

- (1) The most respondent wants to convey is the tragic suppression of Hungarian freedom; that is what everybody should know.
- (2a) The Revolution really started about a year ago, since the Communists began to make some concessions, with Rakosi's removal the people got the courage to speak more freely.
- (2b) Stalin's death was felt as a great and general relief.
- (2c) Imre Nagy was more beloved than the other leaders. People had expected of him new things to come.
- (2d) The change in relations between Moscow and Tito was interpreted: that at least, this will not mean something worse for Hungary.
- (2e) Positively, they were. The general feeling of an impending change took hold on people. They hoped if in Moscow an open criticism of Stalin could be made, in Budapest the criticism of things that are bad, will naturally follow.
- (2f) She had heard of Poznan and thinks that the riots there had strengthened the Hungarians' hope in the possibility of speaking up against the regime.
- (2g) She learned about Rakosi's replacement with a feeling of great joy, and thought if Rakosi has left, subsequently, the Russians will be leaving Hungary.
- (2h) All the events together seemed to lead to a real change and the turning point began about a year ago in the summer. Respondent felt that a change was progressively coming.
- (2i) The deposition of Rakosi was a great event and she thought that this climactic turning point would result in the eventual leaving of the Russians, but not in a revolution.
- (3) People individually, and altogether, felt very much depressed and frustrated because of oppression of freedom and on account

of their low standard of living.

(3a)

As said before.

(3b)

The low wages, the poor nourishment, the general living conditions and the monotony of life resulted in a general discontent. Respondent believes that the women's place in Communist Hungary was especially burdensome. Compelled to earn money, to care for the family, and then their relationship to men and children, were factors that affected the thinking of every woman. They were particularly hurt by the approach to womanhood, expressed through the official summons: "Asszonyoknak szülni kötelesség, lánynak szülni ~~szülni~~ ^{szülni} dicsőség." (The bearing of children is the married woman's duty, but glorious for the unmarried girl.)

(3c)

The concessions came unexpectedly and suddenly. The oppression and dissatisfaction were instantaneously vented in an uprising of common feelings and they exploded. An explosion was due for a long time because the sentiments against the Communists boiled in everybody, and it had to come sooner or later. Respondent believes by waiting for somewhat longer, the Revolution could have been successful.

- (4)(a) The definite goal people had in mind was the attainment of freedom and the liberation from the Russians. It was positively a national revolution because in my observation the first was the hanging out and the showing of the Hungarian flag and the removal of the Communist emblem and the removal of Stalin's ~~minutx~~ statues.
- (4c) The principal goal was freedom. Later, however, new parties started to be organized.
- (4d) It is hard to say whether people who expressed certain opinions, who started to fight among themselves on the street, or who had expressed personal vindictiveness against others, or who took up anti-Semitic slogans, had personal goals in the Revolution.
- (4e) People were absolutely against the Russians. First and last. People were absolutely for national freedom. First and last.
- (4f) *For freedom.*
- (4g) Russians Go Home.
- (4h) To be alone without having any foreigners over us.
- (4i) It was anti-Communist too.
- (4j) Some may have changed their minds based on their experience, however, there were strict Communists who did not join the Revolution.
- (4l) The revolution had been won.
- (4m) No.
- (4n) All participants had personal purposes in mind; however, these personal purposes were so similar that they had to end in a general revolt.
- (4o) Respondent had no experience with people who opposed the Reg Revolution.
- (5) Being a woman, respondent preferred to stay home.
- (5a) Helped in her apartment the young fighters who came up to her to wash themselves and to get something to eat.
- (5b) She had seen from her balcony the shooting, the arrival of the AVG and their shooting into the masses on the evening of October 21st when she

passed a street where Radio Budapest was located. She saw ~~the~~ the masses ^{lead the shouts} and ~~some~~ of the students who wanted to proclaim their Fourteen Points. She heard the shouting of people, "Russians Go Home," "Death to Gerő." During the rest of the Revolution she stayed at home.

- (6)(a) Respondent had to stay in the cellar of her apartment building from October 23rd until November 4th, and then again until November 9th.
- (6)(b) It was dangerous to go out.
- (6)(c) to (6)(f) Respondent was not involved actively and what she did was to help the young fighting boys and girls.
- (7)(a) She saw Russian soldiers and the AVOs shooting at the people.
- (7)(b, c, d) Nothing to add to the above things she mentions having seen.
- (8) She was not an actual fighter.
- (9)(c) She helped the fighters with food.
- (9)(d) She hung up the Hungarian flag without the ~~red~~ ^{red} emblem.
- ~~(9)(e)~~
- (9)(f) That was what she was able to do as a woman.
- (10)(a) There were many papers and they brought news which could not be verified.
- (10)(b) There were Russian pamphlets which promised that things will be changed to the better and the requests of the freedom fighters will be fulfilled. Furthermore, people thought about that, that these were lies.
- (10)(c) The papers and the news were contradictory as much as everything that was learned by word of mouth was confusing. Nobody knew who published the pamphlets and the papers and the origin of the rumors were not confirmable. On the street respondent heard from people many rumors and one of the saddest was that the Russians took thousands of young men to Russia.
- (10)(d) Listen to the domestic and foreign radios, to the Voice of America, the BBC, and Radio Free Europe, as well as to Radio Budapest. Radio Budapest broadcast news that didn't make any sense as to what the government wants to do, who are the rulers of Hungary and what is going on, and even less

what it is planned to do. ~~But~~ Foreign broadcasting brought news about the Hungarian Revolution and the arrival of the refugees in Austria.

(10e) Yes, I received telephone calls from my friends from the different sections of Budapest and all had ~~to~~ some news to say, about the fighting near their homes and, of course, rumors such as that the Parliament Building is on fire, the bridges are blown up and so forth.

(10f) No media was reliable and respondent believed only what she saw with her own eyes and which she has mentioned above. In the utter confusion she was confused herself.

(10g) ~~10g~~
 (11) Some uncontrollable news from the provinces were received through the truck driver who brought food from the country the peasants had sent to Budapest.
 In the Revolution, the Party institutions ~~were~~ changed and later rechanged ~~and Government~~ again when the Revolution was lost.

(11a) The Party organizations had occupied many apartments in residential sections. ~~During~~ During the Revolution, people wanted to have these apartments and took over these apartments for their own use. Changes came in personnel too; where the Party remained ~~with~~ ^{intact} new personnel, ^{took over} however, at the end of the Revolution the new masters put in again their people and took over the apartments again.

