

An Interview with Zsuzsa Eastland

Survival: Lives of Hungarians under Communist  
and Capitalist Governments 1956-2006  
Oral History Series

Interviews conducted by  
Virginia Major Thomas  
in 2005

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### **Biography**

Zsuzsa Eastland’s parents were teachers of German, Russian and Hungarian, and she is the granddaughter of an eminent scholar of Hungarian literature as well. Because she was rated one of the ten best students of the Russian language in Hungary in 1963, she was automatically admitted to the university. After graduating, she became a language teacher herself, first in a gymnasium and subsequently at the language institute of the medical school in Budapest, teaching students medical texts especially in English but also in other languages. Now retired, she is very active in the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Budapest.

She describes her memories of the pre-1956 Communist terror and the 1956 Revolution as well, with its euphoria and hope and its results for Hungarian life. She also discusses Communist values, how they were presented and how they were observed, and living with the restrictions of life under Communism. She has much to say about 1989 and its aftermath, and she traces what she sees as a split in current Hungarian society to the effects of having lived under the influence of two differing totalitarian governments during the second half of the twentieth century. This has created, she believes, groups in society with different value systems which have not as yet been reconciled.

- Thomas: This is Major Thomas on November 16, 2005, at Csorcs ut. 5 in Budapest, Hungary, and I am interviewing Zsuzsa Eastland. We'll begin by asking her when and where she was born, the year and the date, and a little bit about her family.
- Eastland: I was born in Budapest in November 1944 about the time of the siege of Budapest...
- Thomas: The date?
- Eastland: Second of November. I come from a family of teachers and professors. Just a small thing, I had to be taken home by a fireman in his car because it was difficult in those days.
- Thomas: Were you born during the siege?
- Eastland: I think so, I think so, I did not check.
- Thomas: Were you born in a hospital or in a cellar?
- Eastland: In a hospital, in the OTBA Hospital, and when I got home I spent the first few days or weeks, I couldn't tell you, of my life in the cellar.
- Thomas: That was during the siege, other people have told you that.
- Eastland: Shall I tell you something about my early memories of the system?
- Thomas: Absolutely. Anything you want to tell me. Your father was a teacher?
- Eastland: Yes.
- Thomas: A teacher of what?
- Eastland: My father used to study Hungarian and German, but he became interested in folklore and in the end he was not given a job in the Institute of Ethnography in Budapest, and he didn't want to teach Hungarian, he was better at languages, and he learnt Russian and he became a Russian teacher. Mama was a teacher of Hungarian and Latin and her father a professor of Hungarian literature. When a colleague of my grandfather's was sacked in 1948 he decided to retire and stopped working for the system. Later on he was given a state award, the Kossuth prize, in the 1950's, he was unique in his studies and results and achievements and honored by everybody and loved by everybody. He refused to go to the Parliament to shake hands with those politicians.
- Thomas: The Kossuth award was an award for excellence in the Hungarian language?

- Eastland: History of Hungarian literature in his case. I have simply no memories of the political life, except for the fact that sometimes my parents talked to each other in German, "nicht vor dem Kind" .....
- Thomas: My parents did that too.
- Eastland: Yes? They didn't want me to talk freely at school, so I was brought up in ignorance but I clearly remember one night in the 1950's when a big black car took away the elderly widow of an officer from the same building. This widow was my mom's teacher beforehand. We were turned out of the flat as many other people were. This was a kind of forced dislodgement.
- Thomas: So she was taken away because they wanted her flat?
- Eastland: No, because her husband was an officer. In the previous regime. An Army officer.
- Thomas: That would have been under.....
- Eastland: Under Horthy. Talking about officers, I have an interesting recent thing to tell you, that is, I was nursing a teacher who died last year whose father was a high-ranking officer in the Horthy times, he was about 62 years old, a pensioner in 1946, he was at home, and all of a sudden, oh yes, he had a written document that he had done nothing wrong in any way.....
- Thomas: This document was from the Horthy government?
- Eastland: No, from the new government, to say that he was not a Nazi and he had a clean record. His only crime was that he was an officer, a high-ranking officer, and without any reason he was taken in the middle of the night, and the family was told that 40 such officers were collected the same night, because the Russians lost a lot of lives in the war, and this is how they wanted to.....
- Thomas: To replace losses?
- Eastland: Yes, to replace losses and to get people to work, to build the Soviet Union.
- Thomas: So he was taken away to a labor camp?
- Eastland: He was taken away from home in '46, when it was peace already, and the family only got a message from someone in the '50's to the effect that he died of hunger, and it was in the summer of this year, 2005, that I saw a list of names in the paper, in one of the daily papers, the names of those who were taken away and who died in the Soviet Union. There was a phone number given so I could enquire and then managed to talk to somebody in person.

This man had been a military doctor in a hospital near the Crimea and clearly remembered my teacher's father. I was entitled to handle the legacy of this teacher whose father it was, and got a document in both Russian and Hungarian which said that no crime had been committed that he was rehabilitated. We saw that the original verdict or sentence was 15 years of forced labor, for somebody who was already 62 years old I can't tell you when he died but he certainly died of hunger.

Thomas: It was during that sentence that he died, in Russia.

Eastland: Yes, in Russia.

Thomas: And that was actually before the Communists were in power in this country in 1946, they didn't become powerful until 1948, did they?

Eastland: Yes, they took over total power in '48, but it was already the so-called liberated Hungary. And peace.

Thomas: They were already in charge.

Eastland: Yes, yes, definitely. I know of the imprisonment of a bishop, a Lutheran bishop, Lajos Ordass. He was a person who married my parents and christened me into the Lutheran church.

Thomas: So your family is Lutheran.

Eastland: Lutheran, both my parents are Lutheran, yes. We were given Bible study classes in homes, secretly.

Thomas: Really? This is during the '40's and '50's?

Eastland: Yes, the '50's especially.

Thomas: What was the situation? You couldn't go to church publicly, or you couldn't go to Sunday school publicly?

Eastland: As far as I know, it was not allowed for churches to do anything else but services, official Sunday services. We did go to church, but I know that colleagues of my mother, teachers who lived in the provinces, went to faraway places to service, because teachers could easily lose their jobs if they were discovered to be religious.

Thomas: So you went to school in Budapest? To elementary school and also gymnasium? Tell me something about what you studied there.

Eastland: Yes, yes. May I just mention one thing that I can't forget? I was still a younger child, and this happened at the secondary school where my mum was

a teacher. When Stalin died, the students had to stand at attention for a minute, and one girl began to giggle, and she was sacked.

