception of the harm that has been done by the Russians in draining us of our wealth, more people have had a better life under nationalization than in the days of large private companies in the hands of a few. However, the nationalized enterprises ~~should~~ should belong to the ~~people~~ people.

" I think it would be a good thing if the government set a definite limit on how much (of land) a person could own," said respondent.

Regarding farmers' cooperatives and state farms, respondent said: "I heard so much bad about them, I really do not know what to say. Basically, the state farms and the ~~farm~~ farmers' cooperatives were a good idea. How can farmers with only a few acres prosper? I believe that all land should be nationalized, above 25 acres. On the ~~latter~~ latter, one can make a nice living--that is, on 25 acres, if he understands farming."

About the kind of government respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, she chooses ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~European and American~~ ^{European and American} ~~values~~ human rights and personal freedom. one having

Regarding the outlawing of the Communist party in an independent Hungary, respondent replied with a definite "No why should the Communist party be outlawed? If Hungary is free, then everybody should have the right to believe in what he wants."

C. In regard to the international situation desirable for an independent Hungary, respondent said: "The ideal would be a neutrality like that of Austria. However, I want a more complete ~~free~~ freedom than that which exists in Austria. We met some people there who had been Communists at one time. They were afraid to mention it. My husband denounced the Communists, then one of them said: "Yes, Communism ~~has~~ faults, but it did not deserve complete destruction. had

"I do not wish to have any connections with the Soviet Union, if we have a free Hungary. If there was anything good in Communism, it did not come from the Soviet Union. If the other Eastern European countries are liberated, then we can have all contacts with them--military, cultural, and economic. It would be desirable to have the same with the rest of Europe and with the United States."

"I do not know anything about the Danubian Federation" said respondent, "I heard about it, ~~but never thought~~ ~~of it~~ ONLY, AND I LIKED THE IDEA."

Regarding the boundaries of Hungary, respondent stated: "I want the 1914 borders. I know that the non-Communists want the old borders. The Communists say that it was not right because the territories should belong to those who live there. They are for things as they are, now. However, I lived there, and I know what it meant. Today, the minority ^{is in a little} ~~is in a~~ better position in Rumania, ~~for example,~~ than they were before 1940. They have equal rights with the Rumanians, and the contrast or differences between the two peoples are not so sharp or great any more. I remember how the Rumanians carried out the Rumanianization."

"A free election for minorities is all right, but what is going to happen to many Hungarians who were transferred, for instance, from Transylvania into Rumanian Regat? Twenty years ago about 40 per cent of the Hungarian population was displaced from Transylvania going, with empty promises, into Rumania.?"

WAS WRITTEN
HIM SECRETLY
ROUND 1950, AND
IT IN HIS
HOWEVER
T WAS

Talking about reading and writers, a very little sweet story occurred to me about Gyula Illyes the great Hungarian writer. By the way, you know his poem, it was the greatest event during the revolution. ~~the greatest event during the revolution~~ ~~the greatest event during the revolution~~ "One Sentence About Tyranny" ~~was~~ passed through many hands already in ~~my~~ 1953 when I myself read this beautiful poem at the writers association. But the communists couldn't do anything against him. He was the best friend of Attila Iossef, the greatest poet adopted by the communists, and therefore he ~~is~~ was so highly respected by everybody that the communists were afraid to touch him. In spite of being maybe the greatest living writer in Hungary, he worked as a bank clerk because he didn't want to serve the regime. But the story what I wanted to tell you about him is the following:

One day he was asked by Lorinc Szabo another big Hungarian writer: "tell my Gyula what on earth can be written today about"?

Yes, meditated for a while and then he answered:

"Gyorgy Dozza" and Illyes ~~was~~ his successful drama "Dozza" which was considered by the Hungarian theatergoers an open resistance in itself. ~~By the way,~~ the communists never forgave him that he had to go back five hundred years to find a subject to write about. (DOZZA LIVED ^{AROUND} 1514.)

DECIDED THAN TO WRITE

Continuing to talk about her reading habits, respondent says: "I didn't read anything from the West, because nothing came in, it was not allowed."

Regarding ^{ILLEGAL} ~~as~~ publications I told before that everything was available at the library of the writers association, where I could order illegal books. If individuals had any illegal in their possession, they books gave those books to their friends to read. Usually nobody hid those books. Only the communists didn't put it on their bookshelves but even they had it at home. We discussed these books in the writers association among each other. Mostly those writers were put on index who escaped to the West, as for instance Zilahi or Marai.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Regarding the chances of changes inside Russia, respondent says:

"Whoever was in the Soviet Union as I said before, besides the Moscovite writers, they came back with the news that the Russians are the same dissatisfied as the Hungarians. This was interesting for me only because I knew that at the same time the Rumanians were not as satisfied as the Hungarians. Maybe this is why I thought that a revolution could break out inside Russia.

If free elections would be held in Russia I am not sure that the Russians would vote for communism. But I do not know more about them and their attitudes.

I have no knowledge about the Soviet leaders.

