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MAJOR SALIENCE AND MAKE-UP QUESTION

These are the most important things respondent thinks that Americans should know.

"The Americans should become aware of what cursed and damned idea Communism is. They should know that by our fight for freedom, we have crushed, not only Hungarian Communism, but would have made a successful start to crushing world communism - if the world had joined our fight. Since we were not able to continue our fight because we received no help, the well-being of every nation on earth is gravely jeopardized by Communism. We fought not only for ourselves, but also for the ~~free~~ fearless life of the whole world.

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

prison  
"On Oct. 22, our business at the ~~hospital~~ hospital was as usual. I spoke to one of the doctors in a friendly conversation, as we were conducting such conversation very frequently among each other, and he ~~was~~ censured the Hungarian people for being yellow and for siding with the Russian oppressors. He said he thought that the ~~big~~ Hungarian people were guilty, that we got so far on the road to Communism. I dissented and I said that the Hungarian people would rise and shake off the yoke imposed upon our nation. He said that I was nuts to think that this handful of the Hungarian nation would ever dare to challenge the almost unlimited power of the Russians."

"On October 23rd, I had an off day. I went to help my sister, who was working for her husband in a furrier shop. (Her husband was also a furrier.) I wanted to cross over from Buda to Pest, and I saw an immense crowd of mostly students on the Margaret Bridge. These young people radiated enthusiasm and overwhelming happiness. It was really wonderful to see them march. But first I didn't know what this marching was all about. One just couldn't think of a real demonstration under those circumstances in Hungary! ... Who could think of a demonstration under Communism?!... As I went on the bridge, people expressed their dislike for my not walking with them. They said, 'Come to us.' My going from Buda to Pest was all the more conspicuous to them because there are hardly any, I might say practically no people, walking in that direction, but the immense crowd came from Pest to Buda. As I learned later, they were heading for the Fem status. As they went, I heard them shouting, 'Down with Gero.' 'Gero shouldn't talk.' 'Hungarian army uniforms for the soldiers!' 'Long live the Polish youth.' And they made it quite clear that they were demonstrating in sympathy for the Polish, and they carried similar signs. Oh, I said to myself, Jesus, Maria Mary, these people are demonstrating!... They want nuts. What will become of them?!... As I reached over the bridge, I saw immense crowds. I could never have believed that such an immense crowd would dare to gather."

"For 12 years we were not able to stir at all. We were less able to go out on the streets in a crowd. Certainly not unless we were so ordered, and now these people speak freely and shout their demands in a bold manner! ... There were never as many people in the streets as now. Buses and streetcars halted everywhere one could see, and I saw an example when a streetcar stopped and the driver, as well as the conductor, got out. The conductor had carried his briefcase with him, in which he had the ~~money~~ money he collected. They went demonstrating. I saw the same happening in buses. As I went closer to the demonstrating crowd, I saw many people weeping, and others clapping their hands and shouting for joy. I went to the furrier shop of my brother-in-law and sister, and I meant to help them. But nothing came of it, because other acquaintances and friends came and we just kept talking and the work just didn't progress. They told us what they themselves experienced so far."

"My brother-in-law told us that it was at 11 a.m. when he stood in front of his shop and the students went by and he asked them what they wanted and they told him that they wanted to demonstrate. There were other people who objected that Minister of the Interior Piros had issued a ban on the demonstrations. But the students answered that they didn't care. Allegedly, later, Piros retracted this ban and now they went ahead. So that when I met them a little after 2 p.m., I met, as I told you, immense crowds."

"As we spoke for a while in the shop, I grew restless, and I told them that in such times I just cannot sit still, but want to be there where things are happening and wanted to go out into the streets. By then it was about 6 p.m., and even a little after, because even the time when I arrived at their shop in Pest was very long, because, as I met the crowds that came from Pest to Buda I was slowed down. As I say, it was after 6 p.m. that we went out to the streets, and went all around. And this is how we got near the radio station. We saw the largest crowd in that neighborhood. This is why we went there. I cannot describe to you what it means, a sea of men. We couldn't even enter the Sandor Street. There were many buses standing and a great many students stood on top of them and the entire crowd shouted, 'Down with Gero.' 'Gero shouldn't talk.' 'Gero is number two.'"

"There were four of us who actually left to go around, my sister, my brother-in-law and a friend of his. But those two, I mean the two men, went somewhere in another direction in the immense crowd, so I stood there with my sister. We got near the entrance of the radio building but couldn't get any closer, because by then they threw out tear gas bombs. (Interviewer's note: Asked what time it was, respondent says it was a little before 8 p.m.) Gero was supposed to talk on the radio at 8 p.m. As the tear gas bombs were thrown out from the windows of the radio building, we heard very soon also shooting and I decided that it was best to leave. And I suggested we go home. We withdrew somewhat and got to the area of the so-called Museum Kert (Museum Garden). We of course couldn't see well from that distance what was going on at the radio building, so we also listened to one boy who had climbed up a tall street light post and who instructed people around him about what he saw. If he stopped giving "progress reports", people in the crowd joked with him, threatening him (jokingly) that they would throw him down, and others called him "Fluhar" (Interviewer's note: Fluhar was the most famous Hungarian running commentator between the two World Wars and during World War II.) 'Fluhar, they said, why don't you give us new announcements and reports?' The boy gave us reports like 'Now they throw again tear gas bombs,' and then again he said that the crowd throws it back to the building, and then we were happy and applauded. But after such and similar cheerful notes, more serious



shooting started at the entrance, which we ourselves heard and the boy reported, and believe it or not, the Hungarian people kept standing there without moving and they started singing the national anthem. Everybody was moved to tears."

"As the situation became more serious, we decided to move away from the danger spot. As we went on the streets, we wondered whether Gero actually spoke and we watched windows which were open to listen to the noise of radio. In fact, we heard parts of the speech, and we also heard people standing in the street yelling up to those open windows things like, 'Shut that radio off, we don't want to hear that scoundrel!' 'Throw that trash can out of your window!' (Interviewer's note: By trash can, actually it was not trash can, because in Hungary they have trash boxes. By 'Trash can', obviously, they meant radios.) 'This miserable creature is talking in spite of the fact that people don't want to listen to him!' This is what one person said, and others said similar things. In that certain instance, it happened that the people living in that flat shut off the radio. We now decided to go back to the shop and so we did. After a while my brother-in-law came back, too, and in the shop we started talking over our experiences. All of a sudden we heard a tremendous battle noise. (Interviewer's note: Asked what time it was, respondent says it might have been about 9 p.m.) We heard a lot of shooting and yelling. As we hurried to the Kalvin Square, we saw one streetcar turned over. (Asked where they wanted to go, respondent says she wanted to go home to Buda, and her brother-in-law and sister wanted also to go home to a suburb of Budapest.)

(Interviewer's note: In this case, it is not only requested, it is a plea of this interviewer in no connection to include such details from which it can be guessed that the furrier shop was near Kalvin Square, or near Sandor St., because respondent's brother-in-law and sister are still in Hungary, and their identity could easily be established and you know well enough what would emanate from anything that is published in such a way that these people could be identified by the AVO.)

"Curiosity still drove us back to the neighborhood of Sandor Street, and we saw three truckloads of AVO officers, who came back from the direction of Sandor St. Apparently the crowd blocked their way to get there, and they were backing. As people saw this, people in that area ran to them and struck their hands and grasped their arms and ~~ask~~ pleaded with them: 'You people are Hungarians, too, aren't you? Please don't shoot. Don't shoot at young Hungarians.' People pleaded with them, crying, and those smiled back at the crowd and took their caps off and drove away. As they drove off, people yelled ~~at them~~ 'Long live' at them and clapped their

hands and threw busses and kisses at them. It was moving to see how far people went, even with the most dreaded AVO to save Hungarian lives. I wept as a kid when I saw that they were able to persuade these murderers not to extend help to the AVO stationed at the radio building. It was indeed a deeply moving experience to listen to people as they call the AVO their brothers, and believe that these inhuman characters would behave like humans, and then to see that they, for one reason or another, I would say afterwards, but then we all felt that they were persuaded to withdraw."

"We went back to the shop again. We walked, I should say, because then my brother-in-law and sister got out their motorcycle and left for home, to rush back to their children. I also decided to go home. I had to walk a long distance, until I found streetcars that were running again. I didn't get far with the streetcar when students came along in taxis and called on people in the streetcar to go and help them because the AVO was shooting students at the radio building. Most people left our streetcar indeed, immediately, and I stood there beside an old woman and saw the streetcar conductor flying into a rage. He turned to us few people who were still sitting there, and said 'I haven't seen something like that in my life, when our blood is being shed, when our blood is running in streams, that there are people who don't go there to help them, but sit back. They seem not to sense that we are all brothers and sisters. I leave this ~~stink~~ streetcar myself.' The old lady sitting next to me replied to ~~him~~ him that she was too old and could hardly walk and couldn't do any good even if she went there. The conductor told her that he wasn't speaking to her, but to people who were strong in body, and he pointed at a few middle-aged men, who didn't stir, but kept sitting quietly. But the streetcar conductor was really mad that thus he had to keep on the streetcar, and he actually did get us as far as his route. After ~~stuck~~ changing streetcars at one of the bridges, I managed to get home and went to bed thinking that things would straighten out all right."

"Next morning (Oct. 24th) I woke at 5 a.m. because I heard a tremendous cracking of rifle fire and clatter of machine guns, and even artillery pieces could be heard. Everybody in our house was acutely interested in seeing the developments, and several of us left for Margit Korut (Margaret Circle Rd.), and we found immense crowds everywhere in the streets. I never imagined that streets could be so filled with people. We went to one of the cafes and the cafe was more full of people than I had seen before. The people at the bar and the waiters didn't manage to serve

people well, so people served themselves, and nobody could have checked on them whether they paid or not, but I'm persuaded there wasn't one person who took advantage of this situation. After a while, the manager announced to all the customers in his shop that he was not able to serve coffee because he ran out of gasoline, and he needed gasoline for his coffee machine, and asked if somebody could get gasoline for him. One of the customers stood up and said that the manager should give him two men to help him, and he would get gasoline. The manager replied that there weren't any more people to spare because two of the waiters didn't come in. All of a sudden, two of the girls volunteered, and the three left. After a while they came back with a large can of gasoline."

"We stood there for quite a while in that cafe, and still didn't realize that it would be a revolution and that it would be necessary to get food supplies home. Indeed, next morning we didn't have a piece of bread at home. (Interviewer's note: Here I asked respondent not to speak yet of the next day, but to keep on telling things in a row.)"

"After a while, we (a next door neighbor and I) went to places on Margit Korut, where we could find large food stores, still not thinking that we ought to be afraid of anything. We just wanted to buy the usual day's needs. There were long queues in front of the grocery stores, but this time no policemen guarded the piece of the queues as was quite usual in Budapest. This time all people fell in line and waited quite patiently and were extremely understanding toward each other."

"Even the shop clerks in the grocery store were different than usual. One of them announced, 'This time it is we who eat the real butter, and not the Russians. ~~Until~~ Up until today we have eaten only margarine!' It was just wonderful as people changed and became much better than they had been up to that wonderful day."

"As we went home, we saw still very large crowds milling in the streets and many trucks full of students with bags carrying ammunition and arms."

"When we went home to Obuda, I cooked supper and we talked over events in great excitement with neighbors. This was the first time that we had no fear at all when we listened to Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. In fact, we let our radio set blare out quite loud. Just imagine when my radio was too soft at once, my next door neighbor pounded on the wall shouting, 'Come over. My radio gets it very clearly!' Such a thing could never happen before! Next day the entire house became a happy family and we went to such homes where the radio was ~~allegedly~~ allegedly the best, to listen to foreign radio stations. And others



invited us to drink coffee with them, and brought over the fine ~~espresso~~ espresso type demitasse, and people exchanged views as freely as before only in very trusted family circle. We listened to Radio Free Europe, to the Voice of America, to the London-Hungarian news. Another family brought from their best liquors and we felt that we witnessed history in the making. It might have been about 8 p.m. when we started listening, and at 4 a.m., most of us were still engaged in listening. We caught even the French radio and Madrid, in Spain, and it was thrilling to listen how the entire world took notice of events in Budapest. We said to each other, 'We must win this!' 'We can't fail this time!' We were in a very cheerful mood as we went to bed, and there were moments during listening, as well as when we went to bed, that we were overcome by anxiety. Only when we didn't hear battle noise, because then we thought that the fight stopped."

"Next morning (Oct. 25th) by now we saw clearly that it was a revolution and that it was wise to stock food, and we went shopping. The men in our house, including my husband and next door neighbors, and the young men all left. And the same was in houses nearby. They went, not only to see events, but to help wherever they could. My husband, for instance, helped the fighters at the Szell Kalman Square. He helped them build barricades and fix gasoline bottles with handkerchiefs and later with rags. I learned of this from my husband when he came home late that night."

"I went shopping again, as I said before, on Margit Karut, and saw again immense crowds everywhere. Particularly, you might say, that all of Obuda, the ones that didn't fight, gathered on Florian Square. Other sections of the city gathered in other places, but people were so eager to get together and to hear things and to talk over things."

"At night the program was just about the same as I described it of the day before. I mean foreign radio stations, coffee, a get-together of all families in our building, and so on. My husband told us that the students in Szell Kalman Square with whom he was together all day, and whom he helped, were like angels and fought as the boldest fighters you can imagine, and all people in that neighborhood helped them, and even old women carried gasoline up to the attics, where they prepared the gasoline bottles. Others told us about their experiences, and again we were a happy family. From then on this was repeated, night after night."

"Next morning (Oct. 25th) my husband went to Szell Kalman Square again, armed with a large bundle of rags for the gasoline bottles. I decided to go shopping again. After shopping, I thought that as the number of wounded increased, I might be needed as a trained nurse, and I went from one hospital to another in Obuda asking whether they needed me. I was

told at every hospital that they were well supplied with nurses as well as with everything else. At the Margit Hospital, I learned that they had established also an auxiliary hospital at Csillaghegy, and that people in the neighboring areas showered the place with all kinds of gifts, including flowers, and that the wounded, among them a student who became an amputee, had had it never so good in all their lives."

"In the evening, we went out to Margit Korut. We just couldn't sit quietly at home. The streets were filled again with crowds and there were several people who stopped every vehicle which wanted to cross over to Pest. I was there when people stopped two trucks and asked them what they were planning to do. The truck drivers and the people who accompanied the truck answered: 'We are carrying bread for the boys in Pest.' The crowd answered them: 'OK. You may go, but one of us goes with you,' and one of the men jumped up into the truck. As the two trucks continued on their way at very slow ~~xxx~~ speed. After a few steps, people in the crowd did the very same to the trucks. I was curious to see what would happen, and I followed them. I overheard the same type of conversation as a few minutes before, but here there was a man who thought a little farther, and asked them to determine exactly to which fighting group they were carrying bread. They were more than embarrassed and couldn't say anything, and people grew suspicious, and this man ordered them to turn back. People started ~~as~~ a methodical interrogation. ~~as~~ The interrogation ended with a very strong suspicion that these people intended to bring the bread for AVG or other parts of the Communist organization. But people ~~xxxxxx~~ had no real proof, so they didn't want to harm the men accompanying the trucks, but they wanted to distribute the bread to somebody else. One of the doctors of the Irgalmas Hospital stood right there with us, and he suggested that they turn over the bread to this hospital. We went there together with the doctor, several of us, and we passed the bread from one to the other, and unloaded ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ one of the trucks in a jiffy. The other truck was taken with the same purpose to the Uj Szent János Hospital. It was wonderful to see how all people cooperated, absolutely unselfishly."

