

- (1) I believe you should know everything about the Hungarian Revolution. Everything as it actually happened.
- (2a) Rákosi's dismissal played a very important role in ~~this~~ this connection. On November 3rd,--I believe it was on a Monday-- a university student came to our office, and told us of two meetings that had taken place at the university. He also told us of the demonstration that was to follow shortly. In the demonstration that did follow, officers and people of various other professions participated. It was a tremendous crowd. Pupils from the Gymnasium, from the ages of 10 to 14, also participated in these demonstrations.
- (2b) Yes.
- (2c) Yes. If Imre Nagy had asked the crowd not to revolt, then, I believe, there would have been no shedding of blood. It was the voice of Gerő that called forth the anger and the wrath of the people.
- (2d) Yes. Gerő and Tito were not friends.
- (2e) I don't know. There was some talk in the ~~m~~ office about the Congress during a meeting that we all attended. It was said there that various reforms would be granted soon. I have never read the newspapers, ^{though} ~~the~~ one newspaper was delivered to our house.
- (2f) We had a faint idea about the events that took place in Poland.
- (2g) I considered it a great deed, a very necessary thing, that Rákosi go.
- (2h) I believe that this was after the events in Yugoslavia. We have seen that the Yugoslavians were expelled from the Soviet orbit and then, that they were able to come to an agreement with the

- Russians, reaping thereby some advantage to themselves.
- (21) We felt that something was bound to come, we had based our hopes on such things, as the granting of visas, as the issuance of passports.
- There was a great and a general despair, strong voices of protest were heard, particularly from the ranks of the proletariat, from the ranks of the workers. We all knew that something was in the making. We all were despairing, but not everyone could express his despair and his disgust as the workers did. They did not have much to lose, or much to worry about. All that could have happened to them was the losing of their jobs. And they could always have gotten an unskilled job elsewhere.
- (3) I believe it was the widespread disillusionment, discontentment, and having to put up with things, that brought this whole thing about. Everyone was dissatisfied with his own position, and once someone started the ball rolling, everyone else ~~was~~ joined in the process.
- (3c) I don't know. Our youth, I believe, must have received some encouragement and support, ~~sump~~ or promise of support, from the outside. I mean here from the West.
- (4) I believe the aim of the Revolution was to get rid of the Russians.
- (4a) People demanded the return of the government of Imre Nagy. It was generally thought that he was enough of a nationalistic Hungarian who would help the country get rid of its foreign oppressors.
- (4c) I believe various people have had various aims in regard to the Revolution. It is in the very nature of the Hungarian people to

split up into a great many parties.

- (4d) While people may have envisioned a different sort of government to follow, I believe that all people had one overriding goal and aim in which they were all united; this was to rid themselves of the Russians.
- (4e) The people revolted ~~and~~ against the oppressive conditions they were living under.
- (4g) People were ~~and~~ composing rhyming lines as they marched on. It was one of the favorite methods of the Russians to inculcate their principles ~~and~~ through slogans to be recited and rechanting according to a certain ~~and~~ ^{Rhythm.} People learned the system during the Russian occupation. Now they used the Russian methods against the Russians themselves.
- (4i) Under national independence we meant a state of existence similar to that prevailing in the West. A state where there would be social freedom, freedom of expression, just as they do things in the Western democracies.
- (4j) The Revolution was definitely anti-Communist. If Imre Nagy had succeeded in forming and maintaining his government, as he did not, I don't think that he could have kept himself long enough in power. He was considered to represent only a temporary solution, a midway between the previous Communist regime and the one that was to follow.
- (4k) No Communists actually joined the Revolution. Those that did join the Revolution, were not really Communists, but were only nominal adherents, nominal Party members.
- (4l) If the Russian troops had refrained from intervening, the Revolution would have proceeded smoothly, without bloodshed.

On the basis of my observations I could truthfully state that the revolution was supported by the majority of the Budapest population. On the basis of reports I have had ~~from~~ at the time when I was in Hungary this seems to have been true of the provinces as well. There were naturally some who ~~were~~ were opposed to the revolution for various reasons. Those who were hardcore Communists have opposed it. These people naturally believed ~~that~~ honestly in the truth of their own mottoes and in the truth of their own system. There were also those who, while not true Communists in any sense, have taken jobs or exposed themselves in some other way so that they have angered the people by their acts, and they have called down on themselves the wrath of the population. I have in mind in particular the members of the A.V.O. police force, also there were a few people in the beginning hours of the revolution who opposed what they considered to be extremes because they did not have faith in it, and they feared what the consequences might be if the revolution should be subdued by the Russians.

- (5) As I have indicated previously, I have not personally ~~in~~ nor directly ~~in~~ participated in the revolution; however, since my home is located very near the Hungarian Parliament Building, I could not help noticing one of the events that took place in that area. It was on a Wednesday or Thursday, the actual date escapes me, you probably know the date much better than I do. It was the day when a large mass of Hungarians had gone into Parliament Square. Tens of thousands of people have come there to demonstrate and to make their demands. The people were of a mixed character. There were men, women and children

from all ranks of life. There were workers, intellectuals, there were students and also there were young children. All these people were without arms and it was to be a peaceful demonstration. The forces of the Security Police were stationed between the Ministry of the Interior Building and the Building of the Commercial Bank adjoining the Parliament Square. On the other side of the Parliament Square, opposite that of the place where the Security Police were stationed were Russian ~~army~~ troops, troops that were entirely passive during the entire demonstration. As the people kept on coming and the crowd became louder and louder, the Security Police started shooting at the Russians. The Russians, not knowing ~~that~~ ^{where} the firing actually came from, returned the fire over the heads of the demonstrators. As the firing continued, very much blood was shed. We all had gotten the impression that the Security Police firing on the Russians was actually a ruse designed to draw the Russians into the fighting. The Russians themselves probably did ~~not~~ not have any intention of participating in the remainder of the demonstration.

(9) As soon as the initial demonstration started, I naturally also went out to the street with the remaining members of my family ~~XXXXXXXX~~ We were shouting, we were encouraging others who were in the actual fight but we ourselves did not participate.

(10) During the revolution in Hungary we had various information media at our disposal, whereby to get additional information. First of all we had the Hungarian radio, then we had the telephone service in the city of Budapest, and we had mouth-to-mouth reports of the people. From the outside we had

the Radio Free Europe broadcasts and we also had the BBC, the radio broadcasts from England. During the entire revolution the telephone service was never suspended so that ^{when} we had heard ~~about~~ shootings ~~were~~ going on in one part of the city we tried to locate according to sound the approximate location from which the sound came and then we would be calling up one or another of our acquaintances who lived in that area, and so we would get information almost instantaneously. Also, information was spread from mouth-to-mouth. People were moving with trucks and auto equipment on the street and some of them would be shouting at us, telling us what actually happened in some other parts of the city. Also, handbills were distributed throughout the revolution. These handbills were not only distributed but also plastered on the walls so that everyone could see them. It is at this point that I should like to mention that the Communists, the government, and some other forces have had their own handbills and they also have tried to paste some of their placards on the walls, these, however, would be torn down by students, or whoever saw them first. Newspapers did not appear during the whole period of the revolution. As far as events that took place in other parts of Hungary, our information regarding those was rather scanty and we did not get the reports immediately. It took some time for the information to reach Budapest. Generally speaking it was the radio stations from Germany, and particularly from England which were relied on to get information regarding events that did

not take place in Budapest but in some outlying areas of the country. The best and most reliable information came to me from the BEC broadcasts originating in England. ~~That~~ I believe ^{and,} that those broadcasts were absolutely unbiased/as compared to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, they had many advantages. I had the impression that the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe were aimed at propaganda primarily. It seemed that Radio Free Europe was inciting the people to further revolts.

(11) Shortly after the revolution began the former Communist government, the various party organizations have naturally ceased to actually exist. The party functionaries have either fled from the city or they have submerged. They were less well known. The members of the Secret Police have also either tried to leave the city, where they were known ~~more~~ to some people, or those who did not chose to do so, ~~remained~~ or couldn't, had gone to various headquarters of theirs and there they barricaded themselves. As far as members of the Hungarian Army are concerned, a large number of them had actually supported the revolution, ^{distributing} distributing arms to the students they had. Some others who remained passive had, so I heard, thrown away their uniforms and guns and gone home to their civilian lives. As far as the unions are concerned, these unions have undergone some internal change. At times, leaders of the unions were replaced by some other workers whom the workers could trust more and they kept on existing as previously. It was also my understanding that it was from union membership, union leadership that the revolutionary worker's committees were

formed. Churches were open throughout the revolution; however, very few people went to churches in those times, except early in the morning. It was generally believed that congregations of large masses of people in any ~~way~~ one given spot would be dangerous because they could ~~be~~ ^{be} surprised and attacked by anti-revolutionary forces. Generally speaking the government was entirely inoperative in practically all of its branches, the only exception, that I can think of, was the regular Budapest police. These people have, -of course not ~~being~~ ^{been} compromised before the revolution, -and they kept on existing even during it. Also, there were some industrial institutions that kept on existing and performing their duties as usual. In this connection it is ~~noteworthy~~ noteworthy, that the people responsible for the operation of the telephones, the people responsible for electricity and gas, and the people responsible for baking the bread for the population of Budapest, must have continued to operate because ~~we~~ we had all these services throughout the revolution. It would seem to me that of all the organizations that existed even before the revolution, the revolutionists have made most use of the labor unions. It was these unions that have kept the workers together and that have kept the fighting ~~and~~ spirit in them. Also, as I have mentioned earlier, it was from these unions that the revolutionary councils have sprung to life. These revolutionary councils, essentially worker-like in nature have ~~never~~ soon been joined by intellectuals who have assumed their leadership. If the revolution had succeeded, I believe ~~that a coalition government would have been called into existence~~ that a coalition government would have been called into existence.

