

(1)

By origin I am half peasant and it actually hurts me what I am going to say, but the truth is that the peasantry did not take the same role in the revolution, alongside with the urban workers. I would like to say that I attribute this fact to the stupidity and fear of the peasantry. Of course, I do not mean that the peasantry stood aloof. As a matter of fact, the peasantry of the Transdanubian regions was very helpful during the fighting. But they did not **take** part in the joint effort to the extent I expected them to take. It was especially painful that they sold food to the fighters for money. In the Eastern half of Hungary the attitude of the peasantry was perhaps the reverse. They were passive **during** the fighting, but they were active in providing food for the country. As a matter of fact, much of the free food in Budapest, we heard so much about, came from these Eastern regions of Hungary. Another item I think we ought to know about events in Hungary is, that the West committed grave blunders. I would like to say about the radio

broadcasts of Europe in particular that it was **a great mistake to minimize everything what happened in** Hungary under the Communist regime. The younger generations who grew up under the new regime, resented this attitude very much. They were told by the radio that what they are doing or learning is of no value whatsoever.

The youth was proud of what it has achieved and this negative attitude of the West actually was helpful to the communists only. The communists could point out the hostile attitude of the West towards the new Hungarian generation. I firmly believe that this Western attitude actually is more responsible for the anti-Western feelings of these young people than the anti-Western communist propaganda. The talk about liberation backfired. People who believed in liberation got finally disappointed and developed bitter feelings against the West. I know of cases where parents did not enroll their children in the school thinking that it will be better for them to wait until liberation. When they realized that their hopes are in vain, all what was left was **resentment**.

- (2) The period of incubation before the revolution was mainly one of confusion. This confusion began with the death of Stalin. The mysterious circumstances of Stalin's death. The rumors about his murder. The fact that they learned about his death from foreign broadcasts before the official communist announcement. All this confused the faithful communists. The non-communists, of course, took advantage of this confusion. They needled the party secretaries, who for the first time did not have the right answer. Speaking about the non-communists I should point out that their rejoicing proved itself premature.

They developed a sort of unrealistic view of the situation. Many thought that with the death of Stalin the end of communism is approaching. They took the offensive against the party members, but when the expected spectacular events, that is to say the end of communism, did not show up, these non-communists were greatly disappointed. I would say that the party regained control under Imre Nagy's regime. True, Imre Nagy's gov't relaxed controls on the one hand, but it stabilized the regime also on the other. This is not to say that Nagy succeeded in solving the problems Hungary was confronted with. Much confusion remained in communist ranks, but confusion was the order of the day among non-communists too. The fall of Nagy and the return of Rakosi to power intensified this two-way confusion. Confusion grew even stronger after the 20th party congress early in 1956. From then on, however, in communist ranks confusion was coupled with concern and fear, whereas among the opponents of the regime, confusion was coupled with greater boldness. Boldness took the lead with the June meetings of the Petöfi circle. The impact of these June meetings on Hungary was comparable to the impact Khrushchev's speech at the February congress of the Soviet communist party had on Russia. Here is also the <sup>real</sup> beginning of the role the writers have been playing in the Hungarian Revolution, because it is only after these June meetings that the writers began to have an impact on the broader masses. It is the writers who finally transformed this situation which I called confusion, into an explosive situation.

out of which the revolution ensued. The spark of the explosion was furnished by Gerö. (Interviewer's Note: Here the respondent referred to the well-known fact about Gerö's role following Rakosi's dismissal as party secretary. Respondent referred also to the Rajk funeral and to the Polish events connecting these in a familiar way with the events in Hungary. This answers covered point c and e in question No.2.)

(2g) Before the June meetings of the Petöfi circle, an article in the Irodalmi Ujság impressed me very much. It dealt with the well-known poem of the Polish poet Wazyk. I think the author of the article was Tardos. The title of the article was "The Waters of the Sea are Salty" The article dealt with the general state of dissatisfaction, or at least this is how I understood it. During the revolution, the poem by Kucka impressed me most. The title of the poem was "Forgiveness". In this poem Kucka asked the Hungarian youth for forgiveness, acknowledging his mistakes.

(3) In discussing the major factors leading to the revolution, I would mention the followings in this order:  
First, political terror. Two, the critical economic situation. Three, the great difference in the standard of life of the privileged communist clique and the rest of the people. Four, confusion within the party. Five, the role of those writers who created an explosive situation.

(3b) On Oct 23rd the feeling was overwhelming in Budapest, that Gerö in his broadcast scheduled for the evening, will announce his resignation and that Imre Nagy will become Prime Minister. As a result, the regime was in a state of paralysis. The supporters of the regime themselves were expecting a change. This was one reason why the control system collapsed so easily. I would compare this situation to an inter-regnum and while the regime has been paralyzed, the students took action; thus the confusion of the regime was complete. If you think of the paralysis of the regime on the one hand and the action taken by the students on the other, you can easily see how the control system could collapse so easily. As to Imre Nagy's impending return to power, I would like to mention one of the conversations I have had with him towards the end of September. He told me then, "there is no need to be impatient. Only a few weeks and everything will be in order. I will be soon rehabilitated by the party," Nagy said. He did not say so many words that he will be appointed Prime Minister, but it was my feeling that he was referring to this, or at least, this is how I stood his words. But there were many other people who felt the same way as I did.

