

- (1) I think the United States and the rest of the world should know how the people of Hungary were suppressed politically, ideologically, economically, and socially by the Soviet Union. I think that the Western nations and the United States should have helped Hungary at the time of the Revolution.
- (2 a) I don't think there was any specific period of incubation. No one had ever thought that the revolt would start like this. Everybody expected certain changes, hoping they would actually take place. Each time when May 1st came, people hoped that that would be the last May 1st and that there would be no more similar celebrations. Of course, one could notice certain things, for instance, taxicabs were not hired and used to be idle. When people expected certain changes, they would ~~spend~~ rather save money or spend it on food instead of on taxicabs, because they were afraid that something unusual might happen.
- (2 b) (1) Stalin's death only insofar as it had bearing on Rakosi's resignation. (ii) During Imre Nagy's premiership there were certain concessions. Especially in the small handicraft industries. There were certain economic improvements. That is why he was attacked by the Communists, charging him that he was deviating toward the West. Just to give an example: in the theaters you could see a play by Molnar, which you could not have seen before. (iii) The reconciliation of Moscow with Tito affected Hungary only insofar that Rajk was rehabilitated. (iv) Respondent read the reports on the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in the papers, but there

were very few things which were actually carried out in Hungary. One result was that Rakosi had to resign. Actually there was not much improvement. The Communist aristocracy remained in power and the rest of the people remained slaves. (v) She heard about the Poznan events, but does not think that it had any particular impact on the Hungarian revolt. (vi) The Communists had realized the tremendous dissatisfaction of the common people with the regime, and they had to blame someone. They decided to remove Rakosi. The whole situation at that time was so unbearable, that even the Communists held that they had to do something about it. Actually, Rakosi ~~was~~ served the purpose of the scapegoat.

- (2 c) There was no particular point which could be really called a turning point. During Imre Nagy's premiership, however, they hoped that he would give the people more and more concessions. But, even this trend was then reversed under tremendous pressure from the party.
- (2 d) She read papers like the Beke es Szabadsag and then the Szabad Nep, and surprisingly both could bring articles attacking Rakosi and Gero and demanding radical changes. From these they thought that the system would eventually be developed toward socialism and not communism.
- (2 e) The respondent is certain that the writers were the spiritual leaders of the Revolution. She was surprised that notwithstanding of the ~~the~~ complete suppression of criticism, the writers started to attack the government openly.

- (2 f) It was, because the papers criticized openly. Beke es Szabadsgg was critical, Szabad Nep was more reserved in its criticism, it took, however, exception with certain exaggerations and disapproved of them. It turned much more its attention to individuals and criticized them, including Rakosi. Respondent could read only very infrequently the Irodalmi Ujsag, because it was not available, the copies on sale were sold out very fast.
- (2 g) There was nothing of particular significance, respondent recalls only one occasion when her heart was deeply moved, having heard in the radio to recite Petofi's poem "Talpra magyar."
- (3) There was a tremendous dissatisfaction on the part of the people in general, everybody had to work like a slave. Respondent, for instance, could not secure for herself more than the absolutely necessary food. People were dissatisfied with their political indoctrination, with their being forced to go to political seminars and meetings. People could not have a private life of their own, they lived under constant fear because of the control system, or rather the network of spies and informers. People were treated as animals. Then, there was the tremendous dissatisfaction of the students. Its reason was that they were forced into certain professions. And also, one might mention the fact that the youngsters were prevented from dancing the way they wanted to dance, or from listening to music, the kind of music they wanted to listen to.
- (3 a) If Gero had not given his horrible speech, and if the students had not been frightened by members of the AVO, then no revolution would have broken out. So, if Imre Nagy had stayed on, there would have

been no revolution. Respondent considers Gero's speech as definitely provoking the revolt. It was the most aggressive speech that any Communist party leader ever delivered.

- (3 b) Because the people were fed up with the whole Communist system. The Communists did not expect that the youth whom they had indoctrinated would fight against them. If the AVO had not started fighting and Gero had not delivered his militant speech, there would have been no revolution. Respondent is strongly convinced of that.
- (3 c) In the mind of the people was the achievement of independence for Hungary and the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary.
- (3 d) The student demonstrations actually started in Szeged, but they were banned and ^{the} student organization dissolved. Then, in Budapest, the student demonstrators marched to the radio station and were fired on, setting forth the actual fighting.
- (3 e) No, for no time were the Hungarian people more united in their aims than at the time of the revolt. There was only one purpose: freedom and independence for Hungary.
- (3 f) Respondent doesn't know anyone who opposed the revolt. Everybody was enthusiastically for it.
- (3 g) Respondent didn't meet anyone who seemed to be neutral. If they were, they were cowards.
- (3 h) "Independence for Hungary." "Out with the Russians." "Down with the Communists." "Free elections." "Freedom for university students to choose their own professions."
- (3 i) Yes, the people were anti-Communist and they were against communism

and the Russians as well. They wanted to prevent shipments of Hungarian goods and industrial products to Russia. They wanted to prevent the exploitation of the country by Russians. They were against the Russian colonization of Hungary.

- (3 j) Respondent believes by anti-Communists the people ^{'s} desire burning/for freedom. People wanted to be able to maintain a minimum standard of living; they wanted to educate their children the way they desired. They wanted to run their small businesses the way they found it proper.
- (3 k) Honest Communists did not want the type of communism Hungary had. In fact, respondent did not consider ~~THIS~~ this as communism at all. It was terrorism and not communism. Communism they thought of as being close to socialism.
- (3 l) The Revolution was borne by the youth and ~~THE~~ this is certainly not reactionary. They don't want to know anything of the old political systems and ~~THEY~~ their representatives. And certainly no ministerial chair or portfolio is waiting for those who waited somewhere in a foreign country for the turn of events in Hungary.
- (3 m) Free elections would have been held and everything would have worked out nicely. The freedom fighters would have achieved the goal that the whole of Hungary wanted.
- (4) She did not participate personally in the revolt.
- (4 a) Yes, respondent has seen four Russian tanks decide~~d~~ to join the freedom fighters, they turned over their tanks to them.

- (4 b) No.
- (4 c) She saw two members of the AVO accompanied by freedom fighters. A former member of the AVO who lived in her house was released by the freedom fighters because this man never participated in political interrogations, he only held some technical job with the AVO. She saw many members of the AVO disguised in policemen's uniforms when they were captured by the freedom fighters. While she did not see any mob violence, she saw hanged AVO-men in the streets, and she felt deeply shocked.
- (5) Respondent stayed mostly at home, she was the mother of two children.
- (5 a, b) No.
- (5 c) Yes, she offered food to the fighters.
- (5 d)e,f) No.
- (6) Does not apply.
- (7) Respondent does not know of any strictly organized groups whose authority ^c would be distinguished in any way. There was no high command that gave orders, neither were there commandeered units which took orders. There were only rebels who stood up as one man.
- (7 a) None.
- (7 b) In the most harmonious manner.
- (7 c,d) No.
- (8 a) Yes, there were differences. Respondent saw four Russian tanks going over to the freedom fighters after they had seen what the AVO was doing and what the freedom fighters were standing for. The majority of Russian troops which were stationed in Hungary at the outbreak of the revolt refused to fight against the freedom

fighters. If they had fought against the freedom fighters, undoubtedly the Revolution could not have been victorious.

- (8 b,c) Respondent heard that the Russian students and some other foreign students were sympathetic to the Revolution and there were some who joined the Hungarian students in their freedom fight.
- (8 d) She does not know about that.
- (8 e) Has no knowledge of it.
- (8 f) Before the 23rd, the Soviet influence in Hungary was 100 percent. Hungary was a colony of the Soviet Union. During the few days when the freedom fighters were in control of Budapest, their influence was nil. After November 4, their influence again became complete, due to the fact that they brought in Mongolian troops and Asiatics who lacked any intelligence or civilization.
- (9) She learned about the events from her brother, husband, and father.
- (9 a) She read the Igazsag and she thinks it was one of the best papers among the many others. It wrote very clearly and plainly about everything that happened.
- (9 b) She learned a great deal from the boys and girls by way of mouth. They said, for instance, that the members of the AVO are firing into the crowds and people should not go in that direction. She also learned by telephone what had happened in other sectors of Budapest, but then the telephone service was disrupted. Freedom fighters came into her house who were beaten up by the AVO. They told them what had happened. Also the university students who lived in her house

brought in information. They learned much from the peasants too. Food supplies were pouring into the capital from the neighboring villages and the whole peasantry enthusiastically supported the freedom fighters, distributing food without asking money for it. The whole peasantry stood as one man behind Budapest and the other cities of Hungary.

- (9 c) Yes, she listened to domestic and foreign stations. They were the Free Kossuth, the Free Győr, the Free Europe, the EBC, and the Voice of America. She learned about the foreign repercussions of the Hungarian Revolution; the English radio gave an objective analysis of the news, on which one could rely. Radio Free Europe was less objective, but rather emotional.
- (9 d) She thinks that the English newscast was very good. At the beginning the Radio Free Europe was all right, but later it made a mistake by trying to depict how nice life would be in the West for those who decided to leave Hungary, though people became disillusioned and were extremely disappointed after they had left Hungary and had to stay in Austria because they were not admitted to any other country.
- (10) The Government, the party's central organization, and the local communist offices ceased to function.
- (10 a) The AVO, the Communist Party, and the Szabad Nep disintegrated. The so-called democratic judiciary as well as the Democratic Lawyers' Association collapsed.

- (10 b) The Party collapsed; there was little time to turn the office buildings into apartments, but eventually that was the purpose. There were lots of party buildings and the freedom fighters intended to convert these into apartments, since there was a great shortage of apartments in Budapest. Party functionaries and personnel disappeared.
- (10 c) Respondent believes that about 90 percent of the police joined the freedom fighters.
- (10 d) The AVO was abolished. Some of them changed clothes, others were hiding.
- (10 e) The freedom fighters intended to restore the old court system as well as the old Bar. They wanted to do away with the people's courts and the Democratic Bar, as it was called by the Communists.
- (10 f) She believes that 99 percent of the Army joined the freedom fighters.
- (10 g) The central government and the ministries did not function. Their structure changed daily.
- (10 h) Revolutionary councils were formed to replace the former councils in local government and in the municipalities.
- (10 i) Religious freedom was proclaimed by the freedom fighters. They pledged that the teaching of religion would be restored in schools, but there was little time to carry out specific programs.
- (10 j) There were no special organizations the rebels used to further their own ends. Events were in progress, but no organizations crystallized.

- (10 k) The revolutionary ~~E~~ councils emerged, also there was a revolutionary council of university students and she believes also another council of the authors.
- (10 l) The revolutionary councils were created by the workers to serve the interests of the workers and to present their demands to the government. The workers themselves directed these councils. Some of the newly-elected members were members of the Communist Party in whom the workers had confidence because they joined in the fight against oppression.
- (10 m) She isn't certain about that, but one thing is sure, namely, after free election there would not have remained a Communist Party in Hungary, or at least the number of those who belonged to such a party would have been infinitely small.
- (11) Yes, very frequently.
- (11 a) Perhaps it was not useful for Hungary. She thinks it served to revealing the menace of world communism to the rest of the world. She is a mother and can say only that she feels very very sorry for the thousands of innocent youngsters who have died for the cause of freedom.
- (11 b) If there had been no Russian intervention, the Revolution would have succeeded, or if the West had intervened in time, or if the United Nations would have intervened, that could have saved Hungary.
- (11 c) Many people, including herself, they thought that the United Nations will send in troops to maintain order. Or at least through diplomatic intervention the wholesale massacre of innocent people

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ by the Russians will be stopped.

- (11 d) The Hungarian people cannot stand the mingling into their affairs and an alien nations' rule of their country. Other nations can stand it better, as the neighboring states prove it.
- (11 e) She is sure that he wanted only good for Hungary. His aims were ^{advantageous} probably all right and it would have been/if he had been able to carry them out.
- (11 f) Maleter was important, but every single freedom fighter was a real hero and important too.
- (11 g) Respondent believes that it is impossible to ~~rank~~ ^{rank} any of these groups, because all of them had a lion's share in the revolt. The writers, the youth, the army, the workers, and the peasants fought hand in hand. To ~~differentiate~~ ^{differentiate} between the groups would be meaningless because it was a revolt of the whole people, enthusiastically united in one purpose. It must be noted, while Budapest fought on the barricades, the peasantry played a crucial role through supplying food to the cities overnight. The Communists had never dreamed that the worker-peasant unity would be so complete against them.
- (11 h) She would not have expected it from the Communist-indoctrinated youth, but to some extent from the university students, because they played in Hungary a leading role in many things. Many events started with the university students in the past history of Hungary.
- (12) After the Russians defeated the Revolution, she decided to leave Hungary, because her husband was once deported to Russia, from

1945 to 1953 and since his return he was in permanent danger.

