

1. We have to know the story of 12 years; a system built on informers has been shaken in its foundations. Contrary to all other statements this revolution was not prepared and it is unique in world history. Not only those took part in it whose interest it was, namely the workers and the peasants, but also those whose interests were best served by the regime, for instance the students of the ~~Dunabek~~<sup>Rakoczy</sup> Military High School and those who got a very high salary.

- and b)
- a) Already after Stalin's death the fight for <sup>power</sup> ~~struggle~~ began in Moscow and the same thing happened also in Hungary. A period of concessions to the people started. Until 1953 attendance in political courses was very strictly controlled. After Stalin's death it was easier to criticize the government and to tell one's opinion. Also the newspapers started to write more frankly.
- c) Imre Nagy played an important role. He was a communist but this man is really intelligent. Compared with all the other stupid fellows who were members of the government and different ministries Imre Nagy was a cultured man.
- d) The regime was more favorable <sup>to</sup> ~~for~~ peasants and the list of the kulaks was destroyed. Even music hall ~~performers~~<sup>performers</sup> started to talk more freely. When for the first time after Stalin's death one of the famous ~~artists~~<sup>entertainers</sup> appeared in front of his public he said, "Good evening, ladies and gentlemen," and then he explained that now it was not necessary to say "Comrades" because there are

changes in the making. It is difficult to describe the changes gradually but they came ~~in~~. Each <sup>newspaper gave</sup> article ~~was~~ a little more and then came the rehabilitation of Laszlo <sup>Rajk</sup> ~~Bak~~ and came the events of the Petofi circle. Unfortunately I didn't follow very closely the discussions of the / Petofi circle, that is, the happenings in the Petofi circle, because at that time I didn't recognize its importance because there were so many false rumors and so many things ~~that~~ happened that I just didn't ~~know~~ <sup>watch</sup> the Petofi Circle. Yes, the policy towards Tito was really characteristic. People laughed about the quick change in the policy of the Hungarian government. Tito, the arch-enemy, became a friend. This was ~~an~~ a little light <sup>the</sup> ~~into~~ darkness and the people understood its importance.

e) At the Twentieth Party Congress the communists admitted that Stalin's policy was wrong. I think that this was a decisive fact. Now party officials had to tolerate criticism. All these events are parts of a big puzzle. I didn't follow the events of Poznan day by day but I know that the Communist press admitted that the German workers had the right to strike but fascist elements came and wanted to make a revolution out of the legal strike. There was an exhibition in Poznan and we were very glad that many people from the United States, Great Britain, France and other western countries would see the happenings in Poznan.

g) The elimination of Rakosé was the last happening in a chain of events which started with Stalin's death.

h) We expected more after Stalin's death but now I see that this was not logical.

- 1) People didn't feel the greatness of the minute. Everybody went to work as on any other day.
3. a) The bitterness of the last twelve years was accumulated. The decisive event was that students came out with their twelve or fourteen points. The students dared to say in a collective way "Russians, go home." When the Hungarian people heard this they said, "This is what we want" and they marched along with them. The revolution might have started earlier or later.
- 4) a) The uprising was not planned. It was the deed of 9 million Hungarians.
- b) The revolution started because of the bitterness and hatred toward  
the Russians.
- c) I didn't notice any individual interest. The revolution was spontaneous. "Russians, go home" was a strong cry which shook the nation.
- d) I don't know. It's quite possible that they joined the revolution only because they learned of it only later.
- e) Against the last twelve years.
- f) This was expressed in the 12 points of the students.
- g) "Russians, go home" was the most popular slogan but as I worked at the radio our slogan was "More money for the ~~radio~~ radio, using money to jam instead of ~~making~~ foreign broadcasts. ~~give us more money to jam~~  
~~the Hungarians~~
- h) To be left alone by the Russians.  
the Revolt
- j) The Communists joined because not all those who are in the party are communists, also  
although those who are in Moscow are not

always communists. They are the beneficiaries of a regime and they want to defend that regime.

l) Without Russian intervention the revolution would have been successful.

m) The Polish solution would not have been satisfactory for the Hungarians. In Poland there is only one man and this man tries to do everything but the Russians don't let him.

n) It's quite possible that people had selfish reasons but at that moment nobody seemed to show his selfish reasons; and there was a big unity--we all fought for the national interest.

o) It is sad to admit, but there was an opposition. For instance, the first day when I went home and met girls who were standing in front of a high school, the Zrinyi Ilona high school; and when I mentioned to them that Hungarians were killed at the radio station one of the girls said, "That's OK with me; they should kill all those who are against the regime," and I think that this was also the point of view of the members of the AVO.

5. a, b) On October the 23rd there were speedy meetings at the radio station. The workers protested against the government which wanted to prevent the students from demonstrating and parading. I asked the respondent<sup>e</sup> about the AVO members; about the role of the secret police at the radio station because we heard so much about them in the newspapers and then he told me <sup>that</sup> <sup>constantly</sup> there were 30 AVO's in the radio station and then he added that it was <sup>came</sup> characteristic of the change that happened after Stalin's death

that now there was only one member of the AVO at the door  
 armed with ~~revolver~~ a pistol. During Stalin's ~~period~~ <sup>era</sup> there used to be  
~~two men with~~ <sup>rifles</sup> two men with ~~guns~~. The workers of the radio station discussed  
 whether their sixteen points should be read at the radio but  
 then one party member stood up and said that this would not be  
<sup>was</sup> party-like because Gero ~~is~~ going to speak that same night and  
<sup>would</sup> maybe he ~~is going to~~ say ~~that~~ the same thing. I don't know  
 whether I am right or wrong but I think that if our 16 points  
<sup>over</sup> would have been read ~~at~~ the radio maybe this would have prevented  
 the whole revolution from ~~starting~~ <sup>starting</sup>. During this meeting the  
 members of the AVO didn't show the least hostility. Unfortunately  
<sup>Zsambek</sup> I was sent at 5:00 p.m. to ~~the radio~~. When I came back at  
 7:55 p.m. and when we drove to the back entrance of the radio  
<sup>Museum</sup> building which is in ~~the~~ Street I was surprised to hear a  
<sup>radio</sup> big noise. It was the crowd. Here is the ~~AVO~~ identity card  
 which I used; <sup>at</sup> that moment I showed it to the AVO man and he  
<sup>then</sup> let us enter and ~~we~~ we changed because we were in working  
 clothes. During that period Gero made his speech. We were  
 listening to that speech in one of the private cars of one of  
 the high officials. An AVO officer who ~~was~~ there made the  
<sup>loudest</sup> remark that this was the ~~worst~~ speech to be made at a moment  
 like that. He said, "How can somebody speak like this when the  
 crowd is so excited?" There was a crowd of about 30,000 or  
 40,000 people in front of the building and there were 500 AVO  
 men in the radio building. Of these 500, 465 were killed and  
<sup>The latter</sup> 35 were left alive. ~~There~~ were young members of the AVO who