A coalition that could have resembled the coalition governments that existed in Hungary before the Communists had taken over. It was said that general elections would be called and later the government could be represented on the basis of proportional representation. In all likelihood Imre Nagy would have been the Hungarian Premier and probably would have continued for some time until the period of transfer from a Communistic to a more democratic society would have been built up. Again I must emphasize that I do not believe that Imre Nagy would have commanded the respect and the faith of all Hungarians. Probably he would have been retained for some time, but his days definitely would have been ~~numbered~~ ^(numbered) and limited.

- (12) The Russian soldiers, who were stationed in Hungary before the revolution started, were completely unknown to us. We did not know where they were, and we could see them only infrequently in Budapest. The only ^{Russians} ~~people~~ that I remember having seen there were civilians, people clothed in civilian clothes who spoke Russian. They even may have been Russian civilians. I can say on the basis of my own experience, as well as on the basis of reports that I have heard from my acquaintances, that Russian soldiers in general behaved themselves very nicely during the revolution. They were for the most part passive observers of what was going on, ^{Here} and very often sympathizers with this or that group of the Hungarians. It was on November the 4th that these troops were withdrawn and fresh, young, ugly-looking Mongolian forces were brought into Hungary. These new forces were often of an entirely different type, they were no longer passive, they did

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not sympathize with what the Hungarians ~~xxx~~ wanted or desired and they were under the impression that they were in Berlin or in the Suez Canal Zone. They kept on asking, In what direction is Berlin, or In what direction is the Suez. As far as Soviet civilians are concerned it is my understanding that they were summarily recalled from Hungary soon after the outbreak of the revolt. I have never met one nor have I heard of them from anybody else.

(13)

My husband and I never really intended to leave ~~H~~ Hungary. It was my children, my daughter (20 years old), my son (seventeen) and my third child (eleven years old), who have prompted us to do so. They felt that they have exposed themselves directly or indirectly on the streets, in ~~conversations~~ ^{conversations} in the schools and other places, and, having favored the revolutionists, ~~and~~ they thought that, if the revolution should backfire, ~~that~~ ^{there} ~~they~~ would ~~have~~ be some reprisals, which they feared. They asked for our permission to leave the country on their own since they knew that ~~if~~ we did not want to leave the country. My husband was very ~~adamant~~ adamant and he would not let them go alone. After much discussion and some bickering we decided that if they had to leave the country, then the whole family would go. Eventually, on December 9th we decided to leave. We had not discussed our decision with anyone, nor did we ~~any~~ have any ^{specific} ~~conversations~~ ~~in~~ blueprints as to how to avoid the frontier guards or how to cross the ~~Hungarian~~ ~~border~~ Austro-Hungarian border. / We simply started out with the expectation and the knowledge that others have already done so before us and there would be someone ^{near} ~~across~~ the frontier who would give us some advice as to how to cross the frontier. We had no definite idea as to

what was expected of us once we crossed the border. This of course requires some explanation. My husband used to be an official of an English oil company operating in Hungary before the war. He was employed by ~~the~~ ^{this} company for some 35 years. During these years of employment ~~we~~ ^{he} frequently had to leave the country on business trips and ~~we~~ ^{he} even visited England a number of times. I myself had traveled in the late 1920's and the early Thirties and I have visited Germany, Austria, Roumania and also some other countries. As a result of my extensive travels, I, too, had some idea about the West. Also, we ~~never~~ heard reports about crossings, about people who have already crossed the frontier before we had started out, and we knew, on the basis of these reports that they had been taken care of at least temporarily, by the Austrian government. I should also like to say that we did have a general idea about practices in the West on such occasions, and ~~we~~ ^{we} knew that we would be considered political refugees, and we knew that we could count on a political asylum to be given us either by one country or ~~by~~ another. Since the children were determined to leave Hungary, we had no alternative but to go West. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ We never considered going South to Yugoslavia. We did consider, however, the possibility of our not being able to cross the Austro-Hungarian border. We thought that in that event we would return to Budapest and we would submerge ~~in~~ temporarily, living with some relative or acquaintance of ours until we could find out what we were actually to do, what we were to expect. Yes, I still think ~~of~~ about the revolution sometimes. Now of course,

especially that you are asking me. Looking back at the revolution from somewhere ^{at a} ~~some~~ distance and from my safe, secure, place in the States, I do have certain ideas about it and certain opinions, certain conclusions. I believe that it could have succeeded under certain conditions. I also believe that it was not entirely in vain. I hope that, while it did require a tremendous amount of blood, it also served a useful purpose, if in no other way, at least in having opened the eyes of the Western nations to the fact that there was a country in Eastern Europe that was still existing and desired its freedom. If I had a chance of participating in another revolution like this, I believe I would want such a revolution to be much better organized than this last one has been. I also ^{would} want to see that a revolution of that kind would be staged, not so much on the basis of potential promises coming from the outside, but would be based on actual possibilities of the Hungarian people. The question, as why the revolution broke out, as it did, in Hungary, and not some other place, is rather intriguing. I have only a hypothetical answer to it. I believe that there is a basic difference between the background of the Hungarian people and the other neighboring states who really ^{are living} under the same, or similar, conditions. The Hungarian history testifies to this in a great deal. The Hungarian Magna Charta is only seven years younger than that of the British. Also, the Hungarians have demonstrated a number of times their determination to keep their freedom against the Turks, and for instance in 1848 during the

14e. revolution against Austria-Hungary. Now, if one takes this into consideration, and compares this situation with the others existing in Roumania, Bulgaria or some other countries, I should think that ~~with~~ some of the other countries are more servile in nature than the Hungarians are. Also, their background is different, and they probably do not have the same cultural background as the Hungarians. It is true that the Serbs have achieved something there, because they have some national independence, while having retained the Communist Party, and regarding the Poles, the Poles of course probably have a great faith in their leader, Gomulka, which the Hungarians did not have. The Hungarians had to go all out, once they started the revolution. My view of Imre Nagy is not a Rightist one. I consider him to be a very weak individual and an individual who is rather indecisive. He probably would not be able to carry his principles through if there were any opposition to them. From the other people that you mention to me, I should like to mention General ~~Maletex~~ and, of course, *Kovacs*. I have always had a very high respect for him for a long time, he has suffered much, not so much as in the case of Tildy.

14f. The real heroes of the revolution in my ~~my~~ estimation are the Hungarian students, both the University students and the Gymnasium students, because both of these students have actively participated in the revolution. As a matter of fact there were very many young boys and sometimes girls, who were only eleven or twelve years old. If I had to group these layers, these categories together according to their importance, that you present to me, I would naturally place the students in the first line, to be followed by the Hungarian intelligentsia,

14g.

14h.

and then of course the workers of all kinds. Less so, the white collar workers; but more so, the soldiers, and especially the farm people, those from the collective farms or from the free farms have not actively participated in the revolt, they were entirely passive, but here I must mention that they have contributed a great deal to the revolution by supplying material, the material needs, to the fighting forces. There is one group that we have not mentioned, I believe that the Hungarian women deserve a great consideration in this respect. I was naturally not surprised to see university students go in for this sort of thing because ~~they~~ their tradition has many instances, when they participated in political ~~struggles~~ ^{fight}. However, I ~~was~~ was very much surprised to see that even Gymnasium students have participated in the revolt, ~~not~~ ^{NOT} to speak about the youths who have not gone to school, but who have worked in the factories or in other places. About the Petöfi Club I cannot say much because I had not read the newspapers before the revolution, and, secondly, I did not know that there was such a thing as the Petöfi Club up until after the revolution had started. I was very much surprised by the attitude and behavior of the Hungarian peasant. I had always thought that these peasants were a rather peculiar class, that they were passive in all respects, ^{in all respects} and that they were also selfish. But I was very surprised to see them participate in such unselfish ^{activity} ~~behavior~~, and they went through all the dangers, and contributed ^{food} to whoever wanted to receive ~~them~~ it.

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14j

14K

4L

(1)a

I was a white collar worker in a big Hungarian concern which in Hungarian is pronounced Magyar *Általános Köszén (MÁK)*. I was employed by this concern up until 1944. In that year, the Hungarian government decided to nationalize this concern and I did not want to continue to work for them thereafter. I was without work then for some seven years, actually it must have been more than seven years because I started working again only in 1953. From 1953 to the time of the revolution, I have worked in a concern that in Hungarian is called *Kohó és gép-
ipari anyag-
osztály.* This concern, of course, was under the direct leadership of the Hungarian Ministry of Supply. The actual name escapes me because this being a government bureau they kept on changing its name every five or six months. My first classification in that office was a general clerk, the second was a correspondent, and third *was treasurer*. My father was a former professional army officer. When I started working there was an overcrowded condition in our office but that then in about half a year we moved to a larger and much better quarters. Actually there wasn't very much to my job, but I liked it, there were so many things demanded of me that I had to work not only my usual duties but the duties of others as well. We were short-handed. We had to work so much more than I would have worked in a similar office before the war; also, we were not allowed to have any private conversations of any kind while working. If I wanted to telephone, make a private telephone call from the office, it was an extremely painful affair. I had only a half hour lunch period, but then I had

*ellátó Minisztériumi.*16
2e,f

4 to rush through with everything so that I did not really have time enough to eat. My pay was according to the category so that when I was in the category of a general office clerk I received about 700 f/orints per year. When I was in the category of a stenographer and typist, that was at a time when I *also* was a correspondent, then I received about 800 f/orints a year; and my latest and highest salary was 1,000 f/orints a year.