B. Concerning the other Eastern European nations, respondent says:

"~~East~~/Germany was the most liked in Hungary, because it was ^{/East} nearer to the West, especially in the reactionARY CIRCLES. According to my opinion Bulgaria was the most popular because we had no territory problem with Bulgaria. If somebody could travel free, people went to Bulgaria for visits, those who had not relatives in other countries. The preferences were toward the people not toward the governments.

Yugoslavia was the less popular and maybe Rumania was on the second place. In case of Yugoslavia both the people and the government were disliked. I myself did not like Rumania. In Rumania neither the government nor the people. But of course this is a subjective feeling. I guessed the Rumanians were not liked too much because their moral was different from ours.

If free elections would happen in these countries, in Rumania communism would definitely fall. I don't know anything definite about the rest of the countries.

Concerning the living standards, respondent said:

"The living standard is the highest in East Germany and Czechoslovakia and I am sorry to say, I am almost sure that the lowest is in Hungary.

C. Turning to Poland respondent says:

"Gomulka is better with a slight ~~GRADE~~ than the regime before. Maybe Gomulka was right when he did what he did

in Poland. I meditated very much about it ~~that~~ ^{THAT} the Hungarians should have put down the weapons on the 24th ^{AND} ~~KEEP INRE NA 6-Y AS~~ minister President. Only the ~~Russian~~ ~~XXXXX~~ wishes for the withdrawal of the Russian troops forced the revolution further.

According my nature and my emotions I am more for the Revolution but according my mind I think it would have been much better to follow an ~~evolutionary~~ ^{affected} change.

Events in Poland have definitely ~~XXXXX~~ ^{affected} the Hungarian Revolution. The Polish problem was always discussed widely.

Regarding all the possibilities, however I myself did not care too much for politics and I didn't go into any details.

D. Concerning Titoism respondent says the following:

" Even if Tito is the founder of national communism he is not somebody who would realize it. He can be a good politician but he is interested only in his own power and cannot give himself up to an ideal, cannot immerge into it. He only uses it for his own purposes. He is not sympathetic in general for the people. He jumps from one side to the other and turns wherever he could accept more. With his twofolded policy he always keeps in check the Russians which can be advantageous because ~~we~~ ^{WE} ~~we~~ always canemuch more about somebody who causes problems for us than with an obedient person. However he was the chained up dog of Russia before but today he became a doggy-doggy.

If Titoism has the same name there is a difference according to my opinion between Titoism and the real national communism. National communism cannot be fulfilled simply by anybody else but the new type of people. This type of man cannot be a sadist, a man ~~S A I T I N G~~, oppressor of other nations. He cannot be forcefull and power hungry but he has to be aware of the powers which are the driving forces in him and he should discipline them. He should raise above any subjectivity. He can never exploit anybody but give their right share to those with whom he works together, because he is good. But if he would like to possess, he has to win over his bad characteristics and let the others possess theirs and he will have and will be satisfied with his. Only the good ~~fight~~ ^{fight} of a person will be set free in this type of man. He should oppress/ evil with much education but with understanding that it is a necessity to oppress the imperfect, otherwise he cannot serve the interest of humanity.

sides

were buried under our window and the German soldiers found when they had to dig in a small cannon in front of our window. **THEY** knew where we were they could have brought it over, but they took it instead.

The Russian army was less popular and less disciplined as the German army, in general.

G. I have heard about NATO but I don't know anything else about it but its ~~main~~ purpose, to unite the western military forces. **MAIN**

Regarding the British labor party, respondent says:

DEMOCRATIC
"The Socialist party is too close to the communist party in our eyes, who come from behind the Iron Curtain. We have a bad taste in our mouth when we see the same formalities as in Moscow. When I saw in Vienna the celebration of the Socialist ~~party~~ party with the many red decorations I definitely felt disgusted. I know that the final ideal will grow out of the socialist trends but for the time being I am a little bit suspicious toward these powers and first I would like to see to be set free the will of the people and experience, one free election after the other, as long as the people finally will have a chance to try the different ~~systems~~ and to **SYSTEMS** find out the one which is really good for them.

Concerning the different standards of living in various countries, respondent says:

"The first is West Germany, the second is England, then Rumania and Italy. I don't know about the two others.

H. On saying the general question what surprised her particularly about America, respondent says:

" I was mostly surprised by a negro woman at the airport who had a fabulous ~~white~~ white lace dress and hat on. She looked like an advertisement in the most beautiful magazine. In general I was surprised by the high elegance here which is entirely different from the European elegance.

On the other hand I didn't expect such difficult housing problems. I thought everybody had a nice apartment in America.

Concerning what the US should do for the people of Eastern Europe, respondent says:

"Concerning the question from America's point of view, for her own interest he should give aid to those nations because this way he could learn about the ~~the~~ real circumstances in these countries. On the other hand if somebody gives, she will get it back, no matter how but in some form.

In connection with Hungary the US has only one ~~main~~ ^{MAIN} duty, by all means to exert her influence to the Russians to withdraw their troops from Hungary.