- (12 a) She feared that her husband might be taken away again. He was constantly threatened and the secret police were after him. They wanted him to become one of their spies.
- (12 b) Yes, with her husband.
- (12 c) No, they had no special plans, in fact, the AVO caught them near Sopron, but they managed to excuse themselves by saying that they had come to place their children in the country. In view of the fact that people were starving in Budapest, the Budapest radio said at that time that the children should be taken to the country. So that was the excuse and the Russians having released them, they escaped across the border. Her husband said frequently that ~~IX~~ life will not be too easy after having gotten out of Hungary and that they shouldn't paint any rosy pictures about the future. Respondent is positive about it that they would not have left Hungary under any circumstances if the Russian troops had been withdrawn.

- (1 a) Respondent was a self-employed dressmaker who worked in her own salon.
- (2 a) Until ~~1955~~¹⁹⁴⁵, she was a leather worker for seven years, having made purses, briefcases, belts, and other decorative articles of leather. Henceforth she worked as a dressmaker at home until December 1956, when she left Hungary.
- (2 b,c,d) As a dressmaker she worked for 11 years and she was her own boss.
- (2 e) Respondent's shop was located in her apartment, consisting of two rooms and a kitchen. In one room she worked and in the other room she made the fittings. Both rooms were converted for the night as bedrooms.
- (2 f,g) Don't apply.
- (3) She liked dressmaking very much.
- (3 a) She liked in it, first of all, that she could work at home and was independent, without having ^{been} enforced to go to political meetings, seminars, and other meetings.
- (3 b) She did not like the fact that she had to work 18 hours a day to be able to maintain herself and her family and support her father.
- (3 c) Not applicable.
- (3 d) Her working conditions were extremely disadvantageous on account of the 18-hours ^{day in} ~~the~~ the room which served as bedroom for the night.
- (3 f) She worked about 16-18 hours a day.
- (3 g) Frequently seven days a week.
- (3 h)-~~m~~) Don't apply.
- (3 o) Self-employed small tradesmen did not enjoy any kind of benefits.

- (4 a) She worked in partnership with her sister. They talked frequently about politics. Her sister, too, left with respondent Hungary and lives now in New York.
- (4 b,c) Don't apply.
- (4 d) She discussed politics with her sister.
- (4 e) She knows from other people that party membership resulted in advantages at jobs. A party member could get easier, better positions, they got premiums, if ~~they~~^{there} were shifts, the party member got preferential treatment insofar that he could work at the hours which were more convenient to him, and when it came to select individuals to be sent for summer vacation to better resorts, then it was the party member who had this privilege. She knows from her brother who was a performing artist that he could not get a passport for foreign countries because he was no party member, while other artists, who were party members, were sent to Russia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, etc.
- (4 f-1) Don't apply.
- (4 ~~g~~^j) Only in Imre Nagy's time.
- (4 k) Yes, very much so. She knew, for instance, the director of the Hungarian Theater, who was a former tailor. He knew absolutely nothing of the theater.
- (4 l) Yes, the ü.b., the üzemi titkár, interfered with everything; he was a ~~EE~~ party official whose approval was needed for everything. Then there was the diszpécser, who supervised the actual operations of each worker. He was a kind of foreman and slave driver in

one person.

(4 m) No.

(4 n) They were people whom the Communists considered as reliable and not alien on account of their origin. The lower the origin, the better. This ~~kind~~ kind of people were popularly called "Lumpenproli" or "super-proli," meaning in English the rabble, or the riff-raff proletarian.

(4 o) That person had to be a good member of the party, loving his work and serving as a good example. He had to reach his quota and show his enthusiasm for better production. He had to be interested in the Communist system and support it in words and deeds.

(4 p) Not at respondent's place of work, but she knows that there were at every shop, factory, and office. The informers spied on people, working in greatest secrecy. In the house where respondent lived, there was another tenant, a married couple. It was an open secret that they both were AVO people who spied on the other tenants. The husband was about 32 years of age and worked ^{was} in a factory as a coal carrier. He had an unpleasant appearance, /unfriendly and he never talked with other people. His wife was employed as an office worker at the AVO office. She was about 28 years old, wore a uniform of the AVO, but it was known that previously she was a domestic. The husband's salary was 9,600 forints and the ~~wife's~~ wife's salary was 8,000 forints a month. The information these people collected were put on files and cards which were kept on everybody in Hungary.

(5) Respondent could have worked in a factory for 630 forints a month.

(5 a) Not applicable.

- (5 b) Respondent would have preferred to study and become a history teacher, because she liked to improve her knowledge and wanted to go into the teaching profession. She would have liked to become a teacher to serve society by educating young people, but she was unable to achieve this goal because her parents were very poor.
- (5 c) No, definitely not.
- (5 d) No, not everybody, because not everybody is predestined to become a leader ~~of~~ to achieve success. Of course, under the communist regime, anybody could have reached the highest position as long as he adhered to the principles of the Communist Party. There are also many simple-minded people who never want to become ^{more} /than what they are.
- (5 e) She would like to live a ~~IX~~ cultured life, to go to the theaters, read books, travel, and listen to classical music.
- (5 f) Exactly the same.
- (5 g) No, definitely not. People always want something better for their children than they have themselves. She would have liked to see her daughter become a physician and her son an artist. Certainly, she wouldn't like to see them to work day and night bending their backs as she had done.
- (6) Respondent had enough food, but very little of anything else. It was a very difficult life.
- (6 a) The conditions were getting worse since the war.
- (6 b) In general, she could afford ~~XXX~~ to buy the necessary food, but could not afford to buy ~~XXXX~~ oranges, cocoa, or chocolate for the

children. She could not buy a chicken, nor afford a pair of shoes for herself, which would have cost 800 forints made to order. The only way she could afford a dress was by receiving clothing parcels from relatives in Canada. She could not afford to buy books or had not the time to read. As a matter of fact, there were no books available which she would have liked to read.

- (6 c) No, definitely not.
- (6 d) Yes, she thought that she was exploited ~~by~~ by the system of the Communist state capitalism.
- (7 a))i) approximately 1000-1200 forints a month. (ii) 1600 forints per month; (iii) 2000 forints per month. Actually, however, her yearly earnings are not correctly reflected in these amounts in view of the fact that prices in general went up and she means that actually she was worse off in 1955 than in 1952 or in 1947.
- (7 b) She earned much more, but only when she worked 16 or 18 hours a day.
- (7 c) It was about the same.
- (7 d) Her sister was working and her brother and her father in addition to herself, because they had to make a living.
- (8) The Budget Questionnaire is attached.
- (9 a) Fortunately, she had a girl friend in the market hall where the meat was being distributed and she reserved some meat for their daily use. Otherwise she would have had to stand in line the whole morning to get the meat, which was the most difficult to purchase.
- (9 b) Meat was always hard to get and so were eggs at the official price as well as rice and ~~§~~ better soap. Veal cuts were only available

for those who had a doctor's certificate authorizing them to buy veal.

- (9 c) Half of the money went to state stores and the rest for food which was not available there.
- (9 d) It did not, it was the same all over the period between 1948 and 1956.
- (10) Hungary's economy was being exploited to the greatest extent.
- (10 a) It was not, because the Hungarian economy did not develop in the right direction.
- (10 b) It was wrong insofar that the Hungarian economy could never have supported industrialization. Hungary's economy was always agricultural.
- (10 c) There was unemployment in Hungary before 1941, but the workers lived 100 percent better than they fared under the Communists. The people had a much higher living standard.
- (10 c 2) The living conditions were better.
- (10 d) The economy deteriorated. There was never sufficient food and clothing.
- (10 e) She has no information on it.
- (10 f) In this respect the situation was a little better under Imre Nagy, but before the Revolution the concessions given under Nagy's regime were revoked. Higher taxes and restrictions were introduced again.
- (10 g) There were concessions made to peasants and artisans and at least people could breathe a little more freely and hope for the better. But substantially the material conditions did not improve, for the

time was not sufficient to give way to a discernible progress.

- (11) In general, they were very important.
- (11 a) They were very important to respondent, too.
- (11 b) The gravest complaint was that nobody could do what he wanted, only what the regime forced him to do. Respondent mentions the fact that, for instance, the university students could not choose their own profession and could not go to universities because they were told there was a shortage in agriculture or industry. Therefore, they had to work in agriculture or industry.
- (11 c) For everybody, except the party and the AVO members, who received high salaries and made a relatively good living.

- (1) Respondent completed junior high school at the age of 14.
- (1 a) From 1925 to 1933, altogether 8 years.
- (~~XXX~~)
(1 b) Respondent attended the four grammar classes at the public school in Alsógöd, and the junior high school at the Dobó Katalin parochial school for girls at Vác.
- (1 c,d) No.
- (1 e) Did not choose any school~~x~~ in addition to her schooling in childhood.
- (2) No, her parents were very poor and had no means for her schooling. The father could not provide for six children and they had to go to work at an early age.
- (2 a) She wanted a college education in order to become a teacher of history.
- (2 b~~5~~) She wanted to go to the university because she was interested in teaching and in history. respectable,
- (2 c) If she had more schooling, her social status had been more [↑] but she believes that her economic situation would have been more difficult.
- (2 d) She was a very good student, above ~~ME~~ average; the nuns at the high school offered her a scholarship.
- (2 e) She had not the same opportunity as everyone else because the parents were poor, they were unable to be helpful to the growing children.
- (3) It is not applicable.
- (4) Communism wanted to form a new type of man; it did not aim at general education and did not want to have intelligent people with

sound cultural foundation, but rather specialists for certain jobs. Their ideal was the trained worker who wouldn't ask questions, but does his job without criticism.

- (4 a) The ideology and the Russian language were stressed. Compliance with the Communist state was above everything and the three R's were stressed and, in fact, well achieved.
- (4 b) Ideology was taught from the fifth grade on. In the first grade the children started to learn Russian fairy tales and stories based on the lives of Stalin and Lenin and other revolutionaries. In the lower grades education for communism was efficient because the smaller children were not sensitive to it; in the higher grades, when the children are a little bit more critical, they saw the inconsistencies between the subjects they learned and the life they saw in reality.

Respondent believes that education for communism was effective in the lower strata of the population, where the influence of the home was not contradictory, but that it was completely ineffective in the higher strata of the population, consisting of homes which had a negative attitude to communism.

- (4 b 2) Respondent was several times called to the school when the teacher summoned her concerning her 9-year-old girl, who went to the third grade. There were 45 children in the class attended by her little girl. Once the teacher complained that the girl shouldn't bring salami sandwiches to the class because the other children

eat only sandwiches with lard on them. The teacher requested that her girl should bring the same and if she will have an apple, too, this will be all right. The teachers themselves were under strict discipline and control. The teacher of the little girl happened to be a young teacher, educated during the regime, and she found it natural to make the mother aware that her daughter is the only one in the class who had a salami sandwich.

- (4 c) The schoolchildren were particularly upset against the Russian language. They hated it because they had no feeling for the language and were completely disinterested in it. The schoolchildren had no pronounced feelings about communism, they were too small to form a judgment on it.
- (4 d) The schoolchildren liked the Uttörök, the equivalent of boy scouts or girl scouts, but even here the children of the lower groups liked it particularly, while the children of other families did not care very much for it.
- (4 e) The children disliked the Russification of their studies. The Russian coloring of the subjects and the cultural influence of a foreign nation appeared alien to them. They saw the poverty at home, the depressing living conditions, but in school they learned about communism as an ideal which ^{should} ~~be~~ be followed by them.
- (4 f) At the beginning of the regime, the situation was different, but gradually the new program of study was introduced in order to educate new types of people.
- (4 g) The children are different from those who grew up before communism. They have no careless childhood; communism doesn't want that they

have a childhood and want to make of them adults who think for themselves in the communist sense, without parental influence. Communism wants to make them mature in an early age, but actually they remain immature.