Thomas: Thrown out of school?

Eastland: Yes. As for my time in secondary school, I have very happy memories. We had excellent teachers who were trained before the war.

Thomas: What was the name of that school?

Eastland: Veres Palne. These teachers were very good at what they did, they were trained before the war and they not only wanted us to achieve something academically but they acted as role models for uncompromised human behavior under severe pressure. In Hungary you knew for sure who you could trust so .....

Thomas: How did you know?

Eastland: Well, because, in my case my parents knew the people and they told me, so it was taken for granted that to quite a lot of people you could talk freely, and we knew who were the representatives of the party, who we had to be careful with, and later I heard from my colleagues that in the Ukraine there was a general atmosphere of suspicion among people. Here you knew exactly who to talk to freely.

Thomas: So that at home and in private you could say what you thought but outside you didn't. Could you tell your teachers or could your teachers speak freely to you?

Eastland: No, basically it was taken for granted but you never spoke openly.

Thomas: It was taken for granted that they couldn't speak openly?

Eastland: Yes, yes. We knew our limits.

Thomas: Did you get any impression from your teachers that they were teaching from the book but they didn't believe this? Would they just make comments or smile or was there any indications the way they performed that they were dubious about this or they didn't agree with this?

Eastland: I think they tried to be as honest as they possibly could, so if they didn't believe in something they didn't talk about it, somehow. So there was an integrity about them. For example, I'm sure you know that the revolution had to be called the counterrevolution, but I never pronounced this word, neither did those people whom I respected. Somehow we avoided this term.

Thomas: I believe someone told me they called it the events.

- Eastland: All sorts of things, or the sad events of 1956.
- Thomas: Now when you talked about earlier history in school, it was taught from the Marxist perspective.
- Eastland: Oh yes.
- Thomas: And you didn't have alternative views.
- Eastland: Nothing, nothing. My teacher, whom I knew very well, the one whom I nursed for 2 years, she shared the story with me, and it is true. She was a form mistress and there was a set syllabus in the framework of which she was expected by law to talk about religion. Now she was a dedicated Catholic and tried whatever she could to avoid this, for one class a week she went on week after week talking about ancient times and the Greek religion and the Roman and Egyptian and whatever, the time came when she was expected to talk about Christianity. And then she sent a message to her very good friend in Britain, instead of saying "Pray for me" she said "Deal with our common professional problems" and the answer came "I am focusing intensely on your professional problems". And what happened was, the inspector, a Communist, decided to visit her classes. Previously she had been a teacher for a Catholic school but church schools, as you know, were closed down in '48. The inspector did not turn up, and my teacher went to the staff room and asked what happened, why the inspector had not come, and she was told oh, she developed such a diarrhea that she had to take a taxi to go home. But she didn't give up, she wanted to prove that my teacher was a "clerical reactionist", and she decided to try again. And this time she did not turn up either. And this friend of mine went to the staff room again and inquired why she had not come, oh she had to attend a Communist meeting which was not over in time and it was her own party superior who was the speaker and she was about to stand up but then thought better of it because her career depended on the party superior's support. And she never turned up again. Such stories!
- Thomas: Did that mean then that your friend could teach something for which she would have been censored or punished if the inspector had come?
- Eastland: Very much so, very much so.
- Thomas: Was the inspector being friendly to your friend, was she helping her out by not coming?
- Eastland: No, no, no, it was sheer chance, it just happened. But fortunately, well, my teacher was very clever, and other people were very clever. For example, she was asked a question later on, it was the Communists who asked her whether those nuns in whose school she worked as a teacher influence her views? She

said, oh no, and she was able to say this honestly because she was not a nun type and she had been a mature person by the time she became a teacher

Thomas: So there was a definite feeling of restriction about what you could say.

Eastland: Yes, very much so. I'd like to share with you my own experience. It was in the 7th or 8th form, after '56, of course in '56 my eyes opened and I realized what the regime had been like, and I wanted to refuse to be a Pioneer and later a member of the Communist youth organization. But because of my parents I just had to join, which was against the grain.

Thomas: You didn't like the Pioneers.

Eastland: You know, after I realized that it was all about the same Communist ideology which we had been suffering from, I would have refused to join, but we were 4 children in the family, and our parents couldn't risk losing their jobs. One small thing came to my mind yesterday when I was thinking about this. There was plenty of aid coming from the west, Swiss chocolate for example, and I still remember how this chocolate was distributed to those children in the class who were prepared to join the Pioneer movement, and after a time I was given a piece of chocolate, a bar of chocolate because they thought I would be likely to join. Divide and rule, as the ancient Romans put it..

Thomas: So there was discrimination----well, this is a kind of blackmail, isn't it? And you were very aware of that.

Eastland: I was aware, yes.

Thomas: If we can go back just a minute. You were talking about 1956. What was your experience of '56? How old were you?

Eastland: I was 12, and there was general excitement at school and at home when from our windows we could watch how the big red star was being removed from the building.

Thomas: The Parliament?

Eastland: No, it was a military headquarters since 1948, before the war it was a monastery, and then the red star was being removed and it was a fantastic experience!

Thomas: How did you feel?

Eastland: Oh relief!

Thomas: And the kids, what did they do?

- Eastland: It was unbelievable! I can't remember the days at school, but there was excitement, probably we didn't go to school for several days, I'm not sure now. But what I remember is that when we went out to the street, we saw village people in Meneši Street who had brought potatoes to Budapest and offered some freely to anyone who needed them.
- Thomas: They brought them to you.
- Eastland: They brought them to Budapest. There was a general atmosphere of goodness in the street, and never before or after have I experienced this goodness and compassion among people.
- Thomas: Did you have any contact with or experience of the Russian soldiers?
- Eastland: No, not then, no, I was too young. All I remember was the tanks and their roaring in and you could hear them from our flat and mom took us all into the bathroom because it had thicker walls.
- Thomas: And how did you all feel then?
- Eastland: Oh horrible, crushed, our hopes were crushed. I still remember hearing those cries for help by Mindzenty and Nagy Imre, the last voices on the radio, "Please help us". I have a tape recording of this from Britain, actually. Segitseg, segiseg, please help us.
- Thomas: These were radio recordings, radio messages to the west?
- Eastland: Radio messages to the west. The last messages on the Hungarian radio. It was, I cannot describe it. I have tears when I hear it again on the radio. I can't tell you how much better a place Hungary would have been now if---- anyway.....
- Thomas: Was the experience then after the '56 revolution was crushed, was life experience worse, better, was there more of this blackmail, more threats, what was it like?
- Eastland: In general, oppression, graffiti in the streets.....
- Thomas: Which said what?
- Eastland: Just a second. I must think. "Ah, you counterrevolutionaries who are hiding in the dark, just be afraid and quake and shake....."
- Thomas: Threats.
- Eastland: Yes, graffiti on the streets, on the walls.....