America should not recognize the Kadar government under no circumstances.

The Hungarian population would like to have Western visitors all kinds, but they would like to talk to these visitors personally, in order to tell them about the real situation.

The Western visitors going to Hungary should know about two things. The first is that being already in Hungary they have to try hard to enforce their own will and go there where they want to go, where they can meet real life and not only to see what they are shown. They should try to talk to different people, in different languages, to all sort of inhabitants, Somebody always talks some sort of language. The second thing is that before these visitors leave for Hungary they should consult Hungarian exiles. They have to get detailed information from the people who recently came out of the country.

Western magazines should be sent into Hungary by all means. I know that it is prohibited to send in such magazines officially, however I myself sent an article from Vienna to my family and they received it. I guess that if everybody from out here send articles or magazines to their families, or the organization who sponsored us, would use their lists of people asking them to send such publications, it would ~~xxxx~~ help a great deal. I know myself that whenever I sent something home, a letter or anything, it is read at least by hundred other people.

Respondent has no knowledge of the Marshall Plan. She said she wasn't in Hungary at that time, Neither has she ~~xxxx~~ knowledge about the motives of the Korean war.

J. About the UN respondent says:

" We expected the UN troops or observers during the revolution.

We expected help from the UN much more ~~and~~ ^{than} from the US.

I guess that the UN could be very effective in actions for Hungary in the future, in case if they would definitely do such actions. I am not a politician but for instance to dismiss the Russians from the UN or ~~as~~ if the West and America would condemn the Russian or put the conditions that either they withdraw their troops from the oppressed countries, or they are not recognized or by any other way, I mean diplomatic way, they could be forced at least to reconsider the present situation.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

A. Regarding her opinion who is the greatest living Hungarian, respondent says:

" I don't know such a person, otherwise he would have become the leader of the Revolution."

B. Concerning her reactions to a number of important persons, respondent says:

- a. Dure Nagy. I don't trust him, I don't understand politics but I could never forget that he announced the ~~MARTIAL LAW~~ or at least I am still not convinced, with a lot of other Hungarians that it wasn't he who announced it. If it was Gero why didn't Nagy deny it and stopped it after he became powerful? He could have stopped it right away. Another thing what I don't understand why he escaped to Yugoslavia instead of going to the US embassy? This shows that he was a communist and didn't want to deny his communism.
- b. Cardinal Mindzsenty. I was not in Hungary during his activity and I was not a Catholic. He was neutral to me.
- c. Lasso Rajk. I wasn't in Hungary when he was Minister of Interior. I know only what I heard from other people that he was considered as a martyr.
- d. Erno Gero. I wept when I heard his speech on the radio on the 23rd of October. He is not a Hungarian, he is a gangster and ~~nobody~~.
A
- e. Ianos Kadar. Today I guess that he is just the same as Gero. For a while I was convinced about his martyrdom when I heard the story that he fainted when he learned about the execution of Rajk. But after what he did, as a traitor in Hungary, I guess I was wrong.
- f. General Bela Kiraly. I guess ~~was~~ ^{THEY WERE} in a tight corner ~~xxxxxxx~~ together with Maleter and this is how they became heroes. According ^{to} my opinion they had no choice. Either they joined the revolution or they would have been shot. I am suspicious toward these communist officers.

- g. Anna Kethly. I know that she was a diligent opportunist but somehow I cannot believe in these politicians that they do, what they do, from the bottom of their heart, Taking human point of views into consideration.

Going over to the second group respondent says:

- a. General Eisenhower. I don't know him.
- b. Secretary General Hammarskjold. He was mean, he didn't come to Hungary, /he promised and we ex- /when-pected him.
- c&d. Respondent knows the names and the occupations but she has no opinion about the persons.

Regarding the third group, respondent does not know anything about people under A.B.C.D.

- a. Roosevelt. ~~He~~ He sold us to the Russians, I don't like him.
- f. I know that Adenauer is the chancellor of West Germany but I don't know more about him.
- g. Stalin. He was a dirty fellow but he was a great man.

Among the rest of the people on the list, respondent recognized : Generalissimo Franco, Khrushchev, Tito, Molotov Churchill. She didn't recognize the rest of the people,

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Regarding the characterisations of escapes, respondent says:

"Most of the refugees came out of Hungary because of economic problems. From all sort of classes and from every age. Most of the people came from Budapest and from the border area. Those people came out in general besides those who wanted to live under better economic conditions, who were afraid of imprisonment, whose family members were abroad, who had some emotional problems they couldn't settle and a few came out because of personal, immediate personal danger. Many came out just for locking adventure. Those people who were bound to their homes and families stayed in Hungary.

I heard about cases when people didn't come out in spite of the opportunity they ~~had~~ to come out; for instance, ^{✓ COULD HAVE} ~~that~~ person's house was confiscated in 1952, and in November he still hoped he would get it back, because of the change. In general during November, almost everybody could have come out from Hungary, [✓] ~~he~~ decided so. My opinion about those people who ~~stayed~~ stayed in Hungary ^{/is} that they have resentment toward us because we could leave our homeland.