"As we finished unloading this truck and wanted to return to where we came from, the truck driver was gone. The doctor turned to the people around and easily found one who could drive."

(Interviewer's note: It turns out only now in the interview that not the entire truck was unloaded, only part of the amount of bread, and as it will become now clear, they went to unload the rest of the bread at other hospitals.)



"Since the truck driver was gone, the doctor asked other people who could drive a truck, and we easily found one. He jumped ~~xxxxxx~~ in the driver's seat. The doctor and I and two more people came with him. First we went to the Zsigmond Square Hospital. There we unloaded part of the bread. Another part at the Margit Hospital, and still another part at some children's home in Obuda."

"Next day, (Oct. 27th), I decided that I wouldn't care any more what dangers I faced. I wanted to go to down and offer my help as a nurse in the hospitals in Pest, where I expected that a shortage would develop (of trained nurses). I heard that the Irgalmas Hospital in Pest had particularly many heavy wounded, and I decided to go there. I managed to get across the Margit bridge without any greater difficulties. After I crossed the bridge, I had much more difficulties to get where I wanted and at last I decided to go rather to the Baross Street Clinics. I happened to meet on my way a medical student who came from the same direction as I did, who also decided to offer her help at the hospital, just as I was going to. At the clinics I found that they were more than busy!"

"I found that both of the large operating rooms had been destroyed by the Russians. As one of these operating rooms was destroyed, I was told that they kept operating on the wounded. The doctors leaned over him to protect the wounded from anything that might fall off the ceiling, as it was crackling, and at long last they decided that they had to push him out to the corridor, and there they kept operating on him and made the operation a success. From then on they were forced to transfer the scene of operations to the so-called dog operating room. (Interviewer's note: Whenever they have to perform a particularly serious operation in Hungary, doctors are supposed to and practice shows they like to, perform a very similar operation on a dog. The dog operating room is provided for that purpose.) This dog operating room was much, much smaller than the ones that are for the actual operations, and we had very little room for the instruments, couldn't have one large instrument table, had to have four small ones in four corners. It was a thrilling experience to work with those people. I will never forget the students, bloody as butchers in a slaughter house, who carried the wounded incessantly to the clinics. And those boys, and even some girls among them, slept by then the fourth day, only on the floor without blankets, because the wounded needed all the blankets that were available. And still they had no word of complaint. In fact, they were cheerful. There were surgical nurses who for four continuous days hardly ever interrupted their work at the operating room. They just didn't have time to take a rest and let alone for a night's sleep. As I was there, wounded were taken to the hospital with no interruption. It is impossible to describe what we went through there."

"Take for instance, when they brought in a very young student wounded. He happened to receive a shot which hurt his throat, pierced through his stomach and pierced his large intestine. We are then already engaged in another operation in that dog operating room, because that was the only place available for such a purpose. At the same time, they brought in also another student, who had a shot in his thigh. As we were examining him, the boy whose thigh was shot said: 'Leave me alone, don't bother with me. Take care of him, he's much more heavily wounded!' The heavily wounded, believe it or not, cried: 'Don't listen to him. Leave me alone, I'll be dying anyway. Save him, he can go on living!' It is just as true that I am sitting here, it happened as I say."

"We, of course, had the policy to operate always on the heavier wounded first, so it was not up to the boys to decide, and something I have never lived through yet before, the throat specialist operated on the boy's throat, with his assistants, and the intestines specialist operated on his intestines at the very same time. In that tiny place that was the dog operating room. We didn't have even a decent lighting. We didn't have even time to undress the wounded, we just sterilized those parts of his body on which we were operating. We managed to save this boy and we also operated on the one who had the thigh wound."

"But such a work was only possible because the doctors just didn't sleep at all. Actually, on paper, they took turns. But the one who was just relieved, could not go to sleep. He went around the wounded to see where help was necessary. And, of course, he also went to the radio to listen to the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, to find out how things were going. And whenever they had good news, they came down to the operating room, to announce it to the doctors and the nurses who were operating. We had no more room in the actual wards, so we evacuated and cleaned up the basement, and placed a great many wounded there. In the wards, as well as in the basement, we decided to shut the window shutters, because there were so heavy fighting not very far from us. We were afraid every minute that stray bullets and fragments of grenades would make even more wounded, and perhaps even dead among our ~~risk~~ patients. But we were not able to do so, because they protested against it. They wanted to hear and to see, if possible, as much as they could of the fight."

"But this attitude was so characteristic of them. We had numbers of wounded who were supposed to remain at the hospital to receive treatment, and they just took off to go on fighting. In fact, I should say they escaped from the hospital so as to remain part of the battle. It is impossible to describe these moving experiences. A young married couple who came in, both wounded, supporting each other. They were supposed to take at least two days rest, because they suffered shock. After two hours they were gone."

"But not only the fighters. The boys who volunteered to help as ~~first~~ nurses or as stewards were also great beyond description in their entire attitude, and service. And they were courageous, believe me. I've never seen something like that! Take, for instance, when we were running short of food. They volunteered to go down with a truck to Trans-Danubia and to find somewhere food. They left in the evening and in the morning they came back with 12 slaughtered pigs, cleaned completely and ready for kitchen use. And those boys brought the message from the village people who sent those pigs that they would keep providing us with every food necessary if we just kept fighting. ~~Wasn't that a great thing? Didn't that show the boys were really~~  
But do you know what happened? At that time the minister of public supply was still a Communist. You know at that time the Communists were actually still in power, and he received news from somewhere how well we were supplied with food, and he ordered the larger part of our pigs delivered to his ministry so that he could dispose of it. But don't think that we ran short of food. People came from the country and there was no request necessary. They just came and brought food. Truck after truck and wagon after wagon came. People came with bicycles to do the same. We had so many potatoes, for instance, that we offered the population in the surrounding area to come and to get from us."

"There were only very few sad facts of which I could give an account. I happened to know from before a doctor who was a great Communist. The students who helped us, of course, didn't know that, and they spoke in front of him just as freely as otherwise. On more than one occasion I had to warn them to keep their mouths shut if that fellow was present, because I knew exactly that he would report everything. This doctor did cause trouble indeed in several instances before the revolution had won."

"After two days and one night in which I had only one, or perhaps two, hours of sleep on one occasion, we were told by the director of the Clinics that it looked as if the fight lasted for weeks, and all those volunteers who could not stay here for weeks, shut in as it might very likely happen, should go home. I decided to go home myself, and so I took a special bus which went over to Buda and with aching heart and wiping my tears, I left those wonderful people."

(Interviewer's note: I asked respondent now to go ahead and speak of November 4th, but she insists upon telling at least one more thing before she goes over to describing events on November 4th. She included many more details in her story, which I left out so as to cut time. But I think I should include here something which she would like us to hear very much.)



"When we won the revolution, I hurried to town next morning and it seemed as if all people went in there and all people smiled and were over-joyed and talked to each other. People who have never seen each other before. (By the way, that was the same during the revolution, I mean that people talked to each other absolutely freely.) I met one of the doctors from the Baross St. Clinics where I was working in those two days and one night I described above, and he told me that first thing when hostilities ceased, a great many people came and offered their help to restore every damage that was done to the Clinics. And, believe or not, he said all windows were broken and now all windows are restored."

"Now I decided to go and to see the prison hospital where I was actually employed, and where I didn't care to go during the revolution. I found people over-joyed even there. The prisoners were all gone, I mean the political prisoners, and the rotten, no-good Communist director of the prison hospital was kicked out by the personnel. I found that women prisoners, patients in our hospital, took all of the clothes which I kept there, including my uniforms, and be sure I didn't blame them, because that was the only way they could dress up. And I learned that most of them went right away fighting, the ones whose health was in bearable condition. We kicked out (I mean peacefully discharged) all the Communists in the leadership, which were not many anyway, and we formed a really wonderful Revolutionary Council, consisting only of honest, good people. Everything seemed OK and we went happily home with the determination to start working on Monday quite regularly. Even if the streetcars were not running, we decided to rather walk. But to begin working. All of this I tell you here about was on Friday, (Nov. 2) and I should add that wherever I went and heard people talking, everybody said that the real work would begin on Monday. But don't think they were idle, because they started cleaning up the streets, restore the streetcar lines, reorganize institutions and everything else, and we were happy as persons can be. And we expected Monday as the start of a new life."

"In the morning of Sunday (Nov. 4th), the noise of artillery shelling awakened us and we ran right away to the radio to see what was going on. This was at 5 a.m. and we heard Imre Nagy and it was just unspeakably shocking to hear him and we all cried. I was, and everybody was, unspeakably destitute and sad."

"I went to the Sunday Mass, but all people from our house went to church and I think most people in town did so, because the churches were full and their crowds overflowed. It seemed that everybody cried in church. The priest made a very guarded sermon. He admonished us to be persistent and was very anxious to avoid any reference to concrete events. But everybody understood what he meant, and it was even more touching to see how he dodged the actual issues and still spoke of the essence. As we sang, the Boldogasszony anyank, (Interviewer's note: It is one of the most ancient Catholic church songs. It's a plea to the Holy Virgin to pray for ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Hungary, our sweetheart country." It is a plea to her "not to forget poor Hungarians.") The entire church was sobbing loud. As we went out of church, people said that the fight couldn't last much longer, because of the tremendous reinforcements the Russians received, as we learned from reports in foreign radio broadcasts. I thought, indeed, that the fight would be over in a few hours. And Sunday passed and the fight was still going on. Monday came. The fight became stronger, and only part of Obuda was conquered by the Russians."

"A strong group of freedom fighters took a position up on a hill in Obuda and they attacked advancing Russians tanks in a bold manner. I saw these fights on several occasions. I saw such fights all the more since I had to go around now quite a bit to secure our daily bread. There were many rumors one could get this or that and I went from one place to another. I still saw tanks annihilated just a few yards from where I was taking cover. (Interviewer's note: Respondent gives a detailed account how she saw, on two different occasions, one tank each annihilated. These two events took place on Nov. 6 and 7.)

"Of course there was a very strict curfew, which however could not be enforced, because people just kept standing in crowds in squares I spoke about before and talked over events. And they kept checking on cars and trucks, what they carried to whom and they stopped every one of them. Even then, as everything seemed completely hopeless, people still did what they were able to do. The crowds were particularly very anxious to hear the news from Pest. They were anxious to learn, and I was certainly among them, how our freedom fighters were faring over there. Our great question was whether there was still any hope left. 'Perhaps, perhaps, perhaps,' we said. Then again we went home and listened to the radio stations of America, of England, of France, of Spain, to learn whether any help was still forthcoming. We all were persuaded that they would call the United Nations into session within hours after the Russian attack, and they would seriously deal with the plea of Imre Nagy. I was over

at the home of our next-door neighbor when I learned that the man had made a vow not to shave until the United Nations assembly deals with the Hungarian problem and does something serious about it. He had a long beard by then and his little boy asked him why he didn't shave and he told him the reason. This was when I was there and heard. And now, just imagine how America lost the trust of those people and of the entire world. That 10-year-old boy said to him, 'Oh, just go ahead and shave, because if you wait as long you will grow a beard long enough to braid it.' This was as true as I am sitting here."

"We heard more and more news as the days advanced, that the Russians were picking up people and deporting them. So our men in the house decided not to go out much, but rather, stayed and listened to the radio. And we women went out to shop. Oh I cannot describe to you how desperate we were, because we hoped so much that the United Nations would send us help. News became worse every day, except that the boy of one of the families in our house went to a factory as part of the plant guard, and he brought more encouraging news."

"It was after the 11th, some day, I wouldn't be able to tell you which, that I decided to go back to the prison hospital where I was actually employed, because the radio threatened people that they would lose their jobs if they did not show up to work. And what I found! All the Communist bosses were back in their positions. All the ADO informants ~~skakaxaxakakax~~ whom we had discharged when we formed the Revolutionary Council. These Communists were, of course, very happy. But all the rest were deeply silent and bitter. There was one pharmacist among us who belonged to those very few who stayed all during the revolution at the prison hospital, and he saw to it that everything went in order and that even those prisoner patients who were not disciplined enough, and who wanted to move too many things, fell in line and behaved, and who cared for the patients who were bed-ridden and could not move their members. He was responsible for running the kitchen and all in all he did a wonderful job all during the revolution. And there were other people, some of whom I remember as wonderful, I can not tell you how wonderful, people. And I'm unspeakably sorry for them because I know that they are now mistreated, and that by now they have become prisoners themselves. Well, right on the first day, when the Communist director of the hospital returned, he ~~skakaxaxakakax~~ stood up these people in front of the hospital wall and brought two Russian tanks, and he let these people believe that they would be executed by the Russians with the submachine guns. My colleagues told me all of this, and they told many details how things happened. (Interviewer's note: I tried to cut the details.)





Hungarians thought that if we sang the national anthem that damned ADO up on the roof would see that we are not against them as persons, but against Communism itself, and would not fire at us. But instead, they fired even more shots."

Asked whether she was afraid during the demonstrations, she answers:

"First I was not at all. But, later, as the serious shooting started, and there were people who were frightened to death and ran back, it became contagious and I was afraid for a few minutes. But then it passed again, and I was again myself. From then on I was no more afraid, all during the revolution, except on one more occasion, when I wanted to go to the Baross St. Clinic. In one spot, the Russians shelled the building next to me so terribly that all of it crumpled and the splinters and dust and everything filled the air and the noise was tremendous and I felt all alone and that was another moment when I was thoroughly frightened."

She didn't think of the consequences at all: "Who on earth would have thought of consequences then?"

Asked what she wanted from the government at the demonstrations of the first night, she says that she wanted the same as the crowd around her, namely, that Gero should not deliver a speech over the radio. "Besides, I wanted to see the Russians leave Hungary, and to see Communism vanish for good. This is what we dreamed about for 12 years."

Asked about compromises, she reiterated her wish, which she claims was a generally shared wish, that the Russians should leave Hungary immediately. "In fact, this was our only wish, because we knew that we could handle Communism easily and do away with it very, very easily!"

Asked about the consequences, about the outcome, she says that first night she thought that it could not become any more than a great demonstration, which was still worth it, and she thought that by the next morning nothing could remain of it. She also thought that there would be many hangings and imprisonments again, but she didn't hope that the revolution would win. But when she saw next morning that "the almighty" ADO did not manage to crush the revolution in one night, she became quite confident, all the more since, on Wednesday, (Oct. 24th), large numbers of people joined the freedom fighters. "From then on, I was thoroughly convinced that the revolution would win."

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Respondent thinks that most of the demonstrators were students. But she emphasized that there were a great many people of all ages, of both sexes, and of all occupations. She thinks that there were almost as many women as men.