(3c) The main purpose of the demonstrations of Oct 23rd was the desire of the students to make their demands known. They wanted publicity; since they were unable to get the press and the radio to publish their demands, they appealed to the public in a direct way.

They had no forum and they created one for themselves. Of course, that they dared to put pressure on the gov't in such a way was proof of the general confusion that reigned in Hungary at that time.

(3d)

I would characterise the stages in the following way: First, silent demonstration. Then, noisy demonstrations. Finally, street fighting. I have been an eye-witness of these stages. I have been with the demonstrators on Oct 23rd in the company of an Austrian journalist. During the great student demonstration at the ~~Red~~ statue, I have seen how the peaceful demonstration has been transformed into a revolutionary demonstration. This is how it happened: Across from the statue is the Hadik barracks. The windows of the barracks were closed, but beyond the windows one could see nothing but the heads of the soldiers tensely watching what was going on. At one point the students turned towards the barracks and began to shout "You are not with us? Aren't you Hungarians?" The windows were thrown open and the soldiers were waving. A little later, in one of the windows a soldier unfolded a Hungarian flag and with his pocket knife he cut out the Soviet emblem. This was perhaps the turning point of the ~~Red~~ statue demonstration. The air became filled with revolutionary tension. The climax was when a soldier appeared on the roof of the barracks; in his hands was a piece of paper. He unfolded the paper and held it high above his head. On the paper there was a crude sketch of the Kossuth emblem, which became the symbol of the revolution.

The crowd on the square and the soldiers in the windows of the barracks sang several times the Hungarian National Anthem. It was at that point that the slogans arose "Let's go to the Parliament building!"

(3f) The people who opposed the Revolution formed the core of the Communist regime. Among them were simple, humble Party people who got scared. I can give you an example. During the Bem statue demonstrations I called up one of my friends, a girl of 19 who was a Party member, and explained to her what was going on at the Bem statue and told her to come and join the demonstration without delay. Her reply was: "I would not go. Everyone of you will be carried away by the AVO!"

(3g) The neutral were again simple party members and some non-party members, who had jobs and who were concerned about losing their jobs, who were afraid of the consequences if they joined the Revolution. A neutral attitude was taken also by the Maszek segment of the population. They were doing relatively well and they were not willing to take chances.

(3h) First there were the popular slogans which invited the people to join the Revolution. These were the following slogans, most often heard at the beginning of the Revolution on Oct 23rd. Such as "You are not Hungarians?" or "Who is Hungarian with us!" or "Hungarian uniform for the Hungarian soldiers!" or another slogan which was born during the ~~Revolution~~ Bem statue demonstration, slogans which became more and more revolutionary, such as "The Hungarians don't need Pufajkas!"

Pufajka is the name of the Russian soldier's uniform, worn also by the Hungarian Army. The other distinct group of slogans were those which contained the demands of the revolution or attacked the system. Among these slogans the most important was, of course, the following "Russians go home!" "Down with the AVO". There were more radical slogans later on, of course, during the demonstrations of 23, 24 of October. An important slogan high-lighting the radicalization of the demonstrations was the one the crowd at the Parliament Square demonstrations on the afternoon of October 23rd shouted back at Imre Nagy when he appeared at the Parliament's balcony and addressed the crowd: "Dear Comrades!" The crowd shouted back "We are no comrades. We are Hungarians!" I went with a crowd from the Ban square later that day to the Parliament Square and I was present also when the Stalin statue was pulled down. While some workers were busy adjusting cables on the Stalin statue, others<sup>were</sup>/tearing down from the ~~2302~~ building across the square where Stalin's statue stood, the red star. Thus new slogans were born, such as: "Down with the red star!" Also from the Stalin statue phase of the revolution<sup>on</sup>/I have never heard again the Russians being referred to as Russians. Rather the word Ruszkik was being used. This term had an insulting overtone. I would like to point out also that the destruction or the pulling down of the Stalin statue was an important turning point of the revolution, because it was at the Stalin statue that the workers of Budapest appeared on the scene.



Until then the demonstrations were mostly lead by the students. The slogans I have heard around the Stalin statue can illustrate this change. There, the crowd was shouting "Rope for the worker! Rope for Stalin!"

(3i) I think until the first shot was fired at the radio building on the night of Oct 23rd, the revolution was not anti-Communist. It was directed against the AVO, but not against communism as such. I think an important factor which turned the revolution into an anti-communist one was, that the Gerö regime turned against the events of Oct 23rd. This embittered the dissatisfied communists

(31) In the beginning the reactionaries were frightened and stayed home. Later they were passive onlookers. In the final phase, of course, everyone participated without distinction, including so-called reactionaries, perhaps.