If the Hungarian border would be opened up, about 80 per cent of the population would stay in Hungary.

B. Regarding exile organizations, respondent has no knowledge about them, neither their activities.

Filling out the list of organizations and individuals, the only remark she made is with Horthy. She says the following:

CHARGE He was a person whom I like. I know about his faults and about the regime he was the leader of, however, I don't ~~charge~~ ^{IT} charge him ~~with~~ personally ~~for~~ ^{FOR} ~~his~~ ^{FOR} ~~mistakes~~ ^{OF} Feudalism was a thousand years old system.

Respondent does not know anything about people who left Hungary before 1956.

C. I heard about people who returned to Hungary from the West, after 1945. As far as I know most of them regret it. I know the exact story of a family whom I knew personally; they escaped with two children around 1945-46, but they had to stay in Austria and they did not get anything to eat for their two children from the Austrian peasants.

"When Radio Free Europe scolded the members of the Writers' Association, and derided their writings," said respondent, "and even mentioned them by name, our writers naturally discussed all this. When Peter Kucka, ~~xxxxx~~ was attacked, our writers asked him, laughing, 'Now, Peter, how do you feel? Are you afraid?' Usually, the attacks on writers by Radio Free Europe were not based on truth. At the same time that this station slandered the Hungarian Radio * Programs, they broadcasted poems criticizing Rakosi, and other scripts, which were exactly the same literary trash as ours. This discredited the foreign broadcasts, as well as our own Kossuth radio, which we didn't like. The most important factor, of objectivity, ~~xxxxx~~ which we ~~heard~~ ^{FOUND} when reading ~~the New York Times~~ ^{in Hungary}, was missing in the foreign broadcasts.

The foreign broadcasts ^{were} always encouraging people to do things, such as escaping from Hungary, but they might be stranded in refugee camps in Austria.

It will be an eternal shame for America that she closed her doors to people (~~of Hungary~~) who are in such a terrible situation, not knowing what is going to happen to them. I was once in a hospital in Austria where I saw refugees with nervous breakdowns, so I know what the Hungarians have been suffering. The foreign radios are to blame for this situation, always urging the people to escape—and what propaganda material this is for the Russians. They ~~it~~ already have started to write about this, in the Nepakaral, about the ~~refugee camps~~ ^{and} ~~what was said about it~~. What they wrote was true. America should consider all exiles as equal, and should not make any ~~xxxxxxx~~ exceptions. I definitely felt ashamed when we got our visas through the Academy of Sciences, and so many people who needed help ~~more than~~ we did, were not allowed to come, and had to stay in the ~~the~~ refugee camps.

"In general, the American broadcasts were the only hope ~~xxxxx~~ for the people who were reactionaries. They listened to them, and discussed the programs and ~~the~~ thought them very important. ~~It was~~ ^{IT WAS AN ELIXIR OF LIFE FOR THEM.}"

"During the Revolution," said respondent, "our radio didn't work, and I couldn't hear the programs."

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"However, I heard from other people that Radio Free Europe told the Revolutionaries to hold on. ~~But~~ The fighters were extremely frustrated about it. ~~It~~ AFTERWARDS."

"Radio Free Europe should continue its broadcasts, said respondent, "but I do not feel that its criticisms which are one-sided, are good policy. I think this ~~xxx~~ produced a bad effect."

"In general, the quality of the programs should be raised" said respondent, "I myself liked the news without comment, but most of the people needed the comments."

"Some anti-Communist propaganda is necessary" said respondent, "but not to an extreme. It should definitely be factual. Programs about life in Western Europe are very good; and those about life in the United States are very necessary. I would recommend as many programs as possible describing living conditions in the United States, giving detailed, accurate ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ statistical data."

B. Regarding S.E.P. leaflets, respondent said: "I heard of ~~the~~ the existence of N.E.M. I thought it was an underground movement, and I was always wondering how to find it. We in Hungary would have been glad to follow a leader to achieve our higher aims and ideals, and we would have been willing to risk our lives for this. During the Revolution, I asked some people, whom I felt might ~~know~~ know of ~~such~~ such a movement, but I could learn nothing, ~~except from~~ ~~some~~ ~~prisoners~~ I was never able to check it, but there was believed to be such a movement in the prison. Prison atmosphere was interesting, for example, about the 23rd (of October?) no one apparently was aware of the unrest, but the people in prison knew it very definitely. ~~I~~ I talked to a person, who is now in Vienna, and who was a prisoner at Vac before the Revolution. He told me how, on the 20th of October, the prisoners attacked their guards, freed all the prisoners who were the political ones, and simply walked out of the place. They had to hide themselves in the outskirts of Budapest until the 25th. ~~He~~ He said the prisoners had heard that something was brewing, and that it was now the time to break out and join the others who were seeking freedom. He ~~himself~~ himself, still wearing his prison uniform, joined the Revolutionaries, and fought with them all during the Revolution."

Respondent didn't know anything about the 12 points ~~(the document)~~ nor about the F.E.P. leaflets. She only knew that they existed.