(11b) The police were screened.

(11c) The AVH was dissolved.

(11d) ~~XXXX~~ Does not know.

(11e) The Army has deserted.

(11f) The trade union leaders were called to conferences with the Russians, and to the knowledge of Respondent, the leaders of the trade unions were taken into custody by the Russians.

(11g) Everything came to a standstill and no offices, governments or municipal ~~offices~~ ~~g~~ functioned at all.

(11h) Nobody worked at the Central government nor at the Ministries.

(11i) The churches stood lonely. ^(11j) Nothing remained intact, that is, in ~~operation~~ ^{operation.}
 (11k) none. Things did not come so far.

- (11b) None, except the Workers' Councils.
- (11m) They were constituted through free election by the workers with the aim to submit the workers' requests to the authorities.
- (11n) The Social Democratic government would have emerged.
- (12a) Respondent had seen Russian troops.
- (12b,c) She had no direct contact with them and has no opinion on that.
- (12d) Soviet civilian officials did not appear in Hungarian offices.
- (12e) They were removed from Budapest and no information on it was known.
- (12g) The extent of Soviet officials' influence did not appear,--how much there was behind the scenes she does not know. These seemed to be the case before October 23rd and during the days of the crisis, however, after November 4th Russian officials in key positions were visible. Although the Hungarian officials dealt with the people, so, for instance, respondent received a driving permit and on it the Russian and the Hungarian stamp were shown, and it was written in both languages.
- (12h) Everybody worked with hate. The control was strict but not efficient enough to suppress the feelings of the people. As the occasion arose, instantaneously everything exploded and the system seemed to be collapsing.
- (13) We entertained the idea of leaving Hungary ten years ago, but we just had no opportunity to do it. Respondent's husband was an operatic singer and he got permission and a passport to leave Hungary for guest appearances but the wife could not accompany him because she was denied a passport. As she saw the fall of the Revolution they took the final step and left Hungary.
- (13a) The yearning for freedom.
- (13b) With her husband.

- (13c) She and her husband left in their car with the help of a license for driving all over Hungary. He was a member of the Budapest opera house and well known all over the country as a singer. They hoped not to be detained by the border guards since the driving license was written in Russian and Hungarian.
- (13d) They were prepared to take things as they came,- for better or for worse.
- (13e) They were decided for leaving Hungary and had no other plans.
- (14) Yes, we deeply regret the failure of the Revolution.
- (14a) It was hardly useful.
- (14b,c) Does not know.
- (14d) Because of the bitterness and hopelessness of the people and the hate for AVO.
- (14e) Imre Nagy appeared more sympathetic and the people even liked him. We believed that he wanted a turn for the better, but proved to be weak for the job.
- (14f) Malater was unknown. Respondent didn't hear of Kovacs, and Tildy was known as a non-Communist.
- (14g) The real heroes of the Revolution were those who lost their lives.
- (14h) It is hard to classify according to degrees the participation in the Revolution, because the students, the workers and most of the people had the same role in it.
- (14i,j) Yes.
- (14k) The members of the Petöfi Club were the first who spoke up publicly against some of the conditions in Hungary and with it the process commenced. The fact that the writers dared to speak up was the first sign of freedom of expression.
- (14,l) Respondent has no direct knowledge of it but she has heard it said that they participated too.

- (1) Respondent was a housewife, her husband was a member of the Budapest opera house, he belonged as an artist to the privileged workers. The couple enjoyed material and social advantages insofar as the needed artists had the courage to talk back.
- (1b) Her father was a tailor.
- (2,3,4,5,6,7,8) Not applicable.
- (9) Our conditions were relatively acceptable.
- (9a) Her husband was the wage earner and ^{he} did not earn any money.
- (9b) An artist's career had some special conditions. Her husband had received more and more roles at the opera and so his career had developed. With ~~the~~ advancing years his income increased and with the progressing stages in his job, the living conditions of the couple had improved regardless of war, and the following periods.
- (9c) Both could buy food and clothing. ~~However~~ But they could not afford a larger apartment. They wanted a four room apartment which is allowed to physicians and artists of first rank.
- (9d) Her husband started at the opera house with 1,100 forints monthly and then it increased to 5,000 forints each month.
- (9d1) Other sources of income consisted of appearances on radio concerts and in factories. On the radio the singer received between 200 and 400 forints for one appearance, and for concert appearances about 800 forints, altogether his income ~~in addition~~ besides his salary was 3,000 to 5,000 forints a month.
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(~~9d1~~, iv) Respondent has not correct information on that.
- (9e) They had a two room and kitchen apartment ~~and~~ at ¹³⁴ 834 forints a month as rent.
- (9f) Full comfort in the apartment and the ~~living~~ ^{dwelling} conditions were good.
- (9g) The monthly food bill amounted to 1,500 forints. Respondent was not compelled to wait in line for food.
- (9h) They spent the rest of the income for clothing and maintenance of the car and helping other members of the family. No savings were made.

- (9i) Food they bought at the state stores and these had to be supplemented with buying on the market where, for instance, eggs, poultry, cheese were to be had.
fuel
- (9gj) For fuel 56 forints, for electricity and electric current for cooking 60 forints a month.
- (9k) No difficulties whatever.
- (9l) It was free.
- (9m) Her husband had officially a summer vacation of three months, but he had to appear in concerts all over the country. The other benefits were the same as for working people with the difference that they ^{over} took them more seriously than for the rest of the working class.
- (9n) Having received complimentary tickets to theatres, movies, their total expenses for entertainment amounted to about 100 forints.
- (9o) They supported the Respondent's parents with about 200 forints a month, and gave to all their relatives gifts.
- (10) Her husband was not getting a fair income.
- (10a) Yes.
- (10b) Yes.
- (10c) By the Russians.
- (10d) They necessarily reduced the income, *and were hated.*
- (10e) They should be paid, *but within limits.*
- (10f) He never participated in any of them.
- (11) The whole economy was badly managed.
- (11a) No.
- (11b) Yes.
- (11c) Workers and officers in high position were assigned to jobs without having the needed background. ^{Ineptitude} ~~Incompetence~~ in filling particular specialized positions was one of the main reasons for lack of development in the Hungarian economy.

