

- (1) It was a miraculous thing indeed. All we were hoping for was that the Russians should leave the country.
- (2) I think the whole (thing--Revolution) started with the demonstration in sympathy with Poland. After Stalin's death, and the 22nd Congress, there was a certain liberation ^r spirit in the Russian-dominated countries. People dared to criticize the party, even though this criticism was not against the Party as a whole. Nobody thought to try to undermine the Party's power. People got used during the twelve years of Communist domination to this regime, and whatever they criticized they did it within the Party. There was a certain cultural life which people liked. They could afford now much more than before to go to theatres, movies; there were come very fine performances of classical plays. No modern Western play was performed.
- (2a) After Rákosi's resignation there was an easing in the Party regime. During Rákosi's premiership, there were many compulsory meetings, seminars. Gerö was even less liked. He entirely forbade immigration, for one ~~MMK~~ thing. He was constantly criticized from the background. In the Petöfi and Kossuth clubs there were all sorts of

meetings where the regime and the Party were criticized. For example: at a physician's meeting, criticism was made because of the wonderful hospitals and clinics which were made available for the use of Party members, but not for other people. The other hospitals were crowded and inadequate. The writers discussed and criticized the social faults of the regime. This criticism was a big surprise for the government.

- (2b) Stalin's death brought an ease to the regime of the government. The personal cult ceased and people seemed to breathe more freely.
- (2c) During his regime there was an ease in the strong hand of the government. (I didn't read newspapers, but from what I heard.) There was an ease in the life of the peasants for example. They could leave the collectives and they didn't have to hand in as much products to the government as they did before. They were burdened very much before Imre Nagy came to power. Nagy was a Communist, but it's a pity that he wasn't a good diplomat.
- (2d) I don't know.
- (2e) Yes, Khrushchev's speech was very important.
- (2f) Yes, the Russians said that it happened because of

American agitation.

- (2g) Everybody was happy about it.
- (2h) The time when *Rakosi* was disposed of might have been this point. People were very much afraid of Gero and I think even the government took Gero as the only choice.
- (2i) Yes. I thought it from the general atmosphere. People were more daring and miraculous articles appeared in the *Irodalmi Ujsag*, and the *Hetfoi Ujsag*. Those newspapers were snatched away in the morning a few minutes after they appeared in the newsstands.
- (3) Gero was hurting deeply the Hungarian people. He called the Hungarians all sorts of names while he constantly praised the Russians. On the 23rd of October all sorts of posters appeared by the University students who were asking for sixteen points to be granted by the government. A demonstrating crowd marched to the statue of *Bom*. At the beginning the government would not allow the demonstrations, but after they showed that soldiers too wanted to participate; they did not dare to prohibit it. After that, the sixteen points were printed. The main point amongst those was the demand that the Russians should leave the country. The demonstration marched on ~~to~~ to the statue of *Hetofi*, and to the Parliament.

During the last days, the days before the demonstration, there were already demands that Imre Nagy should again become Prime Minister. As far as the Party was concerned, Nagy made a mistake and he was supposed to ask the Party's forgiveness. On the evening of the demonstration before the Parliament, the crowd asked for Imre Nagy. A great amount of flags were opened and carried before the Parliament, but the sign of the Communist regime was torn out of the flags. All of a sudden all the lights went off; it was done on purpose by the government in order to disperse the crowd. The people before the Parliament, however, took out their newspapers and burned them. The whole place was illuminated by the flame of the burning newspapers. It was a beautiful sight, indeed.

- (3a) That was the time that the atmosphere became ripe for the Revolution. Gerö's speech was actually the spark to the uprising.
- (4) Nobody started the revolt. It broke out spontaneously.
(Probe a and b drew no reply.)
- (4c) No, I don't think so.
- (4d) The ones who joined later were affected by the mass psychosis.
- (4e) People were revolting against the Russian rule.

- (4f) People wanted liberty.
- (4g) I don't know.
- (4h) They wanted an independent Hungary with people's rights of all the free nations of the world.
- (4i) No, at the beginning it was only against the Russians.
- (4j) Only the Russians were hated. The Communists who joined were the ones who were disappointed in the Communist doctrines and promises. The rehabilitation of ^{Rajk} ~~Stalin~~ was an important factor to ^{about} bring into the Revolution.
- (4l) The signs of disunity ^{within} among the ranks of the revolutionaries were already apparent.
- (4m) I don't know enough about the situation in Poland.
- (4n) I don't think that anybody had, especially not at the beginning.
- (4o) They were no such people at all.
- (5) I did not participate.
- (5a) I did not participate.
- (5b) I heard from people, I heard the shooting, I heard radio.
- (6) The office was closed on the 24th of October. Most of the other days we went to the office even though we didn't work at all. When the strike was on, we didn't go to office. At that time I was home and listened to the radio. The radio broadcast was letting us know when we were supposed to go out or stay at home.

(Prober b, c, d, e, and f, drew no reply.)

(7)

I saw from the office window the shooting and ~~bloodshed~~ of October 25th, on the square before the Parliament. The demonstration marched from Verose Street. The people were shouting, "Down with Gero!" ~~Down with Gero!~~ "Dirty Gero!" "We are not Fascists!" It was a wonderful experience as the crowd called to participate all the people who were looking from the ^{doors} ~~doors~~ and windows. ~~As they arrived to the square before the Parliament they shouted that they wanted Mare Nagy and that they wanted Down with Gero. The Russian soldiers looked on at the beginning, friendly and curiously. All of a sudden however, we heard cannon fire. They say that they were the AVO people who started to shoot and by mistake they shot down a Russian officer. The Russians apparently thought that they were the demonstrators and they started to shoot then at the demonstrators. The shooting caused a two and a half hour ^{bloodshed} ~~blast~~. We saw from the window the dead and the injured on the square. We called the ambulance, but they couldn't come close to the square during the shooting. It was impossible to help the injured. The shooting started at ten o'clock in the morning and we didn't dare to move from the office until half past two in the afternoon. Then we went home.~~

- (7a) No.
- (7c) No.
- (8) Does not concern.
- (9) Does not concern.
- (10) The telephone worked excellently. People were telling each other the happenings.
- (10a) For a few days, the newspapers glorified the Revolution.
- (10b) I don't know.
- (10c) I heard some friends and the family.
- (10d) I heard the home stations, Budapest stations, free Europe mostly. We also heard the Viennese station and Voice of America. This way I got to know about the help and assistance waiting in Vienna, about the sympathy of the world, the huge supplies of medicine in Vienna, the donations for Hungary. We also heard what the Parisiens did to the Russian Embassy in France.
- (10f) Free Europe broadcasted the most exact news.
- (10g) I only heard through radio.
- (11) They quieted down. I don't know anything about the government. Gerő was carried out from the building of the radio, and arms for AVO were carried by ambulances.
- (11a) The members of the Party were frightened for a while and they became quiet.
- (11b) Part of it joined the revolutionaries.
- (11c) They were fought and many were killed.

- (11d) I don't know.
- (11e) Part of it went over to the revolutionaries.
- (11f) They remained.
- (11g) ~~Nothing~~ Nothing happened. There was no time for changes.
- (11h) There were big changes there; there was no strong hand to rule.
- (11i) Nothing happened to them; there was even no talk about them.
- (11j) This wasn't important at the time. Everything stopped and only later there would have been reorganizations. The AVH organization broke down.
- (11k) I don't think they used any of the organizations.
- (11l) I don't know about them, but maybe some organizations developed from the association of writers or association of university students. The revolutionaries didn't need much organization; they knew how to fight, they were taught by the propaganda films of the Russians.
- (11m) The workers councils were organized for ~~the~~ purposes of Party organization and judge in workers' problems.
- (11n) It would have developed a democratic multi-party government.
- (12) The Soviet troops did not know where they were. They thought they were either in Suez or in Berlin. They didn't fight enthusiastically; they behaved quite passively. They seemed to have orders not to start fightings. Many Russian soldiers died in fights which (cont'd next page)

they have not started. They were very hungry and they asked for food.

(12a) No, I haven't seen them fighting.

(12b) I didn't see.

(12d) I heard about Russians who went over to the Revolutionaries or some who escaped to Vienna. As far as I know there were no ~~active~~ civil Russian authorities in Hungary.

(12g) We couldn't even estimate it.

(12h) They didn't really collapse; there was only a temporary pause in their ~~authority~~ *functions*.

(13) I decided it as soon as it was possible to think about it.

(13a) I wanted to come to the United States already for twelve years and this seemed to be the opportunity to come over. I have a brother living in the United States.

(13b) One would discuss such a thing only with one's closest relatives. But I know that many people wanted to come.

