

- (1) People should know about the past events in Hungary that generally Middle Europe feels the same way as Hungary and it means that they hate the Russian occupation and contrary to any other rumor, the Revolution was a spontaneous revolution. As a matter of fact, it was too spontaneous. There was no organized leadership. Our wish was that the Russians should leave the country and we didn't have any well-thought-out plan of what we should do afterwards. We students talked a great deal of what we would like to do and we didn't have any clear-cut plans, we just knew that we didn't want to bring back the old order where the big landholdings and factories would be in ~~one hand~~ <sup>private hands</sup>. We didn't want to give back the Socialist ~~publicly owned factories~~ <sup>to its old owners, we wanted to remain socialists to a degree</sup>. The Communist regime was not really Socialist. we wanted something new, we didn't know what, but we didn't have time to finish it.
- (2 H) It started from the Petofi Circle conference in June or July. That was the starting day when the Revolution started to rise or build up.
- (2 a) And during the summer it was quietly building up to the point of October 22.
- (2 b) Stalin's death had connection to the events in that extent that after the Communist Party Congress we also thought that we are allowed to criticize freely too ~~the~~ and that was what the Petofi Circle thought, too. But Stalin personally, and his death personally had no special significance for us. As a matter of fact, Stalin didn't mean anything bad for us. We had the belief

that we can thank him to chase out the Germans. That was what we learned in school and for that we were justly or unjustly thankful to him. After his death, as a result of the Twentieth Congress, the political ground became shaky because we were allowed to criticize him and not because of his death.

<sup>2</sup>  
(X c)

I think in the villages yes, but not in Budapest. Nagy made many mistakes for which people in the city were angry with him. For instance he closed down the building of factories that would have been completed, just the finishing of the roof was needed and he halted the completion and because of that a year later they had to start practically from the beginning to finish that building. But in the villages he eased the peasants' burden. Also later on, when he was expelled from the Government, these new regulations were withdrawn.

<sup>2</sup>  
(X d)

Yes. Only to that extent that the Hungarian Government had no definite opinions and also the Party had no clear-cut position, they didn't know what Moscow wanted, what will she do next.

A new line came out again that Rajk was innocent and when a lie like comes out like that about the Party, the <sup>people's</sup> faith is shaken in this Party. And Julia Rajk was a good politician, she took every opportunity to demand her right. For instance, when the Government offered her quite considerable amount of money for compensation, she refused it. She said she doesn't need it. She needs justice and they should give that money to people who need it more than she does.

- <sup>2</sup>  
(2 e) Subquestion e was answered in Subquestion b, that the Twentieth Congress was influential to that respect that it opened up criticisms and we thought <sup>if</sup> Russia is allowed to criticize, we are allowed to criticize too. We have heard about the Twentieth Congress
- <sup>2</sup>  
(2 f) We heard about the Poznan events, but I don't think it had special effect on us, because we heard the news so distorted that I don't think it had effect. I think <sup>if</sup> Poznan would have had effect then the Revolution wouldn't evolve or come about, because there the revolt ~~was~~ → revolt was defeated within a day.
- <sup>2</sup>  
(2 g) I think Nagy came too late, six months too late and dismissing Rakosi and putting in Gero was the same thing, because Gero was just as bad as Rakosi. There was no difference between the two.
- <sup>2</sup>  
(2 h) During the Revolution the turning point I think was the time when Nagy became Prime Minister ~~HMS~~ on October 24 or 25.
- <sup>2</sup>  
(2 i) Yes. At the time when Gero went to meet Tito, then we had a feeling that something was going to happen, because <sup>that</sup> Moscow allowed Gero to see Tito they either open up and conciliate and then we might break away from Moscow just as Tito, or that there would come another disagreement of this meeting.
- (3) a. One of the most important factors leading to the Revolution was the permission of free discussion. My feeling, or my opinion is that the Hungarian Communist Party wanted to bargain for something with Moscow and they thought if they tell Moscow, look, you have to give us some ~~some~~ freedom or lift some of our burdens because our people are dissatisfied and for this reason to show that this

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ allowed dissatisfaction they ~~XXXXXXXX~~ a certain amount of free speech, but it didn't turn out the way it was planned, because once the lid is lifted, they couldn't stop the forces. ~~It~~ It was like the same thing as the story of the sorcerer's apprentice.

Interviewer asked if there was any other factor you can think of that was important in leading to the Revolution.

- (3 b) Yes. The workers saw that whatever they were manufacturing was nice but they couldn't buy it, it didn't go to their stores and ~~XXXX~~ in the villages the peasants were producing bread and butter and eggs, but they couldn't buy it ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, either. The Government had given or ~~XXXX~~ from them taken it away/and had given it to the Russians.
- (3 c) The Revolution broke out at that time when it did because of the events in Poland. . Originally the Hungarian students- groups called a <sup>general</sup> meeting and on that meeting ~~they~~ <sup>we</sup> agreed on a ~~an~~ solidarity demonstration for the Poles and the Polish Government. But ~~then the Government~~, The Hungarian Government, was vacillating and was weak. First they had banned the demonstration, then a few hours later they gave permission, and ~~when the Government~~ <sup>gave</sup> ~~XXXX~~ ~~permission for the demonstration~~, the people were all on the streets. <sup>This permission of the demonstration meant already</sup> and then ~~already~~ <sup>we</sup> evolved some degree of freedom, and ~~then~~ having this mass of people on the streets having some legitimate grievances, that's how the Revolution/broke out. But if the people were not on the street or couldn't be on the street in great mass there would not have been any revolution.



- (4) No.
- (4 b) Because the people hated the system and the Party leaders were resisting very stupidly. They could have stopped the whole revolution on the night of the 23rd if then they would have acted fair and given some heed to the people's demand and just would have given a little and it would have made just a small change.
- (4 c) Yes. Yes, but these various aims were pushed more in the background because the immediate aim was for the people to chase out the Russians.
- (4 d) Yes, there were people who joined the Revolution in the course of the Revolution later. There was one group of people who were opportunists and they thought that it would be beneficial for them to join the Revolution, and another group of people who were against the system but were too afraid to join the Revolution right at the beginning, but when they realized that the Revolution was successful, they joined in too.
- (4 e) Yes. Again, the economic exploitation and the arbitrary, dictatorial ruling.
- (4 f) The people were desiring some security and the absence of constant fear, to fear that if I say something, somebody will hear it who can get me in trouble and the fear at night of the doorbell ringing. These were <sup>And then</sup> generally the grievances of the intellectuals. ~~The~~ other people, the workers and the peasants had desired a better economic life, a higher standard of living.
- (4 g) The Revolution's slogans were different after October 23rd than they would have been after the time the Russians would have been chased out. For instance, in the Untransit, the 16 points that

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

we originally demanded was the minimum demand and its central theme was to have a little bit more freedom, but after the Russians withdrew, before November 4, we wanted to have complete freedom. And just the time when the Russians withdrew and the Nagy Government came in, was the high point of the Revolution.

(4 h) National independence is, as we understand, that a country could use and dispose of her national wealth and resources by the Government's independent choice, and the Government also be politically independent from foreign interference.

(4 i) If we understand the Party members as Communists, then it was not anti-Communist, because it is interesting that many Party members were fighting with the Revolution against the Communists. But if we understand ~~XXXX~~ the foreign, Russian occupation as Communist, then it was anti-Communist.

(4 j) Many Communists who were members of the Communist Party joined up originally to secure their existence.

~~XXXX~~  
(4 1) If the Russians would have left the country without fighting, Hungary would have become neutral and economically that would have been a terrific development, because everything that previously had been taken away by the Russians could have remained in Hungary and could have contributed to the well-being of the Hungarian people. And also Hungary could have ~~XXXXXX~~ started free trading with the West and also with the East, but trading and not taking away like it was done previously. Politically I think it would have evolved a government similar to the Austrian Government and more or less leftist smallholders' party system.

- (4 m) No. Interviewer asked why. Because the Poles' days are numbered. I don't think that the Soviet will let them become independent. I am afraid that the Poles won't be able to maintain their independence. But if this would be in Hungary now, it would be still a better case than is existing now. But as a long term I would not consider this the solution. I don't think it is the solution for Poland either.
- (4 n) A few Government workers and Ministerium workers who wanted to maintain their career joined the Revolution probably for their own selfish purpose that was one of the individual aims and the whole peasant group who wanted to have free markets, and the third group was the little artisans and little merchants who wanted to become independent again. Certain segments of the people were opposing the Revolution, those were the people who had high official positions in the Government and in the Ministry and they wanted to keep their high standard of living. And then certain Party members, also influential Party members, and among the political police only the professional officers of the AVH, because the rank and file members were drafted just like any other military unit and those people, after they served their time, they resigned and the ones who stayed in became officers. And these people who voluntarily stayed in the AVO were against the Revolution.
- (5) I was an engineering student studying electrical and radio engineering and during the Revolution I was a radio operator.
- (5 a) Yes, I participated in the Revolution.

- (6) . I would change the date of October 23 to 22, because that is the time when the Revolution started.
- (6 a) On the evening of the 22nd all the university students in Budapest, from all the universities in Budapest were called at a meeting and the aim of this meeting was ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to organize a new student organization. And during the discussion the Polish events came up and then on the spot we decided on a sympathetic demonstration. I was at this meeting on the evening of the 22nd. On the 23rd I didn't go to the demonstration because I was preparing for my examination for the next day. But around 6 p.m. on that day, on the 23rd, I went down to see what was going on, because the streets ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> full of people and everything was very tense and exciting. And then that evening I went to Parliament Square where Imre Nagy made a speech. On the 24th and 25th one couldn't go out on the street because the Russians were gunning from the tanks. On the 26th or 27th, I don't/remember, ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>quite</sup> through the radio the University, the engineering school of the University, called up all his students to go in and help and then I went in and all the radio engineers got a radio and that's how I became a radio operator during the Revolution. We set up a news service center in the building of the Engineering University and this was under a military organization. We received news of the events from all over the country. We joined in the MAV newslines and we also listened to foreign stations. On the 30th of October they transferred me with my radio receiver and broadcaster set to the History building of the University, where the political news center was organized. ~~At~~ <sup>At</sup> the Engineering University the



~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

military news were assembled and were forwarded to me to the History building where I was working with the political group. We relayed the political news to the Engineering building and also got from them the military news. I was working here as a radio operator until the fourth of November, until noon.

- (6 b) I wanted to help some way in the Revolution. And since every fight has to have good news connection, because that is the nerve center of the fighting, and since I new that I worked in here , that was natural.
- (6 c) The radio called up all the university students to go and help , but if they would not have called I would have gone in anyway, because everybody felt responsible for the Revolution.
- (6 d) During the course of the Revolution I didn't expect anything to happen to me whether I participate or don't participate in the Revolution, but later on I found it advisable to leave Hungary.
- (6 e) Nothing.
- (6 f) Broadcasting and receiving news on radio.
- ~~(7)~~ I took part on the 22nd of October in the students' meeting and on the 23rd in the evening I was at Parliament Square and listened to Nagy . On the 24th and 26th I saw from my window the Russians shooting. <sup>From</sup> ~~the~~ the radio from Zehony -- this is a border city between the Soviet Union and Hungary -- I received from this city a report that all the bridges were blown up and the Soviets were building four temporary bridges during the night and the Russians are pouring into the country. That was around the end of October.
- (7 a) Yes. I have seen Hungarian students blowing up with Molotov cocktails tanks on the Korut, that is one of the main thoroughfares

IN Budapest. Then I have seen students and Russian soldiers fighting.

(7 b) I only saw independent soldiers fighting with the Revolution and I saw two regiments who were stationed in the Engineering University building.

(7 K/c) No.

(7 d) On November 6 or 7, on the Oktogon, which is one of the main cross thoroughfares in Budapest a building started to burn ~~and this was~~ because the Russians ~~had~~ <sup>fired set upon it with</sup> ~~shot~~ a phosphor grenade, ~~and then~~ the people from the neighborhood ran out to put out the fires, ~~there were no firemen available.~~ Then the Russians <sup>fired on</sup> ~~shot on~~ the people ~~and then~~ <sup>we were only trying to put out the fire of the building.</sup> Luckily, everybody was able to hide. Only one person was wounded.

(8) No, I was not fighting, I was just a radio operator.

(8a) I was a radio operator at the Engineering school's Communication Center.

(8b) There was not any organized ~~communication~~ communication among the fighting units in the country during the revolution

~~News center~~ country ~~and~~ A well organized news service ~~KMXN is~~ necessary for every fight, ~~so~~ ~~we~~ ~~decided~~ ~~to set up~~ ~~and~~ since we had all the radios in <sup>available the Radio Engineering</sup> ~~that~~ building, <sup>we</sup> ~~they~~ decided to set up the news service. <sup>center there.</sup> Our commander was a Lieutenant-Colonel, who ~~was~~ <sup>the</sup> previously, the Engineering University's Party secretary and secretary of the education and propaganda <sup>division at the school.</sup> ~~sector.~~ The members <sup>of our unit</sup> were ~~voluntary~~ <sup>volunteers</sup> students of ~~this radio operating group~~ <sup>precisely</sup>

(8 c) No outsiders joined, only students who had been studying at the University. ~~precisely~~, who came in after the announcement on the radio, and teachers who were teaching at the University previously ~~and only university students were allowed to come through the gates~~

~~and~~ Only university students <sup>or teachers</sup> were allowed to come through the gates. ~~And anybody~~ <sup>any</sup> who came ~~through~~ a student who came through was accepted.

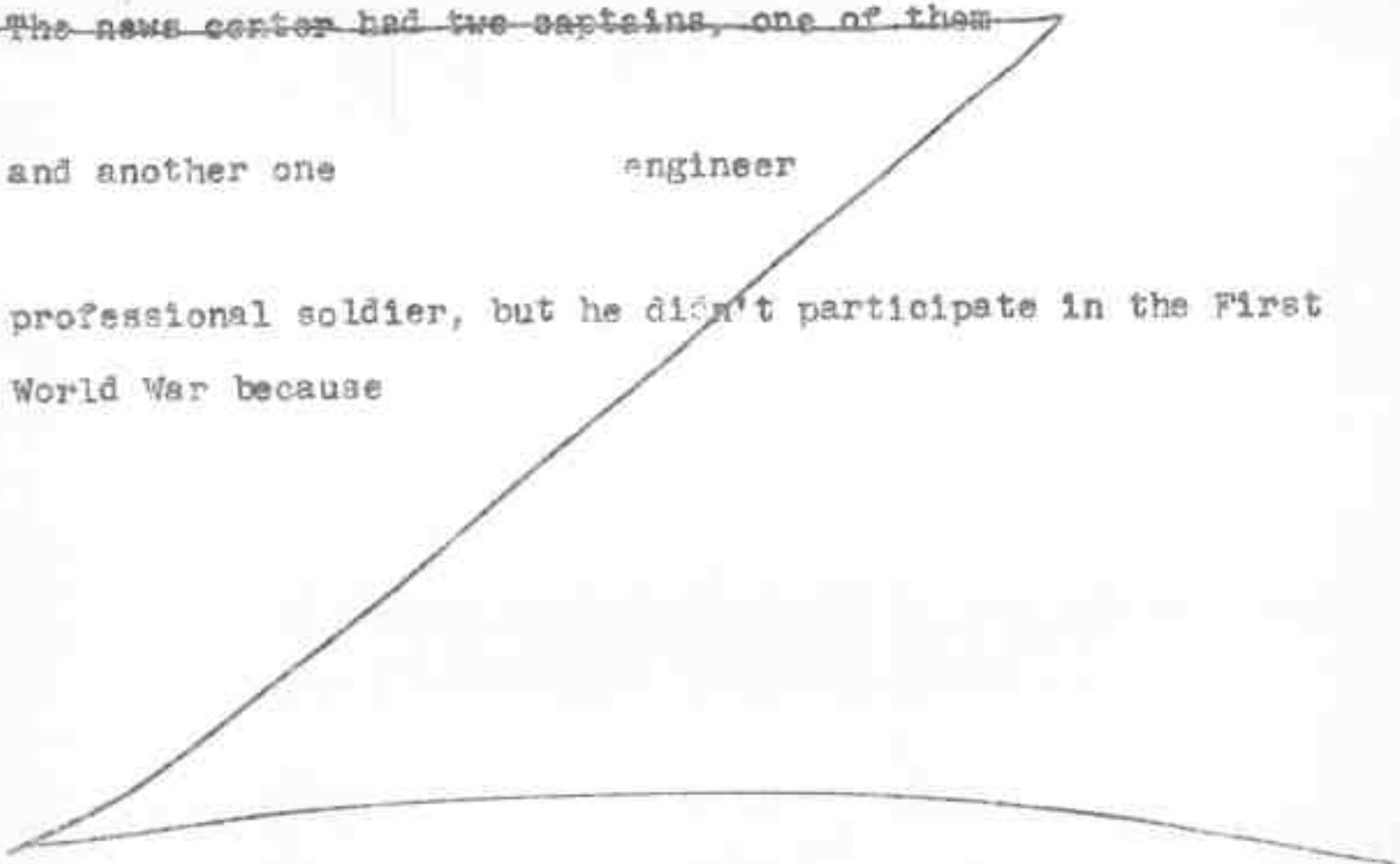
(8 d) ~~These people~~ <sup>Part of these people</sup> partially remained in Budapest and many of them I had met in Vienna. ~~The officers~~ I don't know what ~~happened~~ <sup>the officers</sup> happened to ~~them~~. These officers, who were actually military people, ~~also members~~ <sup>studying at</sup> of the University, ~~they~~ were sent out by the Army ~~to study engineering~~ to study engineering.

(8 e) We got our radio equipment ~~partially~~ <sup>partly</sup> from the University, ~~partly~~ from military warehouses ~~and we got ours from these too.~~ ~~The~~ students and ~~the~~ officers with five trucks drove up to one of the warehouses and ~~we~~ took everything. There were no guards in front of the warehouse, ~~so that we had 48~~ <sup>Beside the radios got "M"</sup> and machine ~~guns~~ <sup>guns</sup> we called "dobos gitar," ~~which were to translate~~ (drumming guitars.)

(8 f) The assignments were ~~made~~ <sup>given</sup> very casually and discipline was loose.

~~(8 g) The news center had two captains, one of them~~

and another one <sup>engineer</sup> professional soldier, but he didn't participate in the First World War because



- (8 g) The news service unit had two officers, they were ~~two~~ captains. One of them was an ~~army~~ soldier and the other one was an engineer at the University. The first one was a professional soldier. He didn't participate in World War I because he was too young. He joined the Revolution, came in, volunteered his help. The other person was a Party member and he was a military engineer. He was a very educated and highly skilful engineer. He had no military experience at all.
- (8 h) Educated and intelligent people proved to be the best leaders ~~and~~ <sup>of our officers</sup> ~~the people~~, We knew ~~them~~ <sup>respected them</sup> both previously, and somehow the choice was natural that they became our leaders.
- (8 i) ~~There was no military organization~~ We didn't make any military decisions. The two officers gave orders and we obeyed them. We respected both of them. <sup>With regard to</sup> ~~About~~ the first one, we suspected his political ideas, and <sup>with regard to the</sup> ~~the~~ second one we never knew that he was a sympathizer.
- (8 j) There was some kind of military organization, but it was organized very democratically. The leadership might have had connection with other groups, but very often they had no connection. The chaos was great.
- (8 k) Our group, since we were radio operators, had connection with many other groups, but the other groups, ~~many~~ <sup>many</sup> of them had to act independently.
- (8 l) The news that we received through the radio we relayed to newspapers and other news services.
- (8 m) ~~Not~~ <sup>the</sup> the radio unit. ~~was~~ <sup>We were attached to the</sup> military organization <sup>at</sup> the University, ~~and~~ they had a revolutionary council, which



consisted of the ~~University~~ students, teachers, and the military people who were previously studying or working at the University.