- (11d) Was too young at the time to remember, respondent was a school girl.
- (11e) Did not improve.
- (11f) Does not remember.
- (11g) Some results of it were visible and very satisfactory, for instance, ~~building~~ building of houses, railroads, bridges and similar public facilities.
- (11h) It had promising aspects and it could have been good.
- (11i) Only one became public through the papers and they recounted the discussions for more consumer goods.
- (11j) It was positively better. There were more goods on the market than before, but they were still lacking consumer goods like coffee or chocolate.
- (12) They were basically important for everybody.
- (12a) Her husband earned probably ten times as much as the average worker and even so there was no way of planning materially for the future. What they earned, they spent and thus all they could afford was the bare necessities of living from day to day leaving nothing for savings.
- (12b) They had no private life. No opportunity for relaxing.
- (12c) Material conditions were important for every group of people; but in particular to the intelligentsia. It meant much work but bad nourishment and little of the joys of life. A general resignation and vegetation took hold on people.
- (12d,e) No knowledge.

- (1)a) From 1925 to 1935.
- (1b) Junior high school.
- (1c) The communal high school of Budapest at Maria Teresa Square.
- (2,3,4) Not applicable.
- (5) These answers relate to the time before 1941.
- (5a) Respondent wanted to be an actress.
- (5b) She hadn't the money for her education.
- (5c) Does not know.
- (5d) She had to go to work and took jobs and her last job in 1941 was cashier in a department ~~xxxx~~ store.
- (6) Mediocre.
- (6a) ~~xxxxxxx~~ (Too much time spent at) play and had learning difficulties, was not very responsive to advanced knowledge.
- (7,8) Not applicable, since ^{she was} no student, ~~and~~ after the Second World War.
- (9)a) Very much so. ~~Her~~ Parental authority ceased to exist ^{No children} ~~xxxxxxx~~ paid respect to adults. ^{Physical} Punishment of children was forbidden. ^{Boasting of was not} (Children ~~are~~ permitted, and they ^{were} ~~are~~ asked at the school, to report if they were beaten up by their parents.
- Any physical punishment of children reported to the teachers was ~~the~~ subject of persecution on the part of the authorities.
- (9b) In part.
- (9c) To a very negligible extent.
- (9d) Wouldn't know any instance.
- (9e) The most effective between the ages of 10 and 15.
- (9f) The children begin to discuss fundamental questions of life, death, living conditions, earning money, and similar questions.
- (10) ^{Father} ~~xxxxxxx~~ was a self-employed tailor.
- (10a) Mother came from a farmer family.
- (10b) Husband's father was an office employee.
- (11) Remained at the same positions and in the same social groups.

- (12) (a) Father gave up his self-employment, which he practiced in his own shop. He couldn't continue in own independent business and had to take the job at the state shop.
- (12b) Since then he works at the same state shop.
- (12c) Yes, the job is satisfactory in view of his advancing age.
- (12d) ~~at~~ Eight grades at the elementary school and then evening courses at the trade school.
- (12e) Respondent had no career of her own.
- (13) The living conditions were better; her father's income was sufficient ~~only~~ to give the brother a college education, ^{but} ~~and~~ the girls did not go to college.
- (13a) Respondent's ~~ex~~ parents' living conditions got worse and respondent's life improved through her marriage.
- (14) Our family consisted of father, mother, two girls and one boy.
- (14a) My parents are living. My sister married and I married and my brother fell in World War II.
- (14b) No.
- (14c) They have their own families.
- (15) Respondent has no children. Her family consists of herself and her husband.
- (16) Respondent's social origin did not hurt her husband's position.
- (16a) She was considered as the child of a working man.
- (17) She was married in Hungary.
- (17a) Her husband was employed as an operatic singer at the Budapest Opera House. He was a leading bass singer.
- (17b) Married since November 26, 1946.
- (17c) They are childless.
- (18,19,20,21) Not applicable.
- (22) Very well.
- (23) Respondent's parents live their declining years and so no political matters

were discussed. The subject of discussions or conversations were family affairs.

- (24, 25) Not applicable.
- (26) (a) Her family and near relatives were very close together.
- (26b) The normal average.
- (26c) Learned English.
- (26d)(26e) Respondant was together with her husband most of the time. She accompanied him to the Opera House and attended his performances. ~~She went to his side...~~

- (26e) They spent most of the time together. The respondent was with her husband all the time during his work in the Budapest opera house. She tried to make his life comfortable in order to be able to concentrate on his artistic career.
- (26f) To spend together their vacation time, to travel, to relax, and first of all to have a little privacy.
- (26g) It varies according to the generations which live together.
- (27a) The children coming home from schools have influenced the ~~children~~ ^{parents}, and vice versa. The son of a neighbor of the respondent requested from his mother to remove the Crucifix from the room. This created quite a tension in the family. Such problems did not arise in a family where only adults lived.
- (27b) Not in all cases, but where ~~all~~ the people lived together *devoted to each other,* usually they can trust each other.
- (27c) Members of the family are very much dependent on each other.
- (27d) Generally speaking, yes, with some exceptions.
- (27e) Has no experience in the country.
- (28) It has.
- (28a) The ~~consciousness~~ ^{courteousness} and the attention given to ladies has ceased with the emancipation of women in social and economic ~~times~~ ^{life.} That ~~the~~ old Hungarian ~~consciousness~~ ^{courtesy and chivalry} ended.
- (28b) Between the ages of 20 and 22.
- (28c) Acquaintanceship is made at the shop or office and young people usually meet at the Cafe Espresso where they can sit for a couple of hours and talk. In making marriage plans they are

first of all interested in a room where to live, furniture doesn't play any role because they know they can't ~~get~~^{buy} it. There is no long term planning. The boy and the girl both have jobs, and when they live together they manage a little bit easier. The wedding is a simple affair. No church weddings are planned. Wedding presents are very modest. Frequently it happens that the co-workers put together a little money and buy a wedding present for the couple. Bridal gowns are unknown and the wedding itself is a simple civilian ceremony, rather a registration at the marriage office.