- Thomas: Obviously those were written by Communists.
- Eastland: Yes. For half a year we were learning German, the early part of 1957, then what was horrible was that certain students were discriminated against because of their background, because of their family, so there was a cruel system of discrimination among students on the basis of who their parents were. For example, there were workers, peasants, professionals, then others, and the worst category was "X", the names of these children were marked with an "X", and they were not allowed to go to university.
- Thomas: I've heard this. Now how about you? You were the daughter of professionals, of teachers, were you allowed to go to the university?
- Eastland: Yes.
- Thomas: This would have been in the '60's.
- Eastland: I graduated from secondary school in '63 and then I was admitted to the faculty of arts.
- Thomas: So by '63, the daughter of a professional could go to the university?
- Eastland: You see, I had some good results at school, I learned Latin and Russian at school, and imagine the goodness of my Russian teacher, who was a colleague of my mother's, she began to teach me English free. Late, I learned English late in life, I was 17 when I began.
- Thomas: That was with the Russian teacher?
- Eastland: No, first at a private language school, not far from my secondary school. I decided to learn English.....
- Thomas: You made that decision? Why?
- Eastland: Yes. I was good at languages. All my family are linguists. I'm very sorry still that we were not taught German in childhood because, my parents thought one language at a time was enough and we were learning Russian. Maybe I'll learn German now if I can because I miss it very much. But I decided on English. I was quite good at Russian, I came out 4th in a national competition, and the best 10 students were automatically admitted to university. So I was very happy and relieved that it was not because of my grandfather's merits that I was admitted. I would probably have been admitted anyway, I think, but what a different feeling it was to be admitted automatically. They might have asked me if I went to church. I know of a person who was not admitted to Szeged university because his father was a pastor and they asked him openly "Do you believe in God?", "Yes", "No admission". And so he was not

allowed to be a teacher of Hungarian. This Russian competition was a blessing to me.

Thomas: But I daresay you had a good record, good grades.

Eastland: Well, I always tried to do my best.

Thomas: But going back to '56, after '56, in the early days of the Kadar regime, I have understood that there was a considerable amount of repression, punishment of those involved in any way in the revolution. Were you aware of that at the time?

Eastland: Yes we were. We heard of somebody whose typewriter was used during the revolution and that was enough to put him in prison. We were vaguely aware, we just heard of the repression.

Thomas: And that continued for awhile? Or was it just short-lived?

Eastland: It did continue. But after a couple of years it was gradually becoming more loose, if I can say that.

Thomas: Relaxed.

Eastland: Relaxed, yes. Yes, they relaxed their control bit by bit in the '60's. But of course we learned things retrospectively, about all those atrocities that took place behind the scenes, the murders including hanging up people in '58.....

Thomas: You learned about that in the '60's?

Eastland: Much later, much later. All the details, I'm not a politician, a political animal, but I think it was only during the transition that we learned all the details, about these horrible events. We felt it on our skin but we didn't know.....

Thomas: You didn't have the facts.

Eastland: No.

Thomas: Several people have mentioned to me a young man, he was like 17 during the revolution and he was arrested but he was too young to be tried and he was kept in prison for years and then he was hanged. But somebody mentioned to me that they didn't know about it at the time.

Eastland: No we didn't. We heard about it much later. We didn't hear the story about Nagy Imre being held in Roumania.

Thomas: You didn't hear that?

Eastland: No I don't think I did. So many things happened since, now I am 61, so I just remember the general atmosphere in those days.

Thomas: Did anything else get better? If so, what? I'm talking about after '56.

Eastland: I can only say that in the '60's, things were gradually getting better. There were some good points. At last we were given passports. I first went to Romania, to Transylvania, in '64, I think, so in the '60's this became possible. But, it might interest you, as a university student, studying English from the second year, my application to go to Britain was rejected 3 or 4 times just because I was studying English. And even later, it was in the '70's, I was working for the medical school, from 1972, and on one occasion my boss came to me and said, "You English teachers must not attend the British embassy library, don't forget". So we were deprived of these benefits. There were some good points, I must tell you good points from the '60's on. Better living standards than before.....

Thomas: That means more food?

Eastland: More food, yes, and more variety, more amenities, more comfort so that the Hungarians should be kept satisfied at a material level and forget about their lack of freedom. This was the so-called "fridge socialism" as you may have heard. Better living standards subsidized from Western loans. Cheap books were available, really good.

Thomas: Were they western books?

Eastland: Almost everything. Classical literature. More or less published here, but lots of good things from the West translated. And access to cultural events was made possible.

Thomas: Did you have western movies?

Eastland: Some, yes, Italian films. Unfortunately I am not a movie goer but I remember what was available, yes, good films. But everything was censored. I would say that there were certain principles during these years, good theory, good principles, that everybody should be equal, that you should help one another, I was expected to help my fellows at school, that was almost compulsory, I had to sit next to someone who was not very bright and help her regularly, so good principles, very often.....

Thomas: That was Communist principles?

- Eastland: Yes, on the whole. In principle they said “The greatest value is the human being”. But of course in practice, there was murder and oppression, everything, violence.
- Thomas: So did you have a sense of cynicism that they had these wonderful principles but they didn’t practice them?
- Eastland: We found this ironic.
- Thomas: So you were really quite aware of it.
- Eastland: Yes. And we were disappointed how the state valued the human being, you could see what value we are and how the state values us. But at the same time everybody was rather poor, so there were no huge differences between people, but again the principles somehow prevailed. If you were a party member, and only if you were a party member, could you get a leading position somewhere. If you were a party member it was easier for you to have access to a flat. And we knew our limits and we decided we didn’t want all these benefits at such a cost. I know people who thought to themselves, well, I’m cleverer than the other people around me, I want to be the boss and I can use my power to do good. This also happened.
- Thomas: But there were some people possibly who joined the party to get things for themselves?
- Eastland: Oh yes, yes.
- Thomas: Sometimes they joined the party to get power to help other people. So while everybody was equal, everybody was really not equal.
- Eastland: Not equal, no. Hostels, there were hostels for workers, which was a good thing, if they came up to work in Budapest. Now all these hostels are closed and they are in the street, especially men. So there is homelessness.
- Thomas: There is a lot of homelessness?
- Eastland: Now in Budapest it is horrible, there are homeless people, yes.
- Thomas: Is the government trying to do anything about it?
- Eastland: Well yes it is, and also a lot of charity organizations, but more and more people come, there is more and more unemployment in the country. I don’t know about immigration nowadays, but lots and lots of people came from Yugoslavia during the war, for example.
- Thomas: There is more of a problem than is being handled, being taken care of.