(4) I have said already that on Oct 23rd I was actively participating in the event. I was at the Ben statue; then I went to the Parliament Square and to the Stalin Square, where the Stalin statue stood and then to the radio station. Until the end of the square demonstrations the Austrian newspaperman was with me. Later Mr. Benkő, my present husband, joined me and I stayed with him thru out the rest of the day, going from one place to the other. Here I would like to account a very interesting event, which happened on Oct 23rd. In the morning I visited Ire Nagy. I knew him well. My acquaintance with him began earlier in the year of 1956, when I first

called on him to ask his help in some peasant problems we have had in Bekes, this is where I come from. The trouble we had in Bekes was this. The peasants had heavy taxes to pay. They did not have the money and the tax people took the roof(tiles ) off from the peoples houses. I knew that Imre Nagy was helpful in a similar situation to the peasants in ZADAROVY-.When I called on Nagy's, his wife met me at the door. I told her that I had a peasant problem I would like to talk to Mr. Nagy. Mrs. Nagy called from the door to her husband, saying "A young girl is here with a peasant problem!" I heard Mr. Nagy's voice "Let her in!" Thus began my acquaintance with Mr. and Mrs. Nagy. I was on intimate terms with both of them. Mrs. Nagy was a peasant girl. Her maiden name was Sarolta ÉGETŐ

In the course of the next months I saw the Nagys rather frequently. My purpose of going to see Nagy on the morning of Oct 23rd was (it was very early in the morning around 7 o'clock) that I should arrange a meeting between Mr. Nagy and some of the small holderparty politicians, who anticipating impending changes were becoming active and were anxious to meet Mr. Nagy. Among them were my present Husband, Mr. Benkő, Mr. Nyeste (Interviewer's Note: We made an interview with Mr. Nyeste.), Mr. Jonas, Mr. HAGE, Mr. SZTARAY, Mr. Zimanyi and Dr. Varga. Nagy told me that the meeting for the afternoon would be alright with him.

But so many things happened since my early morning meeting with Mr. Nagy on Oct 23rd and ~~in the afternoon~~ in the afternoon that I returned to Mr. Nagy's apartment to ask him whether the

appointment could be kept. When I arrived at his house there were great many people and cars. People standing around, going back and forth thru the open door of the house. I could not even see Mr. Nagy.

It was easy to draw the conclusion that the appointment could not be kept. Now to continue what I have been doing on Oct 23rd. All day long I was with the demonstrators and returned home on that night around 2:30 a.m. (Interviewer's Note: See question No.3) From Oct 24th to Nov 4th my apartment in the Váci utca, where I had also my fashion salon called "Bar", was a busy place. It was not customers, of course, who came back and forth. But during the fighting boys, who were my friends or acquaintances, mostly from my home town, slept and ate there and used my telephone. It went on like that until the victory of the revolution. After the revolution was victorious, I was rather active in the political activities. I mean, I was greatly interested in what was going on in the political life. I was especially anxious that a united agrarian party should come into existence. My opinion was, that it hurt the interests of the peasantry to have 2 peasant parties, as we have had after 1945, namely the small holders and the peasant party. I thought that the 2 parties should be united. I belonged to the small holder party and I am sorry to say that the plan of the union faltered on the opposition and lack of understanding of the small holders.

Party secretary

Béla KOVACS

Tivadár Pártzy

who was second man after  
was not sympathetic towards the union.

Or to put it this way: He was in favor of the union if the peasant party had joined the small holder party. But he disliked the idea of forming a new party after the fusion of the two. There were of course small holders who favored the union. I'm not so well informed what was the situation in the peasant party. Among the small holder politicians favoring a reunion among the 2 parties, was Sandor Kiss. During the victorious days of the revolution I attended on Nov 2nd in the Urania moviehouse the meeting of the former political prisoners. It was a confused meeting. I was in charge of arranging a meeting of the former women prisoners and I decided to do a better job. Nothing came of it, however, because the meeting was scheduled for the next week and in the meantime the events of Nov 4th changed completely the situation. On Nov 4th I was a thome and horror stricken I followed the events of the next days.

- (5) See answers to questions 3 and 4.
- (6) N/A
- (7) The Budapest Revolutionary Workers Council had the greatest authority. Next, I think, came the Gerö Council and then the Workers Council in Miskolc.
- (7a) I knew of a serious conflict between the members of the Dudas Group and the Maleter Group. It was not so much a personal conflict between the 2 leaders, but rather among the people belonging to the 2 groups.

The conflict had some class overtone, because Dudas represented more the Proletarian, whereas Maleter was regarded as the representative of the people above the proletarians. It is hard to define these distinctions, but I think there were distinctions of this kind. What I want to imply is that there were 2 social classes opposing each other. How far the lack of confidence between the 2 groups went? It is interesting to mention, that when Dudas was negotiating with Maleter, Dudas' followers went with him to the conference room and they were armed with sub-machine guns. The meeting took place in the Parliament building. I think in the background Mr. Tildy was partly responsible for this conflict. Tildy favored Maleter rather than Dudas. These things I know from Mr. Benkő. As a matter of fact it was Maleter and not Dudas who got a post in the gov't after its reconstruction during the victorious period of the revolution when the gov't became a coalition gov't with the participation of the different parties. I personally think that Dudas was a true popular leader, a leader of the proletarians. Maleter, on the other hand, was a star. The star of the revolution I would call him, and I felt there was something of the opportunist in Maleter. Maleter is of bourgeois origin and under the HORTHY regime he became an officer. He was wounded on the Russian front in the Don river area. He was taken prisoner by the Russians and returned to Hungary in 1945 as a partisan leader. The story went around that his conversion to Communism occurred after he was wounded and his comrade officers left him on the road altho he implored them to help him.