(13c) I had no idea how it will happen; I came with a guide.

(13d) I was happy that I will be able to be free and I hoped to come to the United States.

(13e) I didn't think of any other possibility.

(14) It's impossible to forget. I'm only sorry that the situation became worse.

(14a) It was very useful for one thing, it showed that it's impossible to educate the people to the Communist ideas; it's impossible to change the way of thinking of the world by force. The Revolution was fought by the youth who was educated under the Communist regime.

- (14b) When the Revolution was on, I thought it will succeed, but now so far, I see that we were very weak.
- (14c) Nothing.
- (14d) It was Hungary which became ripe for the Revolution. The Hungarians are people with backbone. They don't like to live without liberty.
- (14e) He was a pitiable well-meaning man, not strong enough to rule, and didn't have any diplomatic talents. He did not measure up to the happenings. I'm sure he was absolutely well-meaning and an idealist.
- (14f) Maleter was a very important figure, Kovacs too. Even though he was not present. Tildy was one of the outstanding patriot leaders. He thought he was helping.
- (14g) It was Maleter and the Hungarian people.
- (14h) Everybody took part equally.
- (14i) It was a happy surprise. I was surprised because these young people were educated under the Communist regime for twelve years.
- (14j) There are always the students who are the initiators.
- (14k) The Petöfi club had a very great role. I didn't know very much about it.
- (14l) They helped a great deal by supplying the whole town with food. There was a time when it had to be sent back; there was too much food.

- (1a) I used to be a private secretary for twenty years. Later, under the Communist regime, I became the head of a project in an export firm of the government. I was given a certain amount of products which I was supposed to sell for a certain amount of dollars or pounds. During the last two years, I was a correspondent in German, French, and English.
- (1b) He was the chief of a small railway station.
- (2a) Secretary in the biggest steel factory in Hungary (Weiss Manfred factory).
- (2b) I was the private secretary of the owner.
- (2c) Private secretary.
- (2d) I was there for over twenty years.
- (2e) It was a very big factory.
- (2f) I had a private office, and my job was to handle all the social help and charity of the owner of the factory. Between others I had to handle the foundation of a lung clinic which my boss founded. I also handled correspondence and all sorts of office work.
- (2a)
(Second
Job) I was a "referent" in a firm which belonged to the government; I was the head of a project which handled exports of iron-made parts which were used in bathrooms.
- (2b) I received a certain amount of merchandise which I had to sell on the world market under a given plan for a

given amount of money.

2c

I was an export referent.

2d

I worked there from 1946 to 1952.

2e

It was a very great firm.

2f

About three hundred people worked there. (Respondent is still frightened, apparently from the Hungarian government. She refused to give further information on the working of the firm. She said she might be hanged for that.)

(2a)
Next Job

I had ~~she~~ ^I had ~~she~~ ^I had to resign this job, because ~~she~~ ^I applied for a passport, and they wouldn't have wanted somebody to work in exports who applied for a passport. For ten months ~~she~~ ^I was without a job, then ~~she~~ ^I finally received a job in an internal commerce office. ~~she~~ ^I became a foreign correspondent, a German, French, and English correspondent and a private secretary.

(2d)

~~she~~ ^I was here from 1953 to 1955.

(2e)

This was also a very big firm.

(2e)

(2a)

Next Job

~~she~~ ^I worked again from 1955 in an export firm. This was the time when the strictness of the government was somewhat loosened. I stayed there for a year and a half. (She was reluctant to give any further information on the jobs she has held, or the offices she worked in. She seemed to be still afraid and frightened from the Hungarian government.)

- (3) This, the first job was a very interesting job and I had a very nice work. It was also quite a respectable job to have. I had a correspondent typist and other groups worked under my direction. My salary was quite high since I knew foreign language, I could pass foreign language examinations and after each language they raised my salary somewhat.
- (3a) I liked it because ^I ~~it~~ was responsible for the success of something and this success depended entirely on my cleverness.
- (3b) I didn't like, that is, I was afraid, of the excitement which was always present because of the compulsion to fulfill the plan.
- (3c) The next two jobs were easier; they didn't carry with them such a responsibility, but I chose them also because I wasn't able to get an export job again because I asked for a passport.
- (4a) In 1946 there was an inflation and we counted the salary in milliards; it changed every day.
- (4b) In 1950 I received first a thousand florins for a month and after passing language exams I received after each language exam 15 per cent more salary. In 1951 I had a thousand two hundred basic salary and after passing three language exams I received a thousand seven hundred florins.

- (4c) In 1955 I received a thousand basic salary and with two languages 1400 ^{1000 for} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~for~~ for a month.
- (4d) Thousand, thousand hundred forins.
- (4e) They deducted a hundred forins for social security, old age, insurance, and trade union fees.
- (4f) I got compensation for fulfilling the plan; I received these from 1947 to 1952. Later on too, for doing a good job from 1953 to 1955 I did receive compensations.
- (4g) No.
- (4h) They were about the same.
- (4i) The same.
- (5a) We worked eight hours from 8:30 to 5 o'clock with half hour lunch time.
- (5b) Six days, total hours, 48 hours.
- (5c) Yes, I worked overtime. If one worked overtime for the first one or two hours, they paid the same as the person received in the usual salary. If you worked more hours the hours after the first two hours ^{you} ~~they~~ received twice as much as the usual salary.
- (5d) We had eight official holidays during the year. Yes, I received paid vacations.
- (5e) In my export job since my previous secretary experiences were taken into account, I ~~did~~ received twenty working days; later after I was out of job for ten months they didn't take into account my previous years of work. They gave me only twelve to thirteen days of paid vacation.

- (5f) They took it very seriously. We had a ten minute movement; we had to come ten minutes earlier to work and we were supposed to sit at our desk until the time to work arrived. The ones who were late were punished.
- (5g) Yes.
- (5h) Their names were written on the bulletin board; at the meetings they discussed the ones who were late and they also deducted from their salaries.
- (5i) This was in factories for the workers usually. I know they didn't like it, but actually every job had a certain norme. For example, between 9 and 10 in the morning I was supposed to dictate twenty letters. In general if the worker reached a certain norme or were able to work more their norme was raised.
- (5j) It changed all the time; people were driven to work more and more all the time.
- (5k) All the time.
- (5l) No.
- (6a) Working conditions were very bad everywhere in Hungary. In our office there was ~~nothing~~ not enough paper, not enough workers. If we had to send some mail from the post office, we had to stand in line and wait.
- (6b) Where I was working; it was quite good. We worked from ten to eighty in a room, but sometimes only seven or eight people.
- (6c) It was pretty bad.

- (6d) It was pretty bad as far as the world market was concerned. We didn't have ~~of~~ suitable material to work with.
- (6e) I travelled by tramway or by bus; to my first job the export job, ~~1/2/24/5/1/6/4/2/3/4/5~~ my travel took about twenty-five minutes.
- (7) In my first job, the export job, they were very intelligent people, well-trained in foreign languages, only some Party people were untrained.
- (7a) People who were working with me were from all the ages, as a matter of fact they even liked to employ elderly people, since the young people ^{do not} don't seem to be as responsible as the elderly ones. The Party wants to employ many Party members, many of those are uneducated but nevertheless, they are ~~still~~ holding the better paid jobs, even though their work is being done by someone who is less paid but more intelligent and knows more about the work. From the point of view of their financial and social status, all sorts of people worked with me. Some business men and high officials were working ~~with me~~ in my office. People who were not good "Kaders" had to know really their work in order to get and hold a job.
- (7b) The relations were very friendly but there was no time for private friendships between the employees.

- (7c) Yes.
- (7d) Not at all. They were afraid of each other.
- (7e) Naturally.
- (7f) Sometimes, yes.
- (7g) As little as possible.
- (7h) Yes, they discussed behavior of the employees, the management and also this meeting served for forming a political opinion.
- (7i) From Party members, they demanded easier and less work.
- (7j) I don't know; I wasn't a worker.
- (7k) Yes.
- (7l) First of all, everyone had to be a member of the trade union; otherwise he did not receive a job. Some people's vacation was paid by the trade union. It was very difficult to get into those vacation places where the trade union paid for ^{the} their vacationers. If somebody was not sent by the union, ^{he} they had to pay thirty forints in those vacation places, while the ones who were sent by the union paid only eight.
- (7m) The trade unions developed and tried to serve more and more the interest of their working members.
- (7n) Demands for higher pay or injustices suffered at a job or loss of job unjustly were all discussed and dealt with there.

