

- (1) I think you should know the latest developments in Hungary namely those of the past ten years. The suppression and terror under which the Hungarian people lived.
- (2a) The whole thing started at the radio station but even before that there were indications that something was in the offing. Among these must be mentioned certain newspaper articles and radio broadcasts which indicated an entirely different and new tone, a tone which differed essentially from that of the Stalin era. Furthermore, Petofi Circle was established by newspaper men for the purpose of conducting discussions concerning affairs of the society, the economic life of the country and its criticism.
- (2b) Yes, I should think so. After Stalin's death there was no strong man among the Soviet leaders. One had the impression from the radio broadcasts and newspaper articles that the cult of personality has come to an end. Even before the Revolution orders were received to remove Stalin's pictures from schools. Not only pictures but newspaper articles which were on the bulletin boards were also removed if they referred to Stalin or to the cult of personality.
- (2c) I do not know. We had expected a great deal from Imre Nagy. At first it seemed that he followed essentially the Stalinist line.
- (2d) I am very much surprised that Tito did not recognize the Freedom Fighters as such. In other words, he considered the Soviet intervention as if the Hungarian Revolution had not been a spontaneous affair but one which intended to restore the past.
- (2e) One result of the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist

Party was that there wasn't so much terror and that there was *certain* a ~~greater~~ degree of freedom of speech. I noticed this especially in political seminars where one could speak up more freely and criticize certain things which one could not do before. Of course everybody knew about the constant lies of the regime. The only thing was that after the Twentieth Congress you could tell or voice your opinion in a freer fashion than beforehand. Prior to the Congress we knew that the things we were told were lies but we had no opportunity to express or voice our opinions. The reason why we knew that the things we were told were lies was that one moment we were told this was the truth and the next moment we were told that what was said to be the truth were in fact lies.

- (2f) I had known about the Poznan events. The impact of the Polish events on the Hungarian people was mostly psychological. People were flabbergasted to see that the Poles had the courage to do a thing like that. People started to wonder because they saw the Poles facing up to the terror or rather having the courage to face up to the terror. The Hungarians were *enthused* but I didn't think that this might lead to a revolution in Hungary.
- (2g) One was really wondering about the replacement of Rakosi and did not know what to make out of it. It seemed extremely strange to have someone removed like that, but this is very characteristic of the regime. One day you have to bow before~~se~~ somebody and the next day he'll be hanged. His scheme of the compulsory agricultural cooperatives has ruined the Hungarian economy. You cannot make an agricultural country into an industrial one, especially

if you don't have the raw materials and the necessary natural resources.

(2h) If there was a turning point or if we might call that a turning point, I recall Imre Nagy's first premiership. He took a more moderate and conciliatory attitude. This was especially true in regard to his economic policies. Beyond this people thought that Nagy might be able to chart a more independent policy for Hungary; that is independent from the Soviet Union's policy.

(2i) Yes, I think I have definitely had such a feeling. There was ~~was~~ *Less* suppression. People did talk up more courageously and from all this they had inferred that people would regain their fundamental freedoms and with this also other things would come such as east-west cooperation and contact. Furthermore one had also hoped that the salaries would be raised and that the greatest human exploitation in history would come to an end. All this did not appear from one day to another but over a period of time.

(3a) Actually no one had thought of the Revolution or of a revolution prior to its outbreak. The Revolution broke out quite spontaneously. The hatred against the suppressors reached such a pitch that the Revolution had to come spiritually. The people wanted to do something. They were capable of anything. Life no longer was worth living if freedom was denied. You cannot suppress the human yearning for freedom.

(3b) It seems to me there would have been no revolution without concessions. The concessions gave a definite impetus to the Revolution. You had discussions and disputes even within the members of the Communist hierarchy.

(3c) The Revolt occurred because the University students ~~were~~ to

wanted to broadcast a ten or twelve point demand over the radio. The permission to do so ~~and the~~ was refused and the AVO shot their leader. All this took place in the general climate of former concessions that everything can be told and everything can be written. Now the Communists wanted to stop this development and that is why the Revolt broke out when it did.

- (4a) Yes, I think the people who started the revolt had definite goals in mind such as the Twelve Point demand of the university students, among these the exit of Soviet troops from Hungary, free elections and independence for Hungary.
- (4b) Does not apply.
- (4c) I don't think that people have different goals. Independence, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, economic improvements were the foremost on everybody's minds.
- (4d) Yes, I think they had the same goals.
- (4e) I think people were against political and economic suppression.
- (4f) I think they stood for independence and a better life.
- (4g) I think the slogans of the 1848 revolution were the most popular. Apart from this you could frequently hear a motto: Russians go home. People also sang the Hungarian national anthem, ^{and} the Szozat. Also, there were collections improvised in various sections of Budapest for the immediate relatives of the wounded and the killed. There were no lootings during the revolution. Not a single item was missing from broken store windows.
- (4h) Independence above all and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory so that the country would not be obliged to work for a foreign power and to serve foreign interests,

so that people would not have to work and toil more for the single purpose that the members of the AVO should receive higher salaries. ~~Now~~ People felt they didn't want to be slaves so that Communists could propagate their regime and system elsewhere.

(4i) Yes, I definitely think so. I think that it is very characteristic that the youths who were brought up in the Communist ideology turned against their Communist indoctrinators. Under the Communist system the children of industrial workers received a preferential treatment in regard to their admission to higher institutions. Children of the ~~kkk~~ intellectuals were in no position to compete with the children of the industrial workers, no matter how good they were the children of the industrial workers were always preferred as far as admission to universities was concerned.

(4j) Those Communists who were the real Communists, namely the leaders of the Communist Party and the members of the AVO, did not join the Revolution. There were however many card carrying Communists who were not real Communists, but joined the party under pressure or intimidation and not because of conviction; the latter joined the revolutionaries.

(4k) Does not apply.

(4l) In that case the Revolution would have been successful; the members of the AVO would have been eliminated, we would have had free elections, and the pledges of the Yalta Conference would have been fulfilled.

(4m) No, I would not have been satisfied with a development ~~like~~ like that in Poland. I believe that the situation there is just

a temporary one. There will probably come a new era when some of the concessions granted will be withdrawn.

- (4n) I don't know of any participants who had personal purposes in mind. I don't think there were any such people.
- (4o) Only the Soviet Communists opposed the revolt. By Soviet Communists I mean the people who were placed in high position in Hungary by the Soviet Union. I would also include members of the AVO, they were anxious to keep their monthly sum of money which amounted to some 15 or 20 thousand forints per month.
- (5a) I have participated in many demonstrations during the revolt, on or around the Moricz Eszmond ~~square~~ square. Frequently, to disperse such demonstrations the members of the AVO would appear in a Red Cross vehicle and would shoot at the crowd with machine guns. Also, the AVO took up positions on the roofs of houses and shot into the crowd. Then people decided to put up barricades and fought back. Actually, there wasn't too much fighting during the first phase of the revolt. By the first phase I mean the period between October 23 and the day when the Russians ~~returned~~ ^{Left} to ~~leave~~ Budapest. Actually, no one expected the Russians to come back. That was a complete surprise. I personally did not believe that they would leave Budapest and Hungary. When they left Budapest everybody was extremely happy, no one wanted to believe it, that it could be true.
- (6a) Once a ~~week~~ week I went to school. We received instructions from the director of the school to go in ~~with~~ but the children didn't show up, so there were no classes ~~at all~~ ^{held}. Apart from

that I participated in many demonstrations when we had to stand in line for food, especially in the morning.

- (6b) I participated in the demonstrations because of my convictions. No one forced me to nor compelled me in any way.
- (6c) Mostly on the basis of personal talks and discussions. There weren't any specific arrangements made or directions received. Everything happened on the spur of the moment.
- (6d) People were so determined I could only admire them. They were risking their lives and rather die than give up. I never thought ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ for a moment that my participation in the demonstrations would be dangerous and that I might be killed. People just didn't think of the risks involved.
- (6e) I haven't thought about that. Everything came spontaneously.
- (6f) I only participated in the demonstrations and I have cooked for the freedom fighters.
- (7a) I could not see actual fighting going on between the Hungarians and Russians, because most of the time when the fighting started we had gone to the cellar or ran into a shelter; but we could hear and we were told that the Russians were ~~about~~ shelling the city and the freedom fighters were shooting back.
- (7b) Practically all the Hungarians soldiers joined the Revolution, with the exception/^{perhaps}of the highest ranking leaders; but even among the latter many joined the revolutionists.
- (7c) No.
- (7d) I have heard that the Russians machine-gunned several innocent people who were out in the street trying to put out a fire. I have seen the bodies. Next morning 47 bodies were buried. It was a revenge by the Russians for the fact that they had

to fight their way into the city.

(8) Does not apply.

(9a) I participated in many demonstrations.

(9b) After the revolt was put down we did not go back to our ~~working~~ ^{working} place in spite of the fact that the radio appealed to us ~~in~~ daily.

(9c) I have distributed food supplies and I also cooked for the fighters, I mean the freedom fighters.

~~9d~~
(9d) Yes, we did remove Red emblems and Russian symbols at school.

(9e) There were a great many leaflets and newspapers and everybody was anxious to read them, so I passed them on.

(9f) No.

(9g) No.

(9h) Does not apply.

(9i) Does not apply.

(9j) First the countryside was pretty much separated from the *Revolt,* but later when the free meal stations started to function the villages lived up to all expectations. They brought loads of food to the heroic people of Budapest.

(10a) Newspapers were brought to various sectors of Budapest by motorcycle. It was extremely difficult to get hold of a paper. In seconds all the papers were gone.

(10b) In the newspapers which appeared during the Revolution, you could write practically about anything, though people did not openly attack the Soviet Union, many political parties started to get organized and they started printing newspapers.

- (10c) I heard for instance of what had happened at the radio station by word of mouth. Someone came along in the street and told me about it.
- (10d) Yes, I listened to the radio, both domestic and foreign. I tuned in frequently to the BBC and heard the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe as well. And I also listened to the Free Kossuth Radio, as well as to some of the Free Radio stations in Trans-Danubia.
- (10e) Yes, I learned about the events at the Szell ~~Kalman~~ ^{7m} Square. Of course, you had to be careful with the telephone, as some people said, the Communists would listen in. I ~~was~~ also learned about events on the Szena Square.
- (10f) I think the radio and the newspapers were very important. Also the information by word of mouth.
- (10g) The national news we received through the radio or newspapers. Local news from the people and posters, pamphlets and other media.
- (11) Revolutionary Councils were established on a completely democratic basis, elected freely by secret ballot. For instance, you had Revolutionary Councils in factories, in offices, in schools, etc.
- (11a) All the Party organizations/^{were} dissolved. Many party offices and buildings were turned into apartments. The party personnel/^{disappeared,} the party secretary ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ assigned to our school did not show up.
- (11b) The police joined the freedom fighters.
- (11c) The AVO was dissolved. Its members were either captured or in hiding or summarily executed.

- (11d) Revolutionary Councils were set up through free elections and secret ballot.
- (11e) The army joined the freedom fighters. They tore the Russian emblems off their uniforms, and in many instances they started to wear the old Hungarian uniforms. They tore the stars off their caps.
- (11f) New elections were held in the trade unions.
- (11g) New councils were elected in the communities and municipalities.
- (11h) Frankly I do not know to what extent the elective principle was applied to the government and to the ministers. It seems that the government changed quite frequently depending on the pressures exerted on them central government ~~and~~ ^{by} the people and by other forces. Frequently the changes in the government were the result of the ~~some~~ ^{DEMANDS} ~~some~~ of demonstrators and people. Nonetheless there were ^{some} people in the central government during the revolution who were not wanted by the people.
- (11i) Everybody ~~was~~ was happy to see Bishop Ravasz and Cardinal Mindszenty return. It is interesting to note that those who wanted freedom of religions with passion, ~~that~~ ~~these~~ ~~people~~ were the workers ~~group~~ of Csepel, one of the foremost strongholds of the Communists in Budapest. Under the Communist regime you could not freely exercise your religion, though as a rule there was no direct prohibition. Nonetheless, people were afraid because information concerning church goers would be put down on the people's cards. To avoid any inspection people from Pest started to go to church in Buda and vice versa. Before the revolution ~~was~~

there were very few children who went to church, they were all afraid.