- Eastland: Yes, yes. Much more. I would say that a little is being done, probably they are trying to meet the need but the need is growing more. Another point is that they were regarding people as children in the Communist days.
- Thomas: So that by handling people as children you mean they told them what to do and did things for them so they were dependent on the state?
- Eastland: Yes, I mean, for example, people could vote when there were elections, but for a long long time there was one party and you had the chance to vote for one person, only one.
- Thomas: You weren't given choices.
- Eastland: No. But most people were able to read between the lines. I can only give you a very simple example. Very often certain things were denied in the paper. There was a sentence, "There will be enough coal this winter". So we knew that we had to collect more, because there is not enough, there is a shortage.
- Thomas: That was like a code message, warning you.
- Eastland: Yes, indeed. And that refers to politics. The Soviet Union is not doing this, then we were sure it is preparing for that. And they said, Communists are extraordinary special people. I don't know why, how they become extraordinary special people, better than other people, human nature was left out of consideration. Nice principles but.....
- Thomas: But they don't work.
- Eastland: No. And the word peace, it had only bad connotations for me. When I went to Woodbrooke, the Quaker study center, much later, in Birmingham England, all sorts of leaflets focused on peace. What? I thought to myself, I only know "fight for peace", and the "peace camp" which was fighting against the imperialists and the rest of it. Peace didn't mean anything to me.
- Thomas: Peace meant war.
- Eastland: (pause) Yes, yes. We were the progressive camp, we were fighting against capitalism, against decaying capitalism, but people always remarked, this capitalism is decaying quite nicely compared with us.
- Thomas: It sounds as if there was a lot of propaganda but you didn't swallow it.
- Eastland: No, no, we did not. It didn't work. I don't think most Communists swallowed it either, or believed it either. I know people who were really dedicated Communists who never grew rich.
- Thomas: They really tried to live by those principles of sharing and being equal.

- Eastland: Yes. It didn't really provide for them. But I believe this was a minority, to say the least.
- Thomas: So that those who professed to believe in Communism were really profiting from it, and becoming more equal than others.
- Eastland: Yes, in a way yes. I still remember a colleague who joined the party in the last days, in the 1980's when it was almost over, and she said, I am on my own, I have no husband, I need some protection, I can get some protection from the party.
- Thomas: So it was for another motive that she joined the party, not belief in the system, the Communist ideology.
- Eastland: I don't think many believed in the ideology so sincerely.
- Thomas: Did you see the changes coming? Before '89, did you see that the change was going to happen, that Communism was going to collapse or fail?
- Eastland: I cannot give you exact dates, but as I was a teacher at the medical school, teaching languages, I noticed a poster that said, come to the Advent mornings, which are-----Catholics go to church in the early mornings in the pre-Christmas period, in Advent-----I couldn't believe my eyes, I couldn't believe my eyes! Can you advertise this at the university, unbelievable, in a Communist country. This was sometime in the late 1980's. Another surprising thing was a lecture of a world-famous professor who talked about the brain and the mind in an open way. Like fresh air.
- Thomas: So things were opening up before '89? You felt like fresh air was coming in and fresh ideas.
- Eastland: I cannot give the date but yes. I think it was on March 15, 1989, when I decided to go to this celebration marking the anniversary of March 15, the revolution, the Hungarian revolution of the 19th century, which means a lot to the Hungarian people, every year there is the celebration. A big crowds was gathering around the Petofi statue, and at the same time you could see helicopters circling and threatening. This was the transition when you felt you had some rights, you could do what you wanted but you were being threatened. It was a euphoria when the government went down and the Soviet Union collapsed, just like that. We were drunk with happiness for some time and we were too happy to look to the future. But then the problems came up one by one and we realized it was not so easy. Well, in Hungary, through the first period of the new government, there was a slogan, spring cleaning, meaning that we are saying good-bye to the old Communists. But it never happened. My view is that nobody should be executed but at least the names of those who committed crimes against the people should be made public, and they should not be in leading positions in the new regime. No real

punishment, but they should be deprived of their privileges. It's a fact that the same party and the same people, often the same families have been in power most of the time even during this transition period. The Communist party has changed its name several times. Now they say they are Social Democrats. I can tell you a story about an event which was significant to me and which probably happened on a much bigger scale. I worked for an office in the 1990's and this office set up an exhibition in the provinces. I was in charge of all these books and everything which had to be taken home, and my driver couldn't come, and I was left there, in the middle of nowhere. And another exhibitor, a very kind gentleman I must say, very kindly helped me out and took all my things with me back to Budapest. I was sitting in the back of the car, and just overheard what they were talking about. They told one another how they sold and purchased again and resold a big state company and sacked workers and kept only a few of them. It was just horrible to hear.

Thomas: It was a dishonest thing to do.

Eastland: Yes, definitely. How can state property be obtained like that, maybe cheaply, and then sold again, and then, I don't know, all sorts of manipulations to a state company.

Thomas: So do you feel these were the leaders, who took advantage under Communism, were taking advantage again of positions of money and power?

Eastland: Yes, that's right, position and property. So somehow party position and party money brought property to the leaders. So now we have a government among whose members you can spot several millionaires. I can't say how many millionaires or multimillionaires but certainly.....

Thomas: And they were people who gained their money under Communism and then kept it through the changes?