D. Regarding her opinion why Western groups broadcast and sent leaflets to Hungary, she thought the aim was to liberate Hungary. "However, some of the people including myself, " said respondent, " didn't like it because the reactionaries expected that the old system would be reestablished. In this way, Hungary was divided into two parts - one part believed in and liked this broadcasting and the leaflets, and the other was suspicious of it and didn't believe in it. I do not know whether these organizations ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ had different ~~objectives~~ objectives or not."

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Regarding rearing of children, respondent gave these views: "I would teach my child only good and beautiful things. Religion is of great importance. I have some ideas on how ~~ex~~ children should be brought up. Children from early childhood on can be taught all that we want them to know, if told in the form of tales, stories. A four or five year old child should already have had mythological tales. The Communists said that this was too difficult for a small child, but I insisted upon this point - that everything, including religion, ~~can~~ can be taught a child if in the form of stories --ex especially those subjects that the children later on will get at school -history, geography, etc. I would never let my child see a gangster film, for instance."

"However, the chief influence on the child" continue respondent, "is how the adults behave. To properly educate their children, parents must set a good example, and have ~~xxx~~ self-control and ~~wxy~~ worthy characters. When an adult loses his temper, he forgets about it later, but the child will remember it. "

"In connection with the disciplining of children," said respondent, " basically I am against physical ~~pin~~ punishment. But even I myself, in connection with my boy, fell it necessary sometimes to give him a gentle slap on the face, and this is necessary for both boys and girls--but not after they are ten years old."

"I was ~~xxx~~ brought up by my grandparents" said respondent, " they never beat me. They loved me, and praised me, and spoiled me terribly. They wanted to ~~gim~~ give me more love and care than even my parents would ~~be~~ have done, because I always praised and loved ~~them~~. My grandmother often scolded my father, but I loved him even more after that. In Hungarian families, the mother usually was the one who punished the children. In the lower classes, parents beat their children, mostly because of nervousness."

"I do not know at what ages children were no longer physically punished by their parents, neither how child rearing changed during the last ten years," said respondent.

Regarding what characteristics respondent looked for in a friend, she said: "loyalty and faithfulness. In general, friends parted during Communism because of political reasons, but real friendships always continued."

END

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION:

Note: This interview tries to reflect, most explicitly, the psychological motives, fundamental reason, relations and inner struggles of a Communist ~~sympathizer~~ sympathizer. Since interviewer's real purpose was to explore the final causes of the conscious and subconscious motives of respondent, this interview includes the complete exchange of views and their analysis between respondent and interviewer concerning her feelings toward Communism. However, interviewer feels that his confession-type conversation should not, under any circumstances, cause any harm to respondent and should be handled confidentially. All the more because according to interviewer, respondent has never been a Communist sympathizer, only an idealist who was looking (and is still looking) for the real solutions of human problems. At the same time, because she did not have the opportunity to become acquainted with forms of life beyond the Soviet empire, due to her own ignorance and lack of culture as well as to lack of guidance and to the circumstances, she never joined the Party. These factors make her case a typical one which shows the danger to the non-Communist part of the world how ~~Communism works and spreads~~ Communism works and spreads with the help of innocent mediums who are the victims of their own unbalanced emotions and physical environment.

This interview was given by respondent with the understanding and good will that her experiences will help some people to understand our present difficulties on earth and change them toward a better life.

In the following two sections the interviewer first gives her own impressions of the subject and secondly, respondent's explanation about her motives toward Communism.

1. Respondent is a good-looking young woman, with a very good medium-fragile figure, dark brown hair, large brown eyes with a vivid but romantic expression (however, indicating a slightly irregular thyrogenic function). Her features are pleasant on the whole and can be beautiful when she talks excitedly and animatedly about her ideals.

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Respondent is the type of a person who has talent and ambition as well as good human characteristics but neither had the outside help or chance nor the real inner urge to build up herself. She was never taught discipline. As a result, very often the practical angle of a human character comes up her as parasitism, the intellectual as keen criticism and the emotional as romantic day-dreaming. However, she has the ability, if guided in the right way, toward hard work and struggle for independence, just philosophical analysis and highest idealism. All these positive and negative motives of her character rumble undisciplined in her and wherever they find a channel to burst out they do it biased toward this one direction and for a while are blindly influenced by it. Nevertheless, respondent's strongest characteristic is idealism which pulls her out, sooner or later ^{out} of the extremes and pushes her forward to her next station ~~she~~ struggling for the ultimate goal of humanity: perfection. This is what she was looking for, as she puts it, "in the Communist Man."

Respondent has not ~~much~~ much practical knowledge about world events -- neither about politics nor their influence upon the individuals. She has never been taught to be independent, never worked regularly for her own bread, but depended upon some one else. Therefore, her experiences as well as her good ability of thinking are limited to a very narrow field. She looks upon things from her very personal angle and expects to serve her isolated idealism in life.