- (11j) The old workers' councils collapsed. The AVG was dissolved. The police and the army were reorganized. The Ministry of the Interior was reorganized and ^{new} ~~the~~ revolutionary councils were elected by secret ballot everywhere. In addition, the Disz and the ~~LMHK~~ organizations were dissolved as well as the LMHK, another young youth organization was also dissolved (Légy Munkára, Harcra Kész).
- (11k) I think the writers and musicians associations were used by the freedom fighters.
- (11,1) Any new youth organizations which emerged wanted to restore the old ~~szek~~ *Kisok*
- (11m) The newly elected workers' councils attempted to solve the most urgent problems. The newly elected council of education in our district,-- the 11th district-- intended to abolish the old system whereby the whole education was under Soviet direction. The council of education in our district prior to the Revolution consisted of one director or chairman, a vice chairman and the party secretary. In addition there were two people assigned to each council to work there.
- (11n) By no means the one that had existed before 1945. There would have been no going back to the ~~szek~~ feudal system. I think a truly democratic structure would have emerged with free elections, secret ballot and an independent Hungary.
- (12a) Yes, I did.
- (12b) Yes, there was a tremendous difference. The first Russian contingents ~~szek~~ which were used to put down the revolt,

those troops which were stationed in Hungary, many of these had been there for a longer period of time. They were walking with open eyes and many of them joined the freedom fighters.

- (12c) Yes, I had a feeling that they would join the freedom fighters. This undoubtedly was due to the fact that they came into contact with better living conditions.
- (12d) I haven't seen any Soviet civilian officials during the Revolution. I think they must have been shipped out of Budapest. There were however many Chinese, Russian and North Korean university students who showed their sympathy with the freedom fighters by joining them.
- (12e) I don't know of any defections among Soviet civilian officials.
- (12f) I believe that they had definite instructions if there were Soviet civilian personnel in Budapest.
- (12g) Prior to October 23, everything in Hungary was directed by the Russians. We did not need too much ingenuity to be able to tell this since the whole economic, political and social life of the country was being patterned on the Soviet model. Scientists and ~~marksmen~~^{physicians} had to learn about the achievements of the scientists and ~~px~~ physicians in the "great" Soviet Union and workers had to copy the Stakhanovite system. During the period from October 23rd to November the 4th the Russians had a limited influence in Hungary. Some of the Russian troops joined the Freedom Fighters, others were fighting them. They needed time therefore they tricked the Hungarians. They said they would move out. leave Budapest and the country but actually this was only a trick. They brought in new

Mongolian troops who did not even know where they were. Many of them thought they were in Berlin, others were told they were fighting *Western* imperialist at the Suez Canal. Even high-ranking Soviet officers showed complete ignorance as to their whereabouts.

After November the 4th, Soviet influence became very, very great again. Now the Soviet communists and the AVO ruled the country again. The putting down of the Hungarian revolt by the Soviet troops and the members of the AVO was the bloodiest massacre in history.

(12h)

The system collapsed because it was built on force and compulsion. It was built on naked force and those who were once used to a better life,-- and who know that there is a better life-- those can see that the system is a farce and that it is based on constant lies. Youngsters who had not experienced another type of life but have heard from their parents have felt the farceness and the farcical attitude of the Communists. They saw that their parents were working hard and yet they could not secure the most elementary necessities of life. They saw that their parents and ~~know~~ that they themselves could not exercise freely their religion. And, of course, they also felt that they were hungry. In one word, the children, the youngsters, particularly felt the oppression of the Communist system.

(13)

After the defeat of the Hungarian revolt.

(13a)

Mostly spiritual factors account for the fact that I decided to leave Hungary. I just could not stand it any longer. I felt I had to change the pattern of my life. I just could no longer continue to live physically and mentally the same

life I had lived before the Revolution. Here no one bothers me. I can say what I like. I don't have to teach lies and I don't have to live in constant fear.

- (13b) Yes, I discussed it with two friends of mine. I also discussed it with some members and the coach of the first class basketball team of which I was a member.
- (13c) Yes, I talked it over with a girl ~~xxx~~ friend of mine and her husband. We did not know that we could get to the border by train. Finally, I managed to get out with the basketball team. One of the drivers conducted us through the border. This took place November the 24th.
- (13d) Frankly I did not know of the difficulties which might face me.
- (13e) No, I did not think of anything else, except leaving Hungary and coming to the United States.
- (14a) Yes, I definitely think so. I think Hungary has made a historic contribution to the cause of freedom all over the world.
- (14b) When the revolt broke out no one thought that it could succeed. Later, people thought that it might succeed. They were ignorant of the political balance of power. We did not know that we were sold down the river at Yalta.
- (14c) No, I would do the same again; with the benefit of the hindsight I realize of course that politically it was ~~perhaps~~ perhaps a crazy thing, the revolt. Nonetheless I would do it again because that's the way I feel.
- (14d) The Hungarians are a courageous people. Historically Hungary has always fought against political ~~suppression~~ oppression, and made heroes out of little children.
- (14e) We had expected a great deal of Imre Nagy. Unfortunately there

was a time during ~~the~~ the Revolution when the people's faith was, to some extent, shaken in him. This was when Kadar joined his cabinet. In perspective however it seems that the Revolution had elevated him rather than degraded him.

(14f) Maléter, ~~Kéthly~~ Kéthly, ^{Kovács} ~~Béla~~ Béla, Mindszenty, ^{RAVAJZ} ~~Radass~~ László.

(14g) Maléter and the many anonymous heroes, boys and girls of the Revolution.

(14h) (i) Students, writers, skilled and unskilled workers.

(ii) Soldiers, intellectuals, white collar workers.

(iii) Peasants.

(14i) No, I wouldn't have thought so. This was the younger generation which was raised under Communism. I ~~know~~ had never thought that they would fight like that against the very system which had indoctrinated them.

(14j) Respondent gave same reply as to Q. ~~14i~~ (14i).

(14k) Yes, I think the Petöfi Club played a very important part in the revolt. They had started ~~the~~ discussions and/~~from~~ ^{the} debates were comparatively free. I was surprised to see that they allowed a certain amount of free discussion. This, in a sense, indicated that there was discord with ⁱⁿ the Soviet government.

(14l) The peasantry couldn't do too much, except that it helped the capital with food supplies. The peasantry was promised that the cooperatives would be dissolved and that new free elections would be held and the land would be returned to them.

- (1a) I am a teacher of physical education and I intend to work with the YWCA.
- (1b) Merchant.
- (2a) I worked as a teacher of physical education in Czegléd for one year, in Budapest for two years.
- (2b) I had to teach physical education for girls.
- (2c) I was a teacher of physical education at the General School for Girls in the 11th District of Budapest. The school was located on the Fehérvári Út (No. 10).
- (2d) I held the latter post for two years. The school was a big size school. We had 1300 students and there were three teachers of physical education. It was considered to be a very good school.
- (2f) The school was ideal for the purposes of physical education. We used the grounds of the Haladás which formerly belonged to the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ BEAC.
- (3) I like very much my profession as a teacher of physical education. I also directed gymnastics and exercises in the New People's School in Budapest and participated in several meetings of physical education and served also as a lecturer on many occasions in 1955.
- (3a) I love children.
- (3b) I didn't like the fact that I was underpaid. I received a minimum wage and I had to work hard to make up for the difference. I had to utilize my summer vacations and work as a camp counselor for children also. Also I coached basketball teams. I was a member of the first class basketball team of Hungary.
- (3c) My former job was in a smaller place, as I mentioned, in Czegléd. Then I wanted to come up to Budapest to live there.

(4a),
(4b),
(4c)

My monthly salary amounted to approximately 1,000 ~~florins~~^{Forints}, during the years 1954, 1955, and 1956.

(4d)

My basic salary amounted to 1,004 ~~florins~~^{Forints} per month.

(4e)

There were the following deductions:

for peace loan	80 florins ^{Forints} per month
trade union dues	12 " " "
income tax	3% a month
sickness and accident insurance	OTI (4%)

(4f)

Before the Revolution once I received a lump sum compensation of 1500 ~~florins~~^t, in connection with my work in choreography. I have trained about 600 groups of children in gymnastical exercises and the whole group had a huge demonstration in the People's ~~Day~~^{Tournament} in Budapest.

(4g)

I also had some additional sources of income for teaching individual children in gymnastics. I received 10 ~~florins~~ⁱ per child, but I had to turn in 4 ~~florins~~^t for trade union dues from this amount. Also as ^acoach of the basketball team I received a salary of 250 ~~florins~~^t per month.

(4h)

My pay was comparatively good in terms of what some other teachers got and in terms of what most people made. I was a little better off than the average teacher in view of my additional sources of income, and I was better off than the average wage earner whose salary amounted to 600 or 700 ~~florins~~^t per month.

(4i)

Answered under 4h.

(5a)

24 hours per week.

(5b)

6 days per week.

(5c)

Yes, I frequently had to work overtime, but received no extra compensation for it.

(5d)

Frequently I had to work during holidays. Before the Revolution we had a paid vacation of 4 weeks. During the Revolution the two

months summer vacation of the teachers was restored.

- (5e) Most people received from two to three weeks paid vacation.
- (5f) Lateness or absenteeism were a serious matter.
- (5g) No.
- (5h) Not always, sometimes there were deductions of the salary for absenteeism; other times you just got a good bawling out.
- (5i) In physical education you didn't have too much of that, except that we had to work overtime quite frequently.*
- (5j) From time to time I recall that they had changes in the norm system.
- (5k) I know that they had socialist competition, especially among the factories, in order to increase production.
- (5l) I do not know.
- (6a) As far as our school was concerned, it was an extremely well equipped school. The Communists paid a great deal of attention to sports and physical education.
- (6b) Hygienic conditions were not the best; there was some overcrowding in view of the fact that there were approximately 40 or 50 students in one class.
- (6c) Sporting equipment was first rate.
- (6d) The quality was good at our school which was the second in Budapest in the athletic competition.
- (6e) I lived quite close to school; it took me five minutes to walk from my home to school.
- (7a) Most of the people ~~which~~ I worked with were older people. Many of them had university education. Their previous socio-economic status was better than the one in which they were before the Revolution, that is, during the Communist regime.
- (7b) I think relations in general were quite good.

- (7c) Yes.
- (7d) Usually we talked in very small groups, and, usually ~~none~~ one could sense whether or not you could talk in front of the person.
- (7e) Yes,
- (7f) No, not very much, though most of my girl friends were in physical education, they were much older than I was and, as a result, we rarely got together outside of work.
- (7g) Yes, definitely.
- (7h) Yes, we had a Party organization, and several members of our staff belonged to the Party. We also had a Party secretary, whose main job was to spy and report the activities of the school staff.
- (7i) Yes, at times it did make a difference and, especially, as far as promotions, and work assignment were concerned.
- (7j) Usually the relationship was not an *ideal* one. Usually you had to put in an appearance at political meetings, and had to talk to, and smile nicely, at the Party secretary. The whole thing was a farce.
- (7k) No, very much.
- (7l) It worked fairly well. Only the trade unions did not do too much about the summer vacations. Mostly the Party leaders and the leaders of the union went on a pre-arranged summer trip and vacations.
- (7m) I don't recall the earlier changes, but since 1950 there weren't too many changes in the trade unions.
- (7n) No, I do not.
- (7o) I only know, that it consisted of a Party secretary, a member of the union and a manager.
- (7p) No,
- (7q) Nothing happened to him. I wasn't active or politically active

- (7s) I do not know of any.
- (7t) Yes, very definitely. For one thing, you have the Party Secretary, the members of the Party, the leader of the ~~Matarsk Uptoróks~~ ~~Matarsk~~. Everybody was trying to avoid them if possible. We were constantly harassed by their attitudes. We knew that they were spying on us, ~~Matarsk~~ and were sending in reports to the Party.
- (7u) The Workers' Councils which were set up by the revolt functioned very well. They were chosen by the workers themselves.
- (7v) As I said, the Workers' Councils functioned well. They exhibited complete unity. Unfortunately, the time was too short.
- (8) I would have changed my job only for financial reasons.
- (8a) I could have become a teacher of physical education at a university.
- (8b) I would have chosen teaching of physical education.
- (8c) Because I like teaching and I love children, I consider teaching my profession.
- (8d) My mother took care of children in the kindergarten. This also I suppose had something to do with the fact that I chose teaching as my career. Apart from this I also feel that I have a natural inclination toward teaching. In addition, social position, respect played a part in my choice. Education of the youth is an important factor. Physical education is important in that it develops those qualities which are essential. Physical education was a profession for women. It was full of variety, it also provided a change of atmosphere. Actually, the twenty-four hours of work a week

would not have been too much as far as teaching is concerned; but in view of the fact that I received a very low salary I had to put in extra work to make a living. Also, I chose teaching because I wanted to have a respectable position.