- (28e) It was prohibited, but if respondent correctly remembers she heard of it that about a year ago it was again permitted.
- (28f) Romance and any literature on it, is not ^{timely} ~~the~~ subject in Hungary. There are beauty parlors and women use cosmetics in Budapest and they are longing for good appearance, ^{which} ~~is~~ still coveted. But, according to the Communist doctrine, attractiveness of a woman consists rather of her value to the Communist cause and to effective economic production. Her attractiveness is no primary factor, rather her skill and her value at the machines and the office. Since there is ~~sex~~ sexual equality recognized, the pre-marital sexual life is accepted and the young people practice it. It has resulted in a large number of illegitimate children.
- (28g) So far, abortions are not so strictly forbidden as before. Doctors who performed ~~abot~~ abortions got fifteen to twenty years

prison terms. Since about two years abortions are permitted, when the counsel of doctors functioning at the hospitals permitted ^{them} Maternal conditions of the expectant woman are taken in account. Birth prevention literature is unknown and its practice, too. Respondent's opinion on birth control is that ~~this~~ is a very hard problem and it must be left to each individual. She feels that it is as much the concern of man as of woman.

(28a)

The many illegitimate children are the product of free love. The children are the burden of the mother and the father pays a small alimony if he wants so. Disputes about the fatherhood of a child are brought to court. Man has to pay for illegitimate children a relatively small amount ^{in alimony} every month. Illegitimate children are considered as innocent and no social stigma is attached to them.

(29)

She was the wife of her husband's friend whom she knew since 1946.

(29a)

Housewife.

(29b)

45 years of age. She was a medical assistant.

(29c)

Social meetings and conversations.

(29d)

Yes.

(29e)

No.

(29f)

Yes.

(29g)

Her decency and straightforwardness.

(29h)

Yes, my friendship and feelings would have ended because of my lost confidence.

(30)

Roman Catholic.

- (30a) Exactly the same.
- (30b)(c) They were ^{at} practicing and very religious Roman Catholic family.
- (31) Yes.
- (31a) There is a constant propaganda against the churches and religion in general. But the Communists claim that there is full freedom of religion. The ceremonials are still permitted. The churches are open, children are baptized, but wedding and funeral services are not held at the church. On the other hand, people who go to churches are observed and denounced. Their church attendance is reported and registered on their records at the shop. Respondent knows cases when someone was seen in the church, was called at his shop ~~shop~~ shop to the Party secretary, ^{who} ~~and~~ tried to convince him about the uselessness and ineffectiveness of the church. Large processions are forbidden. Small processions, however, are permitted just around the church. Christmas is still celebrated and Christmas trees sold. Respondent knows from her personal observation that the Synagogues are crowded on Jewish holidays. For Passover the matzos, unleavened bread, is sold.
- (31b, c) Were equally *under official pressure*, however, the ^{Roman} Catholics and the Orthodox Jews were particularly ^{affected} ~~affected~~ to a much larger extent,
- (31d) They denied the existance of God and wanted the people ^{to} sever all their relations with the church and turn their backs to religion.

- (31e) They wanted to stamp it out. Respondent had known Party members who went to church and they ^B Party secretary ~~some-~~ ~~times~~ ^{or} at their working place ~~and~~ talked with them, ~~and~~ trying to convince them to the contrary. For instance, they demolished the beautiful church, Regnum Marianum in Budapest and raised a large Stalin statue at that place.
- (31f) Against both. While they reluctantly had to accept the people's religious feelings, they dealt with the clergy, *individually*, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, *alike*.
- (31g) Yes.
- (31h) Two or three times a week and ~~for~~ ^{at} all holidays.
- (31i) People went to the church to find peace of mind. They were elderly people and somewhat less younger people. Workers also went to church, mainly to evening masses, but it was well known that they are observed and reports made ~~of~~ their church attendance. Information on church attendance was ~~was~~ placed on their personal record, on the kader.
- (31j) It seems to respondent that the peace ^{peace} ~~peace~~ compromised. Most of them for personal reasons, fear of persecution, and ~~the~~ harm *to be done to* their congregations.
- (31k) The Catholic and the Orthodox Jews were the most resistant. The reformed churches seemed to adjust with less difficulty.
- (31l) It is less important. They don't get religious education and learn ^{of religion} ~~only~~ what they see in their parental home.
- (32) The same way as ^{other} ~~other~~ people.

- (32a) It is impossible to generalize. Some were Party members and others were uncompromising ^{with} ~~against~~ the regime.
- (32b) Like ^{that of other} ~~the older~~ people.
- (32c) Full equality to the whole population, including the Jews.
- (33) The worst off were the professions. The artists, the singers, and actors were best off.
- (33a) The artists.
- (33b) This was the best group to belong to.
- (34) Engineers and technicians.
- (34a) The possibilities for advancement were the most favorable.
- (34b) To study a special field and to become a specialist.
- (34c) People who had a talent for it.
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- (1) In recent years, respondent was interested in politics, but not before.
- (1a) She was interested in her own destiny and in the lot of other people.
- (1b) An onlooker.
- (1c) Secondary.
- (1d,e) No.
- (1f) Since the Communist regime her interest increased.
- (2) Apartment problems and the difficult life conditions.
- (2a) All her complaints are equally grave.
- (2b-e) The same reasons for all.
- (2f) Generally poor living conditions and impatience turned them sour.
- (2g) They were felt all the time.
- (2h) With friends and relatives. They discussed them frequently only with good friends.
- (2i) Only a complete change in the regime could help it, but to do something personally or individually was impossible.
- (3a) Yes, with the Social Democrats. Respondent liked their program, but did nothing more than to vote for it.
- (3b) ~~It~~ He was a Social Democrat.
- (3c) ~~All these~~ ^{of all these: always} against the Communist regime.
- (3d) Against ~~it~~ ^{the regime} from the very beginning.
- (3e) All the friends of the respondent. Many older people felt the same way. Some became members of the Party by conviction, but many more for saving their lives and to secure a livelihood for their families.

- (3f) The whole population did not remain loyal, but subservient. Subservient to the regime by compulsion. They had to earn their livelihood. Some expressed their opinions against the regime by spoiling raw material or producing products of minor quality.
- (4) The Communist Party and AVO. All initiative came from the Communist Party and the government executed it by establishing law in accordance with the Party's wishes. The AVO was the Party's police, persecuting all those whom they thought not to be in favor of the Communist Policy.
- (4b) Rakosi, Gero, Kadar who were the Hungarian representatives of Moscow.
- (4d) The Party, the police, and the government are not independent agencies, but they ~~were~~ ^{worked} closely together.
- (5) ~~That of~~ The Party.
- (5a) The Parliament was called occasionally to sessions and it was a formal institution.
- (5b) They were formal. Only one party was ^{on the} ~~under~~ ballot, the Communist Party, and candidates ^{were} ~~not~~ elected by nomination of the people.
- (5c) The local or district government had authority in smaller local matters.
- (5d) It was very much red tape.
- (5e) Bribery had existed. Respondent had paid 500 forints to facilitate receiving her ^{an} ~~appointment~~. She gave generous tips at the vegetable store to get what she wanted.