4e, And from this amount I of course had to pay the taxes, I had to pay the union dues, which amounted to some 13½ f/orints per month, and I also had to subscribe to the various peace loans which we were forced to do. In this connection I believe I have subscribed every month to the tune of some 40 or 50 f/orints.

4f ~~I have received three years~~ I remember I have received a few times premiums in the amount of a 100 f/orints. The highest premium I ever received was 150 f/orints. These premiums were distributed quarterly. Since I was a retired worker, as I explained before, I also received between 300 and 340 f/orints per month as pension. I should say that the manual laborers received much more than we did. Manual laborers received anywhere from 1,500 to 2,000 f/orints per month. Engineers would receive 2,000 or 3,000 f/orints, or even more, per month; and other professionals such as physicians would probably receive even more. These people would still have some *rudiments* of private practice, even though they were nationalized as a profession. As far as ~~like~~ a comparison between myself and other workers in my own category, I should say that I was

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somewhere in the middle. There were those ladies who have received more, and some others who have received less, than myself. We worked eight hours a day for six days a week. We also had overtime. The first two hours of our overtime were paid according to regular scales, that is to say, no overtime payments, and, if one worked more than two hours overtime, his overtime values would be prorated, ^{so that} the more one worked, the higher ^{were} his payments. I also had paid holidays, these were the Hungarian national holidays or the party holidays. I received twelve days paid vacation per year. These vacations, - the amount of days ~~one~~ would get - would increase one day after each ^{additional} ~~three~~ ^{of} ~~years~~ ^{so that} service. ~~Such as~~, I would have received thirteen ~~year~~ days if I had completed my first three years of continuous employment. There was a very precise and specific punctuality program. Those who were late were punished in various ways. I recall, I was late once half a minute. ~~When~~ I punched my time clock, it showed naturally one minute late, and I was severely reprimanded by my boss and warned not to have this happen again. If someone was late more than once or if ~~he~~ ^{he} was a habitual late ~~comer~~ ^{comer}, then, he would be exposed to the general group of workers as associating with him during ~~meetings~~ ^{plant} meetings, and would be placed to be ridiculed by the others. There was a time when there was much talk about our having ten minutes off before noon and ten minutes in the afternoon; but nothing came out of it. We in our office did not have any norm system, but as a general rule, I believe, that the Bedeau system, and the piece work system ^{were} ~~was~~ used in Hungary in some modified forms. There was a continuous increase of the norms

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(5c)

(5d)

(5f)

(5h)

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as the time went on.

(6) *a*

Our office was extremely short on equipment. I can remember one occasion when we had ^{only} one adding machine. One of the supervisors asked of us ~~we~~ if anyone of us had a spare adding machine at home, ^{and if he} ~~that we~~ would be willing to bring ^{it} in and work on ^{it}. We

(6b)

had a continuous difficulty with the heating system. I understand that they were using the hot water of the various springs in Budapest and this water, ^{because it} ~~was~~ contained various minerals,

(6d)

actually destroyed the plumbing. Adjoining our office was a warehouse where there were all kinds of spare parts for various machines. Now, I can ~~remember~~ remember very well a great number of complaints we received from ^{many} ~~various~~ of our customers regarding the poor qualities and high percentage of ^{breakages} ~~defects~~ of the materials that we supplied them with. In this connection I must observe however that since we had to supply some machines, that were Russian in their origin, with spare parts, ~~we~~ we also received spare parts that were Russian made. These spare parts were equally bad, if not worse than those produced in Hungary.

(6e)

I was fortunate in that I ~~was~~ did not have to travel far in order to come to my place of employment. I ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{living} a very short distance away, about ten to fifteen minutes walking, so that I could usually walk, or I took a trolley car.

(7) *a*

My co-workers were from about the same social group which was mine, that is to say, the Hungarian gentry, the middle class.

(7b)

As far as the relationships between equals and subordinates and superiors ^{went} ~~is~~, I must emphatically say that the Communists

have brought something good to Hungary. They have abolished the tremendous class distinctions that existed before the war. They have abolished the stiffness of relations that one experienced whenever approaching superiors. I remember that in this office where I worked, I was able to approach officially, that is to say, anybody, beginning from the highest officials to the lowest, and address them all in the same way, Elvtárs or Kartárs, meaning Comrade, or the Communist version of colleague. However, on the other hand our relations were still strained because we could never know who the person, that we talked to, actually was, because there was a political point of view. ~~It~~

(7d) I either did not trust anyone in the office, or if I knew someone there, I refrained from talking openly with her or her, for fear of some one else hearing what we were talking about. I cannot say that people were honest to one another at all. As far as our relationship with the workers is concerned, it was a peculiar one.

~~At our~~
(7e)

At our place of employment we,--the office personnel--very often tried to have our lunches together with the workers; however, we found out soon enough that the workers did not want to associate with us. They had chosen to eat separately, at a different time. They did not feel that they were our equals.

(7f) Once we left the office, we did not associate with one another any longer.

(79) We never discussed politics between ourselves even though the topics of politics was brought into the discussion sometimes by a few members of the office staff who, we knew, belonged to the Communist Party. Actually, we only had two people out of thirteen in the office who belonged to the Party. One of these was subsequently dismissed from the Party for some reason which I don't know. These three Communists did have many advantages over us. They would be assigned higher paying positions and they were not held to such a strict responsibility and were not occasioned to such minute rules as we were.

(7i) Generally speaking, I should say, that among the laboring classes there were more people who were members of the Communist Party than amongst the middle classes. There was a labor union at our place of employment and we did trust and believe in the union. The activities of the ~~union~~ union were primarily limited to the betterment of the physical conditions of labor. You know in our place workers complained that they don't have a ~~lavatory~~ lavatory and that they do not have enough soap to wash their hands, after they have held all kinds of dirty parts of machinery. ~~the~~ the union has, after considerable time, brought all these things about. Also I believe it was largely *due* to the activities of the unions that my union dues were ~~reduced~~ reduced in 1946 from thirteen and a half to seven forints a month. Other activities of the unions would consist of such things as helping a person who has for some reason lost his apartment to find another apartment for him or for instance to assist a person in having a vacation. Vacation places are extremely expensive in Hungary if one went as a private person. However, if one went through the labor union then he was assigned

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(7k)

(7l)

a union vacation place that was considerably cheaper, and that was more or less in some proportion with his earnings. Also, in times of distress, in times of sickness, when a person did not get his regular salary, the union would advance him some small sums as a help. I remember I was sick once on one occasion and I received a hundred and fifty forints from the union. I should like to mention here that if a person should happen to become sick, then, of course he does not get his regular salary, ~~and~~ He only gets a certain percentage of his base pay. This percentage may be anywhere from twenty-five to seventy-five percent of the actual wages that he would ordinarily receive. Whether it is twenty-five or more depends on the type of employment. There are also some committees in Hungary called *Egyeztetőbizottság* that has to do with various grievances of the workers, ~~and~~ If someone was dismissed from his job then a complaint would be lodged to this committee and that committee would try to decide on the case. As far as the *Üzemi Háromszög* ~~is~~ (triangle) is concerned, I must confess that I am practically ignorant about it. I know this is a triangle whose one member is the secretary of the party and the other is some high official of the plan--of the industrial plan. I also know that these people are commanding life and death in any given establishment, but I don't really know who the second or the third member of this triangle would be, or what their actual organization is. There was a great shortage in all sorts of skilled workers in Hungary and because of this shortage a skilled laborer did not have to be politically reliable--he could have been an indifferent person and still be highly successful in his endeavour. It is true,

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(7o)

(7p)

(7R) on the other hand, that there were so many people who have had no knowledge or experience at all and they have advanced in the hierarchy of the industry solely on account of their political membership. One should, however, not draw the conclusion that because there were so many inexperienced people at the head of a concern that the concern was bound to suffer as a result. As a matter of fact, what they did is to appoint a party member who may have been an ignoramus and give him the assistance of another person, a person who was of course a highly specialized person in the field and it would be this second person that would conduct all the affairs, all the work to be done, and the political person would receive the credit for it. There were spies probably in every establishment. I thought for a long time that where I worked there was no one present. However, we knew that whatever happened in the office, in about a half hour's time the high officials would know about it. Actually, after the revolution, we have found out that one of our co-workers, a lady who was of peasant origin, has served as a spy in our group.

- (8f) (B) There was some mobility in the Hungarian economic life; however if one wanted to go from one place to another, he has had a very difficult time. I have tried very often to leave my place of employment first because I was dissatisfied with various conditions that prevailed there, and secondly because I was actually invited to some other better-paying jobs. However, I was refused a transfer and I could not do anything about it. In my age I did not have any special ambitions but I definitely did want to change my job in order to earn more money. ^{This} ~~It~~ was

very important in the case of our family because we have had expenses that were extraordinary such as the education of my children, extra hours in foreign languages for them with private tutors, and the living expenses went so high that we just could not manage without regular wages. As far as selection of a career for a young person is concerned, the first and uppermost consideration is the material reward connected with it. The second possibly would be the amount of comfort connected to it. Of course, in deciding on a career the individual has a very small portion of deciding. It is true that the transfer from the elementary grades to the gymnasium is based primarily on scholastic attitude and actual achievement; however, a transfer from the gymnasium to the university is practically impossible for those who do not come from the proper surroundings. In the case of both my children they have finished the gymnasium and they have the maturity examination behind them, but they never would have been admitted to any Hungarian university because of their and of course my family background. My father was not the right one. Generally speaking, of course, it is difficult to draw generalizations. Some people will always be satisfied with less if the job gets them more satisfaction; some others~~x~~ will want to go for higher things. ^{If} I had had the possibility both political and material in Hungary I would have spent my free time with travels abroad. I always wanted to get away from the constant supervision that we experienced in Hungary and of course since I had been abroad in my early life and so was my husband, we always would have wanted to give the same opportunity to our children. As far as the selection of careers for young people is concerned, I

(84)

g K

must say that the individual has probably ~~said~~ ^{Little} saying in it. Usually before a person goes to the university he is asked to put down first, second and third choices or preferences that he would want to study and it very often turns out that he is assigned to some sort of a study that is none of the three mentioned. Speaking about this I should like to say that given two young people whose scholastic standing and everything else is equal but the one is coming from a proletarian background and the other is from the middle classes, then the middle class youngster would not be admitted to the university.