- (8e) No, I always wanted to become a teacher of physical education.
- (8f) Yes, I thought of that at an early age.
- (8g) Yes, I think everybody has a certain amount of drive in him to get ahead.
- (8h) If somebody gets a better job to get a better pay, also it flatters his vanity.
- (8i) I would travel a great deal. I would like to learn about other people, I would like to learn their language, I would like to find out about their institutions of physical education; also, I love books and reading, records and music. I would like to buy a car, and dress nicely.
- (8j) No, my ideas haven't changed the slightest. ^{They} ~~is~~ only became more crystallized.
- (8k) There are too many 'ifs' in the question. For one thing I am not married. I don't think ~~is~~ teaching as such is a good profession ^{from} ~~is~~ the point of view of pay. Teachers in general ^{are} ~~are~~ poorly paid.
- (9) Things were always getting worse and worse. Every since the war the economic ^{plight} ~~side~~ of my family constantly deteriorated.
- (9a) Three members of my family were working. Otherwise, they could not have made a living, they could not have survived, and they ~~could~~ could not have sent my brother to school.
- (9b) Before and right after the war we were living under comparatively good conditions. Since 1947, however, things got worse and worse. My father didn't even have money for the simplest

things in life. ~~SinsaxiSstZyxkaxx~~ He could not afford to buy a suit during the last five years. Only with the utmost ~~restrains~~ on our family budget could we send my brother to ~~the~~ school.

(9c)

I could afford only the most necessary items of clothing, but I could not afford to buy a radio, dresses, furniture and ~~wholesome~~ wholesome food items. The food I could afford was entirely unsatisfactory. I could not go on vacation trips. I couldn't buy books.

~~(continued records 626, 21, 22)~~

(9d)

(i) My monthly salary amounted to 1,000 ^tflorins.

(ii) I also had, however, other sources of income such as physical education for children. I also received some compensation as a coach to the basketball team. These other sources of income amounted to 500 ^tflorins a month. However, I didn't receive any compensation during the summer months.

(iii) There were a certain number of deductions from my salary. I cannot recall the exact amount that was deducted on account of taxes. One instance I had to pay 120 florins for the peace loan that was deducted from my salary. There were additional deductions from my salary, health insurance and trade union fees.

(iv) After all these deductions my net-income was approximately 1350 ^tflorins per month; however, during the summer months of June, July, August, and September my total net income for each of these months did not exceed 850 ^tflorins.

(9e) I had rented one room and had to pay 350 florins per month.

(9f) Dwelling conditions were horrible. It was almost impossible to get an apartment. There was overcrowding, and sharing. There were approximately two people for each single room. Apartments which were newly or recently built were given to the members of the AVS Communist Party. To illustrate the dwelling conditions, for instance, one of my girl friends who was married to a doctor had to live separately from her husband. Both of them had to rent single rooms. I do not know about the plumbing conditions. Only in Budapest could you find apartments with bathrooms. On

the countryside apartments with bathrooms were the exception.

Most of the apartments were poorly furnished.

(9g) I spent approximately 100 f⁺lorins on food; frankly, I haven't spent too much time waiting in line. Usually my landlady did all the shopping for me.

(9h) Approximately 250 to 300 f⁺lorins per month. All the materials for clothing could only be bought in State stores. In addition, ~~to everybody~~ you could buy your shoes from the shoemakers. He made them to order. I did not buy any items on the black market or from ~~through~~ peasants. My folks lived in the countryside and they sent me the necessary items, ~~to me~~.

(9j) All this was included in my rent. I did not have to pay extra for fuel, electricity, and gas.

(9k) Not in my case, but I know that my ~~MY SISTER~~ elder sister had difficulty in securing the fuel for the winter. Also, in school there was a coal shortage and the classes could not meet on ~~that~~ account of that for over a period of two months.

(9l) I did not have to spend anything on medical or dental care, in view of the fact, that ~~since~~ outstanding sportsmen and sportswomen received free medical and dental care in the hospital for first rate sportsmen and sportswomen.

(9m) I have already mentioned the medical care. In addition we had health insurance. Before the Revolution there was a month vacation. The Revolution restored the two month vacation.

(9n) I spent approximately 50 f⁺lorins per month on these items.

(9o) I have given 200 f⁺lorins to my brother per month so that he could go to the university.

- (10) No, I very definitely did not think that they were getting a fair income. On the contrary, they were extremely badly paid.
- (10a) Very definitely.
- (10b) Yes, I very definitely felt that Hungary as a whole was being exploited.
- (10c) The Communist leaders and the Soviet Union.
- (10d) That was another means of exploitation. Peace loans were actually compulsory loans.
- English version
(10e) Most workers worked in State factories. They were underpaid. They
Hung. version did not receive satisfactory wages. Then the workers were also forced to participate in Socialist competitions and they also had to make their offerings from their wages in connection with Stalin's birthday or the May 1st celebrations and in connection with the anniversary of the October Revolution. Also they had to give special offerings on the anniversary of the Hungarian Constitution which was called Constitution Day on August 20.
- (10e) This was also a means of ~~the~~ exploitation, and it was a compulsory loan, that had to be paid by everybody.
- (10f) This also can be considered as another form of exploitation. The goods which were of the highest quality, were shipped to the Soviet Union, under the pretext of reparations.
- (10g) Both as a student, and later as a teacher, I had to participate in compulsory lectures and training programs. All these lectures and training programs had a political undertone.
- (11) Not only was there no development in the Hungarian economy, but very definitely there was a backward trend.
- (11a) No, I think I have already answered that question.
- (11b) Yes, very definitely. First of all, that the land has been taken

away even from the ~~small~~ ^{small} peasants

- (11c) See 11b
- (11d) According to my view the economic situation in Hungary before 1944 was not ideal. I think that the feudal system of the big estate's should have been abolished. One aspect of this was the industrial backwardness of the country.
- (11e) I don't think that the situation had improved after 1944.
- (11f) I don't think that economic planning was the right thing for Hungary.
- (11g) the same as 11f
- (11h) The economic policy of Imre Nagy was definitely more moderate. He wanted to return the land to the smallholders and small farmers and to the peasants.
- (11i) Yes, there were very definitely disputes and disagreements concerning this between the central planning agency and also within the Party. Things were getting worse and worse; the peasants were forced to join the cooperatives. If the peasants refused to join the cooperatives their land ~~was~~ ^{WAS} taken away, or they received a much worse substitute in some other section of the village.
- (12) Material conditions were of ~~the~~ first rate importance.
- (12a) As I have said they were very important.
- (12b) People complained (against) not only the material conditions of life but also against the political suppression and the system of spies.
- (12c) In general, the toilers, workers, in fact, everybody.
- (12d) No, I don't know of any, and thereby I mean a forceful overthrow of the government.
- (12e) Only from private talks could one find out about the general dissatisfaction of the workers.
- (12f) Besides the students, the workers were the actual leaders of the Revolution. They have identified themselves completely with the Revolutionary aims.

1. I went to grammar school for four years and then ^{to} high school for eight years.
 - a) I went to school from 1934 up to 1952.
 - b) I had completed my university education.
 - c) I graduated from the Academy of ^{Physical} ~~General~~ Education in Budapest.
2.
 - a) Yes, I went to school in Hódmezővásárhely. My parents lived there. That was the reason ^{why} I went to high school there.
 - b) No.
 - c) No.
 - d) At the university we had to attend the training courses four hours each week.
 - e) Yes, I attended political training courses as well.
 - f) I haven't chosen any of these training courses.
 - g) Answered under 2f.
3. Does not apply.
4. Yes
 - a) Does not apply.
 - b) Does not apply.
 - c) I wanted to go to university because I had a feeling for the teaching profession.
 - d) I ~~have~~ achieved what I ^{had} ~~have~~ aimed for.
5.
 - a) I would have studied the same thing, only not in Hungary, but in Italy.
 - b) I ~~have~~ studied ^{what} ~~where~~ I wanted, but I would have liked to go to Italy, because I understand that the Italian University for Physical Education is one of the best in the world. After that I wanted to be of service to my country.
 - c) No.
 - d) I always wanted to become a teacher of physical education.

6. I was a good student. I paid attention to the lectures. I didn't work too much at home and, later on, when I went to the university, I did what I wanted to do, and furthermore I liked my profession.
7. No.
- a) I was very lucky, because someone prepared me for the ~~political~~ exam in *political ideology* which was considered quite important for admission to the university. I passed the exam with flying colors. Incidentally, after I passed the exam I was called in for an interview with Mr. [REDACTED]. He was the secretary of state for physical education in Hungary. I was called because I made some statement to a stranger which was considered politically undesirable. I was very much scared, because I thought that after all I would not be admitted to the Academy of Physical Education after they ~~found~~ *found* out about my political views. At the interview they didn't ~~know~~ tell me the purpose of the whole meeting, so I did not know whether they ~~purposed~~ *purposed* to probe into my political views, or what the whole purpose of the interview was. I was extremely fortunate that I mentioned a different occasion on which I was travelling to the countryside and talked to some people, and made certain statements, but that was not the occasion they were looking for.
- b) First of all these, who were of the working class, manual laborers or peasants, as well as party members, were admitted to universities.
8. Of course.
- a) Every subject was compulsory.
- b) No, not every subject. I didn't like the teaching of the Russian language, nor political or ~~ideological~~ ideological courses, nor the military training courses. Furthermore, I didn't like the constant references to the Soviet Union in connection with every subject matter that we were taught.

- c) The teaching of the Russian language was made compulsory; incidentally, children during the Revolt tore up their Russian language books. Intelligent people in general like to learn foreign languages, but we expressed our hatred for the Soviet Union by not wanting to learn the Russian language at the university.
- d) Ideological subjects were also compulsory. The ideological subject matters, as well as the subject matter of dialectical materialism, were double-edged weapons. People, and students started to think, and they saw the difference between theory and practice.
- e) I personally didn't like the military training programs. They seemed to be entirely superfluous. However, we made a great use of it during the Hungarian revolution.
- f) I approve of it very much.

9. I don't think the Communist education was ^{affective} ~~attractive~~ at all.

- a) In general, it did not change the attitude of the children, except, perhaps, the attitude of children of Communist Party members. For instance, during the revolt many children went to school and they then beat up the children of Communist Party members.
- b) In general, it did not ~~inany~~ inculcate communist ideals effectively, except as far as the children of party members and high officials were concerned.
- c) No, not at all.
- d) No. So far as I knew no one from among my acquaintances was attracted by ~~the~~ Communist slogans.
- e) I don't think Communist education is ^{affective} ~~attractive~~ at all ^{at} ~~to~~ any age.
- f) Does not apply.

10. To the bourgeoisie.

- a) To the bourgeoisie.
- b) Does not apply.

11. We still considered ourselves as belonging to the bourgeoisie.
12. My father was a tradesman, and his family belonged to the small peasantry.
- a) Yes. His business was nationalized. After the communists took over, my father was in charge of a warehouse in Budapest.
- b) For many years my father was out of the job. They lived out ~~on~~ ^{on} my mother's pension, whatever she had received. My father held his latest job for a period of two years.
- c) It was entirely inadequate for him. It was not suited for him. He received 500 forints per month, which financially was entirely inadequate. Also, from the point of view of his health the job was not suited for him.
- d) He had the equivalent of four years in high school and he also had some commercial schooling.
- e) He thought that my job was adequate and suitable for me.
13. They lived very well. We lived the same way as an average bourgeois family lived.
- a) We lived reasonably well up to the time when my father's business was forcefully taken away in 1950.
14. I have a sister and a ^{younger} brother.
- a) My sister worked in a drugstore; my brother wanted to go to a university but, because of his ~~an~~ class origin, he was not admitted. When my brother decided that he would pursue theological studies in Debrecen.
- b) No, I lived independently.
- c) I lived independently, because my parents couldn't come up to Budapest, and because my sister lived too far away from my working place, I wanted to be quite close to my working place.
15. a) No.
- b) He was dead.

- c) My sister worked. My sister was married and, of course, her husband worked too.
- d) Of course my father worked.
- e) As far as my sister's job was concerned, I think that it was all right that she became a druggist. She was in ~~the~~ charge of a ^{drugstore.} ~~dealer.~~
- g) My sister, as well as my brother, were satisfied with the kind of work I was doing.
16. My social origin definitely hurt me in connection with my application for a job.
- a) Financially I was in a very detrimental or disadvantageous situation. I had to finish my university studies and my father was out of work. My sister had to help us. I did not receive scholarships.
17. Does not apply.
18. to 21,
21. Do not apply.
22. We got along pretty well.
23. Yes.
- a) Usually we discussed the daily events and also the changing circumstances.
- b) Does not apply.
24. Yes, there were some difficulties, especially financial difficulties, in regard to my schooling. Otherwise we were in complete harmony.
25. I loved my parents very much, and I was always respectful toward them.
26. a) Our relationship was very confidential.
- b) I think it was very typical.
- c) I liked sports, games; ^I went to the opera house, and I read books.
- d) Actually, I spent very little time with my family. This is also very typical of a communist society--they spread the members of the family all over the country, so that they would undermine family life. Incidentally, even in schools, if they found out that two or three students were good friends, they had to be seated far away

.from each other.

e) We spent very little time together. I could see my mother, for instance, only about three or four times a year. My father, and my sister I could see perhaps twice a month.

f) Above all, I would have liked to rest, and I would have liked to be able to travel. I would have liked to read more books, go to the theater, so I would have liked to go to sport events much more than I actually did get a chance to.