~~And they were very active in the movement about the streets.~~ They might have had connections with the Nagy Government, but I am not sure of that.

(8 n) I didn't participate in any of the conferences, but I think that maybe the military had the most influential part.

(8 o) Yes. One group from Tompa Street -- this is a street in Ferenc District in Budapest. ~~This group~~ was very anti-Semitic, but other <sup>revolutionary</sup> ~~the other units of the Revolution went out~~ and disarmed them.

These people were -- I am quoting the respondent -- "ferencvarosi atrici". It means hooligans from Ferencvaros. They were disarmed by the Corvinists. This was a fighting unit ~~near by~~ ~~They were~~ near by the Kilian Barracks. These Corvinists consisted of students ~~and~~ workers and soldiers, ~~and~~ their leader was an architect student.

(8 p) Very well.

(8 q) ~~With some groups~~ We had some very loose connections, with some workers' council in Buda. With military units I think there was some, I don't know to what extent. There were soldiers stationed <sup>on</sup> ~~in~~ the University campus. The students naturally were in our group, and we were members of the MEFES? ~~MEFES~~ organization. <sup>we had contact</sup> With the intellectuals, through the students, naturally. Priests, no. Peasants only to <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ extent that from the nearby villages the peasants brought in ~~food~~ food supplies, ~~and~~ we were very surprized and impressed by that. ~~With some groups~~ ~~contact~~ of

~~Buda we were organized~~. The Kilian Barracks and the Corvin fighters were made up of medical students, soldiers, and they were all fighting together.

- (9) I was a radio operator.
- (9 a) No.
- (9 b) No.
- (9 c) No.
- (9 d) No.
- (9 e) I collected the news, ~~gathered the news~~ from various fighting units
- (9 f) No.
- (9 g) Radio.
- (9 h) I have described it in Question 8, in detail.
- (9 i) I was a radio engineer and I ~~knew how to do that~~ <sup>was familiar with transmitters</sup>, so that was the best way I could help.
- (9 j) I always lived in Budapest.
- (10) We collected and disseminated the news.
- (10 a) The newspapers served good propaganda purpose during the Revolution. Igazsag was the best paper. (Its editor, Obersovski, was just convicted.) <sup>another good paper was</sup> And ~~then~~ the University's newspaper, I don't remember its name.
- (10 b) I think, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> the people had the feeling there were too many newspapers at that moment. ~~and~~ <sup>were</sup> they/pulling the people's strength to different directions at the time when we needed unity.
- (10 c) ~~Through~~ <sup>As a</sup> the radio I heard all news about the fight in Budapest, and <sup>operator</sup> me also of the fight all over the country. And ~~trucks were~~ <sup>with supplies</sup> coming into Budapest ~~and they~~ were counting and observing the Russian military stations <sup>along</sup> around the road. They ~~also counted~~

~~these news~~ to us and then we warned the people in the fighting units about ~~these news~~.

(10 d) I had very little opportunity to listen to other news services, like the Kossuth Radio, because my job was to ~~get~~ <sup>not receive</sup> the news about the fighting. Foreign stations, Mtoo, I had no time to listen to during the Revolution. After the Revolution, after the 4th of November, I was listening to the BBC and Radio Free Europe.

BBC had very good, ~~and~~ truthful and realistic broadcasting. They ~~transmitted~~ <sup>relayed</sup> the United Nations news, ~~which~~ <sup>This</sup> interested us the most, what ~~they~~ <sup>we</sup> were doing over there for us. But Radio Free Europe's broadcast was completely useless. They reported fights, for instance, in places where ~~we were~~, and where we knew there was no fighting. <sup>Their reports were very confused -</sup> And also ~~at the time of the escapes, at the beginning,~~ <sup>was broadcasting</sup> the Radio Free Europe ~~relayed news, warning the people that~~ <sup>about border</sup> one couldn't cross. ~~At one time they started to give advice where~~ <sup>was</sup> it ~~was~~ possible to cross, ~~and then next day people went to that~~ <sup>The</sup> point ~~and~~ <sup>who</sup> of course ~~they~~ were all arrested.

(10 e) Yes. In the morning of November 4 a friend of ours from outside Budapest called and reported that there was fighting going on in <sup>his village</sup>.

(10 f) Before the Revolution the official news service was unreliable. During the Revolution the official news service in Hungary was reliable. Before the Revolution BBC was reliable. Before the Revolution Radio Free Europe was ridiculous. They gave ridiculous reports about Hungary and the miserable conditions in Hungary, ~~that wasn't true, because we were there.~~ <sup>about general situation in the country</sup> ~~We took all this~~ <sup>considered</sup> ~~ridiculous~~ <sup>as</sup> propaganda. On the other hand, the BBC we believed, because they ~~relayed the straight news from the outside world in which we were~~ <sup>the most interested.</sup> ~~interested.~~

- ~~XXXXXX~~  
(11) They dissolved automatically. In the Engineering University it disappeared, it wasn't very strong even before the Revolution.
- (11 a) They dissolved.
- ~~XXXXXX~~ Some Communist Party buildings were transferred to other parties. <sup>disappeared.</sup> <sup>of them</sup> <sup>especially outside</sup> ~~and~~ the Party functionaries <sup>in the country,</sup> Many were killed, <sup>the Capitol</sup>
- In Budapest I know only about one person who was killed, ~~His~~ name was Imre Mezo, ~~he was a member of the Communist Party,~~ He was secretary of the Communist Party in a district in Budapest and ~~he~~ was killed during the fighting.
- (11 b) Dissolved.
- (11 c) Part of the AVH members were fighting against the Revolution. Part of the soldiers went home ~~because~~ <sup>because</sup> they were only recruited in this service like <sup>in</sup> any other military service and as soon as the Revolution broke ~~it~~ out, they took their uniform off and went home. <sup>Many of the AVH officers were killed.</sup> The people who lived in the same building with the AVH officers ~~know who they were and~~ notified the National Guard group or they themselves <sup>hanged</sup> killed them. ~~This is a very common thing and~~ <sup>was not an AVH member, only</sup> it also happened that by mistake they had killed somebody who wore a pair of boots similar to the AVH boots. That kind of extreme actions happened. But later on the National Guard tried to prevent it. I have not seen any atrocities like this, I just heard about them.
- (11 d) I don't know.
- (11 e) The members of the Army joined the Revolution or they went home. Some groups joined with the commander, some groups came without <sup>their</sup> ~~a~~ commander, ~~and just joined~~



- (11 f) I don't know.
- (11 g) They remained in existence.
- (11 h) The ministries must have dissolved. High Government officials left with the Russian tanks in October. I don't know what happened after Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>.
- (11 i) Nothing in Budapest.
- (11 j) The Party, the Hungarian-Soviet Association, and the DISZ were dissolved. The Red Cross and MEFESZ KW and the writers' organization became stronger, ~~but were newly formed~~.
- (11 k) MEFESZ, the Red Cross and the writers' organization.
- (11 l) The workers peasants revolutionary councils and a lot of new parties.
- (11 m) The workers' councils dealt <sup>practically</sup> with everything during the revolution. They were formed during the Revolution. They dealt with distribution of food, assignment of apartments, setting up factory guards, preventing looting, and also the dismissal of inefficient directors and Party informers.
- (11 n) I think after the Revolution, if Hungary would have been allowed to remain completely neutral, they could have <sup>maintained</sup> ~~established~~ friendship with the West and established a leftist smallholders' <sup>type</sup> government. The big landholdings and factories would have remained in the State's hands and the small businesses and factories could have <sup>been returned</sup> ~~again become~~ under individual management.
- (12) Before November 4, around October 26/<sup>th</sup> 24th and 25th, some independent Soviet soldiers came over to us and joined the Revolution, ~~and~~ fought with us for a time and then they again joined their own groups. They were completely unreliable and ~~their actions~~ their actions were not logical. Probably they were afraid of

the consequences of their acts.

(12 a) Yes.

(12 b) I had no ~~immediate~~ <sup>direct</sup> connection with them.

(12 c) I think I realized it immediately that they were not reliable.

(12 d) The high ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Russian civilians on the night of the 23rd <sup>of October</sup> had left Budapest. They ~~all~~ went, the whole Russian colony during the night went to 'Tököly' airfield. This is outside of Budapest on Csepel Island. ~~This is~~ a Russian airport.

(12 f) I don't know. I think on the night of the 23rd, they ~~were just~~ withdrew to save their own life.

(12 g) <sup>Before Oct. 23rd</sup> There was a Russian adviser in every Ministry and in every state factory, ~~and~~ they interfered in every ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ decision. They had no influence during the Revolution and after November 4 there was a Russian military dictatorship.

(12 h)

~~XIX~~ we, with my husband, decided to leave Hungary

(13) On November 20, or around November 20, when Nagy was interned at the Yugoslav Embassy and when there was no hope for a sensible government to be formed. ~~THEXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

(12 a) <sup>The presence of</sup> The Russian Army.

(12 b) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~Left~~ with my husband.

(12 c) We knew that the borders were closed at certain points, Radio Free Europe had reported, and they also reported that in Hanság swampland, (this is a swampland around the border,) the Russians had taken up the wooden planks, and we thought that they <sup>would expect</sup> ~~thought~~ people <sup>to</sup> ~~would~~ be afraid to cross ~~that~~ and ~~they~~ probably wouldn't guard it so thoroughly, ~~and~~ On that basis we decided to try the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~at that point~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

crossing at that point. We crawled <sup>in mud</sup> around the whole night, but we got across successfully.

- (13 d) We didn't have any idea what will happen to us. We ~~thought that since~~ both my husband and I are electrical engineers, (we had just one more year to study) <sup>we thought you</sup> ~~That~~ <sup>is</sup> needed all over the world, ~~and we can establish ourselves in some place in the world.~~ We were thinking of going to Australia, ~~because~~ we thought there will be no war there and we had enough fighting in our life.
- (13 e) <sup>16-</sup> Only to leave Hungary. ~~And~~ I had to leave ~~because~~ because I was the only woman in that radio-engineering group, I was the only woman radio operator, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> could be identified very easily.
- (14) Yes, one has to think about it.
- (14 a) No. For the Hungarians this Revolution wasn't very useful, but for the world it was, because it has revealed the Russian lies about peace and Socialism, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> the mask has fallen off these lies.
- (14 b) No. I realize <sup>it now</sup> that there was no hope for the Hungarian Revolution, because a little Hungary would be unable to wage a victorious revolution against the Russians ~~and~~ history has taught us that any attempt in Hungary for freedom, starting with Rakoczi, never brought any help for us from the West.
- (14 c) I would do the same thing.
- (14 d) Because I think Hungary is one of the poorest countries in Middle Europe. Czechoslovakia <sup>is</sup> lives much better. ~~Even~~ In Rumania they people are poor, but I think they are more cowards than the Hungarians. ~~and~~ the Hungarians have <sup>a tendency to act blindly without considering</sup> ~~that temperament that they ran with their heads in the wall~~ <sup>the consequences</sup> and once the Revolution had started nobody could

stop it. But on the other hand one couldn't start it again.

(14 e) I don't think Imre Nagy was a politician. He was a good economist, a good professor, maybe a very good man who had good intentions, but he didn't know anything about politics, and he wasn't aggressive and strong enough. I had the feeling when I listened to him on the 23rd of ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ October on Parliament Square that he was an old man who only wanted to be left alone. *in peace.*

(14 f) A soldier ~~was~~ told me something interesting about Maleten, that might be interesting for you to hear. During the night in one of the camps in Austria he told us that he was in Maleten's unit. Maleten ~~and he~~ was sent over to Kilian Barracks during the course of the Revolution by the Government to fight against the Revolutionaries and he was doing that very dutifully. In the courtyard of the Kilian Barracks there were civillian people ~~and he had shot at them~~ ~~and~~ he was fighting for a few days against the Revolution. Then one day, opposite of the Kilian Barracks there is a big theater, the Korvin Theater, and there were a group of students and workers fighting for the Revolution, who sent over messengers and asked Maleten to come over and talk to them. Maleten went over and during this conversation they convinced him to join the Revolution. They convinced him partially ideologically and partially they ~~had~~ pointed out to him that although on the higher floors in the Kilian Barracks there were soldiers fighting against the Revolution, ~~but~~ on the ground floor of the Kilian Barracks there were medical students fighting for the Revolution, <sup>The medical students</sup> ~~and~~ they had big machine guns and tanks



~~XMM and these soldiers~~ could walk out freely <sup>from</sup> of the Kilian Barracks and ~~that~~ they <sup>threatened to</sup> would close up the Barracks and kill all the soldiers inside. <sup>So</sup> /Partially <sup>through</sup> the ideological persuasion, and partially this <sup>fact</sup> must have convinced Maleter and from that point on he joined the Revolution and he fought very heroically with the Revolution. About Kovacs I didn't hear much. As I understand he was in Pecs - this is a city in Southern Hungary -- during the whole time, even during his election in the Government. He didn't even know that he was elected to become a member of this Government. ~~Soldier~~ <sup>Kovacs</sup> he was respected in the villages. I don't know much about him.

- (14 g) ~~The children were the real heroes of the Revolution,~~ The 14-15-year old children were the real heroes of the Revolution. They didn't know what they were fighting for. From the nursery school on through the whole educational system they were taught to idealize the Russian ~~heroes~~ soldiers, but life at home taught them differently.
- (14 h) The students, the soldiers, unskilled workers, skilled workers, <sup>Non-</sup>uncollectivized peasants, collectivized peasants, and the office workers last.
- (14 i) Yes. Without youth there cannot be any revolution.
- (14 j) Yes. " " " " " " " " " "
- (14 k) The Petofi Circle ~~has~~ started the whole Revolution and ~~the writers' organization are the new heroes.~~ Actually they started, Tancos and Dery were two of the most heroic members. ~~But they~~ started in the Petofi Circle the free discussion and free criticisms and we were all very surprized during the summer that the Government

had let them go on to criticize and discuss politics.

- (14 1) About the Hungarian peasant. We were very surprized about their behavior, because I always thought that the Hungarian peasant is the world's most sleepest and slowest person and we didn't expect this beautiful gesture, though we expected that when the Revolution br eaks out in the villages, the peasants would kill the Party secretaries and the Party members, which they had done, and we also expected that the first thing they would do, they would get the kolkhoz lands and animals and divide it among them, which they also had done, but we didn't expect help from them the way they helped. They brought in food without any repayment and helped the fighting units.

- (1) (a) I was a university student at the University of Engineering <sup>is the</sup> and Radio <sup>Department.</sup> and electrical engineering. My father's occupation at the present time is a white-collar office worker in a State firm where they are distributing supplies to restaurants. Before 1944 he had his own small business.
- (2) (a) I was a student ~~as~~ I had no long-term jobs. Since 1951 every summer from high school we were sent out on a six-week training program, working in various factories. I attended a textile-technical high school and every summer I worked in textile factories. ~~Then when~~ I attended the University, for two summers I had worked in a factory manufacturing electrical machinery, especially medical equipment <sup>mostly</sup> (electrical and radio equipment for medical use.)
- (2) (b) ~~(a-c)~~ I was an electrical technician in the factory. I worked in the designing division, ~~and~~ I was just a student trainee.
- (2) (c) I was there for two summers for six weeks, last summer and the summer before.
- (2) (d) This was a very great factory, one of the two biggest factories manufacturing this kind of machinery and ~~this~~ factory also worked for export <sup>to</sup> all over Eastern Europe, India, and sometimes to Western Europe. Student trainees had different jobs in the factory, ~~and that~~ <sup>This</sup> way <sup>we</sup> they had an opportunity to know the whole line of work ~~and~~ <sup>after</sup> when we returned to the University we had to write a paper about our experiences.

(2 2) This was a very modern factory, ~~it was~~ built in 1949 or 1950, and ~~it~~ was entirely modern, ~~and quite~~ a nice and very well equipped. ~~and~~ the conditions were quite comfortable.

(3) I was satisfied in that job, because the conditions were quite pleasant and it only lasted six weeks. ~~and~~ during those six weeks' time we had an opportunity to learn the work in the factory, ~~so~~ <sup>and</sup> we were not tied up with tedious work. We were not paid by the factory, but were paid by the University and ~~for~~ that six weeks we got 350 forints.

The interviewer asked what were the general wages in the factory.

This factory is not very typical because <sup>it</sup> pays more than average <sup>almost</sup> ~~more or less~~ for everybody, because ~~we had such a~~ <sup>the work was</sup> specialized, ~~special electrical work~~. This way in the whole factory, for every type of work, the wages were higher. For instance, a technician, -- by the way, most of the technicians were women -- technicians, or fitters, they got about 900 forints a month and the same type of work in a different factory would have paid about 600 forints a month. Remark that ~~from the~~ 900 forints, if the husband worked too, the <sup>a</sup> couple could live quite well. With a child they would have had quite a lot of hardship to make a decent living.

(3 a) I liked this work because I was interested in it and since I was a student, sent out by the University, I had a free choice in whatever I wanted to design or work on.