- (5f) Workers and peasants and some intellectuals. They took a course in administration and government, but very frequently were unable to carry on the job.
- (5g) Respondent doesn't know.
- (6) They offered the extention of educational opportunities to some groups ~~some~~ ^{together with} sports, trips, entertainment, and social life.
- (6a) Respondent wouldn't know.
- (6b) Almost all.
- (6c) They usually volunteered.
- (6d) That was hardly possible.
- (6e) Doesn't know.
- (6f) No.
- (6g-m) Not applicable.
- (6n) Youth less than 18.
- (6o) They were submitted to discipline and to the Party line., and couldn't get more ^{of an} in doctrination than they were ^{getting} there.
- (6p) Discussed their own matters there and had some influence on the conduct of the ^{local} organization.
- (6q) The Communist Party.
- (7) The members had to set an example; had to go to the meetings and take part in discussions.
- (7a-d) Respondent doesn't know that.
- (7e) At the beginning of the regime, the young people had to joined; later those who wanted jobs and some people who had no talents whatsoever to make ~~good~~ ^{good} otherwise.

- (7f) There were unwanted people because of their class origin, they would not be admitted.
- (7g) No.
- (7l) Yes.
- (7m) Personally not because respondent was a housewife.
- (7n) All kinds of people.
- (7o) They felt themselves more important.
- (7p) Rakosi and on the local level the Party secretaries.
- (7q-t) In the last instance the Communist Party *had total influence.*
- (7u) Believes that there were no representatives of the Communist Party.
- (8) Did not belong to any organization.
- (Subquestions) Could not be answered.
- (9) The youth were not convinced and enthusiastic Communists and wanted to free themselves, especially from the Russians.
- (9a) The general effect was unfavorable, but not lasting.
- (10) All kinds of people; some of them were convinced Communists; others wanted to make a good living. They had many privileges by receiving food, uniforms, clothing, and good apartments. Every day they were picked up and brought by car to their office, and in the evening they were brought back.
- (10a) Doesn't know.
- (10b) Peasants, intellectuals, and workers between the age of 25-50.
- (10c) They were watched by each other and in case were not immune to persecution. There is a distinction--the AVH function was overt, and secret informants work ^{got under cover.} ~~was covered.~~

- (11) Respondent or members of her family were not arrested. A friend of hers ^{was,} ^{ball,}
- (11a) After the opera, he went home, and arriving at his apartment the AVH men were waiting for him and ~~he~~ took him with them. The charge against him was that he told jokes and made derogatory statements concerning the Communist leaders and the system. They kept him for eight months.
- (11b) No concrete details were ever heard.
- (11c) Another specific case known to her was the arrest of a man employed at the American Military Mission in 1945. He was tried in 1947 and sentenced to five years. When he returned home he was a nervous wreck. It was not permitted ~~for~~ ^{to} him to stay in Budapest. He had to change his residence ^{to Vac.}

(11c)

~~to change his residence to Paris.~~ He was anxious to live in Budapest again and came back to Budapest where he took a job as a door man. However he was compelled to go back to Vac. Respondent hadn't seen him anymore but she knows he is living in New York now.

(11d)

Both cases recounted made great impression on respondent.

(11e)

It was known what ^{happened to} ~~they made~~ these people, how they abused them and inflicted physical pain on the arrested. People who ~~were~~ returned seldom spoke about that; they were afraid to tell their stories. Some even didn't know many ^{of the} details that happened with them ⁱⁿ ~~was~~ a world which was completely isolated and ~~was~~ held in secrecy.

(11f)

Particularity intellectual, educated and people who belonged to the classes of means. Frequently they were completely innocent or their offence was to tell a joke or to make ~~an~~ a remark at the coffee expresso. Respondent knows a case when the secret police quoted what a man said at the certain place at the certain hour and minute. ~~A~~ joke on Rakosi may be punished with five years in prison.

(11g)

The deportation of unwanted elements and older people to the province was one of the outrageous events. They had to leave within 24 hours, or sometimes they were picked up without notice and brought in trucks and train-loads to some distant villages to do manual work.

(12)

Keep silent and do your work.

- (12a) Only those professions which they need badly and without compromising, like doctors, artists, engineers. The danger for them saying something the Communists don't like is less acute.
- (12b) Yes.
- (12c) Very much. Connections with party functionaries are helpful.
- (12d) It is advantageous and an unfavorable background cannot be concealed permanently.
- (12e) Money helps.
- (12f) Probably; ~~with~~ ^{the} chances are better.
- (12g) The intellectuals.
- (13) ^{She} has no positive information.
- (14) There were fluctuations and people could feel it, but hardly see it, ~~for~~
- (14a) At the beginning of the regime, the arrests, and later on more arrests. Then again some quiet. Then again the deportations. Then again arrests, and in 1953 it was again quiet.
- (15) The Soviet Union was the master of Hungary.
- (15a) All cardinal questions were decided in Moscow. As many times as Rakosi, Geri, or other leaders, the AVA chief went to Moscow, people knew that something is in the making. They received ^{their} advise and instructions. Then they returned from Moscow, some changes came and new plans were announced. Secondary matters and local affairs were decided in Hungary.