This, I am told, aroused a bitter hatred against his class. But this was also the beginning of his career under the communistic regime. He divorced his first wife who left Hungary when the Russians invaded the country. Maleter married a girl with a good kader. The girl's father is a doctor, but both the doctor and his wife were of peasant origin. As far as I know Maleter was commander of the Kilian Barracks and fought against the revolution. It was more his men, I mean the attitude of his men towards the revolution that made him change sides. This is atleast how many of us knew his story. Dudas, on the other hand, was an engineer who is a Hungarian from Transsylvania. He was imprisoned for 8 years for his communist activities in Rumania. He became a Hungarian citizen when Northern Transsylvania was returned to Hungary in 1940. According to my informations Dudas was involved in the separate peace negotiations the Horthy regime was conducting. Dudas was contacted by the Horthy regime in his capacity as a communist. After the liberation in 1945, that is to say when the Russians occupied Hungary, Dudas, to my knowledge, did not have a great role in the communist party. Furthermore, after the communists established their dictatorship, Dudas was arrested. After his release from prison, which I don't know exactly when it happened, it must have been sometime after 1953, he could not get a job as an engineer because of his imprisonment and he worked as a worker. This is how he got so closely attached to the workers and also this is how he became one of them.

This is the explanation why he became the leader of the proletarian segment of the revolution. These informations are from my friends who knew a lot about politics. I have had no direct contact with political affairs, but among my friends/<sup>were</sup> great many politicians.

(8) The Russian troops I have seen on October 24th looked rather frightened. I think there was a great difference between the Russians who were stationed in Hungary and participated in the fightings after Oct 23rd and those Russian troops who suppressed ~~xx~~ the revolution on Nov 4th. The latter troops were not from the European parts of the Soviet Union. They were from Asia. But their brutality should not be explained merely by their origin. They were told that they came to fight against the English-American aggressors. I was present on Nov 11th or 12th, when a Russian officer told some Hungarians, standing around, about an order issued by the Soviet command to the troops. The order was in Russian, but Hungarians who knew Russian translated it. I remember one sentence: "The English-American imperialists have attacked Hungary."

(8c) I knew one foreign student who fought in the revolution. He was the son of a woman employee of the Budapest French legation. The woman was my customer in my fashion salon and I know the story from her. Later I talked to the boy too. He was studying cinematographie in Budapest and it was through joining his friends in the film studio that he got involved in the revolution. He was a very brave boy.

- (8e) On Oct 25th in front of the Astoria Hotel on Rákóczi street, I saw when the students attacked a Russian tank." The Russians surrendered. The students hoisted a Hungarian National flag on the tank and the Russians themselves drove the students crowding the top of the tank, to the Parliament Square meeting, which took place on that day.
- (9) During the revolution I was really in the center of events, because so many people were involved in the fighting and later in politics, who were my friends, and thus I have gained most of my informations from them.
- (9a) I saw the newspapers, I read mostly the headlines. I remember well, very well, it said that the troops of the UN are at the Austrian border. It appeared in one of the new papers, I don't remember its name, but I know that it was published by the Hungarian Army.
- (9b) Most of the news I had I have learnt by word of mouth.
- (9c) I was listening to domestic broadcasts, I tuned in to Radio Free Europe especially after November 4th. Remembering these broadcasts I would say that the psychological effect was this: No doubt, America will help you after the elections. I remember in particular one sentence which occurred and re-occurred frequently on the Free Europe broadcasts. This sentence was: "Only a few more days!" When I think of this sentence today, I know that what it meant was that a few more days are left until the elections.



But the way these words were uttered definitely, impressed the people with the idea, that "all what I have to do is to hold out until the elections." I think this was very irresponsible.

- (10) First, it was paralyzed, then it disintegrated completely. There was neither a party nor a gov't.
- (10a) With the exception of the police and the trade unions everything collapsed.
- (10b) What remained of the party moved from the Party building in Akadémia utca to a small office in Nádor utca. It was from this office that the communist party after the defeat of the revolution returned to the Akadémia utca building.
- (10g) The Ministeries did not function during the fighting. After the victory of the revolution they were in process of reorganization. New people came in. Of course they had no time to function under the new leadership.
- (10h) The local councils were functioning, but after the victory of the revolution they supported the new gov't.
- (10j) The police and the army.
- (10k) There were great many new organizations. I could list them, but probably you know all about them and actually it is mostly the names I know about them. There is no particular information I can give.
- (10l) Three groups formed the background of the workers council. Former members of the intelligencia who suffered imprisonment and after their release they were either workers or sometimes engineers in lower jobs.

The workers had great confidence in these people and they elected them into the councils. The 2nd group were workers who had administrative jobs before, but who were no exponents of the regime, that is to say they were regarded as decent.

The third group was from the rank and file of the masses of workers.

(10m) A multi-party system, out of which a coalition gov't would have been formed.

(11) I think of it a great deal, indeed.

(11a) It was useful, because it opened the eyes of the West. The West before the revolution believed that communism in Hungary had a considerable support. They paid unfortunately a very great price. Eisenhower told the captive nations they should prove that they are against communism and then the West will help them. We showed enough proof of our opposition to communism. We received no help, but the West perhaps knows now better that Communism has no support in Hungary.

(11b) Before the Suez action, I think there was a chance for the revolution to succeed. Suez was a turning point. Until then the Russians were on the withdrawal.