- (9) We have had a difficult time trying to meet all our expenses. We have kept the apartment that we were living in before the war and this apartment of course was in ^a ~~the~~ ~~neighboring~~ neighborhood that was very expensive. Three members of my family actually worked: my husband, my brother and I. All three of us had to work in order to be able to meet the family budget requirements. There was in general a great change between our lives as we knew it before the war and of course after the war. Naturally we have had changes also since our children have grown older and we have had more expenses in connection with them than before. We have gotten used to one course at dinners more often than not. There were always some items that one could not get in the regular store; at one time or another something would always be missing, either vegetables at one time or caprika or some other things I would have to buy either directly from the farmer or on the ~~black~~ black market. In either case the price would be much more expensive than the regular one. It happened very often that we did not have pies and

very, very often ~~like~~ that we did not have coffee. If I was to buy two pounds of coffee I had to pay for it four hundred forints. As far as medical expenses went, naturally you had the Hungarian government insurance program. However, if one wanted to go to a dentist and he wanted to get his teeth fixed right he never dared to go to a government-supported institution but he had to go to a private doctor where, of course, the prices ~~had~~ had to be paid. Our earnings were as follows: I have received one thousand forints in my regular place of employment and three hundred and fifty forints as my pension. My husband has received fourteen to fifteen hundred forints and my daughter has received seven hundred forints. These sums are calculated in months; besides these sources my husband was engaged ~~in~~ infrequently in doing some translation work and helping one or the other out for some extra money.

(9e) We have lived in an apartment that was situated not very far away from the Parliament building and we have paid four hundred forints a month for it. I can't tell exactly how much money I have spent daily or weekly on food because the amount fluctuated, always depending on the amount of money we had at hand. Sometimes we would allow ourselves occasionally a two-plate dinner but more often than not we would only be eating one plate. As far as clothing is concerned neither my husband nor I have bought anything during the entire Communist regime. We have spent all our clothing money for the children. My membership in the labor union gave us the advantage of being able to enjoy a cheap vacation. We have paid a hundred and twenty forints per person for two weeks. If one were to decide

(9h)

to
~~kingo~~ to a vacation and he is not a member of the union, he would have to pay from forty to sixty forints per day per person in a private accommodation. This was our only expense that I would consider a luxury; otherwise we have had no expenses whatsoever for movies, other ~~from~~ than cigarettes, of course; I am a heavy smoker but no drinks, and we have received only one newspaper. We have never purchased a book nor have we ever gone to any sports events. Irregular expenses that I had had to do with the education of my children. They have gone to good schools and I have also paid for their private tutoring in languages.

- (10) We were living, I should say, relatively comfortably as life went in Hungary. I believe I would have received much more money for a comparable employment if I had done it before the war. I also believe that Hungary, as a general rule, was greatly exploited by the Russians economically and otherwise. I know for a fact, for instance, that Hungarian wheat, famous for its goodness, was exported from Hungary and in its stead French wheat was substituted that was brought from France which was very inferior in quality. I have had to complain constantly about the very bad quality of our bread and the same complaints were heard from other housewives. The same applied to Hungarian potatoes. The regular prewar Hungarian potatoes that we were accustomed to we have never seen after the war. On the other hand we were forced to eat the ^{industrial} ~~commercial~~ potatoes that before the war they used for various ^{industrial} ~~commercial~~ purposes only, ~~industrial~~, ~~the same purpose only~~. I have never believed in the so-called freedom subscriptions, *Békeköleső*. I knew quite well that

I would probably never get my money returned and I also suspected that the periodic lotteries that were based on the subscriptions were either a farce or were benefiting only the Party people. I know we had to pay reparations to Russia and maybe also to some other countries and I resented them from the very beginning. I was very fortunate in not having been forced to attend all the various Party affairs; the various lectures and seminars and so forth. I have attended a few labor union meetings. Looking back now I regret that I did not join them so I probably would have learned much more about them.

- (11) I believe the Russians and the Hungarian Communists have brought the Hungarian economic life to an absolute chaos and standstill. I believe that the prewar Hungarian economy was perfectly good.
- (11e) The only thing in which the communists have achieved some noteworthy thing is in the field of building. They have definitely done a great deal of building. I was somewhat enthusiastic when the first three-year plan was started but then we soon discovered that the actual results of the three-year plan were only on paper and in reality it came very far short of its goal. The same thing applies to the five-year plan. The way I look at it, it just increased the requirements; that is to say, it only caused the laboring people to produce more and more, to work harder and harder without their realizing any benefits from their work. I don't know much about the proposed economic policies of *Imre Nagy*, nor am I very much acquainted ^{with} ~~about~~ the economic discussions that may have taken place within the Hungarian government or party.
- (11f)
- (11g)
- (11h)
- (11i)

(12)

The dissatisfaction of the Hungarian workers was constantly on the increase. Their dissatisfaction had an external manifestation in that the workers began, as time went on, to protest, while standing in lines, to discuss their grievances, in the open, either at their employment or on the streets. It seems that the workers never did have to fear ~~that~~ as much as the middle class people, because the worst thing that could have happened for these smaller ^{offenses} ~~offenses~~ to a worker was a dismissal from the job. If he was an unskilled laborer he ^{WAS ABLE TO GET} ~~could have gotten~~ another job very easily; however, it was much more difficult for a middle class ~~man~~ person, whose background ~~was~~ ~~background~~ was so thoroughly investigated, at the time he applied for a job. ~~As I had mentioned earlier, we~~ As I had mentioned earlier, we had a warehouse that adjoined our office. In that warehouse some laborers were of course employed, and we had a common place where we ate our lunches. Very often we have tried, that is to say, the office personnel did, to have lunches at the same times as the workers did; however, we found soon enough that the workers did not desire free association with us, they had chosen to eat separately at a separate time. They did not feel that they were our equals or they did not feel that they ^{WAS} ~~was~~ the same as we were. Our relationships in the office were very limited to the actual work at hand, and once we had left the office we did not associate with one another any longer. We

- (1) First of all, Hungary should be restored economically. The Hungarian economy has been completely devastated. Certainly, Hungary should be restored politically also. Free and secret elections should be held. I envision a future Hungarian government as a coalition composed of all the representatives of the various political parties save that of the Communists. The Communist Party in my opinion no longer has any *raison d'être*. ~~Although~~ ^{Also} I would like to see foreign capital invited, especially capital from the West, to help us to ~~expand~~ ^{Expand old} and re-establish new industries.
- (1a) Undoubtedly there is something good even in the present regime. For instance, large segments of the Hungarian peasantry were in a very bad shape before the Communists took over. There were quite a few malcontents. The situation on this territory has markedly changed for the better. This I would retain, and continue ~~in~~ in the same direction. However, I would not encourage the peasants to leave their lands. Under this regime many of them have fled their farms, because there was nothing for them to do, and have come to the large cities. In these large cities many a peasant boy underwent a quick training and became a technician or engineer; but basically he is not very happy with his new situation. He craves to go back to the land. I would encourage them to go back to their farms and to work them. Also, the Communists have abolished the various social barriers that have segregated one group of people from the other before the war. This, I believe to have been very laudable. I definitely would not want to come back to the caste system that was known in Hungary. Everything should operate in a democratic way,

just as is the case in the United States.

- (2) Yes, ~~but~~ I also recognize that this would have many disadvantages. Complete freedom of ~~all~~ organizing political parties would bring about a great number of small groups, so probably this would not be good after all. In a word, I believe the right man should be sitting in the right place. People who feel that they are qualified for leading political positions would most probably volunteer themselves to be elected. In other words they would be candidates for election; but still I am ~~in~~ a great believer in proportional representation.
- (3) Absolutely no. Respondent did not seem to understand the question correctly, so I repeated the question again. I do not approve of absolute freedom in this respect. Absolute freedom in this respect may be had only in a country where the people are sufficiently educated politically. Hungarians, I know, are all impulsive. I do not approve of open attacks against the government.
- (3b) ~~Yes~~ Yes, because Hungarians are a people of extremes. This could lead to a new outbreak, to a new Revolution. The golden middle, not the extremes, is what Hungary really needs. Hungarians are ~~known~~ known to be a people with no political moderation. At ~~one~~ ^{one time}, they are extreme Rightists, at another moment they are extreme Leftists. They overdo everything.
- (4) This is extremely dangerous, but to prohibit the right to free assembly would equally be very dangerous; therefore, people should be allowed to assemble, but under specific limitations, otherwise it would again bring (the situation) to extremes. It is entirely possible that an absolute freedom

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of assembly would bring about a White Revolution. Note: Respondent means by White Revolution, a revolution by the revisionists, those who favor a return to pre-war conditions.