- For the workers on the assemble line
- (3 b) I had to work very hard and very fast. The norm was very high, and there were many mistakes made, <sup>Many of</sup> ~~for instance~~ the finished machinery or equipment was a reject, or I shouldn't say reject, but not very good and there were many mistakes in it. They were only rejected when they were for export. Things that went for export were handled by an export firm and they had very thorough supervision, I mean the machines were examined very thoroughly, because if they exported that they would have been all sent back, so if in this export firm they found rejects, they immediately sent it back and then we repaired and used it ourselves or it went on the internal market. But, <sup>On</sup> the other hand, ~~the~~ from the internal market we didn't get rejects, because this machinery was in such a high demand that factory <sup>directors</sup> ~~officers~~ didn't want to reject it <sup>unless it was completely unusable</sup> ~~because~~ If they <sup>complained</sup> ~~said~~ then our director just remarked that well, you cannot get anything else, so as long as they could use it, even if they were not very perfect, they would ~~use it~~, not reject it.
- (3c) The last two summers I worked at the same place.
- (4 a) I was a student, ~~and~~ in 1946 I was very young, I don't remember what were the wages and up till 1950 I was a student, ~~so I~~ cannot ~~give~~ <sup>1955 I was paid</sup> ~~the~~ ~~and~~ we got ~~this~~ ~~pay~~ only for summer work, which ranged from about 250 to 300 forints for the six weeks. I didn't have any scholarship or stipend, <sup>These were not easy to get.</sup> ~~that was not very~~ ~~frequent~~ <sup>generally don't</sup> for so-called "szakerettsegi" workers got stipends and scholarships. These people were workers who did especially well in their factories, and then the factory selected them and sent them to high school for a year, where they had a

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>curriculum</sup>  
 very concentrated study ~~and~~ they finished the four-year high-  
 school in one year. ~~and~~ they got a graduation diploma and with  
 this they could enroll at the university. ~~and~~ while studying  
 at the university, they got a stipend and scholarships. They  
 got about 450 forints a month. This was quite high. Regular  
 students, who were not workers <sup>or workers children</sup> and were not sent out specially  
 by their factory, got a scholarship according to their parents'  
 income. If their parents' income was less than 1800 forints  
 a month, then the child could get a stipend which was about  
 140 forints a month. I can't bring up an example about  
 general wages and salaries in the country, but I will use my  
 father as an example. Before the war I was very young, I  
 don't remember. <sup>his earnings</sup> and until '47 my father was a prisoner of war.  
 When he returned in '47, he got this <sup>his present</sup> job where ~~he is still~~  
<sup>a</sup> working, with this State firm distributing supplies to restau-  
 rants and hotels. In 1950 he was in the same firm and at  
 that time his salary was 1200 forints a month.

(4 b)

(4 c)

In 1955 <sup>at</sup> in the same job his salary was 1600 forints a month.

(4 d)

The base pay was this that I had mentioned.

(4 e  
& f)

She didn't know, because this was her father's case and she  
 didn't know the details.

(4 g)

(4 h)

About average.

(4 i)

The same, because pay in this type of work was determined by  
 the state and that was the same for everybody doing this type  
 of work.

- (5) In this question we return to questioning the interviewee <sup>her</sup> about ~~his~~ summer job.

I worked in this factory in the summer for six weeks.

- (5 a) Nine hours ~~per~~ with a half our for lunch. The lunch time was only half hour because we wanted to get through sooner on Saturdays. This way we worked on Saturdays only till noon.

- ~~(5 b)~~  
(5 b) Five and a half days a week.

- (5 c) The students didn't do any overtime because they wouldn't pay <sup>for it</sup> us ~~any overtime and we didn't have to work overtime~~, but the workers were doing overtime usually every month toward the end of the month when they had to <sup>shipment</sup> finish <sup>is</sup> up ~~some~~ order. They were paid for this overtime. They got time-and-a-half for it.

- (5 d) Yes we got days off for holidays and for vacations. Every worker got a minimum of two weeks' vacation with pay and <sup>to</sup> every year that they spent at the factory <sup>they got</sup> gave an additional day to their minimum two-weeks' paid holiday, ~~and~~ they could collect this additional day until they have reached thirty days. Thirty days paid vacation was the maximum.

- (5 e) Vacation regulation was a general law and it was the same in every factory and every office.

- (5 f) They were not strict about coming late with students, but they were quite strict with the workers.

- (5 g) Yes, we had ten-minute movements. This was that they asked ~~XXXX~~ us to arrive ten minutes earlier so that we would have time to

change and get ready, and by the starting time we should be at our working place and start to work and not start changing and dressing then.

(5 h) She didn't know whether there was any punishment for coming late or staying away from work because she was just a student.

(5 i) In the electrical engineering industry the norm system was quite useless because with a norm-system you cannot run this type of a factory.

(5 j) In 1956 March they raised the norm. For instance they timed a worker and <sup>it</sup> took <sup>him</sup> five minutes to finish an operation and ~~then~~ the norm-taker noted four minutes for this operation. I heard this story from one of the workers.

(5 k) Yes, they raised the norm and with this they actually increased the speed.

(5 l) There was a norm-system and they paid by piece.

(6 a) This was a very beautiful modern factory built recently <sup>It was</sup> and ~~this~~ was one of the most modern factories in this line, ~~for this was~~ the ~~best~~ factory. The factory's name is "Elektronikus Merokezulekek Gyara." The translation of this is "Factory for Electronic Measuring Instruments," and <sup>only one</sup> there was just another factory like that in Hungary, in Csepel Island.

(6 b) At this factory, conditions were very comfortable, and not overcrowded, and very clean and hygienic. It was a very modern new factory, but in other cases where I have worked before, for instance a textile factory, the conditions were not very pleasant.



- (6 c) We didn't need much equipment in this factory, but whatever we had was very good.
- (6 d) The quality of ~~these~~ instruments that went for export ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> very good. <sup>in many instances</sup> they had to be good because otherwise they would have been ~~and~~ they were rejected. But the goods sent for home consumption or manufactured for home consumption were not so good, <sup>Even so</sup> ~~but~~ they ~~were~~ had higher value than what the workers had gotten for <sup>producing</sup> them, ~~than that their~~ <sup>took</sup> pay was.
- (6 e) I went by streetcar and then a local train. It took me altogether an hour and a quarter to get there.
- (7) I worked with the <sup>country</sup> best engineers <sup>at</sup> in <sup>this</sup> my field in ~~the~~ country at this factory, ~~and now~~ <sup>These engineers</sup> a few of ~~them~~ <sup>now</sup> are here and most of them are in England.
- (7 a) These engineers were about 28 to 40 years old. They all naturally finished university and ~~these engineers~~ <sup>They</sup> had a high income because they got quite a lot of premiums, ~~and~~ they were very respected because of their knowledge.
- (7 b) With the people on the same level we had a very friendly relationship. To the director nobody paid much attention because he was not an engineer, he was sent out by the Party. The Chief Engineer was very respected, but the director wasn't, ~~and since~~ <sup>had to</sup> he relying on the engineers, he needed the engineers' cooperation to finish ~~their~~ ~~quotas~~ the factory's quota~~s~~. He had to please the engineers, because he was punished if the factory's quota wasn't completed. The workers, or the working women, because there were mostly women technicians there, liked the engineers and they hated the people who were sent out to measure the norm. ~~These people were specially trained people either sent completely from outside, or selected from the~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

measure the norm. These people were specially trained ~~people~~

either sent completely from outside, or selected from the

factory and sent to some school and then they came back ~~and~~ <sup>as</sup>

<sup>norm-takers</sup> ~~they measured the norm~~. But this type of selection <sup>were not very frequent</sup> ~~they didn't~~  
<sup>of their</sup> ~~like~~ because ~~the~~ previous acquaintance with the workers <sup>that norm-takers</sup> they

might not have been so strict with the norm. So generally the custom was to send in somebody completely stranger to take the norm.

- (7 c) Yes.
- (7 d) The engineers were very sincere to each other. Whenever they made casual remarks, they seemed to make them sincerely without thinking ahead of time what they were going to say. The workers had no time to discuss during their working time.
- (7 e) Yes.
- (7 f) No. Since I was a student, I mostly associated with my fellow-students.
- (7 g) Our political opinion was the same with all the engineers. For instance, in my room there were five engineers and in the morning when we came in and were reading the newspapers, the remarks came very casually and very freely.
- (7 h) Yes. They had some kind of an organization and the Party organization interfered with everything and had power. But I wasn't there long enough to <sup>be able to</sup> tell you to what extent.

- (7 i) I don't think they made much difference between party members and non-party members. On the engineer level maybe they were differentiating by giving higher premiums to party members and maybe also with vacations too, they could discriminate to favor the party members. Among the workers I don't know because I wasn't closely associated with them in my work. There was no difference in payment either on the engineering level or the working people's level, because the payment <sup>were</sup> was the same regardless of party membership.
- (7 j) I don't know.
- (7 k) No.
- (7 l) It was an auxiliary organization to ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Party and they cooperated with each other.
- (7 m) I don't know. I was too young.
- (7 n) I don't know whether there was such a thing in the factory.
- (7 o) The triangle was the director, the chief engineer, and the secretary of the Party. The workers liked the chief engineer and they could turn to him <sup>with their</sup> and complain about norms and any <sup>other</sup> things <sup>14.55</sup> ~~complaints that they could bring in~~ then he would introduce that complaint in this triangle <sup>to</sup> <sup>other</sup> <sup>members</sup> to the Party secretary and to the director, and then the three of them could decide whether they would change the norm or rectify some of the complaints.
- (7 p) In this factory yes, because this factory required special skill that was difficult to find and they couldn't differentiate between Party members and non-Party members. In other factories probably they did.

- (7 q) In this factory there was a better case. Mostly they were neutral.
- (7 r) Yes.
- (7 s) I don't know. I was too young.
- (7 t) I don't know. I wasn't there long enough. ~~I don't know~~  
~~exactly, definitely, for sure whether~~ <sup>But I think</sup> they had this "kader-system."  
 "kadereses"
- (7 u) About the workers' council. They were often people with ~~very~~  
 aggressive personality came into power and ~~they~~ didn't have ~~these~~  
 no qualifications. For instance, just to show their power, they  
 changed directors who were decent people and good directors but  
 because they were sent out by the Communist Party they had to  
 make them leave the factory and leave their jobs, and they put in  
 other people, also the same type of aggressive personality who  
 might have been a few months before an AVH ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ informer,  
~~only he was hiding this fact and tried to hide it in this~~  
~~aggressive personality.~~ I ~~XXXX~~ know this as a concrete case.  
 It happened in the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Gundel Restaurant.
- (7 v) I don't know, I didn't take part in them.
- (8) I wanted to <sup>work</sup> go in this factory, I <sup>while</sup> even when I was attending the  
~~it~~ university ~~XXXX~~ was my desire that when I <sup>after</sup> graduate I would like  
 to become an engineer in this factory. But the <sup>factory's</sup> political director  
 decides before somebody can be accepted in the factory.
- (8 a) When somebody graduates from the university, he has about two  
 or three job offers of which we can choose, and after we have  
 chosen one we have to stay in that job for two years without any  
 change. Beginners' salary in 1955 was about ~~XXXX~~ 950-1200 forints  
 a month.



- (8 b) ~~If we wanted to change our job,~~ First of all, after graduation for two years we had to stay with our chosen job, which we could choose out of these two or three offers, ~~for two years,~~ but after that if we wanted to change we could enquire individually, for instance if in another factory where we would like to <sup>work</sup> go and ~~we knew there~~ was a vacancy ~~for our type of work~~ or for my type of work, then I could go and individually talk to their director. ~~and their~~ <sup>He had to</sup> director could apply to our factory director to ask for my transfer. But on the other hand, if from my factory my director wouldn't want to let me go, he could refuse. If I wanted, in spite of his refusal, to leave that job, then I could not be employed in the new factory on an engineering level, but only on a working man's level. But if I could have a free choice, I would have chosen this beautiful new factory, "EFG," where I worked in those two summers while I was a student.
- (8 c) Because it was a very modern, newly equipped factory and I was interested in the type of work they did, in engineering and especially in electrical engineering, manufacturing <sup>gallium</sup> medical equipment. I liked this work, I was interested in education,
- (8 d) that is why I chose a university career. It wasn't any economic consideration, because as a technician I think I could have made just as much money. My decision to study and educate myself was mainly on moral grounds instead of economic grounds. Also, most of my friends from high school graduating with me were going to the university.

- (8 e) No, ~~subsequent~~
- (8 f) Well, not any special career I just thought I would be able to get an average job for an engineer. I don't think I was especially talented, so I don't think I could have gotten a specially interesting job.
- (8 g) Until my 22nd year I was dreaming of a career and leading position, but somehow I changed later. ~~My~~ My desire after that
- (8 h) was ~~that I would~~ <sup>to</sup> have a quiet life - X ~~and~~ I didn't want to have any leading position because somehow those people in leading positions have <sup>were</sup> always <sup>with</sup> had <sup>foot</sup> one of ~~their~~ feet in jail.
- (8 i) Besides living in a city and have good housing and food, I would like to spend my money on travel and books. Naturally I would like to ~~go~~ <sup>also enjoy</sup> and spend my vacation on traveling and reading, and I would ~~like to do~~ different kinds of sports. I think I would consider this a quiet life and the dream of my life.
- (8 j) Yes, definitely. While in Hungary, my desire was just to achieve the fair minimum and be able to provide for myself and for my family their minimum necessity<sup>ies</sup>, but since I left Hungary, ~~my~~ my desires expanded.
- (8 k) <sup>Yes</sup> If I would have been able to get a job at this modern ~~factory~~ factory, where I worked this summer, ~~and~~ <sup>could</sup> if my children would have gotten this ~~type of work~~, I would have <sup>wanted to</sup> ~~desired for them~~ to come and <sup>at</sup> ~~work in this factory~~, and work in engineering. I think, generally, is the least political job, because there is a great need in of engineering in Hungary, and they cannot be choosy, they cannot

discriminate between political sympathizers and politically undesirables. For instance, in our factory there was a young man who was dismissed from the university before he finished his school because of his political unreliability, but this factory director where I worked hired him because he was a brilliant young man and he needed this type of training and ~~this type of person~~ in his factory.

- (9) For my family, living conditions changed for the worse since after World War II.
- (9 a) Two members of my family worked, my father and my stepmother. My stepmother was sewing in a small factory and we had beside my father and my stepmother two younger sisters and my grandmother living with us.
- (9 b) Our apartment is much smaller than before the war. Before the war we had a six-room apartment and after the war we had, now-- we had, a three-and-a-half-room apartment for six people.
- (Interviewer's remark: Three-and-a-half-room apartment is the English way of counting. Actually it means a living room, a bedroom and they had some kind of a hall. In Hungarian counting it would count two-and-a-half room, they don't count the kitchen. Transcriber's remark: three-and-a-half-room is the American way of counting. In England they don't count the kitchen, either.)
- (9 c) We could buy all our necessary food supply for the family and naturally pay our rent and also clothing, but that was not always very easy, but in clothing I don't include any luxury things at all. I mean<sup>13</sup> luxury things, for instance a new pocketbook, or a new hat or things like that.

(9 d) The total monthly earnings brought home by my father and step-  
 I mother combined was 2400 forints, <sup>a month</sup> sometimes they brought home a little  
 more together about 2600 forints, but after deductions of 2-300 forints  
 a month, I could say the average was 2400 forints a month.

II. No other source of Income

III. There is no tax such as known here. There was a 3% old-age tax,  
 there was a two, or I don't know quite definitely, two or four-  
 percent tax for people who had no children and then there was  
 always, about every month, they had to buy for ten percent of  
 their family <sup>Income</sup> this freedom loan. This buying of freedom loan was  
 abolished a few months, <sup>ago</sup> or I think it was the summer, before the  
 Revolution. 9 d IV 2400 forints a month.

(9 e) Our apartment house was a new apartment house, it was built in  
 1947 and we moved in when my father came home from <sup>Prison Camp in 1947</sup> (he was a  
 prisoner of war <sup>in Russia</sup> and in this apartment house <sup>the rents in this particular</sup> <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ relatively  
 high, 300 forints a month. But (for this we had central heating  
 included.) My father was the sole tenant in this apartment

(9 f) This apartment, relatively to the apartment situation in Buda-  
 pest, was a very good apartment. It was in a modern new house,  
 although ~~also every once in a while~~ ~~the~~

the heating system broke down for a day or sometimes for a week.

The apartment consisted of two rooms, a kitchen and a big hall  
 and we were six of us in the apartment, so it was somewhat  
 crowded, but they were all family members.



- (9 g) I know it exactly because my <sup>grandmother</sup> friend was handling the food bill ~~and~~ she got 1600 forints every month from my father. She had to budget from this for our food. Standing in line for food I don't know exactly, <sup>how much time was spent</sup> because my grandmother used to take care of that. Sometimes when there was a shortage of something she had to stand in line, sometimes there was ample supply and she didn't have to. ~~It was going on and off time.~~ I mean it was alternating all the time, ~~sometimes she had to stand in line, sometimes she didn't have to.~~
- (9 h) For the six people in our household we spent about 100 forints a month for clothes maintenance and supply and in this I include also the shoe repairs and things like that.
- (9 i) Food, generally green vegetables and fresh fruit we bought at the big free markets where the peasants brought in their goods, <sup>and meat, etc.</sup> ~~but~~ all the other staple food, like sugar and flour/ we bought at the state stores. We never bought anything on the black market because the black market prices were so high we couldn't afford those. We didn't buy clothing either on the black market.
- (9 j) Our heating was included in the rent ~~because~~ we had central heating in our apartment. For electricity, gas, and telephone we paid about 150 forints per a month.
- (9 k) No problem of fuel supply, because that was supplied by the building and there wasn't much disturbance or breakdown in electricity or gas.
- (9 l) We didn't have to spend anything on medical bills, ~~because~~ the medical service was free. Only for prescriptions we had to pay

15% of the prescription price, and (for instance for false teeth also 15%.) Through being a student and also since my father and stepmother were both working, our whole family, (also my grandmother,) were covered by this medical bill, and we had free medical care. In the city all the workers had the same medical care. In the villages only those peasants got free medical care who belonged to the kolkhozes.

(9 <sup>th</sup> ~~th~~) Well, the radio expense was included in the electrical bill and for that we had to pay about 10 forints a month. For vacation, both my father and my mother were entitled to go for ~~3~~ paid vacation for two weeks, and they could choose whichever resort they wanted to go to and they had to pay ~~3~~ four forints per person per day, and the children could be sent to camp and it cost about 150 forints a month. As a student I could go to movies for one forint a performance. Of course I had <sup>could go</sup> to go to only <sup>to</sup> certain performances, the very first performance the day and the very last one. For other members of the family, the movie cost about 20 forints a month. I could include also all of my expenses for my sisters, altogether it would cost about 20 forints. For books we paid about 20 forints a month. But <sup>text</sup> for books for myself at the university which I had to buy <sup>myself</sup> ~~it~~ cost much more, ~~it cost~~ about 200 forints ~~for~~ one semester. ~~3~~ For sport things, I was a member of the skiing club and since as a student I had a streetcar ticket at a discount, with this streetcar ticket I could go out during the weekend in the mountains,

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

~~and since~~ I had my skiing club membership, I could sleep in different student homes for a reduced fee. I think it was ~~28~~ 1½, 2 forints for ~~the~~ weekend an excursion ~~per month~~. We went approximately two times a month, so it amounted to 3-4 forints.

- (9 o) I also had a season ticket for the Opera House. It cost me about 12 forints a month. I could summarize, for entertainment and amusement ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> whole ~~family~~ family of six spent about 50 forints.
- (10) Relatively to conditions I think my family had a medium income and a medium standard of living.
- (10 a) As a student I don't think I was exploited, but I think ~~the~~ my ~~parent~~ parent deserved better pay for the work they had been doing.
- (10 b) Yes.
- (10 c) Russia.
- (10 d) The workers' true situation changed because after 1952 the prices, food prices had risen 100 - 150 percent. For instance, before 1952, two pounds of shortening was ~~28~~ 15 forints, after 1952 it had risen to 45 forints and recently, in '55 or '56, I'm not quite sure, it went down, but it went down only to 28 forints.
- (10 e) I think it is just a tax called by a different name.
- (10 f) Supposedly reparation payments to Russia have been abolished and we didn't have to pay them, but as I understand Yugoslavia is demanding it now. But the Russians had taken so much that one could count that as reparations. For instance they have been trading with our 1938 prices <sup>out in</sup> and ~~the prices since went up~~ <sup>out</sup> generally.