(11c) We were sure of Western help. As I have said before, we believed what Eisenhower told us. I don't remember whether Eisenhower said everything as I remember him saying. In any case this was the psychological effect of the American propaganda.

When the Russians attacked on Nov 4th, irrespective of what the American propaganda said before or at that time, we could not believe how the West could let the Russians murder Hungary. How could such a thing happen in the 20th century??? Our faith in the West was strengthened by the radio broadcasts. What kind of help did we expect? Some people thought that the USA will help militarily. Others believed that the Americans would make a deal with the Russians. They will promise economic help to the Russians and in return the Russians will evacuate Hungary.

- (11e) As I have said before I knew I:re Nagy personally. I think he was not suitable for a fighting situation. He is a scholar. a pacifist.
- (11f) Dudas, Mal. Szigetá vacs Bela.
- (11g) In the following order: 5, 1, 4, 3, 2.
- (12) I left in December.
- (12a) I decided to leave in November. I was a member of the group which made anti-Russian leaflets. One member of our group has been betrayed and arrested. He sent out word from the prison that the AVO knows all about our group, otherwise he could not have been betrayed. I decided to leave right away.
- (12b) With my mother with whom I was living.
- (12c) My fiancée, Mr. Benkő, was abroad. I was anxious to join him and marry him.

- (1) As a graduate of gymnasium I enrolled in 1946 at the diplomatic academy. I was very much interested in international affairs and I intended to become a professional diplomat. However, I finished only one year of the diplomatic academy, receiving a diploma in what was called "Parliamentary stenotypist". Afterwards I got involved in politics and during the election campaign in 1948 I was organizer for the Pfeiffer party in Bekes county, which was my home county. As a result of my political activities I was imprisoned for almost a year in 1948/49. After release from prison I took secondary jobs as typist and steno-typist, but because of my bad kader I was fired several times. To improve my kader I got a wonderful idea. I took a glider pilot course, altho this was restricted to reliable party members. I succeeded to get in, because the trainers of the glider pilot school were acquaintances of mine. I received a diploma as glider pilot and as a pupil of the Hungarian Aviation Association I got something what I needed to improve my kader. I was now a sport flyer and since only reliable people could become sport flyers, my chances to get a good job had improved considerably. With the help of my improved kader, I applied for a job in the Ministry of heavy industry. I have held this job for 3 years, from 1951 - 54.

- (2a) Now about this job I held at the Ministry of heavy industry. I was working in the division for the distribution of materials and commodities. This was a division which employed about 120 people. I was a referent. This was quite an important position. I had been working hard and had acquired a considerable knowledge which, I think, qualified me as an expert. I should say that not all the 120 people on our division would have qualified as experts, not more perhaps than 40 or 50 people in our division really understood what they were doing. The rest of the people got their jobs because of good standing with the regime.
- (2e) The offices were overcrowded. The office equipment and maintenance was rather crude.
- (3) I have been interested in my job and I liked it. However, I did not feel quite safe. I was afraid that they will find out about my bad kader. I was learning sewing while I held this job and under Imre Nagy's regime, when the private sector of the economy was revitalized, I decided to become an independent seamstress, and to open a fashion studio. I opened a studio in 1954 and I was lucky indeed, that I did so. Because, when I was ready to leave the job with the Ministry of heavy industry, they found out about my past and they have fired me.
- (3a) As I have said, working conditions were not too good because of obsolete office equipment and overcrowdedness.
- (3f) I worked 12 to 13 hours a day. As everyone else, I worked 6 days a week.

- (3o) I had the usual benefits, including medical care and vacations in the specially assigned resort places. I took advantage of going once to the very nice resort place of Kekes in the Matra mountains.
- (4a) As I have said, on our division at the Ministry of heavy industry there were about 120 employees. I would say that only 4 of them belonged to the same social class as I did and only those 4 shared my political opinions. On the technical level there were good many people who did not have the qualifications for the kind of work they were doing. On administrative level there were good many of working class kader, who got their jobs because of their social status. I should say, however, in all fairness to them, that many were decent and hard-working people. They studied at evening courses and acquired the qualifications which they needed.
- (4b) Relations among the employees were filled with suspicion. In general, there was fear hanging over the place. People were reserved and then too, you did not have much chance to get to know each other because of the frequent transfers. One employee hardly held a job for longer than half a year or 3/4 of a year. This was the policy of the regime in order to prevent the people to get to know each other. That I stayed on the job for 3 years was rather unusual. I owed it, I believe, to the fact that I was rather good on my job. Here I should mention that I first was a typist, a steno-typist, and it was somewhat later that I became a referent, as I have already described it.

- (4f) The trade union collected dues, otherwise they did not do anything.
- (4i) As everywhere else, we had a shop triangle too.
- (4l) Among the 120 people in our division there were, I guess, six whose only job was to supervise the employees.
- (4p) I suspected that there was an AVO informer at our place of work. She was a typist.
- (5) You could not change, of course, jobs according to your liking. The real problem, I should say, was how to keep your job, not how to change it. Because of the many transfers which I have mentioned earlier. If you wanted to change the job, it was not very possible unless you had good party connections.
- (5b) If I had been free to choose my work, I would have become a diplomat. Diplomacy was what I was really interested in.
- (5e) I would buy a recordplayer, thousands of records, many, many books and then I would like to have children.
- (5g) No, I would not have wanted my children to do the same kind of work I was doing, because it did not make me happy.
- (6) Until 1948 I did not have any particular problems. The situation changed, however, after my imprisonment. The period following my release from prison was miserable. Between 1951 and 54, while I was<sup>employed</sup>/at the Ministry of heavy industry, I earned what I would call a minimum to keep me alive.