- (7o) I don't know; I never had anything to do with them.
- (7p) Yes, but he was constantly watched.
- (7q) It was difficult for him to advance in this case, however, since they saw that it's impossible to work with uneducated people, they employed such people too if they knew their work.
- (7r) Yes, they did.
- (7s) Yes, they were. During ten years, they educated and trained many young people who were good worker-~~kadets~~ kadets. They were trained under expense of the government and the party-members who received their jobs only because they belonged to the Party were replaced by those trained people.
- (7t) Yes, they were. The kader of the people was determined at about the beginning of 1947. Later on, they only added to the documents. We never knew who were despised because they worked just as the others did in our office.
- (7u) I don't know about that.
and 7v)
- (8a) I had to leave my export job because I asked for a passport. But in general, I was allowed to change my job if I found a better job elsewhere.
- (8b) I chose it freely as it was. Maybe I only would have preferred better pay and conditions.
- (8c) There is no such thing as family traditions. Everybody could choose what he or she wanted provided he or she was accepted, admitted to the University.

My little girl, for example, was not accepted because she didn't ~~know~~^{do} enough social work in the ~~disz~~^{DISZ}. The social status of someone doesn't play any part in choosing a career. I don't think many people want responsible jobs because they are too dangerous ~~to hold~~.

(8e) As I grow older, I wanted a more comfortable position. That's one reason why I chose the foreign correspondent position.

(8f) No.

(8g) This depends on the person.

(8i) I don't have ~~a~~^{big} big wishes; I would like to go to concerts, to theatres, to buy books, to be able to travel. I would like to live in quiet and peace and I would like to see my child being happy and being a happy American citizen.

(8j) No.

(8k) No, I would have liked that my daughter should study in the University. I would have liked that she should be able to choose ~~less~~^{less} limited job than I did.

(9a) I was the only one from the ~~children~~^{family} who worked.

(9b) I was always working; until 1944, I could provide enough for the family. But after 1945 I couldn't. I received some help from my brother from the United States.

(9c) It was enough only for food, for rent, and very modest clothing. We couldn't afford anything else.

- (9d) I received 1400 forings. The help from the United States, what I received, was about 500 to 600 forings a month. Compulsory lendings were 80 forings per month, fees for the trade union about 30 forings and ~~all this~~ ^{old age} insurance about 8 forings. I received about 1250 forings from my pay. Plus the five or six hundred forings I received from my brother from the United States.
- (9e) For rent I paid 160 forings for the elevator 30 forings. We had a two-room apartment.
- (9f) The conditions were pretty bad, and it was very hard to find an apartment. A couple was not supposed to have more than one room, professional people could have had an additional room, two sisters or two brothers usually could get only one room, too. We had in addition to our two rooms a little room which usually belonged to the maid. This room was rented to a young woman.
- (9i) We only bought in government stores. On the market I only bought vegetables and eggs. Lately there was no black market anymore; it ~~was~~ ^{had been} permitted to sell and buy outside the government stores, but it cost much more.
- (9j) Gas was about 200 forings a month, electricity 100 forings, ~~wood and coal~~ wood and coal for heating 2400 forings in a year.
- (9k) Yes, it was very expensive, but if one bought it in time it was available.

- (91) As a working woman, I had health insurance and hospital insurance. I usually went however, to see a private dentist because the dentist who was working under the insurance plan had never enough time and I preferred a ^{thorough} ~~civil~~ diagnosis.
- (9a) I received paid vacations, health insurance, hospital insurance, medicine, for which I had to pay, but very little.
- (9a) I couldn't go for a vacation. We were compelled to buy newspapers; it cost 12 foring a month. I almost couldn't afford any more amusements.
- (9o) I took language lessons.
- (10) I didn't think so; we had to live very modestly.
- (10a) Yes, I did.
- (10 b) Yes, I thought so.
- (10c) X The government.
- (10d) I don't know.
- (10e) I felt that we are working for twelve months to receive the pay of eleven months.
- (10f) I don't know.
- (10g) Yes, I had to take part in trade union meetings, in Szabad Nep half an hour, in seminariums. In planning and producing committees, other lectures, and I had to visit, sometimes by compulsion, the movies. Besides everybody had to do some sort of so-called social work.

- (11a) No, it went bankrupt.
- (11b) Many things, but I couldn't offer particulars because I didn't think about it.
- (11c) I didn't think about it.
- (11d) I don't know about it.
- (11e) It became worse; the new regime tried to demolish it and build a new system on the ruins.
- (11f) Everybody was desperate; the first was the most difficult.
- (11g) It didn't succeed; we didn't fulfill it.
- (11h) There was certain loosening of the Party's grip. The regime's system became less strict; people were freer to talk, and the Party supervision grew somewhat less severe.
- (11i) I know that there were constant discussions.
There
- (11j) ~~They~~ were big deficiencies in fulfilling the Plan, especially in the coal mines.
- (12) I thought they had a very big role.
- (12b) The worst was the lack of freedom and the Soviet terror.
- (12c) Everybody.
- (12d) I didn't know.
- (12e) I don't know.
- (12f) They behaved with real heroism, nobility, and with real understanding towards politics.

- (1) I finished four years of elementary school, four years of secondary school (Polgari), two years of gymnasium, and a one year business course.
- (1a) I went to school from the age of six until the age of fourteen and a half.
- (1b) My highest formal school was the business course, but after that I studied privately. I took lessons and studied in evening school history of literature and art.
- (1c) I studied in Budapest.
- (2a) I studied shorthand and I visited the lectures of the free University.
- (2b) Yes.
- (2c) No.
- (2d) No.
- (2e) Yes, I went only to the compulsory meetings.
- (2f) I didn't choose the political seminars; they were compulsory.
- (3) Not applicable.
- (4) No, I became an orphan very early and I had to start to work.
- (4a) I wanted to become a teacher.
- (4b) Because we didn't have means for that, I had to work.
- (4c) I wanted to have more education.
- (4d) I could have gotten a better job of higher standard.
- (5) I would have studied music, art; I would have finished the University.
- (5a) I simply wanted more education.

- (5b) For financial reasons.
- (5c) No.
- (5d) I took whatever I could.
- (6) I was an excellent student.
- (7a) Yes, I had the same opportunities except for financial reasons.
- (7b) The ones who had better means.
- (8) Not applicable.
- (9) a) The children became much less disciplined; the parents did not dare to punish them.
- (9b) No.
- (9c) Not really.
- (9d) In general, the children did not accept it, only they became less disciplined.
- (9e) It had no results in any age.
- (9f) It doesn't apply.
- (10) Middle-class office worker.
- (10a) The same.
- (10b) My husband's family belonged to the same class; they were also some business men in his family.
- (11) There were no social classes.
- (12) He was the chief of a small railway station. He died before 1944.
- (13) We had many difficulties since my father died early.
- (13a) It didn't change.
- (14) We were four sisters and brothers. My father died early, my mother died very recently. One of my brothers is

in Yugoslavia, one in the United States. Two sisters are in Budapest.

(14b) I lived with my daughter.

(14c) —

(15) None.

(16) No, it was ^{a disadvantage} ~~unfavorable~~ in my position.

(16a) The people who came from workers' family were the favored ones.

(17) My husband died in 1944.

(17a) He was also an office worker.

(17b) I was married in 1933.

(17c) I have one daughter.

(17d) She was 21 in 1956.

(18) Our relationship was very intimate.

(18a) It didn't change.

(19) Yes, we did.

(19a) With my daughter.

(19b) We criticized the situation.

(20) The only problem I can recall was the fact that she didn't like to study.

(20a) She was not admitted to the University. After eight years of elementary school, of a religious school, she was sent to a technical ^{secondary} ~~secondary~~ school. She could not go to the secondary school of her choice. She was sent to a non-religious school in order to be admitted later to the University. From a religious school she had no chance at all. Nevertheless she was not admitted to the University because of her lack of social activities in her disz record.

- (20b) No.
- (20c) No.
- (20d) No.
- (20e) No.
- (21) There was no need for that.
- (21a) Her grandmother and the school.
- (21b) The school had no influence, besides the regime tried to influence the children also through the parents and there was a parents' school, but it did not work.
- (26a) In our family there was the greatest harmony.
- (26b) In our circle of friends this was the usual case.
- (26e) Except for meals we were together on Sundays.
- (26f) I would have loved to read.
- (27) In general they became very loose.
- (27a) The Party compelled the people to accept so-called social responsibilities which took most of their time. Besides we had to go to participate in political seminars, so there was very little time left for the family to be together.
- (27b) On some places they couldn't, but in my circle they did.
- (27d) I heard of such cases but not in my closest circle.
- (27e) I know only about the city.
- (28) Yes, they changed definitely.
- (28a) Morals are much looser than they used to be.
- (28b) They get married now at the age of nineteen, twenty. This is a much earlier age than the age they used to get married before. There are also lots of divorces and plenty of children.