- (4a) If the government should not work to bring about the common good, then yes. I plead ignorance in these political questions, I don't really know much about them. This is my opinion.
- (4b) It is important, but not absolutely important. Again I should like to emphasize my ignorance. I believe there should be a limited freedom of assembly. This assembly should be within the political parties. It should take place under their direction.
- (4d) There are many dangerous elements among Hungarians, especially among those who have emigrated to the United States after the Second World War. If they should ever decide to return to Hungary, they could cause a great damage to the continued existence of the state. These should be completely excluded from the freedom of assembly. These people are ~~opportunists~~ opportunists, ~~opportunists~~ opportunists).
- (4e) If any Hungarian government should not represent the best interests of Hungary, then yes.
- (5) Yes, I favor very much a situation that is similar to that, that obtains in England. As I explained to you previously, I used to work in a coal concern ^{before} during the war. I had mentioned that the ~~concern~~ concern prospered very nicely, and yet I believe that the spirit of progress definitely demands governmental direction.
- (5a) The shareholders received a tremendous profit, and many have made immense riches. There was an almost unbelievable contrast between the shareholders and the coal miners. If there must be

profit, so let the state have the profit. This way most of the people will benefit from it.

- (5b) It is difficult to make a distinction between the two. It is wrong to take away private ~~business~~ houses, firms owned by foreigners, and stores. But such things as coal mines, gas works, telephone, public utilities and the railroads should definitely be owned by the state.
- (5c) Stores, smaller firms, apartments, houses, should be returned to their owners. These people have worked hard to get them. Private corporations should also be returned to their previous owners.
- (5d) No, if there is no private ^{trade} ~~trade~~ there is no prosperity.
- (6) In a certain way, yes. I approve of this because then the consumer goods would be cheaper and even poor people would be able to buy them. If everything is in private hands, then it tends to bring the prices up. That does not mean that I am against private trade entirely. The two could exist side by side. Those who are able to pay more could go to the private store.
- (7) Yes, we have had state monopolies in the past and they were good. They tended to make the goods cheaper. I believe the state should have a monopoly over liquor and also over tobacco.
- (7a) I definitely disapprove of it. This did not turn out to be good at all. In theory it is very good and very nice, but in ~~the~~ practice it is unworkable.
- (7c) They have planned wonderfully, everything; but in actuality they

did not accomplish half of it. They have achieved false results. They have manipulated with numbers and they have made us believe that these were actual accomplishments. Besides, Hungary needs foreign capital. If there is a planned economy, foreign capital cannot be had.

- (9) The state should definitely own the railroads; but the aircraft industry and also other forms of transportation should be in private hands such as automobiles and busses. ^{Railroads, and} ~~Andxalmsxths~~ postal telegraph systems should be definitely in the hands of the state.
- (10) I approve of it. I believe the essential reason for the existence of the state is to make people happy, to ~~xxxxxxx~~ take care of the old and the ~~xxxxx~~ disabled, provide them with pensions, come to their aid in time of sickness or disability. State institutions of this kind are very good and useful.
- (10b) I see no danger in it whatsoever. I am thinking here of a society whose ~~xxxxxx~~ economy is run partially by the state and partially by private individuals. State employees would probably get less pay but greater security. Those employed in private industry would probably get more pay but would have less security. There would be ample room for change, for individuals deciding to go from one to another. In a word, partial state and partial private ownership would compensate each other.
- (10c) It is difficult to choose between freedom and security, but I hold security in relatively higher esteem than freedom. I would be prepared to give up some of my freedom in order to gain economic security. It is entirely possible that ~~these~~ ^{twenty} years ago I would have thought otherwise. This question is

intricately interwoven with age. I prefer a small amount, on which I may be certain, to possible, or even ~~probable~~ ^{probable,} riches.

- (11) Yes, there should be freedom of trade, there should be freedom of religion. One should have freedom of choosing his career. Also, the state ~~ax~~ should be excluded from the family. The family should be absolutely independent. The question of educating one's children should be left entirely to the parents. Of course, with the possible exception of criminals.
- (12) Yes, citizens should be obliged to serve in the military forces. They also should be obliged to pay taxes. They also should respect and abide by all the laws and regulations of the government.
- (12f) I can think of no exceptions to this rule, since I understand that the government would have been elected freely by the population. Consequently, whatever it decides to do would be in conformity with the wishes and desires of the electorate.
- (13) No.
- (14) No. Medical services became ~~much~~ much more inferior. Most Hungarian physicians no longer have private practices. All ~~the~~ physicians are employees of the state. Since there are not enough of them they are extremely overburdened. There is no longer an individual and ~~an~~ an intimate relationship between the patient and the doctor. There are only mass receptions. Physicians are told how many people to examine within a specified limit of time. While it is true that there is no direct prohibition against having a private practice, a doctor usually does not have time to engage in it, and the population does not have money to pay ~~for~~ for private visits. There

were never so many sick people in Hungary as at this time. There were a great many Hungarians suffering from various heart diseases, and there are very many every year who suffer nervous breakdowns. Contagious diseases have spread very often without their being checked. Nervous collapse strikes ^{mostly} those in leading positions irrespective of their age.

(14b) No, we have had compulsory sickness insurance in Hungary before the war also; but at that time there were many people who could afford to pay the doctor and ~~forego~~ forego using public health institutions. Besides these state health institutions were better before the war. The training of physicians of today cannot be said to be inferior to that of the physicians who practiced before the war; but the physicians of today have no time to take individual care of the patients.

(14c) Clinics are better than the ~~state~~ ^{SzTK.} This is a state-run health service. It is weak indeed. ~~90%~~ 90% of the population is ~~not~~ obliged to use this service. Private practice is rapidly disappearing. Every physician is a state employee. ~~Every~~ ^{A clinic} physician ~~is~~ is not able to give individual attention to his patients. I ~~have~~ ^{had} experienced myself this very bad situation. The doctor would ask some ten to fifteen males to come into his office. He would not examine them individually, but he would ask them to relate what was wrong with them. Having heard their complaints, he would give them prescriptions without actually making an examination. Thereafter he would invite some ten or fifteen women and repeat the process. After this experience I never went back to a state doctor again. However, a private visit is very expensive and very few people can

afford it. A private visit to a general ~~practitioner~~ practitioner may cost you 20 to 30 ~~forints~~ forints. If the physician should be a professor he will ask as much as 50 forints. If he ~~should~~ should happen to be an eye specialist, his fee will be 100 forints. I should like to relate to you an experience of mine that deserves mention. My son's eyesight is very weak. I went with him to the ~~SEK~~ ^{SzTK}. I received a prescription there and I bought the necessary eyeglasses. He couldn't see through those glasses. ~~When~~ ^{Then} I went back to the ~~SEK~~ ^{SzTK}, but I could accomplish nothing. I went to an eye specialist and I paid ~~100~~ ^{100 Forints} for the examination. It turned out that the eye glasses prescribed by the ~~SEK~~ ^{SzTK} were designed for ~~my~~ shortsightedness, whereas my son is farsighted. Now, I already paid out the 100 forints for the visit and I was not prepared to buy the glasses also on my own expense, so I went back to the ~~SEK~~ ^{SzTK}, gave them the specialist's prescription and asked them to change their own prescription so I could buy my eye glasses in a government store. The doctor looked at me in disbelief and refused to change the prescription. ^{So} I went to a higher health authority, but was quite unsuccessful. This took me a great deal of effort and time until I was able to have my prescription changed to the right one. Since my son needed very many check-ups I was obliged to go back to the eye specialist ^{and pay} ~~the~~ 100 forints each time. The same situation prevails in the field of dentistry. One cannot hope of getting good service at the ~~SEK~~ ^{SzTK}. They simply refuse to fill cavities; instead they pull one's teeth out. If one wants to save his teeth, he is obliged to go to ~~aprilak~~ a private ~~practitioner~~ practitioner and pay exorbitant

prices.

(15)

In spite of the fact that people have very limited incomes, a great many of them go to movies. It is first of all the young ones who go. Tickets for them are sold at a cheaper price. Most of the films shown are Russian films that contain propaganda. In the last years, however, we have seen French, Italian, and other foreign films. I believe that one is able to purchase 10 movie tickets for 5 forints. Theatres are also very crowded. Concerts were relatively few in number; but if there were concerts, ~~they~~ they were always crowded. The cultural needs and the need for relaxation is probably greater now than ever before. As far as the opera houses are concerned, one was able to buy a ticket series in Budapest. This series would consist usually of ten performances covering the entire season. A series could be purchased on a time-payment basis at the place of one's employment. Depending on the type of seating, the series would cost anywhere from 10 to 30 forints. Generally speaking, I should say that less people go to these places now than before; but then we must not forget that the population of Budapest has risen so that ^{there} ~~has~~ is a relatively a greater number of people going now than before.

(15b)

No.

(15c)

Very much so. Only very few people have television in Budapest. There is only one television station. I personally have never seen a receiver.

(15d)

I don't think anyone has more opportunity now than before.

(15e)

People avail themselves of entertainment opportunities whenever possible.

- (15f) Those ~~xxx~~ people who are in leading positions, and then again the youth.
- (16) No, the problem of food is a difficult one in these days in Hungary. A one plate system is in general use. Before the war, three plate meals were the rule in our family; but after 1946 we had one plate for lunch and one plate for dinner. There are two reasons for this, food articles are much more expensive now and, secondly, one does not have time to prepare a full course meal. I must emphasize here, Hungary has plenty of food; but the majority is not able to purchase it. It is possible that the government has purposely set the prices of food high. The same thing applies to other kinds of consumer goods. I remember how often I heard of the amazement of foreigners who were not able to reconcile the apparent plenty with the constant complaining by the Hungarians. But the prices of food and other consumer goods were in no proportion to the actual wages. ~~Rise~~ Prices ~~had~~ had definitely risen. When the forint was established it had a much higher value than now. It is true that there were rises in ~~xxx~~ wages; but these rises were disproportionate to the rises of prices. People did not have enough money for both food and clothing. So they had to choose between the two and so naturally everybody chose food. ~~Many~~ Families, where more than one member was employed, were more self-sufficient economically, but families with many young children, ~~xxx~~ where only one member of the family was employed, were very bad off. The state made a gesture at supporting the family insofar that ^{it} levied taxes on those who were unmarried. It was dire necessity that forced me to go back to work when

I did in 1953. Otherwise we could not possibly have managed; however, ~~if~~ our burdens ~~was~~ lessened substantially only when my daughter began to work also. Now that we are here in the states, both my husband and my daughter are working. Together they are making a \$110 per week. ~~We manage to have~~
~~the same~~ We are spending \$60 for food and for housing and we are able to put aside \$50 for clothes. While both my husband and daughter are only getting the ~~min~~ minimum wages, we are still living better here now than we did in Hungary, in that we are able to put aside \$60 each week. I am even able to give my son \$1 a week pocket money. I could not ~~even~~ have done this in Hungary. If we compare our present state to our previous one, we must bear in mind that here only two members of my family are working and both of them are beginners, and employed on the minimum wage scale. Whereas back home in Hungary we were considered to be in the middle income ~~was~~ bracket.