Eastland: I don't think they could gain a lot of money during Communism, they could gain money during the changes, that's what I think.. And also regulations, taxes, loopholes, clever tricks here and there, funny dealings, buying state property cheaply and leasing it back to the state.....I'm not good at the details but the fact remains that in the 1980's, you couldn't possibly become a millionaire through honest means. Well, people say you just tell me how you managed to make your first million, to make the second is not a problem. I was working as a teacher and my husband was working as a teacher, we were working extra both of us, we had 2 children between us, and we were unable to buy a small flat of our own in our married life until his death in '85. We had to share a flat in Budapest with his ex-mother-in-law. So I don't know how you could accumulate wealth. Of course there is no denying that you may have a special talent, or you may inherit things, but..... I must say I was horrified when this prime minister, the current prime minister, Gyurcsany, announced when he became prime minister, I'm not prepared or willing to give

up my property, to say good-bye to my property. He's a multi-millionaire, and he says he's a leftist, he represents the interests of the poor people.

Thomas: He wasn't required to give up because of conflict of interest, or maybe there is no conflict of interest.

Eastland: There was some, probably.

Thomas: In any case, he's not a good role model, a good example. Do you think that perhaps some people who had positions of authority or power under the Communists naturally continued to have positions of power and authority after the change because they were the ones who already knew how to do things, they knew how to make organizations run, they had experience in governing. So some of the people who carried over were honest, let's say, and were so to speak drafted, they were called to continue, because they didn't have any.....I have heard that, that's why I ask.

Eastland: Oh yes. Surely. Especially in provincial towns or villages or cooperatives. They knew the job, respected by the people for what they did, and it didn't matter that they had been in leading positions under the Communists.

Thomas: Because there were reformers in the Communist party. I believe that Pozsgay was one of these. Did he continue then to serve after the change?

Eastland: Yes, I think he was president for a very short time because it was he who announced that there was a newly established Hungarian republic in 1989. He was really respected when he took the courage to declare that the revolution was an uprising of the people.

Thomas: I think I've heard that. And I've heard too that he announced that there would be multiple parties or he said he could look for more than the Communist party and someone asked him, what if the Communists don't win, and he said something like, well then someone else will take over the government. But he did not continue to serve or to be active or to help with the change?

Eastland: He was very popular. You can hear him now and again but not continuously.

Thomas: And Victor Orban? I understood he was active in the change, he was not a Communist, I think.

Eastland: He was a young Democrat. He was one of those young people who wanted changes. It's difficult to put my finger on facts because I'm not good at facts. I can give you my general feelings. Although some people say he's arrogant, everybody acknowledges that he's very clever, and I believe he is the most talented politician nowadays, who is working for the well-being of the country. He is being demonized by his political opponents who control 90% of the media and can unfortunately manipulate public opinion.

- Thomas: I had heard that he was more interested in change and now he is perhaps more conservative. But that's just what I've heard.
- Eastland: Yes. Lots of people hate him, lots of socialists, but I think he's an integrating person, I hope. He's very active and lots of young people follow him, and there's a general atmosphere of love in his circles. He might be, I don't know, arrogant, but he's terribly clever and if I have to choose between the two parties I would give my vote to him.
- Thomas: But you were saying that people were euphoric at the time of the change, going back to that. Do you think, I have heard people expected too much. I have heard people say they had no idea it would be so difficult.
- Eastland: True, yes. We didn't have any idea, we were just euphoric about the changes, yes.
- Thomas: What is the feeling today, what is the mood now?
- Eastland: (pause) I think there is rather disappointment, and some hope. There is some hope. I think there is more hope in the camp of Orban, there is a lot of energy in the background. I think there is a general disappointment in the world as such.
- Thomas: Hungarians are disappointed in the world, at what has happened in the world?
- Eastland: Previously there was a great trust placed in the west and now capitalism has arrived and we are learning more and more about the lack of values and the power of money and all the dishonesty that goes on everywhere, not just here, in all sorts of places, and terrorism and the war on terrorism, and one can hardly see any good model, so there is a general pessimism about the future, and then why should we have children if the world is like this, so.....
- Thomas: Is the birth rate going down?
- Eastland: Oh yes it is going down, yes, yes, very dramatically. Hungary is lucky because we might replace the population from the neighboring countries.
- Thomas: What does that mean?
- Eastland: Hungarian-speaking people may want to come over from the Ukraine, from Romania, that is, at least there are some 2 million Hungarians in Transylvania and some hundred thousands in Serbia.
- Thomas: And are they making moves to come into Hungary, are they planning to come or are they wanting to?

- Eastland: It would be much better if they could stay where they are and be happy there and have children there. They don't like to leave their homeland, but sometimes the conditions are so poor they decide to come, or at least one member of the family comes to earn some money and take it back for the family. And now that there is brain drain, our doctors and professional people are drained by all sorts of hospitals and institutes in the west, the health system is declining, everything is declining and you might meet professional people from across the border working in Hungary. One can hear that some doctors fly out to the west for the weekend, earn a month's salary, fly back and take up work again here on Monday morning. They may decide to go and work permanently in the west in due course. They are underpaid and they themselves have to fight for fair remuneration for the time they are on duty.
- Thomas: You mean, working in government-sponsored hospitals.....
- Eastland: Yes, for example a doctor is on night duty, he's woken up twice during the night, this doesn't take longer than an hour, and his employers are not prepared to pay for the full 8 hours, he has to stay in the hospital in case there's a problem. He's only paid for the time when he is actually needed. I'm just giving you a rough idea, that's how I understand the situation.
- Thomas: So they're not being paid adequately for their work.
- Eastland: No, far from it. And the tipping system is horrible. The tipping of doctors was introduced from above, by the government, in the early 1950's, I know this for sure because at the university we heard a lecture about this.
- Thomas: So it was introduced under Communism?
- Eastland: It was introduced by the Communist leadership in the 1950's because they were not able to pay doctors adequately and they thought, well, we'll sort out the situation for a short time this way. And this prevails even now.
- Thomas: And who gets tipped? Doctors only or other people?
- Eastland: Tipping in health care is pretty general. I tipped the doctor when I had a Caesarian and paid another doctor for the outpatient consultations for 9 months, you tip these people. I have tipped a psychiatrist and others too, each time. And you tip nurses, when you are in hospital, of course.
- Thomas: Are other people tipped besides doctors, like lawyers and teachers?
- Eastland: In teacher's case, there is no tipping. Employers set very very high fees so you know how much to pay, that's no problem.
- Thomas: But I have heard that teachers are not adequately paid.