27. Family ties had very definitely loosened since 1945. This was ~~a~~^{the} reason why children were taken away from home, and were sent to so-called people's schools or colleges. Their purpose was to be ~~able~~ able to direct and influence the education of the youngsters, especially in view of the fact, that they knew that the parents and the environment had a tremendous influence on the education of the ~~stricken~~ children.

b) Yes, they can.

c) Yes, family members are more dependent on each other.

d) In view of the fact, that the parents have no time to spend with rearing their children the children were growing estranged from their parents. Frequently, not even the family members, husband and wife, could see each other. One came back from work and the other had to leave to go to work.

e) Yes, it is.

28. Yes, I think they have changed.

a) Girls and boys were brought up in coeducational, people's, schools. A coeducational system is not necessarily bad, but it resulted in ~~a~~ free^r morality. This was inculcated in the boys and girls as well.

It was very characteristic, for instance, that there were slogans, saying that to be a girl mother is a matter of glory and honesty.

The illegitimate children are then put in separate state institutions

where they are reared together, so that they would become good communists, and good members of the AVO.

b) People usually get married around 24 or 25. I do not know whether this has changed too much during the past year.

c) I think that marriage patterns have changed to some extent. Girls, who live by themselves, or away from their families, have a more difficult time to get married. Perhaps men are less decent in regard to courtship.

d) Also, there was a trend among the ¹⁹⁷¹communists to advocate, for instance, the marriage between a peasant girl and an engineer, so that the class distinctions would disappear.

e) Openly ~~there~~ there is no prostitution; only secretly.

f) I don't think the communists were more strict. Abortion was not permitted. Both the mother, and the doctor were punished. The doctor was put in prison.

g) I think you need birth control in certain situations, or in certain countries, if the parents are unable to support the children economically. I don't think it was widespread at all in Hungary. I think certain modes of the birth control were widespread in Hungary, whereas others were not practiced too much.

h) Illegitimate children were not branded by the regime as such.

I don't know how many there are. I don't think there are too many.

29. I met him before the outbreak of the revolt. We met in my place.

He was coming home from work. We discussed politics. He was working for the Malév. (Magyar Légiforgalmi ^{Közlekedési} Vállalat).

b) My boyfriend was 26 years of age. He belonged to the middle class.

c) We talked together, danced together, played games together, went to the opera house together--isn't this enough?

d) Yes, at times we also discussed ~~politics~~ politics.

d) No, I have left Hungary, and our friendship has terminated.

~~Essentially~~ Our friendship didn't last too long.

f) No.

g) Honesty, truthfulness, decency, faithfulness.

h) ^{None} ~~All~~ of my friends ^{could or} would have become party officials. I have chosen my friends, and I knew their way of thinking, and this could not have happened.

30. Protestant.

a) They all had the same attitude toward religion. None of them differed from the rest.

b) Does not apply.

c) Everybody has to decide for himself, but what religious affiliation he wants to belong to, is a personal matter.

31. Religious life and religions were persecuted by the communists.

a) For instance, everybody was asked at the time of his admission to the university whether he was ~~not~~ religiously minded. There was no freedom of religion, and atheism was advocated in school.

b) I think perhaps the Catholics were more affected, or hit, ~~by~~ than the other religious denominations, perhaps, because the Catholics had such a great spokesman as Cardinal Mindszenty.

c) other religious ~~denominations~~ were suppressed.

d) Because religious education gives a certain moral basis for the children, and also strengthens the convictions of the adults.

e) ~~Initially~~ As long as religions and religious denominations existed, ~~they~~ ^{ends.} they wanted to use them for their own ~~purposes~~ After

~~the~~ ~~they~~ ~~wanted~~ ~~to~~ ~~eliminate~~ ~~these~~ ~~denominations.~~

Their final objective was to eliminate these ~~denominations~~.

I base my opinion on the fact, that Marxism and religion are in

complete contradiction. The persecution of Catholics ~~was~~ acted

was carried out

both against all believers and their leaders as well.

g) Yes, you could go freely to your church, but ~~it~~ usually what had happened was, that people who lived in Buda, went to Pest, and those who lived in Pest, went to Buda. The reason for this system was that the people were afraid that they might be identified when going to church. It would get ~~down~~ on their cadres, and this eventually might lead to a transfer from their working ~~and~~ places, or result in some other deprivation. My godfather, for instance, worked as a judge ^{in a} ~~to the~~ lower court, and he was dismissed because he used to go to church.

h) If I happened to pass by a church, I went in; otherwise, I didn't have too much time.

i) Most other people would go once a week to church. I know of no variations in regard to age, social ~~status~~ ^{strata} or motivation.

k) I think they are gangsters. ^{These "priests"} ~~These~~ is actually just a ~~an~~ cover name; they go to church, and give their sermons concerning the communist system, and its advantages, and also go to the countryside trying to convince the peasants to join the collectives ~~and~~ ^{and} the agricultural cooperatives.

32. b) They exhibited a negative attitude. By that I mean, they were withdrawn. They played no prominent role.
- c) I think they should have had equal status with other Hungarians.
33. a) I think party functionaries and the members of the AVO were best off. And the intellectuals and the peasantry were worst off.
- a) I consider myself a member of the intellectual *class*.
- b) I was not a party member, or a member of the AVO, and I did not want to become one. Therefore, I still wanted to belong to the intellectuals.
34. I just told him to become a doctor. Because it is a nice profession to cure people, and because perhaps they were somewhat better off. Sick people would give anything to regain their ~~health~~ health.
- b) I would have recommended that he pay his pension and devote his time to professional training. and sk'll.
- c) Especially members of ~~the~~ Communist Party functionaries, and those of the AVO had the best chances and, of course, their children, to become doctors. Also, the children of peasants and of industrial workers had a better chance.

1. Yes, I am interested in politics, but I ~~am~~ have not always been interested in politics. Under the Communist regime you could not live, you had to participate in politics. People who did not participate were called reactionary or passive.
 - a) I was interested in politics to the extent that the event affected me personally. Or, if it affected my country.
 - b) I was just an onlooker.
 - c) Compared with other interests, I did not attribute too much importance, as far as I was concerned, to politics. I was interested in it to the extent I had to be.
 - d) No, I didn't participate in any regular political action. I was a member of the DISZ, I did not participate in any regular voting.
 - e) Less, because I wasn't particularly interested in that type of politics.
 - f) Yes, I think it did change. In 1945, and 1946, we did not have any political indoctrination.
2. My greatest grievances were constant political indoctrination, Little pay, and constant work.
 - a) I think the most important has been left out, and that is the presence of the Soviet troops in Hungary. ~~If~~ The Soviet troops would leave, ~~and~~ all the other problems could be solved, in fact, they would disappear. I believe ~~that~~ subdivision 6 would be the most important, next, the interference in family life. Categories 3, 4, 7, 9 were equally important.
 - b) Political factors, inadequate housing, and many others.
 - c) Fear of arrest, and terror in the compulsory delivery quotas.

- d) Political sup~~pression~~ression.
- e) Political oppression. But also the others.
- f) As far, as they saw the tremendous difference between theory and practice.
- g) One felt very, very strongly about these things, and these grievances, and complained. For instance, I needed an apartment for ~~many~~ many years. I couldn't ^{get} one. And another example, a party functionary, for instance, has beaten my father up. This was a very characteristic incident. My father, who was badly injured, ~~and~~ he went to see the doctor. The doctor ~~wouldn't~~ was afraid to sign a statement concerning his injury, because a party functionary was involved. That's why we didn't dare take any action in court against the party functionary. Also, there were witnesses present at the time, when my father was attacked by the party functionary, but they were afraid, too, to testify in court against a communist party official. Sure you cannot call this a legal order, or justice. ^EEspecially in the country side, a communist party official was ^a little king, and did, whatever ~~they~~ ^{he} pleased to do. At best, if there were an investigation, they would tell them to exercise ^{self} ~~self~~ criticism, and that would be all that would happen to them.
- h) Yes, I discussed these things also with others. For instance, my colleague, and girl friends, in school. As far as the grievances were concerned, they were becoming more and more intelerable year by year.
- i) During the revolution I wanted to improve things. But the individual, of course, under the communist regime, could not do too

much. In fact, an individual was completely helpless. Also the Western powers, I think, were at fault. Why did they sell Hungary down the river at Yalta?

- (3a) I was too young to form an opinion.
- (3b) I think he was a member of the Smallholders Party.
- (3c[1]) ~~Yes~~ I was never interested in daily politics.
- (3c[2]) Yes, I was in favor of some things, and again not in favor of other things. For instance, I approved of the abolition of big estates, and the land reforms in general. I was against political oppression.
- (3d) I hated more and more the Communist system. Because life was becoming increasingly difficult, as a result of the introduction of the Communist system, and because life was getting more and more expensive each year.
- (3e) Everybody felt the same way, with the exception of the political leaders, and, perhaps, the managers of factories and enterprises, because they had everything they wanted, they received a lot of money, they could travel abroad, and they had their cars.
- (3f) Seemingly, everybody was loyal to the regime; however, this was only for the purpose of keeping people's jobs. You had to make a living some how. People recognized the authority of the Communist regime, and on the other hand, there was little opportunity for effective action in terms of opposing the regime. But there was widespread sabotage, because the Communists called everybody a saboteur who didn't do the things they wanted him to do.
- (4a) The real authority in Hungary was wielded by the Communists, appointed by the Soviets. This was self evident, everybody knew that. The whole Hungarian Communist system was patterned on Soviet lies.
- (4b) The Soviet Union wielded all power, even within Hungary.

- (4c) Does not apply.
- (4d) The Communists were in the Party, in the AVO, as well as in the government. The government and the Party received their instructions from Moscow. For instance, Rákosi used to be the Secretary General of the Communist Party and, at the same time, he also held the position of the Premiership. Thus, you can see that, the Party and the Government were one entity.
- (5) The Soviet Union dictated everything, and the government had to follow the Soviet instructions.
- (5a) I don't have the faintest notion, but on second thought I recall that sometimes they gathered to discuss certain aspects of the economic plans, and they got together to exercise self criticism.
- (5b) Following 1945, elections were held, and at those elections many political parties participated. Later on, the various political parties were abolished, and so we had to cast our votes in regard to the only existing Party, the Communist Party. The first time when I had the right to vote, I believe in 1954, I tore up the ballot, and I felt like a hero in that I had the courage to do this. Many other friends of mine did the same thing.
- (5c) The local councils enjoyed no respect, they exercised their authority under the direction of the Communist Party. As such, they had the fullest authority in the municipality. In the village, they acted like viceroys (*kiskirály*). Hundreds of people were put in concentration camps, and were imprisoned, or hanged, by them. If something went wrong, or if the situation became intolerable, they would then exercise self criticism, but nothing would happen to them. The matter would be closed.
- (5d) The red tape was simply tremendous. It might be of interest ~~also~~ to note that we were supposed to fight red tape constantly.
- (5e) Yes, there was much graft and bribery. Also there was sabotage. ~~SECRET~~

- Most of this occurred because of the dissatisfaction. Sabotage usually occurred in factories. Frequently, it was a trumped up charge by the Communists. If they wanted to eliminate some one, they would charge him with espionage. In regard to graft and bribery, I know that many people were given apartments, because they had enough money to bribe the officials.
- (5f) Lower ranking government servants were recruited from among the intellectuals, or people who had the equivalent of an A.B. The highest ranking officials in the government had no expert knowledge. They were politically reliable people, and usually they would have an expert in an advisory capacity, attached to them.
- (5g) Mostly peasants and workers became army officers. They received a fairly good salary, and, apart from this, if a simple person, or a peasant worker, becomes an army officer, this is a social advancement for them.
- (6) The main advantage was that you could get into a college, and you could get a scholarship. Also, it was a definite advantage later on, in connection with one's profession.
- (6a) One drawback was that you had to go to meetings. Then, frequently, you were compelled to spy on your colleagues or friends. Many members of the DISZ became class secretaries at the universities. Their task was to report the attitude of the students to the Party, to see whether there was political discontent among them or, whether, to what extent they were reliable politically.
- (6b) Yes, many young people joined the DISZ.
- (6c) Everybody had to join in one's own interest.
- (6d) You could avoid becoming a member, but you would encounter grave risks.
- (6e) Because people sharply disagreed with the educational system of the DISZ.
- (6f) Yes.
- (6g) I became a member in 1948 and, as a result of this, I was admitted to a

People's College.