- (28c) Yes, there is a big difference; there is much less formality and again I have to point out that the morals are much looser.
- (28d) I didn't like it, and especially I was afraid that my daughter will also have looser morals.
- (28e) Yes, they say so that there is.
- (28f) According to my opinion they were very severe in such questions. They punished their members very very severely for adultery.
- (28g) Abortion was entirely forbidden for as long as two or three years, but since there was not enough space in the maternity hospitals, they changed this rule somewhat. In maternity hospitals one could see posters which ~~read~~ read that to have children is a glory for an unmarried girl and a responsibility for a woman. At that time preventives were also forbidden; now it is changed.
- (28h) There was a big change in the question of illegal children. Actually there are no illegal children. Every child is legal now. The father of a child who was born by an unmarried mother is compelled to give his name to the child if the mother wishes it. He has to pay for the child. There are a great many children born from unmarried mothers.
- (29) My friends came from my family circle and also I had

friends who were women about my age and who had children of the age of my child.

- (29a) She was also an office worker.
- (29b) She is around fifty and she is also from a white-collar worker family.
- (29c) We used to talk, we used to have supper together.
- (29d) Yes, we used to criticize the situation but lately we got tired of that.
- (29e) No.
- (29f) We are separated now; she is still in Hungary.
- (29g) I can't define that.
- (29h) Yes, our friendship would have been broken up.
- (30) They were Evangelians.
- (30e) Yes.
- (30b) I am also an Evangelian.
- (31) Yes, it did.
- (31a) In a certain time because of religious belief someone could lose a job.
- (31b) Yes.
- (31c) In theory everybody could freely practice one's religion. They didn't teach religious lessons in school, however.
- (31d) Communism itself is a sort of a religion, and the Communists wanted to impose this on everyone.
- (31e) They wanted to destroy it, but only secretly. There never was such a plan officially.

- (31f) They didn't like church-going at all.
- (31g) Yes, in theory at least.
- (31h) Very seldom.
- (31i) Nobody went frequently, But mostly elderly people went to church. The younger ones like my daughter heard so much of the danger that they preferred not to go. But anyway this was something we did not talk about at home.
- (31j) As to the *peace priests* I think they were compelled to accept the Communist teaching but of course in my eyes this isn't a very respectable thing to do.
- (31L) It means definitely much less. They have no religious lessons for one thing and besides unwillingly they think much less about it. They don't even have the time to think about it or read about it.
- (32) It killed ^{cured} comparatively many *wounds*. The Jewish question ceased to be.
- (32a) The more opportunistic ones accepted roles in the new regime. Many received leading roles, but this part of the Jewish population is a small percentage. The larger part suffered just as much from the regime as did the others. In removals from apartments nobody took it in account that those people were deported previously.
- (32b) Everybody equally was Hungarian.
- (32c) They should not be discriminated.

- (33) First workers, next white-collar workers, and intellectuals, next artists, actors, and directors and last who were previously aristocrats.
- (33a) I am a white-collar worker.
- (33b) I wanted to belong to the same group, white-collar worker.
- (34) A physician or an engineer.
- (34a) These two professions are the most helpful for society.
- (34b) That he should do research.
- (34c) People with talent. ~~///~~

- (1) No, I'm not interested in politics.
- (1a) Does not apply.
- (1b) I'm only a bystander, looking on.
- (1c) No part at all. After the "Liberation" this would have been too dangerous.
- (1d) No I didn't.
- (1e) Maybe less.
- (1f) No, it didn't change.
- (2) The Party applied great pressure on me as well as on others to enter the Party and be a member; it was very difficult to resist and remain inactive. Other complaints were that it was very difficult to earn a living; one had hardships to buy enough food and other important consumer goods. Serious complaints would have been IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X. Not serious complaints would be I, II, III, V, and XII.
- (2b) IV and VI.
- (2c) II, VI, VII.
- (2d) IV, VII, VIII.
- (2e) I, II, IV, VIII, X, and XI.
- (2f) They said, that because the Party did not keep its promises.
- (2g) The problems mentioned before working all together had a depressing effect. After having worked for some time in internal commerce office where political seminars were taken much less seriously than in the export office, I

actually got nausea when returning to the export office I had to participate again in political seminars, and became again subject to increased supervision from the Party. At this point I have to add an additional problem I always had, and which was very important to me. I was constantly afraid of being thrown out from my job since all the time the Party tried to diminish the number of office workers in the huge bureaucratic system of the government, the Party, and all the government-owned projects and factories. I thought about my problems all the time; I couldn't estimate how much time I spent thinking about them.

- (2h) I talked it over with my friends. One had to limit one's circle where one could be honest to a very small circle.
- (2i) No, those were general problems. It was impossible to help.
- (3a) No.
- (3b) No.
- (3c) I.
- (3d) No.
- (3e) The greatest part of the population thought as I did. Everybody was oppressed by the regime. The ones who thought differently, who had different opinions, were ~~the~~ either easily influenced or ~~the~~ the ones who were opportunistic and wanted to make a political career.
- (3f) There was no choice. The terror was very great, and the people were under unbearable pressure and feared very ~~from~~ much from the party. The people were threatened and feared ^{the} the spies arrests, etc. I don't know whether the people tried before the revolution any sort of opposition, but they probably did.
- (4) It was in the hands of the party.
- (4a) I know that.
- (4b) They belonged all together, and the party was the one who directed and supervised the whole.
- (5) It was Moscow's will which was followed by the government.
- (5a) The parliament was only an instrument in Moscow's hands.
- (5b) It was a rather theatrical comedy.

- (5c) Yes, they had, but I wouldn't know exactly how much.
- (5d) Yes, it was immense.
- (5e) Yes there were. I wouldn't know the small details, but I know everyone tried to cheat a bit. It was impossible to make a living otherwise. For example, in the food stores there were packages prepared in advance. They were packages of 1 kilogram flour, and 1 kilogram sugar, but if someone bought those packages and weighed them at home, they ^{weighed} ~~much~~ less--2 or 3 decigrams less than they were supposed to. IN general, anyone could be an official in the government, but mainly party members were the ones who were preferred, and a certain amount of knowledge was very important, too.
- (5g) They were only for very good ^d ~~keepers~~. I don't know what privileges they enjoyed, but I know that they had certain important privileges.
- (6) It was compulsory for every student to be a member of the Disz. I don't know about any privileges they enjoyed, but being a member there, was quite time consuming. Yes, it was compulsory.
- (6c) Yes, they were enrolled automatically in school, I think at the age of thirteen.
- (6d) This was impossible.
- (6e) Nobody thought about that because it was impossible.
- (6f) I wasn't a member. I was too old. But my daughter was.
- (6g) She was enrolled automatically in school when she was thirteen years old.

- (6h) I don't ~~she~~ think she ever had an important role or she ever was responsible for something.
- (6i) She didn't have any privileges. It was just compulsion.
- (6j) Nothing at all.
- (6k) For my daughter, almost no time, because she didn't want to do any work in the organizations.
- (6o) No, there wasn't any change. At least, I couldn't detect any change.
- (6p) No.
- (6q) The Party.
- (7) In many cases it meant privileges, but lots of responsibilities.
- (7a) In theory, everybody should have been a member.
- (7b) The ones who wanted to become a member of the party are the people who believe in the Communist teachings, theory, and ideas.
- (7c) A member has only those rights which a non-member has, but he has much more responsibilities. He has to live in such a way as to serve as an example for the non-members.
- (7d) A member has to finish seminarians, he has to go to meetings, he has to live according to the Communist morals (Communists were very strict in these. A Communist Party member was very heavily punished for adultery) and was supposed to live in general in a Puritan way). They had to visit lectures and they had to show an example for the non-Communists.
- (7e) Yes, I know of such people. Some of them entered the Party when they didn't have any other choice. Others entered

the Party because they thought that this will help their advance. Most of them were intellectuals and white-collar workers.

(7f) Yes, there were such people. People who were war prisoners in Russia and returned home rather late were not admitted to the Party. I know of a woman who was in an English war ~~prison~~ prison camp. She returned home late and she had lots of trouble and had to wait a long time until she could be admitted to the party.

(7g) No.

(7l) Yes, they wanted me many times to enter the party.

(7m) I couldn't advance in my job (I didn't really want to very much under this regime).

(7n) They really could force everybody. It was a question of luck. If somebody worked in such a place where people were not forced to the Party.

(7o) No, except that they had to watch the change of mood in the office where they worked and they had to give an account of that to the Party.

(7p) It was the central committee in Moscow.