were enrolled, who were not the real AVO men but who were just soldiers who had to serve during the two years with the AVO. A little detail: the crowd thought that Gero was in the radio building but he wasn't. His speech was probably recorded on a tape. It was about half past nine when we were dressed and at that moment we already saw wounded AVO men. The fight was going and slogans like "You are not men" or "The Russians also raped your daughter" came over from the crowd which was in Brody Sandor Street. "Did you hear that tear gas bombs were thrown back from the street into the rooms of the radio building and were more effective against the members of the radio <sup>staff</sup> than against the crowd?" "No, this is not true because each bomb exploded." "What was the attitude of the AVO officers?" "They were afraid. There were two majors and by midnight both were killed but before that we went to one of them and we told him that in the crowd there are women and children and we told them, "You are not going to shoot these people" and very earnestly he said, "No, for heaven's sake, we are not going to do that." I went for a little stroll on ~~Museum~~ <sup>Museum</sup> Boulevard (Museum <sup>z</sup> <sup>korut</sup> ~~szek~~) and I was surprised to see many army trucks with soldiers on them, but the soldiers had taken off their caps and they put their arms <sup>on the seats</sup> ~~on the seats~~ which meant that they were not going to kill Hungarians and they told us, "Don't be afraid, we are not going to shoot into the crowd," but there was an AVO truck which wanted to bring ammunition to the radio building because you have to know that the police and the army didn't fight the crowd but the AVO men wanted to fight. They

wanted to help those who were fighting in the radio building. Then I went to the Rakos<sup>cz</sup> Street and came back on Szentkiraly<sup>y1</sup> Street to the radio building. At that moment I saw the first wounded who were brought ~~in~~ to the trucks. When the crowd saw the body of the first killed student it began to rage; it was quite amazing that the crowd didn't move, also the AVO men from the radio building were shooting more and more but the crowd didn't budge. Around 12:00 p.m. or midnight I saw the first men bringing arms. It was a truck with men from ~~Kere~~<sup>Csepel</sup> who were led by an Army colonel in civilian clothes. This man told them, "Come with me and I shall give you arms." He brought them to barracks, I don't know to which, but the door of the barracks was closed but in the windows there were Hungarian soldiers and they threw through the window their rifles with some ammunition, but they couldn't give too much ammunition because the ammunition depot was locked. I must say that truck drivers were among the great heroes of the Hungarian uprising. They did a tremendous work and once I met one of those truck drivers who for three or four days didn't have a bit of sleep. He volunteered to go with his truck to bring help to an encircled group and he knew that three other truck drivers before him had been killed but he accepted the job and then later on I found out that he too was killed. "What did you do on the 23rd of October?" "I did everything. I carried ammunition and I used a rifle. I shot myself. It was amazing to watch the crowd and to watch all those who took part in those

fightings. There was no commander and everybody knew his duty. I would have died for the man next to me and they would have died for me. We helped each other, we fought together. It was wonderful. On October the 24th I went back to the radio building and I learned many details. I found out the exact figure of the AVO men who were killed and I also learned that the young boys who are the students of the Francis <sup>Rakoczy</sup> ~~Károlyi~~ ~~University~~ Military High School also took part in the fightings. These boys came to the parade of the students and they had no arms and they were a very selected group, I dare say they were even more selected than the AVO men. They wanted to become officers. They had a perfect background from the point of view of the party, but when these boys were told that help was needed to fight the AVO's, they came to the radio building and several of them died there.

6. a, b, c) Are answered by the foregoing.
- d) At that time nobody thought of the dangers. Nobody thought of the consequences of the participation <sup>in</sup> ~~and~~ those fights.
7. a) I saw Russian soldiers quitting their tanks at the National Theater and at the same moment from the windows members of the AVO fired on the Russians.
- b) The Hungarian soldiers and the Hungarian police joined the revolution.
- c) Once I saw two members of the AVO being trampled to death by the crowd. All that happened so quickly that I was amazed.
- d) I think that small boys were the real heroes of the



revolution. Once I saw with my own eyes a young boy who was maybe 8, 9 or 10 jump on a tank tank, then he poured gasoline in the tank. He jumped down, he ignited the gasoline, and then he <sup>ran</sup> jumped to the next building where he looked for shelter. On October the 24th the fightings were still going on ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> the radio building. The ~~gigants~~ fighters got food from the people who lived in the neighboring buildings. I know that the AVO men reconquered the radio building but then they couldn't get any help because the tanks couldn't get <sup>that</sup> ~~as far as the radio building~~. On October the 26th and 27th I went back to work. The radio building was in dreadful shape. There was much debris all over the place. We asked the Hungarian soldiers who ~~at~~ that time were in the building whether the Russians will quit Hungary and one of the officers told me that this is not true because the Russians are leaving Hungary through one door and they are coming back through the other from Rumania.

8. I didn't belong to any fighting group.
9. I think I told you already everything in relation to my participation during the fightings.
10. a) The newspapers were wonderful. For the first time after so many years they wrote the truth.  
b) I don't know.  
c) I heard so many things and there were so many rumors. Coming back to point a), I have to tell you that one of the most interesting articles, an article I can still remember, was the

description of Rakosi's  
villa. This was a rather isolated 12-room villa surrounded by other villas which belonged to high communist party officials and which ~~xxx~~ <sup>almost</sup> seemed to protect the villa of Rakosé situated in the center. There were two bathrooms in the villa, many books which seemed to be so new that the newspaperman asked himself how could Rakosi have an opinion of literature if he himself didn't read his own books. There were ~~so~~ many things from abroad. There was a TV set from Western Germany. There was French champagne and Dutch cigars and American pianos. There were even two American pianos. There was also a statement that Rakosi's monthly salary was 40,000 forints. Out of these 40,000 forints he gave to the party only 160 forints which, according to the newspaperman, was a very low percentage. There was also on one of the desks an envelope which carried the date of August the 7th, 1948. These were the days during which the drive against ~~xxx~~ <sup>Rajk</sup> started and there was the following text on the envelope: "Dear Comrade Rakosi:; Will you please send me back the envelope with your instructions," Signed, Gaber Peter.

c) I heard Hungarian and foreign broadcasts, for instance I heard Imre Nagy's tragic appeal on November the 4th and of course I listened to the broadcast of Radio Kossuth. I must tell you that this revolution was the cleanest revolution in history. The show windows were shattered but nobody took anything. I saw Schaffhausen watches and nobody touched them. Nobody took anything except the Russians. I was always surprised to see how dirty these

Russians are and they were hungry men. In fact, it was a band of robbers. Their bread was so bad that sometimes we asked a piece of bread from Russian soldiers only to show<sup>it</sup> as an object of curiosity and coming back to the radio I have to tell you something about Radio Free Europe. It is a fact that RFE served a useful purpose. It encouraged us during these 12 years but RFE made also statements which cost many Hungarian lives. On my way to Austria I met a Hungarian officer who told me that RFE's famous declaration, "Wait another day, fight another day, and help will come," cost him 850 of his men.