Interviewer asked, how did she know that the Russians were trading with Hungary at the 1938 prices. She said that they were studying ~~that~~, they had learned that in their course on economics in high school, that the country was trading with their neighbors in 1938 prices, but on the other hand ~~the~~ the goods Hungary bought from Russia, ~~for instance~~ ~~that~~ were not manufactured in '38 and the prices they <sup>Hungary</sup> ~~and~~ paid for them were prices when they first manufactured them in '51 or '52, so Hungary sold goods for prices of 1938 and bought material from Russia for ~~practically~~ <sup>1950 or</sup> '52 prices.

- (10 g) Yes, after choosing our specialty (for instance in engineering school I chose radioelectronic engineering) we had definite classes where we had to attend and we couldn't choose. For instance, we had a ~~mandatory~~ compulsory Russian language class and of course classes in Marxism for four and a half years; for the first and second year we had four hours a week, third and fourth year two hours.
- (11) I think Hungary's economy was going and is going now <sup>is</sup> to bankruptcy.
- (11 a) No.
- (11 b) Yes.
- (11 c) ~~That~~ Hungary was selling <sup>her products</sup> (practically for nothing for which from other markets they could have gotten good prices. For instance, ships were sold for half ~~price~~ of the cost price. This is a concrete fact. It came to light during the Revolution. As students we talked about these things.
- (11 d) I was too young.



- (11 e) I don't know, I was too young.
- (11 f) There was a need for that Three-Year Plan and that was organized quite well, that brought Hungary alive and back to work again. The Hungarian industry started to operate during the Three-Year Plan and Gero had a great part in this. He was a brilliant engineer and he reorganized the country's communication, ~~because~~ <sup>for instance</sup> under his supervision were the bridges ~~rebuilt~~ rebuilt in Budapest. As an engineer he was a brilliant man, but as a politician he was a very bad man. About the Five-Year Plan: that was very unrealistic and couldn't be accomplished. The workers were driven too hard and it was not possible to fulfil the Five-Year Plan. It was an economic and moral failure.
- (11 g) Imre Nagy's economic policy for the peasants was quite good because he had abolished the things <sup>about which</sup> that the peasants were dis- <sup>not</sup>satisfied about, but for the city and for the industrial sectors of Hungary he made great many mistakes. For instance he had left almost completed factories unfinished. I know one concrete instance where only the roof would have to have been put on the factory and then they could have started manufacturing and working in that factory, he stopped the final work on ~~this factory~~ <sup>it</sup> for a year and after a year that factory needed much more repair work to be finished and put into working condition again.

Interviewer asked how did she know about these things. She mentioned, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> the accusations that were raised against Nagy when Nagy was replaced were ~~true~~ <sup>~ id</sup> true. She replied that she knew

about this concrete facts/since her father-in-law was an architect, and through him she heard that ~~that~~<sup>the</sup> accusation that for the industry ~~his~~<sup>Nagy's</sup> plans and his organization was<sup>e</sup> not very successful.

- (11 i) No, I didn't know anything special about that, nothing whatever beside what they printed in the newspapers.
- (11 j) In 1955 and '56 we had about the same kind of economic conditions and that I could say was maybe a little bit better than in the early ~~XXXXX~~ 1950s. Not really considerably, but somewhat better. There was less food shortages and less queuing up for needed food.
- ~~XXX~~  
(12) The bad economic conditions were very decisive factors especially in the workers' and peasants' eye and it had a great influence on
- (12 a) the later events. For the intellectuals the existence of censorship and ~~the~~ the fact that any personal advancement in a job for intellectuals could be only through the Communist Party. I think that for the intellectuals this<sup>e</sup> fact<sup>we're</sup> was more important than the bad economic conditions.
- (12 c) Against the economic conditions mostly the workers and peasants were complaining and against the censorship and lack of freedom of speech the intellectuals were complaining and concerning the later events I think that the intellectuals ignited it, but the workers carried it out, and the workers wouldn't have started it, on the other hand the intellectuals <sup>e</sup> wouldn't have carried it out.
- (12 d) I was a student and before that meeting on October 22nd we didn't have any definite plans or ideas concerning any kind of anti-Government activities, but after October 22nd we definitely had.

- (12 e) The workers' dissatisfaction was manifested by cheating at norms, sabotage and slow-down.
- (12 f) The workers behaved very courageously during the fighting. They were fighting and they also guarded the factories from looting, from demolishing or damaging the factories by any and by also from the Russian soldiers who couldn't go in and start to run the factories again.

- (1) I attended public school, four years in gymnasium, four years technical school and four at the University of Engineering.
- (a) I attended school since 1939 up to the present.
  - (b) University of Engineering - Electric engineering. I attended there four years I have one more semester to finish my schooling there.
  - (c) Budapest.
- (2) Yes.
- (a) This has been answered in question one.
  - (b) No.
  - (c) Yes, I finished four years in gymnasium and then I took four years in a technical high school.
  - (d) No.
  - (e) No. I didn't attend any special ideological school only at the University we had some compulsory lectures that we had to attend on Marxism.
  - (f) I attended technical school because I wanted to have some practical training, I wanted to have some training by the time I finished school, so this way, at the same time with my graduation diploma I was a finished radio technician.
- (3) Yes.
- (a) Engineering.
  - (b) I wanted to become an engineer-electronic engineer.
  - (c) I thought I would be able to finish my studies because if one is accepted once to the university, they generally



let you go through with your schooling and finish it. It is quite expensive to train somebody in University for the state and universities are free for everybody when in many cases they also give stipends.

(4) Yes.

(c) I wanted to become an engineer.

(d) Yes. <sup>With</sup> ~~the~~ higher education and training one would have a better life.

(5) Same thing.

(a) I wanted to become an engineer.

(c) No.

(6) My grades were generally medium or good.

(a) I was lazy to study more than that.

(7) Yes.

(a) I didn't have any stipend, but my parents income was enough to finance my living while I was studying at school. Only those people got stipends whose parent's income was below a certain amount.

(b) I don't think so.

(8) Every subject was compulsory. One could choose only his major like majoring in radio engineering or majoring in architecture, but within that major every subject was compulsory.

(a) The compulsory courses were: first of all, all the courses regarding one's major. One's technical courses and outside of that there was compulsory studies in Marxism. In Marxism

for two years we learned the history of the Bolshevik Party and then the next two years we learned political economy and the last half year we studied philosophy.

Another compulsory subject, outside of our compulsory technical subjects, was industrial economics. We learned about the organization of the firm, planning of the firm and system.

- (b) Yes, I enjoyed studying my technical courses but not the other ones because they were .
- (c) A foreign language is very necessary for us. In Hungary we couldn't get foreign literature on technical subjects only in Russian. The Russians translated from every language all technical articles. If one wanted to keep up with technical development outside Hungary, we could read it all in Russian so for that reason, I think the Russian language was very necessary for us. Generally my opinion is that in University or in higher education, there should be one compulsory foreign language, but I would suggest that everybody should have as free choice what language they would like to study.
- (d) I think that the history of the Bolshevik Party was unnecessary for us to learn. I didn't find it very interesting or enlightening, but I think/our study in political economics was very useful, because there were many true things in it. Generally it is necessary to have some economics knowledge, economic study for the university student. Even before the

Communist regime, I understand there were classes in economics for engineering students. Dialectical materialism, I think, as a brain work is very interesting whether it's true or not or certain parts are true or not can be argued, but the meaning that the Hungarian Communist interpreted in it, I don't think is true.

- (e) Every ~~country~~ country needs a certain amount of military training, but the Hungarians developed this military training to an exaggerated degree.
- (f) I think it's necessary.
- (9) The revolution has demonstrated that generally communistic education was not very successful, but generally from one or two points they achieved some results. For instance here in America we students hear many remarks and complaints that the Hungarian student don't want to or are not going to church on Sunday-that we are not religious at all. I think that is the result of the communistic education and also the wars that we lived through.
- (a) I think the children were generally more independent in Hungary than here and I think that one of the results of the Communist education.
- (b) From the Communist ideas the ones that we considered good and correct ideas, we kept them. The other ones had no effect on on.
- (Interviewer asked what were those good and correct ideas that she

thinks the students kept. Answer: I'm talking about completely in Hungarian contexts, with regard to the Hungarian situation. First that the factories should remain in public ownership and to go back to private owners. Second, in science the emphasis on the nature and natural laws. They have been trying to explain everything in this context - intellectual phenomena are the result of natural laws and are not miracles or mysteries.)

( c) No.

(d) There were some people on whom the inculcation of Communist slogan was effective.

(e) In those cases were sent to study at the university in the Soviet Union.

(Interviewer asked who were these students. Answer: Those students from the high schools were selected after high school graduation generally by the director of the school. They were recommended to a special school where they studied Russian language for a year and after that they were sent to Russia to continue regular to continue their university studies, but it is very interesting that during the revolution we students at the university got telegrams from students, Hungarian students, studying in Moscow, expressing their sympathy for the revolution and expressing their desire that they would like to leave Moscow and return to Hungary to fight with participate in the revolution. Interviewer asked what happened in this case? I don't know, because the whole revolution was so short that



there was no time for that. Interviewer asked how did she hear about this telegram? answer: we saw it in the newspaper. The newspapers published this telegram. also on the radio.)

- (e) The most effective with Communist education was for the young, ten or twelve year old children. Least effective for the university students.
- (f) These ten twelve year old children very often argued with their parents. For instance when they heard them complaining about the high  $\pi$  , they argued that it was not too high, they had heard from the teacher or read in the newspaper and generally they believed everything they heard from their teachers or read in the paper.

(10) My family was middle class family. My father was a small artisan. we had a little shop doing machine embroidery. My mother's family was also from middle class.

- (b) My husband's family was also middle class, but intellectuals. My father-in-law is an architect.

(11) The same middle class circle.

(12) Until 1945 my father was a small artisan. He owned a little shop. During the Nazi occupation he was in labor camps. After that he came in at the same time the Russians liberated Budapest. He returned to Budapest, but during the spring he was arrested up the street and taken to Russia with the prisoners of war and returned in 1947. Of course, at that time, he couldn't reopen his store and he

became an office worker.

- (a) Yes, this is answered above.
  - (b) After '47 he didn't change his job, he was in the same job.
  - (c) I think he would have preferred to have his own little shop, like he had before the war, but naturally that was impossible.
  - (d) He had four years of high school and four more years of industrial technical school.
  - (e) we were in complete agreement.
- (13) I think we were quite well off until 1943. From 1944-45 I don't know, we just lived as much as we could-anybody could-at those times.
- (a) After the war I think our life changed for the worse. It became more difficult than it was before '43, but ~~xxxxxx~~ generally our standard of living was higher than the average, because ~~of~~ both of my parents were working.
- (14) Six. My two parents, my grandmother and two younger sisters and I.
- (a) My parents were working and are still working and my two sisters are still in school and my grandmother is running the house. Their lives didn't change at all.
  - (b) Yes, I lived with my family until 1955-August. Then I got married and I lived with my husband.
  - (c) Is answered.
- (15) My father was working as an office worker. I described that above and my mother was working also. She was sewing in a little shop. I don't know much about her, because she is my

stepmother. My father married her in 1950. She has been working every since I've known her.

(b) No body else has been working in my family. My grandmother was running the house.

( 16) My middle class social origin was a disadvantage for me in Hungary. For example in my class at the university, our class got a stipend for a certain amount of money to be distributed among students. The distribution wasn't only according one's scholastic standards but/<sup>also</sup>they only considered one's social origins.

( 17) Yes.

(a) My husband attended the University in the morning and in the afternoon, he worked at the Hungarian television firm.

(b) Since August, 1956.

(c) I have no children.

(22) I was on very good terms with my father. I didn't especially like my stepmother and I had very good relations with my sisters.

(23) No not much.

(b) I wasn't very interested in politics and my parents were very tired all the time, to carry on any discussions.

(24) No.

(a-e) No.

(25) No.

(26) In the morning we all got up and went to our work, my father went to his office, ~~my~~ my mother shop, I to the university.

my sisters went to school. We left everything in great disorder at home and my grandmother took care of the house.

- (a) My parents were very close and my sisters were quite close to each other. With my grandmother we were like strangers to each other.
- (b) I don't think my family a very typical family because we had three children in our house and all three children had different mothers and only two of us had the same father. One of my step-sisters had the same father I have. This step-mother died during the war and my second step-mother had a son of a previous marriage.
- (c) I tried to read.
- (d) We were together only at supper time.
- (e) About one or two hours at meal time.
- (1) I would have liked to theaters and opera more often than I did. I didn't have enough money to go.

127) Loosened.

- (a) In my case I think because at the time when the parents could have had <sup>the</sup> greatest influence on children, my father wasn't home. I was much closer to my uncles~~xxxxxx~~<sup>with</sup> whom I lived from '44-'47. Even the last few years I spent every week a couple of days with him.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) No. I don't think so.
- (d) Yes. In many families where parents don't have or cannot have



great influence on the children.

(e) I don't know the country. I only know the city life.

(28) Yes, I think it is less formal now.

(a) In many schools there is co-education and this helps the girls to become less shy and have a more friendly relationship with boys.

(b) Between twenty and twenty-four.

(c) I don't know. Probably it has changed I would think there is less courtship ~~in~~ now than it used to be and more of a friendly-comrade relationship.

(d) I think this is better. It's much better than in years ago, when girls had to be chaperoned any place they went.

(e) Yes.

(f) With ~~prostitution~~ <sup>prostitution</sup> they were quite strict. They tried to fight it. For instance at restaurants/<sup>which</sup> was a headquarters for prostitution they stage manage a raid during ~~the night~~ <sup>the night</sup>, but generally on sexual matters, <sup>I think</sup> they just avoided the question and with ~~the~~ this they ~~may~~ pretended that there was no problem at all. Generally I think they considered that sexual matters are one's private business and also the Communists interfered in every phase of life in Hungary I think on this base they ~~respected one's~~ <sup>respected one's</sup> privacy.

(g) I think that everybody's private business and I think anybody who wants to protect with birth control should be allowed to.

(h) Yes. They considered these illegitimate children completely

on the same level as any other children which was <sup>not</sup> the case previously. I think there were many illegitimate children. Also about abortion, until one year ago there wasn't free for everybody to have abortions. There was a certain committee to decide whether abortion could be performed in certain cases, but since a year ago everybody could abortion if she chooses so.

(29) Yes, my cousin.

(a) She was a university student in the economic-agricultural economic school.

(b) She was twenty-two years old and was middle class origin.

(c) We could talk about everything.

(d) Yes, we discussed politics and also our private life.

(e) No.

(f) Yes.

(g) That we are able to talk about everything frankly with each other.

(h) Yes, probably I would have been ~~been~~ <sup>afraid</sup> to bring up political questions. I wouldn't have been able to talk to her sincerely about this matter if she were a Party official. If she had been only a Party member, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> wouldn't have made any difference.

(30) Until 1943 my family was Jewish. After '43 they were baptized Catholics.

(a) Yes, we all had the same attitude toward religion. We had no differences on this question among us.

- (b) It might ~~be~~ be the Communist education or maybe the effect of the war, but neither I nor any member of my family believed in God.
- (51) Yes.
- (a) Generally for the children they tried to find some entertainment for Sunday morning and this way they had no time to go to church.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) There was an office that dealt with religious affairs and through them the State interfered with the religious life of every <sup>religious</sup> denomination.
- (d) Because the Communists knew that in the country the people's opinion are influenced to a great extent by their ministers and priests and they wanted to solicit or at least get by force, the ministers or priesthood to influence and <sup>these</sup> form ~~their~~ opinions.
- (e) I think they were trying to use it for their own ends. I thought they needed this to help in the propaganda and also they wanted to show to the west that they hadn't stamped out religion, that religion still existed in Hungary and also on Sunday was a very convenient way of people gathering together and if the priest was pro-government, he delivered speeches for the government.
- (f) One couldn't say that they were directly persecuting religious peoples from any faith only it wasn't a very good point

on one's record if they said that he or she is religious and goes to church every Sunday or every Friday to the synagogue.

- (g) Yes.
  - (h) I didn't go to church.
  - (i) Generally the students at the university were not religious and didn't attend any church services. In the country I don't know, but there is a fact that generally Sundays the churches were full of people, so there were people who attended church services.
  - (k) I don't know who they were.
  - (l) I think the Protestant<sup>and</sup>/Reform churches cooperated the best with the government and the Catholic Church the least because the Catholics have lost the most during the Communist regime. All their lands have been taken away by the government and they closed all the cloisters and monasteries and all the Parochial schools.
  - (m) Less. I think <sup>our</sup> parents were more religious, believed in God more than we did.
- (32) The Jews believe at the beginning that the Communist will give them moral compensation for all the persecution in the past, and for that, I think many Jews approved the regime and cooperated with them at least at the beginning. The result of that was that when the people were complaining against Communism and complaining about the Communist regime at the same



time they complained against the Jews, too.

(a) Answered above.

(b) The Jews were fighting the same way that any Hungarians. They were fighting together. In Hungary the Jews are not considered equal citizens as many <sup>other</sup> ~~of the~~ non-Jew Hungarian. Also this isn't in law. The law makes no difference between Jews and non-Jews, but their instinctive hatred against the Jews still exists in Hungary. What one could feel this in the university, too. Somehow instinctively we associated with our group. For instance, this boy at the university would have like to go out with a girl he first found out some way whether this girl was Jewish or not.

(33) The high state officials and the party officials were the best off in Hungary and the peasants and the ~~other~~ A workers were the worst off in Hungary.

(a) I think I was somewhere about the middle.

(b) I think I was satisfied with my social status.

(34) Engineering.

(a) Because I think such technical knowledge was very necessary and could be, a job could be found very easily and this would have carried the least political implications. One didn't have to be political in such kind of occupation.

(b) I would have advised him to study and work hard and in his work he should try to do something new, not necessarily dis-

covery, this is also good, but if he had some new ideas in Hungarian there was a special expression for that "ujitan", that in literal translation would mean reform. Reform subtitle discover some new technic in producing something or discover a new part in a machine. Generally try for a simplification of the work.

(c) Child of the worker.

(1) No, I am only interested in news from Poland. In '45 and '46, as a young child I was very interested in politics but later on I got bored with it.

(1a) I find it dirty, especially in the last few years, the Hungarian politics.

(1b) Just as an observer.

(1c) Very little.

(1d) No, just in youth organizations, and I didn't participate in any political activities. ~~I had no interest in it.~~

(1e) ~~No,~~ because my parents were working, and they had to participate to a degree in political life, but students could get out of it.

(1f) No, I ~~was~~ behaved like that all the time.

(2) I didn't like <sup>the talk</sup> that in school to every topic they tried to bring in politics.