(7q) It was the Party who directed and supervised ~~for~~ the government.

(7r) The police ~~for~~ was directed and supervised by the Party

(7s) The army ~~for~~ " " " " " " "

(7t) The trade unions ~~for~~ " " " " " " "

(7u) And also the religious institutions.

- (8) I was a member of the trade union and of the Mndsz, Hungarian Women's Democratic Union. I was actually compelled to enter the *MINDSZI* because ~~of~~ the head of the firm where I worked promised to the Party to enter all the women workers who worked under his authority. I didn't want to lose my job so I had to enter the Mndsz/
- (8b) I became a member of the trade unions because, unless I was a member, I didn't receive a job. I became a member of Mndsz because I was ^{compelled} ~~compelled~~ to.
- (8c) I know about the trade unions, The Social Security, the Hungarian ^{- Russian} ~~associate~~ corporation, the Mndsz ~~and~~ the Disz and the Hungarian Front Fighters Union.
- (8d) These organizations were not liked, but people were forced to be members and pay the membership fees.
- (8e) Then I was a member only of the trade unions.
- (8f) Everybody was a member of the trade unions. I don't know much about them except that I was a member. They must have been very great. I was in the Commercial and Financial Workers Free Trade Union. In our trade union there was comparatively little politics.
- (8g) I entered in 1945. I was compelled to and also it was my interest to be a member.
- (8h) I had to pay the membership fees. I had to appear at trade union meetings. Otherwise, I didn't have special duties.
- (8i) It was actually the protection of the interest of the workers.

- (8j) They were in no connection at all.
- (8k) The leaders did not have to be workers or from workers families. They didn't have to be Party members. They were chosen by votes but actually we had to vote for people whom~~s~~ the party decided we should vote for else the central committee of the trade union. The central committee of the trade union supervised and directed the leaders of the smaller union. This was not a political organization, and most of the members were not party members.
- (8l) Yes, this was an important sector in the government organization. One could only guess what they were doing, but one could not know for sure. The role of the informants was brought into the open ^{on} ~~and~~ the first days of the revolution. At that time they dared to talk about themselves and their role in the government organization. They told in what horrible ways they were compelled to be informants. In general, however, people did know who were the AVO people. They received better pay and better assignment in their job, they tried to talk with people in order to get their frank opinion about the regime.
- (8m) I don't know.
- (8n) They trusted the organization. There was no politics in this organization.
- (8o) That of the trade union.

- (8g) They disliked all the political organizations. People didn't like constant interference with their private life.
- (9) This one shows how little influence the Communist education had on the youth. Our youth did not accept the forced theories.
- (9a) They did not absorb the Communist teachings and this was showed clearly by the revolution. The textbooks were constantly rewritten. From time to time the students were told that there was a mistake in the conception of certain historical happenings and that these happenings should be understood now differently. Such an education could not arouse enthusiasm from the youth.
- (10) Some people made serious efforts to be admitted into the AVO. Others were compelled to work for the AVO. The ones who were compelled were very much ashamed of what they were doing.
- (10b) I don't know too much about them. I know however, that most of them were young men and that they lived in excellent conditions. They had the best restaurants, the best apartments, and the most beautiful resort places. I don't know about their political backgrounds.
- (10c) I don't know.
- (10d) It is impossible to distinguish between the two.
- (11) I was not arrested but I had a relative who was arrested.
- (11a) He was imprisoned for thirteen months on no other ground than to be questioned.

- (11b) Out of the thirteen months, he was in a dark cell for five months. He never was questioned or tried. After thirteen months in prison he was freed and he could go home. Even his name wasn't on the list of the criminals.
- (11c) I knew about a woman who wanted to escape from Hungary. She was in an inter-^{ment} nation camp for five years. I know about two more cases of escapes where people were arrested. They were tried and convicted for six months in prison. Somebody else wanted to get some writings through to abroad about conditions. He was in an inter-^{ment} nation camp for one year.
- (11d) They all impressed me the same.
- (11e) I know about a retired Huezar officer who was compelled to be an informer about his own comrades. I knew that he received some sort of injections. He had to face some very strong light and was tortured to promise to become an informer.
- (11f) There is no regard of social origin. Everybody was arrested, whoever criticized the regime, or whoever was reported as an unreliable person.
- (11g) Yes, they were. They were during the Rajk trials, during the Grosz trials, during the Peter Gabor trials, during the Mindszenty trials, and during the Farkas Ma Mihaly trials. The people knew only that everybody pleaded guilty to all the accusations the Party made against them. These accusations were truly fantastic and impossible.

- (12) The only ways to avoid telling one's opinions.
- (12a) Everybody lives in the same threat. There is no such occupation which is without danger.
- (12b) No, it doesn't help at all. The end of such careers, is usually a downfall anyway.
- (12c) Yes, it can help a lot. Depending naturally what one wants to achieve by it. There is such a saying that there is no favoritism in Hungary, but there are good personal relations.
- (12d) It is very advantageous. ~~He~~ One cannot deny one's origin, even though I know many people tried to do so.
- (12e) Yes, it certainly helps.
- (12f) Yes, he can.
- (12g) The party makes life ^fdifficult always for a different group. It depends upon the Party politics which group had the most difficult time.
- (13) No, I couldn't.-
- (13a) I don't know.
- (13b) All of them had their ^{pre-}~~rules~~ established rules.
- (13c) I don't know about that, but I believe that there must be dissatisfaction in the AVH, too.
- (14) Yes, but fortunately I wasn't close or in close contact with the terror makers, but as far as the threat is concerned, it was the same all the time.
- (14a) I don't know.
- (14b) There was a certain milderening in the regime's method.

- (15) Everything was decided and directed from the Soviet Union.
- (15a) Everything was decided in Moscow.
- (15b) Everybody saw it that way.
- (15c) I don't know.
- (15d) No, I didn't.
- (15e) It was equally strong everywhere. They were sent mainly to the oil industry, to the coal mines, to the shipping corporations, and to the aluminum industry.
- (16) Not at all. They all have to obey a certain rule.
- (16a) Yes, they do. They are afraid to say something against their own interest.
- (16b) It is impossible to say one or two examples. The whole life was built that way.
- (16c) One could trust only one's closest friends and relatives. Outside those people, one couldn't trust anybody.
- (16 d) One couldn't talk honestly about political opinions, but sometimes one could complain about living conditions.
- (16e) There was no change. One just had to get used to it.
- (17) There was no such possibility. One was imprisoned if he tried to do that.
- (17a) No.
- (17b) No.
- (17c) The only way that he does not produce and actually it is only the peasant who can oppose really the regime by not producing.

- (17d) No, he cannot help it unless he has some good personal connections.
- (17e) He can't do that if he isn't a skilled worker.
- (17f) One couldn't do anything against that anyway.
- (18) Only a good party member.
- (19) The regime became somewhat milder, but the people did not dare to oppose the government.
- (19a) I don't know. I didn't take part in anything.
- (19b) Naturally the aristocrats, but in all the other groups of the population there was big opposition to the regime.
- (19d) It constantly grew and grew. There were signs one could see.
- (19e) I don't know.
- (19f) This was revealed only during the revolution. Only several months before the revolution they dared to criticize the regime. But as far as I am concerned, nobody thought of the possibility of the downfall of the regime.
- (19g) Everybody was in opposition somewhat within one's own circle.
- (19h) Yes, there were a lot. For example, why is December 21 the darkest day of the year? Well, naturally because Stalin was born that day. But there were many others.
- (19i) Yes, there were such things. Factories were burned down and there was a sabotage in the electric current service. But those things were only done in the spring of 1956. But after some of these people were hanged, there was less sabotage.
- (19j) Maybe they were, but I don't know about them.

(19k)

I don't know about that.

(191)

Criticism within these clubs and organizations started
only in the spring of 1956 after ^{the time when these started} ~~there was~~ some mildening
in the regime.

- (1) I received most of the information from Free Europe station, the Voice of America, and BBC.
- (1a) It was BBC, but I was quite afraid to listen to it. It was not allowed to listen to Western broadcasts.
- (1b) Then came the Voice of America and the last Free Europe station.
- (2) In general, I wasn't a newspaper reader, and I didn't even have time to read journals.
- (2a) I didn't read any.
- (2b,c,d,e,f,g) Do not apply.
- (2h) Yes, there was.
- (2i) The workers wrote a summary of the news from the newspapers. So the only difference was that the wall papers were the interpretation and the summary of a worker who received his information from the newspapers.
- (2j) They informed about the current events, as well as some interpretations of those events, and pictured a glorious future.
- (2k) One could buy the Daily Worker, some Communist French newspapers, the Women's Journal, the House and Gardens, the Vogue, and Elle (French). I liked to look at them in order to see what's happening in the world.
- (3) Yes, I usually went once a month, or sometimes twice a month, if there were really good films.
- (3a) I used to go to concerts and theatres, too.
- (3b) I liked especially English and French pictures. They were generally good.