- (15b) Turning events and new plans were announced in newspapers.
- (15c) Direct pressures manifested themselves in the close relationship between the travels to Moscow and the announcements which followed. The indirect pressures appeared thru the papers and other publications as well as thru the radio, especially by the endless glorification of everything that came from Russia.
- (15d) Respondent had no direct contact with Soviet personnel, officers or other agencies. It was the strongest in factories, the Russian production ^{methods} ~~methods~~ applied; the weakest it was in the private life of the Hungarian families.
- (15f) All large corporations and ministries had advisors and leading personnel that came from Russia and were Russians by birth or Hungarians who lived there for a great many years.
- (16) Not at all.
- (16a) They do because of fear.
- (16b) Respondent knew people who really did not mean what they said. Their genuine thoughts were quite different from those ~~that~~ they expressed.
- (16c) Only with the closest members of the family, and with very good friends, the ^{with} one was never sure about anybody.
- (16d) Rare candid one could be about very personal, private affairs, about things of no political significance. However,

EXPLORING political questions and talking about the regime was dangerous, ~~and at least caused danger.~~

- (16e) Since the last two years people talked more freely.
- (17) (and other sub-questions) Respondent answered No, it is impossible to find ways or undertake any personal action.
- (18) An eager, aggressive party member, or an *outstanding* specialist who has ~~talent~~ *talent and drive*.
- (19) There was ~~hardly~~ a possibility ~~for~~ *open* opposition to the regime, since everybody had to work and to make a living. People could exert a passive resistance; every body in his own way.
- (19a) People were disinterested in their jobs and ~~at them~~ ^{worked} by compulsion. Almost everybody ~~was~~ thought that in whatever job they worked, ~~that~~ one way of silently protesting the Communist regime was, not to perform the best services they could. Stealing in the job became a kind of virtue; just to damage the Communist state thru these ~~this~~ disrespect of private property, people believed they performed a laudable deed. ^{at the job,} They took home material and merchandise. Stealing ~~them~~ appeared as a generally accepted and practiced phenomenon in everyday life.

- (19b) The intellectuals and the free professions. There was no road for advancement open to them.
- (19c) The teachers; there was hardly a possibility to sabotage the system because they had to teach what the textbook prescribed and they were accordingly controlled.
- (19d) It increased.
- (19e) It was rather a personal matter, with the exception of the college students.
- (19f) Respondent didn't hear any opposition except the writers and the students.
- (19g) They dared to speak up and criticize, or at least to discuss the problems more openly, and ^othoroughly.
- (19h) They circulated in tremendous numbers, but were punishable.
- (19i) Showdown and willful sabotage at the shops was very difficult because it was controlled. In different ^{large} ~~shops~~ ^{factories} certain requests of the party could more easily get underway. The sabotage of the Russian language was general, and the children and students who had to learn the language, hated it.
- (19j) Does not know!
- (19k) Does not believe it.
- (19l) Both were centers of intellectual life and by starting to talk on certain subjects they slowly slipped into criticism. ^{criticism}
The writers wanted to write on subjects they liked and not

ON Those suggested by Russian influence. They were interested in Western culture and in the free flow of ideas.

- (1) Through the foreign radio.
- (1a) The Voice of America and Free Europe.
- (2) Read every day.
- (2a) The daily paper, Magyar Népszav (the Hungarian Nation), from magazines, *Béke és Szabadság*, (Peace and Freedom). Then also *Rádió Újság* (Radio Magazine). Then the weekly, *Színház és Mozi* (Theatre and Cinema).
- (2b) Soon after they appeared.
- (2c) In order to be informed.
- (2d) Specifically the theatre, movie, concert, and literary sections.
- (2e) Not very regularly.
- (2f) The photographs.
- (2g) Nothing particularly interesting.
- (2h) Yes, in every apartment house, and in hers, too.
- (2i) They were not regular newspapers with an editorial policy and planned contributions.
- (2j) All kinds of personal and general interests. Frequently also of only local value.
- (2k) Yes, but she couldn't read them because she doesn't know foreign languages.
- (2l) They were sold in stores; ^{were} Communist papers which were brought in from foreign countries. Furthermore, ^{there} ~~they~~ could be ~~seen~~ seen foreign publications at the American Legation.

- (2m) Could not understand them on account of the lack of language knowledge.
- (3) Twice a month.
- (3a) Mostly to first showings.
- (3b) The Italian and French movies because they had a story to tell, yet they were let in only in the last three years.
- (3c) The Hungarian movies were almost without exception, political. No comedies were produced.
- (3d) *(Voice faded) Not very much because they were not very appealing to her.*
- (3e) Italian and French movies.
- (3f) Of the imported movies, those were shown which were descriptive of social conditions in foreign countries and even if not propagandistic they were certainly politically slanted. *Doesn't remember the titles.*
- (3g) Yes.
- (3h) To all first showing, and once a week to the National Theater.
- (3i) Yes, it did. Particularly through the introduction of a very large number of Russian plays, unproportionate with other foreign plays.
- (4) Few books.
- (4a) They were Communist and glorified subjects in which she had no interest.
- (4b) About three.
- (4c) Has forgotten the titles.
- (4d) There wasn't anything else.
- (4e) She received them as gifts.
- (4f) *Yes, but she* Could get them from friends, especially *those* books on the index.

- (5) Yes, the musical programs.
- (5a) Not the political programs because they were propagandistic.
- (5b) She had an ORION, short wave radio.
- (5c,d) To the Kossuth and Peter^{of} stations; ~~that~~ their musical programs had an interest to her.
- (5e) 3-4 hours a day in the afternoon and evening.
- (5f) At home.
- (5g) Light music and operatic areas.
- (6) Yes.
- (6b) Free Europe, Voice of America, Yugoslav and Austrian stations, and some German stations.
- (6c) She was interested in their musical programs.
- (6d) Every day for a few hours in the afternoon and the evening. Their musical programs were very good, but Free Europe and the Voice of America could not be heard very well. They were blocked. The Yugoslav, German, and Austrian programs brought a lot of classical and dance music and they could be heard well.
- (6f) She was uncertain about them.
- (7) No.
- (7a) Was not interested in them.
- (7a) On Communism and on Russia.
- (7f) The Party.
- (7g-j) Does not know about that.
- (8) Yes.
- (8a) Political information of all sorts, but mostly on people who were taken into custody.

- (8b) From friends and from people at the market, in stores, from women whom she met.
- (8c) One woman at the market told her that the Voice of America said that the Hungarian money will be ^devaluated. This ~~does~~ ^{did} ~~was~~ not realized; however, something else which the people spoke about ~~was~~ realized. Allegedly the Voice of America announced that the rationing and the distribution of food of stamps will ~~be~~ ^{dis}continue in Hungary, and all the prices will go up. This did actually happen later.
- (8d) It was unpredictable.
- (8e) Mostly false rumors.
- (8f) That Rakosi died.
- (8g) On the street, in stores, and in social gatherings.
- (8h) At the Cafe Espresso.
- (8i) Many thought they knew, but there was no checking on that.
- (8j) Everywhere, because people were keenly interested in receiving special news, perhaps some secret information.
- (8k,1) No.
- (9) (~~voice faded~~) Respondent had no opportunity to receive ~~subject~~ information.
- (9a) To listen to the foreign radios, but she couldn't receive them well.
- (9b) The Hungarian papers and the radio.
- (9c) Papers and radio.
- (10) Not more than about 1/10.