- (4 h) As a result of the new system, the children are disrespectful to parents, to adults, and to the teachers. They have insulting manners, they talk back, and are fresh. Among themselves they are more cooperative and friendly.
- (4 i) If the parents are inclined to communism, it is the most effective between the age 12 to 18. If the parents are anti-Communists, the communist education doesn't leave any effect on the children.
- (5) Respondent's father was an upholsterer, he had his own shop for upholstery and drapery.
- (5 a) Yes, he was employed as a stage worker from 1948 to 1955 and at the theater he did upholstery and drapery, too.
- (5 b) He had a very difficult job insofar as at the age of 57 he had to carry scenery and furniture on the stage. He was very much underpaid, his monthly salary was 630 forints.
- (5 c) He had a number of classes at the gymnasium, but then he learned the trade of upholstery.
- (5 d) No.
- (5 e) No.
- (5 f) She was worse off because there were six children in the family and the father liked to drink and was a very poor provider for the family.

- (5 g) There were eight people in the family, the parents and six children.
- (5 h) One brother died at 16; her mother died at 63 in 1949 and her father died at 63 in 1957. Now she has one brother and three sisters, who all are in New York, except one sister who is still in Hungary.
- (5 i) Respondent lived with her husband, one sister, the father, and two children. The family relations kept them close together.
- (5 k) It did neither help nor hurt her, it was not disadvantageous.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 a) Her husband was a detective inspector during the Horthy-regime. He was employed at the political department and in 1945 the Russians deported him to a slave labor camp in Russia. He was there until 1953 and on his return he could not get any position. But later he became a delivery boy, a truck attendant, and then he learned metal polishing. He was physically and mentally broken when he returned from Russia and couldn't keep permanently any job. He was not gainfully employed, but he helped around the house and cared for the children.
- (6 b) The second time since September 1953.
- (6 c) She has two adopted children, one girl ~~was~~ ten years old and a boy four years old. The girl is the child of her younger sister and the boy is the child of her brother.
- (7) Not applicable.
- (8) They did not talk much about political matters because her husband, who was 45 years old when he returned from Russia, avoided any

political discussion and he displayed a ^ccomplete indifference. But he lived in constant fear and his experience in Russia changed completely his personality.

- (8 a) What they discussed were mainly family affairs.
- (8 b) No.
- (9) None whatever.
- (9 a) They were too small at that time.
- (9 b) They played with the other children in the house.
- (9 c) They were unaffected.
- (9 d) They did not receive religious education, however, they went with the grandfather to church.
- (10) Not at that age in which her children were.
- (11) They got along very well, though the father was not considered a good and loving father, nevertheless his children respected and loved him.
- (12) Yes, with the father. He expressed opinions based on his past experience^{he} had during the first World War and the following occupation by the Rumanians, with the regime of Bela Kun, and then during the Horthy-regime.
- (12 a) Her father's opinion was that the proletarians never could maintain their own government and are unable to set up a solid statesmanship in order to develop successfully a workers' society.
- (13) No.
- (13 a) Respondent considers herself ~~as~~ a self-made person, who chose a career without parental help. First she learned to make leather

articles like belts and handbags, then she learned dressmaking and considers herself a first-class dressmaker; she learned also driving.

- (13 b) They were poor people and had few friends and respondent, too, had difficulties to make friends because she felt she is a poor girl with social ~~difficulties~~ disadvantages.
- (13 c) Were never interested in politics, neither was respondent.
- (13 d) The parents were Roman Catholics. They went frequently to church and were religious.
- (13 e) Her parents were very strict concerning the girls' morality. Mother kept saying it all the time that the poor girl hasn't anything else but her purity and decency and good reputation.
- (14 a) The family was very close, they lived six people in a three-room apartment and she worked in partnership with her sister, operating a dress salon at the apartment. From the earnings of the sisters the family was maintained.
- (14 b) It was so with many other people and quite ~~typical~~ typical.
- (14 c) Respondent had to work for 18 hours and she had no leisure time at all.
- (14 d) .. Nothing in a way of relaxation; they ate and were together all the time.
- (14 e) Since respondent worked at home and her husband and father did not go to work, they were permanently together.
- (14 f) She missed very much cultural opportunities and relaxation. She could never afford them.
- (14 g) She had no leisure time at all, because she had to work in order to provide for the minimum necessities of the family.

- (15) The family ties have loosened.
- (15 a) No, because in many families the personal interests of the members of the family were quite different. Many times they had different views and stood under different influences. So, for instance, ^{some} ~~the~~ acquaintances of respondent get into trouble concerning their marital life. The woman, who previously was a ~~the~~ milliner in a shop, got advanced to a managerial position during communism, and her husband, who previously was a newspaperman, was quite afraid to talk~~s~~ with his wife about politics.
- (15 b) Yes.
- (15 c) In some cases, yes, but it is rather a loosening of the intimacy between children and parents.
- (15 d) It seems to be the same.
- (15 e) Yes, because parents have not so much time today to give their children. Both have to go to work and loose supervision over the children.
- (15 f) Yes, very much so, since to be divorced is no social disadvantage any more. The number of divorces is very large. With the consent of both, they are divorced easily.
- (16) Yes, very much so.
- (16 a) Generally speaking the age of boys when they marry is 20-22 and that of the girls 18-19. A change in the marrying age came insofar that they marry earlier than it was the case before the Communist regime.
- (16 b) Nothing remained of the character of the old courtship pattern: it lost its expectations full of tenderness and respect for each

other. Courtship is not a family and social affair any more, because the young couple makes its own decision, without asking the parents or even introducing the fiancée to the parents and the families. The marriage is a simple office act and religious ceremonies are not held. During the ten years respondent made dresses, it happened only once that a wedding gown was ordered.

(16 c) Respondent disapproves of the present conditions, because courtship and marriage are no sacred milestones in the lives of people any more. They are prosaic affairs and don't offer the beauty and the charm they should ~~IX~~ leave to the young couples as memories for the years ahead.

(16 d) There is a very loose sexual behavior under the pretext of ^{the} equality of women. The men's demands and the women's willingness hasn't the old social barriers and a simple acquaintanceship at the street ball and dance may offer an occasion for intimacies. This is the case especially in the lower strata of the population, to which the regime offered a certain social elevation and introduced the loose sexual behavior. The emphasis on freedom and equality of the sexes changed the views and the practices in sexual life, but respondent believes this is the case only in the lower groups of the population.

(16 e) The ~~public houses~~ ^{brothels} were abolished. Yet, there is still a secret prostitution of ~~women not under surveillance~~ ^{women not under surveillance} who ~~formally have~~ ^{formally have} a "munkaigazolvány," a work permit in some other field of employment, but in fact, they are engaged in a lucrative trade.

- (16 f) They were less strict, because they not only preach sexual freedom, but condone it and support it through encouraging illegitimate children.
- (16 g) So far as abortions go, the regime strictly punished the doctors and the women alike. In 1949 a great many women, 50 years of age, could be seen pregnant, however, since about a year ago, abortions in certain cases were permitted. If a woman had already three small children, or her financial conditions were poor, or other circumstances warranted, birth control permission could be obtained. Respondent knows a case where a young unmarried girl, too young to bear a child, was permitted the operation.
- (16 h) The attitude toward illegitimate children has changed insofar that neither the mother nor the child are frowned upon. There are a great many illegitimate children and they are a real problem to the authorities, especially when there are mothers who have many illegitimate children from different fathers. There were many posters signs glorifying illegitimate children and unmarried mothers, but for about two years they cannot be seen any more, they were removed.
- (16 i) The status of women is the worst someone can imagine. Their lives became very difficult because they have to carry a double burden. They have to go to work for 8 hours and they have to do their homemaking for 8 hours, and every woman who cares a little bit for her family is a slave, working for 16 hours a day. The women are

in the heavy industry, truck drivers, etc. One reason of ~~many~~ men's infidelity is the women's overwork and tiredness which prevents them to give attention to their appearance and to be attractive to their husbands.

- (17) The general state of morals deteriorated very much.
- (17 a) Concerning marriage morals, respondent knows a case of a couple who lived in the house where she lived. The man was about 32, a salesclerk, and the woman was about 28, employed as a stenographer. They were married for four years and both went their own ways, each having a lover. When they married the widower father of the girl turned over his apartment to the young couple and went as a subtenant in another apartment of the house. The old man saw ~~this~~ ^{this} unusual situation, but they ignored his protests.
- (17 b) Stealing is a national phenomenon. There are current proverbs, sayings that come from the lips of everybody: "Tied a gyar, ~~many~~ magadnak delgozol." (The factory is yours, you work for yourself!) The answer to this invitation is: "Kivettem a részemet!" (I took out my share.)
- (17 c) Bribery is very common. Advantages can be gained at every office, communal or state. Respondent was a member of KIOSZ (Kisiparosok Országos Szövetsége: National Association of Artisans) and every time when she wanted some favor she could get it for a ^couple of forints. At the office of Internal Revenue, the case was the same.
- (17 d) Respondent never ~~heard~~ ^{heard} or read the word "hooliganism."
- (18) Respondent had a very good friend whom she knew for about ten years

and their first meeting took place at the market hall.

- (18 a) She sold vegetables and fruit at the market hall.
- (18 b) The woman was about 50 and the man about 46 and the social background was about the same.
- (18 c) They ~~like~~ got together for suppers, for conversations, for playing cards, and both men were enthusiastic about soccer and went to watch soccer matches together.
- (18 d,e) No.
- (18 f) Yes, they went to Yugoslavia and they still write to each other.
- (18 g) Mutual understanding, mutual interests, and sympathy for each other.
- (18 h) It was not easy to make friends because she could not offer them much. She had no influence or connections, and she couldn't afford to invite people for dinner.
- (18 i) She had no friends, she had no time to maintain friendships and then people had not much confidence in each other.
- (18 j) To have a friend meant to be able to rely on him in good as well as in bad times and to know that what he does he does not do for material interests.
- (18 k) Yes, if she would ~~see~~^{know} that he became a Communist, she would hate him and avoid him.
- (18 l) They all were non-Communists.
- (19) Roman Catholic.
- (19 a) They all were Roman Catholics and had the same attitude.
- (19 b) Respondent believes there is a great need for religion, children must have a religious education, especially must they learn to

respect their fellow men. She believes, however, that there are many formalities and empty ceremonies in the Roman Catholic religion and she feels somehow much more attracted to the simple Protestant religious services. There are other things which she never liked and she harbors no affection for them, especially concerning ceremonies.

- (20) Yes, it had.
- (20 a) Yes, because the Communist were anti-religious and they persecuted everything what was clerical.
- (20 b) They wanted to win the people for Communism through the pulpits. She believes that in this field the Communist theory and practice differed very greatly. They saw that they are unable to stamp out religion and then wanted to compromise. They tolerated religion, but wanted to use it for their own ends.
- (20 c) The peace priests compromised because they were afraid to be put into the prisons and did not preach that what they meant, but what they were forced to preach.
- (20 d) The clerics were persecuted. The Catholics perhaps more than the Protestants and the Jews.
- (20 e) The Party wanted to oppress the clerical & feelings of the people. The pressure, however, was less after the removal of Rakosi and then people started to go more and more into churches.
- (20 f) Yes.
- (20 g) Whatever was the cause, people were afraid to loose their jobs.

They knew that they were controlled and it was an endangering fact to be considered as a religious person, ~~going~~ ^{going} regularly to church.

- (20 h) No. She had not enough time to go to church.
- (20 i) Elderly ladies went most frequently to church, because they are more religious and emotional than men are, who have to face the hard realities of life.
- (20 j 1) Basically not, because the Communists are equally antireligious ~~even~~ concerning all the faiths.
- (20 j 2) Very well, there were no quarrels about belonging to one or another church or denomination.
- (20 k) Religion does not mean anything to ^{young} people, because they haven't the faintest idea of it. If ~~the~~ ^{they} know anything of religion, it is only what they hear at their homes. If they are inclined to it, they may go with their parents to church if the parents go, but if they don't want to go, they refuse it without hesitation.
- (20 l) Respondent believes that religion was before the Communists came a very superficial custom, because only habit and conformity moved people to go to church and 90 percent of the churchgoers were not religious at all. She doesn't believe that people participated in the Revolution because their religious feelings were hurt and hardly became someone a revolutionary because he couldn't go to church.
- (20 m) Religious education in the schools was completely abolished and if children wanted to learn something of religion they had to go to classes maintained at the church. And even there, there were no

regular classes with textbooks, because few children went there and textbooks on religion were not published any more. At the occasion of confirmation of respondent's little girl, she had to go for a couple of hours to the church to be prepared for confirmation. There ~~are~~^{are} no ways and means to teach children systematically about religion. They pick up something what they hear at home or at the church when they go to services, and so the influence of religion on children is practically reduced to a minimum.