Asked about organization and leadership of the demonstrations, respondent says that when the crowds marched across the bridge, she saw students direct the demonstration, and particularly the march. But she wouldn't know anything about any leadership in front of the radio building. She thinks that all subsequent demonstrations were actually unorganized and completely spontaneous.

what she thought

B. The fighting. - Asked/about the over-all outcome of the revolution, during the fighting, she says that she was persuaded that help from the United Nations would be forthcoming, so she was 100% sure that Hungary, at long last, would become a free country. She stresses that she didn't necessarily mean troops, but arms alone would have done the trick. The Russians would have been completely licked if the Hungarians had received arms, and she quotes rumors of impending help even from Yugoslavia.

Her reaction to the government's calling for Russian troops was desperation, but at the same time she became even more thoroughly convinced that the United Nations would despatch now at least arms, but perhaps also troops, to help, because, after all, the Russians, an outside force, attacked the Hungarians.

Speaking of revolutionary slogans, she says that she described those when she spoke about the start of the demonstrations, and she adds an account of hand written pamphlets and posters which were written usually by student girls, and she thinks that those were a particularly great demonstration of the spontaneity of the revolution.

It appears to her that she heard the term 'freedom fighter' right on Oct. 24th.

Asked who fought, she says that they were all young people, students and young workers alike. Most of the demonstrators, she says, were students, and even the second phase of the demonstrations were joined by all kinds of people and the same was true about the fighting.

Asked how the fighters were organized, she says that, according to her observation, everything went spontaneously and there were volunteers for everything, and voluntary action was the keyword in the entire fighting. "They were busy as bees, swarming everywhere, and each one finding his own flowers with ease."

C. The Re-Invasion. - Respondent has already described her activities between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion.

When the Red Army began its retreat, respondent was thoroughly convinced that they would withdraw, and she was overjoyed.

She heard rumors that the Russians did not actually withdraw, but took up positions ~~in~~ all around Budapest, and she was worried about that, but she still thought that the United Nations would exercise enough pressure upon them to withdraw for good.

She saw the first Soviet troops returning on Nov. 6th.

She has already amply described her major lines of activity from the time of the Red Army's return to the time of her escape.

Asked when she started planning her escape, she says that it was at the time when they all recognized that everything was lost. And I have a hard time explaining to her that not every Hungarian recognized that at the same time. Finally she gives in and says that it was only on the 18th or 19th of November that she started planning her escape. It was then that they learned her husband was sought by two unknown persons on two occasions when they ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ were not at home, and they thought that this was an AVO attempt at getting him.

D. Conclusion. - Respondent thinks that Hungary has gained only morally, and particularly in the eyes of the world. After a little pondering, she adds that the fantastically thrilling experience of four days of freedom, after 12 years of slavery, ~~was~~ meant so much to the people that it would give them added strength for hoping again.

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

A. It seemed to her, unquestionably, certain that the United Nations would send a fact-finding committee above all, and if that wouldn't be enough it would also send arms to the Hungarian freedom fighters, and if that would still not suffice that they would despatch some military force - international police force as well. "If just a token force had been sent, even after the fighting died down in the middle of November, it would have flared up all of a sudden again and Hungarians would not have stopped until they had chased out all Russians from Hungary."

Asked about the basis she formed her expectations on, she says that she was convinced, and all the people to whom she talked were convinced, that the United Nations had an obligation to defend every country that is attacked from without. She thought that every member of the United Nations was entitled to receive such a help from the UN as was the case in Korea.

Respondent had no contact with any newspaper men or other people from the West during or after the revolution.



V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES.

A. Family background. - Respondent's ~~father's father's~~ father is an auto mechanic who, before the second World War, had some time a taxi of his own, but could not afford to buy a new one when that was worn out. So he became a cab driver for another firm. He had one modest house in one of the nearby villages. After the war, he retired and was helped greatly by his grown-up children. He received old age pension from the state on the basis of the social laws enacted in the thirties and amended during the forties.

Respondent's first father-in-law was a watchmaker and jeweler, who had a modest shop of his own but had no help.

Her second father-in-law's occupation was furrier. He also had a modest shop of his own and had only his boys working with him.

Her father had only six grades of <sup>elementary</sup> schooling.

B. Social classes. Respondent insists, even after probing, that there were only two social classes in Hungary, the Communists and the workers. After even more probing, she corrects and says that one social class was that of Communist leaders, and the other that of the workers who were no Communists. She adds that the backbone of the Communist leaders was the AVO.

Asked about contacts, respondent says that she had no contact with the Communist leaders, but she had very much contact with the workers. She includes in that, doctors, nurses and cleaning personnel as well.

Probing ~~in~~ again into whether or not there were social differences between doctors and the cleaning personnel, she admits that there still was, but she emphasizes that the social differences became definitely less significant. The non-Communists pulled together under this tremendous pressure, she explains. Very little of the former social differences remained, she asserts again. ~~She~~ Probed whether the wives of the doctors treated her on equal basis, she says that most of the doctors' wives worked themselves, ~~not~~ either as nurses or as office personnel, and so they became really colleagues and pals. Thus they also belonged to the working class and it was no special reason for them to feel different from the nurses. She also brings up the fact, answering to a probe, that there were quite a few former members of the intelligentsia who became cleaning personnel in the Communist era, and that was an added reason for becoming friendlier with each other, doctors and nurses and cleaning personnel. Probed further, whether the people doing menial work, who had been doing the same all their

lives, and the ones who had been members of the middle class in previous years, were truly friendly friendly to each other, respondent answers, very definitely, that there was no difference between them and they became real good pals and the amity and the quality was not disturbed by anything.

She obviously feels that she belongs to the working class.

She thinks that the class that was the hardest hit by Communism was, practically speaking, everybody who ever had something. And by that "something" she means either education or position.

C. Social advancement. - Respondent says that only Communists had a really good chance to get ahead, but she adds that they had wonderful chances. Probed whether class origin also played a part, she said that it certainly did. Probed whether class origin or political party affiliation counted more, she answers that party affiliation played a much more important role than class origin.

Asked what kind of individual would get ahead, respondent says: "the trash, the human junk!"

D. Favored groups. - Asked what group of society is getting more than it deserves, respondent says that it is the Communists.

Asked whether there were any other favored groups, respondent says: "Of course. The AVO, which ~~is~~ was the most privileged among the Communists."

HLR

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

A. Communist effects - This is what respondent says of her own family life in the last 10 years: "I got up at dawn and rushed to work. Afterwards, I rushed to stand in a que to get food. Then I rushed home to cook, rushed to clean up at home, and to wash and to iron. Before Communism, I was not forced to go out and become a breadwinner. Most Hungarian women were not breadwinners, hardly any, in fact. "

Asked about her own family, by that I mean the family from which she came, respondent says: "There were seven children in our family, as I told you before, and our parents raised the seven of us in an exemplary way. Six of us have been married, and five of us really happily, and they also have a beautiful family life. I was the only one of them who was divorced, and my youngest sister is not married yet."

"My first divorce was rather due to the messed up circumstances after the second World War, when Communism came more and more into the picture and our lives were upset, and more and more of us women were forced to stay away from our homes a very great deal. Since my husband could not expect me to wait for him with dinner at night, because we came home about the same time, and even more so he came home earlier, he more and more preferred to stay out and his life became unruly and his mind and attitude quite unbalanced, and he took more and more to other women. Although he was no party member, he was forced to attend party seminars and all kinds of meetings, and thus we spent much less of the evenings together than before, even while I had been working as a nurse. There were many unmarried women in those meetings and get-togethers, since we lost so many of the men during the War. There were still so many prisoners of war detained in Soviet Russia. Quite a few of the lonely hearts did not care what kind of a man they got, but were eager to get a man. This is how it started that my husband got more and more lost. He started having having regular love affairs with women, and later on our financial situation worsened as a consequence of his life, because we two earned hardly ~~enough~~ enough that we could live from it decently, and as he spent money on other women, we really got into a financial crisis. And he certainly did spend money on them, because those women were the kind who needed money badly themselves and don't think for God knows what pleasure, but for their ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ daily needs. And this is how the crumbling, the disillusion of our marriage began and got underway. I just got tired of waiting in vain for my husband, night after night, and he always had the excuse that he had to attend party meetings and party seminars and party this and party that. And I know, in part, it was true. And other nights he spent with other women."



"Of course, I was also guilty, in part, because, so often, when we went home, I was so exhausted from the daily work that I didn't feel like sitting down and having a nice discussion of things, although such discussions are a vital part of married life. But I had to wash and to keep the house clean, and to cook and iron and everything else. Somebody had to do all those chores, and my poor husband was bored, and didn't find enough understanding, I must understand that, and I must also understand the women who had no husbands and no family ties, and who had a longing for such, and they could afford to pay more attention to such men. But the sad fact was, at any rate, that I lost my husband gradually. It happened that he didn't come home for two or three days, and then he had the pretense of having had some obligatory trip to some provincial city, and so things grew worse and worse. I certainly blame Communism, above all, for having forced us into a way of life which finally led to our separation and divorce."

Asked about the dissolution of her second marriage, respondent says: "That second marriage was a peculiarly unfortunate case. Actually, I am quite reluctant to talk about it, but since it can serve scientific purposes, I am ready to tell you about it. But if anything will be published from it, please ask those in charge to do everything possible that I may not be recognized, that it become a case history without a chance to know that it is told about this or that particular person!"

"He always, this second husband of mine, a good friend of the entire family, and he was out on the front in Soviet Russia, and he became a prisoner of war. We thought for quite some time that he was dead, and I had no special interest in him. After a while, we heard that he had returned, and we were glad about his return, as we were glad about anybody's return in those sad years where hundreds of thousands found their death in Soviet prison camps. As he got together with one of my brothers-in-law and my sister, he often said that he would like to get married. But at the same time, it was a little conspicuous to me that I never, or hardly ever, saw him together with women. All of a sudden, one day, he comes to me and says that I should become his wife, because now I am divorced and am all alone, and he would like to marry me. .... I said that I had no liking in him, and, after all, he was a very friendly fellow, a good sport and a good pal, and I had known him for quite some time, and I thought he had no ~~particular~~ bad habits or passions. And he also knew my married life and often expressed his sympathy as I struggled, or tried to struggle along with my unfaithful husband. So he proposed, and I didn't ponder very long. My sister and brother-in-law, who knew him particularly well, also said to me that it was foolish of me to be alone in such hard circumstances. They encouraged me, telling me that he would certainly make a good husband. First I dragged my feet, but then I thought, 'well, after all, he is a lonely heart and so am I, why not add one and one and make it two.'

But my hesitation lasted ~~for~~ three years, because I had been divorced from my first husband in 1950. In fact, as I hurried over the events I didn't tell you that I actually kicked him out, I mean my first husband. Now in these three years, he proposed ~~and I hesitated to say yes, then we almost forgot about it, it became less interesting, then again he proposed, and then again we planned it, perhaps we would get married, and so on.~~ At long last, I made up my mind and then he dragged his feet, and then I kind of persuaded him that we really should get married. And it was only after the wedding that it turned out what I had heard before, but had never taken seriously, thinking it was all nonsense, that this man was a homosexual. Beyond any question, it turned out that he was actually a homosexual. I got convinced of this fact both as a wife and as a medically well-trained nurse. This is why we lived a normal married life, I mean with sound sexual relations, for hardly more than half a year. We had some sexual relations for one half year more, but for two years we lived in the same household only as pals ~~together~~ together. (Interviewer's note: ~~xxxx~~ Prompted by the peculiar situation, I asked respondent whether her husband, as a pal, was all right, whether he was a gentleman and tolerable as a friend, and she explains that he certainly was. Mentally he was on the level, she says, and he was quite unselfish, she said.) There were periods in his life when my mere presence seemed to be burdensome for him, where I clearly saw that he had an aversion toward me as toward a woman, and I knew very well that in those periods it was the same as toward any other woman at the same time. When I longed for love, after all, I was a woman, considered sound in body and mind, when I craved for love, oh, it was such a terrible thing! ....". (Respondent appears deeply moved, and she silently weeps. But she does not sob, and does not become what is usually termed in American newspapers 'hysterical' at all. I comfort her, and she recovers fairly well her composure.) "I feel certainly sorry for him, as for a human being, and as for a friend, because he was a very thoughtful and very gentle and very considerate human being, and one endowed with superior intelligence. Trying to find an explanation for his plight, I am thoroughly convinced that the four years spent in a prison camp in the Soviets were actually responsible for his having become a homosexual. Including those four years spent in captivity, the poor boy had spent almost 12 years in the army, because he was drafted again and again in those turbulent years. Although he had never been a carrier soldier. Prior to his years drafted so many times as a reservist, and particularly prior to the four years of captivity, I heard from mutual friends that he was quite interested in women, and that, in fact, he had a very profound love affair, a very serious one, but that it ended in a thorough disillusionment because the ~~xxx~~ girl disappointed him tragically. Well, that fact might also have contributed to his becoming a homosexual in that case, because he was mortally in love with his fiancée and everything was ready for marriage, when ~~xxxx~~ he incidentally learned, and got convinced with his own naked eyes of her sneaking up to another man's apartment and having love affairs with him. Well, this disillusionment might also have contributed to his becoming estranged from the female sex. And of course the POW camp were very much instrumental.



In our marriage, I told him on several occasions that he should not have got married, and, if he got married, he should not have married at least me, whom he liked personally very well. And he said to me: 'Don't heap reproaches upon me. I wish I could help it, but I don't feel guilty. I can't help it.' He didn't tell me directly, but indirectly I understood what he meant. He was such an unfortunate person and it was I who persuaded him to flee. Because in Hungary I couldn't get a divorce from him. I was a divorcee by then, and if I had filed for another divorce the court certainly would not believe me that I was not the guilty one. And at the same time, I did not want to blame him in front of the judges and to make his plight known to all the world. After all, I liked him as a human being and I pitied him. If you will get acquainted with him, I know that you will think highly of him as a plain human being. And should I ruin him in our society?!...After all, we had a society of our own, I mean a society of non-Communists, of decent, hard-working, pure minded small people!...Should I make him an outlaw of this society?!...This is how everything happened and I got a divorce from him only after we were in Austria."

Respondent seems to think quite profoundly of this affair, which apparently shook her life, and she goes on:

"He suffered a great deal during these three years, and he wrangled with himself. You can't imagine how he wrangled with himself! ... It was pitiful how he ~~suffered~~ suffered in his plight, but I would say in conclusion that he could not help it. He was thoroughly sick."

Asked about the family life of others, she says:

"I had an awful lot of patients who told me about their spiritual and intellectual problems. Problems started with the fact that both husband and wife worked. If they had children, the woman had to take the small children to nurseries and nursery schools, and since most plants started very early in the morning with the work, the poor wife had to pull the small children from their beds and go with those crying babies in unheated streetcars at 7 a.m. to the ~~new~~ nursery. This is how they started for most families. Another basic factor was the fact that, in a great many families, the man received an assignment where he worked by day and the woman by night, or the other way around. So the husband quite often didn't go home, particularly if he had no children. Why should he go home? He would find nobody at home. Family was destroyed. Quite a few of such men found a refuge in another woman's home. First it started, perhaps, as just a friendship, or a neighborly relation



which ended up in sexual relations later. Quite often we received patients who had to be treated for wounds inflicted by their wives or husbands respectively who beat the other partner up because of such relations. Fiery, as most Hungarian husbands are, you can't blame them for losing their self control in sight of great family troubles, and the same is true about women."