- (10a) By comparing the facts with the news.
- (10b) It was never reliable.
- (10c) Sports.
- (10d) ~~The~~ ^{economic} production and the foreign news.
- (10e) They were about the same.
- (10f) No.
- (11) Yes, very ~~much~~ much.
- (11a) Everybody.
- (11b) Mostly the Party members in the higher echelons and the AVH people.
- (12) From other people.
- (12a) The papers and radio were untrustworthy.
- (12b) Through word of mouth and through the radio.
- (12c) Very little, only ^{from} people who came from other towns.
- (13) From hearsay.
- (13a) From people who came from Russia and said that there is a hard life in the labor camps.
- (13b) The respondent heard that it was ~~German~~ ^{German} warfare.
- (13c) The Capitalists, according to the Hungarian papers.
- (13d) Perhaps not, because he was a rehabilitated.
- (13e) Doesn't know it.
- (13f) Doesn't know it.
- (13g) Nothing, but when it was published, they were considered as traitors and ^{only} has no information on their personal ^{destiny.} ~~status.~~ To my suggestive questions, respondent said that the people were intentionally kept in the dark ^{in order} ~~that~~ they should not see the

~~The regime impressed upon the people~~
truth and that Communism and Russia are the real ideals for
and by which people should live.

- (1) To restore all the civil liberties, freedom of speech, of the press and of religion. Everybody should be entitled to criticism and nobody should be compelled to give his time after a work day. Everybody should have sufficient income to make a decent living. People should be permitted to travel in foreign countries. *These all are parts of freedom.*
- (1a) Poor people's children should have the opportunity to study but what they want to study and sporting should be facilitated to everybody. *These should be kept.*
- (2) Respondent sees troubles ahead if again many parties would appear. Some of them wouldn't do anything else but fan new hate. She is inclined toward a two party system, one for the workers and the other for the intellectuals.
- (2a) Because people are too much partisans ~~and~~
- (2b) She is not sure on details, but believes that some limitations concerning a free organization of political parties should be instituted.
- (2c) Not in favor of many parties.
- (3) Everybody should be free to express opinions and say what ^(he or she) ~~they~~ wants.
- (3a) That's the only way to find out the feeling and the thinking of people.
- (3b) No, they should speak up freely, because that's their right, and ^{that's} the way to learn what they want.
- (4) They should be free.

- (4a) Yes.
- (4b) If the government is not good it should go.
- (4c) It is very important because proper solutions can be found only by comparing different opinions.
- (4d) No exceptions.
- (4e) ~~is~~ ^{yes,} a government is absolutistic and imposes its will on the people ~~not~~ by suppressing freedom~~s~~ of speech and critical^{is} ~~tical~~.
- (5, 6, 7, and 8) Respondent feels that she hasn't sufficient experience in these fields.
- (9) She is in favor.
- (9a) Because they are too large for private operation.
- (9b)c) All three are too complicated and extensive in their operation fields and there is no difference among them.
- (10) She is for it.
- (10a) There shouldn't be people out of work and everybody should be able to make a living.
- (10b) Doesn't see any danger in this.
- (10c) Every price.
- (11) It should not interfere in private life. People have the right to do with their spare time and money what they want to do.
- (11b) For instance if somebody wants to be religious he should have the opportunity to go to church; if he doesn't want to go that's his own affair; it's not the business of anyone else.

- (12) Citizens have duties to the state.
- (12b) All those must be obeyed including those mentioned in question 12c, d, e, and f.
- (13) They have not changed.
- (14) Medical ~~care~~ care has improved in Hungary.
- (14a) It had.
- (14b) All groups are equally entitled to treatments, to consultation of a doctor. Those who have the money can consult a private doctor and pay for it.
- (14c) The doctors at the clinics give good attention to the patients.
- (14d) Health insurance, which is general, is a much needed institution.
- (14e) No exceptions are made and in an emergency everybody could have a doctor.
- (14f and g) She didn't hear any case that someone had to suffer because ^{or} no doctor/~~was~~ treatment were available.
- (15) Yes.
- (15a) They are much cheaper than before, and furthermore, people get their tickets where they work. They are almost forced to buy tickets and to go to entertainments.
- (15b) Yes.
- (15c) Yes.
- (15d) All working people had the opportunity.

- (15e) Yes.
- (15f) There was ~~availability~~ ^{and buy} to get the tickets and the time to go to entertainments.
- (16)(a,b,c) There were fluctuations during the period of 15 years and generally it can be said that today, since everything is available, they can eat better.
- (16d) Those people who have a better earning can afford more and better food. The lowest income groups have to budget very carefully.
- (16e) Since everybody ^{could} ~~can~~ buy food as much as they would like, those who can pay for it are favored and who cannot are least favored.
- (17, including sub-questions a, b, and c) They cannot.
- (17d) Because clothing is very expensive and there is no money for it.
- (17e) Clothing can be afforded only by those people who earn more than 3000 forints a month and these are very very few.
- (18) It did.
- (18a) Because it was artificially forced.
- (18b) It is not.
- (18c) Consumer goods should not have been neglected.
- (19a) No.
- (19b) Yes.
- (19c) It should be distributed. All the land should be distributed and the peasants should decide on it.
- (

- (19d) They should be distributed.
(19e)
(19f) Not very ~~xxx~~ large ones.
- (19g) They should, including the kulaks.
- (19h) No
- (19i) Nobody but the state.
- (20a) No.
- (20b) To sell.
- (20c) To sell them.
- (20d) Has no positive information.
- (20e) Yes.
- (21) A very large part.
- (21a) They should protect the laborer.
- (21b) Completely independent.
- (21c) Yes, membership should be compulsory.
- (21d) Membership fees had to be paid and it was compulsory to go to the union *meetings*. *The interests* ^{of} members were not taken care of.
- (21e) The malpractice of the unions was very disappointing on account of their failure to protect the workers.
- (21f) They have no purpose *if don't represent* the workers.
- (21g) The workers had elected their representatives in order to protect their interests and that of the production. However they came under Communist party influence.
- (21h) They certainly could.
- (21i) The workers, and they should be responsible to the state.