- (21) Only an industrial occupation, if he is a man he would recommend ~~to~~^{his} to become an engineer.
- (21a) Because this is a field with the most opportunity^{ies} and even the Communists need it so much that they are more tolerant to engineers.
- (21b) He should learn his field thoroughly to become a specialist.
- (21c) In all occupations including engineering the children of those have the best chances to advance who have a good ~~leader~~ cadre.
- (22) The leading Communists in Party and governmental offices are best off, they embody a new aristocracy. The worst off is the middle class, and also the kulaks.
- (22a) She was an independent dress-maker and belonged to the middle class.
- (22b) She was contented with the status ~~which~~ she ~~had~~ had as a dress-maker since this wasn't the ~~worst~~^{worst}, though it wasn't better than the conditions of people belonging to other groups opposing the Communist system.

- (22c) The leading athletes were stars: they enjoyed a large ~~income~~ ^{income} since they had only nominally certain jobs and received their income from other sources. One of her friends ~~was~~ was a tennis champion who was in public service with the City of Budapest, but in addition to that he received a license to operate a coffee espresso, which meant an income many times larger than his salary as a clerk. He was sent to participate in foreign competitions and when he returned he ^{with} imported articles which were not available in Budapest, ~~and~~ he sold them. He imported nylons, leatherware, and respondent bought from him a German pinpoint pen for 70 forints.
- (22d) Some artists were very well off, but the large majority received its income according to the tariff due to artists. There were a number of stars and so, for instance, one comedian, Arpad Latabár, received thirty thousand forints ^{circus.} each day when he appeared in the City ~~circuses.~~ In a secondary role he played a clown and wasn't more than four or five minutes on the stage.
- (23) There exists a Communist aristocracy; the old middle class; the workers; and the peasants.
- (23a) These are accepted classifications in current speech and writing.
- (23b) Yes, it is a significant change. There was a shifting process insofar that the upper ten thousand merged with the middle class; a group of the intellectuals ^{merged} ~~merged~~ with the workers, and

others accepted positions collaborating as high employees of Communist enterprises. Among them are some who do not care about the political system and work as specialists and even are considered as Stakhanovists.

- (23 c) Such a leveling-off process might have been good for a great many people who had to learn how to work and make a living by their own effort. There were quite many people in Hungary who ~~had~~ never did any kind of productive work, but made an excellent living.
- (23 d) The old Hungarian class barriers did not disappear. Somehow people are inclined to think in terms of positions they occupy. There is one very unpleasant group of people, those who emerged from the lowest status and became leading figures, or at least have reached higher positions. They do not hesitate to show their power and to exercise it in a very mean way. The equality the Communists preach is only on paper. Actually, the character of people did change in no way. Only the individuals and the positions had changed and the inclination of people remained just the same.
- (23 e) See answer to Q. 23 d.
- (23 f) It is certainly bad, but unfortunately this is the way how people are.
- (23 g) Generally speaking, there is a change for the worse: caused by fear and apprehension, agitated and irritated by the bad living conditions, people cannot stand the stress and strain, they are easily excitable, intolerant, nervous, at the

expense of politeness and good manners. There are, of course, exceptions. But generally the ~~KKK~~ atmosphere is ^{rather} charged with explosive elements and people loose their nerves very easily. If someone goes to a restaurant, for example, the waiter would not be cordial and please the guests, but rather he lets them sit for half an hour or even longer before he comes to the table. He would ~~never~~ neither apologize nor give any explanation. In the state stores, similarly, the employees are careless and uninterested and in no way courteous.

- (24) Perhaps the Svabs suffered the most as a group, because they were deported to Germany, having left all their properties in Hungary, without taking with them more than they carried on their bodies. The probable reason was their collaboration with the Germans and their chauvinistic attitude during the long period the Svabish generations lived in Hungary.
- (24 a) Not as a group; the Communists cooperated ^{with} and accepted ~~never~~ anybody, regardless of what minority group he comes from, if he submitted to them.
- (25) At the outset of the Communist regime, most of the Jews submitted to the Communist regime.
- (25 a) Many of them were only nominally Communists and joined the party, though everybody knew that it would be impossible for ~~them~~ ^{to} be a genuine Communist, because ~~he~~ ^{they} had ~~a~~ leading positions before. Since this was the only way for them to keep alive, they took positions in the party, in the government, and in

industry.

- (25 b) Many were in the government and in the party, but non-Jews were there too. Among the leaders were many Jews, or rather convinced Communists of Jewish origin.
- (25 c) Respondent had several Jewish acquaintances. One of them was a man, previously an executive of an industrial firm; he had a family and had to join the party, but after a short time he was excluded from the party and had to take a job as an unskilled worker. She knew another couple, where the husband was department head in a bank. He got a directorial job from the Communists and he was very popular and beloved by his co-workers, so much that he was elected in the revolutionary council during the Revolt. Respondent received a short while ago a letter from which she learned that this man, about 50 years old, received a passport for himself, his wife, and his son to emigrate to Australia.
- (25 d) Exactly the same way as the non-Jews. Respondent had a friend, a young fellow about 30 years old, who was the first on the barricades and the last who fled Hungary after the unsuccessful Revolt. She met him as a refugee in Austria.
- (25 e) There was no anti-Semitism in Hungary; during the Revolution, however, people said and talked about it that in the Russian tanks were AVO officers together with the Russian soldiers and these AVO officers were Jews.

- (25 f) The Jewish persecutions were soon forgotten after the defeat of the Germans. There was not any more any talk of the so-called Jewish problem.
- (25 g) At the beginning of the Communist regime, there was an anti-Semitism, but gradually people got convinced that this is not the real problem and the problems lie in more important conditions than the question who is a Jew or not.
- (25 h) The Jews have no security and future in Hungary as much as other people and they are anxious to emigrate
- Respondent received news from Budapest that three of her acquaintances received a passport to emigrate. One family will be going to Israel, another to England, and the third to Australia. They all had jobs before the Revolution, some better jobs than the average, but still they are eager to leave. As to their age group, they are average, around 50 and older.

- (1) Never. Because politics are "a legendabb!" the ugliest in the world.
- (1 a) Had no importance whatever.
- (1 b) Her aversion of politics was unchanged through all the periods.
- (1 c) Never.
- (2) She was unable to believe in any party program or political system.
- (2 a) With none.
- (2 b) No.
- (2 c) She was always anti-Communist, from the very beginning, because she felt that communism had no reason of existence and actually it deprives the population of their human rights and of making a living at all.
- (2 d) She did not know too much about it, but had no confidence in a party with such a program.
- (2 e) Her actual experience with the Communists at the beginning of the regime.
- (2 f) (i) and (ii) is her case. To (iv) her remark is that the only thing which could be said in favor of the regime is that it gave the opportunity for study to children of poor parents, it sent people to summer resorts who could never dream of going to the Balaton. And that workers and people in low income were able to go to the Opera House and to ~~the~~ other more refined entertainments, while prior^{to} the regime this was outright

impossible.

- (2 g) Many people acknowledged the fact that the Communist regime did offer educational and cultural opportunities to people who were completely excluded from such privileges, but they felt the extremely high price they had to pay for them. Non-Communists acknowledged the advisability and the necessity of raising the underprivileged groups, and these were people who were against the general poverty which prevailed in Hungary.
- (2 h) The only reason was that people were terrorized and frightened.
- (2 i) People were compelled to think in terms of the cadre. The fact that the loyalty dossiers exist and ^{that} their function in the Communist society is of decisive importance, made people aware of the importance of the cadre, and the Communists succeeded most effectively to keep people in line through the cadre. Only people with a satisfactory cadre could get some advantages, as, for instance, being sent into a summer resort or making progress in their jobs. As an instance, respondent wishes to mention that when the Hungarian soccer team went to Prague and for Hungarian fans special trains were organized to accompany the Hungarian team, her husband was not allowed to go to Prague with the Hungarian group because he had a bad cadre. By the way, the price of the trip was 1200 forints for four days, but there was a considerable business attached to the affair, insofar as the ~~EM~~ participants, having returned to Hungary, were able to bring in valuable articles from Czechoslovakia, such as

shirts, nylon, leatherware, textiles, and could make so much by selling them that they paid off their travel expenses.

- (3) The control of the smallest details, the terror, and the compulsion to do things which the regime ~~prescribed~~ prescribed.
- (3 a) Inadequate housing, inadequate food, and overwork.
- (3 b) (ii), (viii), (iv)
- (3 c) (x)
- (3 d) (xiv)
- (3 e) (xv)
- (3 f) One felt them permanently. As, for example, to stand for two or three hours to get meat or eggs and then so many people have to live in a small apartment, and furthermore, one felt it constantly how ruinous it was to pay 9000 forints for an apartment as respondent had to do in 1949.
- (3 g) Yes, openly, with friends, and it was a subject of discussion all the time during the Communist regime. Such numerous grievances add up to a style of life which is unbearable. The lodging conditions and the purchase of food were the great immediate problems in life.
- (3 h) There was little to do about them. There were just no apartments available, the shortage was great because the Communist Party took over a very large number of apartments for offices and many factories took over apartments, which were used as cultural centers. Then, the Communists brought to Budapest a great many

of their reliable people and gave them apartments at the expense of those who were born or lived in Budapest.

- (3 1) To a woman the most nerve-shaking experience was to stand in line for many hours and then to learn that everything is sold out and nothing is available.
- (3 ³/₈) The only relief and satisfaction respondent had was her going into the Opera House three or four times a month.
- (4) The Communist Party.
- (4 a) The members of the party had in their hands all key positions without exception, and so it went down the line to the bottom.
- (4 b) Members of the Council of Ministers were without exception members of the Communist Party. The will and the program of the party was executed ^{by} the Council of Ministers and there was a difference between them only by name.
- (4 c) In the last analysis, the Hungarian Government was run by the Russians.
- (4 d) The Parliament had formal existence, NK insofar that its members had to vote on matters the government submitted to Parliament after the Communist Party had approved them.
- (4 e) Elections were held only to deceive the people and foreign countries: To keep some semblance of democracy. Elections were staged, NK employing methods of misrepresentation and falsification. The attributes of a democracy, free elections were no elections at all and they were free, even less.

- (4 f) The bureaucracy was greater than prior to the Communist regime because everything was controlled and the number of controllers was immense. There was a tiresome and sickening administrative procedure and to receive official approvals took a very long time.
- (4 g) Graft was widespread; everybody could be bribed. In high, as well as in low positions, people did favors for money. Even the newspapers brought articles of bribery and not only of little fellows but of high party functionaries.
- (4 h) The Communists had trained and educated for themselves through party schools a number of people for government service. They were all kinds of people in whom the Communists had confidence, workers, peasants, intellectuals, and even those who had difficulties to read and to write. The Cabinet member, Marosan, who became a leading figure after the Revolution, was originally a baker and when respondent attended a fashion show, Mr. MAROSAN was its sponsor and he presided over the MAROSAN show's gala opening.
- (4 i) Only people with an excellent cadre and of worker or peasant origin. They were able to make a good living because their salaries were sufficient and apartments were made available to them.
- (4 j) They were workers of a natural intelligence, able to learn on the job and to take responsibilities.
- (5) Belonging to the DISZ meant certain advantages which the young people liked, as, for instance, sports, trips, entertainments, etc.