(Interviewer's note: Probed which in her experience were more guilty of unfaithful conduct, respondent says that it was the experience of her that there were more women who were guilty than there were men. She says the same is true in fights between husband and wife, that there were more women in her experience who were guilty of starting or of making the fight too serious. In both cases, she said, the woman beat up the husband because the husband was not able to bring home enough money.)

"Apartment sharing was the other source of family troubles. When two, and sometimes even three, families lived in the same apartment, in a great many cases it happened that one or the other of the young married people were not at home because they worked at another plant at another time or they had to go to party seminars or some other party meeting, and the husband and the wife respectively of the other family got too friendly with the one at home and there were a great many mix-ups. Sometimes beatings emanated from such mix-ups. Sometimes three, sometimes four, took part in such a beating. Believe me, such cases were not unique! And I ascribe all these troubles, or at least most of them, to Communism, because under the Communist rule and way of life, there were not enough homes. They brought too many people to Budapest from the provinces. Then, for instance, in some other country, like Greece, or wherever, many of the Communists had a reason to flee. And a mass of such people received homes in Hungary. Even French refugees, I mean Communist refugees, were in Hungary, quite a few of them. There were several among my patients. And they all were desperate about having come behind the Iron Curtain. A great many such people were settled in Budapest and became one of the reasons for the fact that many of the people were forced to engage in apartment sharing. There were apartment sharings in which four and five families participated. Now you can think what the work in such a kitchen looked like, when three women wanted to cook at the same time and in the same place. And then husbands went there and sometimes real fights developed. Sometimes they settled them, of course, but it certainly was the source of a great many troubles.)

(Interviewer's note: On this point, I feel prompted to ask respondent whether she thinks that even such family troubles and animosities were settled during the revolution, because we hear that our friends talked always of the unbelievable harmony and

unanimity during the revolution, and she cries out loud, saying that we should believe it was true, the brotherhood knew no barriers, family, religious, social, racial or what have you. She brings up examples of brotherly help where such families banded together. One wife took care of the children of ~~xxxx~~ the three families, and the other went to stand in a que to get necessary food, and the men went to fight or to help the fighters. Quarrels were ruled out during the revolution. 'Believe me, this was the truth!' she repeats again and again.)

Respondent has described very elaborately her own family life, and it is clear that it not only resembles, but is a characteristic case of the first of the three examples provided in this paragraph of our questionnaire. She thinks that the pattern in various Hungarian families was so widely distributed that she would not dare to make an estimate which pattern was the most widespread.

Asked how children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent says: "I should say awfully, in the first phase after the war was over. There was a slogan in the first few years after the war, that parents should not hit the children even if he does some mischief, and a great many people were mixed up and followed this rule. Teachers in a great many schools complained that they were not supposed to discipline children even if they broke windows or broke doorknobs or what have you. An absolutely undisciplined atmosphere developed among youth in those years. Later, discipline was tightened. Even the authorities in charge found out that the kind of child rearing they advocated was a failure and now parents were again permitted to spank their children if necessary. Even the teachers were allowed to discipline the children. But one thing is sure. During all of those years, the work load of studying material in schools became heavier and heavier. It is really remarkable how much our boys and girls had to study!" Respondent admits that this was a quite favorable development and didn't hurt the children a bit.

Asked whether some families were able to hold on to the old ways, she said it was remarkable in how many families they managed to keep the spirit of democracy alive and they sat down and talked over things and told the children that they should keep their mouths shut if they speak of such questions in school. She says

that she found that most families did it this way, certainly in their large family, where five of her brethren had children and where she saw this development day after day. The most usual age, she says, was about ten when they started talking quite openly to children. She knew a great many other families who came to her second husband's shop, where she often helped out.

She volunteers to tell us more about it: "I speak of Hungarian families only, not of Communist families! The usual pattern was this: In the first, and particularly the second grade, a great many children got confused under the impact of what they heard in school, and they spoke quite sympathetically, in fact enthusiastically, about some Communist deals or Communist greatnesses. Parents were at first, of course, shocked and did not dare to contradict the child, but they got together and talked over things. They often got together with other parents who were in a similar situation. Parents who had already had experience in this field usually encouraged the other parents to have patience and to wait, because it would work out, they told them. When those parents were very reluctant to resign themselves to waiting, they usually did, and watched with great anxiety the development of their children and listened to them for half a year or a year how they adored Communists and Russians and Communist and Russian institutions and greatnesses. But later, children, just as they picked up these things dropped them after a year or so.

"In the first few years of gradeschool, the parents usually restricted themselves to teach the children reading and writing and arithmetic - perhaps music and let them alone with the Communist ideas they got in school and they saw that children usually grew tired of them found out that things were not as rosy as Communist doctrine predicted. At the age of ten -eleven, children usually got smart enough for parents to tell them about things." Respondent now tells quite elaborately a story of two children of one of her sisters - how they were caught because they were regular church goers, and how they got taken by the police and interrogated them, and tried to wring out of them a confession that they were sent to church by their parents. She tells us how heroically and how intelligently those children outwitted the interrogators.

Asked why some families did not succumb to Communism, respondent says that spiritual, affection bonds were most important. If those were strong in a family, the family did not fall apart and children were guided in the right spirit. " If they had a very hard time undercommunism but had a refuge at home where they could talk quietly and calmly, they were much better off. Where perfect harmony was preserved in the family, Communism didn't change their way of life"



B. Marriage, courtship, sex patterns:

When asked about courtship, she says that the time of courtship was becoming shorter and shorter, year after year, but the great change came right after the Second World War.

"Prior to the Communist period, a marriage usually was preceded by a wonderful time of romance, and this was the same in every social class. There was no romance left, in most cases - take for instance, if they had some big dance or other get together under Communist sponsorship, and the atmosphere was such that boys and girls, at least quite a few of them, disappeared after the dance in the bushes and took care in short order of the "romance". Well in such cases real ~~sex~~ romance could not develop. Sexual relations of the body took over where previously, the relations of the soul were primary."

Probed whether she meant to say that extra-marital sexual relations became much more frequent than in previous times, respondent says with much emphasis "As a matter of course, they became much more frequent ! They had to become much more frequent because the slogan was "It is a duty for a married woman to become a mother, and it is a glory for an unmarried girl." Of course the remainders of idealism and romance were whittled down more and more if this was the official attitude."

Probed whether she, as a trained and practical nurse could tell us the source of this slogan so often quoted by respondents, she says:

"For awhile I worked in a hospital in Bersony Street, we received many cases of unwed mothers. These unwed mothers received 200 forints for the mere fact that she bore a child, and her child was taken away ~~to~~ to the camps in UJFIST where pregnant, unwed mothers were taken care of. These institutions were set up not much after the end of the war."

Probed how long the idea that it was a glory for a girl to bear a child lasted, she said it lasted from about 1946 -1952.

"Those were the most prolific years which resulted in the fact that there was not room enough in kindergarten for children, and that Communist authorities later gave in and permitted abortions to be carried out by authorized doctors"

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Asked when the law permitting abortions was passed, respondent says in 1954-'55. Asked whether many persons took advantage of this permission, she said ..a great many, and asked whether those were more married couples or unwed mothers-to-be, she says that there were a great many of both kinds.

Speaking of the role of parents in courtship, engagements etc., respondent says that they had incomparably less to say than in previous years.

Speaking of the sexual morality of convinced Communist, respondent says that it depended completely upon what kind of orders they received from Moscow:

"These people changed their convictions always along party line changes. If Moscow said that it was the right thing for unwed girls to have children, that was their principle, and if Moscow changed its policy and said it was not right, they were the first ones - they who just paid 2,000 forints for the child of an unwed mother - they were the first ones to throw stones at them because Moscow said so. What was a glory for awhile ~~was~~ could have become a crime after changes in Moscow."

C. Friendship with Communists. Asked the usual question, respondent says that her friendship with a ~~friend~~ person who became a minor functionary would not have been changed a bit, because such a friend would not have become a real Communist, she explains. "His Party membership amounted to nothing else than what we called a "bread ration card" - that is to say a chance for him, or her to retain the job he or she held, and thus to secure his or her livelihood. We always knew what the real Communists were. Their actions betrayed them."

D. Juvenile Delinquency. Respondent said there were usually a great many thefts. People did not have enough to live on, and they saw nothing wrong in stealing and many of them did not know the limit when they had to stop.

Respondent doesn't know the word 'hooligan'.

Asked about the Jampec, respondent says: "Unfortunately" many such could be seen who wore the clothing so characteristic of Jampec (Interviewers note: I cut the description of it because it is to be found in quite a few interviews) and who danced the modern American dances, which respondent thinks are very bad taste.

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E.

Homosexuals (Interviewer's note: Respondent's second husband was a homosexual as she found out too late in her marriage, and she describes in detail and I ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ wrote her story verbatim in ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Capital A, under subtitle 'Communist effects of this Chapter six )

Asked about homosexuals other than her second husband, respondent says that there were very few homosexuals in Hungary, since in the previous era they were placed under police observation where they had to report to the police every week, and where they were strictly forbidden to have any intercourse with juveniles. Later the matter became more serious because homosexuals were interned in special internment camps. She emphasizes that she had no possible exact knowledge on these camps. "While Communists punished the homosexual, at the same time they bred homosexuality because they imprisoned and put so many innocent people in internment camps. For instance one of my patients who was a wholesome man, young, and in the prison hospital, he was married and in love with his wife but he complained that if he would be detained her much longer, he is afraid of becoming also a homosexual as he had no outlet for his natural desires to live in sexual relations with his wife. When people turn homosexuals in prison, there are only very few of them who can return again to normal sex life after they get out of prison. Take for instance the fact that there were periods in the hospital of the prison where I worked that we were so overcrowded with patients that we had to put two and even three patients in one bed, and this was the case in the wards for men as well as in the wards for women. We had no other choice. Well, if people lie for months and even for years in the same bed I can't blame those poor creatures for turning homosexual."

Asked whether homosexuality was wide-spread with women as with men, respondent says she has no statistics available but she is under the impression that it was to be found the same among women as well as among men.



RELIGION

A. The role of Religion

Respondent says that religion played a tremendously important role in the nation's life. The more the Communist authorities outlawed religious worship, the more people turned toward religion.

Respondent thinks that Catholic was the religion hardest hit. Admits she doesn't know why but guesses that the Mindszenty affair contributed to it, and brings up a very striking example of the ferocity with which respondent witnessed Communists battling the popularity ~~of Mindszenty~~ Cardinal Mindszenty enjoyed, and says in conclusion that the mere fact that several papal encyclicles so bitterly denounced Communism is enough reason for them to try to fight it.

Respondent doesn't think that religion was a bulwark against Communism. She said that the real spiritual need of people drove people to churches and kept them in them. The real need for prayer that the Lord Almighty might save Hungary from Communist oppression. But she says that churches were not able to stem the tide of Communism in any way.

B. Personal religious life.

Respondent thinks that religion is a very important factor in her life. Comparing her religious life with that of her parents, she says that in her life it is an even more important factor than in her parents' lives.

She declines estimating whether she is more or less religious than the average Hungarian because she brings up the fact that church going is not the most decisive factor in assessing anybody's religious feelings and attitudes. That is the only thing she could observe, namely, church going. Respondent regularly went to church, quite often on weekdays, too, and if she had time enough in the morning to attend Mass she attended at least part of it. She regularly contributed to church funds. She proudly mentions that she always wore the cross on her necklace, although she was warned more than once that it was very detrimental to her rating in the Communist files.

C. The role of churches.

Respondent feels embarrassed when she is asked what the relation between church and state should be, because she says that she never actually thought of it and never dealt with politics on a high level. She wouldn't know what the relations were before Communism and she wouldn't know what the ~~best possible~~ ideal relations are.

Speaking of the role of churches in education, respondent is all for a great role in education of the churches. She thinks something of what was between the two world wars should be improved upon but that basically something of that sort should be continued in a free country.

Speaking of censorship of churches, respondent is against it and suggests that churches should have a very great role in education, improving their methods with the findings of modern psychology, but they should make people capable of deciding what is good and what is no good.

Asked of the active political role of churches, respondent says:

"Priests and preachers should not play politics!"

D. The Jewish minority.

Respondent says that she is under the impression that Jewish religion has not been hurt as much as the others. Perhaps not because their's was the smallest church, she reasons, or perhaps because they had no equivalent of papal encyclicals, she wouldn't know.

Asked how Communist rule affected the Jews in Hungary, respondent says that Jews, on the whole, suffered as much as the other Hungarians under Communism. She remembers having met many Jewish patients in the prison hospital.

Asked about the attitude of Jews toward Communism in Hungary, respondent says: "On the whole their attitude was the same as the rest of the Hungarians. There were certain groups and strata in their own midst. Some of those were partial to Communism and others were opposed to it, and quite strongly."

Respondent thinks that many Jews were Communists. Respondent again explains what she already told us when speaking of party members, that there were two kinds of Communists, one the "real" ones and the ones who went in for no other reason but to secure for themselves and their families a kind of "bread ration card." Thinking back on the people with whom she was together in various hospitals, it seems to her that there were a great many Jewish doctors Communists, but she didn't know any one of them who was a "real" Communist. She hardly finishes this statement when it comes to her mind that there were a few and some among them were real fanatics. She names Magda Ligeti as one typical example, and says there were some more of the same kind. (Interviewer's note: This Magda Ligeti wrote a book on sex education for children, which became one of the most ill reputed and one of the most denounced books of the post-war era. It was termed scandalous and even criminal by all reputable education authorities. So much, that at long last it was pulled out of circulation.)

Asked about the motives of Jews in joining the Communist party, she refers to her former statement that ~~most~~ for most of them Communist party membership meant bread ration cards. Asked why there were proportionately more Jews who were party members than Christians, as she formerly stated, she says that for no other reason but that after the war most Jews had to re-establish themselves in their positions and in starting new businesses, because the Nazi regime deprived most of them from retaining their positions and businesses. And thus they needed particularly much help and protection to start a new life.

Asked about the attitudes and actions of Jews during the revolution, respondent says that they behaved "100%", and she explains that she herself saw in part, and in part heard from completely reliable friends that the Jewish students participated in the demonstrations and fights just as much as the non-Jewish. During the period she served with the Clinics in the revolution, she found among the voluntary help a number of Jews, which number seemed to her quite proportionate, and she says the same about the wounded. She says that the Jewish boys who were voluntary ambulance workers were just as courageous in going into fire as the others. She adds that in Salzburg, Austria, she met quite a few Jewish students and other young Jewish men who asked not to be transferred overseas, because they wanted to stay together with the other Hungarian boys in order to be near if the revolution



is rekindled again so that they could go back to fight once more.

When she is told that there are people who have said that the Jews don't want an independent Hungary, she answers that there are other unfounded rumors among Hungarians, all kinds of rumors, and they must not be taken seriously. She doesn't see any reason why Hungarian Jews would not like to see an independent Hungary when so many of them fled Communism. She thinks among the Communist bosses there are quite a few Jews and no Communist boss would like to see an independent Hungary, but she finds it ridiculous to identify all the Jews with those leaders who think like this, not because they are Jews, but because they are Communist leaders.

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

A. Definition.

Respondent defines the age of Hungarian youth from 14 to 30.

B. The part of youth.

She thinks the Hungarian youth played the most important part in the revolution.

She thinks the unquenchable love for freedom and the hate for oppression made the Hungarian youth act as they did.