(16)^d

I know members of the AVH had a very high income. They also had a great many privileges. They received clothing and other items free. I don't know how much an AVH officer was getting, but I believe it must have been substantially higher than 3,000 forints a month. I know there was an AVH officer living in the same house where I was living, this was a large apartment house. Now his wife did not work and I conclude that she did not work because she did not have to work. Other women were forced to leave their infant babies in baby stations and go to work. It is also possible that those living in the country had less food problems than those in the cities but one must

remember that the farmer had to surrender most of his produce to the authorities. I know of peasants who would purchase ^{eggs} at a government store called *Közéret* and would deliver ~~the~~ ^{these} eggs in turn to the government. The fresh eggs that they ~~made~~ themselves produced on the farm, they would bring to Budapest and they would sell them at a higher price. There was no maximum price required for those goods that the peasants brought to the city to sell. All consumer good stores were in government hands. The government grocery store was called *Közéret*. The government butcher store was called *huséret*. ~~There~~ There were other stores where one could purchase vegetables. Other stores called *Dohányéret*, selling all sorts of tobacco and cigarettes.

- (17) Stores were loaded with all sorts of goods. Those that had the money could buy what they wanted. People did not usually try to save money. They ~~was~~ were afraid that money would constantly lose its value, so it was better to get rid of it, the faster the better.
- (17a) There was no comparison between the way people were clothed in 1940 and 1946 and subsequent years. In the first year of the Communist regime those people who had decent clothes were afraid to wear them. I remember those days, we once went to the opera house and we were surprised to see how shabbily everyone there was dressed. Those who had better clothes were afraid to wear them for fear of betraying ~~their~~ thereby their belonging to a separate class, higher than that of the ~~the~~ proletariat. In the last two years there was a marked change, one could see well-dressed people on the streets.

(17e)

I assume that by now then they had overcome their fear and they have taken out their old hidden clothes. In the past, that is to say, before the Second World War, Hungarians were known to have spent a great deal of money on their clothes. The best dressed people in Budapest today are the new rich. The Hungarian term is *újgazdagok*. These people are not really rich but they are relatively higher on the economic ladder; also, after the death of Stalin, the so-called *MASZEK* stores were permitted to operate. Owners of these stores have made a great deal of money. They have consequently been able to spend more money on their clothing. *MASZEK* is the abbreviation for the Hungarian term *Magán* Sector. These are small or middle sized stores run by private individuals and owned by private individuals. The proprietors are usually tradesmen. Right after the Russian occupation of Hungary after the Second World War a great many of such little stores came into being. These were nationalized in 1946. However, after the death of Stalin, many of these stores were returned to their private owners. It was these stores where various imported luxury articles, such as watches and nylons, were sold. There is also a Hungarian nylon but it is very inferior to the American. The price of a 40 ~~mm~~ crepe nylon runs as high as 200 forints. A pair of foreign made nylon stockings runs as high as 100 to 250 forints. Hungarian nylon stockings are available below 100 forints. Another interesting characteristic of these *MaSec* stores is that they have instituted the time plan ~~plan~~ payments. This is the only place in Hungary where one may purchase something on time payments. As a result people preferred to buy

many things in these stores even though the prices are exorbitant, ~~unlike~~ ~~the~~ ~~government~~ ~~operated~~ ~~stores~~ rather than ~~purchase~~ ~~them~~ in government operated establishments. ~~These~~ ~~stores~~ ~~would~~ ~~very~~ ~~often~~ ~~be~~ ~~run~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~wives~~ ~~of~~ ~~high~~ ~~Party~~ ~~functionaries~~. There are also other places which operate without any form of license. These people operate similarly to the American ~~the~~ door-to-door salesman, these Hungarians ~~going~~ ~~from~~ ~~one~~ ~~office~~ ~~to~~ ~~another~~ ~~and~~ ~~selling~~ ~~their~~ ~~articles~~, mostly stockings, handkerchiefs, and various other notions.

- (18) There was undoubtedly an expansion of heavy industry. ~~Light~~ Light industry definitely did not expand, or if it did, we have not seen ~~anything~~ ~~of~~ that expansion except for discarded export articles. If an export shipment was rejected by one of the foreign governments, then such articles would be dumped on the Hungarian market. It happened very often that articles used predominately in the summer would be available only in the winter time, and vice versa. Coming back to the export rejects, I must state that they were far superior to the regular goods that were bought on the Hungarian market. Hungarian exports went predominately to Russia, Switzerland, China, Israel. I know we received lemons from Israel. We also shipped some goods to England and Scandinavia. Most of our exports went to Russia, however. Our exports were, I believe, ~~were~~ in the form of reparation payments to that ~~country~~ country. We have received some articles from Russia also. I know for sure that we have received some electric motors, some ~~electric~~ electric

transport machines, called ~~St~~ Stalinec.

(18b) I ~~am~~ don't think so.

(18c) I am not an economic expert but I know that we have had a much better life in Hungary before the Second ~~World~~ World War.

(19) One~~s~~ would have to abolish them altogether.

(19a) No.

(19b) Yes. Former properties of the ^{church} ~~state~~ should not be restored. However, former private properties should be returned to their owners. I believe the former ~~big~~ great landowners have operated, from the point of view of agriculture, very well. In general, great private holdings should not be returned entirely to their former owners, but only partially. Currently the greatest damage ^{that} the Communists have accomplished ^{is} in the field of agriculture. ^{It} was not so much with the land but with the agricultural class. Many a young man had to leave the farm and come to the large cities ~~making~~ and seek employment there. I knew a young ~~a~~ farmer boy who came up to the city. He finished the technical institution and became sort of an engineer. He was making relatively good money in the city but he was not satisfied with ^{his} ~~the~~ new surroundings. He told ~~that~~ me that he would be very glad to go back to the village and till his own land, if he could. He was a ~~m~~ Party member and he lived very comfortably; but essentially he was still a peasant. He was not able to adjust to city life and he lacked the necessary cultural prerequisites for life in a great metropolis.

(19d) ~~fish~~ I would somehow divide it among the peasants.

(19f) Former church lands and former great land holdings should definitely be divided amongst the peasants. Regarding the

others, certain ~~arrangements~~ could be made. Those holdings whose owners never cared for the land, counts and barons, who have lived for the most part in Paris, and some other places, should be disowned entirely. The land should belong to those who cultivate it. Great land holdings, however, which were in expert hands before the war, and could be so placed again, should be returned for the good of the whole Hungarian agriculture. There is a need, for instance, for a large experimental station, and other farm enterprises, that require great holdings. During the Communist regime much land lay around unused.

(19h) I doubt it very much. I ~~do~~ have only heard complaints. Many people came to where I was working from the ~~the~~ tractor stations.

I have never heard anything good about them. They have never ~~praised~~ ^{praised} the system, ^{and} ~~in~~ the only place ~~which~~ where one could hear praises, was in the movies.

(19i) I don't know, but I don't think ~~that~~ it is the majority.

(20) I believe farmers with larger holdings must be able to purchase one or more tractors, other tractors and machines I would lend to smaller landholders, or I would arrange for their use on a rotating basis, without any possibility for the state to make any profit on the deal. All the other farm implements and machines I would distribute between the landholders with the smaller landholdings.

(20d) I have no direct information about this; but much official praise was heard about ~~them~~ them. Now it is impossible ~~that~~ that they should have worked as perfectly as they were said

dupli-
cated

to have worked.

(205)

Yes, I believe, progress demands it. This would make the cultivation of the land much easier. Agricultural work is one of the hardest kinds of work there is. These people aged prematurely. Mechanization of the various processes should make life easier for them.

(21)

I don't believe that it is always good and advisable to permit the workers to have ^{a voice in the} direction and government of a firm if they don't know anything about the government or direction of such firm.

(21a)

Labor unions should be concerned with the protection of the workers. They should be concerned with the bringing about of the social betterment of their members. They should not, however, have any voice in the direction of the firm.

(21c)

Definitely not. Whatever is forced is bad and evil in itself.

(21d)

Membership in a labor union involves a considerable amount of money. Union dues are dependent on wages. I know I was paying some 15 forints per month at a time when I was making 800 forints a month. This was subsequently reduced because I remember in 1956 I only had to pay 7 forints at a time when I was making 1,000 forints.

(21e)

To a very great extent. We were obliged to pay taxes of course, and we were obliged to subscribe, to buy the so-called peace bonds. If we consider all the other expenses we had, and if we consider how little we could buy with our income, then, one understands that even 7 forints, or 15 forints, that one has to pay as dues to a labor union, that did amount to a great deal. Still I must recognize that we did get many benefits from them. One of these benefits, of course, was the reasonable rate at

18

which we were able to enjoy our vacation.