- (3c) In those, there was rarely anything about politics, and if I could help, I didn't see Soviet and Hungarian pictures. These were the ones which were full of politics.
- (3d) I liked very much to go to the movies.
- (3e) Yes, English and French pictures.
- (3f) I saw in '55 and '56 Hamlet, The Thief of Bagdad, and the Beauty of the Devil.
- (3g) Yes, I did go.
- (3h) I went about four or five times a year. It was a question of money. I saw "Cyrano de Bergerac", "^{helm}William Tell", "The Mute Soldier" and some Shakespeare dramas.
- (3i) The theatrical performances became better and of higher quality. Apparently they saw that they did not have success with the Russian plays. Lately, they performed many good classical plays with good, nice, and very expensive decoration.
- (4) No, I didn't.
- (4a) I didn't have the time.
- (4b,c,d,e,f) Do not apply.
- (5) Yes, I did.
- (5b) We had a Telefunken. We had short wave and long wave as well.
- (5c) I was listening mostly to the Voice of America, BBC, Free Europe, Kossuth radio. These were the ones which interested me.
- (5d) I listened to news mostly because I was wondering what happened in the world. Also, I wanted to know what actually happened in Hungary. These were the stations I trusted the most.

- (5e) I listened to the radio in the evenings. About a half an hour I listened to foreign news.
- (5f) I listened at home in my room behind closed windows and doors.
- (5g) I didn't have a favorite. We always choose something.
- (6) Yes, I did.
- (6a) Doesn't apply.
- (6b) The Voice of America, BBC, and Free Europe.
- (6c) They interested me, especially what they had to say about Hungary.
- (6d) Not very often.
- (6e) I thought that BBC was the most objective. After that came the Voice of America and Free Europe was propogandizing and promising too much.
- (6f) They were all propogandizing.
- (7) Yes, I did.
- (7b) I went to the free University ^{by} ~~under~~ my own will to listen to lectures on the history of literature, and the history of art. I also had to go to compulsory meetings.
- (7c) To the meetings I was compelled to go.
- (7d) I went to the free university once every week, and to meetings I went as seldom as I could, but about once in four weeks.
- (7e) In the meetings of the trade union, we talked about the economic system of Hungary, its operation, and everything which was in connection with the political life and in connection with the directing of the office. *I worked in.*
- (7f) *A* The Free University was organized by the Information Spreading and Scientific Society. The meetings were organized

by the leaders of the project I worked, ~~in and~~ by the trade union counsel.

(7g)

The Free University lectures lasted for two hours. The meetings lasted approximately from four ~~to~~ to five hours.

(7h)

People were sabotaging the meetings (They did not go if they could find a way out) nobody was interested. The free University lectures were very good, given by excellent professors.

(7i)

At the trade union meetings one had to voice opinions. But this was organized usually before hand. Certain people were told that they will have to give their opinion in a certain meeting. Usually people approved what the lecturer had to say. But there was some small criticism on some technical points, never anything serious.

(7j)

At the table of the lecturer, were sitting, the lecturer, the secretary of the Party, and the chairman of the trade union counsel. The lecturer was introduced and asked to give his lecture. He gave his lecture by usually reading it for about an hour and a half or more. After that, came the questions or remarks. This usually took more than the lecture itself. People were sitting on needles--they wanted to go home after a tiring day of work.

(8)

Yes.

(8a)

Many political news were transfered from one person to the other, especially from Hungary, but also some from abroad.

(8b)

One could hear such news only from the members of the family or nearest friends.

(8c)

It's hard to give examples. I heard such news all the time.

- (8d) I couldn't trust such news too much because people tried to explain or even transfer the news as they would have wanted them to be.
- (8e) As I said, they were not exact news, but there was always some foundation to all of them.
- (8f) I don't remember many, but I heard such news in connection with the internal deportation.
- (8g) From relatives and friends.
- (8h) Nobody was looking for such meetings and discussions, because this was very dangerous. But if people did discuss things, they did it only in the closest family circle of the circle of their friends.
- (8i) The party members knew generally better what was going on in the Party politics, Party policies, and even in the world.
- (8j) One could not talk about those things honestly and truthfully in the office, only at home could one feel oneself really secure. At work there were people whose special assignment was to ask other people's opinion, to force a conversation about politics. Then naturally, everybody said the best about the regime.
- (8k) As the time passed, one just got tired of current events and politics.
- (8l) No.
- (9) I wasn't even interested in that. I didn't read newspapers either. Anyway, about those things, it was impossible to get any information.
- (a) I listened to the radio, to the Free Europe station, BBC, and the Voice of America, but this was very dangerous. It was not allowed to listen to Western radios.

- (9b) I listened to the ~~super~~^{soccer} news on the Budapest radio.
- (9c) I could have read it in the newspapers if I would have been interested.
- (10) In general, they were very much oriented against the rest, and I didn't believe them really very much.
- (10a) One could ~~hear~~^{feel} how much was the truth.
- (10b) Before the revolution it became more truthful and we could grasp it more. After 1955 there was more real true news in the newspapers than before.
- (10c) The Voice of America, BBC. Free Europe exaggerated to the other direction.
- (10d) The news of the Hungarian radio were the least true because they gave us a ~~planned~~^{Party} news service.
- (10e) BBC was. Very rarely.
- (10g) It was high standard newspaper and in the last half a year it was very interesting and very daring. It dared to say opinions about important figures in public life and important events.
- (11) At the beginning of the regime they tried very much, but later on they got tired of it.
- (11a) This depended a lot on the people, under different persons. The ones who had more time tried more.
- (11b) The ones who had less time.
- (12) I received most of the information from foreign radios.
- (12a) I trusted them the most.
- (12b) The news passed from person to person and the telephone worked really marvelously during the revolution. At this point I have to say that not only the telephone, the food

supply, the electrical current and gas were all working really remarkably well during the whole period of the revolution.

(12c)

We knew that everywhere it was about the same, but mostly we listened to foreign radio and especially to the broadcast of Free Europe which was broadcasted every hour.

(13)

I heard about them. I was interested because my husband too was deported in 1944 (He was deported into Germany). I knew that some people came back from time to time from Russian working camps. They did not like to talk, however, about their past experiences.

(13a)

I didn't ever directly talk to any of those people, but I talked to people whom they told their story to. I heard in such a way that the conditions in Russia were very bad. People were very poor, and lived many times in worse conditions than the prisoners themselves. It happened sometimes that prisoners who were sent back from Russia to Hungary were not allowed to go home to their families, but were first imprisoned in Hungarian prison camps or working camps and sometimes years passed until they could meet their relatives and immediate family.

(13b)

I don't believe it.

(13c)

I think the Russians, but I do not know exactly what happened there. I only ~~that~~ ~~has~~ know that at the time of the Korean war, there was some rumor and talk that the Communist regime will soon end in Hungary.

(13d)

No he wasn't. This was only an artificial trial.

- (13e) I know only as much as was written in the newspapers
(she couldn't tell more than that.)
- (13f) We listened to the news from the German revolt with much
sympathy. I remember now that we heard what a bloodshed
was done by the Russians. I also remember that people said
that the Americans were behind the revolt.
- (13g) I don't know about that.

(1)

I would like to see a Democratic Hungary without exciting against certain religions. I would like to see the end of the huge ^{fluence} ~~influence~~ of the party. I would want free movement, free travel, free speech. We need a country which is lead by skilled, educated, and understanding people. I don't want any doctrines.

(1a)

I would like to keep the spirit of equality, which was misused in this regime. I do think, however, that the small people received some sort of self insurance, a sense of self-esteem which they never possessed before. A simple worker never before dared talk or discuss certain things with an educated man. This regime changed this previous conduct for the good.

(2)

I don't know.

(3)

Everybody should have freedom of speech being able to give freely one's opinion people can help ^{to} ~~and~~ change the conditions.

(3b)

If somebody knows that what he is about to say is against the ^{Government} ~~Communiste~~, one shouldn't say it. This would make him an enemy of his own community.

(4)

No.

Why not? Because the great part of the masses is uneducated politically, ~~emotionally~~ ^{emotionally} influencable, and easy to direct toward harmful activities.

(4a, b, c, d)

Do not apply.

(4e)

I cannot answer that. The Hungarian revolt was not an armed revolt.

(5)

I don't ~~remember~~ understand about these things.