11.

- a) The offices<sup>s</sup> of the better-known party organizations were smashed and documents thrown out of ~~the~~ the window.
- b) The police surrendered and gave their arms to the Freedom Fighters.
- c) Those members of the AVO who were professionals were killed. These who ~~joined~~ <sup>during</sup> their regular military service were assigned to the AVO, were liberated and left alone.
- d) I don't know.
- e) The greater part of the army joined the Freedom Fighters.
- f) The trade unions didn't play any part.
- g) They all disappeared. There was nothing but revolution.
- h) In the beginning the ministeries and the houses of parliament were very strongly guarded but then the government moved to ~~Szolnok~~ Szolnok and the radio of this city as well as the airport ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> the city of ~~Szolnok~~ Szolnok remained ~~in~~ all the time in the hands of the Reds.
- i) I know that when the Russians came back they cooked their meals

in several churches of Budapest.

j) I should like to talk about hospitals. Several hospitals were bombed in spite of the Red Cross and I am very surprised that the International Red Cross didn't file a protest. Many a Hungarian clinics and St. ~~Rokus~~<sup>Rokus</sup> Hospital, among others, were severely bombed and of course the Children's Clinic. I don't know why this happened. There was no resistance in hospitals; those who attended to the wounded wouldn't have permitted this. They were very noble and cold-blooded men.

k) I don't know.

l) I don't know.

m) The workers' councils were cleaned from communists and I know that for instance George ~~Szepesi~~<sup>Szepesi</sup> was thrown out of the radio.

n) The system consisting of several parties <sup>a</sup>; /democratic system like the system which existed in 1944 before the Russians invaded the country. No question of revival of fascism or the church rule.

12. I already told you how much I was surprised about the bad and dirty uniforms of the Russians. I also told you that a friend of mine saw fights between Russians and AVH members. I can tell you that the Russian army is the hungriest and morally the weakest army in the world. In the case of a strong attack the Russian army would just disband.

13. I left Hungary on November the 18th.

a) The situation appeared to me hopeless. I am 25 years old, I didn't want to live there.

b) I discussed the flight with two friends but finally they didn't join me.

c) I didn't have a plan.

d) To come to the United States.

e) Nothing.

14.

a) Yes.

b) The freedom fight could have been successful with American help.

c) I would act as I acted during the revolution.

d) To the Hungarians the situation seemed unbearable. Secondly, the Hungarians are a nation which cannot tolerate too much. It is a freedom-loving nation.

e) Imre Nagy is a mixture between good and evil. If the Russians would <sup>not</sup> have come he would have been able to do something much better than the previous regime. He meant seriously what he said.

f) Maljter <sup>e</sup> played a decisive part. He is a brilliant soldier, a soldier that isn't born every century. His men adored him, although not all of them knew his name. He was marvelous. Nobody knew when he slept, when he ate. He was everywhere. He encouraged everybody. (What do you know about him at present?) I don't know anything. (What do you know about General Belak <sup>Kiraly</sup>?) I don't know too much about him.

g) If I have to name a man it was Maljter <sup>e</sup>. Otherwise I would say ~~that~~ that the whole Hungarian nation was the hero of the freedom fights. Never in history did the Hungarians unite as

much as during that one week. I heard, for instance, many speeches by quite unknown men and all these men were wonderful. They just told us what we wanted to hear and they did it in a wonderful way.

h) I could not tell you to <sup>what</sup> ~~which~~ extent all these groups took part in the freedom fight.

i) No.

j) No.

k) The role of the Petefi Circle was quite important. I was surprised because I didn't follow the activity of the Petefi circle.

l) The peasants too were wonderful. During many days they brought without any charge food to Budapest.

This is the end of Section R. As you have seen my respondent CWS-2 has been at the radio building during the first day and as a worker of the radio station he knows a great ~~size~~ deal about the conditions around that building, but I don't know whether he is interesting enough for a special interview on the radio.

a handyman

1. a) I was ~~working~~ at the radio station. I wanted to become a medical doctor and I studied for two years at the university but then I couldn't cope with the requirements of the university. I couldn't study at home because I had ~~no~~ no leisure. I had to think of the fact that my parents were working for me and that I need<sup>ed</sup> a suit or I needed shoes and so on. Anyway, I couldn't study; and in Hungary the requirements are very high, so I had to give up the studies and I went to the radio.

b) My father was a locksmith.

2. Between March 1951 and July 1952 I worked at the ~~MAVAG~~ <sup>MAVAG</sup>. Between 1954 and 1955 I worked in a hospital.

a) At the radio station I ~~was a handyman~~ <sup>was a handyman</sup>. I carried chairs and tables and so on.

b) I had no special assignment.

c) I had no special capacity.

d) I have been in this position for ~~some time~~ <sup>a few months</sup>.

e) It was the radio ~~station~~ station of Budapest.

f) The place was guarded and there were special many studios.

3. a) I didn't like it at all.

b) I didn't like <sup>the idea</sup> that I couldn't do a more intellectual job. My other jobs, ~~the MA~~ <sup>i.e., the MAVAG,</sup> were ~~rather strict,~~ <sup>they were</sup> stricter than the radio. In the ~~hospital,~~ <sup>hospital,</sup> I have seen a great deal, for instance I have seen on the door of one of the wards, "The pride of our ward is a 12-year-old girl who is going to have a baby."

4. I cannot answer points a, b, c.

- a) I earned several <sup>en</sup> hundred ferints.
- e) They deducted something for old age pension and because I didn't have children I again had to pay something.
- f) Nothing.
- g) No. M
- h) My salary was lower.
- i) Only those get more who have been there for a longer period or who had children or a family.

5. a) Eight hours.

- b) 46 hours.
- c) Sometimes, but <sup>got</sup> no double pay.
- d) 12 days after the first year.
- e) The qualified workers got a higher salary.
- f) It was not very strict.
- g) There was no 10-minute movement.
- h) This didn't happen at the radio.
- i) According to the ~~norm~~ norm system they gave more for big pieces which were important. On the other hand, smaller pieces were not so well paid and one had to <sup>produce</sup> make a great deal of them in order to make a living. Of course, here they made a distinction between party members and those who didn't belong to the party. Party members got those <sup>jobs in which</sup> ~~jobs in which~~ they could make more money.
- j) No.
- k) Yes.