- Eastland: No, no, really underpaid. It was this morning, I think, that I heard on the radio that this layer of society, teachers, who could be a driving force, they tend to find themselves in the poorer section of society, those people who were part of the middle classes, now two-thirds of these teachers become part of the lower middle classes. Increasingly they are struggling how to make ends meet, they really cannot afford to meet their cultural needs anymore.
- Thomas: And of course I suppose that means that talented young people are not going into the teaching profession?
- Eastland: No, of course not, except the really dedicated fanatical few, as a result. In the past, before the war, and even in the Communist times, we had excellent teachers who were really scientists or scholars not only teachers and who were able to educate, not just teach the facts. And since the war actually, 2 generations of teachers have grown up without values, maybe this is an exaggeration.....
- Thomas: You mean during the Communist era?
- Eastland: I mean, teachers could not speak their mind, they could not pass on their own values sincerely, there was a vacuum. Even general human values were neglected because so much stress was put on achievement, achievement, marks, grades, learning, getting to university, competition, well, the human being was neglected.
- Thomas: In spite of the Communist philosophy, that the human beings were important, it wasn't lived.
- Eastland: No. Of course there were lucky people who had excellent teachers, I did, in the '60's. But I have friends now who discover this now. The school is getting worse.
- Thomas: It is general human values that are not taught, because the teachers don't have those values, is that right?
- Eastland: I mean things like responsibility, or reliability, or honesty, or discipline. You must be a free individual as in all the advertisements, you must be better than the other person, you must be more than the other person. So if children have more than the teacher, how can the teacher teach moral values?
- Thomas: So is this the result of influence from the west, where has this come from, the emphasis on achieving, on competition, and this is influenced by material concerns, how much money people have, you want to get more money, you want to get more money than the next guy; is this a reaction against Communism or this adopting the values of other places, specifically the west, or is it impossible to determine this?

- Eastland: Well I think the general ideology during the Communist years failed basically. So people were left disappointed. I know of colleagues who were Communists and they became discouraged and people became schizophrenic in their soul. All these ideas, are they all wrong? I gave my life for this and this is all wrong? Some people had remorse because they compromised their own views, for something in the past. Lots and lots of people had remorse. At the same time the main thing was education, you had to get your children to higher education because that's the only safe place in the world. If you have knowledge it can't be taken away from you, and this was on a high level in Hungary.
- Thomas: This is under the Communists.
- Eastland: Yes, yes. And now, for example, you hear that above a certain point your studies in the medical school are subsidized by the state. But we have fewer points at the entrance system, not so good results, fewer points in the point system. If you are not so good but you pay, you can become a doctor. We were horrified actually in the medical school, there was a certain level, I'm not sure now what, 110 points, talking roughly, if you have reached this level you are subsidized by the state as a medical student, if not, but your parents can pay, you can be a medical student even if you have only 105 points.
- Thomas: Does this mean that under the present system less qualified people are getting in because they can afford it? Whereas before you didn't have to afford it, if you were qualified the state paid for you, is that right?
- Eastland: Exactly, exactly.
- Thomas: So the system has gone downhill, so to speak, in quality.
- Eastland: Yes. Even so, there's a certain minimum, but the university needs money, because nobody has money, the state cannot provide so much money, so the university accepts young people from all around the world who can study here in English and in German and pay, and from the money of these economies who come here, whose youngsters come here, the university can survive. To the Hungarians, you see, again payment can pay your way, if you pay, a little less good, no problem.
- Thomas: What you're saying, I think, is that money has become much more powerful. It used to be the state, and now it's money. So everybody wants to get money.
- Eastland: Very important. Well, and students, if your parents have money, you can spend the summer in Britain, and when you come back your English will be better than anybody else's, and you're trying to compete. And so on and so on.

- Thomas: It means that money is providing access to more money and a higher standard of living.
- Eastland: Talking about values, I was in hospital in the early 1970's, and I had more time to read, and I happened to read an article in an American magazine, and in it I found a sentence which I still remember, "If you have not got a first class crystal in a I-don't-know-what-kind-of-set, you are not a first class person". So you are what you have. This is what I read in an American magazine and I was horrified. I thought this would never come to Hungary but it has.
- Thomas: Do people believe this? Did they accept it? Obviously you do not.
- Eastland: I do not, certainly not. I don't know whether they think about it but automatically you absorb it from advertisements, from films, from posters.
- Thomas: You're being sort of deluged with propaganda for not so good values.
- Eastland: Oh yes. And how do you protect your children from all this? Advertisements are based on what is the worst and meanest in human beings. Sex appears openly on posters, crime on TV, horror in the news, weapons available----- weapons were not available under the Communists, which was good, they were not allowed, it's not freedom-----and communication, communication is so powerful and much more important than the truth or the facts.
- Thomas: Do you think that this is a problem of the media, that the media are for sale for whoever is trying to make money, instead of having high standards themselves to tell what is true from their point of view, do you think the media are responsible?
- Eastland: To a large extent yes, but again the question is, who is the owner of the media? And that explains everything, in a way.
- Thomas: Who does own the media?
- Eastland: Perhaps I'm not wrong if I say 90 % is in the hands of the governing party, the governing government, the present government.
- Thomas: So it is state-controlled media? There are not private, say, newspapers or television?
- Eastland: I'm not sure answering this question but what appears is to a large extent lies and rubbish. Radio is better, radio gives the views of both the government and the opposition, side by side, which is good. I have no TV at the moment, I never watch it, but I hear from people that basically it's one story. And newspapers, opposition has one of them, one newspaper and one magazine that I know of, our news basically comes from the Times.

- Thomas: What do you see for the future with this situation?
- Eastland: One must have hope, so I'm hoping.
- Thomas: What is hopeful? Where does hope lie, where do you see hope now? Or do you?
- Eastland: Yes, I'm an optimistic person, in spite of everything?
- Thomas: Even though you're a Hungarian? I hear the Hungarians are pessimists!
- Eastland: I'm not, in spite of the odds. I find that lots and lots of very good people, lots and lots of very good experts, lots and lots everywhere, when I hear what is kind of the thought for the day every morning on the radio I hear that people still have values, this is not widely available but a few people listen early in the morning, but lots and lots of good people, even in the street, even young people who look funny outside, people give up their places to others who need the seats, and there's a lot of talent in Hungary and I believe that Viktor Orban is a good person and he can be effective and he has been appreciated even by my physician friends. I know that there's a huge debt and deficit and everything but people are not children and if they are given a future, they will be glad to accept what has to be accepted financially.
- Thomas: Do you feel that the democratic process or system is working in Hungary? That is to say, democracy as the government by the people and that if the present government is a rascal the people will turn them out? How do you feel about that?
- Eastland: I think people in Hungary are on the one hand very very patient, and on the other overworked and exhausted, and so it does take a long time to be so angry as to overturn a government. And also it does take time to learn how to exercise our rights over the government. In the past nobody trained us how to express our opinions because once we did they were crushed, so we need to learn how to be courageous and express our opinions and how to fight in peaceful ways and achieve our goals and pull back those who represent us and write letters to those who are in position. So it might come, we need a new generation of people, first of all we need new children so we need to have a vision of the future and we need these people who are optimistic and who have faith in the future.
- Thomas: Do you think the Hungarians people at the present time do have faith? As you say, it takes time to make a revolution. It also takes some sense that you can get something done by making a revolution. Do you think the Hungarian people have hope, understand that it takes time, but have hope?
- Eastland: I think basically people are so intelligent, people I know are very intelligent, so, everywhere, people are not children.