- (6h) My duty was to collect the membership fees.
- (6i) First of all, I received a full scholarship, including tuition, as well as board.
- (6j) The only disadvantage was that I had to go to political training courses.
- (6k) Approximately one to two hours a day. I had to collect the membership fees. I had to go to political lectures. And, I had to give a newspaper report every once in a while.
- (6l,m,n) Do not apply.
- (6p) None whatsoever. We chose our leaders in the following fashion: a list was submitted to us which we had to approve. We had no choice.
- (6q) The Communist Party ran the DISZ.
- (6r) It depended on what kind of Party member you were. I recall, for instance, the merger of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party in Hungary. Many people at that time were forced to become Communist Party members as the result of their former membership in the Social Democratic Party.
- (7a) All the members of the AVO were Communists. In addition, all of the leaders were Communists.
- (7b) Those who wanted a better life for themselves, and whose opinion was in line with the views of the Communist Party. In general, those people who were careerists.
- (7c) I can't answer this question precisely, since no one in my family was a member of the Communist Party. However, I could see that Communist Party members had practically everything they wanted. They could travel, they had money, and they did what they felt like doing.
- (7d) To pay the membership dues, to go to the meetings of the Party, to follow the directives of the Party, and to be constantly alert and vigilant. I know,

for instance, of a woman, who lived in the neighborhood, and who was a Party member. When we talked, she frequently came to join the discussion, and we certainly had to change the topic of our conversation. We knew that she would report everything that we said.

- (7e) Yes, I can. Most of my girl colleagues joined the Communist Party at the time of the merger of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party, - they were Social Democrats formerly.
- (7f) I'm sure there were, but I don't know of any.
- (7g) No.
- (7i to 7k) Don't apply.
- (7l) I don't think they would have recommended me. They considered me politically unreliable.
- (7m) Yes, for instance, they almost fired me once. They wanted to send me to teach at Sárvár. No one wanted to go to the country side, because life was much more difficult there, than in Budapest. I knew that if I went to Sárvár, the Ministry would have to relinquish me, and from that time on I would belong to the jurisdiction of the county of Vas. It was extremely difficult to get a transfer from one county to another county.
- (7n) Mostly careerists joined the Party. Members of the AVO and the leaders of the Party.
- (7o) Their attitude has changed. They talked differently, and acted differently. They followed the directives of the Party.
- (7p) The local organization of the Party in Budapest was run by the district organization. The district organization was run by the Central Headquarters. This, in turn, was run by the Secretary General, who received his instructions from Moscow.
- (7q) The Party directed the government.

- (7r) The police were also organized by the Party.
- (7s) The same applies to the Army.
- (7t) The same applies to the trade unions.
- (7u) In general, you might say, that the Communists wanted to influence the religious bodies, ~~in~~ In some cases they exerted greater influence, in other cases, where the resistance was ^{greater} ~~greater~~, for instance, the Catholic religion, they exercised ~~(less)~~ ^{Less} influence.
- (8) No.
- (8a,b) Do not apply.
- (8c) I know, for instance, the ~~MMDSZ~~ ^{MMDSZ} (~~Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége~~ ^{DEMOKRATIKUS Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége}) were engaged mostly in social work. They had to participate in political meetings. They had to support the peace movement, and propagate its ideas.
- (8d) All these organisations had the same objectives. People felt they were all the same. They all had Communistic political objectives. Another organization I would like to mention is the Szabadharcos Szövetség, which trained the youngsters to become partisans.
- (8e) No.
- (8f) to (8t) Do not apply.
- (8g) Because people were ~~not~~ ^{NOT} real members of these organisations. They were forced ~~in~~ into them by various reasons, but they didn't have their hearts in it.
- (9a) It only had a seeming ^effect both on the youths, and the grown ups, alike.
- (10) Mostly sadistic people, who would sell their country down the river, and who were careerists. There were many Jews in the AVO.
- (10a) Usually the Communists would look for prospective candidates. You had to be a very good boy, if you wanted to become a member of the AVO. Certain other members of the AVO were recruited from the Army. Members of the Army, who served as border guards, became later on automatically members of the

AVO. They had no choice in the matter.

- (10b) Many of them were simple people. They belonged to the lower social groups. They belonged to all kinds of age groups, and, politically, they were Communists.
- (10c) No, they were not immune from persecution, since they could be imprisoned, or put in concentration camps, any time.
- (10d) Yes, I would, for the reason that I had already mentioned, ^{mainly}, that there were some people who became members of the AVO only by chance. I would ^d report the secret informers, without too much ado, to the Soviet Union, whereas I would examine individually each case, as far as the full-timers were concerned. The secret informers would, I'm sure, be happy, in the Communist paradise.
- (11) I have never been arrested, but my brother-in-law was.
- (11a) My brother-in-law was arrested in 1948, I believe, for political reasons.
- (11b) I don't know exactly the charges against him. I know he was arrested for political reasons. He was beaten up, and he was held in prison, for over a month.
- (11c) I can't think of anyone right now, of any close relative, or of any acquaintance.
- (11d) Naturally, my brother-in-law's case, that was the closest to me.
- (11e) I have already mentioned my brother-in-law's case.
- (11f) Roughly, people who belonged to the bourgeoisie, or to the salaried social classes. Former members of the aristocracy, also the kulaks were frequently arrested. ~~Yes~~ Yes, I recall many *purges*. They were screening committees in offices and elsewhere, and everybody lived in fear that he might lose his job. Also, I recall another instance ~~in connection~~ ^{as such} with my mother, as she was the head mistress in the kindergarten, and one day she found some bugs on one of the boys, who happened to be the son of the Party Secretary. Next day she was removed from her post, and was transferred to another position. She was demoted from her former position of a head mistress.
- (11g)

- (12) ^{he} ~~They~~ should watch what he said, what statements he made.
- (12a) I don't think that there are any safe professions. The peasant, and the factory worker could equally be reached, if necessary, by the Communists.
- (12b) Yes, it does.
- (12c) There is no question but ^{that} ~~what~~ it helps, if you have contacts with a Party member, or a person in high position in the government.
- (12d) If you ^{had} ~~have~~ a good class background, the door was open to you. One could try to conceal the parents' background, however, if they found out about it, they would kick him out of the university.
- (12e) Naturally, it does.
- (12f) Yes, a person who knows how to keep his mouth shut is more likely to escape trouble.
- (12g) Yes, there are, on account of class origins or religion. For instance, I knew a fellow who was very religious, and he was kicked out of school because of that. Children of the kulaks were completely shut off from everything. It just could not happen that they would be admitted to any institution ~~and~~ whatsoever.
- (13a) Law and order as such did not exist in Hungary under the Communist rule. It usually depended on the Party line, whether an individual would be able to get some kind of justice. ^FFor instance, a family of five children claimed one of the rooms in my sister's apartment—she is a married woman. Fortunately, this happened at a time, when the law was changed to the effect that intellectuals could have a separate room. By intellectuals I mean those, who were not manual laborers. My sister was a ~~man~~ druggist, so she was allowed to keep the second room; but if it had not been for this law, which was soon repealed, one room in their apartment would have been given to this family of five.
- (13b) The courts and the uniformed police depended essentially on the AVG.

- (13c) I don't know.
- (14) Yes, there were forint fluctuations.
- (14a) I recall for instance the question of the kulaks. At one time they were put in concentration camps, they had to terminate everything, and they were deprived of all their properties. It was horrible what they did to them. At another time you could see a more conciliatory attitude.
- (14b) There were certain concessions since 1954. Mostly, I believe, in 1956.
- (15) The Soviet Union was extremely important in Hungarian affairs.
- (15a) All ~~positions~~ ^{decisions} concerning foreign and domestic policy were ^{made} taken in Moscow. They were implemented in Hungary.
- (15b) I know it, because we had to learn it in connection with the history of the Communist Party. Also, everybody knew that Rákosi was placed into the top position by Moscow. Also, his Mongolian wife was sent by the Russians to spy on Rákosi and to watch him.
- (15c) We knew that the political oppression was due to the Soviet Union. We also knew, that people had to starve, and work like slaves, in Hungary, because of the Soviet Union. I could see that in my family's case.
- (15d) No.
- (15e) I believe it was most pronounced in the political field. In addition, the Hungarian economy was patterned completely on the Soviet model. It is difficult to distinguish according to professions because everybody felt the Soviet pressure in one way or another.
- (15f) Mostly the Hungarian heavy industry had Soviet experts, and personnel, assigned to them. Also, the various research institutes in Hungary. At least, these are the areas I know about. Also, I have heard that the direction of the Hungarian uranium mines was in Soviet hands.
- (16) People behaved rather artificially. They behaved ~~hmm~~ according to how they must behave under the Communists.

- (16a) Yes, they concealed their real sentiments, because they ^{were} ~~are~~ fearful, and because you ^{were} ~~are~~ not permitted to tell what you really ^{thought} ~~things~~ think, what your emotions or sentiments ^{were} ~~are~~. Naturally, no one wants to end up in the hands of the AVO.
- (16b) The best example, I think, is the fact, that at meetings, people say entirely different things from what they would say in private. Before the Revolution you would hear the speakers talking about the gratitude of the Hungarian people to the Soviet Union. The Revolution showed how the people really felt about the Soviet Union. Not only was there ~~is~~ no respect or gratitude, but there was a tremendous hatred towards Soviet Russia.
- (16c) You just had to look at some one, and you could tell, whether you could be frank with him or not.
- (16d) For instance, you could be quite frank, especially during 1955 and 1956, about the fact that the study books were not satisfactory in school. You could not be frank, however, about political questions, ~~as~~ nor could you tell your opinion a little bit more freely in regard to certain things.
- (17) Yes, there are; but you have to be very careful about it.
- (17a) I never had anything to do with official orders. So I cannot really answer this question.
- (17b) You could protect your own interests only if you had some personal contacts. For instance, I was transferred from ~~in~~ Cegléd to Budapest after a year, which, officially, could not be done, otherwise. But in view of the fact that I was a member of the first class ~~basketball~~ basketball team in Budapest, the union intervened on my behalf, and I was transferred to Budapest.
- (17c) Though the peasant had to deliver all the grain, he was supposed to deliver on the basis of his quota, if he did not have enough, he had to purchase it and deliver it.

- (17d) Only if you had personal contacts. For a worker, it would be extremely difficult to get a transfer, unless he had some personal contact. He might be able to get a job elsewhere. However, he wouldn't get permission to leave the place where he was working.
- (17f) This is almost impossible. Once he was kicked out of the university, he could not be re-admitted again.
- (18) Members of the Communist Party, and the friends of the Soviet Union.
- (19a) Everybody tried to do his best in his own profession by not executing the orders of the Communists. However, everybody was scared, and no one thought of greater resistance.
- (19b) The intellectuals, including the writers and artists, the peasantry, and last, but not least, the workers.
- (19c) Those, who were members of the Communist Party, because they had personal and material benefits.
- (19d) I believed it increased.
- (19e) I know certain organized groups which were opposed to the regime. For instance, religious groups, mostly the Catholic groups. Another instance was the Petöfi Circle, which was formed in 1956, ^{and} when there were other conspiring groups, which were uncovered and disposed of by the Communists.
- (19f) Yes. I knew about this in view of the fact that many leading Communists were purged before 1956 in the Party, and in the Army as well. From this, one could infer that there was an opposition within the Party, and within the Army as well. Also, among the writers and the students there were groups, which were opposed to the regime, and which would have liked to bring their opposition into the open.
- (19g) Immediately before the revolt, articles appeared in newspapers, and you could see, that there was a ~~was~~ strong opposition to the regime.
- (19h) There were millions of them. Every week you could hear some good joke

about politics.

(19i)

I know about wilful sabotage, which was considered by the regime as high treason. At the university, we sabotaged the learning of the Russian language. The only reason why university students would study Russian, just before the exam, was that if the teacher was well liked, we didn't want him to get into any trouble on account of our inadequate studying. We knew that if we failed, then he would get into trouble. Also, I know of sabotage in connection with the movement "Munkaé Harcra Késs." Physical education teachers usually marked off everybody as having satisfied the requirements necessary to get the MHSZ, the emblem. In most instances no one complied with the requirements. But for those, who got the emblem, it was a definite advantage. Actually, not only students in schools, but factory workers up to the age of 40 were obliged to participate in the MHSZ movement. Workers would go out to practice physical education and gymnastics after 5 o'clock P.M., to the factory sporting grounds. Many of these workers could not satisfy the specific requirements, and do the required exercises. Nonetheless we gave them the MHSZ emblems. I mention this, because this might be considered another form of sabotage. However, I should also add one thing, that must be said in favor of the Communists,-- that is the tremendous emphasis that they put on sports. They provided the facilities, and gave every opportunity to young and old alike, to improve their physical condition. Actually, this boiled down to the over emphasis of the body over the mind and the spirit.