6. In general the conditions were bad.
7. a) All kinds of people. There was, for instance, a former member of the secret police but I know that with us he didn't work for the secret police. He was not a spy. I think he was dismissed because he likes alcohol. And there were also members of the former regime who nowadays are rather in a bad situation.
- b) It was just like under the old capitalist system.
- c) Yes.
- d) I knew many people with whom I worked and with whom I could speak frankly.
- e) Maybe. Of course, directors are like directors in every country. Outside of my job I didn't meet too many of my co-workers because I don't drink alcohol.
- h) There was a party organization.
- i) Everybody knew that party members were in a better position. They got easier promotions but it was not told that they got the promotion because they are party members but it was told that they are better and more reliable workers.
- j) Nothing. Everybody hated the members of the communist party, I mean the party itself.
- k) Nobody had confidence in trade unions because everybody knew that trade unions were ruled by the communist party.
- l) Trade unions organized ~~massive~~ meetings and they sent people on to vacations.
- m) In 1945 the trade unions still defended the interests of the

working class.

n) No.

o) In fact, all three defended interests of the party.

p) Yes, we have to admit that.

q) They tried to make him a member of the party but then if you refused they just ignored him.

r) Very often.

s) I don't know.

t) I don't know.

u) They are subjected to the party. They cannot do too much but nevertheless they try to help the workers.

v) There was a great deal of red tape in their activity.

8. a) Here again there was a change ~~maker~~ after Stalin's death. It was easier to go from one job to the other but each worker had an identity card and if he left the ~~jam~~ plant without agreement of the management then a mention about this was made in his identity card.

b) I went to the ~~xxx~~ radio because this was the only ~~xxxxxx~~ vacant place at the moment when I was looking for a job but I would have preferred to go to the Hungarian airline but they told me that without a knowledge of German and English I had no chance to get the job.

c) I had once some sort of intellectual work. I wanted to become a doctor because I am very much interested in medicine and I think that that was a vocation for me.

e) Now I want to study chemistry.

- f) No.
- g) It depends.
- h) There are vicious men who want money and there are men who want to serve the community.
- i) I would buy a house.. I would buy a car and in my leisure time I would travel.
- j) My view didn't change but in this country I see that it is easier to buy a house, a car, and to travel than it would have been in Hungary.
- k) It is an error to oblige your children to ~~spend~~<sup>carry on</sup> the same profession as you. Everybody should leave complete freedom to children to choose their own profession.
9. a) My father and my mother worked. I have a sister who is 17 years old. She doesn't work. If only the man works in the family that is not enough.
- b) The conditions became worse after the war. The standard of living went down.
- c) Sometimes I could buy shoes but suits very seldom. I would have liked to buy a radio but I was unable.
- d) I told you that ~~mindem~~ after deductions I kept from my 700 forints 650.
- e) I lived with my parents.
- f) In general apartments were overcrowded.
- g) I don't know. I lived with my parents.
- h) 650 ~~were~~<sup>was</sup> not enough to buy a suit.
- i) In general I bought everything in state-owned shops or stores.

- j) I don't know.'
- k) It was not easy to heat the apartments.
- l) I didn't pay anything to doctors or to dentists because doctors and dentists were free. This is a system America too could adopt.
- m) I had no advantages through my job.
- n) I went very often to movies and I bought many books. It was easy to buy good second-hand books.
- o) I bought newspapers.

10.

- a) I think I was exploited.
- b) Yes.
- c) The Russians and the government.
- d) The situation became better after Stalin's death.
- e) They were stealing the people's money.
- f) I don't know why we had to pay. This was just one form of robbery.
- g) At the university we had to attend a course about military science and Marxism.

11.

- a) The Hungarian economy went back.
- b) I didn't approve of anything. The Russians took everything to Russia.
- c) Answered by point b).
- d) Before 1944 the shortcomings were smaller. Between 1936 and 1938 the situation was quite good.
- e) Around 1947 the situation became better.
- f) The three-year plan--the whole planning was wrong. It was quite fantastic what they imagined.

g) The 3-year plan was still better.

h) Imre Nagy brought an improvement. He was a communist but he insisted on consumer goods.

i) The Hungarian nation knew about the tensions <sup>inside</sup> ~~between~~ the government. For instance, they knew exactly that Imre Nagy wanted more consumer goods and that Rakosi insisted on heavy industry.

j) In 1944 there wasn't a revolution. It was an armed intervention from the part of Russia. Economically the situation was <sup>before</sup> better ~~than~~ 1944.

12. a) Yes, I think economic conditions are quite important.

b) We didn't like the Russians and the great influence of the Russians and the communist party on the whole Hungarian life.

c) Everybody had reasons to complain.

d, e) During the 12 years of communist regime, during those years which preceded the Hungarian freedom fight, there was a silent revolution, a passive resistance. People went to churches instead of courses about the party. People did what the communist regime wanted them to do but they made the communist regime ridiculous. Youngsters <sup>wore</sup> ~~were~~ western <sup>style clothes</sup> ~~clothes~~ and they listened to the voice of free Europe.

1.
  - a) From 1938 till 1942 I went to the elementary school. From 1942 to 1946 I went to the <sup>secondary</sup> ~~high~~ school. From 1946 to 1950 I went to the ~~middle~~ <sup>high</sup> school.
  - b) The ~~KHAPONGYKI~~ Erettsegi (maturity exam)
  - c) I went to the St. Stephen Economic College of Budapest. I graduated from this institution.
  - d) I didn't go to other schools nor to evening classes. At the university we learned something about the military science.
  - e) At the university or, better, medical school, we had to attend political courses.
  - f) I had no choice.
4. I told you already that I wanted to become a doctor but I couldn't carry on my studies.
5. I told you already that I wanted to become a doctor but I couldn't finish my studies.
6. I was a good scholar.
  - a) I liked to study.
- (7a) I had the same chance as anybody else to study. My advantage was that I belonged to the working class.
- (7b) Those who had parents who made more money and were in a better position could study better than I.
- (8a) At the medical school Marxism and military science were compulsory subjects.
- (8b) We did not like them.
- (8c) Nobody liked to learn Russian.
- (8d) We didn't like it and we noticed the ~~szembeszökő~~ contradictions.
- (8e) Everybody had to do it but nobody was interested in it.
- (8f) We did some sports at the university but it was not very seriously done; except by those who were really the champions and who prepared for the Olympic Games.
- (9a) The Communist education didn't change the children very much.

- (9b) Communist ideas could not be made popular with the children.
- (9c) No.
- (9e) I don't think there is any age which should be preferred<sup>R</sup> for ~~an~~ ideological education. Youngsters should really be isolated ~~and~~ in order to make them believe in Communist ideas.
- (9f) Nobody believes in it.
- (10a) My mother belonged to the working class. I am not married.
- (11) We remained in the working class.
- (12a) My father stayed at the same job.
- (12b) He didn't change jobs.
- (12c) My father had a good profession.
- (12d) My father didn't have a very high education. My father ~~is~~ liked the idea  
(12e) of sending me to the medical school.
- (13a) The situation became worse.
- (14a) Father and mother worked, my sister, who is seventeen, studied.
- (14b) I lived with my family.
- (14c) It was cheaper.
- (15a) My mother worked.
- (16a) All those who belonged to the working class, or to the peasant class had an advantage.
- (17) I was not married.
- (18 to 21) Do not apply to respondent.
- (22) The ~~is~~ relationship between me and my family was good.
- (23)(a) We used to talk about the regime. We criticised it very bitterly.
- (24) I had no problems with my parents concerning my education.
- (25) I had due respect for my parents.
- (26a) We were very close to each other.