- Thomas: Do they have enough hope to be willing to wait and work and accept that it takes time?
- Eastland: What I wanted to say but forgot was, you need some kind of just society, if there is justice it is acceptable that you have less, but when you see that other people have so much more, for example ten times more, no a hundred times more, there are people here in Hungary who are, for example presidents of banks or TV who earn a hundred times more than minimum wages, well, this is just unacceptable, so if there is justice, if there is equality, if there is understanding, if people understand what it is all about, that we have to go with less, I believe that people are happy to make the sacrifice. I read once in a book about Van Gogh the painter, I think it was he who said people are prepared for a sacrifice if they know why. Also, I just heard in the program that I mentioned before, one drop of humanity, which is invoked every morning on the radio, if you have faith everything is possible, if you have love, nothing is too big a job.
- Thomas: As regards injustice and justice, do you think people feel that this can be changed, in other words have hope, even if you have to sacrifice, you have to give up, you have to wait, you have to sacrifice time, do you think that people do have hope.
- Eastland: I feel young people have hope in Orban's group, in the opposition, lots of young people have hope in the opposition.
- Thomas: Do you think there are leaders in Hungary? We always think in the west about Winston Churchill and the time of World War II who talked about blood, sweat and tears and he, I think, roused the nation to sacrifice. Do you have that? I have asked other people about this and they said, at least some people have said, that Antall just said this but of course he didn't stay in office very long because he died. Do you think there are current leaders who can lead in this way?
- Eastland: The only leader that I can think of is Orban who is good. I do think he can motivate people, he can integrate people, it is just that so many have fear of him. Yes, I have to tell you, there is a, it's probably true, when Orban visited Antall on his deathbed he left Antall a changed person because Antall saw him the potential of a statesman. I don't know who else was present there but it transpires that Antall put his trust in him and trusted him as the cleverest person who could become a statesman who could carry on what he had started.
- Thomas: That's interesting. Are there others----what about Megyessy?
- Eastland: Megyessy? He was the previous prime minister.
- Thomas: Is he a leader who can rally the country in a time when maybe they're discouraged about the time it takes to get things done?

- Eastland: No. He was nice enough but he only became slightly popular when he was leaving, when the present prime minister Gyurcsany took his place, kind of. I'm not good at politics but it's understood that this was a kind of coup.
- Thomas: I understood that he replaced Megyessy in between elections. But I also understood that that was not unconstitutional, there was a procedure, it was all right.
- Eastland: Well, I'm not good at all this. I only know that he replaced him in the middle of the term and Megyessy was at his nicest when he left. We were sorry for him because we felt he was a person, he was more of a human being than the present prime minister.
- Thomas: Is there anything else you wanted to say about the difference between now and then. I don't know what else you might want to add. (pause) Are you hopeful? Are you discouraged? Are you disillusioned? Or all of those?
- Eastland: All of those at the same time, probably. But not prepared to give it up. I'm trying to start new things in my small ways because after all there is freedom now and I do value freedom and if you organize good things people might follow so that is plenty of a job for one person.
- Thomas: I'm awfully glad I talked to you because I have heard from other people a lot of disillusionment and actually discouragement about the future.
- Eastland: I did not mention the fact that unfortunately there is so many feelings everywhere here and so much hatred between the two parties and libel and communication and lack of respect, so it's just impossible for people of the two opposite parties to sit down together and compare their figures and compare their facts and come to the truth, because at least one has his preconceptions. As a result the whole society has been divided, and either black or white or neutral which means I'm not going to vote, I'm fed up. And I think the whole divide goes back to the war or about that time, World War II. If you were an aristocrat or if you had something in the previous regime, then the Communists took it and deprived you of a lot of good things, if nothing else at least freedom. Or if you were persecuted as a Jew before the war, then 1945 brought liberation for you and you now had freedom and a much better life, maybe privileges and so on from the government. And those who were persecuted by the Germans automatically joined the partisans, and so the partisans became Communists, and the descendants of the Communists very often followed the same action in a way, not exactly the same, it's an emotional attachment. So the people from the two parties sitting down and discussing the facts, two emotional trends always come into it and divide families and.....
- Thomas: So you think this has had an effect on families and friendships and.....

Eastland: A lot, a lot, and friendships and church congregations, even that, such a huge, such a big divide. Unfortunately people just cannot overcome this. I had a good friend who has differing views, and we tried to, now I'll try and not talk about politics because I say I do not know all the facts, I'm not well-equipped with all the facts, and I'm a scientific mind in a way, I like to argue with facts, but I'm not interested enough in politics to remember all the various facts and whatever has been published and the truth behind it all, I'm not interested. I can feel on my skin how I feel and you feel on your skin how you feel. But it's a family tradition in her case and she listens different from my programs on the radio, she reads different papers, she has that view. I subscribe to the opposition newspaper, I'm interested in the other one and I feel that those who are in politics should read all the possible news, the case of the family can't do everything. But to argue with facts, then you cannot say that this little cock that can be put on top of the building and shows which way the wind blows, Orban is now called

END OF SECOND SIDE, FIRST TAPE

Thomas: .....that democracy is one of the worst political systems but it's the best we've discovered so far, it's still bad but, and you say, you've been through both.....

Eastland: Yes, I say, I've been through both, and I wouldn't like to go back to the previous regime because at least there is freedom now so this system is better than oppression.

Thomas: That brings up a question: do you think very many people in this country would go back to the previous regime? Just a guess of course because you haven't taken a poll. Do some people say that you should?

Eastland: No-o-o. But that's a very good question. If you think of the hundreds of people who were looked after by the state, yes, there are people who would like to go back, yes, to whom freedom was not so important. I remember for some time we said that our situation was like that of the Jewish people coming out of Egypt and longing for the meat pots, and lots of people are longing for the meat pots, not so much the meat pots as the stability and security.