She thinks it was the youth because the students had a sufficient level of intelligence as well as education to see things in such a clear light as was necessary to ~~ix~~ be prompted to risk one's life, for the ideas they fought for. Besides, she adds, youth has not been yet out in the battlefield and so they didn't know how horrible it is and so they didn't care as much as did older people.

She says that older people during the revolution admired the youth and loved them as dearly as one can be loved.

Youth thought of older people with wonder for the support they received even from quite old people and old women.

C. Educational system.

Asked about education in Hungary, respondent refers to her statements made in Chapter 6, under A, where she spoke not only of family education, but devoted several remarks to education in schools.

D. Indoctrination.

Asked what youth's reaction to Communist indoctrination was, respondent answers with one word: "Nothing!" and she goes on explaining that youth just didn't care to learn all of that trash.

She thinks indoctrination failed because it was full of lies.

She thinks youth was never sympathetic to Communism.

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

A. She enumerates the following main points: the difficulty in making a living, the degree of ruthless oppression, the lack of freedom in every field of life and the terror exercised by the AVO, together with the realization that the AVO were what you would describe "Parasites of human society."

Aside from big political things, people complained most about: "the misery in which most of them found themselves. Secondly, the sea of lies, which were terribly annoying to people, lies, lies, lies and lies everywhere," she says.



X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. The standard of living.

Respondent lived comparatively well the last years in Hungary. ~~She explains that she went to become a nurse in a prison hospital because thus she became an employe of the Ministry of Interior and all those employes were paid exceptionally well. She earned more than a thousand forints and her husband also earned about the same amount in his furrier shop. They had sufficient food, but sometimes they ate humbler food in order to save money for entertainment. Clothing was sufficient if they were satisfied with the humblest necessities, but if they wanted to have something good, they had a hard time finding enough funds. They had a very small but a modern and nice home with bathroom and everything that a Hungarian family could hope for.~~

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She considered/luxury to go to legitimate theater shows and to the opera. Pressed for more serious luxury, a more genuine luxury, she said that the upholstering of their bed divan was fading and it was beyond her reach to have repaired. When at long last they got enough money for it, they felt the consequences for over a year.

Their standard of living sank considerably in 1945 and she brings up again what seems to be her main complaint, that her husband's income was not sufficient for them and she also had to go working. And she thinks this was a general phenomena in Hungary and she is quite bitter about it.

She laughs when she is asked whether anything has been gained.

Their living standard was the highest in 1956. They had the worst period in about '53 or '54.

Speaking of family, she mentions a neighbor, one living in a neighboring house, who was a Social Democrat originally, a man with little or no education, who went with Szakasits and joined the Communist party together with Szakasits. He became a big shot in the Communist party. He was so trusted that he was sent several times abroad and he returned on every occasion. (Interviewer's note: Notice the remark "and he returned on every occasion!") He lived from nothing else but being a Communist politician, and lived pretty well from that. They had three children, and still they had it very well. They had no car, but the car of some Communist institution was always at his disposal.

They had a large, very modern, what she thinks might be luxurious apartment. They had their children in some special educational institution and they could afford to go every summer to take a long vacation in very good resorts. They had such luxuries as a refrigerator and a piano.

Speaking of the reason for the low living standard, she says:

"The building of a new alleged subway system was very greatly responsible because uncounted billions of forints went into it." Secondly, she mentions the exploitation by the Soviets, in the form of compulsory deliveries, not only to Soviet Russia, but to other satellite countries, for instance, to East Germany. She also mentions the Russian occupation force in Hungary and the Korean refugees who all lived from Hungarian national income.

B. Income.

Her monthly income was 1200 forints.

Deductions amounted to 280 forints.

She received no premiums or extra pays, so on.

She had no secondary source of income.

Both her husband and she worked.

She received only a nominal raise and she observed that party members received a great pay raise.

C. Prices.

She bought her food partly in state stores and partly in farmers' markets.

Whatever she could buy in farm markets she bought there, rather than in state stores, because she found the quality much superior.

She found farm markets better supplied in vegetables.

The difference in prices was "worth it," she found.

She could not say anything relevant about price fluctuations.

They bought clothing in the state stores as well as commission stores. She says that they often found good merchandise in the commission stores and that was much cheaper than new material in state stores.

Speaking of the quality of merchandise in state stores, she thinks that there was a very slight improvement in the recent years.

Speaking of retail distribution, she says there were all kinds of difficulties as far as availability of food is concerned. She saw difficulties in potatoes, in vegetables, in milk, in butter, in eggs and so on.

She thinks that ~~fakey~~ fairly standard spare parts could be bought, but that they cost much.

Speaking of short supplies, respondent says that children's shoes and kitchen utensils were often in short supply.

She claims lack of knowledge about black market.

The same is true in about 'under the counter' sales.

D. Working conditions.

Respondent was a surgical nurse. She worked eight hours a day six days a week.

She worked in the prison hospital in the last instance, because they paid much more than in other hospitals.

Her relations with co-workers differed greatly, according to who the other person was. She says the large majority of her co-workers were of the same thinking as she was and behaved very well and were good co-workers, colleagues. But there were a few among them who were ADO informants and that made the atmosphere uneasy because they took very much time until they established that they could fully trust a person.

Speaking of the degree of authority, respondent says in a surgery room the operating doctor is always a dictator, but that most of them have always been requesting things rather than demanding.

Respondent, generally speaking, felt ~~that~~ at ease with her superiors, but says that there were the usual "three steps distance" was usually observed.

Respondent thinks very highly of the competence of the doctors, particularly with the competence of the surgeons.

Respondent was not satisfied with her job, because she terms the atmosphere of a prison hospital terribly dull, and she says it was heartbreaking to see those innocent victims of political persecution. The only reason she held this job was because it meant so much more income than anywhere else in a similar capacity.



She thinks quite well of the competence of most of her co-workers, with the exception of those Communists who held jobs, not because of their knowledge, but because of their party allegiance and "good services."

She received praise only from immediate superiors. She would have received official recognition only if she had agitated for the Communist party, she feels.

She terms the Hungarian health program "wonderful."

"It must be admitted that it was just wonderful, but I have to add that it had been in existence prior to Communism. Communists only developed it somewhat in the same direction in which it had been developing before."

She has a very good opinion of the vacation program, too, and says that she was twice on vacation in the framework of that program and enjoyed it. She says that Communists received a great deal of favoritism in this field, too, but still even non-Communists could derive great benefit from this vacation program.

Speaking of old-age pensions, she said it was exactly the same as before, that is to say, very little, but still something to save people from starving.

#### E. Agriculture.

Respondent was born in a city and she loves city life. She wouldn't like to change an agricultural area for it.

She thinks agricultural workers had a better diet.

She cannot decide where the generally living standard was better, she thinks it was quite low everywhere, because food, or cultural opportunities or something else was lacking.

Respondent thinks that, politically, people had it easier in the agricultural areas. She brings up the constant surveillance of the house confidence man, of the block confidence man, of the plant confidence man, and of the ADo everywhere, in places of entertainment, in the streets and everywhere in the cities, and she thinks it was not as bad in agricultural communities. She says that the superintendent in big buildings in cities was even supposed to watch what people throw out, so that if they threw out too many chicken feathers, too many times, he had to report it, because ordinary people could not afford often to eat chickens, and the same was true about

orange peels. The ADO became interested in such cases because they wondered where people got all the money from.

Respondent distrusted collective farms from the beginning.

She has a very bad opinion of it now as well as she had before.

She could not decide who opposed ~~collectivisation~~ collectivisation more.

She heard of the dissolution of collectives both during the time of Imre Nagy's regime and also during the revolution.

She thinks that the reasons for dissolution were obvious, people would like to farm on their own.

She would like to see a free agricultural system in Hungary. She would like to keep the decisions of the land reform on the whole, with perhaps some adjustments, namely, she thinks that even the large estate holders should retain a very little bit of what they had owned before, whereas the land reform deprived them of every inch of land, she says.

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

### A. Before 1948.

Respondent explains that she was not interested in politics, if we mean party politics, before 1948, she was interested only in the freedom of Hungary, and in the freedom of the individuals in her country. She was no party member, nor was anybody in her family a member of a political party. She quite angrily rejects the idea that she owed allegiance to any particular political party. She voted always for the issue and the person, she claims.

She knew of Bela Kun and of the Communist regime of 1918-1919 only very bad things. The idea was tantamount to terror and privation, and she says that even her father's taxi, from which he made a living, was taken away by the Communists, and that her parents were happy when Communists left.

Before the war respondent heard that the Communist party had some underground groups operating and she condemned those, both because of their illegal activities and because she thought that Communism was against human freedom.

The same was true about her attitude toward the Communist party during the war.

Asked about changes in her attitudes since 1948, she says that she always detested Communism, but now she detested it much more than ever before. Now she adds that she hates them.

### B. The Communist Party after 1948.

Respondent's own attitudes toward party members is well described in Chapters 5 and 6, where she made very clear statements about what she called the "bread ration card Communists." In Chapter 7, Sub-chapter D, she also spoke of fanatic Communists, of persuaded ones. Now she refers to those former statements and adds that there were also careerists, who acted the same way as the persuaded fanatic Communists, but were actually not persuaded at all, did everything for only quick and secure advancement in the political, social and economic levels.

The only real contact respondent had with Communist party members was that with her own bosses and that was restricted to work itself and to the para-military training about which she spoke in the first chapter that she had to take as an employee of the Ministry of Interior, and she met them at party seminars and meetings to which they were forced to go, although she was no party member, not even an applicant.

Asked about the various types of Communists, she refers to her statement made above, when she classified them according to motives, why they joined



the Communist party. She says that their attitude was of course determined by their initial attitude, that is to say, by their motives to join the party. The "bread-ration-card-type" detested and hated the party and the fanatics did everything for it and hoped everything from it, and that was the same with the careerists, the opportunists.

Probed whether there was any ~~six~~ change in the attitude of party members, respondent says that of course there was quite a bit. There were numerous members who changed their minds and returned their membership cards and left the party. Asked whether this phenomenon was to be observed even before the revolution, she asserts that she saw several such examples and those people were really disgusted with the party and became great anti-Communists, greater than those who always hated Communism.

Asked about changes in party policies, respondent says, of course there were all kinds of changes, Lenin adoration, Stalin adoration and then again such adorations curtailed and abolished, and all kinds of other changes which she just didn't care to follow.

Asked about her view of these changes, respondent says that she hated Communism even more thoroughly when she saw that they changed even their lies and substituted new lies for old ones.

Respondent doesn't know why the changes came, but she surmises that there were all kinds of personal struggles within the party leadership.

She was aware of such differences as voiced in the paragraph above, but she was not much interested in them and doesn't know much about them.

Asked about party morale (Interviewer's note: As I have already remarked in one or two other interviews, unfortunately in Hungarian the word for party morale is the same as for party spirit, and thus you will understand the following quotation.) respondent answers: "Party spirit?!...nonsense! I never cared about the party and I don't know whether they had any spirit, but I doubt that they had anything that could be called spirit! Silliness and lies, those were the characteristics."

She claims to have made her judgement on the basis of what she saw and heard and read, both from and about the party members.

Speaking of the top Communist party leaders, respondent says that regardless of whether, for this or that purpose, they received their orders from Moscow and their only motivation is to follow orders strictly, because that is the only way for them to get ahead in their careers.

She thinks that the actual Communist goals are oppression of people, so that the leaders could have and enjoy unlimited power over other human beings. She also thinks that it is a very important goal of the Communist leadership to reduce Hungary into a Russian colony.

Speaking of their personal motives, respondent says that the top leaders are all after gaining unlimited power and unlimited financial means. Respondent is quite sure that there are also thoroughly convinced, persuaded fanatics, Communists, among the leaders. She personally knew her director of the prison, in the hospital of which she was working, and she says that that man was a thoroughly persuaded Communist, a fanatic, as one imagines fanatics. As she goes into an elaborate description of this boss of her's, it turns out that this man was also a power-drunk despot, who seems to be more fanatic in ~~persuading~~ satisfying his lust for power than in seeking the common good of all through the party.

As respondent delves deeper into the problem of motivation on the part of party leaders, she mentions a very good friend of her's, a woman who was the wife of a very high Communist leader, who was a thoroughly convinced and fanatic Communist, who devoted his entire life ever since he became persuaded of Communism, which was some time either during or shortly before the war, and this man became after 1945 a very high leader in the most secret section of the secret police. Later, she recalls, he was killed by the even higher Communist leaders and even her friend, the wife of this man, had great difficulties, even years later, because she had been the wife of this man who incurred disfavor for one reason or another, but respondent thinks the main reason was he was a really persuaded idealist Communist. She says she would gladly mention the name of this man, were she 100% sure that his wife had fled during ~~the~~ or after the revolution and was in safety now. She is able to give account of why this husband of her girl friend incurred disfavor, namely, as a fanatic and 100% persuaded Communist, he told the Communist bosses off whenever he saw that the principles of Communism were violated. He told them off in a very patient manner, she adds, but still, such a man could not be tolerated by Communist bosses.

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Respondent/~~says~~ quite a difference between the motives of rank and file members and those of the leadership, and she reiterates the essence of what she told of the leaders in this chapter and of the members in chapters 5 and 6.

Respondent says that top Hungarian Communists would certainly deserve the treatment they allotted to their victims in the prison and prison hospital where she worked and saw the horrifying circumstances under which these people were treated, but she says first they should stand

trial and should receive their punishment only after they are found guilty.

C. Opposition.

Speaking of various kinds of opposition, respondent says there were sabotage going on. Protracted treatment of minor maladies and all kinds of minor wounds and protracted sicknesses certainly were a kind of sabotage, she said, and she witnessed many of these as a nurse. She adds that many physicians and nurses helped the patients in such cases and cooperated with them in this sabotage.

(Interviewer's note: I very soundly suggest and plead with those who edit this material not to use such statements for publication because they will contribute to oppressing the sick even more, because if such ~~publications~~ things appear in publications, it is quite logical on the part of the Communists to impose even more rigorous measures to prevent the sick and the doctors and nurses from sabotaging in this form.)

Respondent speaks of other concrete examples of sabotage in industry. She says that she has 100% factual knowledge on the existence of such sabotage because there were so many prisoners sentenced because of such activities to long year prison terms.

Respondent thinks that opposition behavior was particularly manifested in talking against the regime and in complaining quite loudly and publicly particularly on the part of humble workers. Respondent says that she was very much aware of such opposition behavior and many of her acquaintances were.

Respondent thinks that this widespread opposition behavior undermined the position of the regime slowly but surely, and she adds that political jokes were a very important factor in this struggle.

Speaking of changes in opposition behavior, respondent says that there were perhaps waves of but no real changes.

Asked about the activities of the intellectuals, respondent says that since we speak of the revolution, probably we mean of revolutionary activities of intellectuals. She says that she admired those writers who spoke up boldly before the revolution, particularly the ones in the Petofi Circle. "The Petofi Circle," she says, "was greatly instrumental in conditioning people's minds, and particularly emotions, to being ready for a revolution." She first heard of the Petofi Circle in the spring of 1956. She heard about it from her husband first. Her husband's knowledge stemmed from the wife of one of his friends. This



woman actually attended one of the meetings of the Petofi Circle. This woman spoke at length about that meeting and she was all excited. "My husband was eager to get a ticket himself, and several friends of his. They actually attended the next meeting. But, by that time, we heard of Petofi Circle meetings in all kinds of places, in streetcars, at bus stops, in our waiting rooms at the hospital. Doctors at the hospital spoke about it. In short, the meetings of the Petofi Circle became a much discussed topic," respondent says.