- (5 a) Not apparent ones.
- (5 b) Not directly, but indirectly pressures were exerted on young people, but actually it added ~~XX~~ up to a compulsory association.
- (5 c) Most young people, almost everybody joined the DISZ and there were hardly any individual young men or women who did not join.
- (5 d) No.
- (5 i) No, because respondent was overage.
- (5 j) Not to her knowledge, but for other young people it meant some advantages.
- (5 k) The DISZ was run by the Communist Party, ~~XX~~ it was an auxiliary of it. A well-known slogan was: "A párt aranytartaléka a DISZ." (The DISZ is the gold reserve of the Party.)
- (6) Party membership tied down people very much. It meant to show good example, as a Communist and as a human being.
- (6 a) All those who wanted to make a living and get a job.
- (6 b) The convinced Communists were eager to become a member, however, some people were forced to join the party, as, for instance, a good worker whom they then used as a good example of ~~XX~~ Communist interest and success.
- (6 c) The rights are to vote in party meetings, to criticize within the party limits, and to boast ~~the~~ party membership. The duties were to pay ~~X~~ the monthly dues, ~~to~~ organize and to propagandize communism and to conduct an exemplary family and private life.
- (6 d) Yes, they were people who joined for material interests, and almost all joined for this only one reason. ~~THESE~~ ^{It} was not possible

to get or to hold a job without being a member of the party.

- (6 e) Two ^{me} recommendations of party members were needed to be admitted to the party, or someone had to be a very good worker to be admitted, and his cadre had to be excellent. The fact that someone was a party member affected his advancement, and, of course, there were people who ~~are~~ ^{let} it feel with non-party members that they are superior to them.
- (6 f) Most of the Communists were disappointed in communism because they had a very different notion of communism and they certainly did not expect to get that what they received.
- (6 g) In the last three years, when the pressure eased, experts and trained workers could find their way a little bit easier, because the Communists themselves knew that they will become completely bankrupt if they have to rely only on their party members. But in high positions, only Communist party members could survive.
- (6 h) No, never.
- (6 p) Yes, if she had been employed in a job, but as an independent dressmaker she could never have been admitted.
- (6 q) No.
- (6 r) Rakosi and Gero.
- (6 s) They were the henchmen of the Russians and in every case convinced Communists who suffered for their conviction ^{before 1945.} They lived in luxury and did not share the deprivation of the great masses. Rakosi, for instance, had three villas in Budapest, ~~though~~ though

he would have sufficient space in only one, but it was well known that he did not feel secure for his life and he changed from day to day his residence. Nobody knew in what villa he can be found.

- (6 t) They ~~all~~ ^{changes} were ~~in~~ ^{within} the same ~~ideology~~ ^{ideology} ... some ^{leaders} were ready for more or less concessions, showed more or less common sense, but they ^{always} were puppets of the Russians. Within the Communist Party were groups and the power shifted from group to group, led by one, ^{of a particular group.} outstanding leader. After the Twentieth Congress the guards changed from time to time, rather from day to day, but the last decision about the power within the Hungarian party lay with the Russians.
- (7) Yes, to the KIOSZ, Kisiparosok Orszagos Szovetsége, the Small Artisans' National Association.
- (7 a) There were small tradesmen, including tailors, dressmakers, who worked for themselves and had a license for it.
- (7 b) Respondent is not sure of the number of members, but she knows+ its membership was large.
- (7 c) To unite the artisans. There was a distribution of sewing material, they arranged the fashion shows, regulated prices insofar that ^{was} there ~~was~~ first and second class finishing.
- (7 d) X It was compulsory to join the KIOSZ and to pay a monthly due. The KIOSZ ~~was~~ controlled the small tradesman, collected sale tax. It had an official status, but did not offer any kind of

help in order to maintain business.

- (7 e) There was nothing particular to do as a member, only to keep the regulations prescribed for those who had a license to be independent artisans.
- (7 f) It did not affect respondent in any way; it did not mean advantages or disadvantages.
- (7 g) Generally, people were disgusted of mass organization because they felt their burden. Everyone was a member of one or several organizations, which were more or less compulsory, ~~and~~ though no personal interest was attached to them.
- (7 h) There was no personal relationship among the members.
- (7 i) They were trained tailors and dressmakers and other artisans. It was a purely trade association, with no social sidelines or political implications.
- (7 j) No.
- (7 k) Respondent does not know about that, because occasionally some controllers or supervisors came to her in order to find out things about her business or conditions in her workshop.
- (7 l) Each of them kept busy with some of its specialty, but ⁱⁿ general ~~the~~ the people were annoyed by them and felt that they are superfluous.
- (7 m) Workers were interested in real trade unions, but did not consider the Communist trade unions as genuine unions. They had little advantage of them, unless the occasional sending off of a few members into the resorts and sanatoriums is to be considered

a trade union function.

- (8) Certainly not more than 30 percent of the members of the Hungarian Communist Party were convinced Communists.
- (9) First of all they were against the Russian oppression, and then they could not stand any more the Communist nonsense. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Instinctively against too much regimentation, the youth groups were the first and the most enduring fighters against suppression.
- (10) Everybody felt it that there is no security assured by the state and the police. There was no legal procedure^r and any ~~XXXX~~ functionary could bring to the authorities anyone whom he did not like. The prevailing laws were ~~XXXX~~ against common sense. There was not anybody who could not have been charged with some trespassing of law or being an ~~XX~~ enemy of the state. A malevolent denunciation was sufficient to be taken into custody by the AVO or the police.
- (10 a) Everybody felt this depressing atmosphere without having had to suffer^{from} it by some agency of the state, on his own body.
- (10 ^b ~~a~~) It was formed for the security of the Communist state and for keeping it functioning ~~at~~ at any price. No human life was spared in carrying out this function of the AVO.
- (10 c) No.
- (10 d) The AVO had informers everywhere, in every shop and factory. They employed the most barbaric methods to make people confess sins which they never committed. Many people used for their

personal advantage the power of the AVO. Respondent had a personal experience in this matter. She was arrested in 1951 by the AVO, allegedly for having no license for a dressmaking salon. She was ~~then~~ denounced by somebody who put his eyes on her apartment. The AVO kept her for two days, though she insisted that she had a trade certificate which was not falsified by her but was a legal document. After two days she was released because she insisted on the verification of the license. When she was released, an article in the papers appeared that she and her sister, two "nyilas" (Nazi) women were sent to an internment camp on account of falsifying a trade license. In such cases some Communists are entitled to request the apartment of people who were interned. As soon as she was carried off by the AVO, one man appeared and wanted her apartment. Seemingly he was part of the scheme, including the AVO, to deprive her of her apartment.

(10 ^e d)

She would not know it.

(10 f)

They were dependable workers, peasants, intellectuals, in the age group from 18 to 50. They were 100 percent Communists, and as to their religious background, they belonged to all religious groups.

(10 g)

Respondent knows that the officers had a monthly salary of 8-10,000 forints, they had good apartments and they made a good living.

- (10 h) Probably they had informers among themselves, too. Rajk organized the AVO and it is a fact that he himself was a victim of the AVO.
- (10 i) The AVO was in charge of investigating everything concerning the security of the state. And the secret informers they employed were particularly interested in political attitudes of the common people.
- (10 j) Both cooperated with each other. The AVO was political and the police was concerned rather with criminal acts like stealing or burglary. But it happened that people got in trouble with the police for purely political reasons.
- (10 k) The party had more authority, because the AVO was subordinated to the party and was an enforcing arm of the party.
- (10 l) None.
- (11) Yes, several.
- (11 a) A former police lieutenant wanted to desert to Austria. The AVO captured him near Sopron and for six months he suffered many times bloody beatings. For a full month he was in bandages and then kept for further nine months. Upon his release he got a job as a delivery man, but was later reported to Mezőberény, where he worked in the state agricultural institute. He was there as agricultural laborer for two years. No charges were made against him and no trial took place.
- (11 b) Among her friends there was a jeweler who was arrested in 1952 and sent for two years to work in the coal mines of Hungary near Pécs.

The charge against him was that he kept jewels which he had to deliver to the authorities when legislation to this effect came out.

Another friend of her was a dancer, sentenced in 1950 to three years and seven months of prison. He worked in jail as a shoemaker's help. He was charged with smuggling human cargo to Austria, though the fact was that he gave a ride to his friend.

(11 c) Yes, respondent has seen the above-mentioned police lieutenant heavily bandaged over his whole body. He was terribly beaten and tortured, his arms and feet bound, he was beaten on his legs, back, and soles.

(11 d) All sorts of people whom they considered enemies of the system or the state, like the kulaks, the intellectuals, and people who were formerly in high positions and owned property. Through their arrest they attempted to win them over and make of them informers. The Communists gave particular attention to people whom they knew to have drive and vitality, because they needed such elements. They charged them with impossible and unbelievable violations, but in reality they did not do anything in the world. Through humiliation and physical abuse, they achieved many times that what they wanted: untrue confessions.

(11 e) She did not hear anything of that sort.

(11 f) It was not possible to get in touch with people held by the AVO. When the case was with the District Attorney, only a lawyer was able to learn about the charge, but he could not always see

the defendant. After having been sentenced and brought to jail, the prisoner could have visitors once a month, two people for ten minutes.

- (11 g) Yes, in Budapest at the beginning was the Marko-utca prison. Later on there were several concentration and forced labor camps in the country. Respondent did not visit them, but she was visiting a friend at the Marko-utca prison, where she brought him the so-called "tisztasági csomag," underwear, toothbrush, etc., and then some food and cigarettes. Yet, this ^{prison} discontinued after 1950.
- (11hk) The political prisoners were deported to Russia and then nobody heard of them for many years. There came no news from them, but later after years when some returned, the people ~~XX~~ learned the horror stories.
- (12) Respondent was arrested just for 24 hours, as mentioned before, but was released, and ever since she had no experience of arrested people.
- (XX 12 a,b) Already answered.
- (12 c-u) Not applicable.
- (13) It was impossible to avoid trouble with the secret police, not even if someone kept ~~XXXX~~, for an anonymous denunciation was sufficient to be carried off by the secret police.
- (13 a) There are no safe professions whatever, since anybody can be charged with alleged failures or sabotage, as, for instance, the worker who may spoil some material, or an accountant who

may make some error in the books.

- (13 b) Yes.
- (13 c) Very much so, with people who have connections to high government or party officials.
- (13 d) A good class background is necessary, and this was checked and rechecked many times. It was impossible to conceal an unfavorable class background. People had to write every time when they applied for a new job their curriculum vitae in their own handwriting in several copies and these copies were sent to different offices which investigated the applicant. There ~~was~~ were all these good Communists who reported to the authorities if someone concealed his background.
- (13 e) Everything could be bought for money, goods as well as people. In addition to the high officials, there were some people who made money on the black market.
- (13 f) It was possible, but one never knew when some denunciation could have been made against him.
- (13 g) She does not believe so.
- (14) Yes, there were periods when mass arrests took place, and also the methods ~~of~~ ^{of} dealing with arrested people changed. They were cruel from the beginning, but later on they continued to be even worse.
- (14 a) Yes, in 1950, mass deportation from Budapest took place; they brought the people to the country for work; when Rajk was arrested

a number of party members were taken into custody and charged as the enemies of the Rakosi-regime. It was a kind of mass arrests.

- (14 b) Yes, with the advent of Imre Nagy. The conditions were much milder as ^{to} the control in every detail of human life.
- (14 c) It was a purge in the party, new cliques took over, and with the removal of Rakosi, other leading Communists disappeared from the scene.
- (15) Russia was all-important in Hungary, because Hungary was a Russian colony.
- (15 a)b) She does not know them.
- (15 c) There was not a Hungarian air any more in Budapest and the people felt suffocated, in Russian culture, the theater, the movies, the language, the literature; they took an all-exclusive place. Everything Hungarian was suppressed, the music, the books, and they did not want to leave any trace of Western influence. The best residential sections were taken over by the Russians, so was the upper Andrássy-ut with the many villas; the Benczur-utca, the Danube boulevard of Budapest ~~was~~ reserved for the Russians. These were Russian sections, banned for Hungarians.
- (15 d) No.
- (15 e) In the heavy industry the influence was absolute, but this was actually forced for imports to Russia. The influence was least

in culture, because the Hungarians just did not swallow the Russian culture and remained loyal to their own language, art, and music.

- (15 f) All government agencies and it was just funny to see how the Russians sent to Hungary doctors, especially surgeons, to teach their medical methods. They went so far that they sent not only engineers but bricklayers and masons to teach Hungarians how to build in accordance with their new methods. They had shown a film on how to build a house, especially how to lay the bricks, and it was the laugh of the town when it became known that this was an American film presented as a Russian production in 1954. They brought fashion models to Budapest and offered them as superb beauty in dressmaking, though they were tasteless and provincial compared with Budapest's Parisian taste.
- (16) People concealed their true feelings.
- (16 a) Fear is the only reason.
- (16 b) Perhaps the most characteristic example would be the confession made to her by an instructor of Communist party history. He said to her that he knows, ~~and~~ everything he teaches is highly questionable and everything should be very different of the currently existing conditions. She heard of another instructor, a young lady, who ~~she~~ went insane in her own confusion. ^Q With
- (16 c) no one in the world, except the very close relatives or friends, since the proverb "meg a falnak is füle van" (even the walls have ears), was never so true in Hungarian history than it was

during the Communist regime.