Today, she is still confused. Her experiences with Communism are fading out slowly ~~from~~ from her memory. However, the idealistic slogans may stay ~~with~~ with her for a long time especially if her family life and her circumstances will frustrate her. Her main ideas -- equality of men and a higher living standard ~~is~~ for everybody -- will be found in this country. However, she should be under guidance not to confuse theory and practice. (Her example as well as those of many other young refugees' ~~is~~ convinced the interviewer that a sort of intellectual club, with good programs and possibilities for discussions should be established which would help this great number of newcomers to straighten out their biased minds as well as the old refugees and the Americans to learn about their minds and to improve their own system of fighting Communism. Particularly since the new refugees are not able to read the Times or other objective sources for the real facts. The interviewer hopes that perhaps the newly found Petofi Circle in New York can take up these facts, the sooner, the better.)

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Respondent comes from a peasant family. Both of her parents, as well as all of her sisters and brothers, were very ambitious. None of them stayed within the old family ranks, but became intellectuals or married intellectuals. The parents were both intelligent and extremely stubborn and respected these character traits in each other. However, the father was very impatient with his children and quarrelled with them, often beating them up severely. However, he never quarrelled with his wife. It was not possible to convince him against his opinion. Once, when respondent argued with him that the sun was good for his grandchild and refused to put the child in the shade, her father dug out a tree and planted it next to the child's cradle to secure victory for his conviction. The father was a model farmer and a bailiff on a large estate belonging to an aristocratic family. When respondent was three years old, due to her mother's sickness, she was taken to her maternal grandparents in Romania. She lived with them until she was 16. She had an unquenchable ~~xxxix~~ longing for her mother and an ardent love for her father, which was strengthened by the continuous abuse of the grandparents about her father whom they did not like. The more they disparaged him, the more she loved him, seemingly building up a father complex in herself. She did not see her parents for more than ten years and could never forgive them for leaving her alone in spite of the fact that she was loved ~~xxx~~ dearly by her grandparents. She was never punished for anything and the grandparents were in an infinite competition in their imagination with the parents surpass their possible love. Her grandparents were farmers too. They had 20 acres, but being too old to work, they rented out the land. They were quite well off financially and lived in the city of Szatmar-nemeti.

In Romania the class distinction was not as sharp at that time as in Hungary. Respondent was together, almost daily, with the children of a count where the father of her best girlfriend worked as a gardener. They played tennis together and had all kinds of entertainment with the aristocratic youngsters and thought to be normal. However, when in 1940, in the course of the annex of Transylvania to Hungary, she returned for the first to Hungary, respondent had her first bitter experience with feudalism and, at the same time, became disillusioned with her father. Her small personal experience was the milestone in her struggle for human dignity. Her father did not allow her to go out or to invite young county clerk with an aristocratic background to their home because of class differences and degraded himself as well as his daughter stupidly and unjustly in ~~the~~ respondent's eyes. After her three ~~month~~ months' long visit in the old Hun-

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gary, the whole family returned to the annexed Transylvania and settled down in the outskirts of Szatmarnemeti. Respondent stayed with her grandparents in the city and visited her family every second or third day. At that time, she had some additional frustrations about class distinction in connection with the occupational Hungarian troops and decided that she would never marry anyone from her own peasant class. She wanted to get out of "Toldi Street" because nobody else lived on that street that she could look up to and respect. She slowly started to observe people of her own class -- what problems they had, what sort of life they could expect and could see all their problems and ~~various~~ difficulties.

Respondent first married a young and very handsome pilot with a middle class background during the war in 1943 only because, as she says, "he could convince me that my love toward him was the only real love. I would never love anybody in my life as I loved him. My ideal at that time was real, pure love, and I left a rich man, who wanted to marry me and went with him, because I believed in him. We lived together for four months but during that time I already realized that my husband cheated me. He influenced me with his passion and set me a high ideal which didn't ~~exist~~ exist. I did not love him and I couldn't fall in love with him either, because he was unintelligent, and something entirely different from what I had expected, from someone I could respect. After the four months of marriage he crashed in Russia and became a prisoner of war for four years."

Respondent went back to live with her grandparents and didn't have to struggle for her own bread, because she got a small pension from the government from her husband. Within a few years, however, she divorced her first husband and married again in 1949. She describes this marriage as follows:
"During the past few years I had built up the image of a very intelligent person, whom I could live with only, and my second husband convinced me that he had the highest intelligence. He answered all my questions off-hand, and I realized only later that I could never judge whether these answers were right or wrong. Exactly the same thing happened with me as in my first marriage. I ~~stupidly~~ stupidly believed that he was the intelligent man, and he again cheated

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me. He came from an old gentry family, had excellent manners. For instance, he jumped up from every position, every time I entered the place, and surrounded me with all signs of courtesy. He had three diplomas and was a teacher at that time; he could speak about every subject. He was ugly, but I didn't care. I married him for love of intelligence and refinement. Pretty soon I realized that everything was formality and routine with him, and he didn't have the trace of the inborn intelligence of a real man I visualized."