(21f)

I ~~was~~ heard about the revolutionary Workers' Councils ^{only 49} during the Revolution. During that time these organizations catered to the various wishes and desires of the workers, and it was these organizations, ^{that} ~~which~~ have attended to the various problems of the workers. It was largely due to the existence of these councils, that the workers were paid even after the Revolution broke out, and work discontinued. Everybody got his full pay during November, but only 80% of it during December.

(21g)

The workers and the members of the management assembled and they elected the members of the revolutionary Workers' Council at each plant. These groups were elected and installed to take over the direction of the plants from the former leaders, and to make sure that the plants would operate from then on in the revolutionary spirit.

(21h)

Yes. My husband was a member of such a revolutionary Council. My husband was employed in a government hardware store.

(21i)

A plant should be directed exactly as it was before the war. That is to say there should be a general director, etc.

(Interviewer's note: the Hungarian term, *Vezérigazgató* ^{the term} ~~meaning~~, general director corresponds to the president of an American corporation.) These are people who know exactly what they are doing. These should be the leaders of the firm. This management should be responsible to the shareholders.

(22)

I believe Party members should be considered on an individual basis. Many of them did not do any harm ^{not} even to a fly. There is no general guilt. There must never be generalizations.

(22b)

They should be judged individually and judged on their merit. The same thing should apply to the members of the AVH. After

all, even in 1944, not all the Nazi collaborators were placed under one heading.

- (22g) The AVH, the members of the Tanács (Note: this signifies a city council), people engaged in education, people who have published books, people who were responsible for the ideological education of the Hungarian youth, employees of the various Ministries, especially those employed by the Ministry of the Interior, and judges, should be placed under a special scrutiny.
- (22h) There was far less lynching in the city of Budapest itself than in the surrounding areas of Hungary.
- (23) The Hungarian educational system rested on quite erroneous premises. Children were taken out of their parents' hands, youth was taught not to respect their parents. A youth of today is already the Communists' creature. They do not respect their parents and they do not have a special regard for their elders. Even the young people themselves have a very bad opinion about the Communist education system. Such ~~many~~ things as ancient history, history of literature, and geography are not taught at all. Everything centers around the study of ideologies. Those who do not want, or are unable to master this subject, are automatically doomed to failure, irrespective of what their status may be regarding the other subjects. Even in those things that they taught, one could find no permanency at all. Before the Revolution, children were constantly forced to revise their textbooks. Russians and things Russian were constantly exalted and Russians in general were placed ^{on}

a very high pedestal. Our children were betrayed. History was falsified. Textbooks kept on changing, one appearing rapidly after the other. Even in such courses as cooking, ideology played a very important role. My husband was working as a bookkeeper, and he was a very good one. One day he decided to try to study and become an accountant. He made very good progress in all his accounting subjects, but he failed twice in the ideology, ~~he~~ was doomed to failure. All the youngsters were organized in groups that fostered political education. Those children who went to elementary ~~schools~~ schools had to be members of the *pajtászövetség* (Interviewer's note: the closest term, that I can think of, that would signify this Hungarian expression would be the German Kameradschaft.) As these elementary school youngsters would progress in their studies they would become *Úttörő* members (Interviewer's note: *Úttörő* could be translated into English by the term Pioneer.) These Pioneers were supplied with uniforms. Once a young man or girl became a member of ~~the~~ *a* secondary school he was obliged to become a *Dísz-tag* member. (Note: the meaning of this Hungarian term is *Working Youth League*.) Membership in this party organization would continue up to the time of the maturity examinations. After that one became a party member automatically. Those youngsters who proved to be good *Úttörő* Pioneers were transferred to the Russian Gymnasium of Budapest. This was considered a very great honor. Some of these youngsters were even given opportunities to go to Russia and study there for a few years. Such youngsters would usually come from Proletarian backgrounds and would consequently be considered very good *Cadres*. The study of the

Russian

~~language~~ language was compulsory from the fifth year of the elementary school to the maturity examination.

- (23a) In a word, the Communists have brought in politics into the education where it was never before. The curriculum was changed from top to bottom.
- (23b) Those who were exceptionally able scholastically were permitted to continue to the university, irrespective of their ~~sex~~ cadre in many instances. However, this was not generally ~~the~~ true. Neither of my two children were permitted to continue their education on a university level. The school which my daughter attended had a graduating class of 43 members. Out of these 43, 3 were permitted to enter university studies.
- (23d) ~~He~~ Yes, I believe a nation should be as cultured as possible.
- (24) The state should have no voice whatsoever in the operation of the church.
- (24c) If Churches should need financial assistance, ~~it~~ *They* should receive financial assistance from the state. I believe religion plays a very important role in the life of an individual. ~~I~~ I also believe that religious training will eventually supply the state with ~~the~~ citizens who will be a firm foundation for the development of such a state. Consequently, ultimately the state is bound to benefit from such investments.
- (24d) Yes, so that the children could be educated in ~~the~~ a religious spirit. In Hungary there are very few parents who would not want this to happen. Religiousness is a special Hungarian characteristic. We are almost as religious as the Italians are, in spite of all the persecutions that the church has

suffered. Such church holidays as Easter and Christmas see a tremendous upsurge of religious devotion and church-going even amongst those who otherwise consider themselves to be Party members. Party members do not think much of their Party membership when it comes to these great church holidays. If they can help it, naturally they avoid going to such churches where they may be known. But they do go to churches.

(24e) No. I believe priests should not engage in politics under any circumstances. I further believe that Cardinal Mindszenty has made a great mistake when he has exposed himself in this respect.

(25) Let me see now, this is a difficult question. I had finished school as you know many years ago. These historical questions may put me completely off balance. I consider the events of 1848 as important, ~~in the same category as~~ ^{as} the Battle of Mohács. ~~It is important~~ (Note: ~~that~~ Respondent was referring to the Battle of 1526 that was waged against the Turkish invaders.) I also believe the fact that the Hungarians were ~~not~~ subdued by the Turks for 150 years is important. I further believe that the era of ~~Natya~~ ^{Natya} deserves mention in this respect. In a word I think Hungary served as a fighting outpost of the West. Hungary gave to the Western culture a great number of extremely capable men in the field of music, painting, ~~and~~ sculpture and other fields. The Hungarian represents a very happy mixture. He is an orderly and trustworthy worker, we ^{musicians} have many famous ~~physicians~~ ^{physicians}, artists, singers, dancers, and composers. I almost forgot about the politicians. I have in mind here the famous ~~Spary~~ ^{Apzponyi} Albert.

(26) The government of Bethlen and that of Ferenc Josef (inter-

viewer's note: reference is made here to Francis Joseph, ^I ~~III~~
of Austria!

(26a)

Very good.

(26b)

I don't know. Peasants were seeking special economic ad-
vantages. After 1918 there were also political reasons. There
was a rise in anti-Semitism. Many felt they were persecuted
by Rightists government elements. Then there ~~has~~ ^{has} been ~~numerous~~ ^{a NUMEROUS}
~~classes~~ ^{clausus} instituted in the Hungarian universities. Many of the
students left Hungary in order to study abroad and they re-
mained outside. And then we have the cracking of the Hungarian
stockmarket which brought about economic collapse in the case
of many people.

- (26b) I don't know. Peasants, I suppose, have seen greater material advantages and possibilities in those countries. After 1918 there were also political reasons. This was at the time ^{when} ~~that~~ anti-Semitic laws were passed in the Hungarian Parliament. This was the time when Rightist governments took the direction of the country into their hands. We also had a serious stock market trouble at that time.
- (26c) Yes.
- (26d) It wasn't good because we had repression then. Certain groups were repressed and were backward culturally. We had ~~an~~ many illiterate people.
- (26e) Life was quiet and pleasant until the time when the agreement was made with Germany. Materially considered, life was also good, but sometimes of course there was periodic unemployment.
- (26f) Yes. There were great class differences. The workers and the peasants did not even count at that time. We had a real caste-~~like~~ system. There were separate establishments for the separate classes. The gentry felt superior in every respect and would not even as much as consider other groups.
- (26g) Hungary did not ~~develop~~ develop in the same direction as did the Western powers. But there was no other way out. Our geographical situation forced us to cooperate with Germany.
- (26h) This was not bad. What they did, they did diplomatically, at a slow pace. At that time we were happy that the war was over. But it became worse and worse year after year. The population could not imagine that it would be ~~degraded~~ degraded to the same level that it knew Russians ^{here} ~~was~~ existing under. They have demoralized our nation. They have oppressed the bourgeois

class. They ~~have~~ constantly spoken about raising the standard of living, but they actually pushed the upper classes down to the level, to which they have raised the proletarian classes. They have equalized the standards, raising the standards of some at the expense of others.

(27) Yes. Incompatibility. (Hungarian: *összeférhetlenség*). If you have three Hungarians, they will be pulling in three different directions. Hungarians are remarkably temperamental and impulsive. They are good hearted, good natured, they receive and assimilate foreigners very easily, but they are extreme chauvinists at the same time.

(27)^d No.

(27e) I believe that the middle classes are more changeable, more ready to follow the dictates of time. They are now ready to accept ~~and~~/the workers on even terms, yet this is not true the other way around. All in all, the two classes, incidentally, are no longer widely separated.

(28) Hungarians dislike the Rumanians very intensely. Personal dislike is less pronounced toward the Yugoslavians. Hungarians feel some sort of a hatred toward the Czechs too. But the Austrians are liked and beloved by all. From all this it is quite clear that political boundaries are absolutely necessary.

(28c) Yes. In those territories where the predominant part of the population consists of Hungarians. I have here in mind a particularly Transylvania.

(28e) No.

(28f) Yes. For the reasons I have already enumerated.

(28i) There is no controversy between the Slovaks and Hungarians.