- (16 d) Respondent never spoke about politics and the subjects of discussion were only theater, clothing, and family affairs.
- (16 e) Never.
- (17) Not that she knows of.
- (17 a) She never did it or tried to do it.
- (17 b) He cannot, because the control is too strict and involved.
- (17 c) She does not believe it. Transfers come in the form of an order and it is explained with higher party interests.
- ~~xxx~~
- (17 d) It would be hardly possible, because a worker cannot leave his job at his discretion. He needs the consent of the employer and if he leaves the job, this will be marked in his workbook with the words "hozzajárulás nélkül távozott," (Left without ^{which meant} consent") ~~that~~ that he could ~~not~~ never get a job anywhere else. ~~His~~ His workbook can be marked with "önként távozott," this indicated that he left the job voluntarily and it was equal to a disciplinary removal from the job. To any employer it was forbidden to hire people who had this mark in their workbook.
- (17 e) This is absolutely impossible, since he is a class alien, and there is no place for such young people in Communist Hungary.
- (18 a) The only cohesive force was the terror.
- (18 b) The primary disruptive force was ~~that~~ the regime's ^{inability} ~~inability~~ to provide the bare minimum of existence, and secondarily that it

was patterned in the image of a hated foreign power. The resulting discontent could be overcome only by a total change or complete abolition of the regime.

- (19) First of all, the people complained among themselves and then some secret plottings took place.
- (19 a) The complaints were very carefully expressed, but that there were smaller and larger conspiracies became known through the papers and through the radio. The court procedures were described in the papers and transmitted through the radio. These were probably publicized as show cases, and there must have been a great many minor and unrevealed cases committed by peasants and priests.
- (19 b) The middle class, because this was completely ruined.
- (19 c) The Communists, especially those who had risen from the lowest status and were blown up as important members of the new society. They usurped power and enjoyed the fruits of it.
- (19 d) In the wake of Imre Nagy's government, people did calm down and became hopeful, and the opposition did rather decrease.
- (19 e) The sentiment fluctuated because things ran dramatically and the thermometer of hope jumped and fell from day to day. As people get used to that, the opposition to the regime gets stronger.
- (19 f) The opposition was psychological and not physical; no organized groups could rise or prevail.

- (19 g) No.
- (19 h) No, only that what the papers published. Seemingly there must have been riots in the army, because some military were removed and others punished.
- (19 i) Yes, the Petöfi Circle became known and its prohibition in Szeged was publicized.
- (19 j) Insofar as the writers published some articles which were critical, and open discussions were held on subjects which were indirectly a sort of attack on the government.
- (19 k) Very few people were eager to kill themselves in their jobs and some did not conceal their attitude. The papers published stories on sabotage or slow-downs in large factories.
- (19 l) After the Twentieth Congress, people took courage and spoke up freely, though not revoltingly. The intellectuals and the students, as bearers of the Hungarian culture, stood up as the spokesmen of the nation, clamoring for free speech and human rights.
- (19 m) Respondent has no intimate knowledge of that.

- (1) Through the foreign radios.
- (1 a) Free Europe and the Voice of America.
- (1 b) None came close to these two.
- (2) Yes.
- (2 a) Szabad Nép, Nők Lapja, Ludas Matyi, Béka és Szabadnag.
- (2 b) Quite regularly, because she was a subscriber to them.
- (2 c) There wasn't anything else to read.
- (2 d) Nothing particular, as papers or magazines they were uninteresting.
- (2 e) No, in their apartment house there was no wall paper, because of lack of interest in it.
- (2 f) The wall papers elsewhere displayed ~~through~~ local news from within the small circle where the wall paper was displayed and also clippings from published papers.
- (2 g) She saw the Pravda, but did not read it, and then she received from friends who lived in foreign countries Harper's Bazaar and the Vogue.
- (2 h) Harper's Bazaar and Vogue were of special interest to her and she received them regularly.
- (2 i) As a dressmaker she was particularly interested in fashion, but could not use them professionally, because the featured styles appeared as fancy to the Hungarian way of dressing.
- (2 j) Never.
- (3) Yes, about three times a year.
- (3 a) Respondent avoided any Russian films because they were pure propaganda or self-glorification. She ~~is~~ particularly hated

the gestures and the mimics of the Russian actors.

- (3 b) She would have liked to see entertaining films or those with a sensible story.
- (3 c) Yes.
- (3 d) When the Communists found out that the Russian films have no attraction to the Hungarian public, they permitted the import of other films, especially French and Italian films. Of the French films she saw "Félelem bére," "Királylány a feleségem," and "Vörös és fekete." Of the Italian films, "Római leány," and of the Hungarian films "Dollár papa," "Hinton járó szerelem," and one or two other Hungarian comedies which were shown in the last years as well as these above-mentioned foreign films.
- (3 e) Yes, but much more to the Opera House.
- (3 f) She went five or six times in the season to the theater and four or five times every month to the Opera House. At the theater, the Madách Színház, she saw ~~the~~ "Pygmalion," "Királyasszony lovagja," "Néma levente," and at the National Theater "Richard III." At the Opera House, she heard the "Barber of Seville" and the Nibelungen Ring, and the ballet "Kőből faragott királyfi" by Kodaly. The only Russian performance she attended was the ballet "Paris lángjai" and she was very much impressed by it.
- (4) Not during Communism, because she had no time for reading any books.
- (4 a) None.

- (4 b,c) Don't apply.
- (4 d) She had no opportunity to read books, but she knows that only Russian, Czechoslovakian, and Polish Communist authors were available. Years ago she started to read the highly praised Russian novel "Csendes Don," but she got so disgusted of it that she threw the book away.
- (4 e) She liked to read very much and her favorite writers were Cronin, John *Klinger* (?), Paul Gerald, Denső Szabó, Zsigmond Moricz, and among the poets she liked the most József Kiss. She ~~likes~~ appreciated good stories with well-characterized heroes in them.
- (4 f) None.
- (4 g) There were only books of Communists or Communist-sympathizing authors; the others were on index. Upton Sinclair was available from the libraries. Her favorite writers, especially the foreigners, were not represented in libraries; even the prominent Hungarian authors, well known before the Communist regime, were not reprinted, even those of a liberal leaning.
- (5) Yes.
- (5 b) She owned two radios: the Phillips radio-grammophone combination and the short and longwave Phillips.
- (5 d) The radio played all ~~the~~ day while she was working, but she was particularly interested in music, classical, operatic, and light music. Gypsy music was not permitted, especially the popular melodies of sad sentimentality, because the Communists claimed

that in a people's democracy there is no sadness of the Gypsy brand. So, for instance, she had never heard the popular tune "Hullánzik a búzatenger, de kevés a boldog ember."

- (5 e) The whole day during work.
- (5 f) At her apartment where she worked.
- (6) Yes.
- (6 a) To the BBC and the Voice of America and Free Europe. They supplied the information they wanted to have. Sometimes she listened to the musical programs of the BBC, which she could tune in around 10 o'clock in the evening. The foreign stations were of particular interest to her.
- (6 b) The news of the foreign stations were broadcast in the evening and they could be heard better at that time. The Voice of America and Free Europe were jammed, but even so, when they eagerly waited for the ^{news} ~~reported~~ events, they listened to these stations.
- (6 c) Although they were not equally appreciated, they liked the foreign stations.
- (6 d) The BBC had broadcasts ~~of~~ ^{for} about 5 or 6 minutes of news; they were factual, objective, and no comments accompanied the news.

The Voice of America was not so objective than the BBC and they apprehended propaganda in their news service.

Free Europe was extremely propagandistic and its feature

"A fekete hang" (The Black Voice) created suspense on account of its naming alleged informers in villages all over the country. They supplied names, places, and occasions where and when these subjects of the Black Voice committed their crimes against the people.

- (6 e) Generally, everybody listened to the foreign radio stations, but she heard one case when a friend of hers, of whom they found out that he had listened to the foreign stations, lost his working permit for one and a half years. He was a musician and as such he could not publicly appear for this period.
- (7) Yes.
- (7 a) Usually, they were of an encouraging nature and inspired confidence.
- (7 b) Mostly everybody claimed of having confidential information from very reliable sources. Actually, many of these informations were colored by fantasy.
- (7 c) These informations probably originated from some foreign radio and people added their own comments, passing them over as trustworthy news.
- (7 d) A full week prior to Rakosi's deposition, all Budapest knew that Rakosi has to go. News to this effect were broadcast by the foreign radios. Respondent heard this as a rumor, which later became true. There was another rumor, that a foreign commission will arrive in Hungary to investigate Russian suppression.

Another was that the Russians will be forced by the United Nations to leave Hungary.

- (7 e) In the street, at the market hall, and some of them mushroomed at the K cafe espressos.
- (7 g) Not to respondent's knowledge. She knew, however, some individuals who tried to make themselves important by knowing the latest events from "biztos értesülésből" (dependable sources), ~~which~~ were some cafe acquaintanceships and nothing more.
- (7 h) People discussed them mostly at their homes, but the cafes or cafe espressos were the places of intimate chats.
- (7 i) Not so much today in the big cafes, but in small cafe espressos of which a great many were opened during the Communist regime.
- (8) The press did not publish the true facts; the facts were distorted, ~~and~~ obviously untrue information ~~was~~ and smelling lies were disseminated.
- (8 a) Most people believed that the sport events are reported objectively. Respondent offers the opinion that she heard from one of the stars of the Hungarian soccer combination, that his unit was always advised when they played against the Russian team, not to force the victory and let the Russians win the match. Actually, the ~~well-known~~ acknowledged champions of European soccer, the Hungarian team, never won against the Russians; it happened just shortly before the Revolution that the Russians

were beaten.

- (8 b) The ~~MM~~ political and economic reports were the most unreliable. The papers reported overproduction, and actually nobody could see even a normal production. An example for this was the fuel situation in wintertime. According to the press, the miners accomplished 60 or 80 percent over their quotas, but coal was not available in Budapest in the bitter cold of winter. The political reports were not taken seriously at all.
- (8 c) It rather decreased, if there was any possibility for greater decrease.
- (8 d) There was a general scepticism against the papers and their reports. In the course of so many years, people have seen that the reports are so much in contrast with reality, and therefore they lost their confidence in publications. They wrote about overproduction and food was not available; they wrote about American gangsterism and unemployment, while packages from America arrived by the thousands. ^{They} ~~MM~~ were quite naive to believe that they can fool people over many years.
- (8 e) No, they were equally untrustworthy.
- (8 f) Respondent liked to have it, but it was impossible to buy the paper. Irodalmi Ujság was printed in a small edition and although she tried to get it, she could read it only once or twice.
- (8 g) She had to subscribe to Szabad Nép, but she ^{only} went ~~over~~ over the headlines every day.

- 8
(8 h) Never heard of it.
- (9) They did, and made every effort to find out the true situation. Yet, they knew that this is possible only ^{through} the foreign radio.
- (9 a) All kinds of people, especially the men.
- (9 b) Only very few, even the Communists were interested in foreign reports.
- (10) a. It was dropped with no advance warning and had a deadly effect upon thousands of people.
- b. The Americans provoked the war in Korea and the Hungarians answered with the slogan "El a kezeset Koreától" (Keep the hands off Korea).
- c. America dropped poisoned pencils and Colorado beetles.
- d. The Nazi leaders were provided with modern weapons to fight against the people's democracies.
- e., f., did not hear about them.
- g. The Russians want badly, at any price, peace and friendship, but the Americans, especially the munition magnates, in co-operation with the Western capitalists, want war to make big business out of it.
- h. She did not hear about that.

Respondent knew that the Hungarian news reporting was untruthful and didn't pay particular attention to these subjects.