Speaking of "intellectual" ferment, respondent says that most of the real intellectuals always stirred against Communism, intellectually, emotionally and quite actively, in many cases. When she is told that this is not what we refer to, but rather to the awakening of those who were for some time favored by Communism, respondent says that she first heard in the beginning of 1956 or perhaps at the end of 1955 that more and more writers are disillusioned with Communism and start speaking out boldly against it.

Asked whether the writers had anything new to say, respondent explains that their major merit was in the way they presented ~~things~~ things everybody thought about and spoke about. She brings up the tremendous role she thinks the Hungarian humorists and comedians played, who managed to ridicule Communists in a way that they were not persecuted for. She cites a really perfect political joke which she saw on a stage. (The only reason that I do not quote it is that I want to make the interview as quick as possible while still including all essential elements. - Interviewer's note.) Asked why those intellectuals stood up against the regime, respondent says that she thinks they probably hoped that they could call the attention of the free world to the plight of Hungary and the free world would stir and do something for Hungarian freedom.

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XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

A. Secret Police.

Respondent says that the AVO consisted of abominable, detestable persons. Actually, she explains, not only the real AVO policemen were members of the AVO, but the leaders of all industrial plants and enterprises were some kind of members of the AVO who were supposed to file regular reports on the people under their management. That is, the executives of all plants and enterprises. Members of the AVO were tremendously over-paid, she explains, but they were expected to do everything for it and they apparently did.

Asked about her own personal experiences or personal experiences of her family members, respondent says that quite fortunately none among her family or friends suffered AVO treatment.

Respondent didn't hear of any repentant AVO member.

She thinks that in a free and independent Hungary, members of the AVO should be shipped to Soviet Russia.

Asked about the regular police, respondent says that they were the good old type policemen ...and she immediately starts praising them because of their behavior during the revolution. She thinks regular police hated Communism as much as any ordinary people.

(Interviewer's note: This last statement was an answer of respondent to the question how Communism affected the regular police system.)

She doesn't know how competent members of the regular police actually are in their field.

Speaking of corruption, she says there might have been some among them, but this is a thing which has to be judged individually and she would not engage in generalizations.

Speaking of the role of regular police during the revolution, she says that they were on the whole very good, because they at least secretly helped the revolutionaries. They gave them arms in most places, and quite a few of them fought together with the revolutionaries. The worst they did, she said, was sit on the fence.

Respondent had some very interesting personal experiences when she was twice in the first few days of the revolution at a police headquarters and overheard a police officer admonishing a policeman that they should be ready to go out to the streets for a mop-up operation after the revolution will collapse, because it would collapse, he said, in a matter of a few hours. When days later she was again at the same police headquarters, she heard police officers

saying that the revolution would not be beaten in a few more days, to say the least.

(Interviewer's note: Asked how come she could overhear these conversations, respondent reminds me that after all she was a member of the Ministry of Interior, and she was also a kind of police sergeant on duty in the prison hospital.)

#### B. The Courts.

Respondent has no doubt that the courts, prior to 1945, were perfectly objective, and if one or the other judge perhaps was not, she says, the poor fellow could always appeal to higher courts and in the end he certainly could win his case if it was just.

Speaking of the Peoples' Courts, respondent says that they judged guilty and innocent alike, and she explains that innocent people were judged because the regime wanted to do away with them or not even the regime which was in power at that time, in 1945 or '46, but rather, the Communists who sought to eliminate all their dangerous enemies. She thinks it would have been much harder for the Communists to do anything if they had judged only innocent people, but unfortunately, she says, there were a number of really guilty among them.

#### C. The Army.

Respondent says that the Hungarian Army participated 100% in the revolution in a great many places.

Most of the information respondent has about the behavior of various Army units stems from either friends and acquaintances and neighbors or from the reports of the foreign radio stations.

Asked about the differences in the behavior of various Army units, and particularly about the differences in the behavior of officers and enlisted men, respondent says that she doesn't have any detailed information but brings up one example, that of the Academy. (Interviewer's note: The equivalent of the West Point Military Academy.) The students of which fought bravely on the side of the revolution.

Asked again about officers, respondent says that she saw ~~many~~ very many officers participating in full Army uniform in the demonstrations.

Asked about the differences in the behavior of various troops, respondent says that the ones which didn't participate actively in the revolution might have had to know arms or might have been under particularly strong Communist leadership which they were not able to shake off in time.



Asked whether she was surprised, she says she was only surprised when she heard that there were some Army units which fought on the side of the regime against the revolutionaries. She expected that every Army unit would side with the revolution immediately.

D. Russian troops.

Mentioning the events of 1848 in connection with Hungarian feelings toward the Russian army, respondent says that she wouldn't say so, but she is quite positive that history books do not count much, but the personal experiences of people count all the more. "Hungarians had ample opportunity to enjoy the good will of the Russian army in their own back yard." Respondent now mentions all the usual charges against the Red army concerning their behavior in 1945: rapes, unnecessary, wilful murders, lootings and brutalities. Asked what she, as a nurse, actually could say professionally about the consequences of this behavior of the Russian troops, she answers that, in order to understand the problem of the Russian's behavior, we should consider that in almost every case, Russian soldiers committed their atrocities when they were drunk. She says that there is no exaggeration speaking now as a nurse, that there is no exaggeration in reports that Russian soldiers banded together and quite often went from house to house in a block of the outskirts of Budapest, to a large building in Budapest, and herded together all the girls and women they could find and took them to their places or to some other building where they established a kind of "quarter" of theirs' under the pretense that they take them to do some work for them, like peeling potatoes or cleaning a building. In fact, she says, they usually demanded them to do these jobs, but afterwards, or meanwhile, or before, they raped them. - She also mentions that there were cases in which drunk Russian soldiers didn't wait a minute but raped women right there in the air raid shelter, in the presence of the husbands of those women, or the fathers of those girls. Asked whether she worked in a hospital and had victims of the Russians under her care, respondent says that at that very time she was not working as a nurse but she received a great many detailed reports from former colleagues of her's, nurses as well as doctors, who treated an immense number of victims of the Russians. Pressed for concrete examples, respondent mentions the building in which she lived at that time, in which there were seven families and the superintendent, so actually eight, and she gives a detailed account of four women from those eight families who were raped by the Russians. Among them was a 20 year old young wife, who had given birth to a child just six weeks prior to her rape, and she held up the tiny baby and showed it to the Russians and begged them to leave her alone but they just took the baby, put it aside as you would put aside perhaps a book or something, and then they raped her. In fact, three of them after each other, and this 20 year old young mother was hospitalized for weeks afterwards. Respondent brings up still another example of her good personal acquaintance who was raped by six soldiers and her mother was forced to stand by and all she could do was cry and pray. As she pleaded with the soldiers, they told her that they would rape her, too, if she didn't shut up.

Asked what she expected of the Russian soldiers before they actually invaded Hungary, respondent says that the very minute the Russian army started invading Hungary, she knew that Hungary was lost, and she cried bitterly even though several of her acquaintances objected to her seeing things so dark. Asked what she thought really before they invaded Hungary, respondent says that then, just as now, she listened to foreign radio stations and she learned a great deal of Russian atrocities before they entered Hungary, and so she had good reason to expect the worst, and she certainly was not disappointed in her expectations. Now she brings up an additional example of her personal experiences, saying that when the Russians got the building where she was hiding in the air raid shelter, they forced them all, children and old and sick people alike, to leave the air raid shelter, although the fighting was still raging in that section.

Coming back to the question how she heard about Russian atrocities in the foreign radio stations, she said that she regularly listened to American, to English and to German radio broadcasts during the war. Asked in which radio station she heard about Russian atrocities, she says in the German.

Asked about changes in her attitude toward the Russian army since 1945, she says that she of course learned to ~~differentiate~~ differentiate between various groups and various persons, and she found, fortunately, many exceptions from the rule, which she seemed to have established in 1945.

Respondent says that she saw Russian soldiers coming to Obuda during the revolution. ~~ix~~ Those were soldiers coming from the Army unit stationed at Kaposztasmegyer and she says that those were not fighting at all. Asked whether she had any personal experience with soldiers before the revolution, respondent says that she had several among her patients.

Asked about her experiences with them, she says that she had no such contact with them that she could tell anything.

Asked about her personal experiences during the revolution, respondent mentions what she said before, how she saw many Russian soldiers coming in from Kaposztasmegyer to Obuda, wearing some white cloth on their rifles and coming in to buy things or just to look around. During the revolution, she also had two or three patients in the hospital where she worked for two days as a voluntary nurse, but she says in that great rush she was in during those days, she had no chance of talking to them.

Coming back again to the question of what the general experience of the Hungarian population with Russian soldiers was, respondent says that in Obuda there were several Russian advisors in the shipyards and their children had a school of their own and they did not associate with the children of the workers of the shipyards.

She had no personal experience during the revolution that Russian soldiers helped Hungarians, but she heard of such soldiers.

She only heard of Russian deserters during the revolution. She heard from good personal acquaintances of a case when these people, some of whom spoke Russian, talked to Russian soldiers and told them, answering their questions, that they were not ..... and those Russian soldiers got awfully sad, took off their helmets, threw them on the ground, and kicked them around and shouted their usual exclamation (respondent now quotes it in Russian, which means "Fuck your mother.")

She didn't see, but heard of several cases in which Russian soldiers handed over their tanks to Hungarians.

She didn't see, but heard of a case when Russian soldiers out of mistake fought with each other and that was supposed to have taken place at the Kossuth Akademia (Interviewer's note: The equivalent of our West Point Military Academy.) In that case, Russians captured this military academy and other troops who didn't know encircled them and there was quite an exchange of fire, she heard.

Respondent didn't hear of any cases of individual cruelty of Russian soldiers, during the revolution.

E. Government officials.

Respondent heard of a state's attorney who tried to help one of the patients in the prison hospital when his case was on trial, but as this patient told her, that state's attorney was persecuted later himself and jailed.

F. Corruption.

Respondent brings up two cases of bribery and she tells about them in detail. One concerns a Communist attorney (defense lawyer) who received an enormous sum to use for bribery, and he managed to do what he hoped to achieve with the help of that bribery. The other is just a minor case, not worth mentioning.

G. Competence of leaders.

Respondent doesn't think much of the competence of the Secret Police. She attributes everything to the diabolic terror they exercised.



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Respondent declines to give any comment on Army leadership, because she thinks that she doesn't know.

Speaking of Russian army leaders, she says whatever they know they learned during the second World War from the English and from the Germans.

Respondent has a very low opinion of public administration officials. She thinks that the ones who are really competent are from the former regime.

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY.

A. Next few years.

Respondent is afraid that the Hungarians will start another revolution and that they will be let down by the free world again.

She does not expect any help from the West. She thinks that the West just wrote off Hungary and the Russian satellites.

She thinks that the Russians will cling to all their possessions, all satellites, that is. She thinks that the terror of the Russians will remain the same or even increase. They will try to exterminate entire layers of the population, she says.

Asked about her hopes, she says that the only faint hope of hers is that people in the free world will come to their senses and will realize that Russia is out to conquer the entire world and that they will try to push it back by peaceful means, trying every dramatic and otherwise way to force Russia to withdraw from Hungary and the other subjugated countries.

She abhors a war and at the same time she says that if the West does not push back Russia by peaceful means, Russia will try to conquer the entire world, if not by revolutions, then by war.

B. Hopes in retrospect.

Respondent refers to all of her friends and acquaintances and relatives, saying that they all were deeply convinced that the West would not give away Hungary to the tender mercy of the Soviets. All those 12 years of Soviet occupation, she says, they hoped that it would not last any longer than one, or perhaps two more years. The revolution was such a surprise, she says, that it came like a light from the clear blue skies, because, after a while, she and her friends and acquaintances, as well, lost all their hopes, because they were so disappointed. She for one was convinced, she emphasizes, that she would have to live all her life in slavery. This is why she rather faced the dull atmosphere of the prison hospital, because she wanted to have a somewhat better living, eating a somewhat larger piece of daily bread, and she did not hope for any essential improvement.





~~Speaking~~ Theoretically speaking, of two kinds of government, respondent needs re-telling until she understands what is meant. In fact, it has to be explained to her twice. She stubbornly insists that both types should be united and the good should be taken from both. She is not ready to decide for any of these two theoretical types.

She thinks that it will be completely unnecessary to ~~strike~~ <sup>outlaw</sup> the Communist party, because there won't be anybody who would like to join it.

C. International position.

Respondent is for a neutral type Hungary, like Austria.

Respondent doesn't want to have any relations with the USSR.

No matter whether it's East European states or the rest of Europe, respondent says that no close relations should be with any of them, but as opportunity arises a free and independent Hungary could have any connections with them, whichever it seems best at the moment. The only close relationships she wants to see are those with the United States.

Respondent heard of the Federation of Danubian States. She says that she heard of that in several friends' circles.

Asked what she thinks of such a federation, respondent says that she would like to see Hungary completely free and independent after so much of bleeding for allies unnecessarily, and getting no reward, but only punishment for it. After, she explains that she has an idiosyncrasy against any close alliance or federation. She changes her mind and says that her experience should actually persuade her to be for a federation of states. Sumarily, she decides for such a federation.

She would like to see Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia and Rumania united in such a federation.

She thinks that public opinion in Hungary would be for it if it were presented well. She certainly recalls having heard favorable comments on such a federation.

Respondent doesn't find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. She would like to see territorial adjustment and return all Hungarians to Hungary and those of the neighboring countries, of other nationalities, who wished to belong to Hungary as they did belong for a thousand years and lived in amity with Hungarians. But she also adds that any such problems would be eliminated if we, in fact, had such a federation of these states.

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She would like to see every decision made by the people, by democratic means: that is to say, in a way that they express their opinions through a secret ballot. (INTERVIEWER'S note: She actually means a plebiscite expressed in humble words.)

She is concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities leaving outside of Hungary. As a perfect solution, she would like to see this federation of states, to which she has referred already, in the above paragraph.

Asked how important this whole question is to her, she says that it should be understandable that people of a family want to belong together.

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

A. World events.

Respondent didn't hear anything of Khrushchev's secret speech.

The same is true about Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee.

She heard nothing of Peron's fall, nor did she hear anything of Peron himself.

Speaking of Rakosi's private life, she heard that his ugly <sup>wife</sup> was actually not his wife at all, only a Russian spy woman, who was placed there so that he could be well managed according to the plans and desires of the Russians.

B. Sources of personal information.

She answers the question in this paragraph by saying:

"In Hungary you could hear all kinds of news and rumors everywhere, in buses, on streetcars, on the street corner, in the plants, in the hospitals, on the trains and ~~anywhere~~ everywhere else." Foreign radio stations were the other source of information, she explains.

C. Word of mouth.

She thinks that anything that happened in Hungary, anything of real importance, could be heard from people pretty soon after that momentous event took place.

She thinks that most of the news received by word of mouth was reliable, but there were some terrible red herrings among them. By the way, she thinks that the main source of even such news was foreign radio stations. But personal connections also played an important part, she adds.