- (22) They should be investigated in order to find out their complete ^{record} ~~status~~ and their attitude during the regime.
- (22a) No.
- (22b) The leaders should be sent to Russia.
- (22c) They should be individually considered.
- (22d) They should be kept under observation but left free to go after their work.
- (22e) They are young people and should not be molested.
- (22f) They should be completely investigated and made responsible for all their deeds ^{by} ~~to~~ ordinary courts.
- (22g) All should get the same attention.
- (22h) The ^{wrath} ~~right~~ of the people turned against the AVN and the people took justice in their own hands, but otherwise it did not come to further developments.
- (23) Great attention was paid to education. It was compulsory to 14 years of age.
- (23a) Respondent is too young to make comparisons.
- (23b) There was an opportunity, but unfortunately, ^{except} ~~not~~ for the children of educated people, and those who were ~~wealthy~~ wealthy before the regime.
- (23c) It was bad.
- (23d) It is very important, but everybody should have the opportunity ^{having higher} ~~for~~ ~~the~~ education.

- (24) They should be completely separated.
- (24a) Yes.
- (24b) No, they are all equal.
- (24c) No.
- (24d) Yes, because religion must be taught.
- (24e) No.
- (25) ^{contributed through his} To culture Hungary's frequent fight for freedom. So against the Turks in 1526; against the Austrians and Russians in 1848. Some Hungarians' writers, painters, musicians, playwrights stood their place in world relations and contributed to Western culture.
- (26a) Badly because they were suppressed.
- (26b) Because of poor material conditions.
- (26c) Yes.
- (26d) It was bad because people could not be free and had to submit to them.
- (26e) The life was very difficult. The regime (~~was~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{democratic} and the living standard low. Horthy and his supporters, the aristocracy, the large landholders, were materially unconcerned^{ed} with the masses.
- (26f) Very much so.
- (26g) ~~No~~, ^{intervention,} because it was hopeless; and Hungary should have observed neutrality.
- (26h) Before World War II it was bad because of the German influence, then when the Russians occupied the country it seemed to be better because life started again. But then again after the Communist regime was established it started to become worse.

- (27) Yes. The Hungarian is patriotic--he likes independence, he is basically decent, reliable, he likes to work and is dutiful.
- (27a) The respondent believes that the Germans are forceful and very aggressive. They have no heart and are people with no feelings.
- (27b) Respondent believes that the Russians are rough and tough, ~~and~~ fierce and domineering.
- (27c) Respondent does not know anything about the American character.
- (27d) No.
- (27e, f) ~~No~~ yes.
- (28) They are important.
- (28a) Because they mark different countries with different interest.
- (28c) ~~(28)~~ The territories lost after World War I should be returned because these are all unified territories which belong to Hungary. In Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, the ripped off territories given to these countries, belonged for a thousand years to Hungary and must be returned because they are Hungarian.
- (28e) Yes, the Russians.
- (28f)(g,h) There is no conflict whatsoever.
- (28i) Well.
- (28j) Doesn't know it.
- (28k) Well.
- (28l) Doesn't know it.
- (28m) There is anti-semitism.
- (28n) They are Hungarians.
- (29) It would be very good.
- (29a) It should be mutually discussed.

- (29b) To increase the standard of living and to cooperate in several questions of mutual interest.
- (29c) The partners should be equal.
- (29d) Favors a Danubian federation.
- (30) They behave like conquerors and rulers.
- (30a) Generally they are the same, but there are some who are violent and fierce, and others somewhat less so.
- (30b) In groups they are aggressive, and if alone, more subdued, even cowardly. Many were dumb, and had ~~been~~^{blown} fitfully with violence and noise.
- (30c) Probably.
- (30d) No.
- (30e) Unfriendly toward them.
- (30f) They were disliked.
- (30g) Hostile feelings grew against them.
- (31-32) Respondent feels unqualified to answer these questions.
- (33) Perhaps.
- (33a) The liberalization of the strict party line, and the more sensible system in accordance with Hungarian needs.
- (34a) Is good.
- (34b, c, d, e) Bad.
- (34f) Good.
- (34g, h) Bad. Respondent feels uncertain in giving detailed information on each of these terms.
- (35) She believes the same.
- (36) To each subquestion respondent said that all have been getting less than they deserve, including the Communist Party members.

- (37) All groups were better off. Respondent's opinion is based on hearing it from other people.
- (38a,b) They coincide.
- (38c,d) They are in conflict.
- (38e) They coincide.
- (38f) Doesn't know it.
- (38g) (voice disappeared) *They coincide..*
- (38h) *Doesn't know it.*
- (38i) They coincided.
- (38j) They were in conflict.
- (38k) They were never identical, rather in conflict.
- (39) The AVH and the high party functionaries.
- (39a) The rest of the population would fight against the Communist regime because they are dissatisfied. The general frustration reach^{ed} the degree of ^{an} emotional reaction that will lead them to join any enemy of Hungary which will aim at the destruction of the Communist regime.

(1)

no question to ask.

(1a)

Respondent finds it very useful to search for these facts and find out everything.

(1b)

A great deal of material.

(1c)

At the beginning, many Communists and AVH men left Hungary and it is possible that some of them came to America, too. Their information would not be what America needs.

(1d)

Yes.

(1e)

She wouldn't know.

(2a)

No.

(3)

Nothing particular.

(3a)

Could Not be helpful in this respect.

(3b)

Yes, she has plans.

(3c)

not advisable -

(3d)

Yes, in case they will be needed she will be anxious to name some of them with whom she had to speak before.

(4a)

Yes.

(4b)

No.

Summary of respondent as to personality, goals, and motivations.

Respondents education was completed with the eight grade public school. She was a housewife who received her impressions in a quite limited way through the professional career of her husband. As the wife of a noted bass at the Opera House in Budapest, her social and economic status was exceptionally privileged. She was one of the few women who did not have to go to work in order to earn a living. She was seeking, and according to her statements, also enjoyed the reputation to be one of the ten best ^{dressed} women in Hungary.

On account of her personal interests, I was anxious to enlarge on the subjects seen from a woman's point of view. I elicited answers on homemaking, shopping, marriage, children, religious celebrations, family life, etc. Because of her lacking background, she was in difficulty to respond to most of the questions of an economic and social nature and on numerous factual questions. She was inclined to engaging in guess work.