When I opened my fashion studio in 1954 the first years were very hard. It was misery again. Conditions have improved in 1956 when my business began to flourish and I was able to live well above the average standard of life.

(7a) In 1947 I did not have any job. In 1952 I made 1,140 ft. In 1955 about 600 ft. In 1956 I made 2,400 ft. The two latter figures refer to the period when I have opened my fashion studio.

(8) As I have said, in 1956 my income from my fashion studio was 2,400 ft monthly.

(9)



- (10c) As to conditions before 1941, I don't know much about them because I was too young at that time.
- (10d) After 1944 conditions have deteriorated.
- (10f) The private sector showed a thriving tendency and it enjoyed very great popularity.
- (10g) The last year before the revolution conditions have improved.
- (11) Material conditions were an important factor, but I think the more important source of dissatisfaction was in the political conditions. Material conditions only increased the dissatisfaction.

- (1) For schooling see answer to question (1) in Section "W".
- (1e) Same as above.
- (2) Until my imprisonment in 1948 I have received every schooling that I wanted. After my imprisonment I suffered discrimination on account of my bad social and political kader.
- (2e) No, I did not have the same opportunity.
- (3) When I went to school in 1946, Marxism had not been taught yet as a special subject. However, in political economy we were taught quite a bit Marxist doctrines.
- (4) The main objective of communist education was to kill national sentiments. Another objective was to make the student immune against capitalist ideas. To make them blind followers of Marxism.
- (4b+c) For lack of personal experience I really would not be able to answer these questions.
- (4f,h,i) Same answers.
- (5) My father died in 1941. He was a shoemaker.
- (5f) We lived a little better than the average.
- (5g) I was an only child.
- (5h) My father died, my mother lived with me in Budapest.
- (5i) As I have said, I lived with my mother.

- (5k) My social origin was to my disadvantage, especially after the second marriage of my mother in 1949. She married a man of bourgeois background.
- (6) I have been married for 10 months in 1951. My marriage ended in divorce.
- (7) N/A
- (8,9,10) N/A
- (11) The relations with my mother were very good.
- (12) We spoke about everything.
- (13) N/A
- (14) I lived with my mother and relations between us were very intimate.
- (14b) Family life in general moved in 2 extreme directions. It was either very intimate or very loose. My relations to my mother would put me in the first category.
- (14c) Until 1954, while I was employed in the Ministry for heavy industry, I had more time to be with friends. Thus, social life filled my leisure time. After 1954, when I opened my fashion studio, I was working too hard. I had hardly time for leisure and for friends.

- (14g) Until 1954 I had to be very careful. After 1954, however, I was free to do whatever I wanted.
- (15) Family ties have loosened.
- (15e) Children got out of control of their parents.
- (16) Courtship in the old sense of the word almost disappeared. The young people were more openly than before interested in sex. The regime's mass organizations included both boys and girls. There was no control over their intercourse, especially during excursions and campings. There was a great deal of laxity. I remember boarding once an excursion train by mistake and I was appalled by the behavior of young boys and girls. Another new aspect of courtship was that the young people were playing safe politically. They avoided those whom they did not consider likeninded politically. Another aspect worth mentioning is that it became generally a custom that boys and girls, when they went out together, paid their bills separately. As to marriage, they were lightly concluded and lightly dissolved. An important factor in marriage was the economic one. Since, as a rule, both man and wife were working, marriages often were concluded in order to make life easier. Living by two was more economical.
- (16e) Prostitution was abolished by law. But inreality it flourished more than ever before. Many former prostitutes, because they were of working class origin, got jobs. But they did not fail to continue their old trade.

Many a former prostitute was the girlfriend of her boss at her working place.

- (16f) The communists were ten times as strict, formally at least, about sexual matters, but in practice they were atleast 100 times less strict than the authorities before.
- (16h) The equalization of illegitimate children advanced so much that one did not notice any more the illegitimate birth of a person.
- (16i) The equalization of women changed their status; from the point of view of family life this change was bad. The good thing about this was that both man and wife were working. This made life for the family, economically atleast, much easier.
- (17) The general state of morals sunk considerably.
- (18) I'm thinking of a friend whom I had met before 1945.
- (18c) Sports, going out together.
- (18g) I value most in a friend character and mental ability.
- (18i) My circle of friends was made up mostly of people who did not succeed under the communist regime.
- (18k) It did not happen. It is hard to answer this question, because so much would have depended upon circumstances.
- (19) My parents were Lutherans. I received a very thorough religious education, but apart from that, I am religious by nature. I am glad that I am a Protestant. I think that I avoided conflicts which I would have faced had I been a Catholic.

In my experience the catholics were more bou to go into extremes. They either became very bigotted or they lost faith. The protestants could keep easier the continuity in their religious life.

(19b) What I have said answers this question.