D. Reading habits.

Respondent says that before and during the war, she read leading daily papers and also magazines that concerned the entertainment world, and also one in her own field, that is ~~hospital~~ bulletins containing news of interest to nurses.

Respondent thinks that everything she wanted to read was available and she read good Hungarian books, old classics as well as modern leading novels.



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During the last 8 or 10 years, respondent refrained from reading because she says she was bored to death by all those terrible lies. She says she trusted nothing in Communist papers.

She never read publications from the USSR or other satellites.

Coming back to the problem of Communist daily papers, I probed respondent whether or not she read Szabad Nep, the official part organ, and she says that they had Szabad Nep half hours, which meant that they had to sit in ~~strikes~~ and take turns while they read parts of Szabad Nep, and they were supposed to discuss those articles and news items. She says that she, as well as most of the others, slept all the time, and there were several among them who read things in a way so that even the text was completely blurred by the reading, because they were bored to death to read it.

She didn't read any illegal publications in Hungary, unless, she says, one or another of those novels which were written by ~~maxxfxxxxx~~ great authors whose books appeared in the thirties or the forties, unless one or another of those was on the list of illegal publications.

She wouldn't be able to tell whether they had such illegal publications in their possession, because she never cared to make a difference. She read whatever she liked to and received from friends.

XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY.

A. Russia.

Respondent thinks that human nature will revolt against oppression, even in Soviet Russia, and a revolution will eventually sweep Communism away.

She says that others wait for this revolution to come and she thinks that almost all Hungarians expect that the people of the Soviet Union will arise one day, just as the Hungarians did.

She thinks that the people in Russia hate Communism, and she brings up the example that it was Russian students who saved the Hungarian students during the revolution and who helped them to take a trip to Hungary.

Respondent has no doubt that free elections in Soviet Russia would win a great majority for democratic parties. "Communism would be doomed forever," she says.

Talking about the top leaders of Russia, she says that Stalin started out as a burglar of a post office and she thinks that his entire life was worthy of that beginning and that the other leaders of the Soviet Union are like him.

Asked about the motives of the Soviet Union's top leaders, respondent says it seems that Lenin actually believed in the nonsense of Communism and he found a great many followers who, with the help of the system they established, became awfully big shots and they like this power now and want to cling to it.

B. Eastern Europe.

This is the sequence, according to popularity, as respondent perceives it: Poland, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

She is very emphatic about asserting that the sympathies toward these people go toward the people and the dislike against the governments of these peoples.

She thinks that Hungarians find these peoples very sympathetic who have a lot similar to theirs and particularly like those who stand up in a bold fight against oppression.

She says that she shares the same feelings as she alleges the nation has.

Respondent had only an indirect contact with these peoples because she says that among her friends and relatives there are several who are married to, or closely related to, people in these countries, and a probe shows that she does not necessarily mean related to Hungarians living in these countries, but to Czechs and Poles and so on.

Respondent has no doubt that in all of these countries, Communism would be doomed if free elections could be held.

Speaking of living standards, this is respondent's listing according to where it was the highest: East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania.

C. Poland.

Respondent thinks that the Polish people have not received much more than nice promises and futile hopes. She says that she has no doubt that the Polish people, and perhaps even Gomulka himself and his associates, tried to win more freedom for the Polish people, but as long as they are under Russian control, they won't be able to achieve much.

She thinks that Polish events had a terrific impact upon Hungarian events because actually they triggered the revolution, in so far as they were the reasons for the great demonstration of the students.

Respondent doesn't think Polish events had any effect on Hungarian events during the revolution, because Hungarians were too busy with their own business.

Respondent didn't hear anything on relaxations in Poland prior to the Poznan riots, only afterwards.

Asked whether she would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along the Polish lines, she answers:

"You can't do anything slowly with the Russians. There is either an all out fight against them or it is nothing. The entire way ~~xxx~~ of thinking and acting of the Russians is dictated by Communism, and there is no slow improvement on Communism. There is either abolishing it or surrendering to it!"

D. Yugoslavia.

Respondent thinks that Tito and Yugoslavia were influential in eastern Europe.



There were times, respondent says, when she considered Tito the founder of national Communism, but now she doesn't think much of it and, naturally, doesn't think much of Tito.

She thinks that Tito isn't any better than the other top Communist leaders.

She doesn't think that national Communism could be much better than actual Communism as it appeared in Hungary.

Respondent thinks that Tito is a very foxy politician and that he plays with the other East European nations always according to opportunity as it arises, and tries to take advantage of them in every way possible.

She thinks that Tito is actually in good understanding with Russia, but does everything with it under the surface.

Respondent thinks that Tito sees only a milking cow in the West and he would like to milk her as much as possible.

Respondent hoped during the revolution that Tito would support the Hungarian struggle, and she was bitterly disappointed when she saw that he didn't.

Asked about Titoists in Hungary, respondent is angry and says that Hungarians crave actual freedom and democracy.

Asked how popular Tito is in Yugoslavia, she says she thinks that he is just as ~~popular~~ popular as Rakosi is in Hungary.

All respondent knows about Yugoslav living standards is that they are not any better than before and not any better than those in Hungary.

#### E. The Middle East.

Asked about the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, respondent says that, on the one hand, she thinks they had the right to reconquer by force what Egypt took away from them by trickery, and she thinks that it was Egypt's fault that the struggle got that far, but, at the same time, she says that it was tragic that the English and the French did not time their attack well and that they did not try to pressure Egypt into handing back the Suez Canal Zone. But even if they resorted to war, they should not have done it while the Hungarian nation was struggling for its freedom, she adds.

She thinks that the Israeli invasion was only a sub-chapter of the great book of Anglo-French invasion.

She has no doubt that Egypt had not the slightest right to nationalize the canal zone.

She says that the Anglo-French attack on Egypt had tremendous consequences in Hungary, because they stole the show and because thus the Russians felt much more encouraged to continue with their ruthless oppression. She also adds that she thought that war would break out as a consequence of this invasion.

F. West Germany.

It is respondent's impression that West Germany has the highest living standard on the European continent.

Respondent thinks that the German people actually could start another war, because they want to reconquer what is theirs', namely, East Germany.

She thinks that West German re-armament is natural, because she thinks it is obvious that somebody, somewhere, should stop the Russians from conquering the world.

She thinks that West German military strength is superior to that of Britain and of France, even if not at the moment, she says that they will soon get there, because the German soldiers are so much better military material than the British or the French.

She refuses to speculate on how long West German term of service in the army is. She had the experience that the German occupation force, ruthless as it was, in a great many instances was far superior to the Russian. Thus, she found the Russians much more distasteful.

She found the German army incomparably more disciplined.

She laughs when she is asked which of the two occupation forces were more unpopular in Hungary, because, she says, it is quite obvious that the Russians were much more unpopular, although the Germans were unpopular enough.

G. Western Europe.

Respondent says that she knows hardly anything of the NATO, and so she couldn't say anything worthwhile about it.

She doesn't know anything about the British Labor Party.

This is respondent's listing, in sequence, of estimated living standards: West Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Egypt and Soviet Russia.

H. The United States.

Respondent was particularly surprised upon her arrival in the United States to see houses built out of wood, on the one hand, and skyscrapers, on the other hand.

She thinks that the United States should find some peaceful ways to liberate Hungary, but she would know what those means could be, she says, because she's not a statesman after all.

Respondent is very much against extending any financial aid to present government of Hungary or other satellite nations.

She thinks that her opinion did not change since her arrival in the United States, because she has always been persuaded, she says, that the United States should help those countries to regain their freedom.

Respondent thinks that the United States should maintain no diplomatic relations with the present government of Hungary.

Respondent would like to see a great many Western visitors in Hungary and she is convinced that the Hungarian people would be overjoyed seeing many in their country, both because they want the western visitors to find out about their plight under Russian and Communist oppression, and also because the money they bring might help a little bit.

She says that the Hungarian people are very much interested in western books and periodicals, but she could not suggest a good way of how to send them over.

She thinks that Hungarian exiles should be connected with such activities all the more, because that would mean heartening news for the people in Hungary, and because it's a Hungarian business after all, they think, and secondly, because that would give a livelihood to many refugees.

She thinks the United States launched the Marshal Plan to help western ~~Europe~~ Europe not fall into the hands of Communism, and she remarks Hungary never fell into the hands of the Russians but was handed over by Russian and British statesmen.

Respondent thinks that America became involved in the Korean War because it was interested in liberating the Korean people from the Communist yoke. She



She doesn't think that the United States had any additional reason for fighting in Korea.

I. The United Nations.

Respondent says that she doesn't think anything of the United Nations, because they were not able to do the least bit for Hungary during the revolution.

Respondent says the United Nations should have thrown out the Russians of the United Nations, should have discussed the Hungarian situation and should have despatched help to Hungary.

Respondent has no hopes any more for United Nations actions that could help Hungary in the foreseeable future.

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES.

Respondent thinks that the greatest living Hungarian is Cardinal Mindszenty. She says that Mindszenty is completely sincere, completely unselfish, is heroic in his courage and has a world wide vision, and looks not only to several years, but thinks in terms of decades and centuries.

Imre Nagy: "I loved him because he is much more of a decent Hungarian than of a Communist."

Laszlo Haik: "A dirt. The Communists make a hero out of him after he died, but to me he is just a dirt. Trash!"

Erno Gero: "A bum. The Hungarian people detested him as much as Rakosi."

Janos Kadar: "Trash."

General Bela Kiraly: "I loved him very much."

Anna Kethly: "She is a good Hungarian. She represented Hungarian interests very well."

President Eisenhower: "He is not enough of a soldier, quite unfortunately."

Secretary-General Hammarskjold: "He is a good politician but too faint hearted. He wanted to come to Hungary and he fought with words very well for the Hungarian cause, but he was timid to fly to Hungary when Kadar sent him a message that he should keep ~~any~~ Hungary out of Hungary."

Dulles: "I am so sorry that he was operated at the time of the Hungarian revolution. I think he would have done more because he knows what Communism is."

Eden: "Which one of the English politicians is he? Oh yes, I know, the former prime minister. Well, he should not have attacked Suez at the time of the Hungarian revolution. He deserved to be kicked out!"

Truman: "I wish he had been president during the Hungarian revolution. He proved at the time of the Korean war that he has guts!"

Mikoyan: "He is some Russian something."

Nehru: "He is a wavering politician."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: "The commanding general of the ~~Communist~~ Communist Koreans. He fought well."

Roosevelt: "He sold Hungary and Eastern Europe to Stalin, but I wonder for what?!"

Adenauer: "He's a wonderful fellow. He wanted to help Hungary if the Americans had not prevented him he would have extended help."

Stalin: "He should not have died as he did in bed. He ought to have been hanged."

Malenkov: "Another bum."

Generalissimo Franco: "All I know about him is that he is against Communism."

Evans: "Who's he?"

Khrushchev: "All trash."

Tito: "When he left the Communist fold I thought that he would turn to the good, but he didn't."

Bergon: "Who's he?"

Molotov: "A bum."

Ollenhauer: "Who is he, in what country?"

Churchill: "A smart statesman."

Respondent does not have any special remarks on any of the exile organizations.



Monsignor Bela Varga: "In the first few years after the war, he was a well-known politician, a Catholic priest, and I heard that he became an exile and tried to work here as a Hungarian politician."

Ferenc Nagy: "He was the minister president after 1945 and he had to flee when the Communists wanted to try him. I heard that he remained a politician here in exile and tried to do some good."

Tibor Eckhardt: "I think he was a politician all his life. He was always an opposition leader since I can remember. I heard that he was doing something in exile, too."

Charles Peyer: "He was a labor leader and a Social Democrat. I think that he was an honest guy and I heard that he fled to the West in time."

Miklos Kallay: "The famous minister president of the last phase of the war. The Nazis hated him because he tried to step out of the war and to side with the West. I never heard of him after the war."

Zoltan Pfeiffer: "He was one of the opposition leaders at the 1947 elections, but soon afterwards he had to flee. I think he tried his level best. I don't know what he is doing now."

Istvan Barankovics: "I can say about him just about the same as about Pfeiffer."

General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak: "He was one of those generals who didn't prostrate themselves in front of the Germans. I don't know what happened to him after the war."

Otto of Hapsburg: "Poor fellow. He thinks that he might still become a king of Hungary. I wonder why he doesn't try his luck with the Austrians."

Admiral Horthy: "I was brought up in the years when officially admiration was taught, I mean admiration of Horthy was taught. I think he tried his best to save Hungary from Communism and from Nazism alike."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. Characterization of escapees.

Respondent thinks that aside from those who actively participated in the revolution, many other people fled, those who were only scared and thought that the Communist authorities would harm them, or the Russian military units would inflict harm upon them, and again others who had been longing for quite some time to go to a free country and now saw that their hopes could be realized.

Asked who remained at home, she says that, unfortunately, patriotism held so many of the real fighters back who now faced execution and torture and prison and slave labor camps. She says that most people who were not in acute danger of persecution chose to remain in Hungary, and so did of course all the Communists.

Asked about a person she knew who decided to remain in Hungary, though he had an opportunity to escape, she brings up one of her sisters and says that the sister told her that if eight million people can remain faithful to their beloved country so can they, and rather face all the uncertainties and sufferings but they chose to remain with the Hungarian people.

Asked what the opinion of the people in Hungary is of the escapees, she says that they think a great many of them had to flee and others didn't, but wanted to find a better place to live in, and, sorry as they feel for having been left alone, they think that it is anybody's right to go anywhere in the world.

Asked how many Hungarians would have stayed in Hungary if they had a chance to come to the West, respondent takes the opportunity to express that she should have remained in Hungary because she belongs to the Hungarian people, and, of her large family, she is the only one who managed to leave her people behind. Afterwards she says that it was only the over-optimist news of Radio Free Europe which persuaded so many Hungarians to leave for the West, because they spoke with exaggerated enthusiasm and described in dazzling colors how well the refugees are received here. She mentions that she herself heard a Radio Free Europe broadcast which said that a town is being built for Hungarian refugees in the United States. Taking this Radio Free Europe "propaganda" (as she terms it) into account, she says that perhaps half of the Hungarian people would have remained in Hungary (only half,) but if there had been no such Radio Free Europe news, she says that not even half of those who fled would have left Hungary.

B. Exile organizations and individuals.

Respondent knew of the Hungarian National Council and she knew of the following three exile politicians: Ferenc Nagy, Tibor Eckhardt and

She knew of these from the broadcasts of the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

She thought that these exile organizations and people were working to make the free world more aware of Hungary's plight and that they were preparing to return to a free and independent Hungary.

She has not been in any connection with such organizations or individuals.

Respondent thinks that the exiles tried to direct the attention of the world to the fight of Hungary for freedom and independence and she thinks that they achieved something, because, ~~with~~ with their help, the world now knows more than it knew before. She thinks that they also succeeded in collecting large relief shipments and sums of money for the refugees. She thinks they ought to have done much more, particularly in convincing the leaders of the free world that Hungary will fight bravely for its independence and that they should be ready to extend help to it, because then other countries would rise in revolution and that would topple the building of the entire Soviet camp.

Respondent says that of course they thought of the exiles during the revolution and that they hoped they would go and help the Hungarian revolution, particularly by arms shipments.