- (1) State capitalism must be eliminated and first of all, the artificial development of the heavy industry. As an agricultural state, Hungary can develop and live only on industry for which the raw products are available within Hungary, or which could be very easily imported. Subjugation and compulsion must cease in favor of private enterprises with free competition.
- (1 a) Children of poor parents should have the opportunity to study, because they represent a valuable group in society and are fully entitled to the chances of advancement. The welfare institutions for workers must be maintained, and everybody should be entitled to defend his rights, to pursue his happiness, because this has a good effect on individuals and society as well.
- (1 b) The cultural offerings, as to the theaters, concerts, and other educational opportunities, are quite popular. The fact that children are sent to camps, to nurseries and to playschools is favored by the people.
- (2) Yes, ^{there} ~~they~~ should be parties, but they should be free and their program should be based on principles which they freely choose and express. People should never be compelled to join parties, it should be voluntary.
- (2 a) Yes, with no exception.
- (2 b) No exceptions whatever.
- (3) People should be entitled to express freely and without fear their opinions and the right to criticism should be given to

everybody.

- (3 a) There should be no limitations whatever.
- (3 b) The legislation instituted by a free parliament.
- (3 c) No provisions should ever be taken to forbid to criticize the government.
- (3 d) They should never be forbidden. The state needs as much criticism as the government does.
- (4) Yes.
- (4 a) Yes.
- (4 b) Only if a government is ~~is~~ dictatorial and imposes its will on the majority. An uprising of the minority in a democratically governed state is unjustified.
- (5) There must be a free economy against the state capitalism. Within state capitalism no production can progress and the system itself is not able and vital enough to promote general welfare. Workers and employees should be free to change their jobs and to choose their work, for each individual knows it best, how and where he is able to advance.
- (6) Yes, in a small country like Hungary, this might give some revenue to the state.
- (6 b) Everything, except the heavy industry. Free enterprises are badly needed in an economy in order to achieve the best and cheapest production, and this can be reached only ^{by} ~~in~~ free enterprises.

- (6 c) It is good and very much needed, because it ensures the maintenance and progress of good private economy. It works not only for the present, but also for the future, by making savings, ~~EM~~ improvements, and steady progress toward an ever better supply of the market.
- (6 d) In such^s/small country as Hungary, the state banks can do very well.
- (6 e) Yes, such monopolies as we had before: tobacco, postal service, and railroad.
- (6 f) All monopolies which are not for the common good are bad.
- (6 g) Trading monopolies should not exist, unless there is a private enterprise which could compete with them, like the Kőzért.
- (7) She is against it.
- (7 a) ^{Mr.} This should be the domain of private enterprises, because they are more careful and dedicated to their business. Privately managed enterprises are more competitive and their managements are eager to keep in business by better and cheaper production.
- (8) Government planning is positively bad, based on the example in Hungary or in Russia. No three or five year plan did ever reach the stage of realization.
- (8 a) The idea of planning would be good, but ~~EM~~ who should do the planning? A judgment based on the results of government planning would indicate that it cannot be carried out.
- (8 b) Government planning in Hungary was a failure; The three-year plan and the five-year plan as well. This can be proved by some examples. ~~THE~~ Stalinvaros and Inota, one of the largest furnaces

in Europe, were built but never put to use. The building of the Subway in Budapest had started at great expenses, but had to be given up because it was not possible to carry it through on account of the technical and financial miscalculations which were made. A private ~~entrepreneur~~ entrepreneur had never started to ~~build~~ build a subway in Budapest before knowing that it can be really finished. They digged, and after having digged they found out that they had to stop. And to make it even worse, some of the large buildings collapsed.

- (8 d) Private entrepreneurs should decide what to produce and the free market will regulate the ~~the~~ prices.
- (9) Yes, such as family affairs, religion, decisions about future careers and the education of young people. And there is no justification for interfering in the very private life of any human being.
- (10) Yes, the state can expect from its citizens to be good patriots, to come to the defense of the country, and to support the welfare of the nation.
- (10 a) Everybody must pay taxes in accordance to their ability, but no taxes in that amount to ruin the individuals.
- (10 b) The military training is of advantage to many young men, yet they should be ensured against loss of job, insofar as they should regain their previous position when they return from service.

- (10 c) It is absolutely necessary.
- (10 d) Generally, yes, yet if they are nonsensical, tyrannical, originating from a dictatorial power, if it is possible the population should resist them.
- (10 e) Yes, the state ^{has} moral and material duties to carry out: it must provide for the welfare of all the people, to ensure the possibilities of making a living, and above all, it must provide all the human rights, including liberty and equality.
- (11) It has not improved, on account of the poor treatment of sick people and lack of medicine.
- (11 a) All working and employed people are members of the Szakszervezeti Tarsadalmi Kozpont, the SZTK, this is the national health insurance, comprising workers and employees alike. The members are entitled to medical care and medicine. However, what they ^{insurance} offer is inadequate.
- (11 b) Except those who are not covered by the health insurance. These are people who have no jobs and they are compelled to go to a private doctor. Private doctors are expensive. A friend of respondent's died from appendicitis because she could not get immediately medical assistance to be operated without delay. The private doctor can give more time to the patients. At the clinics he has to work in accordance with strict regulations, he has to fulfil his quote as to the number of the patients and follow ^{instructions} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ concerning medicines. He has great limitations and he is badly underpaid, his salary is ~~IXX~~

1,200 forints per month~~XXXXX~~ if he is an experienced doctor, and less if a beginner.

- (11 d) It was common knowledge that the offerings of the SZTK were poor and therefore anyone who could afford it just in the smallest way, is anxious to ensure the services of a private doctor. To avoid the administration and bureauecracy of the SZTK and to get a correct and true diagnosis in most of the cases, especially when surgery is needed, the private doctor is still preferred.

The regime permits to the employed doctor to carry on a private practice, too. They charge 30 forints for a visit, unless ~~another~~ ^{specialist} specialist is consulted, who may charge 200-300 forints for a visit.

- (11 e) Respondent consulted only private doctors. Her recent experience was the operation of her husband, who, ~~since~~ ^{though} he did not earn money, was unable to receive a so-called "szegénységi bizonyítvány," (a certificate for the destitute), and had to pay to the hospital. The hospital charges ^{for} everything, including the operation. For the first three days they charge 60 forints a day, the following days somewhat less, medication and operation expenses are extra. The patient has to pay to the hospital and nothing to the doctor. The doctor is employed, in this case ~~XXXX~~ it was a famous surgeon who is paid 1,200 forints a month, regardless how many operations he performs a day, and he did about eight or ten a day. It became a custom to ~~XXXXXX~~ acknowledge the services of such a

surgeon by paying him voluntarily a fee. Respondent expressed her appreciation with the sum of 500 forints, which was almost the half of his monthly salary. She knew the surgeon's financial and family conditions and had the knowledge of it that the family cannot make a living, although the life of many people is in his hands. His wife had to work as a nurse in a hospital and to take care of the children.

- (12) Yes, a new group of people are placed into position ~~to~~ to find cultural entertainment and those people who went prior to the Communist regime to movies and theatres are still able to frequent them.
- (12 a) Previously ~~she~~ she could give more time to entertainment.
- (12 b) Yes.
- (12 c) All working people have the opportunity through the "közönség-szervezők." These are a sort of cultural attaches in factories to organize the public for going into theaters and movies. Those who cannot afford the price of the ticket, even if they are working people, just cannot go.
- (12 d) It is a fact that people have to participate in meetings, to go to lectures and courses, and are therefore handicapped in going to entertainments.
- (12 e) The price of the tickets is relatively high and a working man or woman who has to support a family can hardly afford to buy two tickets. The theater tickets range in price from ~~10~~

7 to 30 forints a piece, and the opera tickets \bar{K} ran to 40 forints; this means quite a cut from a monthly salary of 800 or 900 forints and for two 13 or 14-forint tickets, somewhere high up in the galleries, it means a day's wage.

- (13) No.
- (13 a) No.
- (13 b) Perhaps a little bit better.
- (13 c) Yes, very much so, because to purchase food at a low price needs a great deal of time and connections, and only those can buy on the free market additional food or articles not available in the state stores, who have the money for it. And few people have more money than they need for the low-price food.
- (14) No.
- (14 a) No.
- (14 b) No.
- (14 c) There is not, because people just haven't the money to buy any kind of clothing. Should they want to buy, they have to save the money from the food. The price of a man's suit is 700-900 forints and ^{of} a pair of shoes 500-700 forints.
- (15) No, because Hungary has no raw material and the Hungarian market is too small to produce in ever larger quantities those articles which could be produced much cheaper in other countries. Hungarian products are ~~more~~ poor in quality and high in price. The way they are today, they cannot stand competition in a free

economy or on the international market.

- (15 e) These conditions are positively bad for the Hungarian economy.
- (16) The workers should not have decision on production policies or in the management of the enterprise.
- (16 a) The trade unions should be eminently qualified to represent the economic interests of the workers, such as the wages, the working conditions, the hygienic provisions, and similar rights of the workers, including their right to strike. In cases of hardship, when the management fails to consider in its policy the workers' interests, then the trade unions should have the power to call a conciliation committee for a blatant disregard of the workers' interests.
- (16 b) Completely independent, the state has no right whatever to interfere with union affairs.
- (16 c) It should not be compulsory, because the workers know very well their own interests and they join anyway voluntarily, as they did in the past.
- (16 d) Only qualified managers, who have the ability and the knowledge.
- (16 e) The management should be responsible to the owners of the enterprise and to the unions as well.
- (17) They are unable to form a healthy existence.
- (17 a) Respondent did not hear of a single good one.
- (17 b) They could be prosperous and useful if they were model farms.
- (17 c) They should be partitioned and returned to the peasants.

- (17 d) All should be dissolved and if the peasants wish to enter voluntarily into a collective, they should be free to do so. The peasants themselves should have the decision to do what they feel is the best for them.
- (17 e) All the land should be distributed to the landless peasants.
- (17 f) Yes, the limitation should be 50 holds, (about 70 acres).
- (17 g) Yes.
- (17 h) Yes.
- (17 i) Not the big ones. Nothing over 70 acres.
- (17 j) They should be equally distributed among the members.
- (17 k) There should be only those voluntarily established.
- (17 l) Yes, positively the state has to help agriculture insofar that it must make available loans to the farmers in order to enable them to an easier and more intensive agriculture. They ~~will~~ must be supported ^{through} to advice and literature, to learn modern agricultural methods.
- (17 m) They should be transferred into communal property and rented to the peasants.
- (17 n) Perhaps, if they had ^{more advantages than such ones in communal property} they could ^{be} organized in a government agency.
- (17 o) No, they should not be available for private property in order that all peasants should be able to make use of ~~them~~.
- (17 p) To leave them for common use.
- (17 q) Very much so, because agricultural work, tilling the earth year out and year in is one of the hardest occupations. The

Hungarian peasant and his wife, who have to work in the field, appear at the age of 40 as old people, worn out and used up. These conditions can be remedied only by a mechanization of agriculture and this would have a very healthy effect on all the peasants ~~in~~ in Hungary.

- (18 a) Yes.
- (18 b) No difference whatsoever.
- (18 c) No financial support should be given to the Churches, ~~however,~~ however, ^{they} must have the privilege to collect taxes through the state, because the Hungarian people are not very eager to make voluntary contributions to the Churches.
- (18 ^d m) They should not, because they would exert a one-sided pressure. The parochial schools should be self-supporting.
- (18 e) Yes, the moral education of young people is badly needed.
- (18 f) To public school.
- (18 g) In no circumstances, because this is in contradiction with Church ~~principles~~ principles. The Church ^{it} should not ~~engage~~ engage in secular and commercial business and ~~it~~ it should not have any *privilege of* being one of the largest landowners in Hungary.
- (19) Revengeance and unjustified persecution should be inaugurated again. It is a fact that most of the people became members of the Communist Party by compelling circumstances.
- (19 a) Not alike.
- (19 b) The leaders must be let free and deported to Russia if they are unable or unwilling to live in a democratic system. Of

course, they must be thoroughly investigated, because there are great differences among them. There were party secretaries, government officials, and factory managers, who displayed a very decent attitude toward other people, in variance to others who were the so-called wild dogs. The heads of the Communist regime, like Rakosi and Kadar, should be taken to account and each of them should be traded in for 10,000 Hungarians who are still deported in Russia. Respondent believes that after the Revolution about 100,000 Hungarians were carried off to Russia, including boys and girls 12 years of age.