- (26b) I think that my family was rather typical.
- (26c) During my leisure time I went to the movies and I read a great deal. I have a little library of about 200 or 300 volumes.
- (26d) With my family I went frequently to the movies.
- (26e) About 3 or 4 hours.
- (26f) I would have liked to buy a car, to travel, and to possess a camera.
- (27) The relationship among the members of the family didn't change after 1945.
- (27a) The family stuck together against the regime.
- (27b) The members of the family had confidence in each other.
- (27c) After 1945, the members of the family depended more upon each other.
- (27d) The children still loved their parents.
- (27e) I think this is typical for the city as well as for the country.
- (28a) I think that the relationship between boys and girls changed. Boys showed less respect for girls.
- (28b) Marriages are concluded very hurriedly around age 17,18, 19.
- (28c) Courtship became much simpler. Girls didn't request as much courtesy as before. It was easier to get married or to get divorced.
- (28d) I don't know.
- (28e) Officially, there was no prostitution. I know for instance that the regime made policewomen out of prostitutes. This was quite funny.
- (28f) Sexual life under the Communist regime was much more lenient than under the previous regime.
- (28g) People generally didn't use prophylactics. If a girl had a child then she could go to a hospital and get rid of it.- I mean abortion was easy.
- (Interviewer's question: The Communist regime ~~has~~ glorified the young mothers,- girls who had children--then how do you explain that abortion was permitted?)
- Answer: During the first years of the Communist regime this was not



permitted; but later on, well, it was tolerated.)

- (28h) The status of the illegitimate child became better and I think this was a good thing.
- (29a) He was a medical student.
- (29b) He was the same age as I. He came from a family of a doctor.
- (29c) We worked together. We used to play the piano and sing.
- (29d) We rarely talked about politics because we were bored about the subject.
- (29e) Our friendship didn't change.
- (29f) Yes.
- (29g) He is a very serious, very nice, very educated boy. He has a very good heart.
- (29h) It never happened that a friend of mine became a Communist; but it probably would have changed our friendship. I mean it would have jeopardized our friendship.
- (30a) My parents belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church.
- (30b) Having religion is a good thing.
- (31a) The Communist regime fought the religious life.
- (31b) The wrath of the Communist regime was directed especially against the Catholic Church because members of the Church resisted more.
- (31c) All the churches stuck together against the regime.
- (31d) The Communists were against religions because the religions kept people together, and away from the Party.
- (31e) I think the Communists wanted to eliminate religious life altogether.
- (31f) They were not only against the clergy, they were against everybody.
- (31g) Yes.
- (31h) Every now and then.
- (31i) On Sundays the churches were very crowded.
- (31j) There are priests and ministers who are members of the clergy, but who

in reality serve other purposes. I think that only Rome could really tell us what the functions of those priests are (f) I think that the Catholic Church was the most resistant. The Protestant Church showed more elasticity. The Protestant Church was more subordinate.

(31,1)

Religion means less to the youth than before. I think that this is the effect of propaganda.

(32c)

There were good Jews, and there were bad Jews, as in all other religious groups.

(32b)

I know that during the Revolution, Jewish newspaper men wrote and distributed leaflets against the Communist regime.

(32c)

Jews should have the same <sup>RIGHTS</sup> ~~status~~ as any other Hungarian citizen.

(33a)

I think the working class is in the worse position, whereas the elite of the Party are in the best situation.

7, (34a)

I belonged to the working class.

7, (34b)

I didn't want to belong to any other class. I mean, I didn't want to become a leader of the Party, of course, I would have preferred to become a doctor, **THAN A HANDYMAN.**  
~~and I would have preferred to become a doctor.~~

(34a)

I would advise him to become a doctor.

(34b)

I would have told him to read and write.

(34c)

The children of those parents who had a good living, who had certain social well-being, conditions for studying were different.

- (1) I have ~~XXXXX~~ always been interested in politics.
- (1a) IN Hungary everybody followed the political events. They had a direct bearing <sup>ON</sup> ~~EVER~~ our lives.
- (1b) I was an observer.
- (1c) I wanted to know what was going on.
- (1d) I was a DISZ member.
- (1e) Less.
- (1f) No.
- (2a) <sup>1.</sup>  
~~232~~ arrests and the terror regime
2. the violation of national feelings and traditions
3. the violation of citizen's rights.
4. the fact that I could not get a job according to my knowledge.
- (2b) The fact that they could not get the job they wanted.
- (2c) The restrictions imposed on religious life.
- (2d) The same, plus the lack of apartments.
- (2e) No future.
- (2f) They realized that the theory was different from the practices.
- (2g) Everbody was depressed and irritable and tired.
- (2h) We talked about this in the family and with colleagues.
- (2i) To me the situation looked hopeless.
- (3a) I was too young.
- (3b) He was in the Socialist Party.
- (3c) I was always against the regime.
- (3d) I never liked the Communists.
- (3e) Except the few convinced Communists, everybody was of the same opinion.
- (3f) Nobody was faithful to the regime, but everybody was scared.
- (4) The real power was in Russian hands.

- (4a) If something happened in Moscow, we felt it soon.
- (4b) In Hungary, the Communist Party controlled everything.
- (4c) The Party ruled Hungary, and Rakosi ruled the Party.
- (4d) The Party, the government, and the police were one.
- (5) The government followed Rakosi's orders.
- (5a) The Parliament was composed of "yes-men".
- (5b) Elections were held to fool the world.
- (5c) The Party decided for local bodies.
- (5d) Much bigger/.
- (5e) There were zazada rackets and <sup>briberies.</sup> ~~prisanitas~~ Newspapers wrote about them.
- (5f) Party members.
- (5g) Children of peasants and workers became officers. Their life was relatively easy.
- (6) (a) If you were a member of the Communist youth league, you had to go to meetings.
- (6b) Everybody.
- (6c) It was natural.
- (6d) Nobody avoided entering it because it made no difference.
- (6e) All my friends were members.
- (6f) Yes.
- (6g) I entered in 1950
- (6h) I was a so-called group leader. I had to report whether the twenty members of the group were present.
- (6i) This brought no advantages.
- (6j) No handloaps.