(2a) (4,6,9) I would find most important complaints: <sup>The</sup> Disagreement with political ideas, Fear of arrest & terror, Interference with civil rights

(11) ~~Least important:~~ Least important: Inadequate professional recognition

~~4, 6, 9~~  
(2b) No. 4

(2c) No. 1

(2d) <sup>cut off</sup> Nos. 5 and 3

(2e) No. 4

(2f) Those Communists saw through and they ~~realized~~ the lies that <sup>They realized that</sup> were told them, and the country is in complete poverty because the Russians on the basis of friendship <sup>took</sup> away everything from the country.

(2g) After Marxism class <sup>as</sup> we thought and talked a great deal about

arrest and terror. After a visit to a factory we thought and talked about the complaints of the workers. Yes, we talked that over with our fellow students. We had many discussions with students at the university. We knew who were the informers and we watched and didn't speak in front of them.

- (2X1) The government could have heard these complaints, - or could have improved (conditions) but they didn't try; but individuals couldn't <sup>do anything</sup> because there was no opportunity.
- (3) I was very impressed in 1946 by the establishment of the Hungarian Republic. In 1948 when the two parties, the Communists and the Socialists, united, I wasn't very pleased about that, and then shortly after that came the Rákosi Rajk trials. ~~And~~ I didn't believe in his guilt, and my disillusionment was on the way. In 1953 when Nagy came into power I was very pleased.
- (3a) I was then fourteen years old. Generally, as a young girl ~~was~~ I/~~sympathized~~ sympathized with the Social Democrats ~~because~~ because of my family. My grandfather was an editor in 1924/ of one of the Hungarian Socialist papers called Nepszabó, And in 1945 the Social Democratic Party helped my grandmother a great deal, ~~but~~ I wasn't active in any party and didn't do anything in any party because I was a young child.
- (3b) Yes, my father was a Social Democrat.
- (3c) (iv) During the Rajk trials I started to turn against the Communists.
- (3d) In 1945 (I didn't like Communism,) I was impressed by political democracy ~~see~~ I don't think my opinion changed since 1945.



(3e) Yes, the students.

(3f) The people had to work and obey <sup>in order</sup> to maintain their ~~livelihood~~ <sup>livelihood</sup> and at the beginning they also hoped and trusted, but later on they would just comply with the regime because of personal security; ~~and for the~~ <sup>and for the</sup> Revolution to explode there ~~has to~~ <sup>must</sup> be some final push to bring it about. ~~And~~ Since the end of ~~the~~ 1955 it was expected that something will happen.

(4) ~~By~~ the government's ~~hands~~, but this wasn't independent power.

(4a) The government orders were carried out and if they weren't carried out entirely the ~~AVH~~ AVH helped.

(4b) The government and the Party were one and the same thing. The Party gave recommendations and the government carried them out.

(5) The Party's central leadership was followed by the government.

(5a) ~~A voting machine.~~ The parliament was a mere voting machine

(5b) Merely formalities. <sup>Local governments were</sup>

(5c) In the <sup>villages</sup> country, yes; <sup>were</sup> in full power and respect because the

police and the AVH were behind them. In the villages, they carried out the government's <sup>orders</sup> regulations. But ~~the Councils~~ <sup>these local governments</sup>

only had power over their subordinates; <sup>from</sup> but over their

superiors they had no <sup>independence</sup> power at all, they just carried out their orders

(5d) ~~that was~~. I don't know, I was very young in 1944. ~~Yes,~~

(5e) Yes, there was some degree of corruption, especially in offices dealing with ~~for~~ apartment distribution. I know <sup>some</sup> concrete cases, ~~if any~~

~~people were applying~~, - In one case there were about ten different families applying for an apartment - ~~and~~ the one who paid the official got the apartment.

(5f) <sup>Party</sup> ~~Basically~~ the students who graduated from Lenin's <sup>The</sup> Institute, - went into civil service.

<sup>This</sup> ~~that~~ was a special school for young people who wanted to learn the Russian language and the science of Marxism. This was the only reliable, <sup>from the government's point of view,</sup> ~~reliable~~ university. And <sup>partly</sup> ~~partially~~ the older <sup>civil servants</sup> ~~official~~ group who, for good money, would do everything, and then old illegal Party workers who were working underground in the Communist Party, during the war.

- (5g) Those <sup>young</sup> people ~~would~~ <sup>who did not</sup> even want to study, (especially young peasants) and <sup>those</sup> who liked the soldier's and officer's uniforms. Their duty was relatively light and they got good pay.
- (6) It had <sup>many</sup> ~~the~~ advantages ~~that~~ one could get into the university more easily, and one could get cheap theatre and movie tickets, and anyway every student was a Disz member.
- (6a) It was necessary to go to membership meetings.
- (6b) Yes.
- (6c) <sup>There was no pressure -</sup> No, somebody who was in high school was automatically, ~~naturally~~ a member of the ~~Disz~~ Disz because one could not <sup>afford to</sup> ~~turn~~ a down the opportunity to have free or cheap movie tickets and ~~an~~ cheap or free membership in ~~a~~ swimming pools and sport houses.
- (6d) It wasn't compulsory, <sup>to belong</sup> but it was damaging, <sup>not to</sup> especially in <sup>the</sup> cities. In villages, it was different ~~but~~ I understand ~~it was compulsory~~ ~~to belong~~ ~~to the Disz~~.
- (6e) Some people thought that the advantages, (economic advantages,) <sup>derived from belonging to the Disz</sup> ~~they~~ ~~would~~ wouldn't balance the ideological disadvantages. ~~to join~~
- (6f) Yes.
- (6g) In 1949 when the Disz was formed the whole school joined ~~to~~

№

No. 106

"A" PRETEST

SECTION G

LT D. 64

(6h)

Nothing.

(6i)

I got cheap entertainment, cheaper tickets to theatres, movies, and I ~~was~~ was also a sport fan and this assured me cheaper opportunities to pursue my pleasure.

(6j)

*We had to attend*

Membership meetings and <sup>pay membership fees</sup> monthly payments of 1 forint was the membership fee) and we had to attend the parades.

(6k)

About two or three hours a month.

(6p)

~~Everybody~~ At the membership meetings everybody expressed his or her ~~own~~ opinion and <sup>if</sup> the Diss leadership wanted to it could have passed on this opinion to higher officials in the organization. ~~Diss (for these)~~ <sup>These</sup> opinions were not political opinions and <sup>there were</sup> no political arguments <sup>at the meetings</sup> at the meetings.

(6q)

Party leadership.

(7)

Economic advantages and faster progress in <sup>career</sup> ~~career~~ and ~~position~~

(7a)

Everybody who wanted to be promoted in any <sup>position</sup> ~~position~~ of influence ~~at the meetings~~.

(7b)

I don't know, I think nobody.

(7c)

They can criticize their Party leadership; they have voting rights <sup>at party</sup> decisions, ~~they~~

(7d)

To attend Party meetings and to carry out political missions; to collect bond issues; and to participate in education and <sup>agitations</sup> also <sup>to attend</sup> parades.

(7e)

<sup>There were some people who originally</sup> Yes, they were Social Democrats and <sup>after</sup> during the unification of the two parties they remained in the party. If they <sup>from</sup> had been expelled <sup>would have</sup> from the party they got a bad mark on their cards.

(7f)

<sup>like that</sup> No, I didn't know anybody personally; but I imagine there were people who wanted to create a career for themselves

and they were not accepted because of their class origin.

- (7g) No. Generally people under 24 years; <sup>could not join the Party.</sup> but if a young
- (7 l) If I would have wanted very much, I could have joined the Party, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- 7 (m) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I was too young.
- 7 (n) People who wanted to have economic advantages, people who otherwise would have lost their job, and also convinced Communists.
- (7 o) People who joined it for opportunistic reasons, on them you, one could notice that they joined the Party, they made accusations and damages to other people, <sup>for</sup> but people who were obliged to join the Party, <sup>membership</sup> made no difference in their behavior.
- (7 p) The Soviet Bolshevik ~~XXXXX~~ Central Party Committee <sup>ran the Party</sup> ~~and the~~ <sup>The local</sup> parties were directed by the Central Party Committee.
- (7 q) ~~One and the same.~~ Government and Party were one and the same thing.
- (7 r) The same.
- (7 s) The same.
- (7 t) Completely subordinated.
- (7 u) The Party tried to interfere with religious organizations, for instance <sup>from</sup> the Catholic Youth organization, they had withdrawn the permission to organize.
- (8) Yes.
- (8 a) The 'Haladás.' It means "Progress." It was the sport organization of DISz.
- (8 b) I wanted to have a sport car and this was the only way to get it.
- (8 c) Yes, I know the DISz and the "Uttordk", ("Pioneer")



- (8 d) The parents didn't especially like the Pioneers club, because it took too much time away from the children.
- (8 e) I was a member of DISz and Haladás, which is a sports clubx of DISz.
- (8 i) To support the ~~work~~ Party's work
- (8 j) We had connections with the DISz members, but not as DISz members, but as fellow-students in the ~~same~~ same class of the University.
- (8 k) The <sup>DISz leaders were</sup> University students of worker and peasant origin, because they were the most reliable. The DISz secretary was a Party member, (He was older than 24 years) and he was <sup>at the</sup> a class informer. He was a worker originally and took a short course <sup>and graduated</sup> from high school. He wasn't a very intelligent person. I don't know why he joined the Party, but he was thankful to the Party because the Party gave him the opportunity to go to school, he got <sup>good</sup> scholarships and ~~opportunities~~. He was a very unlikeable character. He made often hysterical scenes when decisions were <sup>made</sup> taken against his wishes.
- (8 l) There were informers. The Party secretary immediately <sup>found</sup> heard if we had some discussion in the class, but we were able to identify later on who were the informers.
- (8 m) No.
- (8 n) They were bored with them.
- (8 o) We generally favored sports organizations, because this way we had an opportunity to get cheaper accomodation, for instance at skiing expeditions or excursions.
- (8 p) The organizations which were <sup>those</sup> ~~formed~~ <sup>where membership was</sup> compulsory for

for instance the Hungarian-Soviet Association. Everybody was  
approached  
obligated to join <sup>it</sup> ~~and for instance they compelled us to join~~  
and ~~at one time~~ <sup>periodically</sup> there were certain drives to <sup>increase the</sup> collect membership  
<sup>These times</sup> ship. When one joined one paid the membership fee for a month,  
then stopped paying, and the whole thing was forgotten until  
the next drive.

(9)

The Diss was not a strong hold of Communism, maybe the Communists said so, it was a student organization and the membership was more or less compulsory. Later on starting during the Nagy regime in 1953, gradually it turned into a debating forum. The Communist education enabled us to learn the Marxian ideology and in debate or I should say to hit back, one has to know the Marxian ideology and this also proved to us what the Hungarian government was doing wasn't Marxism.

(10)

Generally in the AVH the members were recruited just like in any other sector of the army and these people were assigned to AVH, but then when they served their term, some of them could remain in the AVH. the officers who remained in, I could say they were rather stupid and sadistic.

- (a) They were recruited just like the other soldiers. The officers were sometimes recruited from factories.
- (b) The majority of the officers were young peasant boys around 25 years old. At the beginning they might have been convinced Communists but later on many of them were disappointed, but <sup>when they</sup> ~~they~~ signed up, they had to sign a five year contract and it was very difficult ~~xxxx~~ to break that or get out of the service.
- (c) I think that the AVH members might have lived in greater fear than the general population, because they knew much more than an average person and they might have feared

that with a new government they would have been the scapegoat.

( Yes, I would differentiate between a regular member of the AVH and an informer. Very often the regular members could have avoided and some of them did avoid that it was possible to harm an informer. Here an informer deserved all the punishment, because an informer is the scum of the earth.

(11) No.

(a-e) I didn't have any personal experience.

(f) Generally people who had higher official posts and they expressed some opinion contrary to the general accepted Communist line and also educated people, intellectuals.

After the Communists took over in 1948 and '49, their drive against Social-Democrats, who were unwilling to go over to the Communists.

(12) First of all I advised him not to discuss politics with any body. Not to get involved in politics. If the person was not a high official or didn't have a high industrial or governmental post, he could do that very easily.

(a) No, I don't think there is any occupation that involves no danger at all so that it would be completely safe.

(b) One can get involved and into trouble much easier that way. Yes, that can help, that's quite valuable, but sometimes you get in trouble because of that, because of your



connection for instance all of Rijk's friends were arrested. The best connection is a scientist or an

who is so respected and honored that he can be and remain above politics. That kind of connections can really help people and these kind of people really help other people, for instance <sup>Kodaly</sup> ~~is~~ is a person like that .

- (d) Yes it is advantageous, and one can hide his or her middle class origin, but if they discover it that a person was hiding it or falsifying his origin than <sup>it's</sup> ~~it's~~ <sup>worse,</sup> ~~also~~ ~~xxx~~
- (e) Yes, that is very useful. It enables the person to remain outside of kind of involvements much easier than having no money.
- (f) Generally.
- (g) Yes, the writers.
- ( 13) The ~~xxxxxx~~ courts are under the jurisdiction of the chief persecutor's office which is basically run by the AVH. The police deals generally with traffic violation and general crime.
- (r) I don't know.
- b) The police department didn't get along too well with the AVH because the AVH always interferred in their cases. They were always looking for political motives in any crime cases or very often if they were involved in trying some criminal act that they had forbidden the police to look any further in the case.

- (c) I don't know.
- (14) Yes.
- (a) Before Nagy's government, the terror was very great. Then when Nagy came, took power, he abolished all the internment camps and the terror subsided somewhat. After the Nagy government, the terror increased again, but it never reached the ~~high~~ height that it had before the Nagy government came in.
- ( 15) Decisive role, I think Soviet Union played a very important role in every aspect of Hungarian life.
- (a) In any decision the Hungarian government had to ask Moscow sanction or approval before they were able to act.
- (b) It was well known that there was a Soviet advisor in every Hungarian ministry.
- (c) The Soviet exercised an indirect pressure through literature. No book or publication could come out, could appear, that was against the Soviet Union. Only pro-Soviet works were published. The direct pressure was very obvious. They just took away all or most of our product, agricultural or quite a lot of the industrial products.
- (d) No. The Soviet influence was stronger in military questions and the military training, too. For instance, military manoeuvres were conducted by Hungarian and a Soviet general jointly. The least influence was on the writers

(f) In ~~the~~ every ministry there was a Russian advisor and ~~in~~ at every branch of the army had every greater industrial firm or factory.

(16) No.

(a) Yes, they hide their true feelings because they like to live.

(b) For instance in the University one wouldn't say that he didn't want to go and join the May 1st parade, he would get into, not directly, as a result of that to trouble, but it wasn't very advisable to do that, because later on this would be one point against you.

(c) One had to know the person before one could speak to him freely.

(d) ~~один мог говорить с кем-нибудь~~ One could speak a little bit criticize more freely and one could ~~говорить~~ to some extent the mistakes that have been done, the economic mistakes that have been committed within the country and the least advisable topic of conversation would be the Soviet exploitation.

(e) In the last year and a half the people had more courage to talk to each other a little bit more freely.

(17) Yes, I think there were cases when this could be done.

(a) There might have been, I don't know about them.

(b) Might have been, I can't think of any .

(c) Yes, if the peasant had his grain or meat or any other product that he was producing that well that the government

officials, or the usurer collectors, wouldn't find it, then. But this was very difficult. For instance the grain had to be thrashed and the thrashing machines were owned by the Corps Houses or by the tractor stations so very often if they had thrashed during the night they could have had the grain or just had it without thrashing it. With animals, cattle or pigs, there was a practice called "fekete vagas", it means black slaughter, they slaughtered the animals during the night and profited and hid it some place.

- (d) Yes, he can appeal and ask for <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ look for collections with influential people but I don't think he can do merit very much or they could do very much for him.
- (e) It's a very involved process, but it can be done. The person has to file a firm in the city where he wants to go and have to make arrangement with the firm or the factory that they want him and then ask the firm, this new firm to apply for him at his old factory and if the old factory releases him or lets him go, he can go and work for this new firm. We have cases like that happen that a university student, because of his origin wasn't accepted the university and they just went to the ministry of education and appealed and in this one particular case, I know, finally he was accepted.
- (18) The careerist people who would do anything to promote their interest -- self-interest.



(19)

It was a passive resistance, for instance a student didn't go to certain parades and didn't join certain parades or to certain meetings.

- (a) This is was a very gradual process/<sup>it was</sup> just lately that we were daring enough to go not to attend the meeting or not to go to certain parades, at the beginning everybody went.
- (b) The older generation and the children. These people didn't express any opinion. They just kept quiet during the hardest time and of course later on the writers were very vocal about their opposition.
- (c) People who drew high salaries from the government were the least enemies of the government.
- (d) While I don't think that intensity changed, it was just it came out more in the open. The resistance was more open and more direct.
- (e) The resistance was generally individual except writers group, but the writers federation.
- (f) After the twentieth Congress there was disagreement and discussion even within the Party. For instance Party members who were arrested after the Rajk case had been accepted again in the Party.
- (g) The writers guild and the students were demanding new party leadership and freedom of the press and on the workers side the resistance found expression in cheating with the and from the peasants part, they were hiding their products.

- (g) Yes.
- (i) Yes, but I don't remember any or don't know of any concrete case.
- (j) Yes, within the writers & federation "Horvat, Marton" against the party leadership and within the government, Nagy against the leadership.
- (k) No there couldn't be any organized resistance because it was very dangerous.
- (l) In connection with <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ Petofi Circle, I thought that the government wanted to extort some confessions from the Soviet government but for that they needed the people's help. They wanted to show the Soviet government that there is a National movement from below that they have to ease the people's lot because there is unrest among the people. So that's why they didn't stop the Petofi Circle criticisms and operation at the beginning and when the beginning the Petofi Circle expressed its objections to some government action, the people were afraid to attend the meetings, but when they saw that nothing happened to the members, they attended the meetings, ~~though~~ in 1956 there was no fear in the people to attend Petofi Circle meetings. So I think this whole freedom and criticism was an allowed practice. They wanted to show the unrest among the people to the Soviet government, but then the control of this unrest slipped out of their hands and they couldn't control it and the formation of the

Kefess was already a sign of the collapse of the government power. The Kefess was formed by Disz members and mostly Disz members were members of the Kefess.

(1) Newspapers and radio. Very seldom I listened to foreign broadcasts of the BBC and Radio Free Europe.

(a) The most interesting news came from BBC, but I listened to it very seldom because the station was disturbed and very difficult to hear. Mostly I listened to the Budapest radio.

Radio . The newspapers were too long. I liked to listen to the short news summaries on the radio.

(b) The newspapers.

(2) I glanced at or read the newspapers <sup>practically</sup> every day.

(a) "Szabad Nep." ~~was~~ (Free People) It was the official party organ. ~~and I read~~ <sup>2) also</sup> a magazine called "Irodalmi Ujsag" <sup>regularly.</sup>

<sup>It is published</sup> This was an excellent publication. ~~at the last~~ <sup>now</sup> ~~now~~ <sup>no</sup> it appears in London. <sup>3)</sup> Also I read a magazine on radio

technology.