At that time respondent started to write again. She first wrote childrens' stories for a ~~religious~~ newspaper "SZIV" when she was 13 and continued writing after her first husband became a war prisoner. She wrote mostly romantic stories about women, who were looking for the ideal man, and sold them to womens' or childrens' ~~sections~~ sections of small magazines. When they left Szatmarnemeti and came to Budapest for good in 1950, she took up writing, but was criticized by her husband all the time on how she wanted to write anything good with her peasant background, without sufficient education. In those years respondent already realized that without the changes brought about by Communism, she would never have been able to marry her husband, because his parents, already dead, would never have agreed to their son's marrying her. Her husband's relative had all had high ~~positions~~ positions during the past regime and her husband was also basically a reactionary according to her judgment. He preached the principle of the superman and explained to her hundreds of times the superiority of higher classes as a necessity which can happen only through origin, time, and circumstances of refinement. At the same time he never failed for a minute to make it clear that his wife is a peasant and will remain so. This stimulated respondent tremendously. She watched and analyzed her husband bit by bit and compared his qualities and abilities with her own. She decided finally, that her inborn characteristics and intelligence are superior to her husband's and started to revolt against him. She wanted to write something good. One day she wrote a love story, which her husband finally liked, and showed it to an authentic Communist person, who told respondent that this piece outdated, nobody interested in Communism was interested in love stories, but only in stories to teach the ~~youth~~ youth and society about progressive new idea. However she has the ability to write, therefore she should go to the Writer's Association and to the radio, getting

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some guidance concerning the style and ideas which make a story saleable. From this time on respondent regularly visited the Writer's Association and the radio. She made friendships at both places, took part in discussions, and found a way of indulging her writing ambitions. The Writer's Association was a group of young and old Communist writers, with a few non-Communist members. The Communist writers were mostly idealists and the oldest members found satisfaction in teaching the youth their idealistic conceptions. For instance, Paul Szabo, an old writer, made a deep impression on respondent and she found ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ in his writing her confused thoughts, expressed in beautiful sentences and ideas. That was the place respondent met first with the idea of the "Communist Man" as a higher goal, as something perfect -- which will be realized by the whole of society only after many decades, through lots of evolutionary changes, always selecting out of their ranks those who want power, who are violent, etc. She was overcome by enthusiasm, and ran home with the idea that Communism would have to reach into all parts of the world as a necessity. Her husband sarcastically told her that that was not a very original thought of hers, because this was already told by Marx. Then she started bitter arguments with her husband about Marxism, which she didn't know at all and learned about as her husband refuted the Marxist formulas one by one, and she felt every time, that Marx was right and her husband was wrong. Even if she didn't know much about the Communist doctrines she became more and more convinced that something her husband rejects so strongly and absolutely -- which was unjust in itself in her opinion-- must be good.

In the meantime she fell in a religious craze parallel with her newly found Communism. The day when her first script was broadcast over the radio, she listened to the preaching of a priest who said that every man has a real duty on ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ earth; he has only to find it and fulfill it. She felt strongly after her speech that her duty was to write for people ~~XXX~~ about the just ideas she had, and which she could give out through the Writer's Association. In the religious group she belonged to her friends tried to convince her that her real duty would be to offer her talent for religious purposes, and that she should write religious poems and stories. She was religious

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all her life, and therefore she went home after that eventful day rather confused. She was still more religious than she was Communistic and finally agreed with her religious friends, and started to put down some religious text. But she couldn't succeed. Nothing came to her mind. She felt the ideas strange to her nature, and felt clearly that the problems in the Writer's Association at the radio, in the farmers' cooperatives and industrial schools were much closer to life. They were the real themes which captured her imagination and interest. However, she settled in her mind that she is God's child, was created by him and has continuous connection with Him, but God cannot expect every single man to spend his life preaching about Him. She was sent out by God to work and to do it according to her best abilities. At the same time she saw that other Communists ~~wantxxxx~~ well went to church secretly, and were atheists only before the public. That way she could coordinate her strong religious inclinations with her interest in Communism.

Later on both of the crazes declined equally. She realized that her religious friends didn't follow their principles in their actual lives and Communism didn't make the people as happy as it was supposed to. Therefore the Communists had to lie in every field, and this frustrated her. Nevertheless respondent was mostly acquainted with idealistic Communists or at least she didn't have the chance to find out their real motives. On the other hand the members of the Writer's Association were mostly national Communists, who were heated by the possibility of their victory over the Moscovites, especially after 1953. They had a fighting spirit with highly idealistic slogans. Respondent wasn't aware of this political background, not having been interested in politics all her life. She didn't even know the real difference between the Moscovites and the National Communists. She only saw and felt that she belonged to a group which professed high principles, understood that it would take time to realize these principles, therefore she couldn't expect to see the ideal Communist Man all around her. But at the same time everybody had to fight for a change, to replace the old decadent leaders, because the evolutionistic change can only happen through the continuous change and improvement of the leaders. This way respondent's natural dislike of the Russians

was also justified, and when the revolution started, she was convinced that that was what her Communist group expected. This was the change which would bring a better solution that was discussed all the time at the Writer's Association. Firstly they would be independent of Moscow and secondly get rid of all the old vicious leaders. ~~xxxxxxx~~
~~xxxx~~At the beginning she wanted all this to happen only with a little unrest which would open the road for evolution, as it happened in Poland. However, later on she was overcome by the heroism of the revolutionists and the clean spirit of their fight, and maybe from this time on she was mostly with her husband, the influence of her Communist friends stopped and she was unable to grasp and conceptualize the events from the Communists' angle by herself. After the Russians occupied Hungary again, her friends became martyrs or escaped, and she supposedly went on her husband's line about the real solution for Hungary's future coming from the West and having a completely independent Hungary.