- (19 c) They should be investigated, especially those who used their positions for securing personal advantages at the expense of other people. X
- (19 d) They are mostly innocent people.
- (19 e) Let them run, they are young people.
- (19 f) Among the AVH membership, different groups must be distinguished: many people were attached to the AVH through administrative procedures. The most vicious and beastly elements belong to the investigation department of the AVH and they must be very thoroughly and strictly investigated, reviewing all their deeds. The AVH had technical, administrative, and some other branches, to which people were assigned, like young boys who were assigned as draftees to the AVH. They cannot be made responsible for having been drawn into the AVH.
- (19 g) They must be investigated; those in the higher ranks were sometimes very vicious, but the lower ranks could hardly be blamed.

- (19 h) This question is highly theoretical. The Kadar-regime took care of them by its "tisztogatási eljárás." (The cleansing procedure.) They, as well as thousands of innocent people, were taken into custody after the fall of the Revolt.
- (20) Hungary, as a small country, did rather take ^{from} than give to the rest of the world. She had assimilated foreign cultures of the West and had given rather individuals, like artists, scientists, musicians, and some other great contributions ^{or s.}.
- (21) Yes, there are some traits in the Hungarian people which may qualify as a national character. They are good and industrious workers, loving their families and ^{their} ~~countries~~ sensible and loyal. The Hungarians are clean, persevering, hospitable, and understanding of other people's troubles. While sometimes temperamental, individually they are sentimental and the young people are rather romantically inclined. The Hungarian loves his freedom, and likes to be independent in personal matters as well.
- (21 a) The Hungarian is individualistic and the German an impersonal being.
- (21 b) The judgment based on the Russians whom the Hungarians got to know is, that they appear dirty, illiterate, and indolent, lacking any touch of culture.
- (21 c) The American is ready to help other people. Being sensitive to material life, he seems to strive for material advantages in order to carry on a carefree, but superficial life, and as a result, cultural aims and individual depth seem not to be

appreciated.

(21 d) Basically the Hungarian character did not change, though the Communists tried it through their terror-system.

(21 e) The ancient caste-system prevailed in Hungary, having judged people in accordance with their material and social position and their origin.

The upper ten thousand, the aristocracy, was educated and cultured, but lazy and immoral, arrogant too, and contemptuous of other classes. The class of the higher state employees was cultured, with more feeling toward other people, but generally withdrawn to their own group and subservient to the aristocracy. The industrial and commercial leaders who established modern economy in Hungary, to about 80 percent Jews, had no prior education, but were talented in economic management, yet socially refused by the upper ten thousand. They enjoyed a good name among the common people and were held in respect. The worker in Hungary was always oppressed, he had no opportunities for himself or for his children, and since the dignity of labor was unknown, a factory worker or a small artisan did not enjoy respect. The peasants lived their own isolated lives. As a working man, his social status was a low one, and the large landowner, who did not work himself but employed a number of agricultural workers, never mixed with the "simple peasant."

(21 f) The above-mentioned characteristics refer to the era before 1945.

and during the Communist regime the equalization process blurred the differences among the social classes. The period of ten years could not erase them from the thinking of this generation, but formally they disappeared. A new class is in the making, that of the Communist aristocracy. It is a fact that the workers, the peasants, and the intellectuals moved closer to each other and show more solidarity than it was the case before 1945.

- (22) Perhaps under the leadership of Gombos, when democratic thinking began to show its effect.
- (22 a) Respondent was born in 1918 and has no knowledge of the Monarchy.
- (22 b) On account of poverty, lack of opportunities, and a ~~hopeless~~ hopeless future. Particularly peasants left Hungary on account of the general poverty among the agricultural workers, who did not own anything.
- (22 c) Hungary was ruled by a feudal society, including the Horthy-regime, until the advent of communism.
- (22 d) This was very bad because wealth and property accumulated in the hands of a few and the vast masses remained poor.
- (22 e1, e2) Respondent does not know about that. She was an infant at that time.
- (22 f) It was very great.
- (22 g) The Horthy-regime brought only frustration to Hungary, it was a "csendő-rendszer" (a gendarme-system). All classes, except the upper ten thousand, were materially reduced on account of the permanent unemployment. The middle class and the intelligentsia,

including the free occupations, suffered as much as the workers and employees.

- (22 h) Hungary should have had stayed neutral, because she was a poor and uninfluential country, with a population that opposed the war. Torn between the Germans and the Russians, Hungary had no advantages to gain by entering a ~~HE~~ war, it was senseless and useless.
- (22 i) The conditions were dramatically changing. Following the German occupation, when Hungary was terrorized and ruined by the Nazis, people were hopeful that in the wake of the Russian liberation, a democratic system will arise. There were free parties and free elections, but unfortunately just for a short period. From 1945 to 1948 the Hungarians lived in hopeful expectations and before as well as after this, the conditions did not develop ^{to} ~~in~~ their liking. Before it, there was very little food and the persecution of people by the Nazis and the imitation of the German system did not appeal to the people. After the Communists took over the country, gradually events turned from bad to worse. A scarcity of food and clothing, the worsening of living conditions and lodging took a course ending in the present conditions.
- (23) Borderlines are not important.
- (23 b) Hungary has a rightful claim to the thousand-year old borders, because the territory belonged for a thousand years to Hungary. The present Hungary is too small to be able to exist; it was an economic unity, and with its restoration, conditions would

materially very much improve.

- (23 c) Yes, the Russians.
- (23 d-h) Respondent does not know the conditions, but she believes that there is not only a ~~HEKHEKX~~ natural conflict among the mentioned nationalities, but also an incompatibility in their characters.
- (24) Hungary should always remain an independent country with the help of the West.
- (24 a) She does not believe in any kind of federation, because of the mutual jealousy and prejudice prevailing among the many nationalities. It would be certainly very good to see at the Danube a large and mighty country with economic advantages, but respondent is convinced that such a solution is impracticable.
- (24 b) If it could be achieved in the form of a federation or union, then all countries around the Danube should be included.
- (24 ^c n) All members should be equal, and Hungary should not be more or less than the others are.
- (24 d) Under no circumstances, because Russia is not an European country, her culture and social structure is alien to Western forms.
- (24 e) She believes there are many problems involved. She has known some Hungarians who returned from Czechoslovakia, or rather who were deported from Czechoslovakia to Hungary, and they were not happy in Hungary. They were placed into jobs, but still would rather return to their old homes.
- (25) Respondent would not like to appear as biased and to pass

judgment based on an occupation army. She has horrible memories from the time when she witnessed the robbery and the rapes committed by Russians.

- (25 a) There must be different kinds of Russians, cultured and pleasant, but those Asiatic races, especially the Mongolians, seemed to be the ^{drag} ~~drag~~ of humanity.
- (25 b) Yes, as anywhere else.
- (25 c) This question seems to be unrealistic. The Russians really do not know what communism is, because they have not the faintest idea that there exists something else, too. All they know is that there was an oppressive czarism, which deprived them of their human dignity and economic welfare. It was not better at that time and so they have no values of comparison. Some of them know the shortcomings and the inefficiency of the Communist system and possibly are not Communists. If so, they would not tell it.
- (25 d) No, there was no opportunity to get ~~him~~ acquainted very well with Russians, because fraternization was prohibited for them and the Hungarians hated them so much that they avoided them.
- (25 e) At that time they were considered as the liberators of Hungary and ^{we} ~~did~~ not ^{know} ~~know~~ the true character of the Russian intentions.
- (25 f) The only experience was gained at the occasion of the entry of the Russians to Budapest. The tenants of the house where respondent lived were hiding in the cellar and the Russians

robbed everybody of their jewels they had and raped one young woman in the presence of a large number of people, terrorizing the rest with their guns. Respondent believes that nothing contributed so much to the hate of the Russians than their raping of Hungarian women. A considerable number of Hungarian women contracted incurable infections, went insane, or were ruined as human beings.

- (25 g) The hate ever increased and reached a climax that cannot be stronger than it is.
- (25 h) The hate was blind and passionate.
- (26) Respondent got acquainted with marxism only through the Hungarian Communist presentation. Marxism was never popularized in Hungary in its scientific context, but used as a propagandistic slogan, sprinkled with the names of Lenin and Stalin. It appeared to respondent as a repulsive teaching of force, resulting in oppression and persecution. Logically she concluded that a scientist like Karl Marx could not envision such nonsense ~~that~~ she experienced during communism. She could not believe it that a scholar could ever develop a social system which is so contradictory to the facts of life.
- (26 a) Nothing.
- (26 b) The way she knows it, it is unappealing in its totality.
- (26 c)d) She does not know them.
- (26 e) Yes.

- (26 f) Bad Marxists, because she surmises that nothing remained of Marx in the Hungarian system.
- (26 g) They are Marxists, but also democrats.
- (26 h) She does not know.
- (26 i) Never.
- (26 j) It means freedom and equality, secured to everybody, and people not only want them for themselves but ~~for~~ also for their fellow-men.
- (27) Respondent learned the meaning of national communism through Hungarian propaganda and attacks against Tito. Tito was denounced as "láncos kutya a nyugatra," the chained dog of the West, and he let bribe himself by the Western capitalists. She would not know the real meaning of national communism.
- (27 a) Possibly.
- (27 b) They might have been communists, but not that sort of the Russians.
- (27 c) He is like Tito.
- (27 d) Yes.
- (27 e) She does not think so, because the Hungarian is opposed to oppression.
- (28) The people had confidence in Imre Nagy, who wanted to sever the close relations with Russia, free elections, and the eventual termination of Russian occupation.
- (28 a) He was aiming at a concentration cabinet, comprising representatives of all parties, including the Communist Party.
- (28 b) Yes.

- (29) a, good; b,c,d,e, bad; f, good with certain limitations; g, good; h, bad; i, good; j,k,l, she does not know them; m,n, good.
- (30) Probably the Smallholders and the Social Democrats.
- (30 a) Except Imre Nagy and Maléter, there are no outstanding figures in Hungarian political life, and probably completely unknown and new personalities would emerge.
- (31) If a...f, all get less than what they deserve; g, all get less, except a very small percentage of them; h,i, very few of them exist and they are getting less than they deserve.
- (32) Everybody was better off before 1948.
- (32 a) She disapproves of all of them.
- (33) a, coincide; b, coincide; c, they should coincide, but the government employees are indifferent to the workers and not helpful at all; d, conflict, because the party people feel superior to the non-party members; e, coincide; f, coincide; g, conflict; h, conflict; i, economically coincide, but socially conflict; j, conflict very much.
- (34) The two countries cannot be compared at all. Respondent had no fear of the United States, because she was informed on the situation by her sister living in New York.
- (35) Only the convinced Communists and the AVH.
- (35 a) The whole Hungarian population, including the women, would

fight against the regime. The Hungarian soldiers would desert the Russians and never fight against the West, because they know who the real enemy is and it is the Russians. Respondent believes that even the Russian soldiers would give up a fight for their Russian masters, because they learned what life is like in the West, and they found out how much they are misled by the Communist bosses.

(36) In no way whatever.

- (1) None.
- (1 a) The answers will reflect Hungarian conditions and happenings and supply material which is useful for conveying a clear picture on Hungary.
- (1 b) Since much experience of many people is available, this will make a large collection of facts and opinions.
- (1 c) Nothing she could think of.
- (1 d) Yes.
- (1 e) She would not recall anything.
- (2a) She is not certain on that.
- (3) The questions were very good and challenging and she would not know what to suggest.
- (3 a) None.
- (3 b) No.
- (3 c) No.
- (4 a) Yes.

Short portrait of respondent as she impressed interviewer:
Respondent endowed with an innate intelligence, accumulated vast experience through her mobile and easily mixing personality, meeting a large number of people of every strata. Though her formal education has been terminated with junior high school and later she never disclosed interest in political or social

movements, she was able to convey observations in factual matters with strong ideological implications.

Her position during the Communist regime was twofold burdensome: as a self-employed dressmaker, having ^{had} to earn money for a large family, and as a homemaker who was very anxious to keep the family together in a modest household, she provided for seven people, including a persecuted, class-alien husband.

Respondent was able to answer questions quickly concerning involved ideological and economic matters, illustrating them with examples from her personal experience.

Resentful still ~~is~~ today of the handicap she suffered prior to the Communist era on account of her modest origin and ~~the~~ the poverty of her parents, who were unable to give her any education, she identified herself with the persecuted and oppressed and consistently refused the inhumanity and corruption of the regime. The behavior and aptitude she displayed, offer an example of social and democratic convictions, stressing humanitarian principles she would like to see translated into reality.