- (6k) I didn't lose too much time.
- (7a) To be a member of the Communist Party meant to be the member of a privileged body.
- (7b) The convinced Communists and opportunists.
- (7c) He may stand up at the meeting and talk, but his real advantages were never formulated. In all circumstances, Party members had a privileged position.
- (7d) He has to go to meetings. He has to know the Communist theory, and he has to pay a membership fee.
- (7e) I knew Party members, but I didn't know when they entered the Party.
- (7f) No.
- (7g) No.
- (7h) Yes.
- (7m) I couldn't get a better job.
- (7n) Convinced Communists and opportunists.
- (7o) Probably.
- (7p) Rakosi.
- (7q,r,s,t,u) The government, the police, the army, and the trade unions, as well as religious organizations were controlled by the Communist Party.
- (8)(a) I was like a member of the Communist youth league.
- (8b) Everybody became a DISZ member.
- (8c) There were several organizations, but I didn't note them.
- (8d) Good for nothing.
- (8e) I was a DISZ member.
- (8f) It was a must organization.

- (8g) I entered in 1950.
- (8h) We attended meetings.
- (8i) To influence the youth. Here I have to explain that the real members of the DISZ were only the officials, but the crowds, the masses of the Hungarian youth were just nominally members, but in reality they didn't think too much of the DISZ ~~MEMBERSHIP~~.
- (8j) The DISZ membership did not influence the relationship between girls and boys who were DISZ members.
- (8k) Most of them were peasant boys. They wanted to make a career.
- (8l) There were informers, but I never heard about their special activity.
- (8m) Yes.
- (8n) They were indifferent.
- (8o)(p) I did not approve of these organizations.
- (9a) The Communist theory had no bearing on the youth.
- (10a) Among the members of the AVH there were professionals and enrolled members.
- (10b) Most of them were peasant boys.
- (10c) If they made mistakes, there was no excuse.
- (10d) Those AVH members who were secret informers were more wicked.
- (11a,b,c,d,e) While I worked for the Mavag in 1951, a worker stood up at the meeting and criticized the Party. Shortly after this he was arrested and tortured. He came back as an old man. There are professional sadists who torture people.  
In <sup>an</sup> other instances a young boy was severely beaten up by the AVH when he came back he had to go to the hospital, he was so sick.

- (11f) Those who attacked the regime.
- (11g) Yes. My father, too, was dismissed from the Party at the occasion of a purge.
- (12a) Very good specialists and medical doctors are a secure profession.
- (12b) Yes.
- (12c) Friendship of Party members is good.
- (12d) It is difficult to hide that you are from peasant or working class origin.
- (12e) Yes.
- (12f,g) Yes, except if he was an important person in the former regime.
- (13a,b,c) The rule of the police was confined to traffic regulations and arresting of thieves. The AVH did all the rest. Those members of the AVH who were enrolled were dissatisfied. Those who chose AVH as a career, would kill all those who were against the Party and the regime.
- (14a,b) After Stalin's death the terror was eased.
- (15a) Everything was decided in Moscow.
- (15b) All changes in the Kremlin had their repercussions in Hungary.
- (15c) The Russian pressure was felt indirectly through the Communist Party.
- (15d) I talked to the driver of the MAVAR<sup>G</sup> who carried a Russian engineer. This driver told me that the Russians spat ~~out~~ in the car in such a way that he almost vomited. At another occasion,<sup>a</sup> Russian professor lectured at the University and everything he told was nonsense. It was the most ~~incoherent~~ <sup>incoherent</sup> lecture I ever heard.

- (15e) In the economic life.
- (15f) All big plants had their Russian experts.
- (16b) With strangers it was not advisable to talk about politics.
- (16c) With my family, with my friends, and with my co-workers.
- (16d) ~~Th~~ About shortcomings of our own situation we could talk even with Communist officials.
- (16e) The situation became better.
- (17a) You could <sup>fool</sup> ~~lead~~ the regime, but you had to be damn careful.
- (17b) No.
- (17c) It is risky.
- (17d) Yes, but he has to start again. He has to inform or he has to discover a plot against the regime.
- (17e) He moves.
- (17f) He can apply, but in most cases, without success.
- (18) Opportunists.
- (19a) The resistance was passive.
- (19b) All
- (19c) The leaders.
- (19d) It increased.
- (19e) There was no organization.
- (19f) It is hard to see clearly. There were so many processes that there must have been something.
- (19g) They did the opposite of that which the government said.
- (19h) Many.
- (19i) Continuous sabotage actions.
- (19j) Yes.
- (19k) No.



(191)

This revolution, like all others, started from intellectual circles. These people could formulate their criticism and their demands.

- (1a) Through the radio.
- (1b) Through newspapers.
- (2a) I read "Szabad Nap", "ESTI BUDAPEST", "LAP KEPEK NE", "BEKE E NEK ES SZABADSAG
- (2b) Every day.
- (2c) In order to learn something about the world.
- (2d) I read all columns.
- (2e) No. The leading articles were read in the radio.
- (2f) I didn't like any of the features of the paper. It was a bad one. They were all bad.
- (2g) I preferred the sport's column.
- (2h) Yes.
- (2i) Nothing.
- (2j) Nothing out of the ordinary.
- (2k) Sometimes. Italian and French Communist newspapers.
- (2l) At newsstands.
- (2m) I didn't read them.
- (3)(c) Russian films were filled with propaganda.
- (3d) Movies were my only passtime.
- (3e) Yes.
- (3f) I don't remember the names of the French and Italian films, but I saw several of them. Only one American film. I don't remember its name.
- (3g) Very seldom.
- (3h) I went to the Fovarosí Színház and <sup>E</sup> <sup>N</sup> <sup>S</sup> <sup>Z</sup> <sup>í</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>á</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>í</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>S</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>í</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>á</sup> <sup>z</sup>. These are the names of two Hungarian theatres.
- (3i) During the last years they played classical pièces, but during the first years it was only propaganda.
- (4)(b) It happened sometimes that I read one book per day.
- (4c) For instance, "King Lear", "Hamlet", and all the "King" dramas by Shakespeare.

- (4d) I like classical literature.
- (4e) I selected only good books.
- (4f) It was not difficult at all to get them. There were many second hand books in bookstores.
- (5)(b) We had a Philips radio. I listened to Radio Budapest, Radio Vienna, and Radio Free Europe.
- (5d) I preferred the music.
- (5e) Two to three hours a day.
- (5f) At home.
- (5g) On Saturday nights there was a program called "SZIVESH HALLGATTUK"
- (6b) Radio-Free Europe and the Voice of America,
- (6c) We listened to the news.
- (6d) Almost every day, and night.
- (6e) It kept our spirit of resistance alive, but as I told you previously they were not always reliable.
- (7a) They were always the same.
- (following points) Do not apply to respondent because he did not go to meetings.
- (8a) For instance, I learned what happened to Rakosi.
- (8b) An acquaintance who is a member of the Communist Party.
- (8c) Yes, as I told you, I learned about happenings in the Communist Party through that Communist Party member.
- (8d) Not always.
- (8e) There were many rules.
- (8f) No.
- (8h) People met at each other's home. These questions were discussed at the home of one of the neighbors.
- (8i) There were people who knew astonishingly much, but these people didn't like to talk.