(19j)

Yes, I believe that there were many ideological differences within the Party. Among the deviationists I should mention Mr. Rajk. Also, I would put Imre Nagy into the same category. Mainly, I believe, they had disagreements, because they did not approve of the Soviet political and economic exploitation of Hungary.

(19k)

Only ~~some~~ underground opposition, because everybody was carefully watched, and any one, who came out openly or would have openly opposed the regime,

would have been taken away by the AVO.

(191)

As far as the MEFESZ is concerned, that was the earlier organization of the university students. Because of its political outlook, it was abolished, but it was restored by the Revolt. As far as the Petöfi Circle is concerned, this was allowed to function only in 1956. It was ~~an~~ a debating place for the writers and the university students, which developed into a ~~an~~ criticising place. In this connection, I would like to mention one instance of which I have heard,-- this was Mrs. ~~Magdolna~~ Rajk's case—the widow of Rajk—who, according to my information, participated in one of the meetings of the Petöfi Circle, and showed her false teeth to the audience, as an example of the atrocities committed by the ^{Communist} former regime.

- (1) Foreign radio broadcasts.
- (1a) The BBC and the Voice of America. I also listened to the Radio Free Europe, but this radio, to me, represented an extreme, therefore, I didn't like it too much.
- (2a) Occasionally I read the Szabad Nép. Otherwise, I haven't read daily newspapers too much, except certain movie weeklies such as "Színház és Muzika"
- (2b) Most regularly, I have read the "Színház és Muzika" and the "Hétszáz Értelmezés"
- (2c) Because I was interested in these.
- (2d) I was interested in everything that was connected with theatre and sports.
- (2e) Never.
- (2f) I liked mostly descriptive articles, and professional articles, as well.
- (2g) These I found most interesting.
- (2h) Yes.
- (2i) The wall newspapers were mostly concerned with the events in the factory or the ~~same~~ place where you worked.
- (2j) In the wall newspapers, frequently you could read about those who failed to perform the prescribed norm, or who would give political account of the recent events.
- (2k) Yes, but only at my dressmaker's.
- (2l) At my dressmaker's.
- (2m) These were fashion magazines. These fashion magazines came from Western countries, but, of course, you could not imitate the fashion of the West, because you could not appear in, let us say, a large big hat in a Communist country.
- (3) Mostly I went to theatres. Rarely, I also went to the movies.
- (3a) I went to a nearby movie.
- (3b) Mostly foreign films, but by foreign I mean Western films. One time I didn't go to movies at all because they didn't show anything else but Russian movies.
- (3c) Hungarian and Russian films were concerned exclusively with politics.

- (3d) I preferred theatres to the movies.
- (3e) Yes.
- (3f) For instance, I saw ~~the~~ "The Red and the Black", which was a French movie, by Stendhal.
- (3g) Yes, very frequently.
- (3h) Quite frequently, once a week approximately.
- (3i) Yes, it has. If you had a subscription to the theatre, for instance, you had to see many Russian performances. For instance, I saw the Young Guard (?) several times, once in the movie, once in the theatre, and once in the opera house. Imagine to make an opera out of the Young Guard.
- (4) Yes. I did.
- (4a) Does not apply.
- (4b) ~~My~~ My landlady had a private library. This enabled me to read many books. I read ~~about~~ approximately ~~200~~ 350 to 400 books a year.
- (4c) For instance, I read Stefan Zweig's "Broden Brooks" (Thomas Mann); Margaret Mitchell's "Gone With the Wind". I also read many books by Thomas Mann, and ~~Shakespeare's~~ Sienkiewicz's. Also, I read others by Pearl Buck.
- (4d) Because I was interested in these.
- (4e) Usually, if we talked together with my girl friends, or boy friends, we would discuss books and, if they had heard about a good book, they would tell me about it, and also I could find out how to get hold of such a book, and I would borrow it even overnight if it was a good book.
- (4f) It was very difficult to get hold of these books. When I moved away from the place where my landlady had a large private library, it was much more difficult for me to locate any good books. Frequently, weeks went by and I couldn't read any good book and I ~~had~~ would have to go shopping around in order to find some one who could lend me a book.

- (5) I had a very good radio and I listened to the radio plenty everyday.
- (5a) Does not apply.
- (5b) Yes, I had my own set. It was manufactured by Orion, and the latest one was a 6 plus one tube set.
- (5c) I listened to Budapest, Rome, Paris, London, and Radio Free Europe.
- (5d) Mostly I liked to listen to music, but I also listened to political broadcasts and news.
- (5e) Approximately one hour every day, especially in the evening, usually around 10 or 11 o'clock at night.
- (5f) At home.
- (5g) Mostly sports news and music.
- (6) Yes.
- (6a) Does not apply.
- (6b) Already answered under (5c)
- (6c) Because I liked to listen to the news and to listen to music.
- (6d) Already answered under (5e).
- (6e) I liked them.
- (6f) They were reliable. Only the Radio Free Europe had an emotional undertone.
- (7) Yes, I did.
- (7a) Does not apply.
- (7b) Yes, mostly to political meetings.
- (7c) I had to.
- (7d) During the years from 1948 to ~~1953~~ 1953 I had to go every morning to political lectures. ~~In~~ In addition, we had the ten minute movement, and the *Sābad Hēp* half hour period. After 1953 we had to go once a month, and spend a whole day with the political meeting.
- (7f) They were arranged by the Communist Party.
- (7g) They would last usually from 3 to 4 hours.

- (7h) The audience there was extremely bored.
- (7i) Yes, there were mostly prearranged questions and, sometimes, certain hidden questions.
- (7j) The meeting would start with a brief description of the program to be followed. Then a speaker would talk on some political subject. This was followed by a debate, in which people, who were previously assigned, would participate. Such debaters usually repeated with even more emphasis what was already said by the speaker. You could earn a good point if you were willing to participate in such debates. The Communists liked people who would repeat their views in an open forum.
- (8) Yes, I did.
- (8a) Mostly political.
- (8b) Mostly from my friends.
- (8c) For instance, who is the new Premier, what is the news about the Olympic Games.
- (8d) They were more reliable.
- (8e) They were mostly facts but sometimes they were false rumors.
- (8f) I can't remember any false rumors right now.
- (8g) I heard them mostly from friends, but frequently the Communists themselves spread false rumors.
- (8h) Mostly in the apartments. I also met friends, namely/ ^{at the} Presso (small cafeteria), where we would talk softly and exchange our thoughts.
- (8i) Yes, there were. They were mostly the wise people. Wise people always know what's going on.
- (8j) Current events were discussed mostly at work, they were also discussed at the sport club, because that was the place where people met.
- (8k) Yes. For instance, my girl friends. I don't ^{think} prisoners of war, or people who

returned from jail or camps would be a good example, because they were much afraid to talk. They had to sign a statement before they were released, that they wouldn't mention anything that happened to them while they were imprisoned, or while they were prisoners of war.

(81)

Unfortunately, not.

Regarding

(9)

You simply could not get any reliable information about events ~~between~~ the Hungarian Communist party. There was always a great secrecy surrounding everything within the party. Only after certain members of the party, who were purged, or hanged, did you find out about the events, that had already taken place.

(9a)

Would listen to the foreign radio broadcast.

(9b)

I would listen to the Budapest radio. I would read the sport news.

(9c)

I would go ~~to~~ the countryside. That would immediately give me an idea of what was going on. In fact you didn't even have to go to the countryside, because you could see everything in Budapest.

(10)

Apart from sport news, and news concerning the theatrical world, I wasn't interested in reading the newspapers. I knew, that they were full of lies.

(10a)

I believed only what I saw with my own eyes or what I experienced myself.

(10b)

It was only around 1956 when the newspapers started to write a little bit more freely.

(10c)

Mostly information received by word of mouth in addition to the radio broadcasts of the BBC.

(10d)

Hungarian newspapers or the Hungarian radio.

(10e)

Yes, I think the *Béka És Szabadság* was perhaps to some extent more reliable than the other newspapers.

(10f)

I read it a couple of times.

(10g)

Because I was interested in books, as well as in the theatre. I read the comments about the books and about the plays.

(11)

Yes I do.

- (11a) Everybody did. Even in the villages people would get together at someone's home and would discuss daily events. The Communists did not like this. I know my mother got into trouble because many of her friends would meet in her house, where they could discuss things freely.
- (11b) The Communists. From my friends and through foreign radio broadcasts.
- (12a) Because I discussed daily events with my friends and because I listened to the foreign radio broadcasts.
- (12b) I got it from the Budapest radio as well as the Radio Free Europe. The latter encouraged the R_g volt much too much, and aroused hope in the Freedom Fighters that Western help would soon come to Hungary.
- (12c) There were also other secret radio stations located on the countryside, so I knew what was going on in other towns.
- (13) Yes, I did.
- (13a) Mostly from the prisoners of war, who returned to Hungary from Russia. Also we heard that many Russian soldiers who were stationed in Budapest or elsewhere in the West didn't want to go home because they were sent to indoctrination centers in Russia. I know of a Russian major who committed suicide when he was ordered home.
- (13b) I don't know whether there was germ warfare in Korea.
- (13c) I don't know, but I suppose probably the Communists had started it.
- (13d) He probably committed a great sin, but I don't think he should have been hanged.
- (13e) I think West Germany should be rearmed.
- (13f) It caused quite a sensation.
- (13g) I know nothing about that. ?

(1)

First of all that the government should be changed. Free trade should be restored. Land should be returned to its owners. I don't mean the big landowners, I only mean the small, and middle class. Foreign contacts with the Western countries, both economically and politically should be restored, also in the cultural field.

(1a) I would not restore the landed property of the big landowners. The feudal system has outlived its usefulness.

(Q) Yes, I think so.

(2a) Everybody should be free to form a political party; if a free country this is everybody's right.

(2b) I think the importance of this ^{is} cannot be overemphasized. It means freedom.

(2c) No, I think there should be no exceptions.

(3) I think everybody should be free to say anything he may want. Everybody should have freedom of expression. However, I think that the Communists should not be given freedom of expression, or freedom of speech, because thereby they would destroy democracy.

(3a) I think the free expression of opinion is a necessary concomitant of freedom. I don't think you can forbid people, or that you can prevent people, from telling their views. I don't think one can, or should, ~~KNOW~~ prevent this.

(4) I think everybody should be free to participate in meetings. Freedom of assembly is also one of the fundamental rights.

(4a) I don't think this right should be given to the Communists, if they want to overthrow the government by force.

(4b) Because Communism wants to undermine the whole free world, and to abolish freedom.

- (4c) I think this is the most important.
- (4d) I don't think I could make any exceptions.
- (4e) For instance, the 1956 Hungarian Revolt. Justifies the people's uprising against the Russian Communist oppression.
- (5) Yes, I approve of such controls.
- (5a) I think the State can better direct and control economy.
- (5b) In case of State ownership, the means of production are owned by the State; in case of State guidance the State supervises certain things in the economic life of the country.
- (5c) I approve of State direction only to a certain extent. For instance, the State control over the coal and iron industry would be one example which I approve of.
- (5d) No, definitely not. I think it is important and I think it is necessary.
- (6) I don't think that I approve of that. I think it makes uniform people out of uniform clothing items. Apart from this it would also eliminate private trade.
- (6b) In Hungary, the State controlled and directed everything. I am opposed to this.
- (6c) I recommend private trade and private industry.
- (7) Yes, I think there should be State monopolies.
- (7a) The State has and should have certain values, natural resources, and other things, because the State also needs certain income.
- (7b) For instance, tobacco monopoly, uranium monopoly, aluminum monopoly.
- (7c) I am opposed to import restrictions and quantitative restrictions on imports. I am also opposed to duties and excises.
- (8) Economic planning is necessary to a certain degree, but in Hungary they wanted to institute the economic planning of another country

and forced ^{it} on Hungary, where conditions were not ripe for such and adventure.