(20) The communist rule affected religious life in 2 different ways. On the one hand it encouraged indifference. This was true about the young people and also about people who did not consider seriously their religion before. On the other hand, persecution of religious life intensified religious convictions and I think this was the case with the majority of the population.

(20b) I do not think that the communists really wanted to stamp out religion. They rather tried to use religion for their own ends. This they were trying to do in particular thru the institution of peace priests.

(20c) In general the peace priests were the people without principles. Perhaps I would set up 2 categories, however. In the first category I would put those priests, who served the regime out of diplomacy. They thought what they are doing is good for the church. The second category contained the oppportunists who served the regime out of weakness.

- (20f) No, one could not. Those who attended church services were labeled clericals and such an entry in your kader meant trouble.
- (20i) People who attended church most frequently were the peasants. The people who attended church least frequently were the youth.
- (20k) It means less.
- (20l) Directly the church played no great role in fostering political opposition. Indirectly, however, it played a greater role because it intensified religious life and religion was a force in opposition to the regime.
- (21) I would advise a technical occupation. Good training because knowledge is something even the communists appreciate. Knowledge can even improve a bad kader. My general advise would be to live cautiously.
- (22) Best off are party functionaries, the new intelligencia in leading economic jobs, sportsmen, artists and some writers who served the regime. Their number was not so great, this is why I list them after the sportsmen and artists who were more numerous. The privileged position of the writers, those that is, who served the regime, was, however, better even than that of the sportsmen and artists. Lastly, the people in the private segment, Maszek, that is. Now worst off, the peasantry, the workers and people living on pensions.
- (22a) I belong to the Maszek group.

- (22b) I would like to have belonged to a group I could not belong. I was interested in a career in the Foreign Ministry, but it was out of the question that I could enter foreign service.
- (23) Bureaucrats, workers, the peasantry, and the clergy.
- (23b) Of course, there are significant changes.
- (23d) There are only two classes: the party aristocracy and the rest.
- (23e) The rest are more equal, but the difference between the party aristocracy and the rest is very great.
- (23g) Old social forms disappeared and this was an accepted fact.
- (24) I couldn't see any difference.
- (24a) Same answer.
- (25) The communist regime affected the Jews, because they were the business class in Hungary, but individually, I would say, they found their place in the new situation.
- (25a) Yes, I had many Jewish acquaintances. I would describe them as being cautious. It means that they lived cautiously and perhaps it was easier for them to avoid trouble.
- (25g) I don't think that outright anti-Semitism has increased. I think, common suffering made the people more humane.
- (25h) Almost all the Jews, I think, would leave Hungary if they could.



- (1) I got my informations mostly from the foreign radio. Til 1948 I was also receiving the news bulletins from the American Legation in Budapest. I attended also the meetings in the culture room of both the American and English Legation up to 1948. I liked to talk also to people who travelled abroad.
- (2) I did not read the newspapers regularly. In 1956 I was reading the Irodalmi Ujsag and also the Hetfoi Hirlap rather regularly. I glanced at the Szabad Nep, especially when I was in the Ministry. I did so, because I had to know what the party's point of view was.
- (2g) Sometimes. When I received them from people travelling abroad.
- (3) I went seldom to the movies, in 5 years perhaps 3 times. That is to say, until 1954, when I was in the Ministry. After 1954 I went more frequently. I was interested especially in foreign films.
- (3b) Both, entertainment and serious films.
- (3e) I went to the theater more frequently after 1954.
- (4) My favorite authors were the so-called peasant writers. I liked especially the Mészáros's one, called "The Red Road". I like also Szabad and Bunkis.
- (5) I just turned on the radio, but I listened always to the sports programs.

- (6) BBC, Paris, Free Europe.
- (6d) Order of reliability the same.
- (7) From my circle of friends very often.
- (8) I did not find them reliable at all.
- (9) I think the people tried hard to be well informed.
- (10a) The dropping of the atomic bomb was terrible, but I think it was necessary from a military point of view and I approved of it.
- (10b) The Russians by way of China and North Korea.
- (10c) It was a lie.
- (10d) I believe that in a war between the West and the Soviet Union Germany would carry the most of the struggle. I mean that it would be Germany above all who would be fighting. Not that we liked this situation, but whoever would be fighting the Russians would be good for us. We could not be choosy.
- (10e) The Free Europe balloons caused only harm.
- (10f) The Berlin riots of 1953 aroused hopes and increased the spirit of resistance in spite of the fact that the uprising was unsuccessful and that the West did not help. I thought this will be only the beginning of something more serious.
- (10g) Before the summit meeting there were great hopes. Interestingly, even after the summit meeting there were some people who continued to be hopeful.

For instance, some people thought that Krushev's anti-Stalin move was a result of the Geneva conference.

(10h) The result of emigre activities was Zero. Their behavior was disillusioning. I have faith only in the young members of the emigration.

- (1) Exploitation and party dictatorship should be abolished.
- (1a) The school reforms were basically good. I believe in state support of education. Also the machine stations are good. The state should maintain them. It benefits the people. Finally, all social welfare institutions.
- (2) There should be three, four political parties. More parties cause confusion. These are the 4 parties I have in mind: A united agrarian party, a social democratic party, a Christian democratic party and there should be a communist party too.
- (3) I am in favor of no curtailments.
- (3c) No.
- (3d) Yes.
- (4) Yes.
- (4b) If the gov't does not serve the interests of the people and is unwilling to resign, an armed uprising is justified, I think.
- (5) First, wages should be just. Two, agriculture should be placed into the hands of small holders. If small holdings are not viable, in the beginning especially, the state should help them. Three, trade should be free. Four, regulation of classes. Five, radical changes in foreign trade. Under the communists prices were too low.