"Irodalmi Ujsag" (Literary Gazette)

(b) The daily newspaper every day. The ~~Irodalmi Ujsag~~ I read twice a month. It came out twice a month and I usually read it as soon as it was published.

(c) The daily paper I read <sup>only</sup> because our family got it, ~~and about~~ <sup>The</sup> "Irodalmi Ujsag." <sup>I read because</sup> ~~there was a paper which~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~the only~~ <sup>the only</sup> wrote the truth and wasn't afraid to express ~~the truth of its~~ <sup>Irodalmi</sup> opinions. Sometimes the issues of this ~~Irodalmi~~ Ujsag were confiscated.

(d) In the daily papers I only read the headlines. The others were very long and dull. In the <sup>Irodalmi</sup> Ujsag I read every article. <sup>paper</sup> That was quite a treasure.



- (e) No, I never read the editorials in the daily papers.
- (f) Nothing in the daily paper. In the magazine Irodalmi Ujsag, I enjoyed every article. I especially liked criticism of the Hungarian life, <sup>It</sup> criticized the meetings and generally the customs and habits prevailing in Hungary and also they wrote <sup>reviews</sup> ~~criticism~~ about new publications. Hungarians published a lot of bad Soviet books and I enjoyed reading the criticism of <sup>those</sup> ~~these~~.
- (h) Yes. <sup>at</sup> ~~in~~ the university wall newspapers.
- (i) These ~~were written with~~ articles in these papers were written by the students ~~at~~ the university. Generally they dealt with local problems and not <sup>with</sup> politics.
- (k) Yes.
- (l) One could see Pravda everywhere and there was one particular newsstand where I have seen Austrian newspapers all the time.
- (m) I haven't read the Austrian papers because I don't know German.
- (3) Yes. I went to the movies very often. About every two weeks.
- (a) Whenever there was a new and good movie showing.
- (b) The Italian and French movies were the best.
- (c) In the Italian and French movies there were none In the Hungarian movies had some political message. Sometimes they took <sup>up a</sup> a third or a quarter of the movie and quite often the whole movie was political propaganda. There was one good Hungarian movie, I remember recently, called "KÖR HINTA," <sup>one</sup> (means merry-go-round.) This I think had no propaganda or

Just ~~very~~ very little propoganda.

(d) I liked to go to the movies very much.

(e) Yes.

(f) In the last two or three years there were many foreign movies ~~shown~~ shown in Hungary. ~~and was shown~~

(g) Yes.

(h) About once a month. I went to any theater where there ~~was~~ was <sup>^</sup>good plays ~~were~~ showing. Generally I went to the National Theater. "Nemzeti Színház"

(i) There are less Soviet plays showing now. As a matter of fact my friend's parents have wrote to me that there are no Soviet plays showing in Hungary, because the actors wouldn't act in them and also, they wouldn't have an audience for those plays.

(4) Yes.

(b) In high school I read about three books a week. We could only take out three books from the library. In the univer-  
sity I read three four books a month.

(c) Just before I left I read GONE WITH THE WIND and PYGALION by Bernard Shaw and a Hungarian book written by László Németh ~~where~~ the title was "VESZELYES MŰVÉSZLET," (dangerous art is the translation.)

(d) About GONE WITH THE WIND I heard a great deal and was very curious. I wanted to read it, but I didn't find it very good. I thought it was over romantic. PYGALION was <sup>one of</sup> my favorite books. I read it many times. ~~and~~ The third book,

the Hungarian book, is one of the best recently published Hungarian books. It describes a careerist, a person who strives to be a success, ~~and~~ all his life <sup>he</sup> practiced this art, starting during the Horthy regime as a young student <sup>at</sup> ~~and~~ at high school, he informs on other people ~~and~~ later ~~on~~ <sup>he</sup> follows this <sup>pattern through his</sup> whole life. He also gets into the Communist Party. It wasn't a very popular book with the Communist Party officials.

- (o) Generally when I was allowed to take out three books from the library, I tried to select a classical, modern and then a Hungarian book.
- (f) Yes, I had difficulty very often because there are many books or index, but generally I was able to get it from somebody's private library.

(5) Yes.

- (b) Yes, I had a radio, was a Hungarian make, <sup>called Orion</sup>
- (c) I listened most of the time to <sup>the</sup> Kossuth <sup>Radio</sup>. <sup>this</sup> ~~It~~ was a station in Budapest. They had very good programs quite often.
- (d) I especially liked concerts and musical programs.
- (e) I generally listened in the evening <sup>for</sup> a few hours, ~~as~~ if they broadcasted a program I listened through that whole program which lasted about three hours.
- (f) In bed.
- (g) Music.



- (6) Very seldom I listened to BBC and Radio Free Europe.
- (a) I didn't listen to foreign broadcasts too much because the reception was very disturbed and it was very difficult to hear.
- (b) But sometimes we could get BBC, Radio free Europe and also ~~the~~ Radio Madrid.
- (c) This last one, Radio Madrid, was the least disturbed, but this had very stupid news broadcasts. For instance they started every broadcast with this sentence: Prince Primate Mindszonty we salute you and pray for you. There was also a Yugoslav station broadcasting from <sup>"Novisad"</sup> ~~"Wladis"~~ which was a Hungarian city before World War II ("Ujvidék") ~~and~~ they had Hungarian broadcasts. Generally <sup>they had</sup> very good musical programs and I liked to listen to ~~that~~ it.
- (d) I listened to the radio practically every evening.
- (e) The musical programs were very enjoyable.
- (f) The Radio Free Europe broadcasts were not very, the least, reliable. The BBC broadcasts were very objective and the Radio Madrid broadcasts <sup>were not</sup> ~~were~~ very good, <sup>at all.</sup> The propaganda was very stupid, I think.
- (7) Yes, I attended the meetings at 'Petofi Kor.' (Petöfi Circle)
- (b) answered in question seven.
- (c) I wanted to attend these meetings. They were very interesting.
- (d) I attended every meeting they held.
- (e) They discussed the problems on every phase of life, about in-



ustrial questions, economic questions, agricultural questions, about the Press, <sup>and</sup> about culture.

- (f) They were arranged by Diaz and Petrofi Kof itself.
- (g) ~~was~~ had no definite time limit. Very often we were listening to them half the night and finally at three o'clock we were sent home because it was too late.
- (h) The audience enjoyed these meetings very much.
- (i) They were general discussions. Generally they had a formal speaker on certain subjects, he might have been an official from the industrial ministry, ~~and~~ they might have had one or two formal speakers who delivered a lecture for a half hour or so and after that there were questions asked from the audience and ~~the~~ discussions among the audience with the speaker and the audience among themselves. They were very exciting debates.
- (j) Is answered in i.
- (8) Yes quite a lot.
  - (a) For instance through this means ~~th~~ we found out that Hungary had uranium.
  - (b) I don't remember.
  - (c) Example is in a.
  - (d) Some of the news was not very reliable, but there <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ always some basis and we somehow were able to unwind the truth.
  - (e) Many of the news had some basic core of truth and each time somebody relate the news added something to it.

- (f) About two years ago there was a rumor going around ~~at~~ at the university that they would move the whole university's engineering section-machine engineering section- to Miskolc, <sup>the</sup> (that's a city of/north east of Hungary.) The basis of this news was that in Miskolc, they were building a machine engineering school and anybody who ~~was~~ <sup>wanted to</sup> studying there could transfer. But there wasn't any compulsory transference for anybody.
- (g) At the university, among friends, ~~and~~ <sup>where</sup> the best place one could ~~best news was~~ <sup>the</sup> discuss news on the street ~~and~~.
- (h) In apartments.
- (i) Probably, people who were working at the central Party offices.
- (j) In streetcar and in espresso coffee houses.
- (k) I think with the writers, one would seek connections, to get good news and good information.
- (l) Yes. Once during an excursion up in the mountains we found a leaflet, <sup>This</sup> ~~it~~ was about two years ago. They were probably dropped out of a balloon, ~~by~~. It was a Radio Free Europe publication. I have shown it around among my friends, but not too many of my friends, because there was a decree that every leaflet had to be handed in to the authorities.

(Interviewer asked why didn't she turn it in to the authorities?

Answer: Because one would just have trouble with such things. One would be asked when did one find it, how, why, why did you pick it up? why answer a lot of questions, ~~so~~ it was so much

easier just to put it away or throw it away.)

- (9) To Party members - <sup>To</sup> a maintenance who were party members.
- (a) I would try to listen to foreign broadcasts specially BBC.
- (b) Through Budapest Kossuth Radio, but I didn't listen to it very much. I never listened to the local <sup>sport</sup> broadcasts. if there was some interesting sport event going on, I listened to the short sport summaries. Generally I ~~heard~~ <sup>was told</sup> that the local broadcasts were very good.
- (c) I would try to contact people who were in various ministries or at <sup>the largest</sup> ~~greater~~ industrial factories.
- (10) 1) News about internal events; about seventy percent of those news I would find credible. 2) about foreign events very little.
- (a) Generally I would try to think which could be logical answer.
- (b) It was unreliable consistently.
- (c) News gotten through BBC.
- (d) The official daily newspapers.
- (e) Yes <sup>"Irodalom"</sup> ~~Yes Irodalom Ujsag.~~ ~~The Hungarian official radio stations~~ ~~very reliable to all.~~
- (f) Yes.
- (g) Everything I was very fond of that paper.
- (11) Certain segment of the population tried to find out the truth but other people were too tired to do that.
- (a) The intellectuals were always trying to find out the truth.
- (b) People who were doing physical labor too tired to bother with news.

(12) Newspapers and radio.

- (a) Because that was the most ~~complete way~~ <sup>convenient way.</sup>
- (b) <sup>on Radio.</sup> I was a radio operator and we had connection with the whole country ~~and~~ Also during the revolution the newspapers were very good and reliable. <sup>at the</sup> end of October, the free Kossuth (free) Radio was established and they had very good and truthful ~~things~~ broadcast.
- (c) Yes. Partially we got news directly from the cities on our radio, and partially we got news from people who were coming in from the villages to the city, mostly peasants who were driving <sup>with</sup> ~~in~~ food for us. Some of this news was very unreliable for instance when a driver passed through a city and he saw something burning, he reported that the whole city was in flames and actually when we sent out groups to investigate they found out that <sup>only</sup> one building or <sup>a</sup> factory was burning.

(13) Yes.

- (a) School mate of mine at the university had a brother who was in Russian forced labor camp for twelve years. About two years ago she mentioned that they heard from him. Before that they didn't know where he was. They thought he was dead and at that time she indicated that he will be released and ~~it~~ took two years before he was actually released. He came home in September, 1956 <sup>1956</sup>. He mentioned that they were working in a factory somewhere in northern Russia, I think somewhere in Siberia, ~~and~~ They were working along with other ordinary



Russian workers, but in the evening they were taken to a camp.

- (b) I thought it was true. A Hungarian newspaper/<sup>man</sup> ~~Tiborxxxxx~~ <sup>"Kpoy"</sup> Meray wrote articles from Korea, and in those articles he talked about germ warfare. But during the revolution somebody questioned him about these articles and he told that those articles were <sup>all</sup> lies, ~~was a lie~~.
- (c) I think it is hard to decide who actually started the war in Korea. I think the North Koreans attacked first, but also I'm convinced if they <sup>hadn't</sup> ~~wouldn't~~ attacked the South Koreans would have started the fighting because the situation was so tense there ~~and~~ the war was apt to break out at any moment.
- (d) ~~Yes~~ Yes, he was guilty, but not of <sup>The crimes</sup> ~~that~~ guilt for which he was killed. He was guilty in setting up the AVH. Actually he was there victim later on.
- (e) I don't know much more about it than I have seen in the newspapers. My opinion is that to rearm the Germans is a very dangerous thing. It's a little bit <sup>like</sup> ~~like~~ <sup>ing</sup> play with fire. On the other hand one has to admit that the Germans are the only strong force against the Soviet, in Europe today.
- (f) They called it in the Hungarian newspapers "X Day" actually we knew very little about it. The only thing we heard that there were some riots and the local authorities couldn't deal with ~~the~~ it and the Soviet tanks came in to oppress ~~the~~ demonstrations.

(g) I haven't heard anything about emigre activities in Hungary. I have  
heard about them here in the U.S.  
~~Now~~ <sup>It is</sup> my impression ~~is~~ that there are too many organizations like that here  
and these organizations instead of working together,

and unite their strength, are fighting against  
each other. By the way <sup>that</sup> was the same trouble in Hungary, <sup>during the</sup> ~~see~~ Revolut.  
There were too many parties all of a sudden and instead of  
working together, they were against each other. For instance,  
Kindszenty with his declaration did more harm to the revolu-  
tion than anybody else when he came out of prison and de-  
clared that he is going to restore the old order and give  
back the land to the landowners and the church.

(1)

Free elections. In the villages to give free choice to people to choose between ~~wanting~~ to join <sup>is it</sup> the kolhozes or ~~want~~ to be independent from them. Also, I would give free choice to the parents to choose between allowing their children to get religious education or not in school. Generally, ~~the six~~ civil liberties are very important, and restoration of civil rights.

(1a)

I wouldn't <sup>return</sup> ~~restore~~ the big factories to <sup>ownership</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>private</sup> ~~one-hand~~ and I wouldn't give back the land to the big land owners. I would keep the Republic. ~~as the~~ <sup>big</sup> ~~factories~~ or <sup>big</sup> ~~landhold~~ <sup>in one ha</sup> ~~landholdings~~ ~~in one hand~~, I wouldn't like to see ~~that as that~~.

That would also lead to the ~~same~~ oppression of the people. As to the Republic <sup>and</sup> government I would keep that, as the Kingdom is rather obsolete and ridiculous for the modern life. There is a democratic government needed, and a Kingdom would be ~~against~~ again a single man's rule, which might turn dictatorial.

(2)

During the revolution, <sup>to</sup> my opinion, was not <sup>advisable</sup> to allow everybody to form a political party, because ~~during the revolution just~~ this fact itself weakened the revolution. ~~is it~~. For instance, ~~when~~ during the revolution they allowed parties to be formed, there were about a hundred different parties applying or registering for forming parties and this weakened the revolution a great deal in my mind. But otherwise, in any other situation outside of ~~during~~ revolutionary times I agree that every party should have the right to be formed ~~because~~.

(2a)

Because ~~because~~ forming a new party is one of the main ~~elements~~ part of civil liberties.

(2b)

I hold this very important because this is contributing to free elections and free expression of opinion. So I think

- that they are all very important.
- (2c) Only maybe <sup>one case</sup> ~~on these occasions~~ <sup>it</sup> when a party wants to <sup>arm its members</sup> ~~go in~~,  
 for instance, <sup>it</sup> Fascistic or Communistic party, <sup>is</sup> which I think  
 are the two extremes in this case) would <sup>be allowed to</sup> own up ~~that~~ arms  
<sup>they would attempt to overthrow</sup> ~~could be an attack on the~~ parties to take over the  
<sup>with violence</sup> the government. ~~It~~ Naturally this I would curb. I wouldn't allow  
 any party to arm its members for the purpose of overthrowing  
 the government.
- (3) To a degree the government has the right to raise limitations.
- (3a) Because, if parties <sup>come into power through</sup> ~~can~~ free elections, that is/ all right,  
 that is the democratic way; but not through armed victory.  
~~Answered in (3a)~~ <sup>directly attacked</sup> If a popular government is in  
 power ~~through~~ <sup>I wouldn't allow</sup> ~~to have~~ certain parties, <sup>to advocate</sup> ~~inside or out,~~  
<sup>armed</sup> aggression against this government.
- (3b) No, in only those cases <sup>where</sup> ~~that~~ the state or the country is in  
 war, then there could be to a degree, ~~but~~ otherwise freedom  
 of speech is one of the main freedoms for the people.
- (4) Yes, by all means.
- (4a) Yes, if they are attacking with words, but not if they are  
 attacking with arms.
- (4b) Answered in (4a).
- (4c) This is very important, this is one of the basic rights of  
 the civil rights.
- (4d) No, by no means. Only in case of armed attack.
- (4e) In only those cases when <sup>1)</sup> the government of the country sells  
 the country's independence and instead of serving the country  
 it serves foreign interests. <sup>2)</sup> Economically, the government  
 is unable to maintain the necessary standard of living for



its people, The people have to <sup>feel this</sup> ~~know that this is not just a~~  
~~party - ~~business~~ and~~  
~~and there is~~ great bitterness <sup>and misery</sup> all over in the country, then  
<sup>feel</sup> I would ~~justify~~ an armed aggression against the government, <sup>is justified,</sup>  
 and after that I would like to see free elections.

(5) Yes.

(5a) Because for a happy and right development it is necessary for the government, for the state, to direct the industry.

(5b) ~~State~~ Ownership by the state, ~~that~~ I think, is an arbitrary  
<sup>It gives the state power over</sup> ruling ~~and~~ an arbitrary ~~word~~, but ~~about~~ the industry, but  
~~on the other hand~~ to lead and direct the industry, that is  
 considerably different. In this case the government would  
 be just a coordinator among the different branches of industry,  
 like a peace arbitrator.

(5c) I approve only under the condition that the state is not  
 the highest power in such case, <sup>there</sup> but/would be another organ-  
 ization independent from the state and that organization  
 would coordinate, and this organization would be independent  
 of the state and from the industrial concerns and the state  
 would be just one of its main customers but not its dictator.

(5d) No, this is very difficult to answer ~~for~~ me, because <sup>from</sup> ~~what~~  
 I have learned in school in the past years, the Marxian term  
 of profit is not the same term <sup>as</sup> "profit" that I have seen  
 here, for instance, <sup>here</sup> here in a factory when I visited many  
 of the workers' <sup>shares</sup> own ~~shares~~ in that factory, so they more  
 or less own that factory. And, also, profit is plowed back  
 into the industry for improvement in new buildings and new  
 machinery. But in Hungary, I don't think politically it

would be feasible now under any ~~regime~~ regime to ~~return~~ give back the factories <sup>to</sup> their previous ~~state~~ <sup>private</sup> owners. That, for instance, in trade factories in Hungary I would set up a kind of directory, advisory board which would consist of ~~seven~~ persons with technical knowledge in this field, ~~where~~ whichever field the factory production is in. And these people would be elected by the workers.

- (6) No, I wouldn't find that necessary for the state to own the light industry, only in cases when the state has to take care of foreign orders, in that case the state could direct the industry and allocate certain materials for production. For instance, smaller factories have no foreign representation, and this way would be more economical if the state would take care of that.