(8j)

I discussed current events at my job and at my home. There was no special place where I used to do this.

(8k)

As I already told you, there were people who knew a great deal, but were reluctant to talk.

(8l)

Yes, sometimes I found leaflets, for instance in the streets.

(9)

As for happenings in the Communist Party, I asked an acquaintance who was a member of the Communist Party.

(9a)

I  
they listened to the radio.

(9b)

I read the paper, and I must tell you that the sport's column was very reliable. For instance, they mentioned American world records in sports.

(9c)

As far as news concerning our economic situation was concerned, I didn't have to take a paper. Everybody found it in his own life. There were changes for the better or for the worse but that was economy. We didn't have to read papers in order to learn about economic changes.

(10a)

If the papers talked about an overfulfillment of norms, everybody knew that it was a lie.

(10b)

Since '53 the press became a little bit more reliable.

(10c)

The sport's column.

(10d)

News concerning the economic life and performance of the Socialist economy.

(10e)

The Voice and Radio Free Europe were more reliable than the Hungarian radio.

(10f)

No.

(10g)

No.

(11)

Everybody was interested in news. I think this is a universal human attitude.

- (11a) Everybody.
- (11b) Nobody.
- (12) Through the radio.
- (12a) Because I listen to foreign broadcasts.
- (12b) Through the radio, especially through Radio KOSSUTH, but I lived in the revolution and I learned many things through experience.
- (12c) Most of the time we knew.
- (13a) I talked to many prisoners of war who came back from Russia.
- (13b) I don't know.
- (13c) I think that the Communists started the war in Korea, but I don't know.
- (13d) Rajk was not guilty.
- (13e) They get many American arms.
- (13f) As much as the Communists Press published about it. It was about the same as the revolution of Budapest but without arms.
- (13g) Not very much. Who are the emigré politicians whose names are familiar to you? Answer; Payer, Varga, and Pfeiffer. What do you think of Mindszenty? Cardinal Mindszenty was a courageous man who had no fear of telling the truth. After his liberation in 1956, he made an excellent radio speech.

- (1a) If there were a change in Hungarian political conditions, I would keep the land reforms, I would give back 100 hectares to the old owners, I would keep the freedom of instructions, I would keep the freedom of the University as it was before the Communist regime, I am not ~~working~~ <sup>for a</sup> working. I am for a president of the Republic. The heavy industry should be owned by the state, the light industry might be given back to its former owners. Uranium should be sold to the United States. I am for a very active trade with foreign countries and ~~with~~ <sup>for</sup> a very vivid tourism.
- (2) Every individual should have the right to form a political party.
- (2a) Because this is democracy.
- (2b) This is very important.
- (2c) Still, I would limit the number of party members. I would make a minimum number compulsory.
- (3) (a) I am for freedom of speech.
- (3b) Even if the speeches are against the government, they should be permitted.
- (4a) Even if they attack the government they should be permitted.
- (4b) Because in every attack there is some truth.
- (4c) This is very important.
- (4d) In case of war, I would make an exception.
- (4e) An armed uprising is legitimate if the government doesn't work in the interests of the people.
- (5a) Because iron and coal are ~~the foundation~~ <sup>at the basis</sup> of every industry.
- (5b) In the case of state control, ~~the~~ the profit belongs to the owner.
- (5c) I agree with it.
- (5d) No.

- (6a) Because very often they produce more than necessary and the production is not very well co-ordinated.
- (6b) I don't know.
- (6c) I agree.
- (7) Yes.
- (7a) It is in the interest of the people.
- (7b) Coal, iron, alcohol, tobacco.
- (7c) I'M against the monopoly of the press. I am against state controlled press.
- (8) It might be good.
- (8a) Depends who realizes it.
- (8b) They can't realize the theory.
- (8c) It was a complete failure.
- (8d) Lenin might take over everything.
- (8e) I don't know.
- (9a) Maybe it is better to leave them under state control.
- (9b) I don't know.
- (10) I am against it.
- (10a) They ~~should~~ <sup>should</sup> also insure ~~for~~ a minimum of earnings.
- (10b) The state might take over everything.
- (10c) I am willing to work.
- (11) In general, I am against influence of the state in religious life and in family life, and in Press, and in art.
- (11a) Freedom in these things is necessary in every normal state.
- (11b) The press served in Hungary ~~for~~ the interest of the state.
- (12) Yes. Every citizen has certain ~~rights~~ <sup>duties</sup> towards the state. He has to defend the state, he has to pay taxes, and he has to obey the laws of the country.
- (12f) Yes.

- (13a) No.
- (14f) There was no improvement although I am ~~making~~ wholeheartedly for a free medical service, but there were not enough doctors and there was not enough medicine.
- (15a) The formalities have been abolished, now it is easier to go to movies, theatres, and the opera.
- (15b) I don't know.
- (15c) This is very important.
- (15d) Those who can get tickets through their connections.
- (15e) Yes.
- (15f) Those who earned. Doctors, engineers, and good specialised workers.
- (16a, b, c, d) The situation is worth.
- (16d) Those people in cities who own little cottages and can afford to raise chickens or pigs ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> much better off than workers.
- (16e) The leaders of the Party are in the best position; the workers are in the worst.
- (17a, b, c) I don't know. Every Sunday people put on a good suit or a nice dress. I really don't know whether that's the only one they possess or whether they have more of them.
- (17d) On my own experience.
- (17e) I don't know. I mean Party leaders, engineers, and doctors have certainly several suits.
- (18) The industrial output didn't increase.
- (18a) Because of the planning.
- (18b) No.
- (18c) Everything was wrong.
- (19a) Cooperatives should be dissolved.
- (19b) The peasants should decide about that.



- (19c) The peasants should decide about that.
- (19d) The members should make the necessary decisions.
- (19f) The former owners should get 100 hectares.
- (19g) Yes, 100 hectares.
- (19h) Yes, it is possible.
- (19i) ~~That~~ the Party secretary, <sup>the</sup> president and the state.
- ~~20~~ (20)(a) The tractors should be sold.
- (20b) They should be sold.
- (20c) They should be sold.
- (20d) They had to work very fast and they didn't do good work.
- (20e) Naturally.
- (21a) They should be independent.
- (21b) They should be completely independent.
- (21c) No.
- (21d) They are
- (21e) They didn't do anything.
- (21f) They defended the interests of the working class.
- (21g) The working workers wanted them. They defended their interests during the first period of the revolution and the state took over.
- ~~21g~~ (21h) Yes.
- (21i) There should be an engineer who knows everything about the production. There should be a director who knows something about business and there should be a workers <sup>council</sup> ~~assembly~~.
- (22a) No.
- (22b) They should be ~~executed~~ executed.
- (22c) They should be punished.
- (22d) They should be examined individually.
- (22e) Nothing.