- (8a) Because I don't think it is possible to direct everything from ~~one~~ ^{one} center point, from one hand.
- (8b) In fact, practice is very much different from theory.
- (8c) Soviet experience differed very much from Hungarian experience. When economic planning was introduced in the Soviet Union, the situation there was entirely different from that which existed in Hungary.
- (8d) Very definitely. The net result was in Hungary that people were not interested in work. People did not work for themselves, and they did not get adequate compensation for their work. Economic planning in Hungary was a complete failure because they wanted to make an industrial country out of an agricultural country, where this was not possible. They should have brought in the machines from foreign countries and also the natural resources, perhaps, if they wanted to industrialize. Other wise you cannot industrialize.
- (8e) The various plans in Hungary had to be fulfilled; the plans were entirely rigid, and they were based on a compulsory system of deliveries. In fact, of course, they fulfilled the plan only on ~~paper~~ paper. Actually, the whole country and its economy was completely ruined as a result of the execution and implementation of these plans. It is true that sometime they had allowed certain changes to be introduced in the ~~Five~~ Five Year Plans. These were usually tied to political events and developments. Depending upon the political climate certain concessions were given at one time, while other restrictions were introduced at another time. Economic planning in Hungary affected every aspect of life--cultural, economic,

- (11) Very definitely there are. Because the individual must have certain freedoms economically and politically.
- (11b) You have to have a free enterprise system, free trade, free speech, free elections, by secret ballot.
- (12) Yes, I think the citizens have certain duties toward their state.
- (12b) Among these duties could be listed the duty to defend one's own ~~fatherland~~ fatherland, to pay taxes, to be a faithful member of the community of the fatherland, to represent the true interests of one's fatherland.
- (12c, 12d) I already answered these.
- (12e) Yes, I think the citizens should also obey the orders and the laws.
- (12f) No, I don't think this is true of just any government. I think this is true in connection with the government which has been elected by the people and is representative of the people.
- (13) I don't think any of my opinions have changed concerning these questions. I have held the same opinions when I was back in Hungary.
- (13a) Does not apply.
- (14) Yes, I definitely think that medical care in Hungary has improved in the last twenty years.
- (14a) I wouldn't be so sure of that. I don't think that has improved.
- (14b) Yes, I think certain groups of the population do have access to medical care. ^I ~~This~~ would include practically all segments of the population in this, except, perhaps the peasants.
- (14c) I feel that this is an odd question. I would not put medical care into these two categories. We don't have, or did not

have in Hungary, private hospitals or clinics. Every doctor and physician belonged to the national health service. There were only a few physicians who had private practice.

- (14d) I think that the health insurance, or rather the national health service in Hungary was a good feature.
- (14e) Yes, I think there is an exception, namely, the fact that the physicians were underpaid. They had a great deal of work to do, and they did not receive adequate salaries. The net result was that they did not strain themselves. There were too many patients and few doctors.
- (14f,
14g) Do not apply.
- (15) In general, I would say yes, at least in Budapest, though of course, I don't know what the real situation was twenty years ago.
- (15a) Art and culture in general were supported by the Communists. Of course, it is another question what kind of art and culture this refers to.
- (15b) I was too young. I can't really tell.
- (15c) Yes, I think it is important. It means diversion, amusement. All these are important requisites of human life.
- (15e) No, not always. Only people who are interested in music or in classical music or other types of cultural events would go and attend such events.
- (15f) Many people can't enjoy themselves because they are too tired. They are physically and mentally exhausted by the time they get ~~thru~~ through with their work. Frequently, when I went to the Opera House I was too tired to enjoy the opera.
- (16a) No, they eat much worse.
- (16b) 1946 I ate much better than now.
- (16c) The situation became gradually worse and worse. Yes, there is

a difference. First of all, those who are in the Party, or held positions in the Party, as well as the members of the AVO, and all those who were in leading positions, were much better off and much better fed than the rest of the population. First of all, the capital, Budapest, was supplied with the necessary food. For instance, when I went down to Czegléd, which is a small city in the countryside, I could not get any bread down there, and people had to get their bread from Budapest. Frequently I myself had brought with me food supplies when going down to the countryside to visit my friends. Yes, there are certain items which certain groups of people cannot get, for instance I haven't eaten or seen any lemons or oranges but I have seen some of my pupils who were the children of members of the AVO come to school equipped with lemons, oranges and chocolate candy bar.

(16e) The most favored are the members of the AVO, the members of the party, and those in leading positions in the government.

(17a) No, much worse.

(17b) No, much worse.

(17c) No, much worse.

(17d) ~~OK~~ my ~~own~~ personal experiences.

(17e) The Communists and members of the Party, as well as those in leading positions clothed themselves the best. The next in line are the intellectuals and the workers and the worse is the clothing situation of the peasantry. / Yes, industrial production has increased in Hungary since 1945.

(18a) First of all, because they made big investments, they have built factories and, in general, they have put the emphasis on industrial production.

- (18b) I think that industrialization, in general, would have been a good thing for the Hungarian economy, but the trouble was that they had overemphasized industrialization and also its implementation was not appropriate.
- (18c) Very definitely, by all means. Actually, they should have emphasized agriculture, and they should have imported agricultural machines from the West and they should have sold the agricultural products in lieu of the machines to be imported. First of all, the land should be returned to the small and middle landowners. Collective farms should be abolished, state farms should also be abolished.
- (19a) As I have said, the agricultural collectives should be abolished.
- (19b) I think all collectives should be abolished.
- (19c) I said the land should be returned to the small holders, the small peasants, and the middle landowners and middle peasants. First of all, those should receive the land who had, or owned the land, previously. This should be decided by the government on the basis of rightful claims.
- (19d) Capital and inventory should be returned to their rightful owners.
- (19e) The strip system, so far as I can recall, was in effect quite some time ago. I don't know too much about it.
- (19f) Has already been answered above under 19a, b, c, and d.
- (19g) Yes I think the ~~xxxx~~ ^{land} should be ~~xxxx~~ restored to all small holders and kulaks who lost it.
- (19h) No, I don't think so.
- (19i) The Party members, and the leaders of the state, and government, benefit from the collective farms.
- (20a) I would abolish the machine tractor stations. I would not keep them in government ownership.

- (20b) Yes, I think I would sell or transfer them to individual farms.
- (20c) As I said, I would either sell them or transfer them.
- (20d) First of all, the machines did not operate properly. They were put together in a great haste and, if something went wrong with them, you had to wait for weeks before they could find the necessary parts or get them from Budapest. Also, there was a lack of trained personnel ~~xxxx~~ who could attend the machines.
- (20e) I think it is absolutely necessary.
- (21) In factories and workshops which are owned by the State, I think the workers should at least know what's going on in the factories and how things are done. As far as private factories and workshops are concerned, I really don't know how to answer the question, since I had no experience in that field. In Hungary all the factories and workshops were under the control and direction and in the ownership of the State.
- (21a) Labor unions should be the defenders of the interests of the workers and they should not serve as a tool for the exploitation of the workers as the case in Hungary.
- (21b) The labor unions should be entirely independent from the government.
- (21c) I don't think it should be compulsory. It should be voluntary.
- (21d) ~~Единоличиях~~ The union membership is onerous from the financial viewpoint and it is burdensome also because one has to go to meetings and to listen to political and ideological talks.
- (21e) For instance, the labor union was instrumental in forcing subscriptions to the peace loans. In Hungary, union membership was compulsory because if someone did not join the union he could not receive free medical care.

- (21f) The aim of the Hungarian workers' councils before the revolution was to serve as an intermediary between the workers and the party. to influence the workers, to convey the demands of the workers to the Party, and to submit their requests to the manager of the factories. I would abolish the workers' councils. I think the labor unions should take their place.
- (21g) I did not very well know the development ~~xxxx~~ and the rise of the workers' councils in Hungary. I do not know whose idea it was. I don't know who ran them before the revolution. During the revolution the workers' councils were elected by the workers themselves. Before the revolution the election of the workers' councils ~~xxxxxxxx~~ probably took place at the same rate as general elections, that is, they drew up a slate of candidates and the slate then was usually unanimously approved, since no one dared to challenge it.
- (21h) Maybe yes, though I still think that labor unions could do the job much better.
- (21i) The question seems to be too vague to give a realistic answer. I think the managers should be in charge of the factory. The labor unions should represent the interest of the workers and the managers should be responsible to the owner or to the shareholders in case of a corporation.
- (22) I think Party members should be deported to the Soviet Union. They like the Soviet paradise, so they should be returned to the Soviet Union.
- (22a) No, I don't think they should be all treated alike. Those who were forced to join the Party, on account of personal or other reasons, should be treated differently. They should be left ~~xx~~ alone in view of the fact that they are not the ones who joined the Communist Party in view of their personal convictions.

(22b) The leaders should be eliminated, dismissed and deported to the Soviet Union.

(22c) They should be removed from their positions, and returned to the same jobs which they had held before.

(22d) If they haven't done too much wrong they should be left alone.

(Addition to No. 22b)

I think all the leaders should be put to trial so that they can answer for their deeds and crimes before independent tribunals.

(22e) Leaders of the Communist Youth League should be removed and should be held answerable for their deeds and crimes. The rank and file of the youth league should be let alone and the league itself dissolved.

(22f) I don't think you can treat the AVO and the police under the same category. Members of the AVO should be put to trial and punished. The AVO should be dissolved. As far as the police is concerned, the leaders should be tried, and the police itself should be reorganized.

(22g) Also, many other Communist organizations and transmission belts should be dismissed, such as the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Women, the Federation of Freedom Fighters (a Communist organization). All these should be dissolved.

(22h) The Communist youth organizations were dissolved. Most of the other Communist organizations were also swept away by the revolutionary events. Even ⁱⁿ the labor unions reorganization started.

(23) The whole Hungarian educational system was entirely reorganized along the lines of the Soviet pattern. The whole education was entirely communistic. The basis of the Marxist ideology. They have attributed a tremendous importance to the education of the

youth. The Communists attach tremendous importance to the education of the youth because they considered the new generation as the bulwark of the future Communist state. They wanted to mold the youngsters according to the tenets of Marx, but the curious thing was, that the very youth, which they had trained according to their own convictions, turned in the Hungarian revolution against them. They knew that the children would be a wonderful material for the reception of Communist ideas. They never knew any other systems and their character could be molded easily. The children, however, soon found out that the things which they were told and the actual facts of life were two different things. They could see the tremendous injustices, things which happened to their parents, at home, things which happened in school and elsewhere. They walked around with eyes open and they themselves found out about the whole system of lies and injustices.

(25a) The main difference between the Communist system and the system which was in existence in Hungary before 1944 is: a communist indoctrination permeated every aspect of the Hungarian educational system. Children were taught to love Stalin, to respect him and the Soviet system. Children were taught to love the Soviet Union and that they owed an infinite gratitude to the Soviet Union. As I said, they indoctrinated the youth in every aspect of the Hungarian education. This means that even in the field of physical education ~~ex~~ teachers were told to constantly emphasize the importance of the Hungarian-Soviet friendship and to quote examples from the heroism of the Soviet Union and their excellence in sports. Even in other fields like mathematics you had to emphasize the importance of the Russian friendship. The same

Russian indoctrination is particularly strong in the field of teaching the Russian language, history, constitution and the Hungarian language. Another very important distinction between the present system and the system ^{before} 1944 is that the religious education has, for practical purposes, ceased in Hungary under the Communist regime. Also, one should add that national consciousness has been entirely de-emphasized under the Communists.

- (23b) The first eight grades are compulsory for everybody. As far as university education is concerned, only children of the manual laborers and peasants will be admitted. About all children of Party members, and members of the AVO, are admitted to higher institutions.
- (23c) This was the worst kind of situation, because someone, who graduated from the eight grades with the highest honors would not be able to go to higher institutions, no matter how much he or she wanted but children with inferior ability and grades would be able to go to universities and higher institutions, if their parents were workers, peasants, or belonged to the Party or were members of the AVO.
- (23d) I don't think that everybody should, necessarily, get education. I think the answer would depend on how much someone is able and capable of continuing with his education and, first of all, his opinion should be decisive on this ~~point~~ point. No one should be compelled to go to school if one doesn't want to go to school and I am referring here especially to higher education.
- (24) I don't think that the relations between the Church and State should be regulated.
- (24a) I think the churches should be completely independent of the State.
- (24b) I think that all churches or religious denominations should be

independent from the State.

- (24c) Yes, I think the churches should receive some financial ~~xx~~ support from the state. ^{If} They cannot support themselves they should receive such support.
- (24d) Yes. I think religious education should be restored in schools just the same as the revolution has demanded it, and the workers of Csepel, because it contributes to public morale, morality in general within the community, and it also contributes to the education and bringing up of a decent youth.
- (24e) I don't think that the churches should have a right to determine the content and scope of the teaching materials. In religious schools or ~~denominational~~ denominational institutions, of course, the church should have a right to determine these as well.
- (25) I think the most important contribution ~~xxx~~ ^{of} Hungary of Western culture and civilization was that Hungary played the role of a defender of that civilization against the Tartars and the Mongols as well as the Turks. Western culture could peacefully develop ~~xxx~~ while Hungary defended Western civilization and fought against the invaders from the East. History but repeats itself. The Hungarian revolution of 1956 again did the same thing. It defended the West from the imperialism of the East threatening Western Europe by mighty Soviet Russia.
- (26) I think Kossuth's comment was extremely popular in 1848.
- (26a) I believe there was exploitation by the Hapsburgs of Hungary, though, of course, I did not live at that time, therefore I have no personal experience. Undoubtedly, however, it is better to be exploited by a nation which belongs to the Western civilization than by a nation which has no culture, and which is a barbarian nation and which is entirely uncivilized.