- (6b) First of all what was in Hungary was a state capitalism because all the profit belongs to the state, ~~and the factory~~ ~~on the state~~ ~~and the factory~~ have . . . . ~~represent~~ ~~to~~ ~~submit~~, ~~what~~ ~~form~~ ~~of~~ ~~state~~ ~~supervision~~ ~~used~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~on~~ ~~is~~ ~~still~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~state~~ I should say which I would call ~~the~~ ~~state~~ ~~capitalism~~ ~~was~~ ~~state~~ ~~got~~ all the profit from the factory, and the factory itself or the industry itself had no say-so in the production ~~and~~ or the distribution of its products. The other form which I would ~~look~~ <sup>like</sup> at is a supervisory role ~~of~~ <sup>for</sup> the state, ~~and~~ <sup>if</sup> the state itself could only give recommendations, which could be accepted or ~~not~~ <sup>rejected</sup> ~~accepted~~ by the different industries, ~~and~~ <sup>if</sup> the state would operate as one of the chief customers for the industry, but not its sole ruler. I would recommend a kind of relationship between the state
- (6c)

and the light industry ~~that~~ <sup>where</sup> the state could give recommendations to the members of this light industry; but I don't even think that was in the case of light industries necessary.

(7) Yes.

(7a) In ~~this~~ <sup>a</sup> case, ~~and~~ <sup>if how</sup> the state could cover its expenses from the income of the state ~~monopoly~~.

(7b) That depends on the economic state ~~of~~ and the economic standard of the country. For instance, in a country where the heavy industry is not very developed, if the country was to set up production for war, armament production, then I think that should be run by the state itself.

(7c) I would oppose those type of monopolies which would lead to the oppression of the people. For instance, the situation now exists <sup>in</sup> in Hungary where everything is now state monopoly. I think for instance if in Budapest in most districts, or in cities all over Hungary, would <sup>be</sup> allow little grocery stores and green grocers to operate, the city would be better supplied, and it wouldn't have any harmful effect on the country's economy at all. I object to state monopoly and I don't know about any other ~~any other~~ kind of monopoly so I cannot have any opinion on that.

(8) In a small country and a poor country like Hungary a planned economy is necessary to coordinate the production and distribution.

(8a) Because in Hungary the heavy industry is not very well ~~developed~~ developed and they don't have enough raw material for heavy industry, so supervision and distribution of raw materials and the planning of the distribution of raw materials is

necessary. They cannot buy the raw materials from the West like they used to be able to. If they could then planning wouldn't be necessary.

(8b) The above-mentioned was a theoretical idea, in practice however, it is quite different. For instance, the planning board gives impossible directions and demands fulfillment of those impossible plans. And for this the factories have to increase the norms even just to come near to the plan demand, and this way the quality of the product suffers and also the earnings of the workers decreases.

(8c) In Russia, ~~I used to know~~ according to the propaganda, ~~the~~ production had increased but I couldn't judge that; but in Hungary the industrial equipment and also the workers were completely ~~ruled from the~~ <sup>exhausted</sup> ~~state~~ for the fulfillment of the plan, ~~and~~ because <sup>of that</sup> ~~of that~~ many of the world-famous products of Hungary had suffered, - the quality of these products <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ now much worse than it ~~was~~ used to be. I think that is quite enough danger <sup>and</sup> ~~that~~ it is constantly increasing, ~~that~~ that the quality depreciates. And in the planned economy that I used to know in Hungary, that kind of planned economy can work only with increasing norms. This is the Socialist planned economy or, I should say, the ~~pl~~ <sup>private</sup> politically planned economy. For ~~that~~ <sup>would be</sup> the industrialist to re-invest in his factory ~~is~~ <sup>because</sup> worthwhile ~~for~~ he can increase production and through that increase profit, but for the state it is not so necessary to re-invest because even obsolete machinery can produce if they just increase the norms. They are not so concerned about the workers' health. For instance,



are not used here  
 obsolete machinery ~~in this country~~ in this country. But in  
 a political economy, <sup>according to</sup> that is the economics studied ~~and the~~  
 Marxist <sup>isro</sup> ~~studies~~, we were told ~~that~~ no machine is obsolete,  
~~because~~ even if <sup>a</sup> the machine ~~would~~ produce less <sup>it</sup> that ~~it~~ can  
 still produce <sup>it</sup> and one should use it. And whatever they could  
 produce with it, even if they produce obsolete cars, the people  
 would buy <sup>it</sup> ~~because~~ there is no free choice in this type of economy.

(9) I think that postal service could be under the government or  
 state rule because this way through various postal fees they  
 could balance and coordinate the <sup>fees</sup> ~~operations~~, (for instance  
 short and long distance deliveries.) But in the case of rail-  
 roads and airlines, ~~for instance~~, I think the state ownership  
 is somewhat dangerous, because of the above-mentioned reasons.  
 that If a state has no money to build a new railroad line then  
 they wouldn't build it although it <sup>would be</sup> necessary for the people,  
 but a private firm would build that railroad.

(9b) Yes, I would make a distinction among them. Postal service  
 I think should remain under the government.

(10) It depends <sup>on what</sup> ~~what does that mean~~, "assurance of a job for  
 everybody," <sup>means.</sup> If the unemployed are obliged to accept a job,  
 I am against it because that is violation of personal freedom.  
 Naturally in this case I would comment on the fact that some  
 people would tend to take advantage of the state in this  
 respect so I would set a limit to state unemployment benefits  
 to the unemployed worker <sup>only for a certain length of time</sup> and after that he should have to  
 accept a job, that ~~for a limited time~~ ~~could be anything~~ for  
two consecutive months.

Benefits should be payed

(10a) So In that respect that the many people can take advantage of

- ~~the~~ assurance of jobs for everybody I disapprove of it.
- (10b) The nature of the assurance of a job for everybody or job opportunities for everybody might be bad in <sup>the respect</sup> ~~that it would~~ be taken advantage of.
- (10c) I would be willing to work for my honest living and if I couldn't achieve that in my country I would immigrate into another country.
- (11) In the family life.
- (11a) They have no business interfering in this area.
- (11b) Only in education they could have <sup>compulsory</sup> ~~aspenkiz~~ education established. Certainly children have to attend school; but they cannot, <sup>or</sup> shouldn't dictate whether the child should take religious classes.
- (12) Yes.
- (12b) In military service, to defend a country, to participate in political elections and obey their country's laws. Taxes are necessary to a degree; but in some cases they are not levied right. For instance, in ~~the~~ Austria, it incited ~~against~~ the people against the government.
- (12a) Yes, <sup>I</sup> military service.
- (12c) Yes, that is necessary if this laws and decrees are not in opposition <sup>to</sup> ~~with~~ liberties and civil rights. For instance, the ban on free assembly.
- ~~(12d)~~ (12d) No, ~~only~~ this <sup>2</sup> answer should refer to democratic government.
- (13) No, my opinion didn't change much about the questions; but maybe I can express it much better now that I see the other side of the coin.
- (14) As far as medical service is concerned, ~~the~~ situation improved

in Hungary.

- (14a) Not the quality. The quality had declined somewhat, but the <sup>extent</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>coverage</sup> general ~~insurance~~, the medical insurance of, the people by the state had improved. ~~that~~ <sup>the</sup> <sup>it</sup> <sup>included</sup> <sup>now</sup> <sup>many</sup> <sup>people</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>people</sup> who generally couldn't have any medical service previously; ~~but they could have had.~~
- (14b) Yes, the workers, and <sup>some</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>part</sup> of the peasants for ~~whom they~~ <sup>medical service.</sup> Only those peasants, who belonged to the <sup>Collectives</sup>, the independent peasants, <sup>did not</sup> ~~cannot~~ have any free medical service.
- (14c) The private doctor <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ more conscientious and <sup>gives</sup> ~~gives~~ more time to his patients, ~~and~~ <sup>The</sup> state district medical officers ~~and~~ (not the clinics; the clinics are different) — in the state district medical offices the doctors are always in a hurry. In the clinics on the other hand, one could get better service. <sup>at</sup> <sup>enough</sup> <sup>clinics</sup> ~~also~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~belongs~~ to the state too, ~~but~~ <sup>actually</sup> the clinic belongs to ~~it~~ <sup>a</sup> university where students <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ studying under the supervision of the best professors and medical men of the country, ~~and~~ <sup>there</sup> one could have better service than in the district offices.
- (14d) By all means it is necessary.
- (14e) It should be organized somewhat differently than in Hungary, because there the private peasant has no medical insurance and also the independent artisan has no medical insurance and he has to pay separate, private doctors. ~~On the other~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~hand~~ I would recommend ~~to~~ <sup>for</sup> some small ~~sum~~ amount this peasant, the independent peasant and the artisan should be able to join the ~~medical~~, the general medical insurance.

- (15) Yes, there is more opportunity. ~~for~~ The movies and theatres are much cheaper than ~~they were before~~ <sup>here</sup> ~~are~~. Audiences are organized through the factories, and the workers this way can get cheaper tickets through the factory organizers, and he recommends good play or movies. For instance, it never happened in Hungary that a concert room would be empty.
- (15a) This theatre organizers, which every factory had through whom one can get tickets to various shows, he can get cheaper tickets and can also recommend to the people the good plays.
- (15b) I was too young before the regime. I didn't go to the theatre so much then.
- (15c) Yes, that is very important to improve the general culture in the country.
- (15d) The intellectual who used to go previously, before the regime got into power, had less opportunity to go to movies and to theatres, but the workers go much more frequently and <sup>many</sup> ~~much~~ more people can go.
- (15e,f) Yes, because in the evening everybody has time who wants to go to see a play or a movie; but generally the skilled workers can <sup>afford</sup> ~~allow~~ to pay for tickets ~~and~~ because he earns the most money in Hungary.
- (16)(a) I would change the time from 1940, which was already war years in Hungary, to 1938. This is the high point of the peace time, and foreign food articles were all over in Hungary and one could get them. But now there are only products that were produced within the country and they are relatively cheap ~~compared~~ compared to other articles.
- (16b) When the forint was established in August 1946, it was very



highly valued and people could buy a great quantity of food for it; and also in '46 and '47, the Red Cross gave a lot of food stuff to Hungary. Also in '46 production was ~~not~~ not quite underway yet. In '47 the production rose and there were still imports from ~~foreign~~ the West. That was about the best time as far as food supplies are concerned in Hungary.

- (16c) There is no difference between 1950 and 1956 as far as food supplies are concerned.
- (16d) Peasants always had food because they can always produce whatever necessary for them, but in the cities the situation is naturally different. Those people who had enough money <sup>and</sup> to buy/substitute (supplement) their needs from the black market, those people had enough of everything. In food sometimes eggs are on that market, sometimes meat, and lemon, but this changes all the time.
- (16e) For high government officials it is the easiest and for unskilled workers it is the most difficult.
- (17)(a) Yes, people, most of the people had better clothing/<sup>now</sup> than in 1940 because the workers were very ill-clothed in those times; but the intellectuals were the worse off as far as clothing is concerned.
- (17b) Since 1946 and 1947, I should say 1947 because that was the high point ~~of~~ in Hungary. The situation had become worse because since then the value of the money <sup>has</sup> ~~had~~ fallen; but this ~~is~~ decrease had been gradual since 1947 until 1956.
- (17c) There is not much difference between 1950 and 1956. I base this on my own experience.
- (17d) The workers' lot ~~has~~ improved <sup>now</sup> since 1940 up to 1956; but

the improvement was not a straight improvement. The high point of the improvement came about in 1947, and at that time Hungary got much help from the West, that was civil democracy. And after that gradually worsened. For the intellectuals and the middle classes it had become worse since 1940. ~~xxxxxx~~ For the peasants, I don't know.

(18) Yes, because in 1945 there was no industry in Hungary and since then many new factories had been built.

(18a) The Germans demolished all the factories and also the bombing demolished the factories and whatever we had ~~had~~<sup>was</sup> been taken away by the Russians in 1945.

(18b) Yes, I think it would be advantageous. Industrialization would be advantageous for Hungary if the supply of raw materials could be assured; but sometimes the planning was very stupid. For instance, we had built great iron works when Hungary had no iron, neither iron nor coal. Instead of that they should have built a new aluminum factory because Hungary had great supplies of bauxite. But even so there was mismanagement. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ It would have been advantageous for Hungary to develop its industry.

(18c) Yes, I answered that above partially, ~~and~~ they should concentrate on development of those industries for which there is enough raw material.

(19) ~~if~~<sup>allows</sup> the peasants ~~want~~ to stay in collectives <sup>if they want to</sup> ~~and stand together in a cooperative~~ but if <sup>want to</sup> they don't ~~then~~ they should be allowed to ~~xxxxxx~~ dissolve their cooperatives ~~and~~ and distribute the land and ~~every~~<sup>animals they took in the collectives.</sup> goods that had been taken in by the peasants.

- 13
- (19a) Yes, to that extent that the peasants want to stay in the co-op.
- (19b) No.
- (19c) The members of the former <sup>collectives</sup> should decide how to divide the land. ~~And~~ <sup>the</sup> most respected citizens of the village should <sup>divide the land</sup> ~~decide~~ about ~~that~~, like it was in 1945 <sup>the</sup> division of the land. The same way, the animals should be divided among the members. ~~Certainly, we should~~ ~~decide~~ about the big machinery, ~~that~~ the peasants should decide to allow everybody to use the machinery equally. They should set up certain tractor stations.
- (19f) No, there should be a limit as to how much land ~~and to what~~ <sup>who</sup> person can own it. And if <sup>a</sup> the person had more land previously, ~~more~~ than this limit, they shouldn't give back to him all the land <sup>he</sup> he owned.
- (19g) Answered above. Everybody should get land, ~~as much as the~~ <sup>up to</sup> limit, the maximum <sup>allowe</sup> allows for one person; but if they previously had more land they shouldn't get more than ~~the~~ ~~maximum~~ ~~that~~ ~~is~~ ~~allowed~~.
- (19h) Yes.
- (19i) The government, the state, has the profit.
- (20) The state without profits could operate the tractor station, and the profits should be invested in new and better equipments.
- (20a) This way the tractors and the machinery are in the ownership of the users. The users pay a certain fee for using the machinery and from this the tractor operator should be paid and the remainder should be re-invested in new machinery. ~~So~~ <sup>The</sup> tractors themselves would belong to the tractor station.
- (20b) I would do neither. I would just keep these tractors in the

ownership of the tractor station, and have ~~it~~ use <sup>it</sup> for the user's advantage.

- (20c) I wouldn't dissolve <sup>these</sup> ~~this~~ tractor station, they are very important and necessary.
- (20d) Yes, to that extent that they didn't ~~handle~~ <sup>handle</sup> the same way/ the little individual peasant as they handled the big cooperatives, ~~for instance~~, neither <sup>in regards</sup> the fee that ~~they~~ charged ~~for~~ the work nor ~~in time~~, ~~for~~ instance, the big co-ops got much better time, <sup>early in the</sup> ~~for~~ the little peasants they set the tractor time too late, ~~very~~ ~~late~~.
- (20e) By all means.
- (21) In big factories the workers should have the right to ~~express~~ ~~maintain~~ make recommendations; but the decisions should be made by the director <sup>(~~whom~~ technically skilled and educated person)</sup> and there ~~should~~ be a director's board, ~~director~~.
- (21)(a) To defend the workers' interests.
- (21b) They should be completely independent. <sup>of</sup> ~~from~~ the Government
- (21c) No, compulsory membership
- (21d) To pay a certain amount of membership fee, and obey <sup>the leadership</sup> their decisions on a <sup>subject</sup>. In Hungary in the past two years the trade unions were completely under ~~the~~ state supervision, and the trade union membership and their leaders followed the state direction and order. For instance, strikes were abolished and ~~these~~ trade unions didn't protect the workers' interests.
- (21f) During the revolution, ~~these~~ Workers' Councils were formed. They relieved the inefficient directors who didn't understand the operation of the factories and were not ~~politically~~



technically skilled. ~~and~~ From these Workers' Councils would have been organized later the Directors' Councils.

(21g) It was necessary <sup>To</sup> ~~for the~~ supervisor of the directors in the ~~the~~ factory, <sup>have</sup> who had been operating before the Revolution, <sup>originally for this purpose</sup> so ~~that these~~ Workers' Councils were established. It was

~~the~~ a workers' idea ~~and the directors~~. The leaders of these Workers' Councils were elected by the members.

(21h) <sup>After</sup> Under the supervision in the factories <sup>circulators</sup> they could <sup>not be accomplished</sup> get join in the director's council and there would be a Workers' Council's part of the Director Council with technically skilled people. For instance in Yugoslavia <sup>I understand</sup> it is working, ~~that is what is being~~ well this way.

(21i) ~~Technically~~ Technically skilled chief engineers together with economically skilled directors and representatives from the factories, trade or subsection, and this together should operate as a Council, ~~and~~ they should be responsible to the workers in the factory.

~~1920~~  
(22)

Generally, there is no special fate for the Party members because a great many people who were Party members had joined only for ~~being able to~~ <sup>be able to</sup> secure a better job ~~or being able to~~ be accepted <sup>to</sup> for the university, ~~and~~ they had no other motive. <sup>The minister of</sup> ~~But~~ every factory and shop knows <sup>who were the informers among them?</sup> that ~~it is mere form.~~

(22a) Most people who became members out of conviction, if they have committed anything against other people (for instance, had reported other people) ~~in this case~~ I would have them brought to justice. Otherwise, everyone should be able to choose his own political party, so I don't think every Party member should have the same treatment.

- (22b) An independent court should decide about those leaders who committed offenses against the people.
- (22c) The same should happen to these people.
- (22d) The general rank and file members who had <sup>committed since</sup> no sense, I don't think ~~that~~ anything should happen to them. ~~And~~ Generally their colleagues in the shops and factories would know who committed anything against other people.
- (22e) The same should happen in the youth organization.
- (22f) As far as the AVH is concerned, about every member there should be an independent decision, ~~what should happen to him~~, whether ~~his~~ he is guilty or not. The police <sup>was not</sup> ~~was~~ a political organization, only its political section, and those people should be judged the same way as the AVH members, independently about every person, whether the person personally was guilty or not.
- (22g) ~~Was~~ The same way should the decision <sup>be made</sup> about the ~~different~~ members of the <sup>different ones</sup> organizations, leaders, if they were guilty ~~they~~ should be judged, if not then they should be left alone.
- (22h) In the country outside of Budapest Party secretaries and councils presidents <sup>have</sup> ~~had~~ been killed. In ~~the~~ Budapest, in the factories, those people were just thrown out of their job and ~~their~~ positions. Party members and youth organizations members had been fighting with the Revolution, during the Revolution quite a lot of these people had been fighting.
- (23) To the youth <sup>and their</sup> education <sup>they</sup> attributed great importance and their <sup>attention</sup> ~~attention~~ spread in every field of education. It was ~~said~~ <sup>said</sup> that it was full of political education and the Soviet result had to be <sup>praised</sup> ~~praised~~. ~~and~~ Those teachers who didn't like to or didn't want to do that, ~~they~~ had been

deprived of their jobs or had not been promoted at the time when their promotion ~~would~~ come up .