- (6) I am in favor of it.
- (6b) Small factories should be restored to their former owners.
- (6c) Private profit is good. But the development of huge, private companies should be prevented by law.
- (6e) State monopolies, as under the communist regime, are bad. But I believe the exploitation of natural resources is the responsibility of the state. Also, communication should be state-owned; also public utilities should be publicly owned. I believe in collective enterprise whenever it serves the public good.
- (7) Light industry, provided that it is limited to small factories is desirable.
- (8) I disapprove of gov't planning on the scale the communists are doing it.
- (9) Family and religion.
- (10) Citizens have as many duties to the state as the state has to the citizens.
- (11) For those strata of the population which were oppressed before the war, the situation has improved.
- (12) They have more opportunity.

- (13) Worse.
- (13a) Better.
- (13b) Better.
- (14) Those who had it better before the war are worse off today. And vice versa, those who had it worse before the war, have it better today.
- (14a) Better.
- (14b) Better.
- (15) Increased considerably.
- (16) The workers should participate so as to defend their rightful interests.
- (16d) The experts.
- (17) Collective farms are bad.
- (17c) Should be dissolved, but those small holdings which are not viable, should form, if they so wish, cooperatives.
- (17f) Yes, 500 hectares.
- (17h) Should be restored.
- (17l) The state should help small holdings needful of assistance.
- (17m) The state should maintain them for the benefit of those who need them.
- (18) State and church should be separated.
- (18d) Institutions of higher learning should be returned to the church.

- (18f) I would send my children to schools maintained by foreign legations.
- (18g) I was a believer in equitable restitution, but only to the extent that no new church big estates should come into existence.
- (19) The case of each Party member should be tried separately. Those who committed crimes should be punished, but I do not believe in collective guilt.
- (19e) With the leaders I would do the same as above.
- (19f) I would put all the members of the AVO under arrest and then try their cases separately as with the Party members.
- (19g) Same procedure as with the Party.
- (20) Hungary made great contributions in painting, poetry, theater, literature, music and science.
- (21) Of course there is.
- (21e) I would distinguish between the character of the following classes: peasants, workers, miners, the other social classes have been mixed together.
- (21f) Differences before 1945 were greater.
- (22) The gov't of TELEKI.
- (22f) Inequality was very significant before 1945.
- (22i) The period between 1945 and 1948 was better. Both, in comparison with the period that preceded it and with the period that followed it,

- (23) Borderlines are important.
- (23b) The Hungarians have a rightful claim to territory beyond the present borders, inhabited by Hungarians. In Transylvania, Bachka, and in Southern Slovakia.
- (23d) No.
- (24) The answer is "Danubian Confederation".
- (25) The Russian people are good people, but the communists corrupted them.
- (26) I was not interested in the theory of Marxism. The Communists made it so disgusting that I did not feel like paying attention to it.
- (26h) No.
- (26i) I identify democracy with freedom.
- (26j) In 1945, after the first free elections.
- (27) National communism puts the interests of the nation ahead of those of the communist party.
- (27e) Only if it is capable of subordinating party interests to the National interests.
- (28) <sup>would</sup> Conditions/have been chaotic until the first elections. In the elections the small holders and the Christian democrats would have won the majority.
- (28d) Until the first elections.



(29a-f) Bad.

(29h) Good.

(29i) Neither good nor bad.

(29j) The same.

(29k) I don't know him.

(29l) Bad.

(29m+n) Neither good nor bad.

(30) Small holders and the Christian democrats.

(30a) I can think of 3 names: Bela Kovacs, Imre Nagy and Sulyok or Pfeiffer.

(31a) Below.

(31b) Below.

(31c,d,e,f) Below.

(31g) Above.

(31h+i) Below.

(32a) Better.

(32b) Before 1948 there were no collective farmers.

(32c,d,e) Better.

(32f+g) Worse.

(32h+i) Better.

(33a,b,e,f) Coincides.

(33g,h,i,j) Conflict.

(34) I had no concerns.

(35) Except the AVO and the prominent party functionaries everyone would fight against the regime.

(36) No.

- (1) I would like to ask you a question. Is it true, as many people in Hungary believed, that 2 days before Nov 4th, the American Embassy in Moscow has notified Washington about the Russian aggression in Hungary?  
Interviewer's answer: "I don't know about it."
- (1a) I hope that in one way or another it will contribute to a better understanding of the Hungarian situation.
- (2a) Yes.
- (3) They are very comprehensive questions. I have no suggestion to make.

INTERVIEWER'S RATING: Respondent is full of pep and energy. She, despite of opposition to the communist regime, knew how to take advantage of every opportunity to improve her situation. She went into private business when the Nagy regime created the private segment of national economy. Incidentally, she is planning to open a fashion studio in Munich. She is very talkative and often seems to take gossip for fact, but I felt no reason to doubt her frankness.

Rapport and cooperativeness excellent. Frankness good. No compliance or flattery noticed.