(6)

I don't approve of that.

- (6a) I can't see why.
- (6b) There is only one way of governmental control and this is that everything is in the hands of the government.
- (6c) I don't know enough about that. I wouldn't know what alternatives to suggest.
- (7) I don't understand anything about those things.
- (8) In a theory it isn't bad. It is very bad in practice.
- (8a) Because it makes for unnecessary over-production.
- (8b) The producers receive such assignments which they cannot possibly fulfill.
- (8c) I don't know about Russia, but in Hungary it usually didn't succeed. Not all the producers could fulfill their assignment. There were many occasions of being behind with the work, especially in coal mines.
- (8d) I couldn't say. I'm not an expert.
- (8e) I couldn't say. I'm not an expert. I only know that the people were always over-excited because of the panic. It meant lots of excitement and worry for all the workers alike.
- (9) I believe that this is right.
- (9a) We don't even know any other way.
- (9b) I don't know enough about it.
- (10) Yes, I think it's right.
- (10a) It's also for the good of the government. If people are working and they are satisfied.
- (10b) No, I don't think so.
- (10c) I certainly would like it.
- (11) Yes they are, but I wouldn't know any more which they are.

- (11a) Well, I just think so.
- (11b) I couldn't bring examples.
- (12) Yes, I think so.
- (12b) Paying taxes, obeying the laws and orders, men should be in military service, and honesty, too.
- (12c) Yes.
- (12d) Yes.
- (12e) Yes.
- (12f) One couldn't possibly be against the government anyway.
- (13) On the contrary. Here I see how right I was in my feelings. Here I have freedom to think.
- (14) For some people it is worse, but there are much more people for whom the conditions of health service became much better. It is true that the quality of health service is very low, but whereas many people could not afford any health service at all before, everybody has it now. Just to picture the conditions, I have to tell you that one nurse worked for 60 patients in the hospital. The sick had to help each other because there were not enough nurses. At the doctor's visits people had to stand in line for hours in order to ^{be} examine^d quickly for two or three minutes.
- (14a) No. It became worse.
- (14b) Definitely. The poorer people, especially unskilled workers, who didn't have medical attention before now received it now. It is true that before the war every big factory had its own medical service for its workers. It also had social security in the form of kindergartens for working mothers and help for sick people and so on. I believe this could have developed even more if the war wouldn't have interrupted it.

- (14c) (The respondent seemed somewhat to be confused about this issue. I just let her say whatever she wanted to say even though it didn't seem to be a direct answer. I tried several probes but that's all I received as an answer.) A private doctor was better to have, but even a private doctor sent his patients for a checkup to the clinic. The clinics were somewhat better than the hospitals.
- (14d) I think it's a very good institution and it's very good that it's compulsory.
- (14e) The best thing about it is that it is very time consuming. One has to wait hours to get to the doctor's office, and then the doctor doesn't have more time than a few minutes to give one a checkup.
- (15) I think so, yes.
- (15a) It is less expensive and therefore available for more people.
- (15b) I went about as much as I went before.
- (15c) Yes, I think it's very important. It is an excellent relaxation.
- (15d) The workers especially have more opportunity to go now to the movies, or other performances. The Party's policy is such that only those people should go who didn't have the opportunity to go before. The quality of the theatre is very much worse than it was before, especially the plays put on by amateurs, usually workers. But at least there was something doing. People organized and worked on the plays.
- (15e) Yes, they definitely do.
- (15f) Everybody who is working can afford it. There are season tickets in theatres, operas, concert halls. The season tickets are usually sold out by Spring, even though the season starts in the Fall. Usually one calculated into one's budget the price of at least one season ticket. Opera for example was very expensive, and one needed.

some personal connections in order to get hold of a ticket.

Every project and factory had ~~some~~ a choir, and everybody who had some voice was compelled to be a member of the choir. These choirs were really funny, and it was sad to listen to them since so many old people were singing there without a bit of enthusiasm.

Today more people can afford to eat better than in 1940.

They do it better than in 1946.

I cannot tell exactly. They changed all the time. For example, in 1949 there was almost starvation. A year after they brought more food. For ten years I haven't seen real meat for instance.

In general, the workers ate better than did the white-collar workers or clerks, but this was because the workers' main and maybe only life necessity was food. Therefore, they spend almost all their money on food. ^{While} ~~if~~ the more civilized people had many other expenses and much less they had left for food.

It is difficult equally to everybody., if there is no food. The food supply is periodical. The government would not allow, however, to collect food at the times when it is available and put it aside for the time when there is none. There were simulated trials against such cases. In order to frighten the housewives to try to buy more than they would need for immediate use. People who were found to collect food, were punished severely.

No.

No.

No.

The income is enough for food only.

The ones who thought it important up till now to dress well, they would rather not eat and try to look their best, but usually in

general people are dressed in old and over-used clothes without any taste because people can only wear what they have, not what would be nice to wear for the occasion. Ones who think dressing important, try to buy up the clothes which people get from abroad in parcels. The Stachanovitch workers have a very good income and they are actually the ones who can afford to buy clothes.

(18)

Yes, it definitely developed. They ruined the agriculture and tried to attract agricultural workers into the city.

(18a)

This was because the Russians directed ^{in such a way} ~~socializing~~ Hungarian economy that its main and strongest point should be industry.

(18b)

They called Hungary a country which had agricultural production but was an industrial country. This just did not succeed at all. No, it definitely ruined the whole country. It didn't succeed at all. There wasn't enough raw material and lots of industrial plants which were built from loss of money could not work because they didn't have raw material. For example, ⁱⁿ Buns^Dentelle with social work a project was built (social work was the work which people did on their spare time for the Party or for the government. For example, professors and teachers as well as students went for social work in the summer, but white-collar workers too went for social work on Sundays.) Naturally these people did not know anything about building and the buildings collapsed. (I asked the respondent whether there were no engineers to superintend the building. She said there were, but nevertheless their work was of a very low quality.) Finally the Russians sent some raw material of their own in order to work with it in this project. This project was an iron casting project. In these camps of social work, the young people lived in immorality. Many illegal children

were born from such camps.

(18c)

The happenings showed they should have done lots of things differently.

(19)

The cooperatives were the ones which made miserable the life of the peasants. They have to be ended. The whole field distribution is a humbug. They distributed the ^{big} ~~with~~holdings to five "hold" small holdings and since the peasant of such a small hold^{ing} cannot cultivate ^{his field for lack of} many ~~machinery~~ ^{etc.} occasions his field, he is forced to enter the collectives where he receives then needed machinery and ^{big} money to invest. What really happens is that there are again ~~with~~holdings, but this time in the hands of the government. Kulaks had a very hard time only because they were kulaks they could be mistreated in many ways by the government.

(19a)

They should be terminated.

(19b)

Yes, if this is according to the peasants interest.

(19c)

The peasants who worked for themselves worked the field better. The ones who were working the collective didn't feel much initiative to work.

(19d)

I don't know.

(19f)

Yes, holdings should be given back to their previous owners.

(19g)

Yes, let everybody live his own life as he lived it before.

(19h)

Doesn't seem possible.

(19i)

I don't know.

(20)

I don't know.

(21)

In the days of the revolution, workers councils were organized. This would have been very good, but later they terminated their activities. It would have been good if the workers had their say concerning production. It was this way in Yugoslavia.

(21a)

It should protect the workers interests.

- (21b) The trade unions should not be political at all.
- (21c) Nobody should be compelled to be a member.
- (21d) One had to pay progressive membership fees.
- (21e) It wasn't too much bother.
- (21f) People thought that workers would have more faith and better understanding.
- They tried to organize the worker's councils during the Revolution.
- They believed that the worker's councils will have more knowledge and understanding in the direction of the factories and other projects than would the delegates sent by the ministerium.
- (21g) I don't know much about it, but I think it was done on Yugoslav example. The Hungarians saw that the worker's councils helped in the progress of production.
- (21h) I could imagine that they would work efficiently.
- (21i) Factories should be directed and led by educated specialists in this field and no part functioner or other people who do not understand their business. They should be responsible to hire state economical authority.
- (22) They should receive their lesson but not every part member should be punished.
- (22a) No, they shouldn't be treated alike. Their motives for becoming part members should be searched.
- (22b) The leaders will leave the country anyway before they are caught.
- (22c) Again their motives should be searched.
- (22d) Again their motives should be searched and taken in account. I think most of them were compelled to enter the party.
- (22e) It would be very easy to educate them over because most of the

children and youth entered the Party organizations because they were compelled to do so.

(22f) Everybody should be questioned and the motive searched.

(22g) I think the previously mentioned groups would contain old important elements.