- (23a) During the war Hungary was under the same type of political and military oppression as it is now. The only difference <sup>is</sup> ~~at~~ that ~~time~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>time</sup> that the Germans were the oppressors; today the Russians.
- (23b) No, not everybody could have that opportunity. One criterion was your scholastic standing and the other your political behavior. There was a percentage system at there was a certain ~~xs~~ per cent assigned to the workers, and to the peasants, and to the intellectuals.
- (23c) No, this system is not allowed, only the scholastic standard <sup>a criterion for acceptance</sup> should be ~~accepted~~ to higher education.
- (23d) Yes.
- (24) They should be completely independent ~~affairs~~ . Previously, the church interfered with the state affairs and now the state interferes with the church.
- (24a) Yes.
- (24b) All should be free.
- (24c) No, for if they would have state support they wouldn't be independent anymore.
- (24d) Yes, on a voluntary basis, ~~who~~ ~~xxxxx~~ ever wanted to attend a church for his education should ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> allowed to do so.
- (24e) No.
- (25) As far as historical importance is concerned, the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Dozsa <sup>Peasant</sup> Second Revolution was very important because this was the first peasant revolution in Hungary ~~and~~ <sup>T</sup> they had shown up the short sightedness of the aristocracy. Then also the

<sup>M.</sup> Huzyadi, Janos, he fought the Turks and he had shown to the world that depending on popular support the Turks could be beaten back. ~~So~~, <sup>Zrinyi</sup> ~~Erassy~~ had also very great importance because he had proven that a country can be free if the people want to liberate themselves, and <sup>the</sup> ~~Rakos~~ Rakoczi Movement and Freedom <sup>Fighters</sup> ~~Party~~ were very important, I think they had historical importance because, first of all they ~~attempted~~ <sup>established</sup> the first democratic government in Hungary (or they tried to establish it) <sup>Second</sup> ~~also~~ they were an excellent example that the, <sup>"West"</sup> wouldn't come or couldn't come to the help of the Hungarians. And also, the 1848 Revolution I think had ~~any~~ <sup>great</sup> ~~importance~~ historical importance. ~~and~~ the fact that Hungary was dragged into two World Wars without serving her own advantage, <sup>is quite significant</sup> Finally as to the second part of the question, ~~that as to~~ serving the Western culture ~~of the subject of Hungary's culture~~ ~~against the~~ ~~fact~~ Hungary had defended Western culture from the Eastern invasions <sup>since the Tatar invasion</sup> ~~and~~, of course, ~~cultural grounds~~ ~~I think~~ distinguished musicians like Ligt, ~~Rakos~~ and artists were also contributing to world culture.

- (26) ~~that~~ I think in 1848 <sup>the</sup> that Battyanyi government was popular, <sup>a</sup> <sup>governor</sup>
- (26a) Hungary didn't have the same rights with Austrians during the Hapsburg government and ~~it~~ ~~there~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~of~~ ~~colonial~~ ~~Austria~~, practiced a kind of colonial policy toward Hungary.
- (26b) There were no opportunities for <sup>decent</sup> ~~decent~~ living in Hungary, At that time there was a mass exodus immigration to America and to Canada, (the United States and Canada.)
- (26c) Yes.



Feudalism as one stage of

(26d) ~~that~~ was necessary for ~~the~~ development ~~in the course of~~ development but to restore it in 1948 was a very bad... idea.

(26e) During <sup>the</sup> Horthy <sup>regime</sup>, economically Hungary was under German rule, and politically the Horthy regime was a dictatorship.

(26f) Yes.

(26g) If possible Hungary should have pursued an independent policy and should have remained neutral if they could have because of <sup>country's</sup> the geographic situation. The consequences of the second World War were neither politically nor economically necessary.

(26h) The time period between '44 and '47 was a short breathing spell between two dictatorships and people were optimistic and looking forward to peaceful, pleasant lives.

(27) Yes.

(27a) Yes, the German is <sup>cold, calculating</sup> ~~called~~ ~~facinating~~ and precise. The Hungarian <sup>is</sup> quite the opposite. ~~It~~ <sup>He</sup> is not headed, ~~they~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~run to the wall~~ <sup>reherent, acts without</sup> ~~with their nation, they don't think to never~~ <sup>first thinking over their action (they knock their heads against the wall)</sup> and they are not precise, by no means, even the engineers. Russian <sup>is</sup> Party officials are ruthless <sup>and</sup> <sup>very fast</sup> foxy, astute. And the Russians change their opinions, for instance during the ~~war~~ <sup>Russian</sup> Revolution, the <sup>Russian</sup> soldiers were one hour for the Revolution, the next hour against it. The Hungarian is not vacillating like that, if when they started the Revolution they went through with it, even when they saw it was hopeless. And compared to the Americans, I think the Americans are children and I don't like to hear that but they are naive, they only see extremes, ~~works~~ either everything is good or everything is bad. <sup>is there</sup> There is no middle road for them. The Hungarians are not naive, for them life is very hard and has taught them the realities.

mid part of inv

The Americans have never known, for instance war and real ~~hungary~~ hardship.

(27)<sup>d</sup>

No.

these Hungarian characteristics are present in all societies

(27e)

Yes, it ~~is present in all~~ <sup>is present in all</sup> segments of Hungary, <sup>in</sup> maybe

for the intellectuals <sup>in</sup> a more refined <sup>form</sup> ~~form~~ than for instance

for the peasant or the workers, but ~~the general~~.....

(28)

Only Roumania. No, political barriers are not necessary; political borders are not necessary. I would like to see a Danube Confederation.

(28b)

These countries in the Danube would complement each other economically and I would like to see a European United States.

(28c)

I think that should be decided by election or by voting, <sup>to</sup> asking the people who live in the questioned territory/which country do they want to belong.

(28d)

For instance in Roumania there are four counties that are <sup>entirely</sup> ~~entirely~~ Hungarian by population and these people should be asked <sup>where</sup> what they want to belong.

(28e)

Yes, for instance the Yugoslavs, The Croats, want Pecs, (that is in Southern Hungary) but I don't know why because as far as I know this city is completely Hungarian.

(28f)

~~(questioned by the respondent)~~ No, there is no dislike between Hungarians and other people.

(28h)

If one country rules over another country there is natural dislike between people but otherwise I don't know any direct conflict, but I think that the Slovaks don't like to hear Hungarian language spoken because it reminds them of the Horthy regime.

(28j)

In Hungary I don't know. In Roumania there ~~is~~ are Hungarian

peasants who have some disagreement with the Rumanian peasants, mainly because, I heard that, the Hungarian peasants are discriminated against. They don't get all the advantages that the Rumanians peasant would get. That was clearly represented during the Revolution. All the cities in Rumania were closed up which had large Hungarian population. Nobody could travel into these cities.

(28k)

No, there is no... <sup>Very well</sup>

(28l)

The Hungarians in the ~~Saar~~ <sup>South West Hungary</sup> don't like the Croations, and the Croations at the exchange sent over some of the Hungarians population in 1947, 1948, who lived ~~up there~~ on their land or the questionable land. <sup>there were</sup> And in Yugoslavia they ~~had~~ <sup>killed</sup> killed many Hungarians, peasants. But who instigated them ~~is~~ one doesn't know.

(28m)

There is <sup>still</sup> strong anti-Semitism in Hungary ~~still~~ and the government sometimes encouraged, (not directly but indirectly) encouraged this anti-Semitism and sometimes was ~~also~~ fighting against it. They were just following the <sup>Russian</sup> ~~Russian~~ example. During the Revolution there was some anti-Semitism and it would have increased I think to a certain degree or to a certain level and at that certain point it would have stabilized.

(28n)

Yes, if they declared themselves Hungarians then I would consider them Hungarians.

(29)

Yes, it would be very useful.

(29a)

A completely equal right Confederation, every state in the Confederation should have equal rights and ~~as~~ they should coordinate economic opportunities and economic wealth. ~~and~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~government~~ <sup>common</sup> the government should be elected ~~commonly~~ by all the states.

(29b)

Its aims should be the enlightenment of the member states, and if they <sup>protection of constitutional government.</sup>

(29c)

Nothing more than the other member nations.

(29d)

A Danube Confederation. <sup>slow</sup>  
~~are somewhat dumb minded~~

(30)

The majority ~~have had it.~~ They are not ~~as~~ stupid, I should say dumb-minded, they ~~are~~ don't learn very easily.

(30a)

The Russians themselves considered themselves more important than the other 16 member countries in the Republic. And the Russian Republic is <sup>the</sup> dominating Republic, so I would say there are different kinds of Russians.

(30b)

Yes.

(30c)

No.

(30d)

Yes, this was a Cossack girl who married a Hungarian boy and she ~~wasn't~~ respected the Hungarians especially for the fact that they were able to create a Revolution and carry it through. But ~~it is~~ <sup>it is</sup> very characteristic <sup>only</sup> of the Russian mind ~~that~~ <sup>now</sup> she changed her mind and she says, and I think she ~~also believes it,~~ from her conversation she apparently believes it, ~~that~~ this revolution was actually a ~~Factor~~ counter-Revolution.

(30e)

In ~~Hungary~~ <sup>and</sup> Budapest <sup>and</sup> part of the population was thankful because they had come ~~in~~ and liberated them from the Germans. The ~~second~~ <sup>other</sup> part considered them ~~as~~ barbaric because they behaved like barbarians. They were ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> Mongols.

(30f)

~~They were~~ <sup>Everybody was</sup> disappointed, <sup>with the Russians</sup> even the ones who respected them

(30g)

during the Second World War. We thought of them as though they ~~were~~ colonialists.

(31)

Marxism and the study of economic politics is a great work.



There is much truth ~~in its writing, as there is much truth~~ in Marx's writing; but what the people had created out of these theories is bad and harmful.

- (31a) ~~The economic theory, or part~~ of the economic theory is correct, ~~and the development~~, the historical development has proven it true. For instance, one of the world's greatest books is Engel's book "The ~~Marxist~~ Dialectics of Nature" (Interviewer's remark: I don't know ~~the exact~~ the exact title of this book, this is a translation of the Respondent's title in Hungarian. I ~~can't say~~, "The Dialectical Development of Nature") this is a scientific book.
- (31b) ~~That~~ I find that is incorrect in Marxism is that they are trying to predict the future and the future history, and that is impossible I think.
- (31c) I studied in school, in the university, for four years. For the first two years, ~~was~~ four hours a week; for the second two years, two hours a week.
- (31e) They are teaching it now as Marxism, - Leninism, but what Lenin's contribution is is not <sup>true</sup> ~~pure~~ theory I think, and the Hungarian application of <sup>these theories</sup> that is all bad, because the Hungarian circumstances are different.
- (31g) Lenin had twisted Marx's teachings, <sup>he spoke</sup> for instance, ~~his book~~ that <sup>in his book</sup> "Imperialism is the chief aim of Capitalism" ~~in this book~~. In this book Lenin had further developed Marx's mistaken ideas, because if these ideas were true the whole capitalist world couldn't be in existence today.
- (31h) No, Stalin was a dictator and <sup>whatever theory</sup> (he needed for his power-- he named it ideology-- and carried it through.

cut off  
 (31 i)

Yes

(31j)

Yes, if one overlooks and eliminates Marx's mistaken ideas or untrue ideas.

(31k)

It means to honor the human liberties and <sup>respect</sup> human values and it also <sup>means</sup> justice.

(31l)

There was never complete democracy in Hungary but they came the closest to it in 1945 to 1947.

(31m)

He is in between the two. He is following the Marxist ideology and looking at his regime from <sup>a distance</sup> ~~the~~. I think there must be quite high <sup>degree of</sup> dictatorship there. But at the same time as far as ~~as~~ his aims allow it he tries to institute civil rights and civil liberties.

(32)

National Communism means a certain amount of independence from Soviet rule but it is still a one party system and the Communist Party is its governing party.

(32a)

Yes.

(32b)

They ~~He~~ were members of the Communist Party, some of the revolutionists

<sup>many</sup> Some of the people who fought in the Revolution. Their aim was to obtain their independence from the Soviet Union and they were hoping to be able to establish a regime similar to the Tito government, ~~and~~ they also aimed to increase the standard of living of the country. Many people imagined that Kadar was this type of person.

(32c)

Mr Gomulka would like to establish a Tito type of regime in Poland but I think he is too late. <sup>with that</sup> In 1945 he could have done that but now Poland is too dependent, in an economic sense and a military sense, on Russia. If Gomulka is able to maintain his power long enough and ~~in his hands, by the~~

may, maybe he would be able to establish as much independence as Tito and a Tito type of national Communism.

(32d)

Yes.

(32e)

Yes, there are good patriots who are National Communists, those Communists who can see clearly that they cannot become completely independent from the Russians. They cannot break with the Russians and this way they consider National Communism as a solution for Hungary. So in this respect they are patriots.

(33)

Yes, I think he was <sup>aiming</sup> ~~able~~ to establish National Communism, but during the Revolution through the pressure of the masses and ~~(of the people during the Revolution)~~ this aim <sup>came</sup> not to ~~Nationalism~~, establishing <sup>a</sup> National Communism, but to establish <sup>a</sup> political democracy.

(34) a

Socialism in theory is <sup>good</sup> ~~free~~ and a beautiful idea <sup>he</sup> ~~is~~ ~~but~~ but what they call Socialism now is bad.

(34b)

Bad, because <sup>it</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~people~~ were people.

(34c)

Bad, because people kill each other, people of the same nationality kill each other.

(34d)

It is useful because different parts fight for mutual aims and this unifies the people.

(34e)

It is bad because it is accompanied, to a certain degree, with misery and exploitation.

(34f)

It is useful, it might be successful to stop war, <sup>although</sup> ~~also~~ I don't think ~~so~~ they really could.

(34g)

Difficult to answer, but I think ~~that~~ ~~if~~ I could say it is neither good nor bad.

(34h)

The bourgeoisie is necessary for every country because they

constitute the most educated segment of the population and every country needs educated people.

- (35) ~~But~~ The Communists would consider Socialism the best and Capitalism ~~the worst~~ the worse, ~~and~~ these would be the two extremes/ But the middle class would have the same opinion as I. ~~have~~
- (36)(a) As much as they deserve.
- (36b) I don't know the situation in the villages.
- (36c) They get less.
- (36d) As much as they deserve.
- (36e) The high officials of the state get more than they deserve. The middle officials maybe get less.
- (36f) Less.
- (36g) Less.
- (36h) ~~But~~ The majority of the actors get as much as they deserve. When sometimes ~~an actor~~ <sup>want to</sup> doesn't participate in <sup>(like the Stalin price)</sup> Soviet plays he wouldn't get some prices (but the basic pay <sup>is</sup> ~~would be~~ the same as for the others.
- (36i) Some party members would get more than they deserved, but not all of them.
- (36j) ~~But~~ I don't know.
- (36k) Less than they deserve.
- (36l) Less than they deserve.
- (37) The workers had <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ worse lot before 1944 than they have now. Naturally, the party members, <sup>are better off now.</sup> ~~they were~~ <sup>and no starvation which</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>For the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>middle of the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>class</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>whole</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>living standard had</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>declined.</sup> The peasants <sup>the ones</sup> ~~who~~ had no land in 1944 now they lived somewhat better, but other peasants on <sup>many of the</sup> ~~the other hand~~



used to live better before 1944.

- (38a) Sometimes conflict, generally agreement.
- (38b) Agreement.
- (38c) Conflict.
- (38d) Conflict, unless the person <sup>became</sup> a party member because <sup>he must</sup> of he, <sup>had to in order to keep his job or some</sup> compulsory ~~membership~~ <sup>other similar reason</sup>.
- (38e) The high officials, - conflict, others, - agreement.
- (38f) I don't know.
- (38g) Sometimes conflict, generally agreement.
- (38h) Yes.
- (38i) I don't know, I was too young at that time.
- (38j) Conflict.
- (38k) Conflict.
- (39) The soldiers would generally fight with the regime because they would be compelled to not out of conviction. Because the Hungarian soldier would sabotage wherever he can, but he can't turn against the regime openly because he knows that the Russians are behind them.
- (39a) The workers and especially the intellectuals would fight against the regime.

11111

- (1) (a) If you want to obtain a summary of the Hungarian revolution, I think the questions to this are not enough. There are not enough questions in regard to this all. Generally if you want to summarize people's lives in Hungary during the Communist revolution I think you would get a good picture from this sort of question. The history of the revolution can be written only by those people who participated in it. If you are trying to find any organized order in the revolution, you are looking in vain. There was only there. We didn't have any clear goal. In 1848 the revolution against Austrian monarchy had a clear goal, to separate Hungary from the monarchy and previously there was a so-called reform period, but in this revolution, we had no clear out goals. We knew we wanted to separate from the Soviet Union, but at the same time we didn't want to belong to the west either and when you look at this realistically how could <sup>have</sup> little Hungary stand completely independent in the world. Also we <sup>knew we</sup> didn't want the Russian Socialism at the same time, we didn't want capitalism, but we didn't have any clear out idea what we wanted.
- (b) I think you will get quite a lot of interesting material and information from this questionnaire.
- (c) I think ~~many~~ many people who came to this country gave interviews to the newspapers and in these cases the newspapers wanted to get interesting stories and these people told them interesting stories. Many of them were true<sup>e</sup>, but many of

them were just lies, <sup>such as that</sup> like everybody was a hero. There were heroes in the revolution but not to that extent that one hears here. I think you should judge the answers very carefully, what is true and what isn't.

(Interviewer asked whether she think we will hear many lies?

Answer: I think yes. Interviewer asked in what regard?

First, I think many people will ~~exaggerate~~ exaggerate ~~and~~ <sup>will tell about their heroic deeds</sup> their part in the revolution and ~~Second, many people claim~~ <sup>many people</sup> that they were leaders and ~~some claim they were~~ leaders of some revolutionary groups, which is not true. Maybe they declared ~~they were~~ <sup>themselves</sup> ~~leaders~~ <sup>leaders</sup>, but there were no people behind them. They had no followers. )

(d) Not always.

(e) 1) When you read through a few answers you will realize that we told much more about the revolution than you actually asked. For instance you didn't ask for the events immediately preceding the revolution, the events of October 20 ~~and~~ I think they were very important. We had a meeting that night at the university, ~~and~~ ~~I had no direct~~ ~~contacts~~ direct contacts with the factories and shops, but I know there was unrest there, too, ~~because~~ our student group ~~said~~ sent delegates to <sup>the shops</sup> ~~and~~ and at night we were mimeographing leaflets and sending them out to the factories and shops. ~~These events took place immediately before the revolution.~~ <sup>2)</sup> ~~Another example I would concentrate more on question~~ ~~when I talk to peasants.~~ why did they come in the cities?

2. The peasants represent an other area on which ? would concentrate more

Why did they bring food so generously in the cities?

That was completely unheard of in Hungary before Hungarians and peasants never came to the help of the cities to that extent.

(2) Nothing more. I think we covered everything.

(a) No.

(3) I would recommend <sup>by a publication</sup> (Radio Free Europe ~~have an issue that was~~ published I think in January, <sup>this is</sup> a complete issue covering all the radio broadcasts in Hungary immediately preceding the revolution and during the revolution. Those are very important <sup>2-)</sup> ~~and~~ also if you could try to get a hold of the old issues of the Irodalmi Ujsag. This magazine dealt with political issues a great deal and discussed them very truthfully.

With this I completed interviewing section X and also completed the interview with respondent II3-1. I think this young lady was generally truthful and honest in her <sup>answers</sup> ~~answers~~. She seemed to be a reliable and mature person.