(28j)

The ~~am~~ controversy between the Rumanians and Hungarians centers around the possession of the territory of Transylvania.

(28k)

Austrians and Hungarians were always very good neighbors.

(28l)

There is a decided dislike not so much against the Croatians, rather against the Serbs. Serbs are generally held responsible for the fact that large Hungarian territories were detached from Hungary after the first World War.

(28m)

Hungarians and Jews do not get along at all. There are great contrasts between them. In 1944 the Jews were persecuted. When the Russians came, the Jews went to leading positions. The Hungarians feel that the Jews have sold out the country to the Russians. Jew and Communist became synonymous terms. They ~~was~~ were in leading positions. Christians also were in leading positions, but the acts of the Jews in this respect ~~is~~ ^{are} considered a greater crime. They have played hand in hand with the Russians. The Jews are ~~was~~ capable of engaging themselves in extreme things. Anti-Semitism is so pronounced because it (Jews) is synonymous with the Communists. This is unjust, I know, in many respects. I knew, that even if there had been no Jews in Hungary, Hungary would still be Communist occupied today. There would have been others who would have done the job, Nazis and others. Many Jews came from the ranks of the Social~~ist~~ Democrats. There were many opportunists among them. But I also knew many Jews who hated Communists and Communism. Jews are, for the most part, intellectuals. Because they were persecuted during the war, they received leading positions ~~and~~ and advantages thereafter.

- (28n) Jews considered themselves to be Hungarians, they had Hungarian spirit in them, and they were, in general, patriots, just like everybody else. Those Jews, however, who belonged to the Communist Party, who were Communists, definitely were not Hungarians. Those Jews did not have ~~any~~ ^{just} any of the qualities that I have/enumerated. I am trying to be as objective as possible in this delicate question. But my beliefs in this respect are not unique in any way. Jews have had the worst possible reputation among the refugees in the Austrian camps. Those Jews who have ~~had~~ fled Hungary before November the 4th, were definitely Communists. Those who have fled Hungary after November the 4th, when the general exodus began, were ~~Communists~~ ^{patriots}.
- (29) Some sort of a federation among the countries in that region would definitely be a healthy solution to all our problems. A federation of any sort, however, is impossible.
- (30) Russians in general, the Russian people, are decent people. It is their leaders that we detest, it is against them, and against their ideology, that we revolted.
- (30c) They are not all Communists by any means.
- (30d) I have come to know a Russian officer in the City of ~~Temesvár~~ ^{Temesvár} fairly well. He was very decent, cultured, and spoke several languages. I have also known the husband of a friend of mine, a White Russian.
- (30e) At first we received the Russian soldiers with some degree of ~~genuine~~ joy. Our feelings were genuine, that they were our liberators. They had at least delivered us from the continuation of the war. But their bestial behavior toward women have made them hated throughout Hungary. The hatred toward these

vandals has reached immense proportions. The only ones, that we hated even more than we did the Russians, were such creatures as Rakosi, Gerö, ~~Maléter~~ ^{Vass Zoltán} and people like them.

(30f) We did not come in contact with the Russians between 1948 and 1953.

(30g) If you have in mind here the Revolution, you cannot help remembering that it is the Russians who have defeated us in our first Revolution in 1848.

~~31 follows~~

(30h) I don't know anything at all about these ideologies. I was strictly a Maszek.

(30i) The Social Democrats were good people. I am referring here to the social democracies of the years before the war.

(30j) I don't really know. I must confess my ~~ignorance~~ ignorance in these ideological matters.

(30k) I can't think of any definition for it. Democracy, of course, is ~~something~~ something that obtains in all the Western countries.

(30l) We never really had a democracy in Hungary.

(30m) Tito is definitely not a democrat, but he is a very good, and ~~is~~ very capable, diplomat.

(32) I have heard this expression very often. National Communism, I believe, is a state of mind, a belief that Communist principles and practices are capable of integration with national feelings.

(32a) Yes, very definitely. Imre Nagy, Béla Kovács, and Maléter were such people.

(32b) Imre Nagy, Béla Kovács and Maléter were among the highest exponents of this belief. They wanted to build a Communist system on Hungarian foundations. They wanted to get rid of the Russians and operate on an independent, national basis. Then, too, they even believed that behind them is a tremendous following.

respect, but they have made ²great mistake because behind them was no one.

- (32c) Gomulka may be another such national Communist. But it may ~~also~~ also be only that he is an opportunist.
- (32d) I don't know.
- (32e) No. Communists can never have a *raison d'être* in Hungary.
- (34a) ~~Bad~~ Good.
- (34b) Bad.
- (34c) Bad.
- (34d) Bad.
- 34e) Bad.
- (34f) It is only a ~~slogan~~ slogan. It is a very nice idea though.
- (34g) Capitalism, as I know it, here, is good.
- (34h) Bad. Socialism means state ownership, control, and leadership for the benefit of the people. Assuming that ~~you~~ you have a good, benevolent government this system is ideal.

Colonialism, I understand to mean a system of exploitation of one people by another. This is intrinsically evil, and therefore I don't like it. Class struggle is a continuous struggle in various classes of society for leadership. I don't like that either. Popular front is just another name for Communism. Imperialism to me is synonymous with colonialism. Peace movement is just a slogan. I did not have a very ~~low~~ *high* esteem for capitalism. I now see that it is entirely different from what I thought it would be. I identified bourgeoisie with narrow mindedness. It stands for provincialism, localism, the opposite of broad mindedness. I like to think of myself as a broad minded person.

- (35) I believe the opinions of most Hungarians would be very similar to mine.
- (36)(a) Less.
- (36b) Less.
- (36c) Less.
- (36d) Less.
- (36e) Less.
- (36f) Less.
- (36g) Less.
- (36h) More.
- (36i) More.
- (36j) Less.
- (36k) Less.
- (36l) Less.
- (37a) Better off.
- (37b) Small landholders better off, day workers were worse off.
- (37c) Better off.
- (37d) Better off.
- (37e) About the same.
- (37f) Better off.
- (37g) Worse off.
- (37h) Worse off.
- (37i) There were no Party members.
- (37j) Better off.
- (37k) Better off.
- 37l) Better off.
- (38a) These two groups had parallel interests.
- (38b) Contrary.

- (38c) Contrary.
- (38d) Contrary.
- (38e) Contrary.
- (38f) Contrary.
- (38g) Contrary.
- (38h) I believe ⁱⁿ a healthy government. These divergent and contrary interests should be synchronized.
- (38i) Contrary.
- (38j) Contrary.
- (38k) Contrary.
- (39) In the event of a war in which Hungary would be a ^{participant,} member, I believe that everybody would be fighting against the regime. Those few who are Communists, would not stay in their positions, they would leave.

- (1) I should like to ask you about my status in the United States. As you know I was admitted only on a parole basis. Does that mean that I can never become a citizen? Does ~~that~~ that mean that I may be shipped back at.....? (Interviewer's note: I have tried to answer these questions as best I could).
- (1a) I believe the interview covers a very wide range and variety of things. It must be a tremendous project, and something good must come out of it.
- (1b) I believe you will be able to get quite a quantity of information this way. Still I believe that if you interview soldiers, professional soldiers or those who were inducted into the Army, they would be able to tell you much more than the civilians. These persons, especially officers, have come into contact with a great many people, and I believe that they are more aware of what actually went on than we would be.
- (1c) I should like to suggest that you select the respondents in such a way that they be representative of the totality of Hungarian society. If this careful selection does not take place, one could easily commit grave and irreparable errors.
- (1d) It all depends on the type of selection. Obviously there are some people whose interest it is to put things in a different light and ~~at a different~~ ^{in distorted} perspective.
- (1e) I believe you have covered a very wide ground.
- (2a) I might consider going back to Hungary again, on a temporary basis. I would want to go to visit my relatives and my friends. This, of course, could take place only under entirely different conditions. I would never want to return to Hungary on a permanent basis. I have grown up children now, and their future obviously is in the United States.

(3) Not applicable.

(end of section and completion of entire interview).

(Interviewer's note: Respondent is a middle-aged woman, wife of a former oil executive and mother of three adult children. She did not complete the Gymnasium, leaving school after the seventh year, because of illness. She considers herself a member of what used to be a middle class society in Hungary. She is very aware of her former social status, of what the change in the system has made out of her, of the great disadvantages and, perhaps, injustices she was living under. She is also acutely aware of the shortcomings of the former Hungarian society as it existed before the war. While class conscious and patriotic in her outlook, she is broadminded, fair, and liberal in her interpretation of things. She is not chauvinistic, and there is practically no trace of a personal vindictiveness, of a desire to do revenge for injustices suffered. She was a passive onlooker in the past ten years. She did not contribute anything to the regime, she held aloof, not even reading newspapers, reports, at the same time recognizing that some positive result had been brought about by the regime. While her political judgments appeared to be mature enough, she does not have clearly defined premises in her argumentation. She knows practically nothing about Marxism and admits her ignorance in many other respects. She combines a love and respect for tradition, at the same time being extremely in favor of necessary changes, of progress, of the necessity of keeping up with the times. She looks upon Hungary as one of the leading nations in Europe, a nation that has contributed a great deal

to the general civilization. This does not prevent her from stating and recognizing in her own mind the political immaturity of Hungarians in general. Hungarians, she claims, are pleasant people to live with, are hospitable to foreigners, but are politically not mature enough for a democracy. Like in so many other phases of life, Hungarians/ are, she claims, lovers ~~and~~ of extremes. She characterizes them as being hasty in political judgment, as people who follow their impulses, rather than^g their reason, in political questions. Respondent has traveled widely before the war, has seen a number of political and economic systems in operation, and is, as a result, aware of the fact, that there are more ways than one to reach any given aim or goal.