(22h) There was during the Revolution very ugly and black day when the so-called People's trials were done and people murdered with cold blood without fair trial.

(23) Education was something ever-changing. Always new textbooks came out with different interpretations of previous happenings. History and history of literature changed all the time. They changed just as the Communist point of view changed about certain things. The children were all confused with this education. The regime placed great importance on a good Communist education for the future citizens and soldiers.

(23a) The system of education of today and of the time before 1944 differs a great deal. The youth of today is educated in a Communist spirit and according to Communist ideals.

(23b) Yes, everybody has the opportunity to go to school but not everybody has the opportunity to go to the university.

(23c) It isn't good because many talented young people are denied opportunity study in the university.

(23d) Yes, I think it's very important. Educated people can only be useful for the society. I think it would be very good if most of the workers would have high school diplomas.

(24) Yes, the churches have to be given independence.

(24a) Yes.

(24b) I wouldn't make any difference between the different churches. There should be no discrimination.

(24c) I don't know. I didn't think about that.

(24d) Yes, I think they should do so. When I went to school we had also

religious lessons. I think that ethical moral education is very important for the youth.

- (24e) I don't know.
- (25) I think that the 1848 Revolution was a very important one also in world history. I wouldn't remember what other important events in Hungarian history imprinted their marks on world history. I don't remember much Hungarian history.
- (26) I don't know.
- (26a) Ever since the compromise ^{of reconciliation} ~~of conciliation~~ (kiegyezés) there was a peaceful period in Hungary at this time.
- (26b) The social position of certain groups of the population was such that these groups just couldn't make a living.
- (26c) Yes, there was.
- (26d) It wasn't good from a social point of view.
- (26e) Toward the end of the *Horthy* Regime, about from 1935 on there was a certain social well-being in Hungary.
- (26f) I didn't feel such things even though I was a worker. (office-worker)
I never felt really big social walls between classes.
- (26g) I don't know.
- (26h) There was a prosperity from '45 to '47. In '47 the Communist Party ~~was~~ showed its real face. But from '45 to '47 they ~~were~~ was a ^{improvement} ~~bettering~~ in the population's well-being and people were really hoping for a bright future.
- (27) Yes, definitely.
- (27a) The German people liked to be led. It is much easier to lead them with ~~strong~~ ^{strong} ~~stone~~ hand than it is to lead the Hungarians. The Hungarian people is much more individualistic.
- (27b) The Russians are Asiatic people. They are unpredictable, not honest and ~~fearful~~ ^{frightening}.
- (27c) I don't know enough about the Americans yet.

- (28a) No.
- (28e) Yes.
- (28) I think that it would be very good if there wouldn't be political boundaries.
- (28b) I think that the cause of most of our troubles and problems of the last few years were caused by nationalism.
- (28c) Yes, historically they have the right to claim certain territories; these territories, even today, feel themselves to be Hungarian.
- (28e) No, except that we live in constant fear that we will become a member state of the USSR.
- (28f) Does not apply.
- (28g) I can't answer on this question.
- (28i) I think that they understand each other quite well. I don't think that the Hungarians are treated well in Slovakia but I know that the Slovaks in Hungarian territory have all their minority rights and freedoms.
- (28j) All the minorities in Hungary have the full rights but in Rumania they don't treat the Hungarians well. Hungarians and Austrians live in the best friendship with each other. The best example for this friendship would be the role the Austrians played in the last few months during and after the Revolution.
- (28l) They lived in both countries in the best of friendship with each other.
- (28m) There is no Jewish question today.
- (28n) Yes.
- (29) I only know that there was talk about it and there was talk about a Danubian Federation. Hungary, Rumania, and Serbia together.
- (29a, b, c,) I wouldn't know.
- (29d) The Danubian Federation.
- (30) I heard only good things about the old Russians. (The ones who were here

before not in the past few years) I heard that there is a good, well-
educated ^{part.} ~~side.~~ From among the Russian masses I only met the soldiers
who were very young, like children. I heard however about 6 factories
and projects where Russians were the directors, ^{that} ~~But~~ those directors
were very socially minded and easy-going.

- (30a) Yes, definitely.
- (30b) Yes.
- (30c) As far as I know only 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the Russians are in the Communist Party.
- (30e)
- (30f) The experience with the Russians were so bad that they were disliked
from the first minute that they came to Hungary. In connection with
the occupation of Hungary one could hear the saying "Stalin made two
great mistakes in sending the Russians to Hungary; first he showed
Europe to the Russians, and secondly he showed the Russians to Europe."
- (30g) They were constantly disliked.
- (31) I don't know. I didn't ever have anything to do with it.
- (31a) Marx actually wanted to cure the social troubles of his time of 1870.
Lenin and Stalin made a religion of his teaching.
- (31b) I don't know.
- (31c) I don't know about it.
- (31d) I didn't study.
- (31e) I don't know.
- (31f) I don't know about it.
- (31g) Lenin developed Marxism scientifically.
- (31h) Stalin became the dictator on the ground of Marxism.

- (31i) No.
- (31j) I don't think so.
- (31k) To be a democrat means to me to strive to reach a better life for humanity. To strive for peace, understanding, and to live together in freedom. Everybody should have equal rights.
- (31l) There was before the 2nd World War.
- (31m) ~~He is a~~
The Marxist nationalist ~~dictator~~ dictator.
- (32) Whoever is a National Communist is satisfied to strive for Marxism in his own land.
- (32a) We didn't have national Communists at all.
- (32b) Does not apply.
- (32c) I don't know about that.
- (32d) I think he is a Communist.
- (32e) No. There is no such Communist.
- (33) Yes, definitely.
- (33a) Under his premiership there ^{was} a certain loosening up in the regime. There was a certain ^{improvement} ~~betweeing~~ in the life of Hungary.
- (34) a Bad.
- (34b) B_d.
- (34c) Bad.
- (34d) B^d.
- (34e) Bad.
- (34f) This was a bluff.
- (34g) Bad
- (34h) This is good wherever I can imagine its existence. I always hope for the bourgeois well-being. It is too hard for me to explain why I think the previously said things.
- (35) I think that everybody I know would have the same opinion.
- (36) They received as much as they deserved.
- a
- (36b) They received much less than they deserved.

- (36c) Less.
- (36d) Less
- (37e) Less.
- (37f) Less.
- (37g) Many received more.
- (37h) More.
- (37i) Received more.
- (37j) I don't know.
- (37k) There were no business men.
- (37l) They received what they deserved.
lot
- (37a) The ~~rank~~/rank of the workers was worse before.
- (37b) There were no DISZ members before.
lot
- (37d) Their rank was better before.
- (37e) About the same.
- (37f) Teachers had the same lot before, but lawyers and doctors were better off before 1944.
- (37g) They were worse off before 1944.
- (37h) They were worse off before 1944.
- (37i) There were no Party members before 1944.
- (37j) They were better off before.
- (37k) They were better off.
- (37l) It's about the same.
- (38) (I had much difficulty to explain to the respondent what means interest of a certain group. I don't think she fully understood it.)
- (38a) They didn't have much in common
- (38b) They were opposite.
- (38c) Same interests.
- (38d) Opposite.
- (38e) No difference. Everyone was government official, government clerk.
- (38f) They had nothing in common.

- (38g) They had nothing in common.
- (38h) I don't know.
- (38i) Opposite.
- (38j) Opposite.
- (38k) Opposite.
- (39) If it would be possible, everybody would fight against the regime.
- (39a) Everybody if it would be possible.

(1a)

I think a great many people have to be questioned in order to give you a real picture of what really happened and how really the life was in Hungary in the past ten years. There was very little asked about the Rajk trial, the different phony trials, investigations, the Grossz trial, the Mindszents trial. There was very little asked about how the Russians behaved when they came to Hungary, and how they were supplied in Hungary. You didn't ask about the Hungarian youth who were taken to Russia to study there. There was nothing asked about Russian schools which prepared such young people for the Russian University. You didn't ask about pioneer camps, (Úttörő), and the pioneer organization. You should have asked more about the so-called compulsory social activities. About the propaganda which party members had to do you didn't ask much either. You didn't ask about how much we could meet outsiders, that is, people from abroad. at all.

(1b)

I think you will receive much interesting material.

(1c)

I can't think of anything to urge you to beware of.

(1d)

I think whoever comes here will give you honest answers.

(1e)

See answer on probe 2.

(2)

No, I don't plan to go back to Hungary.

(3)

I saw a book in Austria, but I don't remember who wrote it or who put it out. Its title was "Ostprobleme".

(3a)

I don't know.

(3b)

No.

(3c)

She's not recommended for the interview.

(3d)

I don't know about anybody now.

"B"