- (26b) Economic conditions and general living conditions were not adequate. That was the reason why so many Hungarians emigrated to the United States and Canada.
- (26c) Yes, there was a feudal society in Hungary up to practically 1945. Feudal society in its own time was an accepted thing and it was part of the historical development. It was a step forward; in this sense it was good. It was a stable and inflexible system; in that sense it was bad. By 1945 it was abolished in all Western nations.
- (26e) It is hard to say. The big estates undoubtedly prevented the political and economic development of the country. They have restricted the peasantry and also the industrial development. This was all part of the feudal society.
- (26f) Yes, I think there was a great deal of inequality; by that I mean social inequality in Hungary before 1944. There were many very poor people and there were quite a few who were extremely rich.
- (26g) Hungary didn't want to participate in the Second World War. She was forced to join the Germans. Because of her central geographical location in Europe, Hungary is always easily forced into the war of the great powers. This is Hungary's tragedy. She always had to fight for foreign interests. Now finally, in 1956, she fought for her own interest and no one from among the Western civilized nations came to her help.
- (26h) It is undoubtedly true that tremendous changes had taken place during 1944 and 1947. First of all, when the land distribution started in 1945, everybody thought that the land would from then on belong to the peasants. No one thought at that time that this would again be taken away from the peasants and

that they would make collective farms out of it. The feudal system was abolished in 1947 and both politically and economically an entirely new trend started. Politically it was a change toward the Soviet Union whereas economically it meant planned economy.

- (27) Yes, I think that there is a Hungarian national character. I would characterize the Hungarian national character as consisting of courage, heroism and the love of the fatherland. As far as the Hungarian peasant is concerned, ~~he~~ I might add his love of the land he has, of the Hungarian soil. / ^(27a) Frankly, I don't know too much about the German national character. I think that the Germans usually need certain ideas which would inspire them. They also seem to be in need of a certain amount of drilling and I don't think that the Russians have too much of a national character, and I think this follows from the Communist system of education. In general I have noticed that the Russians are cowards. As far as the American character is concerned, I think the Americans are much more comfort-loving and that the Americans are much more cool-minded and sober.

(27b)

(27c) Has already been answered under 27a.

(27d) I don't think the Hungarian national character has changed as a result of the last ten years.

(27e) I don't think there are any differences in character among Hungary's social classes.

(28) I don't think that political boundaries should separate one state from another.

(28a) Does not apply.

(28b) Because as long as you have the political boundaries you will always have wars.

28. c) Yes, I think that the Hungarian people have a certain rightful claim to territories beyond the present borders of Hungary. Those territories were forcefully detached from Hungary.
- d) These territories surround Hungary. In the north they belong today to Czechoslovakia, in the north-east they belong to Russia and in the east they belong to Rumania and in the south they belong to Yugoslavia. These territories were detached from Hungary as a result of the Trianon Treaty following the first world war.
- e) I think the Soviet Union claims the whole territory of Hungary
- f) Yes, I think so.
- g) I feel that there is a conflict between the Hungarian people and the Soviet Union simply because the Soviet people are uncivilized and by nature they are lazy. And this is indirect contradiction with the character of the Hungarian people. Hungarians are very diligent and they work hard.
- h) I don't know anything about the Slovaks in Hungary. I only know of the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. There is a certain amount of political oppression in Czechoslovakia of the Hungarians. They are not considered as ^{full} fledged citizens.
- i) The same thing would apply in Rumania to the Hungarians. There are very few, if any, Rumanians in Hungary.
- j) The Austrians ^{stand} ~~stand~~ much closer to the Hungarians and ~~the~~ I don't know of any particular pressure that they would exert on the Hungarians. Furthermore, there is no discrimination against the Austrians in Hungary.
- k) I don't know too much about this. The sister of a girl friend

of mine lived in Yugoslavia and it is my impression that there was no particular political suppression. However, it seems to me that the Hungarians aren't too well liked in Yugoslavia. So far as I know there is no discrimination against Serbs or Croats in Hungary.

m) Respondent refuses to answer this question.

n) Respondent refuses to answer.

29. Yes I think some kind of consideration would be very useful.

a) I think there should be a European Union similar to that of the United States of America. The ~~Soviet~~ ^{Soviet} Union should be excluded from this union.

b) It should have a political and economic aims and it should also serve defensive purposes. As far as its jurisdiction is concerned it should extend to the political and economic direction of the territories involved.

c) The Hungarians should have ~~same~~ as much part in the leadership of this European Federation as the other countries have.

d) I am thinking of western federations in which all ~~Europe~~ ^{Europe} would be included except the Soviet Union.

30 I have no grudges against the Russian people. I think only the leaders have to be blamed : The Russian people are very simple minded. However, the leaders exploit them and subjugate them.

a) b) I think only the leaders are bad not the rest of the people.

c) No they are not all communists.

d) No I don't know any of them.

e) The feeling of the Hungarian population toward the Russians in 1944 was a mixture of fear and trembling. ~~Everybody~~ ^{Everybody} was ~~frightened~~ frightened. Women had to hide. There was, however, one segment of

the population which had welcomed them at that time, namely the lowest proletarians. But even the proletariat has changed its ~~views~~ ^{Views} about the Russians later on.

f) People were wondering why the Russians were still staying in the country as late as 1953. They were wondering why they were still exploiting the country. Especially under the pretext of reparation payments.

g) In 1956 this piled and hidden hatred of the Hungarian people against the Soviet aggressors exploded finally and the people demanded that they leave the country. I recall, however, that some Russian university students were demonstrating in Moscow in favour of the Hungarian revolution. Also, the Hungarian students in Moscow demonstrated and I know that some of them wanted to come home to fight on the side of the freedom fighters. Also as I have mentioned this in another context, the Russian troops which were stationed in Hungary, did not want to fight against the freedom fighters that was the reason why the Russians had to bring in to Hungary ~~any~~ Mongolian troops. Marxism, as a theory aims at an improved standard of living, it aims at a better distribution of economic goods and theoretically, it ~~intends~~ ^{intends} to do away with exploitation ~~of~~ men by men.

- 31 a) In general I would approve of this theoretical aim.
- b) However in practice this system is the greatest human exploitation ever conceived. This is nothing else but state capitalism. Under this system only the higher officials of the state the political oppressors are well off. The rest of the people are ~~in~~ politically and economically oppressed and exploited. Furthermore Marxism, in

practice wants to direct every single aspect of the human life, including art and culture. Even perhaps human thinking and this is where they are wrong.

- c) First of all I had ^{learned} ~~learned~~ myself, and, secondly, I had had my own experience with it.
- d) I had studied Marxism for four years at the University, and then, I had also studied ~~in~~ it for another three years as a teacher.
- e) The Hungarian communists have copied everything from the Russian system. They have copied everything that the Russian communists did since the October revolution.
- f) A certain changes have taken place in ~~the~~ Hungarian communisms at the time when they no longer could fulfill the plans which were laid down on paper. As far as the Hungarian communists were concerned there was very little rationality in their actions. They acted on the basis of Soviet instructions. There were certain differences, however, in regard to the implementation of the communist programs in the various peoples democratic countries. In ^eCzechoslovakia, for instance, people had been much better off than in Hungary. On the other hand, people lived under much worse conditions in Rumania.
- g) Yes I think so. ~~He~~ wanted to improve the lot of the Soviet people. Probably the Russian people. But Leinin was out aside by Stalin.
- h) I don't ^{think} ~~think~~ that Stalin was a Marxist. He aimed at personal dictatorship under the disguise of Marxism.
- i) Of course it denends where the social demomrats are. I think it is an entirely different matter if someone calls himself a social democrat in a people's democratic regime, that is, ~~in~~ in a communist

regime or if he calls himself a social democrat in the United States or in a Western country. For instance social democrats in Hungary do not know what the real meaning of social democracy is in the West. It is the same as we didn't know what communism was in reality before we had a chance to find out about it.

j) No I don't think so and by this I mean a true social democrat and a true Marxist.

k) To be a democrat it means to believe in all those rights which secure human rights and freedoms.

l) There was no democracy in Hungary.

m) It depends on what he has to be. He changes ~~maxxxx~~ his political attitude.

32. I think that there is a national communism in Yugoslavia. A meaning of this is that communism is applied to each country according to its own conditions.

a) This is a difficult question to ~~xxxxxx~~ determine whether there were any national communists.

b) I do not know.

c) I think Gomulka did ~~xx~~ very smartly, though I don't think that his premiership is going to last too long.

d) Yes I think so.

e) No, as far as true communists are concerned, I don't think there are honest Hungarian patriots.

33. Yes I definitely think so.

a) He wanted to restore more freedom, economically and politically as well. He wanted to restore more business and wanted to restore the land ~~xxx~~ to the peasants.

34. a) Good.
- b) Bad
- c) Bad
- d) Bad
- e) On the basis of my studies at home I don't think imperialism is right.
- f) I don't approve of the Soviet type of peace movement. The Soviet Union is seemingly advocating peace. At the same time it is inciting its people for war. Look what they did in regard to the Suez canal and the revolution. This was really the smartest move on their part to focus world attention on the events at the Suez Canal thereby diverting attention from the Hungarian revolt.
- g) Good
- h) I think we can talk about bourgeoisie only in Europe. I think the system is all right.
35. It depends who are those Hungarians? In general ~~they~~ I would say they would have probably the same opinions as I have.
36. a) Less
- ~~but~~ In general the workers received less. Of course there were some party members who received more.
- b) The same applies to members of the collectives if they were party members they received more otherwise ~~no~~.
- c) The small holders were completely ruined, because of the compulsory delivery system. The small holders were in an extremely bad situation. Frequently they had to buy themselves the most important products. Delivery quotes had increased year to year. The plight of the small holders was extremely bad.

- d) Also the ^Ukoplaks were getting less and less. Many of them were put in concentration camps and their delivery quotas were enormously high.
- e) Government employees also got less and less. Party members and the high officials of the government constituted an exception.
- f) Professionals were also getting less and less. Doctors had to give up their/^{private}practice, lawyers had to join a working community and they received fixed compensation per month. Teachers, too, were getting less and less.
- g) Students had scholarships but the scholarships weren't ~~enough~~ enough to support them. And furthermore they could take no extra job, simply because they were constantly kept busy at the university.
- h) It depends on whether we are talking about full fledged artist or actor or just a beginner. I would like to elaborate on the meaning of the full fledged actor and artist and by the term I mean those who have accepted by the communists the other artists and actors were living in great misery.
- i) Party members were very definitely getting more than what they deserved. They did extremely well many of them were theater directors.
- j) ~~These~~ ^{Priests} were persecuted by the regime. They received a salary of 500 ~~florins~~ ^t florins per month. Many of them had to work as physical laborers. Also cloisters were closed and the nuns had to go and do manual labour. They could not get any other type of job. I know of one nun, ^{who} received a job as a janitor overnight in a ~~factory~~ factory.
- k) Business men in general lost their businesses and received no

compensation. I know this because my father was also a ~~self-employed~~ *businessman*.

l) The same would apply in ~~the~~ regard to artisans. Most of them lost their profession, they had to join cooperatives, the state service, or else they became factory workers.

37 As far as I know all these professions with the exception of the party members ^{HERE} ~~are~~ better off before 1944.

38 a) No

b) No

c) Yes. By *bureaucracy* ~~generally~~ I mean red tape.

d) Yes.

e) It's difficult to say because practically everybody belonged to the category of government employee. There were all sorts government employees some of them were party members. I was a government employee.

f) Yes.

g) No.

h) I think this is a stupid question. Stuff like this I don't know how it's going to be.

i) The intellectuals had to join the system which is in power otherwise the intellectuals would lose their jobs.

j) Yes.

k) Yes.

39. If there were a war in which Hungary participated I think the whole population would fight against the present regime, except the members of the AVO and the other communists who hold leading positions in the government. In brief, the big *Majority* would support the regime.

- (1) No, I don't.
- (1a) I think it is a necessary and useful thing. I think it might be helpful.
- (1b) Probably quite a bit.
- (1c) I don't really know.
- (1d) I'm quite positive he will.
- (1e) I think you should have asked more questions about the Radio Free Europe, why it was misleading the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. Also, I think you should have asked questions how to fight Communism ^{world}.
- (2a) Yes, I intend to go back, but not permanently.
- (3a-c) No.
- (3d) I would suggest my brother. He is not here right now as he is still in Austria, but I am hoping to bring him over here.
- (4a) Yes.
- (4b,c) Do not apply.