C. Redefectors.

Respondent heard of several redefectors, but she knew quite well a woman who worked with her in the same prison hospital. This woman worked in the laboratory, and actually, according to respondent, had no expert knowledge, but, since she came back from Austria and said everything detrimental to



the United States armed forces in Austria and all Western institutions, she became a big shot in the party. Her husband remained in Austria and she was divorced. She was the biggest liar respondent can remember of her personal acquaintances. She thinks that quite a few of the redefectors behaved like this, although she presumes that most of them did not sink that low morally.

Respondent thinks that Communists needed this redefection program because they needed people who said that it was not worth while to flee abroad. For instance, Anthony Pager (a cinema actor, who might almost be termed the counterpart of Gary Cooper in Hungarian films in the thirties, particularly at the end of the thirties and during the war who, unfortunately, in the very latest phase of the war got somehow mixed up with the extreme right). When Pager returned to Hungary in the course of last year (1956) the Communists scored a major victory, because his return indicated to them that everything was still best in Hungary. That is to say, his return was valuable to them because it indicated that.

Respondent says that she thought, and all her acquaintances thought, that all those people were completely crazy, out of mind and silly who were ready to return.

D. Exile tasks.

Asked what people who have left Hungary should do now, respondent says that they should insist and try everything possible on earth to move the United Nations to take steps for the liberation of Hungary. Asked what the people in Hungary would like to know about the exiles, respondent says that they would like to know that they are doing what she just suggested and besides, she thinks that they know everything important from letters of the ones who fled to the free West.

Asked ~~whether there is anything~~ whether there is anything respondent thinks they should know, respondent answers that people in Hungary should know that it is not right for them to start another revolution because they will be drowned in blood because the West will let them down again.

Respondent thinks that the refugees, the exiles, should do everything possible to persuade the public opinion of the Free World that Hungary must not be abandoned for good, and at the same time, she says, they should learn as much as possible in the free world, so that when they return they become fine experts and well experienced people.

Respondent thinks that she can learn an awful lot here as a nurse and return enriched with knowledge and with even more skill.

Respondent happens to be a member of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation.

She thinks this organization should represent the interests of the Hungarian refugees as well as the interests of the Hungarian people still under Communist oppression.

Respondent thinks that this organization should include old and new refugees alike, all the more since the new exiles could save the old ones from forgetting their being Hungarians.

Asked about the various Hungarian political parties, respondent says that there were only two parties which were respectable, though she didn't care much about them either, and those were the Small Holders Party and the Social Democratic Party.

Respondent thinks that there should be no parties in exile because there are too few Hungarians first of all, and secondly, because they are guests in a foreign country and they should not play any party politics here.

Respondent knew of the revived parties during the revolution, that is to say in the three days following the revolution, but she thought that such moves were premature because they should have girded themselves for further fight with the Russians.

She thinks that the groups that had gone into exile previously should have returned to a liberated Hungary to participate, not only in the revived parties, but in every segment of Hungarian life, particularly in scientific institutes.

Respondent wants her children to learn Hungarian in the United States.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS.

A. Radio.

Respondent listened quite regularly to foreign radio stations, particularly to Radio Free Europe, to the Voice of America, to the BBC, to the Hungarian news of the French radio and sometimes to that of Munich and even to the Hungarian broadcasts of the Spanish radio.

She says that reception was better or worse on all stations, and that was determined more by the weather than by anything else. Still, on the whole, she thinks that Radio Free Europe was particularly easy to receive.

She says that there was very much jamming of stations, particularly BBC and Munich were jammed and also the two American stations.

She listened only to Hungarian language broadcasts.

She listened in the evening, whenever she could afford it, and mostly she was able to, and she listened particularly between the hours of 9 and 10 p.m. She answers affirmatively to the question whether she told others what she heard.

She heard most of the broadcasts on her own radio set.

Mostly she listened to these broadcasts together with either her husband or with other friends.

They were afraid that somebody might hear what they were listening to, so they tuned the radio down and sat very close to it so that they could hear it.

She heard an awful lot about western broadcasts second hand, from her colleagues, from her superiors, from her friends and neighbors, and just people in streetcars and buses.

She heard about these broadcasts very very often, she says.

She says there was risk involved in listening to these broadcasts, or in spreading the news around of what they heard.

She thinks that most people were not intimidated by the danger.

Asked about changes, she says that in the last few years it was not as dangerous as before, particularly not, because by then people knew well enough who the informers were.



Respondent's general attitudes are expressed in the following words:

"On the whole, it was an admirable intelligence service, which reported news immediately. It was really amazing to see how quickly this information service worked. At the same time, it was very bad that there was too much encouraging that help would be forthcoming if people wanted to liberate their country."

Respondent preferred the Radio Free Europe to the others for several years, but later she preferred the BBC and the West German-Hungarian service.

She preferred these stations because they sounded much more convincing and appeared to be much more objective than the others, particularly Radio Free Europe did not appear very objective lately and certainly not during and after the revolution, she says.

On the whole, she thinks that broadcasts were fairly reliable.

She says that there was a difference between the ~~xxxxxx~~ reliability of various stations.

She thinks that the BBC was by far the most reliable.

She judged their reliability, their accuracy, on the basis of her own experience in every day life. She compared reality with what she heard.

She says that the effect of these broadcasting stations before the revolution was not much more than to keep the hope of the people alive. Then she hastily adds that there was still another great merit of these stations, namely, they kept people informed of events both in Hungary and outside it.

But she thinks that these broadcasts stirred nobody to any action.

During the revolution, however, she explains, the impact of these stations became tremendous. Their influence was most decisive. People built their hopes on what they heard, ~~from~~ particularly from the two American radio stations.

Speaking of Radio Free Europe, respondent says that she regretted very much that its news, particularly during the revolution, was not as reliable as it had been in the past.

When she is told that some people have said that western broadcasts, and Radio Free Europe in particular, helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help, she says that it might not have been true before the revolution, but that during the revolution it certainly was literally true.

She thinks that Radio Free Europe should not continue to broadcast into Hungary unless it finds a new and much better form, a form which insures objectivity, an objective approach to every problem and accurate news service which does not hold out false hopes to people.

Asked what programs in particular she thinks should be broadcast, she says that straight news, above all, is always welcome to people, and news concerning scientific research developments. She also suggests brief scientific lectures in a popular tone, so that people can increase their knowledge. She particularly suggests that English classes and French language classes be held.

As we go, item by item, she says about anti-Communist propaganda that that would be jammed anyway, but that people don't need any of it.

Going to the next item, she says that programs about life in Western Europe and in the United States, and a program about life anywhere and everywhere would be welcome. ~~xxxxxx~~

Asked once more what else she suggests, she says that in those scientific lectures she suggested, she would very much suggest that information concerning health and hygiene be included.

B. FEP leaflets, or Free Europe press leaflets.

Respondent does not know the initials NEM, nor does she know it when the full name is spelled out.

Respondent heard something very vaguely about some demands, she doesn't even remember that there were twelve of them. ~~She~~

She saw Free Europe press leaflets in the air as they came down from a ~~xxxxxx~~ balloon. She never had one in her hands.

She heard about such, but not much more than the fact that leaflets were spread and that they contained encouraging ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ hints.

Respondent heard from her patients of Free Europe press leaflets, and she also heard from doctors and nurses.

She thinks that picking up and distributing Free Europe press leaflets were particularly dangerous.

She says the ADO beat people up if Free Europe press leaflets were found with them, and they not only beat them but also jailed them if it was found out that those people passed those leaflets.

She says that some people were intimidated and some were not, but most of them were apathetic.

She did not see any changes in this pattern.

Respondent is not very positive about these leaflets. She says that she doesn't see any point in spreading them at what she estimates very high cost. She thinks they cause unnecessary excitement only and do not really contribute to anything.

Asked about their effects, respondent says that in the beginning people hoped, but that later they didn't give a hoot, because they found out that these leaflets were not meant very seriously.

Respondent still thinks that Radio Free Europe committee may drop leaflets if there is a 100% responsibility behind the texts.

She thinks that the main thing in these leaflets is to avoid anything that amounts to bluffing.

D. Goals of western groups.

Respondent thinks that western groups hope to derive some good political consequences from stirring Hungarians and other peoples subjugated by the Soviets, but she adds that there was not one war that was won by leaflets or radio broadcasts and she's afraid that the West doesn't completely harmonize what it says and what it does.

Respondent doesn't see any difference in the aims of the western groups which direct propoganda at Hungary.



XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE.

These are the ~~things~~ things respondent thinks most important that a child be taught: "Affection and love for her fellow human beings; honesty; diligence and courage."

Speaking of disciplining children, respondent says that there are a million ways of explaining to children what should be done and of persuading them how to do things and particularly, she thinks very much of showing them by example. She shuns beating and any type of force, but she does not mean to exclude them from education. She prefers, however, cutting snacks, or temporarily depriving the child of certain toys, or other enjoyments.

She thinks that one should be more tender toward girls than toward boys.

Asked whether treatment should change as the child grows older, respondent says that it depends upon the intellectual development of the child. The more intelligent the child is, the more intelligent methods may be used, and if the child is primitive, unfortunately primitive, methods of disciplining have to be used.

Asked about one case in which she was disciplined, respondent tells the following story:

"I was 16 and one day I went to the beach with girls in our house. We happened to have a very low character superintendent and he had a very bad boy. This boy was a nuisance. He wanted to be with us again and again, and we had a great dislike for him. So we never went out with him, in fact we sent him away whenever he tried to join us. But that certain day, this boy happened to know to which beach we went and he tried to join us out on the beach and there we still told him off. But his mother (the superintendent's wife) said to my father that we had been together with her boy. As we got home, father was so mad because he had no doubt that the wife of the superintendent was right, that he beat me with his palms. First he slapped me in the face, and when I fell he still kept hitting me. I cried as a child would cry and mother comforted me. As my brothers learned the truth, they wanted to beat up the wife of the superintendent. My mother, however, prevented them from doing that. Since father left home right after he beat me, we had to wait until he came home again, and then I told him very resentfully that he was actually very mistaken, but I was still respectful toward him because I still thought very much of him."

Respondent says that children six years old or older were usually punished by that parent who was closer to the crime, or rather, the misdemeanor, that the child committed. In some families, she says, it was more likely the mother, in some more likely the father who was quicker to hit or to give them another what she terms "more intelligent" type of punishment.

She didn't see much difference in various social groups, nor did she see any greater changes in the last 10 years in this respect.

Respondent thinks that physical punishment is usually abandoned about the age of 15 in the case of boys and in the case of girls she thinks that the usual age is about 12 or 13. But she right away brings up an example of which she knew from her own experience, that a girl friend of hers was slapped in the face by her mother while she was preparing in bridal gown to go to her own wedding. And respondent thinks that this girl deserved it because she talked in a very bad manner to her mother and had no reason to do so.

Asked about differences between social classes, respondent says that the middle class, which consisted of better educated people, applied usually more refined punishments and stopped ear usually at an earlier age and that workers applied corporal punishments and stopped perhaps a little later, but there were also great individual differences, she says.

Punishment in general was abandoned usually about the age of 16, she says, but quiet censuring, quiet reproachment was still used even in later years, she says, and she emphasizes that in these things it is very hard to generalize.

Asked about changes brought about by Communism, she says that for a while parents were not permitted to apply any corporal punishment, but later this was recalled because authorities saw that it was a grave mistake to issue such an order.

It seems to respondent that there were no essential changes in the kind of punishment, but she thinks that the age in which many parents stopped punishing their children became younger.

In the last 10 years, respondent says, corporal punishment was abandoned in schools and young children became much more undisciplined than they had been before, particularly in the first years. Before, most Hungarian children were very courteous, she says, but now they forgot what courtesy once upon a time was, until the last few years, when one could see that parental influence became much stronger again and even in schools, teachers

who were not prone to Communist doctrine influenced children for the good.

Probed with the request to name actual methods of punishments before Communism, respondent says that kneeling and standing in the corner and even spanking and hitting with sticks on their palms, and occasionally, even slaps in the face, were not uncommon before Communism, and that, during Communism, perhaps not because of Communism, but because of general change in educational methods, these punishments were abandoned and writing sometimes a hundred times, and similiar punishments, came into fashion. But she adds that in later years, the last few years, Communists found out that corporal punishments were necessary, and they were, even though not officially, practically introduced in a ~~great~~ great many schools again.

These are the characteristics she values most in a friend: "Sincerity, above all, and a basic honesty; love and affection for fellow human beings. Sincere people have affection and love for their fellow people and they can be counted upon to say the truth and to behave truthfully. Such people share their mental and spiritual problems with their friends. Good friends should have a heart, a big heart in fact, not only good brains. They should not be selfish, only if people are not selfish can they be good friends."

Asked about changes in friendship under Communism, respondent says that she had a girl friend who betrayed her out of jealousy and another one who betrayed her because she hated her, because she still was able to believe in God and religion and she had lost that belief and hated her because of that.



## CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is a very well built woman, about 5 feet 3 inches tall. She is blonde and has blue eyes and a pretty round face, with very unusually strong but charming features. (By features I mean wrinkles and furrows and crow's feet and puckers.) Her big blue eyes are very attentive and I think her most marked feature is that she is very unusually attentive and very composed. Her skin is well tanned and her hair is naturally blonde.

She doesn't look her age. Actually, she looks somewhat younger, but gives the impression of a woman whose age you can never tell. She is a type which does not essentially change her face from the age of about 30 until the age of about 50. She is a little bit on the fat side, but rather she should be described as stocky, or heavy. She has a very unusually ~~firm~~ nimble and elastic, but charmingly elastic and quick walk. She speaks unusually vividly and quickly, and has a very quick wit and is full of emotions, but is always very well composed. Attentive and intent as she is, she is always ready to smile, and her smile is very sincere and completely relaxed and her laughter is womanlike and young. She seems to enjoy the cigarette she smokes. She appears not to be a passionate smoker and handles her cigarette and every ~~awkward~~ motion with very natural and by no means exaggerated grace.

She is a typical member of the highest layer of the working class. She has no higher education, nor has she acquired one by extensive reading. But she is naturally very intelligent and intuitive. Her intuition is indeed remarkable. It is quite interesting to observe that while, on the whole, she has a very open mind, in some cases she appears to be biased. Although she seems to have changed her opinion about things even though she was biased for some time in that point.

The quite close personal acquaintance I acquired with her after the interview (meeting her together with her fiance) as well as the graphological analysis I made of her handwriting, have convinced me 100% that she is a thoroughly frank and well meaning and sincere person. She is very unusually understanding and helpful. Based on the aforementioned personal acquaintance and graphological knowledge, I may say that she is amazingly eager to learn and amazingly open-minded and amazingly courageous facing all kinds of difficulties.

Although she thinks rather with her emotions than with her thoughts, and is prone to pre-conceived ideas and biases, on the whole, she is extremely snappy and equal to the occasion. She is very natural and informal and has no trace of the sensitiveness and priggishness so common in Hungarian women. She can laugh heartily and cry heartily, has great emotions quite usual with Hungarian women and almost unknown to the average American woman. An American psychology student who knows only the usual American scene and can think only ~~in~~ in the every day American terms, would hardly believe about this emotionally over-charged woman that she is actually very well balanced emotionally and would be among the last to become emotionally disturbed.