Thomas: That gets exactly to what I was wondering about and that is, does Communism still influence the present situation in that it makes people long for the security of having education, medical care, a job, even if maybe they didn't get much pay they still had work and some pay. Do you think that does influence people today in Hungary and maybe making them not willing to risk what they have to risk in life in order to have freedom and have the possibility of a better life?

Eastland: Yes, yes, I believe that for some time people were longing for the previous regime more. Now it is impossible, it cannot possibly come back, but people

are longing for it, I'm including myself, for jobs, for security, for the health system. Yes. There are so many problems nowadays. I'm sorry, I've got it wrong, I think, this was not your question.

Thomas: Yes, yes. I'm wondering if Communism still.....

Eastland: It survives, yes.

Thomas: It survives in people's minds and therefore makes them unwilling to work maybe as hard as.....suppose, for example, that the change had come in the middle of the time of terror, would they not perhaps be more willing to be patient and to work hard at a democratic system because they would remember so vividly the bad terror of Communism, whereas what happened was that Kadar, I think, I get this impression, he gradually altered Communism, the terror he imposed at first yes but then, I don't know whether because he was a Hungarian and was loyal to his country and his people or for whatever reason, there was less terror.....

Eastland: Yes, true.....

Thomas: .....and things got better and it got to be "goulash" Communism and it was better than, say, in the east German Communist republic and maybe better than Czechoslovakia, I don't know.

Eastland: Yes, if the change had come in '56, Hungary would look like Austria now, more or less, apart from the differences in temperament and traditions, more or less, we might be on the same level. Also I think there is a divide between those people who value freedom more and those who value security more, financial security. But when the point comes that even hard-working professional people lose their jobs overnight, then there is general disillusionment, I think, without any longing for the oppressive regime.

Thomas: So they are disillusioned with the current regime, it wasn't what they thought it was going to be, but they don't want to go back to Communism either.

Eastland: No, no. There is no hope then.

Thomas: For those people there is no hope?

Eastland: They don't know what to do. So many people are sad, partly because of the multinational companies, they need fewer people, they get benefits from the state, the small companies get less benefits, if they sack people then you always need to start anew from scratch again and again.

Thomas: Of course that's very hard. I guess that's why I ask if you have a leader who can inspire people to hang in there.

- Eastland: I do trust in Orban.
- Thomas: Do you think a lot of people do?
- Eastland: More than they trust the present government. The current figures are, I think, 31% of the people trust Orban, 25% I think the present government, and the rest either neutral or do not know. But still at the moment the majority is, but then again, as in America, here too whether fair and honest elections can be held, that's the next question.
- Thomas: Oh really? Why?
- Eastland: Well, because there is manipulation with the elections, and bribing, for example, certain gypsy people were given money so they should vote for the socialists, such things happened.
- Thomas: Corruption, just plain old corruption. That's always a problem. And tell me something about the gypsies. I have heard that the gypsy problem is severe in Hungary and I don't know what that means.
- Eastland: To start with, they have more children than Hungarians. The Hungarian population is decreasing and the gypsy population is if anything growing, and the ratio consequently is higher and higher. Some figures, out of every six children one will be gypsy who goes to school this year or next year, I don't know, so a growing proportion. Then the next question is.....
- Thomas: What does that mean for the country?
- Eastland: Well, without being anti-Roma, because I'm not, if you examine the figures of crime, out of ten people who are convicted, I believe that at least eight are Roma.
- Thomas: Of course we don't know what causes crime, do we?
- Eastland: Well, we can't go into that. Convicted, whatever, robbery, breaking into a bank, or things like this.
- Thomas: As they increase in number in the population, would they be good citizens, would they become good citizens concerned with the welfare of the country?
- Eastland: I think they need education, a lot of education, and a lot of willingness to be educated, they would need a lot of Roma teachers who can teach their own people.
- Thomas: Is the Hungarian government taking measures to.....

Eastland: It is, but again the needs are much, much, much higher. And then all these questions about segregation and not segregation in the schools, well, poverty, so many things are involved, different traditions, different needs, different marital habits, different reactions, more emotional and childish behavior, I believe a lot of care should be paid to the Roma people, much more than at present, but not at the cost of other children because they need special attention, they need much more, it costs a lot of money. They can be educated, as I say, a lot should be done about it. The thing as it is is awful.

Thomas: Are the Roma mostly Roman Catholic?

Eastland: I don't know. Some of them are. The Roman Catholic church does a lot of good things for them. Near the town of Pecs a lot of things are being done for the Roma children. It's a very painful thing. It is a big problem, yes.

Thomas: I know it is. I can't keep you forever, but I've got to ask you, I neglected to ask you earlier. I don't really know what your training is and your work. You went from the gymnasium to the university of arts and sciences.

Eastland: Yes, here in Budapest, called Elte, I studied Russian, Latin and then English from the second year on. I graduated in '68.

Thomas: And then what did you do?

Eastland: For four years I worked at the secondary school, the gymnasium, teaching all these languages, and then I worked for the medical school, there was a language institute there, and I taught the medical students medical texts in all languages and the medical, dental and pharmaceutical things, special English.

Thomas: To teach this you had to know a good bit about the medical field.

Eastland: You gradually picked up quite a lot, and it was a good thing to do, actually, I very much liked the young people, the interested and clever young people, they were very nice, and I asked them to explain medical things to me, which they enjoyed, so I was learning gradually.

Thomas: And your husband was a doctor?

Eastland: No, my husband was a teacher there, at the same place, we met there.

Thomas: So is there anything else you would like to say about the subject?

(long pause)

Eastland: Hmmmm. It's an interesting story, just in a couple of words. This teacher of mine, who I mentioned before, was very popular and lots and lots of previous pupils visited her. Among them there was a girl, and at long last, she has

visited her before several times, then the teacher asked, What does your father do? And she said something like, Blackening Hungary in the west. Yes, yes, during the Orban government lots and lots of articles appeared about how horrible, how bad Hungary was, in the west, and certain people promoted this business, yes.

Thomas: The political opposition to Orban?

Eastland: Yes. That's just interesting for you to know. It was a job. He was quite good at certain language and he was able to do this. So there are so many things, it was just a-----now somebody has come. (doorbell rings)

Thomas: Thank you so much. I really appreciate it so much.