2. Respondents remarks about her own feelings toward Communism: "I came to the U.S. only four weeks ago and don't know too much about it at all. I loved Europe and wished to travel in it while staying in Hungary, but America was too far. I didn't know about the real life here, therefore I didn't particularly want to come here. What I heard from my Communist circles wasn't much good; what I heard from my reactionary relatives mostly on my husband's side was too good. However, I believe in those things I heard about America in Austria, that it is a really free country, and therefore I am not afraid to speak my mind as frankly as I would talk to myself.

"For years I sympathized with Communism, but nobody ever asked me to join the Party. Otherwise I would have joined them. What did I like in Communism? First of all, I liked how they treated the youth. I remembered what was the entertainment of a little sewing-maid when I was 16 years old and envied the Communist youth for the sports, free entertainments, ballet schools, etc. Why couldn't I have been a young girl during that time? When I was 16, I wanted to climb out of my ~~xxxx~~own class. ~~it~~ I wouldn't ever marry a peasant. If I stayed among them, I would have wished too strongly to leave them. In spite of that I love my class, and I will never deny them. However I never felt that I became more

because I married my second husband, although he told me this several times. It always hurt me a little of course, even if I pretended not to react. He hurt my human dignity again and again, and this was my main problem. I felt strongly that neither ancestors nor class origin makes up a person, but real human values. I could never understand how my husband could hate Communism, which didn't take so much from him, so subjectively. And he could never understand how I could praise Communism. I was convinced that all of my Communist friends were real idealists and honest people. My husband always told me about corrupt opportunists and people who only laughed at their own Communism, and told awful stories about them. My friends from 1950 on, when I began to sympathize with Communism, told me about its difficulties but added that these things will be changed. I saw myself the injustices against the former middle class. For instance, children didn't have an equal chance to study because of old class origin. But I thought that this was the justice of nature, that now the lower classes had the better chance. I believed, however, that all these excesses would be eliminated within 50 years, because everything is formed and improves through evolution. I speculated very much about everything I saw, but they could always give a good explanation. For instance, I didn't like their practice of taking things from the people. When I argued about it, they said that it was impossible to equalize the goods in any other way. I didn't like this equalization, because I said that if everybody has a blue dress, I will surely put something on the dress just to be different from the others, and that the same thing is true of wealth. It is against human nature. But they said that we have to give up our selfishness and vanity in order to create the ideal Communist Man; otherwise we will be just as bad as the present leaders, who kill each other and care only for power. I understood it but somehow I felt that something was wrong. And when I visited the farmers' cooperatives and heard people complaining about their circumstances, and saw the atheistic Communist teacher go to church secretly, and met more and more dissatisfaction among the people, who were supposed to be happier than before, I started to have my ~~doubts~~ doubts. Nevertheless, whenever I went home and my husband abused my views on the whole, without any intelligent criticism or reasoning,

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I was thrown back to the other camp, to my Communist friends. We had a completely separate circle of friends. At that time I was not aware that I sympathized with Communism because of the antagonism with my husband. He told me I was a peasant, so I thought I really belonged to the other side. And they gave me work and human dignity. However, today I am beginning to realize that maybe that was the real reason for my sympathy. I saw that Communism wasn't as good as they preached, but I didn't want to deny its advantages. It wouldn't have been right. And I still strongly believe in a better life and in an idealistic type of people, who will be different from us, and maybe it will be the Communist Man. I don't know anything about politics and have a feeling that whoever becomes a political leader, gets into power, must cross his own conscience at some point and desert his real, honest humanity. Therefore I cannot believe in the spread of Communism through force and power, nor in politics, which hinders human freedom and equality. But I believe in the individuals and their evolution, and I am still looking for the really noble man whom I can respect, and I hope my son will be like that. If I wanted to become a real Communist, I would have studied their doctrines, read their philosophy. I wasn't interested in it a bit. But I still feel that my Communist friends were ~~xxxx~~superior to those old or young reactionaries, who were a sort of death, out-dated, and ~~xi~~ cannot believe in the success of the old system in a free Hungary. Nevertheless I cannot get rid of the idea that a system for which people are ready to die and endure horrible tortures must have some strength in it. That is why I can never understand Kadar and forgive him, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ I cannot understand how, since he was looked upon by us ~~hza~~ hero, he could tolerate all those inhuman tortures and become a traitor and a coward puppet of the "Russians."