(22f)

The professional members of the AVH should be killed. The other members should be let alone.

(22g)

The federation of freedom fighters which was organized in '49-'50.

(22h)

Members of the AVH were killed, members of the police were left alone.

(23)

The freedom of instruction was good, but ~~was~~ what was taught was wrong.

(23a)

Now they want to inoculate the Communist ~~s~~ystem into the youth.

(23b)

Everybody has the right to study except if the parents of somebody were high dignitaries in the former regime.

(23c)

This is bad. Everybody should have the right to study according to his ability.

(23d)

Only if he has the necessary capacity.

(24)

The church should be entirely independent.

(24a)

Yes.

(24b)

They all should be independent.

(24c)

~~If~~ This is <sup>moral</sup> necessary because ~~was~~ cleanliness is the basis and foundation of every stage.

(24d)

Naturally.

(24e)

No.

(25)

Nothing I think that the person of King ~~Mattias~~<sup>Mattias</sup> is a towering figure in the Middle Ages and I think that Louis the Great is another important figure as far as Central Europe is concerned and I would mention Gyorgy Dozsa<sup>^</sup> who in 1514 turned against the noblemen and the king. I have to add that Dozsa<sup>^</sup> himself was a nobleman but he realized that the Crusades were leading to abuses and that's why he made his attack against the king. Finally I would mention the revolution of 1848 and the revolution of 1956.

(26)

I really don't know which Hungarian government was the most popular. There were so many of them.

- (26a) Under the Hapsburgs, Hungary was exploited.
- (26b) Because the situation was bad.
- (26c) Naturally.
- (26d) They said it <sup>has its</sup> good and it's wrong side. I think it's good that the country was based on agriculture, but those big estates were certainly <sup>an</sup> abuse.
- (26e) Much better than now.
- (26f) Naturally.
- (26g) Hungary should have observed a neutral attitude during World War II in order to <sup>avoid</sup> ~~prevent~~ to happen what happened.
- (26h) It was better than the period that followed, but it was worse than the period from 1944.
- (27) Naturally.
- (27a) The Hungarian is not as reliable as the German, but he has a better heart, and he is not as stiff as the German. The Hungarian is more reliable than the Russian, and the Hungarian is working more than the Russian. I can't say what the difference between the American and Hungarian character is. I still don't know enough about the American characters.
- (27b) Hungarian character has changed during the last ten years. Hungarians are more distrustful and they are less patriotic.
- (27c) Yes, but to a different degree.
- (28)(a) At present this is important, under another regime this would be less important.
- (28c) Naturally.
- (28d) No answer.
- (28e) Yes.

- (28f) Naturally.
- (28g) NO answer.
- (28h) Naturally.
- (28i) They get along.
- (28j) They get along.
- (28k) They get along.
- (28l) They get along.
- (28m) They get along.
- (28n) Like every Hungarian born in Hungary.
- (29) I am for a federation. This federation should be based on mutual respect.
- (29b) It should embrace industry, business, agriculture, the army, but not the private affairs of each country.
- (29c) I don't think the Hungarians should have a leading role.
- (29d) I think of an East European federation.
- (30a) The Russian people are kind-hearted.
- (30b) Yes.
- (30c) No.
- (30d) No.
- (30e) When Hungarians were first neutral, then they started to hate the Russians. I still remember the screams of those three Hungarian girls who were raped in the same cellar where I was during the siege of Budapest.
- (30f) They were hated.
- (30g) They were hated.
- (31a) It is useless. ~~for~~ ~~that~~
- (31b) Everything.
- (31c) I learned it at school.

- (31d) We were exposed to Marxism for four years.
- (31e) Communists tried to adapt Marxism to Hungary, but they didn't succeed.
- (31f) I never believed in Marxism.
- (31g) Lenin was a good Marxist.
- (31h) Stalin was a bad one.
- (31i) That's what they say.
- (31j) Yes, I think so.
- (31k) ~~That's what they say~~ & Democrat is someone who wants to live under a Democratic regime.
- (31l) Under Horthy there was freedom of religion.
- (31m) He is a Communist.
- (32) It's not a Communism fabricated in the Soviet Union, but it is their own brand of Communism.
- (32a) I don't know.
- (32b) Grompka would be better than the former regime, but they don't let him do.
- (32d) Yes.
- (32e) No.
- (33) National Communism.
- (34)(a) Good.
- (34b) Bad.
- (34c) Bad.
- (34d) Bad.
- (34e) Bad.
- (34f) No Good. Under the present circumstances, it is the best form of government. He speaks about Capitalism.
- (34h) Good.

- (35) I don't know.
- (36)(a) Less.
- (35b) Less.
- (35c) Less.
- (35d) Less.
- (35e) I don't know.
- (35f) Less.
- (35g) Less.
- (35h) More.
- (35i) More.
- (35j) Less.
- (35k) Less.
- (35l) Less.
- (37) They all were better off.
- (38)(a) Agreed.
- (38b) Differ.
- (38c) Differ.
- (38d) Differ.
- (38e) Differ.
- (38f) Differ.
- (38g) ~~Agreed.~~ Agreed.
- (38h) There will be changes.
- (38i) Differ.
- (38j) Differ.
- (38k) No question about that.
- (39) No section of the population.
- (39a) Everybody.

- (1a) I think that this interview is too long. There are too many questions and it is impossible to give a detailed answer on all questions.
- (1b) Naturally.
- (1c) You should select carefully your respondents.
- (1d) Not on all questions.
- (1e) Nothing.
- (2a) I would like to go back to Hungary only as a visitor.
- (3a) You should ask all refugees because many refugees made pictures.
- (3b) No.
- (3c) I don't think that it is warranted to expose respondent to a specialized B interview because he is relatively young. He cannot compare the previous regime to the Communist regime. He was not married. He didn't work at <sup>a</sup>very X important plant. ~~XXXX~~ <sup>Although</sup> it is true that he worked at the radio station, but only for a relatively short time, and in Section R I think that ~~she~~ <sup>he</sup> told the most interesting things about his experiences during the ~~seige~~ <sup>siege</sup> of the radio station.
- (3d) No.
- (4) Now a word about the respondent. Respondent GWS-2 is a very nice and good looking boy. He was very cooperative and I think that he gave frank answers. There is only one point where he <sup>evaded</sup> ~~waighsed~~ the answer and this was question 28 of Section I. As he told me after the interview, he does not want to worsen the situation between Hungary and her neighbors.

His intelligence is above average, and in a normal society he would be an advanced medical student.

CWS-2 has good manners and is interested in music and literature. He likes everything about this country and will adapt himself easily. He intends to study chemistry as soon as his language difficulty is overcome. He is undoubtedly an asset to this country.